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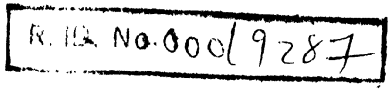

To

The President, Vice-Presidents, and Members

of the

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

As an humble Souvenir, of my Appreciation
of the Institute's valued Work in starting
the Movement of Oriental Conferences
in India, and of its literary work
in various other directions.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

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IN ENGLISH

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PREFACE.

The credit of the movement of holding Conferences of Orientalists in India belongs to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. The Executive Board of the Institute, which had the idea lurking in its mind, from the time of the very foundation of the Institute, passed, on the 12th of December 1918, a resolution, expressing the desirability to hold such a Conference, at first, in Poona, in 1919. It corresponded with some scholars to know their views on the subject. It seemed quite appropriate that the Institute should start this movement, because the late Professor Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, whose honoured name the Institute bears, was the first distinguished Indian scholar of our Presidency who attended one of such Oriental Congresses in Europe. He had, as a Delegate from the Bombay Government, attended the seventh Oriental Congress at Vienna in 1886. He has given us an interesting account of his visit in his paper entitled "My Visit to the Vienna Congress", read before the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, on 11th February 1887.[1] His presence there, in his "turban and uparnein",[2] when added to his personality as a great scholar, must have been very attractive at that Congress. It appears from his paper, that he much appreciated the advantages of such congresses or conferences. So, it seems that, it was he, who first inspired his colleagues of the Committee of his Institute with the idea of holding such conferences in India.

When consulted about the desirability of holding such conferences, I agreed with great pleasure, as I also had the good fortune of having an interesting and

1 *Vide* Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XVII, Part I, No. 46, pp. 73-96

2 *Ibid.*

instructive experience of an Oriental Congress in Europe. It was in the end of 1888, that a flash of thought first came to my mind, that I may tread humbly in the footsteps of Sir Ramkrishna G. Bhandarkar, and go to Europe to attend the next Oriental Congress, the eighth Congress, which was to be held at Stockholm. I remember an evening in January 1889, when the late Prof. Peterson had invited a few friends, at his rooms in the Elphinstone College, to meet Prof. Lanman of America, then a budding scholar, now a great Oriental Scholar of the first rank. There, in conversation with Prof. Lanman and Prof. Peterson who was appointed Indian Secretary of the coming Congress at Stockholm, the first flash of thought to have some experience of an Oriental Congress in Europe, matured a little. At last, I made up my mind in June 1889, and started on 5th July, in the midst of a heavy monsoon which upset me for a few days. The next few days set me up, and the rest of my voyage and travels and my visit to the Congress, further set me up, as it were, in a career of progress in life as a student. The Congress was presided over by the late learned King, His Majesty King Oscar, who opened the Congress with a speech in Latin. I had the pleasure of being one of those who were put down as speakers for expressions of joy at the meeting of the Congress. I was the first Parsee in an Oriental Congress, and I remember well, how my address on that opening day in the Avesta, recited in the singing tone of a Parsee priest, was liked by the assembly, and among them, by the learned King himself, who, later on, honoured me with the presentation of a beautiful gold medal of the Diploma of Litteris et Artibus. That was the first medal I had the humble pleasure of winning in my life. I pray to be pardoned for this little autobiographical diversion, and say, that, with all the vivid recollection of what I had seen, heard, read and learnt at the feet of some

great Oriental Scholars like Prof. Max Müller at the Congress, I, with very great pleasure agreed, when consulted, as said above, to the proposal of holding Oriental Conferences in our country.

I had the pleasure of personally attending all the six Congresses[1] held upto now except the fifth, held at Lahore. I had the pleasure and honour of presiding at the fourth Oriental Conference at Allahabad. Thanks to God, I am honoured, by our and some foreign Governments and Institutions, in recognition of my humble literary work. Of all these honours, I value two, the most—that of being called to the Presidential Chair of one of such Oriental Conferences and that of being honoured, later on, by my own *Alma Mater*, the University of Bombay, with its honoured LL.D. degree.

As an humble souvenir of all the above associations with the Oriental Conferences and of the inspiration for further study given by them, I beg to dedicate this work of "Oriental Conference Papers" to the President, the Vice-Presidents, and Members of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, which started the movement of these Oriental Conferences in India. I had the pleasure of dedicating one of my works, "The Memorial Papers", to the Sacred Memory of the late Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, the President of the Institute, and the origi-

1 The six Conferences were the following:

	Year	Place	Presidents
October-November	1919	Poona	Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar.
January-February	1922	Calcutta	Dr. Sylvain Levy.
December	1924	Madras	Mahamahopadhaya Ganganath Jha.
November	1926	Allahabad	Myself.
November	1928	Lahore	Mahamahopadhaya Haraprasad Shastri.
December	1930	Patna	Pandit Hiralal.

nator of the idea of such Conferences, and now I take the liberty and the pleasure of dedicating this Volume to his Institute.

As the President of my K. R. Cama Oriental Institute for two years and as its Hon. Secretary for nearly 10 years, I have been often inspired by the work of the late Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, whose name the Institute bears and by the work of a galaxy of scholars connected with the Institute. I remember with pleasure the few words of appreciation of my humble literary work uttered by Dr. Bhandarkar in his Presidential address as the President of the 1st Oriental Conference at Poona. Again, I remember with pleasure and grateful feelings, my association with that Institute as one of its Honorary Members, one of its Vice-Presidents and as a Lecturer once on its platform. So, I beg to repeat, that it is with intense pleasure that I connect this Volume with the honoured name of the Institute.

I have read, in all, 15 papers before the various Sections of the Conferences. Out of these 15, ten are published in this Volume. One,—that on "Prophylactic Disguises", read in the Section of Anthropology at the Madras Conference,—is being published in my Anthropological Papers, Part V. Four remain to be published.

I beg to offer my best thanks to my learned friend Mr. Bomonji Nusserwanji Dhabhar, M.A., for the valued help he has kindly given me in preparing an exhaustive Index for this Volume.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I beg to thank you very much for electing me the President of this Fourth Oriental Conference. I had the pleasure of attending all the three preceding conferences, at Poona, Calcutta and Madras, and when I remember that those Conferences had, as their Presidents, scholars like the late Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar of Poona, Prof. Sylvain Levi of the Institute of France, and Dr. Ganganath Jha, the distinguished Vice-Chancellor of the University of this city where we have met, I feel honoured in being called upon, to sit on the chair worthily occupied by these eminent scholars. This honour of being chosen as the President, out of hundreds of capable scholars of the country—a country as great as a continent—is, as said by my last predecessor, Dr. Ganganath Jha, "the highest that can be obtained by an Oriental scholar"; and so, I appreciate it. I beg to assure you, that I always like to look at honours, not only as honours, but also as further calls for duty and responsibility. Privileges and responsibilities, both, must go together with honours. So, I feel, that it is my duty, not only to carry on well the traditions always attached to such Presidential chairs, but also, after retiring from the chair, to continue to work in the cause of Oriental learning and to advance it.

We all mourn the loss, caused, since we last met at Madras, by the death of our first President, Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. Indian scholarship bemoans

1 This address was delivered from the Presidential chair, at the ourth Oriental Conference at Allahabad, on 5th November 1928.

the loss caused by the death of this eminent Indian scholar, on 14th August 1925. I remember to-day with pleasure and gratitude, the few words he mentioned in his first Presidential address about my humble literary work. I was a pupil at the Elphinstone College, when he acted there as the Professor of Sanskrit. Though not his *shisya*, my second language being Persian, I looked to him with respect as to a *shikshak*, with reverence as to a *guru*. Our Iranian books speak of great men as possessing *kharenangh* (P. خورنه), which is a peculiar kind of glory or halo or light on their face. I remember, as a fresh man at the college, being affected by his dignified look, shedding the light of intelligence and virtue; and we all know, what brilliant light he has thrown on the path of Oriental studies. Let us remember piously, at this gathering, his Holy spirit in the words of our old Iranian form of homage:

Vaedhyā-paiti Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar aidar Yād bād anosheh ravān ravāni

अमृतात्मा आत्मिभूतः रामकृष्णा [1]
गोपालू भांडारकर अत्र समायात्

May the spirit of the immortal-souled Professor Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar be remembered here.

Hamāzor frōhar-i Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar bād, awā hamā frōhar-i dānākān dānesh-rāinidārān dānesh-padiraftārān hīrvadān hāvishtān khordmandān nek-kerdārān va vehān va frārunān bād.

Translation:—May (our thoughts) be in unison with the holy spirit of Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, and with the spirits of all those who are wise, who are tea-

1 This Sanskrit version is rendered in the words of Neryosang, the Sanskrit translator of the Avesta. *Vide* "Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis," Part I, Khorda Avesta-Arthah, by Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha (1908), p. 32, l. 18.

chers of learning, who advance learning, who accept learning, who are teachers and who are learners, who are possessors of wisdom, who practise virtue, and who are good and honest.

After referring with sorrow to the loss of our first President, let me turn with pleasure to a message from our second President, Prof. Sylvain Levi of the Institute of France. When I informed him about my proposed appointment as your President, he, after congratulating me as his confrère in the Presidentship, thus wrote to me:—"When you deliver your Presidential address, you may remind the members of the Conference of my lasting gratitude for an honour which gave me so much pleasure, as being granted by my सगोत्र 's, I mean the *gotra* of Sarasvati." This message of a member of our Sarasvati *gotra* in the far West seems, by coincidence, to be, as it were, an appropriate message in this city of Prayāga (प्रयाग), which is held to be sacred, as a confluence of the Ganga, Jamna, and the invisible Sarasvati. This Conference, at this confluence of the above sacred rivers of India, is a proper rendezvous for the thoughts of the *sagotras* of the West and of the East. At this *Prayāga*, we all have [illegible] after the *prayāga*, the sacrifice, of our literary [illegible] to our Sarasvati *mātā*. We look to many Orien[illegible]olars of the West as our *sagotras*. But Prof. Levi, like his confrère, Prof. Emile Senart, and some others, had been long in our country and had drunk with us, here, in the country, the sweet milk from the breast of the Sarasvati *mātā*. So, his message of remembrance and gratitude is doubly welcome to us. I need not tell you, that we of the East have every reason to be proud of having sc[illegible]s like Dr. Sylvain Levi as members of our *gotra*. They are members, to whom, in turn, our gratitude is due for all that they have done for a number

of years to advance the cause of the Sarasvati *gotra*. We all have our *gotras* and we all think one thing or another of the superiority, or of this or that characteristic, of our *gotras*, but the *gotra*, to which he has so kindly and gratefully referred, is the *gotra* of *gotras*, to which we all are glad to belong. Scholars like Dr. Levi add to the कीर्ति (*kirti*), to the glory of our *gotra*. Let us send to him our good thoughts and words, thank him for his kind message of fraternity, and, at the same time, let us all pray that God may help him and his confrères of the West, and us and our confrères of the East, to be worthy and dutiful sons of the Sarasvati *gotra*.

This kind message from a confrère of the West leads us to think of the past and of the future of our Oriental studies and to take a retrospective view of the help given to us by Western scholars and of the prospective view of what we, ourselves, should do now.

When we take a retrospective view of the advancement of our Oriental studies, two names prominently stand forth before us, as those of two great scholars of the West, who advanced, what we may call, the modern western method of Oriental studies. These names are those of that great French traveller-scholar, Anquetil du Perron and of William Jones. Of these two names, the name of Anquetil du Perron has been very properly associated with Iranian studies by Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar in his Presidential address at the first Oriental Conference. The name of William Jones is well associated with Indian studies. But, in this connection, I think, sufficient justice is not done to Anquetil. When Indian students think of the question of the modern revival of Oriental learning, their thoughts go to William Jones (1746—1794), who, landing at Calcutta in 1783, laid the foundation of the Asiatic Society

of Bengal in 1784. Now, I think, that, though all honour is due to Sir William Jones for founding the Asiatic Society of Bengal and thus commencing, as it were, the modern revival of Oriental studies, we must not stop short at his name. I think, some credit is due to Anquetil du Perron also for introducing. not only Iranian studies, but also Indian studies in Europe. Anquetil's influence upon the study of Indian literature was both indirect and direct. His three volumes of the Zend-Avesta and his other writings in the literary journals of his country drew the attention of Western scholars to India and Indian literature.

I think, it was Anquetil du Perron who indirectly drew the attention of William Jones to India and to Indian languages. William Jones (born in 1746) had a taste for Oriental studies, when at Harrows and, later on, at Oxford. But, that Oriental turn was towards Persian, Arabic and Hebrew. He was a youth of 25 years of age, when Anquetil published his Zend-Avesta in three volumes in 1771. Anquetil had, in his first volume, made an attack upon some Oxford scholars. Young William Jones was, as said by another French savant, " wounded to the quick by the scornful tone adopted by Anquetil towards Hyde and some other English scholars." The result was, that William Jones wrote a strong letter in French to Anquetil, running down, not only Anquetil, but also the Zend-Avesta. "The Zend-Avesta suffered for the fault of its introducer, Zoroaster for Anquetil."[1] Of course Anquetil's translation of the Avesta, was based mostly on its Pahlavi rendering of later times and was much crude. It had, what is termed, an "outlandish garb".[2] So, William Jones thought that Anquetil was duped by the Parsee priests of Surat, who might have passed on to

1 Prof. Darmesteter, S. B. E., Vol. IV, Introd. I, 1st ed., p xv.

2 *Ibid.*, XVI.

him books which could not be the books of a great sage of olden times like Zoroaster. European scholars at the time got divided into two camps—one siding with William Jones and another with Anquetil. Among the former, one was a German scholar named Meiners. He, in his criticism, is said to have struck a new chord. He referred to some ideas in the Zend-Avesta of Anquetil which resembled those of the Brahmins on the one hand and those of the Mahomedans on the other. As to the first, the similarity of the ideas in the Avesta with those in the Vedas, many Hindu scholars are aware of. Meiners saw in this similarity "a proof that Parsiism is a medley of Brahmanical and Musulman tales".[1] Meiners presented this view, but it was left to other scholars to work out this point further. As said by Prof. Darmesteter, "Modern scholarship, starting from the same point, came to that twofold conclusion, that on the one hand, Parsiism was one of the two elements out of which Mahommed formed his religion, and, on the other hand, that the old religions of India and Persia flowed from a common source."[2] Thus, we see that Anquetil du Perron's work in the field of Zend-Avesta drew the attention of scholars to the study of Indian languages and Indian literature. I think, it was this attention that drew William Jones to India. He thought of coming to India for higher studies, not only in his first favourite line of Persian and Arabic, but also in Indian languages and literature. The fact, that William Jones came to India on duty, with the special view of further studies, is proved by the fact that very shortly after his landing at Calcutta he moved the question of founding a Society.

As an instance of Anquetil du Perron's direct influence upon the cause of Indian literature, we may refer

1 *Ibid.*, XVII. 2 *Ibid.*

to the very first volume of his Zend-Avesta which contains what he calls " Discours Préliminaire ", *i.e*, Preliminary Discourse. It is a volume of more than 500 pages. It treats more of India and the Indians than of Persia and the Persians.[1] I had the pleasure of finding from Colombo in Ceylon a set of his three volumes, which belonged to his own library and which he had embellished with further notes on margin, and to which he had attached some original letters received by him from some scholars of Europe. The notes and letters in this valuable set of his volumes lead us to see that his work had drawn the attention of several scholars.[2] Again, he is said to have drawn the attention of Western scholars to India by his other works like " Legislation Orientale " (1778), " Recherches Historiques et Géographiques sur l'Inde" (1786). But his most important work was the "Oupnek'hat " or the Upanishads. Anquetil had studied the Upanishads, not from the original, but from their rendering in Persian. The Upanishads were one of the many Sanskrit works translated into Persian, in the times of the Mogul Emperors.[3] In 1801, he published a Latin translation from the Persian rendering of the original Sanskrit. The translation is said to have proved very instructive to that great German

1 *Vide* my paper before the B. B. R. A. Society, entitled "Anquetil du Perron of Paris. India as seen by him (1755-61)." J.B.B R.A.S., Vol. XXIV, pp. 313-81.

2 *Vide* my paper "A Few Notes on Anquetil du Perron's own copy of his Zend-Avesta, l'Ouvrage de Zoroaster, recently discovered in Colombo," read before the B. B. R. A. Society on 20th July 1924. *Vide* the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 5 (pp. 59-118).

3 For some account of these translations, *vide* my paper "King Akbar and the Persian Translations of Sanskrit Works" before the First Oriental Conference at Poona, (Jour. of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (1924-25), Vol. VI, Part II, pp. 84-107.)

philosopher Schopenhauer (1788-1860), who is said to have been much influenced by its teachings. He said : "In the whole world there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death."[1] Anquetil has finished his above Preliminary Discourse with the following words, drawing the attention of scholars to India : " L'Inde est une contrée fertile, qui offrira toujours au vrai sçavant, même au simple Curieux, une Moisson abondante d'objets de recherches également utiles et intéressantes"[2] (India is a fertile country which always offers to a true savant as well as to a simple inquisitive person, an abundant harvest of objects for research, equally useful and interesting). Thus, Anquetil du Perron, by his words and works, drew the attention of Western scholars to India and had a hand in bringing about the revival of Indian studies So, the names of both Anquetil du Perron and William Jones may go together in our recognition and appreciation.

After the work and discoveries of these two scholars —one English and another French—critical studies of Oriental literatures spread in Europe. Germany joined England and France. There began what is called "the Oriental Movement" in Germany. In this connection, I will draw the attention of those Indian scholars, whose attention is not already drawn, to a very interesting and instructive monograph, entitled "The Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany", by Dr. F. J. Remy.[3] As this excellent brief monograph shows, the Oriental Movement was in the direction of both, Persian literature and Indian literature. The Persian Gulestan and Bostan

1 *Vide* "Redemption, Hindu and Christian," by Dr. Cove, p. 53.
2 Vol. I, p. 541.
3 Columbia University Germanic Studies, Vol. I, No. IV (1901).

of Sadi and the Divan of Hafez were familiarized in Europe. So were the Sanskrit Hitopadesha and the Bhagvat Gita. Of all the poets, who familiarized some of the gems of Oriental literature, we, Parsees, are interested in Goethe, who is properly spoken of as the German Hafez, because in his West-Östliche Divan, written somewhat on a model of the Divān-i Hafez, he has included a *nāmeh* or a book called Parsi-nāmeh or Buch des Parsen (The Book of the Parsees).[1] It is said, that the time of the two brother poets, the Schlegel brothers—Frederich Schlegel and August Wilham Schlegel —was "the period of the foundation of Sanskrit philosophy in Germany. English statesmanship had completed the material conquest of India, German scholarship now began to join in the spiritual conquest of the country."[2] Frederich Schlegel's book "Die Weisheit der Inder", *i.e.*, "The Wisdom of the Indians", is said to have familiarized the German-knowing people of Europe with some chosen gems from the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana and the writings of Manu. Later on, Denmark and then other countries joined the Oriental movement.

Let us hope that the East may continue to draw the West, not for territorial conquest, as in the past, but for mutual intellectual and spiritual advantage. In this connection, I am reminded of the Proceedings of the Société Asiatique of Paris which celebrated its centenary about four years ago. I was pleased to read in the reports of the Proceedings, the following views of two

1 *Vide* my paper "Goethe's Parsi-nāmeh or Buch des Parsen," J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXIV, pp. 66-95. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part II, pp. 119-148. *Vide* my paper "Hafiz and Goethe" before the Second Oriental Conference (Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference, pp. 601-606).

2 Dr. Remy's "Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany," p. 30.

Western scholars who had visited our country. Prof. Lanmann of America said, that the lessons which the East gave to the West were—(*a*) " La vie simple, (*b*) la moderation de desirs, (*c*) l'apaisement de l'esprit, (*d*) et par dessus tout la recherche de Dieu et le sentiment de l'immanence divine[1]" ((*a*) simple life, (*b*) moderation of desires, (*c*) peace of mind, (*d*) and, above all, the search of God and the sentiment of divine immanence). Dr. F. W. Thomas of England said : " In Asia, the peoples of Europe might discover unsuspected secrets of their own past.....[2] The traces left by the passage of humanity are as indelible as those of natural forces."[3] May God grant that, sentiments like these may continue to bring the East and the West into closer contact.

Having thrown a brief retrospective glance on the past, let us cast a hopeful eye towards the future. We foresee a brilliant future. During the past few years, we have seen the foundation of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona, the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute at Bombay, the Bihar and Orissa Research Society at Patna, the Mythical Society at Bangalore. The work of these and such other societies augurs well for the future. As the Present has rested upon the Past, so will the Future rest upon the Present. Let us not only pass on to the Future, the good which we have inherited from the Past, but let us add something good of our own.

In this connection, let me say here a few words on the coming great work of the Mahābhārata which the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona has undertaken from 1919, when we first met at Poona. The work of the Mahābhārata undertaken by the Institute is,

1 The Proceedings of the Centenary of the Société Asiatique of Paris in 1922, p. 18.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 19. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

to use our Gujarati word, really મહાભારત (*mahābhārat*), *i.e.*, great, stupendous. Prof. Max Müller once said : " I expect the time will come, when every educated native will be proud of his Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana as Germans are of their Nibelunge,[1] and Greeks, even modern Greeks, of their Homer." Max Müller's mention of Homer in connection with the Mahābhārata reminds me of the fact that the Mahābhārata seems to have been known to the Western world from the very first century after Christ. Dio Chrysontonius, one of the patristic writers, who flourished in the first century A.C. (about 50-117), is believed to have referred to the Mahābhārata, when, in one of his writings on Homer, he said : " Even among the Indians, they say, Homer's poetry is sung, having been translated by them into their own dialect and tongue." He added " The Indians are well acquainted with the sufferings of Priam, the lamentations and wails of Andromache and Hecuba and the prowess of Achilles and Hector." [2] Again, Philostratus, a great Greek sophist (born about 170 or 180 A.C.), who is well-known as the writer of the life of Apollonius of Tyana, is said to have spoken of Iarchus (Perhaps Vyāsa), a Hindu sage, as knowing the works of Homer. This Apollonius was, as it were, a Greek *yogi*, who abstained from wine and flesh and put on simple linen, went bare-footed, allowed long hair to grow on his head and slept on bare ground without any bedding. He is said to have travelled into

1 Nibelungenleid is the collection of the songs (leid) of the race of Nibelunge. The Germans regard this great epic as one of the most precious gems of their literature. For a brief account of this German epic, *vide* my paper on "The Early History of the Huns and their Inroads in India and Persia" (J. B. B. R. A. S., XXIV, p. 552. My Asiatic Papers, Part II, p. 306.)

2 Dr J. Eggeling's article on Sanskrit (Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. 21, 9th ed., p. 281).

Persia and India. This reference also is a reference to some episodes of the Mahābhārata.

Let us pray, that the time, expected by Max Müller *Bhat*, as said above, may soon come, and let us look at the work that is being done at Poona, as the work bringing about the expected time. The Institute will add a beautiful laurel to its cap, if it carries this great work to a successful end. Indian scholars should consider it their pious duty to do all they can to see the work successfully through. The work was well begun by Mr. Utgikar and it has been now right seriously launched for its destination under the very able captainship of Dr. V. S. Sukhthankar, a scholar who has drunk, and drunk well, at the founts of both, the Eastern and Western centres of learning. His efficient editorship and secretaryship, ably helped by an Editorial Board, consisting of scholars like Prof. Rajvade, Fr. Zimmermann, Dr. V. M. Paranjpye, Mr. N. B. Utgikar and Mr. V. P. Vaidya, Bar.-at-Law, are a guarantee for the success of the work. But a hearty co-operation is necessary from all Indian scholars who are in a position to help the work. The success of the work will chiefly lie in the correctness of the text; and, to secure that end, all Indian scholars should co-operate. What is most essentially wanted is the supply of old manuscripts for the purpose of collation. Indian scholars should co-operate in collecting MSS., examining them, and sending them to the Bhandarkar Institute. They will be doing well, if they, not only collect the MSS. and send them to Poona, but if they also do some preliminary work of first examining the MSS. which they send and preparing notes which may somewhat facilitate the work at the head-quarters. It is a monumental work and it requires monumental help from all the four corners of India, not only of India, but also of

other parts of the world where old MSS. have gone. I think it will be well if somebody is deputed to visit the libraries of Europe for this purpose.

In this connection, I beg to appeal to all the Native States of India to lend their support—their financial support and their intellectual support. It is with some regret that I learn, that in the case of some States possessing some valuable MSS., there is much of official references from one department to another. This may, or may not, be due to a want of proper appreciation of the greatness of the work. But I think a word or two from their Highnesses at the heads of the States to the departmental heads will be welcome. Our *sva-deshiism* must be most essentially sought in the field of Indian literature. We have been, for years, looking much to the West, and we are much indebted to the West for all that it has hitherto done. But, we must not continue to look to the West, folding our hands. Does not India think, that it will redound to its credit, if it does not wait for Europe or America to issue a good authenticated edition of its great epic, but does the work itself? Our old Indian tradition is, that Shri, the goddess of wealth, and Sarasvati, the goddess of learning, should stand by the side of one another. Here, in the case of this monumental work, the above Editorial Board of the learned worshippers of Sarasvati, turn to the sister goddess Shri, and pray, that she may ask her devotees to lay their offerings of wealth on the threshold of the temple of Sarasvati. Financial help from the Native States and rich nobility and gentry will be much welcome to the Editorial Board. It is an act of *punya* (पुण्य), an act of meritoriousness, to feed the physically poor. It is equally an act of *punya* to feed the mind of those who are intellectually poor. It is such beautiful epics that

help greatly the intellectual feeding of the intellectually poor.

The Editorial Board lately formed, as said above, at Poona, reminds me of an Editorial Board formed by King Akbar for the Mahābhārata. Akbar seems to have taken a view, somewhat similar to that of Max Müller, that we Indians, should be proud of the Mahābhārata and know something of it. So, he seems to have thought of bringing its contents within the reach of his Persian-speaking subjects. Abu Fazl and Badaoni give us a good account of Akbar's fondness for that book of books of the Hindus, which was named Razm-namch (رزم نامه), *i.e.* the "Book of Wars". Abu Fazl has a long dissertation on the learning of India (دانش هندوستان). He describes the nine schools of philosophy (تفصیل نه دانا) and then, under the heading of *karma*, refers to the Mahābhārata. Now we learn from Abu Fazl's Ain-i Akbari and Badaoni's Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh, that Akbar had, as it were, formed an Editorial Board of the following learned members of his Court to translate the Mahābhārata in Persian: Naqib Khan, Maulānā Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Shaik Sultan of Thaneswar, Mulla Sheri and Shaikh Faizi. The work was divided among them and the noble king himself, as it were, presided and encouraged them by his personal attendance and sympathy at their sittings. All of the above court-scholars, except one, did not know Sanskrit well. So, they were given the assistance of some learned Pandits. The Pandits explained, and they rendered the text into Persian. Akbar himself at times, explained to the translators, how to render the Pandits' version into Persian. They were at work continuously, for at least four years, in this great undertaking, of which one of the Editors said:

حرف ده هزار ساله را بزبان حال موافق میسازم

i.e., I render into modern language, the knowledge of ten thousand years.

I have referred to this subject of Akbar's laudable efforts with a view to appeal to you, my brother-scholars, o help in this great work which has been so well appreiated by personages like Akbar and Max Müller.[1] Iranian cholars are also interested in the Mahābhārata as some of its episodes are similar to those of the Shāh-nāmeh of Firdousi. Their Shāh-nāmeh is, as it were, their Mahābhārata of Persia. It is said that Akbar's attention was directed to the Mahābhārata when he was once hearing the reading of the Shāh-nāmeh.

At the present Editorial Board we have no Akbar to preside. But, in the present Governor of Bombay, Sir Leslie Wilson, we have a high-minded and sympathetic representative of our King-Emperor who occupies at present the Indian throne of Akbar. His Excellency's sympathy towards the work of the Institute is well-known. We cannot appeal to him to preside at the meeting of the Editorial Board as Akbar did. But we, the children of Sarasvati, can look to him as the representative of Shri, as the representative of the *Shrimant* class, to stand by the side of the Mahābhārata movement at Poona and give it all possible financial help he can. In the meantime, we have the satisfaction to know, that another *Shrimant*, Shrimant Bala Saheb Pant Pratinidhi, Chief of Aundh, has made a *chāndlo* (ચાંદલો), or auspicious present, of one lakh of rupees, to wish all good luck to the movement. We are indebted to this *Shrimant*, to this honoured representative of Shri, for all his help and sympathy.

1 For a detailed account of Akbar's movement for a translation of the Mahābhārata, *vide* my paper "King Akbar and the Persian translations of Sanskrit Books" before the First Oriental Conference at Poona (Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute (1924-25), Vol. VI, Part II, pp. 84-107).

After appealing to you for some aid in the cause of the work of the Mahābhārata, the successful completion of which will augur well for the future of our studies, I will draw your attention to a question of general interest, which requires a closer attention in the future. I beg to suggest that we must now have in our studies, what one may term, a "Broader Outlook". Now-a-days, we speak of special lines, special branches or special subjects of Oriental studies. That is all good. But, what I want to say is, that in addition to our having our special branches of study, we must try to have side-lights on our special branches from all sides. I know that scholars have been doing so to some extent. But we must try to do so more. It is well said, that "one who knows his own religion alone, does not know it well; one who knows his own language alone, does not know it well; one who knows his own country alone, does not know it well." Similarly, to know one's own special subject well, one must have a broader outlook, must try to seek light from other sources. He must look, not only to collateral branches of Oriental studies, but also to other fields of knowledge.

For example, I beg to draw the attention of my brother-scholars to a higher, deeper and broader study of the question of the Iranians in India. We know from Indian books—and you my Hindu brethren know this far better than myself—that India knew Iran from olden times. On the other hand, we know from Iranian books, especially from the Avesta,[1] that Iran knew India from olden times. It is well known, that the Ancient Persians had, from the times of Darius the Great, three of whose twelve satrapies belonged to India and its frontiers, closer

1 *Vide* my paper, "India in the Avesta of the Parsees," read at Calcutta, on 2nd July 1913. (Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. IX, No. 10, pp. 427-36. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part II, pp. 201-10.)

relations with India. Some known Mahomedan writers, and among them, Ferishta, who is more known to us, being an Indian writer, go to times anterior to that of Darius, and say that the Iranians had come into contact with India even from the times of the Peshdādian and Kayānian dynasties of Persia. Coming to our times, we know that the late Dr. Spooner, whose loss we all bemoan, was one, who, led by his excavations at Pataliputra, represented that Iran had come into closer contact with India. Some of his views were considered wild and as overshooting the mark. But now we find, that some Indian scholars out-spooner Spooner.[1] I think the whole question still requires further elucidation.

We saw above, that the West knew something of the Mahābhārata from olden times, from the first century. What had led it to know India? It was Persia, spoken of as "the ante-chamber of the East", that served as an intermediary, between the West and India. The literature of Persia itself possessed some episodes similar to those of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana. For example, there is a similarity between the episode of the renunciation of Yudhishthira in the Mahābhārata and the episode of the renunciation of king Kaikhshru in the Shah-nāmeh. Both these have a somewhat similar parallel in the renunciation of Patriarch Enoch, mentioned by Hebrew writers.[2] Again, as pointed out Mr. Pallonji B. Desai, there is some similarity between the episode of Sitā and Rāvan in the

1 *Vide* the paper on "Foreign Connection of Buddha" by Sree Akkiraj Umakanta Vidyasekhara, Pandit of the Presidency College, Madras, read before the Third Oriental Conference at Madras in 1924.

2 *Vide* Prof. Darmesteter's paper "Points de Contact entre le Mahābhārata et le Shāh-nāmeh" (Journal Asiatique, 1887). *Vide* my "Glimpse into the work of the B. B. R. A. Society during the last 100 years, from a Parsee Point of View" (Journal B. B. R. A. S., Centenary Volume, pp. 97-99).

Rāmāyana and that of Homāi and Beh-āfrid and Arjāsp in the Shāh-nāmeh.

It is a fact, that Persia had come into closer contact with India. So the study of Iranian religion, history and literature should, I think, be attended to by Indian students to a larger extent than at present. In the matter of religion, I will here draw the attention of my Hindu brethren, to the work, entitled "Indo-Iranian Religion", of a Parsee scholar, Mr. Shapurji Kavasji Hodiwala, which is introduced with an appreciative Foreword by the Hon'ble Mr. Sachidananda Sinha. If some scholars want to read some of the writings of the ancient Parsees, as translated into Sanskrit by a Parsee priest who lived about 700 years ago, I beg to draw their attention to the work of a ripe Parsee scholar, who knew Sanskrit well, the late Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhoy Bharucha. He has, under the auspices of the Trustees of the Funds and Properties of the Parsee Panchayat of Bombay, an institution which I have the pleasure and honour of serving, since the last 33½ years, as its Secretary, prepared a series of seven parts, under the title of "Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsees". Five parts of the series have already been published. The remaining two, will be published as his posthumous work. This series will help Indian scholars to know something about the literature and religion of their Iranian brethren.

Next to the question of the Iranians in India, there is the question of the Huns in India. I think this question requires to be more deeply studied by us, as it will throw much new light upon the ancient History of India. The Huns—the Hunas of Indian books and the Hunus of Iranian books—were, for a number of years, the enemies both of Persia and India. Just as they had pre-historical as well as historical relations with Persia, they had both

pre-historical and historical relations with India. We know that they are twice referred to in the Vishnu Purâna (Bk. II, chap. III)[1] and once in the Raghuvamsa of Kalidas (Canto IV, 68).[2] Coming to historical references, we know that they are referred to directly in the inscriptions of king Skanda Gupta, on a "Pillar of Victory", at Bihari in the Ghazipur district[3] of the N. W. Provinces, and indirectly in the third or the last[4] of the three inscriptions on a huge granite boulder at the foot of the beautiful hill of Girnar.[5] All these references in old Indian literature and in later inscriptions show, that the Huns had, at various times, a powerful grip upon various parts of India. We know from other sources, that they had, at one time or another, spread from the frontiers of China in the East to the frontier of France in the West. They had a glorious empire, off and on, of nearly two thousand years. They had knocked, at different times, not only at the gates of China, India and Persia, but also at the gates of Italy and France.

We know that a question has been raised, as to: Who the Indian king was, who finally defeated and drove away the Huns from India? Was he Skanda-

1 The Vishnu Purâna, a system of Hindu mythology and tradition, translated from the original Sanskrit, by H. H. Wilson (1840), pp. 177 and 194.

2 The Raghuvamsa of Kalidasa with the commentary of Mallinatha by Kashinath Pandurang Paraba, 2nd edition (1882), p. 89. The Raghuvamsa translated by P. de Lacy Johnstone (1902), p. 34, ll. 179-81.

3 "Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III. Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their successors," by Dr. J. F. Fleet (1888), pp. 52-56.

4 *Ibid.* p. 28.

5 I had the pleasure of seeing this hill and the granite boulder with inscriptions during my visit of Kathiawar in 1909 when I attended the Second Gujarati Parishad at Rajkote.

gupta or Yashodharma? Disputants of both sides, for example, scholars like Manmohan Chakrawati on the one hand and Prof. Pathak and Dr. Hoernle on the other, appeal to Persian history on the question. In my paper on the ancient History of the Huns,[1] I have referred to this subject and given my view of the case that it was Yashodharma who finally defeated the Huns in India. Thus, we see how a side-light from another branch of study helps to shed some light on a question under discussion. Besides the question of their history, their religion in India requires to be studied well. According to my view, the Huns were to a great extent, Mazdayaçnāns. The religion of those people, at least of those who had lived upon the frontiers of Iran and India, and of the ancient Parsees was similar.[2] This explains to a certain extent, the fact referred to in the Rājataranjini of Kalhana of Kashmir, that Mihrkula, the Hunnic king, whom Yashodharma had driven out of India, had offended the Kashmirian Brahmins by fetching other Brahmins from the West. Those other Brahmins were Zoroastrian Mobads or Zoroastrian priests whose religion the Huns followed.

What has led me to-day to draw your special attention to the study of the Huns in India, is the fact, that I begin to suspect, that a certain class of people, now living in Rajputana, and known as Mers, are the descendants of those ancient Huns who had invaded India in the fifth century. I will draw your attention to an interesting article by Col. John Hoskyn, reprinted from

1 J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXIV, pp. 539-593. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, pp. 293-349.

2 *Vide* my paper entitled "The Huns, who invaded India. What was their Religion", read before the Third Oriental Conference at Madras. (Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924, pp. 655-82.)

the Journal of the United Service Institution of India, in the *Indian Antiquary* of June 1922 (pp. 113-19). Col. Hoskyn speaks of the Mers of Merwara as "the Highlanders of Rajputana". They inhabit "a narrow strip of hilly country in the heart of that province; they have always maintained their independence against the attack of the powerful Rajput states by which they are surrounded, and a free and manly carriage, the hereditary badge of liberty, distinguishes them from the neighbouring tribes of bondsmen and tillers of the soil. For centuries before the coming of the British, the Mers not only held their own in the rocky fastnesses of the Aravali Hills, but made active reprisals on the enemies who sought to subdue them." Then Col. Hoskyn, who has based his paper upon good authorities named by him, speaks of their first arrival in India, as having occurred "during the fifth century of the Christian era, when the Persian Empire of the Sassanids was being attacked by the White Huns or Epthalites and the great hordes of Central Asia were in a volcanic flux and turmoil". Then "an upheaval took place in the regions of northern Persia on the confines of the ancient kingdom of Georgia and Media which resulted in a huge tidal wave of humanity being propelled eastwards and southwards towards the frontiers of India". I think, this influx from western Persia was not an influx of the Iranians proper, but of the Iranian Huns, who, at times, were subjects of the Iranian kings, and, were, at times, their allies as well as their enemies. The fact that the hereditary tribe of priests called Maghas who accompanied the invading hordes of Western Iranians are spoken of as being "under the special favour of Mihrkula," leads us to say that they were Huns. So, I think, the question of the Huns in India requires much further study from Indian scholars.

There are some social Indian questions which we have been looking to only from our own Indian or local point of view. They also may be looked at from a broader point of view. For example, take the following questions: (1) Sutteeship, (2) Prohibition of widow-marriage, (3) Inter-marriages. The point of discussion about these, at times, is, whether they are old Indian customs or customs latterly introduced. I beg to submit that, such questions have to be looked at and studied, not only from our local point of view and local sources of information, but also from a broader point of view, the point of view of other collateral branches of Aryan stock. We must often remember, that we, Indians and Iranians, form branches of a large Aryan stock. So, the literature and the religion, the customs and manners of the different branches of that stock are likely to throw some light upon the study of our social customs of India. For example, Germany, as belonging to that Aryan or Indo-European stock, claims what Gibbon calls a "domestic claim"[1] of us, Iranians and Indians, as it does of Britons. Gibbon says: "The most civilized nations of modern Europe issued from the woods of Germany, and in the rude institutions of those barbarians we may still distinguish the original principles of our present laws and manners."[2] Dr. John Aikin, the translator of Tacitus's Germania or Treatise on the Manners of the Germans, similarly says: "The government, policy, and manners of the most civilized parts of the globe, were to originate from the woods and deserts of Germany."[3]

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1 Gibbon's "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Chap. IX (Edition of 1845), Vol I, p. 182. 2 *Ibid.*

3 A Treatise on the Situation, Manners, and Inhabitants of Germany and the Life of Agricola, by Cornelius Tacitus, translated into English, by John Aikin (1823), Preface, p. v.

If the study of the social life of the ancient Germans, throws some light, as said by Gibbon, upon the origin of the manners and customs of modern Europe, or, as said by Dr. Aikin, upon the government, policy and manners of the most civilized parts of the globe, most certainly, that study must throw light upon such questions connected with the social life of us, Indo-Iranians, whose ancestors were, at one time, kith and kin with them, and lived together at one place. We know that there are several facts which tend to show a closer contact of the Indo-Iranians with this German chip of the ancient Aryan or Indo-European block : (*a*) Their ancient language belonged to our Aryan stock of languages. (*b*) Their tribal or communal constitution reminds us of our old Indo-Iranian constitution. The division of their countries into *vici* (townships) and of the *vici* into the hundreds reminds us of our Iranian *nmāna, vica, zantu* and *danghu*. (*c*) Their manner of transacting communal business is very properly compared to that of our Village-Panchayats. (*d*) Though their history is not directly related with that of Persia or India, we know that, as allies of the Romans, they had fought against the Persians in the Roman-Persian wars. (*e*) They had come into contact with the clans of the same Huns who had invaded India and Persia and, at their hands, they had similarly suffered. Such being the case, the social life of the ancient Germans does throw some light upon the above Indian social questions. We find that among the ancient Germans (*a*) widow-marriage was not practised. Women took one husband as "one body and one life".[1] (*b*) Some resorted to suttee-ship. They burnt themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands.[2] (*c*) They had some restrictions upon inter-marriages.

1 Tacitus, Dr. Aikin's Translation, p. 52.

2 *Ibid.* p. 52, n. h.

Tacitus says : " I concur in opinion with those who suppose the Germans never to have intermarried with other nations; but to be a race, pure, unmixed and stamped with a distinct character."[1] Not only was there prohibition of this kind of marriages with foreign nations but there was some prohibition against marriages between different grades.[2]

Scholars have been examining the question whether suttee-ship is a later custom or an older. Indian scholars say, that the custom is an old custom. But Dr. Eggeling, in his article on Brahmanism, thinks that the custom " seems to have sprung up originally as a local habit among the Kshatrayas," and then " to have at length received Brahmanical sanction". He says that " the alleged conformity of the rite to the Hindu scriptures has been shown to have rested chiefly on a misquotation, if not an intentional garbling, of a certain passage of the Rigveda".[3] Now, a broader outlook into the literature and history of, not only ancient Germany, but also of other countries, shows us, that the custom has been, not only an old Indian custom, but has been the custom of some other branches of the Aryan stock. We learn from classical writers like Deodorus Seculus, who had lived in the first century B.C. and who had travelled in Asia, and from Strabo, that the custom existed in India long before the Christian era. It existed in India in the time of Alexander the Great. According to Herodotus, the custom existed among the Thracians. It existed among the Anglo-Saxons. It

1 *Ibid.* chap. IV, p. 10.

2 For some particulars about the history and manners and customs of the ancient Germans, *vide* my paper " The Ancient Germans. Their History, Constitution, Religion, Manners and Customs " read on 28th June 1916 (Jour. of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. X, p. 636-84. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part II, p. 225-301).

3 Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. IV (9th ed.), p. 210.

existed in Scandinavia on the West, in China on the East, in Egypt on the South. This side-light thrown by foreign literature leads us to see that the custom is an old custom.[1] Recent excavations in England, by Prof. Parson, show that the custom had, at one time, prevailed even in England. This has led a writer to say : " This may corroborate the story of Tacitus, the Roman historian, that the Pagan Saxon wives slew themselves when their husbands died."[2]

With these few suggestions for some of the lines, in which we have to look for a broader outlook for our studies in future, I finish. We have met this time on the auspicious occasion of the Divāli holidays, when thousands and thousands of thousands, fresh lamps will be shedding light in many a dark corner of our great country. Let us pray to God, the source of all Light, that He may help us, humble students, in throwing fresh light upon many a dark question of studies. We have met in a city which Allāh is believed to have made *ābād* (prosperous). I conclude by praying, that the same Allāh may make *ābād* the University under whose auspices we have met. May He shower His blessings upon the work of our Conference and render it *ābād*.

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1 For further information on the subject, I will refer my readers to my paper on "The Antiquity of the custom of Suttee" read before the Anthropological Section of the Science Congress at Bangalore. (Proceedings of the Eleventh Indian Science Congress, Bangalore, 1924, pp. 204-5. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part IV, pp. 109-121).

2 *Times of India* of 16th April 1923.

KING AKBAR AND THE PERSIAN TRANSLATIONS OF SANSKRIT BOOKS

I

Introduction.

There were several occurrences that suggested to me the subject of this paper. (*a*) Sometime ago, I had the pleasure of reading with interest the excellent prospectus of a new and critical edition of the Mahābhārata undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, from the learned pen of Mr. N. B. Utgikar. Finding it interesting, and greatly admiring the zeal of the new Institute, I had the pleasure of taking a short notice of the undertaking in the columns of the *Jam-e-Jamshed*. (*b*) Then my attention was drawn again to the same subject by a letter from the Editorial Committee to the Secretary of the B. B. R. A. Society, asking that the prospectus may be reviewed in the Society's Journal. (*c*) Then, on being appointed a member of a small sub-committee to select some rare manuscripts from the Moola Feroze Library, accommodated in the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, to be sent to this Conference to be exhibited, in reply to a requisition from the Secretaries of the Conference, I thought that some manuscripts which may interest Sanskritists who were likely to form a large number of the members of the Conference, will be much welcome. Looking from that point of view, I found that we had two manuscripts : one containing the Persian translation of the first five *paravans* of the Mahābhārata, and

1 This paper was read before the First Oriental Conference at Poona in November 1919. It was printed in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (1924-25), Vol. VI, Part II, pp. 84-107.

the second, that of Yoga-vāsiṣṭha. I produce these here for inspection. All these circumstances, and, especially, the find of the Persian translation of the Mahābhārata, have suggested to me the subject of this paper. Latterly, when I was at the end of my study for the paper, I found, on inquiry, that the B. B. R. A. Society Library also had a copy of the Persian translation of the Mahābhārata. I produce here that manuscript also for inspection.

The manuscript of the Persian Mahābhārata, which I produce from the Moola Feroze Library, is thus described by the late Prof. Rehatsek, in his "Catalogue raisonné of the Arabic, Hindustani, Persian and Turkish Mss. in the Mulla Firuz Library, (1873) : مہا بہارت پنج پرب Five Chapters of the Mahâbhârat, Shekastāh writing, worm-eaten.. L. 8.2 in., br. 4.9 in., th. 0.7 in. This appears to be one of the many works produced by order of the emperor Akbar, but the translator's name is not mentioned. No date."[1] Rehatsek was mistaken in saying that the Ms. has no date. It bears a date, not of the translation, but of the writing of the Ms., but, unfortunately, the year, owing to careless binding, cannot be deciphered. We read at the end تمام شد پرب پنجم از کتاب مہابہارت که آنرا . . . گویند بتاریخ نہم[2] بہر ذی القعده سنه[3] ۱۸

The B. B. R. A. Society manuscript is a large manuscript, containing the translation of all the eighteen *parvans* (پرب). It is a well-written copy with illustrations, in painting, here and there. We know that the art of painting also was patronized well by Akbar. Some of the *parvans* end with the words :

تمام شد پرب . . . بفضل شری کرشن جی

1 P. 232 of the Catalogue. No. 52 of Chap. IX.

2 It may be read ششم

3 The next two figures are missing.

i.e. "finished *parvan* (here is given the number of the *parvan*) with the gracious help of Shri Krishnaji." The manuscript, though well-bound, has begun to be worm-eaten. It bears no colophon.

Object of the Paper.

The object of this paper is to place before students, concise account of the attempts of King Akbar to get some important Sanskrit books translated into Persian.

Mr. Vincent Smith, in the chapter on "Literature and Art" (chap. XV), in his excellent life of Akbar ("Akbar, the Great Mogul, 1542-1605") says: "Probably nobody now-a-days reads the translations from Sanskrit books so laboriously made by Badâonî and other people at the command of Akbar. It would be difficult to obtain a competent opinion on their literary merit, and it does not seem worth while to obtain it" (p. 415). This seems to be so. It seems that many Sanskritists perhaps do not even know anything of the existence of these translations. The learned author of the recent prospectus of the Mahābhārata, does not allude to them. But, I think, that these Persian translations, will be of some use to Sanskrit scholars to know, how some particular doubtful passages of the Sanskrit works, thus translated were understood in the time of Akbar (1542-1605). They may not be of much use in the work of literal translation, but they must have a value of their own, in case of particular doubtful words or passages, to know how they were understood in the time of Akbar. Though they are the work of Mahomedans, it must be remembered that learned Brahmins had a hand in their interpretation. Our sources of information on the subject of these translations are—

1. The Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl.
2. The Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh of Abd-ul-Qadir Badaoni (Lowe's translation, pp. 265, 329, 330, 346, 413).

II

Sanskrit known by Mahomedans before Akbar's time.

Akbar's love for his Hindu subjects and his eclecticism had drawn him towards Sanskrit literature and had led him to ask the scholars of his Court to translate some Sanskrit works. But that must not lead one to say, that Sanskrit was not known by some Mahomedan scholars before Akbar's time. Elliot gives us a very interesting note on the question, under the heading of "The knowledge of Sanskrit by Muhammadans," in his History of India.[1] It seems that, during the Khalifate of Al-Māmūn (born 786 A.C.), the famous son of Haroun-al-Rashid, whose times are known as the golden age in the history of the Mahomedans, the knowledge of Sanskrit was possessed by some of the alumni of his Court. It seems that Al-Māmūn held at his Court, religious conferences, somewhat like those held by Akbar. The Pahlavi Gajashta Abālis,[2] *i.e.* the cursed Abālish, was a religious disputation, held (about 825 A.C.) at one of such conferences, between one Ādar Faroba, the compiler of the Pahlavi Dinkard, and a Zendic heretic, known as Abālish. Elliot calls his age "the Augustan age of Arabian literature". Some Indian medical treatises in Sanskrit are said to have been translated from Sanskrit into Arabic in his Court. The well-known Sanskrit works on medicine of Charaka and Suśruta were translated into Arabic ere this. Two Hindu doctors are said to have held appointments as physicians at the Court of Haroun-al-Rashid. Some books on astronomy, astrology, music, dreams, agriculture, etc., were translated from Sans-

1 Vol. V, pp. 570-75.

2 For the text, transliteration and translation of this Pahlavi treatise, *vide* "Gujastak Abalish, Relation d'une Conférence Théologique, présidée par Le Calife Mâmoun, par A. Barthelemy (1887)."

krit into Arabic in the time of these Khalifs. Albiruni, who, on account of his "modern spirit and method of critical research," is spoken of by Dr. Sachau, the translator of his Chronology, as "a phenomenon in the history of Eastern learning and literature",[1] is believed to have known Sanskrit well enough to draw materials from Indian sources. The works of other subsequent Mahomeden authors, named by Elliot, point to a knowledge of Sanskrit by their authors. Again, the fact that the book of Kalileh va Damneh was translated into Pahlavi from Sanskrit by the courtiers of Chosroes I (Noshirwan, the Just), shows that Sanskrit was known by some individual scholars in Persia even in Sassanian times. From the Tārikh-i-Ferishta, we learn, that, long before Akbar, King Feroze Taghluk had got some Sanskrit works, in the library of a Hindu temple at Nagarkote in the Kangra Valley, translated into Persian. We read there (Elliot VI, p. 227): "The people of Nagarkote told Feroze, that the idol which the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Nagarkote was the image of Nowshaba, the wife of Alexander the Great, and that that conqueror had left with them the idol (which the Brahmins had made at the time the Conqueror was in these parts, and placed within their temple, and that now that image was the idol of the people of this country).[2] The name by which it (their country) was then known was Jwalamookhy.[3] In this

1 "The Chronology of Ancient Nations" of Albiruni, translated by Dr. C. E. Sachau, Preface p. x.

2 The portion enclosed in the brackets is not found in Brigg's Ferishta I, p. 454. (*Vide* Naval Kishore's Text, Vol. I, pp. 147-48). The text gives the names of the queen and the temple as نوشابه and جامکهي.

3 *i.e.*, Volcanic. I had the pleasure of visiting this part of the country and the Jwalamookhy in May 1900. For an account of my visit, *vide* my Gujarati Dnyân Prasârak Essays, Part II, pp. 183-84.

temple, there was a fine library of Hindee books, consisting of 1300 volumes. Feroze ordered (sent for some of the wise men of that religion and ordered some of the books to be translated and especially directed) one of those books, which treated of philosophy, astrology, and divination, to be translated into prose (verse) in the Persian language, by (one of the celebrated poets of the period) Eiz-ood-Deen, Khalid Khany and called it Dulayil Feroze Shahee. (It is in truth a book replete with various kinds of knowledge both practical and theoretical)."[1]

Amir Khusru on Sanskrit Language and Literature.

Amir Khusru, who lived in the 8th century Hijri (died 725 A.H. 1325 A.C.), and who is well-known for the historical interest of his poems, having written poetical accounts of the reigns of Alā-ud-din Khilj and his predecessors, had somewhat familiarised Persians of literary taste like Akbar with the contents of the Sanskrit literature. Among his various works, the Nuh Sepehr (نوه سپهر), *i.e.* the Nine Spheres, is well-known, as containing some account of the reign of Kutb-ud-din Mubārak Shah. In the 3rd Sepehr or sphere, he thus speaks of the Indian languages of his time, and, among them, of Sanskrit in particular: "As I was born in Hind, I may be allowed to say a word respecting its languages. There is at this time in every province a language peculiar to itself, and not borrowed from any other—Sindī, Lahorī, Kashmīrī the language of Dugar,[2] Dhūr Samundar; Tilang, Gujarat, Ma'bar, Gaur, Bengal, Oudh, Delhi and its environs. These are all languages of Hind, which from ancient times have been applied in every way to the common purposes of life. But there is another language more select than

1 Elliot's History of India, VI, p. 227.

2 'The country between Lahore and Kashmir."

the others, which all the Brahmins use. Its name from of old is Sanskrit, and the common people know nothing of it. A Brahmin knows it, but Brahmani women do not understand a word of it. It bears a resemblance to Arabic in some respects, in its permutations of letters, its grammar, its conjugations, and polish. They have four books in that language, which they are constantly in the habit of repeating. Their name is Bed.[1] They contain stories of their gods, but little advantage can be derived from their perusal. Whatever other stories and fables they have, is contained in *kabits*, *parwānas*, and *namāhs*. The language possesses rules for composition and eloquence. The language is very precious, inferior to Arabic, but superior to Dari ; and though the latter is certainly sweet and melodious, yet even in that respect this language does not yield to it.''[2]

III

Akbar, though himself illiterate, had made his Court an academy.

According to the Akbar-nāmah,[3] Akbar was placed under the tutelage of Mulla Asāmu-d-din on 20th November 1547, when he was 4 years, 4 months and 4 days old, that being pointed out by astrologers as a very auspicious day, "such as might happen once during cycles and life times.'' Naturally, he could not take to much learning at this tender age and devoted himself to play. Latterly, it being thought, that the above tutor, who himself was devoted to pigeons, was not good enough, he was replaced by one Maulānā Bāyazīd,[4] but with no better results. When he grew up as a boy and continued truant and unlettered, the courtiers in charge of him, once com-

1 Veda. 2 Elliot's History of India, Vol. III, pp. 563-4.

3 Beveridge's Translation, Vol. I (1902), p. 519. *Vide* V. Smith's Akbar, p. 22, for Akbar's tutors, etc.

4 *Ibid*, pp. 520, 588.

plained to his father about his indifference. Thereupon, his father sent him a mild letter of gracious remonstrance, " a gracious letter containing instructions and admonitions, full of kindness and paternal affection, and not at all of a censuring or cautioning character." Therein, he quoted the following couplet of Shaikh Nizāmi[1] :

غافل منشین نه وقت باضی ست وقت هنرا ست و کارسازي ست

i.e. Do not sit careless. This is not the time of play. This is the time of (learning) arts and of action.

Then, the father cast lots (قرعه) between three persons—Mulla Abdu-l-Qadir, Mulla-Zada Mulla Asanu-d-din, and Maulānā Bāyazīd—as to who may be the best instructor. The happy lot (قرعه سعادت) fell on the name of Abdu-l-Qadir and he was appointed instructor.

In spite of all these attempts, Akbar did not take to regular book-learning. His minister Abul Fazl defends him, saying, that Akbar was a gifted man. God had given him wisdom and learning as a Divine gift and he, therefore, did not require, man-taught learning. He said : " They did not know that the task-masters of creation (*i.e.* the Higher Powers) were taking care that the inspired mind of this nursling of Divine light should not become the reception chamber of inking impressions (*i.e.* book-learning) or the alighting stage of the sooty types of the exoteric sciences."[2] Further on, he says : " It is not hidden from the wise and the acute that the appointment of a teacher in case like this, springs from use and wont, and does not pertain to the acquisition of perfections. For him, who is God's pupil, what occasion is there for teaching by creatures, or for application to

1 The Bengal Asiatic Society's Text of Akbar-nāmah, edited by Abdur Rahim, Vol. I, p. 316.

2 Translation by Beveridge, Vol. I, pp. 521-28.

lessons? Accordingly his holy heart and his sacred soul never turned towards external teaching. And his possession of the most excellent sciences together with his disinclination for the learning of letters were a method of showing to mankind at the time of the manifestation of the lights of hidden abundances, that the lofty comprehension of this Lord of the Age was not learned or acquired, but was the gift of God in which human effort had no part."

Akbar's total disregard for any education before all the above tutors, one after another, has led some to class him as an illiterate, as one not knowing to read and write. But after all, it seems that Abul Fazl was in the right. Whatever his disregard and indifference towards, what we call, the literacy of the three R's may be, he was one of the best and wisest kings India has seen. He may be called the Aśoka of the Mogul period. In spite of his so-called illiteracy, his Court was, as it were, "une veritable académie". Poets, philosophers, learned divines, artists, painters, musicians, calligraphists—all assembled at his Court and found help and support. So, as a patron of literature, Akbar took an interest in Sanskrit literature also. Dr. F. W. Thomas has pointed out to Mr. Vincent Smith,[1] that in the Mackenzie Collection of India Office, there exists even a Sanskrit History of part of Akbar's reign. But Akbar's interest in Sanskrit literature has been more actively shown in his attempts to get various Sanskrit books of importance translated into Persian.

Akbar's Library.

As a great patron of literature he had amassed a number of books and had formed a large library (كتاب خانه[2]). A part of this was within the sacred precincts of his palace (مشكوي مقدس)

1 Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 486. 2 Akbar seems to have inherited his love for a good library from his father Humayun who lovingly carried with him his library even in his flights.

(Mashku-i-muqaddas, *i.e.* the harem) and a part without. The learned men (کمال دانان) of his Court brought the books directly before the King and he got them read from the beginning to the end, marking with his own hand the place on the pages where they stopped from day to day. The readers (خوانندہ) were paid in proportion to the number of pages read. He got Hindi (Sanskrit), Yunāni (Greek), Arabic and Persian books translated into other languages by persons versed in languages (زبان دانان). We read in the Akbar-nāmah, that, when in the 35th year of his reign "Padre Farmaliun arrived at the Imperial Court from Goa....., a man of much learning and eloquence, a few intelligent men were placed under him, for instruction, so that provision might be made for securing translations of Greek books and of extending knowledge."

A list of Sanskrit books translated at the direction of Akbar, with the names of the translators.

The following list prepared from the Āin-i-Akbari (Bk. I *āin* 34) of Abul Fazl and the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh of Badaoni, gives us the names of most of the Sanskrit books translated at the direction of Akbar and of all the translators. The first nine books are referred to, both in the Āin-i-Akbari, and in the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh. The tenth is mentioned in the latter only. The eleventh is mentioned only in one little known book, the Chahār Gulzār Shujāi. From the abstract of Chahār Gulzār Shujāi of Hari Charan Dās, as given by Elliot,[1] we learn, that, at the time of Alamgir II, there were available for scholars, the translations in Persian of the following Sanskrit books Rājāvali, Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata, Bhāgavata and Jog Bashist, the translation of which last book is there attributed to Faizi. This author speaks of the translation of the Mahābhārata as that done by

1 Vol. VIII. p. 205.

Faizi,[1] but we know, that Faizi's share of the work was merely that of putting it into elegant form. From an abstract of the contents of the Siyarul-Muta Akhkhirin of Ghulām Husain Khān, as given by Dawson in Elliot's History,[2] we learn, that some other works on history also were translated from Sanskrit by Faizi. Dawson says of its contents, that it gave "a summary of the ancient history, as derived from the Sanskrit works translated by Faizi and others".

	Names of Books.	Names of Translators.
1	کشن جوشی Kishan Joshi	... Abul Fazl.
2	گنگهادهر Ganghâdhar	... Abul Fazl.
3	مهیش مهانند Mahish Mahanand	... Abul Fazl.
4	مهابهارت Mahābhārata	... Naqib Khan and four[3] others.
5	رامائن Rāmāyaṇa	... Naqib Khan and Badaoni and Shaikh Sultan of Thanesar.
6	آتهربن Atharban (At'harva Veda)	... Haji Ibrahim of Sarhind.
7	لیلاوتی Līlāvatī	... Abu'l Faizi.
8	هربنس Harebans (Harivaṁśa)	... Maulānā Sheri.
9	قصه عشق نل و دمان Kisseh-ishq-i-Nal va Daman (Nala Damayantī)	... Abu'l Faizi and Badaoni.
10	سنگهاسن بتیسی Singhāsan Battīsī.	
11	جوگ بسیشت Jog Basishta	... Abu'l Faizi.

1 *Ibid.* p. 207. 2 Vol. VIII, p. 194.

3 *Vide* below for the names.

I will speak briefly here of some of the above books. But, first of all, I will speak of the Mahābhārata which is the most important of all them.

IV

The Mahābhārata

Of all the Sanskrit works, which Akbar got translated, the Mahābhārata had his most earnest attention. The late Prof. Max Müller said : "I expect the time will come, when every educated native will be as proud of his Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana as Germans are of their Niebelunge, and Greeks, even modern Greeks, of their Homer." Akbar seems to have taken a similar view and thought it advisable to place it, in its Persian translation, in the hands of all the learned men of his Court. We learn from the Ain-i-Akbari, that when the translation was finished all the Amirs of the Court took a copy of it. We will collect here all the particulars about the translation made at the direction of Akbar.

Abul Fazl's accounts.

Abul Fazl speaks of the Mahābhārata as one of the ancient books (کتب قدیم)[1] of Hindustan. "The book contains nearly one hundred thousand verses. His Majesty calls this ancient history Razm-nāmah (رزم نامه), *i.e.* the book of wars."[2] In another part of his work, he says : "In this work, although there are numerous extravagant tales and fictions of the imagination, yet it affords many instructive moral observations, and is an ample record of felicitous experience."[3]

In his account of the Subah of Delhi, while speaking of Thanisar (تھانیسر) as "one of the most sacred places of

1 Bk. I *Ain* 34 Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I, p. 104. Blochmann's Text, I, p. 115 P. 22. 2 Jarrett's Transl., II, p. 285.

3 Ain-i-Akbari, *Ain* 34. Bengal A. Society's Text, p. 115, l. 20, Blochmann's Translation, I, p. 104.

pilgrimage," and of the Sarasvati flowing near it as a river[1] "for which the Hindus have great veneration," he refers to the Lake Kurukṣetra[2] (کرکھیت) near it, which "pilgrims from distant parts come to visit (worship at به نیایش) and where they bathe, and bestow charitable offerings," and says, that it is "the scene of the war of the Mahābhārata which took place in the latter end of the Dwāpar Yug". This leads Abul Fazl to give the contents of the Mahābhārata. It may interest students of the Mahābhārata to know, how a Mogul minister described its contents, as he learnt then (*vide* Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II, pp. 282-84, Bengal As. Sty.'s Text, pp. 515-16).

Abul Fazl's Dissertation on the learning of the Hindus.

We find a very long dissertation by Abul Fazl under the heading of "The Learning of the Hindus" (دانش هندوستان).[3] Therein, he describes the nine schools of philosophy (تفصیل نه دانا), the sixteen Predicaments (पदार्थ), the Vedānta and other subjects of Hindu learning. He speaks of the Jaina religion, of Bauddha, of the Nāstika or Chārvāka school, the eighteen sciences, (Aṭharā Vidyā), and Karma. Under the heading of this last subject, Karma, Abul Fazl refers to the Mahābhārata and says that the recital of its concluding portion, known as Harivaṁśa, was, among several others, a cure to remove sterility.

Abul Fazl's Āin-i-Akbari is generally admired. It is taken to be serving, as it were, as a Gazeteer of Akbar's time. Abul Fazl was, as it were, the William Hunter of Akbar's reign. But the last part of his work, which treats of this subject of Hindu learning, is specially admired by Jarrett. He says, "The range and diversity

1 Jarrett's Trans., Vol. II, p. 281.

2 "The Learning of the Hindus", Jarrett's Trans., Vol. III, p. 125 et seq.

3 Blochmann's Text, Vol. II, p. 61 et seq.

of its (Ain-i-Akbari's) subjects and the untiring industry which collected and marshalled, through the medium of an unfamiliar language, the many topics of information to their minutest details, treating of abstruse sciences, subtile philosophical problems, and the customs—social, political and religious—of a different race and creed, will stand as an enduring monument of his learned and patient diligence. Comparing his work with the modern development of statistical science and our present accurate and exhaustive methods of tabulating the resources and summarising the extent of knowledge, the changes in the prevailing religious beliefs, in the laws, and in the administration of a state, and all that marks the relative, material and moral progress or decadence of a nation at any definite period, though there is much to be desired, his comprehensive and admirable survey yet merits the highest praise. He had intended to compare the Hindu systems of philosophy with those of Greece and Persia and to conclude the review with his own criticisms on the several merits of these schools, but he laboured under the disadvantage of unfamiliarity with Sanskrit and had to take the statements of his Pandits tested through translations at second hand. He found his Hindu informants, as he says, of a retrograde tendency, spinning like silk worms, a tissue round themselves, enmeshed in their own opinions, conceding the attainment of truth to no other, while artfully insinuating their own views, till the difficulty of arriving at any correct exposition of their systems left him in a bewilderment of despair."[1]

Badaoni's account of the Mahābhārata.

Badaoni thus refers to the Mahābhārata[2]: "Among the remarkable events of this year (990 H. 1582 A.C.) is the translation of the Mahābhārata, which is the most famous of

1 Jarrett's Trans. Vol. III, Preface p. I-II.

2 Lowe's Translation Vol. II, p. 329.

the Hindu books, and contains all sorts of stories, and moral reflections, and advice, and matters relating to conduct and manners, and religion and science and accounts of their sects and mode of worship, under the form of a history of the wars of the tribes of Kurus and Pāṇḍus, who were rulers in Hind, according to some, more than 4000 years ago, and according to the common account, more than 80,000. And clearly this makes it before the time of Adam. Peace be upon him. And the Hindu believers consider it a great religious merit to read and to copy it. And they keep it hid from Musulmans."

What led Akbar to the translation of the Mahābhārata.

As to what led Akbar to get the Mahābhārata translated, Badaoni says, that he (Akbar) had got the Shāhnāmah, and the story of Amir Hamzeh transcribed in 17 volumes in 15 years and had got those volumes illuminated in gold. Thereafter he was once hearing the poetic version of the story of Abū Muslim and the Jami-ul-hikāyat, and such other stories, when a sudden flash of thoughts came to his mind that after all, these were books of poetic imagination (اینها شاعری و ساختگی است).[1] So, he would better get translated the "Hindu books, which holy and staid sages had written, and were all clear and convincing proofs and which were the very point on which all their religion and faith and holiness turned."[2] "Why should I not have them done in my name? For they are by no means trite, but quite fresh, and they will produce all kinds of fruits of felicity both temporal and spiritual and will be the cause of circumstance and pride and will ensure an abundance of children and wealth as is written in the preface of these books."[3] With thoughts like these, Akbar directed the work to be undertaken and

1 Text II, p. 320. Lowe's Translation II, p. 329.

2 *Ibid.* 3 *Ibid.*

at first he himself took an active interest in it. "Having assembled some learned Hindus he gave them directions to write an explanation of the Mahābhārata, and for several nights he himself devoted his attention to explaining the meaning to Naqib Khan, so that the Khan might sketch out the gist of it in Persian."[1]

The Translators of the Mahābhārata.

We learn from the Āin-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl and the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh of Badaoni, that several scholars had a hand in translating the Mahābhārata into Persian.

The Āin-i-Akbari[2] gives the following names:—

1. Naqib Khan.
2. Maulānā Abdul Qadir Badaoni, and
3. Shaik Sultan of Thanessar, spoken of as Sultan Hāji of Thanessar by Badaoni.[3]

In the Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh of Badaoni we find the following additional names[4]:—

4. Mulla Sheri.[5]
5. Shaikh Faizi, the brother of Abul Fazl.

Abul Fazl also was associated with the work inasmuch as he wrote the Preface.

As to the respective parts which these scholars had in the work we get the following information:—

The first three scholars had, besides the work of translation, a general supervision (اهتمام) over the whole work. Abul Fazl wrote the Khutbah (خطبه), *i.e.*, the address or preface, of about two quires or sections (بمقدار دو جزو).[6]

1 *Ibid.* p. 330.

2 Bk. I *ain.* I 34. Blochmann's Text, p. 116.

3 Lowe's Translation Vol. II, p. 331. 4 *Ibid.*

5 This name is given as Mulla Shei by Dowson (Elliot's History, p. 537). 6 Badaoni Text II, p. 321. Transl. II, p. 331.

Badaoni translated two out of the 18 sections. Mulla Sheri and Naqib Khan did a part of the work and the rest was completed by Sultan Hāji of Thanessar. Shaikh Faizi converted their "rough translation into elegant prose and verse, but he did not complete more than two sections (فن)". Sultan Hāji, then revised these two sections and verse. Not only did he do so, but he also revised his work which formed a large share of the work. He did this work of revision with very great care. Badaoni says: "The Hāji aforesaid revised these two sections, and as for the omissions which had taken place in his first edition, those defects he put right, and comparing it word for word was brought to such a point of perfection that not a fly-mark of the original was omitted."[1] He was busy with his work for four years.[2] When he was translating the Mahābhārata, somebody once asked him, what he was writing. He said: "I render into modern language, the knowledge of 10,000 years."

(عرف ده هزار ساله را بزبان حال موافق میسا زم)[3]

It seems, that at first, Naqib was entrusted with the work. It was on the third night after the first conception of the work that Akbar sent for Badaoni and asked him to be a collaborator with Naqib Khan. Mulla Sheri was the third and Sultan Hāji of Thanessar the fourth to join the work of translation. Faizi's share in the work was not that of direct translation but that of ornamentation, *i.e.* of touching up the translation and putting it in an elegant form. Abul Fazl's work was merely that of writing an introduction or preface.[4] We learn from Badaoni that, during the first few nights after the conception of the thought of having the Mahābhārata

1 *Ibid.* p. 330. 2 Badaoni, Text, Vol. III, p. 118.

3 Badaoni's Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh, Text, Vol. III, p. 118.

4 *Ibid.* p. 331.

translated, Akbar helped the first translator. He himself devoted his attention to explaining the meaning to Naqib Khan, so that the Khan might sketch out the gist of it.[1]

I will give here a short account of the translators. I will first speak of Naqib Khan, who was from the very beginning associated with the work. He was the first person who was asked to translate it.

1. Naqib Khan.

Naqib Khan was one of the 415 grandees of the Court of Akbar enumerated by Abul Fazl in the Āin-i-Akbari (Bk. II *āin* 30). He is No. 161 in the list. According to the Maasira-l-Umara[2] of Nawāb Samsamu-d-Daulah Shāh Nawāz Khān, his ancestors belonged to Iran. On his arrival at Court with his father, who had fled from Persia and who was appointed a preceptor by Akbar, he became one of the favourites of the King (منظور النقات). He received the title of Naqib Khan in the 26th year of Akbar's reign. He rose higher in Jehangir's time. According to the Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri, his original name was Ghiyāsu-d-din. Jehangir says of him in his Memoirs, that he was "one of the Saifi Sayyids, and was originally from Qazwin".[3]

An interesting account of this man is given by Badaoni, his contemporary and collaborator in the work of translation, who, in his Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh, speaks of him as "one with whom he had even the relationship of a contemporary fellow-student and co-religionist"[4] (یعنی هم عهدي وهم درسی و عقد اخوت دینی).[5] Badaoni speaks of him as "a very miracle of knowledge in manners

1 *Ibid.* p. 350.

2 The Text edited for the Bengal Asiatic Society (1891) by Maulana Mirza Ashraf Ali, Vol. III, p. 815.

3 The Memoirs of Jehangir by Rogers Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 264.

4 Lowe's Translation of Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh, Vol. II, p. 24.

5 *Ibid.* Lees and Ahmed Ali's Text II, pp. 30-31.

and customs, chronology, biography and all subjects of conversation, one of the wonders of the day and a blessing of the Age".[1] They both were at one time pupils under Qazi Abu-l-Maāli.[2] Badaoni speaks of him, further on, as reading before Akbar, Haiwāt-ul-haiwān, which, thereafter was entrusted to Abul Fazl for being translated into Persian and which was then translated by Shaik Mubârak, the father of Abul Fazl. That he was a man of influence with Akbar appears from the fact, that Badaoni had to seek his help in persuading Akbar to permit him to go to fight in the army led by Mān Singh, son of Bhagwan Das, against Kokand and Kanbolimi.[3] He, with Badaoni, was appointed one of the seven scholars who were asked to write a history of all Islam kings from the time of the death of the prophet to that of Akbar.[4]

2. Badaoni.

The original name of Badaoni was Abdul Qādir. His poetical name was Qādirī. He was called Badaoni from the fact of his being born at Badāon near Delhi. He was versed in various sciences. Having a very beautiful voice, he was appointed the Court Imam for Wednesdays. Though he lived at or near the Court, for nearly forty years, in close company with Abul Fazl, Faizi and their father Shaikh Mubārak, there was not much intimacy between them, because, being a bigoted Mahomedan, he looked at their new views as heretical. Besides being one of the translators of the Mahābhārata, he also translated Rāmāyaṇa, for 24,000 *slokas* of which, he received 150 Ashrafis and 10,000 tangahs. He was much known for his historical work, known as Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh, wherein he describes the career of Akbar, as seen by his bigoted eyes. This history extends upto A.H. 1004, *i.e.*,

1 *Ibid.* 2 *Ibid.* Translation p. 45.
3 *Ibid.* p. 233. 4 *Ibid.* pp. 327-28.

upto 11 years before Akbar's death. He did not dare to put his History into publicity, to avoid coming into trouble at the hands of Akbar for his extreme bigotry in criticizing Akbar's religious views. It was brought to light after Akbar's death in the time of Jehangir, who, when he questioned his (Badaoni's) sons, whether they knew that their father was secretly writing that history, was told that they were ignorant.

3. Shaikh Sultan of Thanessar.

We learn from Badaoni[1] that Shaikh Sultan was also spoken of as Hāji Sultan Thanessar (Thaneshwar), as he had been on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. He was engaged for four years in the work of translating the Mahābhārata. Naqib laid the foundation of the translation and he completed it. He fell into the displeasure of the King on account of a charge of killing a cow preferred against him. So, he was sent away to Bakkar (بکر). The Khān Khānān treated him well there, and, at last, he was pardoned and appointed a Karuri (کروری) of Thanessar and Karnal.

4. Mulla Sheri.

Mulla Sheri or Maulānā Sheri was a Court-poet. Besides the translation of the Mahābhārata, he was asked to translate the Haribans, "a book containing the life of Kṛṣna." Knowing that Akbar was in favour of reverence to the sun, he once composed a poem called Hazār Shu'ā (هزار شعا), *i.e.*, thousand rays in praise of the Sun, and presented it to him. Akbar was much pleased with the poem. Badaoni says, he did it for flattery (خوش آمد).[2] He was killed in the war with the Yusufzais (H. 994).[3] It was the same war in which occurred the death of

1 Text III, p. 118.

2 Text II, p. 336. Lowe's Translation II, p. 346.

3 Lowe's Trans. II, p. 362.

Birbal, which Akbar deplored much, but which pleased Badaoni as a proper punishment for his heretic opinions.

5. Shaikh Faizi.

Shaikh Faizi, whose share in the translation of the Mahābhārata was simply that of putting the translation of the above four scholars into elegant language, was the brother of Abul Fazl. He had also a hand in the translation of another work, *viz.* the Līlāvatī.[1] He also translated the Hindu story of the love of Nal and Daman. Abul Fazl speaks of his brother as a Court-poet and philosopher.[2] His verses were impressed on some of the coins of Akbar. He was one of the staunchest followers of Akbar's Ilahi faith. His name was Abul Faiz, and Faizi was his *Takhallus*. Blochmann speaks of him and his brother Abu'l Fazl as "the greatest writers that India has produced".[3] Besides poetry, he was versed in medicine and he treated the poor free of charge. He was Akbar's "constant companion and friend". He was created "Malik-us-shu'arā or Poet Laureate". He is said to have written 101 books.

The Translation, not a labour of love with Badaoni.

Badaoni was well paid by the King for his labours. But he does not seem to have placed his heart in the work. A bigoted Imam as he was, he found the task to be somewhat irreligious. He speaks of the contents of the work "as puerile absurdities, of which the eighteen thousand creations may well be amazed".[4] He adds: "Two parts were written. Such discussions as one never heard! as, Shall I eat forbidden things? Shall I eat turnips?[5] But such is my fate to be employed on such works. Nevertheless I console myself with the

1 Āin-i-Akbari, Blochmann's Transl. I, p. 105. 2 *Ibid.* p. 28.
3 *Ibid* p. 490. 4 *Ibid.* II, p. 330. 5 *Ibid.*

reflection, that what is predestined must come to pass."[1]

Badaoni was such a bigoted Mahomedan, that he thought that all those who associated with the work of translating the religious book of a foreign religion, were, as it were, condemned for hell. He says "Most of the scholars, who were engaged in this work, have now been gathered to the Kurus and Pandus, and to those who still remain, may God (He is exalted !) grant deliverance and grace to repent."[2]

Badaoni's extreme bigotry seems to have made him a suspected man at the Court. He himself gives an instance,[3] where, what he thought was his faithful rendering of the Mahābhārata, seemed to have been attributed to his bigotry and brought him into some displeasure with the King and he had to defend himself. Akbar, one day, said to Abul Fazl: "We thought that Badaoni was an unworthy individual of Sufi tendencies, but he appears to be such a bigoted lawyer that no sword can sever the jugular vein of his bigotry." Badaoni was sent for, and on learning, why he was sent for, inquired of His Majesty, as to which book of his it was to which the alleged bigotry was attributed. The King replied that it was the Razmnāmah, *i.e.*, the Mahābhārata, which was known by that

1 *Ibid.*

چه عراضات که نشنید و حرام خورم و شلغم خورم این معنی داشت گویا

نصیب فقیر ازین کتابها همین بود (Lee's Text II, p. 320)

What Badaoni means is, that the King found fault with his translation and considered that he was getting money for not doing things properly. Blochmann's translation of these sentences is more intelligible: "But the Emperor took exception to my translation and called me a Harāmkhur and a turnip-eater, as if that was my share of the book." (Blochmann's Āin-i-Akbari I, p. 105 n. l.)

2 *Ibid.* p. 330. 3 Lowe's Translation, Vol. II, p. 413.

name. In his translation of that, Badaoni had translated "a certain story in which it is narrated, that one of the teachers of the people of India, when on the point of death, said by way of advice to those present: 'It is right that a man should step out of the limits of ignorance and negligence, and should first of all become acquainted with the peerless creator, and should pursue the path of knowledge; and not be satisfied with mere knowledge without practice, for that yields no fruit, but should choose the path of virtues, and, as far as in him lies, withdraw his hand from evil actions, and should know for a certainty, that every action will be enquired into'." Having given this passage, he wrote this hemistich after it:

هر عمل اجري و هر کرده جزائی دارد

i.e., Every action has its recompense and every action has its reward. Akbar believed in the Indian belief of metempsychosis or transmigration of souls (tanāsukh تناسخ), which prescribed, that as a result of punishment of evil actions, one had to return to this earth, and that, oftener than once, till he purged himself from the effects of this bad action. Now, the above passage, which, Badaoni pleaded, was a mere rendering from the Mahābhārata seemed to go, at least in appearance, against the belief of the transmigration of soul, inasmuch, as it showed that every action will be inquired into in the other world by the two angels, Nakir and Mankir (نکیر و منکیر), who, according to the Mahomedan belief, judged the action of the departed souls, and assigned due punishments or rewards there, without the necessity of their returning to this world. Akbar suspected Badaoni that he, as a bigoted Mahomedan, put in his own Mahomedan belief in the translation of the Mahābhārata. Badaoni thus defended himself, thereby adjusting what seemed superficially to be the general or Mahomedan view to the Indian

view of the transmigration of souls. He says[1] "Eventually, I impressed upon all the courtiers the fact, that all the people of India speak of the reward and punishment of good and bad actions. Their belief is as follows : When a person dies, the scribe (Muharrir محرر) who writes the chronicle of the deeds of mankind throughout the course of their lives, takes it before the angel, who is the Seizer of Souls (قابض ارواح) and is called the King of Justice. After he has examined into their good and bad actions, and has seen which has the preponderance, he says, 'This person has his choice'. Then he asks him : 'Shall I, first, for thy good actions take thee to Paradise, that thou mayest there enjoy to the full, delights in proportion to thy good actions, and after that send thee to Hell to expiate thy sins, or *vice versa*?' When that period comes to an end, then he gives orders that the person should return to the Earth, and entering a form suitable to his actions, should pass a certain period. And so on *ad infinitum*, until the time when he attains absolute release, and is free from coming into and leaving the world."[2]

Badaoni says, that after the above explanation, "that affair passed off well". But Badaoni's future did not seem to pass off well. At one time, Akbar was on the point of appointing him to the guardianship of the blessed tomb of His Holiness the Khwājāh of Ajmir. But he did not do so, saying : "Since whenever I give him anything to translate, he always writes what is very pleasing to me, I do not wish that he should be separated from me". The King then asked him to complete the remainder of the translation, begun at the direction of Sultan Zein-ul-Abidin of Kashmir, under the name of Bahr-ul-asmār (the Sea of Tales), of a Sanskrit book,

1 *Ibid.* II, p. 414. 2 *Ibid.* Lowe's : Vol. II, p. 414.

which Jarrett thinks, was the Râjatarangini, the history of Kashmir by Kalhaṇa. Here again Badaoni shows his bigotry by speaking of the Hindu work as a book of "Hindu fictions" (افسانه هندوی).[1] Akbar at one time, presented him "with 10,000 tankahs in small change and a horse".

The Translation illustrated with paintings.

When the work of translation was completed, it was "fairly engrossed, and embellished with pictures". Then, "the Amirs had orders to take copies of it, with the blessing and favour of God".[2]

The Court of Akbar was well-known for patronizing the arts of writing beautiful hand and painting. Abul Fazl describes in the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. I, *âin* 34), eight calligraphical systems then current in ancient Irân and Turân, India and Turkey, and gives a list of the best calligraphists of the time. As in calligraphy, so in the art of painting, Akbar was always ready to appreciate good work. Abul Fazl says: "Most excellent painters are now to be found, and masterpieces worthy of a Bihzâd,[3] may be placed at the side of the wonderful works of the European painters who have attained world-wide fame. The minuteness in detail, the general finish, the boldness of execution, etc., now observed in pictures, are incomparable; even inanimate objects look as if they had life. More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of art, whilst the number of those who approach perfection or of those who are middling is very large. This is especially true of the Hindus: their pictures surpass our conceptions of things. Few, indeed, in the whole world

1 Text II, p. 401. 2 *Ibid.*

3 A famous painter of the Court of Shâh Ismâil of Persia. He lived at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century.

are found equal to them."[1] Such being the advanced state of the arts of calligraphy and painting, no wonder if the manuscripts of the translations of the Mahâbhârata were beautifully illustrated.

The Nature of the Translations.

It is not known, if all the persons who were entrusted with the work of translating the Mahâbhârata knew Sanskrit well. It seems that Hâji Sultan of Thanessar, who worked continuously for four years after it, knew Sanskrit well. Others, if they knew it, did not know much.

(*a*) This appears from what Badaoni himself says of his part of the translation. In one place, he speaks of one Divi, a Brahmin (دیوی برهمن), as an interpreter[2] (Ma'bar معبر) of the Mahâbhârata. It appears from this that learned Brahmins interpreted and the translators put down the interpretation in Persian.

(*b*) Further on, we read, that when Akbar first conceived the idea of getting the Mahābhārata translated, he "assembled some learned Hindus" and "gave them directions to write an explanation of the Mahābhārata and for several nights, he himself devoted his attention to explaining the meaning to Naqib Khan, so that the Khan might sketch out the gist of it in Persian".[3] This shows that the translators were, to a certain extent, dependent upon the Hindu interpreters.

(*c*) Again, the very fact, that Akbar, as referred to above, once suspected Badaoni of interpolating his own bigoted Mahomedan view of the state of the soul of a deceased person in his translation of the Mahābhārata, shows that the translation was not expected to be a word

1 Blochmann's Trans. I, p. 107.

2 Lowe's Translation II, p. 265. Text II, p. 257.

3 *Ibid*, II, p. 330.

for word translation. It is true that Badaoni says in one place that Sultan Hâji of Thanessar, while revising Shaik Faizi's work and his one portion of the translation, compared these " word for word with the original..... and the work was brought to such a point of preparation that not a fly-mark of the original was omitted ". But, still, we should not take it to be a literal translation, but a very free rendering.

(*d*) Again the fact that Faizi put the work of the translators " into elegant prose and verse ", also shows that a literal translation was not intended at all.

Anyhow, whether all the translators knew Sanskrit well or not, Akbar supplied them with the help of good learned Hindus. Both Abul Fazl and Badaoni refer to that help. For example, Badaoni thus speaks of his translation from Sinhā-san Battīsī (سنگهاسن بتیسی): " A book called Singh-āsan Battīsī, which is a series of thirty-two tales about Rājah Bikramâjīt, King of Malwâ, and resembles the Tutti-námeh, was placed in my hands ; and I received His Majesty's instructions to make a translation of it in prose and verse. I was to begin the work at once, and present a sheet (ورقی) of my work. A learned Brahmin (برهمني دانا) was appointed to interpret the book for me. On the first day, I completed a sheet containing a beginning of the first story, and when I presented it, His Majesty expressed his approbation. When the translation was finished, I called it Nâmeh-i Khirad-Afzâ (نامه خرد افزا), a name which contains the date of its composition.[1] It was graciously accepted, and placed in the library."

From all the above facts we see that the translations were not literal translations.

1 The chronogram gives the date to be 989 Hijri (1531 A.C.).

VI

Specimen translations for comparison.

To enable students to judge for themselves, I give below my translation of the Persian text of the first section of the second *parvan* from the Mulla Feroze Library Ms. which I produce for inspection. The spellings of proper names differ, but I give them as I find them in the Ms.

(Translation of the Persian Text of the first section of the second *parvan* from the Mulla Feroze Library Manuscript.)[1]

"The second *parab* (*parvan*) of the Mahābhārata which is named sabhā-parva.

"The historians of the events of this story thus describe the affair: When Kunti and Arjuna, having returned from the jungle of Khandiu, came to the shores of the waters of a deep-cut river-bank, the God (Div) Mahadib (lit. the great Dib or Div, Māhādeva), whom Arjuna had saved from being burnt, having folded both his hands on his breast, came before Arjuna and said: 'O Arjuna, Thou gavest me life (*i.e.* saved me) from this fire, in which, had mountains been involved, they would have been burnt. Now, in return for this good act (of thine), what service is it that you order which I may perform (for thee)?' Arjuna said: 'I expect nothing from you in return for my saving you from (being burnt in) fire. But if thou desirest that thou must do some service for me, do what Kṛṣṇa orders thee to do.' Then Mahadib coming before Kṛṣṇa said: 'Enjoin some service to me, so that I may do it.' Kṛṣṇa said: 'If you (at all) wish to do some work, it is required that you may erect for Raja Huzishtar (Yudhiṣṭhira) such a great building as would have no equal of it on the surface of the earth—such a one that no man can ever prepare a place like it, and what-

1 Lowe's Translation II, p. 156. Text, p. 183.

ever the buildings of gods (Divs) or God-created men or saints[1] or ascetics[2] do not contain, may all be contained by it; and you paint in it the paintings of all Divats and Divs and men and animals and serpents.' Mahandit became glad and said: 'I accept (to do all) that.' Then, Kṛṣṇa and Mahandit went towards Delhi. When they reached Delhi, then Huzishtar (Yudhiṣṭhira) and his brothers were much pleased to see them. Then Huzishtar caressed Mahandit, and Mahandit at an auspicious hour, laid the foundation of the building on an extensive scale, and fixed 10,000 *gaz* for its width."

VII

The Persian Text of the two Mss. which I have examined—the Mulla Feroze Library Ms. and the B. B. R. A. S. Library Ms.—vary a good deal. Both differ from the original Sanskrit, but the Mulla Feroze Library text seems to be much nearer the original Sanskrit than the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Library text. In the latter, the translator has begun his work in the first *parvan* with a number of Persian verses, which have nothing to do with the *parvan*.

The translators have shortened the homage paid to Nārāyaṇa, etc., in commencement. That may perhaps be due to their bigotry. We saw above, that Akbar suspected the bigotry of, at least, one of the translators, Abdul Qadir Badaoni. The Mulla Feroze Ms. gives only سری گنش آنم Sri Ganeshānam.

They have more or less followed the learned pious Brahmin interpreters. For example, in the Sanskrit text Kṛṣṇa is simply spoken of as Kṛṣṇa (कृष्ण). But the translators speak of him as *Shri* Krishna*jia* (Kṛṣṇajī). This

1 مار mâr, Lord, a saint.

2 غران ghurran "Lives free from care."

form is a form of respect used by pious people in speaking of Kṛṣṇa. The Brahmin interpreters must have used this, what we may call, colloquial or popular pious form, and the Persian translators have followed them, and not the original which good translators ought to do.

Translations of other Sanskrit works.

In this paper, I have dwelt at great length upon the Mahâbhârata, because it is the most important book and it is referred to at some length by the principal historians of Akbar's time. I will conclude this paper with an account of the translations of some three Sanskrit works referred to by these historians.

The Rāmāyaṇa.

The translation of this book was entrusted by Akbar to Badaoni who speaks of it as being superior to the Mâhabhârata در تصنیف بر مها بهارت سبقت دارد)[1]

"It contains 25,000 couplets (شلوك) and each (*śloka*) portion consists of 65 letters (حرفی). The story is about Râm Chand, Râjah of Oudh, whom they also call Râm. And the Hindus pay him worship as a god in human form. And the sum and substance of it is that a demon with ten heads, named Râvaṇa, ruler of the island of Laṅkâ, deceived his wife Sîtâ and carried her off. And Râm Chand with his brother Lach'hman went to that island. And a great army of monkeys and bears, whose number the intellect cannot count, gathered together, and threw a bridge of the length of 400 *cosses* over the briny ocean. And some of the monkeys, they say, leapt that distance, and others of the monkeys went on foot. And there are many contradictory idle tales like this, which the intellect is at a loss whether to accept or reject. At any rate Râm Chand mounted on the monkeys passed over the bridge, and for a whole week made a tremendous

[1] Text II, p. 336. Lowe's Trans. II, p. 346.

fight of it, and killed Râvaṇa and all his children and relations, and put an end to his family which had lasted a thousand years. And having entrusted Lânka to Râvaṇa's brother he turned to his own city. And in the opinion of the Hindus, he reigned 10,000 years over the whole of Hindustan, and then returned to his original abode. And the opinion of this set of people is, that the world is very old and that no age has been devoid of the human race, and that from that event 100 thousand years have passed. And yet for all that they make no mention of Adam, whose creation took place only 7,000 years ago. Hence it is evident that these events are not true at all, and are nothing but pure invention, and simple imagination, like the Shâhnâmah and the stories of Amir Hamzah, or else it must have happened in the time of the dominion of the beasts and the *jinns*[1] but God alone knows the truth of the matter."

Badaoni had some collaborators in the work of translating the Ramayaṇa. This appears from what he says further on of one of "the remarkable events (غرایبی) of this time". A low caste woman coming into the Audience Hall said "that she had become a man". Badaoni says here that one of the translators (معبران) of Ramayaṇa "went out of the company of translators" and examining her testified that she was a woman.[2]

The At'harban.

Abul Fazl speaks of it as "one of the four divine books". Badaoni was entrusted with the work of translating it and he thus speaks of his work: "In this year,[3] a learned Brahmin, Shaikh Bhawan, who had come from the Dak'hin and *nolens volens* turned Musalman, came to visit His Majesty and was admitted to great intimacy and

1 Lowe's Trans. II, p. 517.
2 *Ibid.* p. 348.
3 983 A.H., 1575 A.C.

His Majesty gave him the order to translate the Atharva Veda which is one of the four well-known sacred books of the Hindus. Several of the precepts of this book resemble the laws of Islam. I was appointed to render it from Hindi into Persian. As, in translating, I found many difficult passages, which Shaik Bhāwan could not interpret either, I reported the same to His Majesty, who ordered Shaikh Faizi, and then Haji Ibrahim, to translate it. The latter, though willing, did not write anything. Among the precepts of the At'harban, there is one which says that no man will be saved unless he reads a certain passage. This passage contains many times the letter l, and resembles very much our *La-illāh ill a' llāh*. Besides, I found that a Hindu under certain circumstances may eat cow-flesh ; and also that Hindus bury their dead but do not burn them. With such passages, the Shaikh used to defeat other Brahmins in argument, and they had in fact led him to embrace the Islam (God be thanked for this)''.[1]

Hari Vaṁśa.

The Hari Vaṁśa, which passes as a supplement to the Mahabharata, is referred to by Albiruni, in whose time it was taken to be an authority on some Indian matters.

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1 Lowe's Translation Vol. II, p. 216 with correction made on p. 424.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ANCIENT LITERATURE OF THE PARSEES AT HIS HANDS.[1]

Introduction.

The Pahlavi books[2] of the Parsees speak of three great personages as the greatest enemies of ancient Persia, because they had done great harm to the country. They are : Azi Dahâka, Afrasiâb and Alexander. Azi Dahâka or Zohâk[3]

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1 This paper was read at the Second Oriental Conference at Calcutta in 1922. Afterwards, it formed the subject of a Discourse before the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute on 20th August 1930, the 21st Anniversary of the death of K. R. Cama.

2 (*a*) *Vide* the Minokherad, Chap. VIII, 29 ; S.B.E., Vol. XXIV, p. 35 ; E. W. West's Pazend and Sanskrit Texts (1871), p. 18 for the Pazend Text, p. 78 for the Sanskrit Text, p. 143 for the Translation; Ervad Tehmuras D. Anklesaria's Edition of Minokherad's "Pahlavi, Pazand, and Sanskrit Texts", with my Introduction (1913), 7th Purshishna 29-30, p. 47. Dastur Darab P. Sanjana's Minokherad, p. 23. Dastur Kaikobad Adarbad's Gujarati Translation, p. 65. (*b*) Bahman Yasht, Chap. III, 34; S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 228. The Pahlavi Text of Zand-i Vohuman Yasht, by Dastur Kaikobad, p. 21. Gujarati Translation, p. 28. *Vide* my article, "Alexandria and its Library," in the *East and West* of October 1904, Vol. III, pp. 1024-25.

3 Azidahâka or Zohâk, who is identified with Nimrod by some writers, was connected with Bawri or Babylon. Nimrod, in his turn, is identified with Bebel or Bel, the founder of Babylon. Belus may be another form of Bewarasp, another name of Zohâk. So, Zohak's rule seems to refer to the Babylonian supremacy over Irân. For the above identification, *vide* my paper "A Glimpse into the Work of the Bombay

was a foreigner, who, or whose family, ruled over, and oppressed, Irân for about 1000 years. Afrasiâb was an inveterate foe of Persia. He was, as it were, the originator of the long wars between Irân and Turân. Alexander was the third person who did great harm to the country of Irân, by devastating the country and destroying its literature.

The ancient Iranians were possessed of a great and varied literature. This literature was first destroyed by Alexander the Great. Vulkhas, an Askânian king, Ardeshir Bâbegân, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, and some of his successors, such as Shâpur and Noshirwân, restored this literature. Among all these, Ardeshir was the real founder of the Iranian Renaissance after Alexander. The literature thus recovered was greatly destroyed by the Arabs who brought about the downfall of the Sassanian Empire. The fact of this destruction of the Iranian literature at the hands of Alexander is now and then doubted by some writers. So, the object of this paper is to collect Iranian materials on the subject of the loss of Iranian literature at the hands of Alexander and to show that it is not only "the modern Parsees" as said by Romer, Wilson and some Western writers who attribute the devastation to Alexander, but their ancestors of about a thousand years ago also said so, and their statements have been noted in several Pahlavi books. Not only that, but even Arab and other Mahomedan authors like Nizami have said so. Again, even classical writers indirectly support the statement.

Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, during 100 years, from a Parsee point of view" in the Centenary Volume of the J. B. B. R. A. S., pp. 164-66. *Vide* my separate reprint, pp. 3-4. *Vide* my Masonic Papers, pp. 82-86.

I

SOME OF THE WRITERS WHO DOUBT THE DEVASTATION AT THE HANDS OF ALEXANDER.

The writers of our country.

(*a*) At first, looking to the writers of our country, we find that, Mr. John Romer, a former President of the B. B. R. A. Society, a known Persian scholar, accepted the truth of the destruction of Iranian literature at the hands of the Arabs, but doubted its destruction at the hands of Alexander. He said: "The lieutenants of the Caliph Omar but too faithfully obeyed their master's command to destroy all the books found in Persia, so that, in no long time after the conquest of the country by the Arabs in the middle of the seventh century, the whole body of the Persian literature had disappeared; and the execution of this barbarian order, was so complete, that three hundred years afterwards when Firdousi wrote his immortal poem, one or two works only, relating to former times, were found, from which and from tradition is derived, it is said, much of the historical lore, real or imaginary, so beautifully wrought out in the Shah-nâmeh. By the modern Parsees however, whose notions of history may be judged by the fact, this devastation of the learning and religious books of their ancestors is attributed to Alexander."[1]

(*b*) Dr. John Wilson, another President of the above Society, in a footnote to Romer's paper,[2] agrees with that view. As said by a learned lady writer, Countess Martinengo Cezaresco, many Western writers also seem to take

1 Journal R. B. R. A. S., Vol. V (1857), p. 96. *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S.", p. 58. 2 *Ibid.*

that view and "throw all the blame on the Moslem invaders."[1] It is quite true that the Moslem invaders destroyed the religious and other books of the Parsees, but that was the case with the restored literature—literature, the restoration of which had begun with the Iranian Renaissance begun by Vulkhas (Vologeses) and properly founded by Ardeshir Papakân or Bâbegân (Artaxerxes of the Greeks).

(c) It looks strange, that a learned Parsee Dastur of the last century, Dastur Edalji Dorabji Sanjana (1776-1847), also denies what Nizami has said, and says that Alexander did not destroy Parsee books. In his Gujarati Mojejât-i Jarthosht,[2] wherein he refers to this matter, he seems to have been influenced by what is said in the Shâristan of Farzaneh Behram, and to have forgotten, what was said in his own Pahlavi books. The destruction of Parsee books is

1 Her article on "The Faith of Iran" in the *Contemporary Review* of October 1907, pp. 409-500. *Vide* her "The Place of Animals in Human Thought", p. 133.

2 મોજેજાતે જરતોશતી, બનાવનાર એદલજી દારાબજી રૂસ્તમજી સંજાણાં સને ૧૮૪૦ ઈશવી પા. ૨૧. He says: "જાણવું જે પાદશાહ શેકંદરે હમારાં આતશ ખાનાંવોને તથા હમારા અવશતાઓ જંદની કેતાબોને કાંઈ ખરાબ કીધી નથી અને કેતાબોને બાલીબી નથી, અને તે પાદશાહે કોઇની દીનનેબી ખરાબ કીધી નથી તે વાતનો બોલાશો [શારે શતાંન] નામના કેતાબથી ખુબ રવેશે માલુમ પડે છે કે ફરમંને બેહેરામ બીન ફરહાદ તે કેતાબ મધે મોહોટી ઉશતવારીથી આગલા દાના ઉશતાદોની જુની કેતાબોનાં દાખલા આપીને તે પોતે લખે છે કે મુશલમાન લોકોમાં (શેખ નેજમી) નામનો એક શાએર હતો તેઆંણે અને તે વગેરે બીજા બેએ તરંણ મુશલમાની શાએરોએ પોતાની કેતાબમાં જરતોશતી દીનની અદાવતને શારૂ લખી ગીઆ છે. For the particular passage of the Shârastân, *vide* the Bombay lithographed ed. of Shiavakhsh bin Hormazdiar Irani (1854), p. 572, ll. 6 ff.

بعضي كتب آمده كه سكندر نسخ زردشتيان را سوزانيد و آتشكدها را خراب ساخته و علما و آن كيش مستحسن را از ميان برداشت و اين غلط محض است و كذب صريح است چه او اعتقاد حكماى ماضى داشت

attributed both to Alexander and to Arab invaders. It seems that, some writers, who wanted to save the Mahomedan invaders altogether from the stigma, attributed the destruction to Alexander only. Dastur Edalji seems to have believed that the 21 nasks still existed somewhat at his time. He said that fourteen of these were with the Mobads of Kerman, all complete and seven existed half complete, because they were destroyed in a great war in Persia (ઈરાનમા ભારી લડાઈ પડી હતી તે સબબથી).[1] By this war, he seems to mean the invasion of the Arabs.

Again, it seems some later writers of Persia, in order to save their country from the stigma of being defeated at the hands of a foreigner, said that the foreigner (here Alexander) was none other than a Persian himself by descent. "Some authors said, that he was the son of an Egyptian Magi. Firdousi says that he was the son of the daughter of Philip and of Dara, the king of Persia. Dara had married the daughter of Philip, but, after some time, finding that she had a fetid breath, sent her away to her father, when she gave birth to Alexander."[2] The Shârastân-i Chahâr Chaman by Farzâneh Behram bin Farhâd speaks of him as "Sikandar bin Darab."[3] The Desatir also takes that view.[4]

Heeren's doubts.

Among foreign writers, it is Heeren, who is said to have first shown the doubt, and others seem to have followed him. Dr. Haug says on this subject: "This statement, regarding the burning of the religious books by Alexander, which often occurs in Parsee writings, has been supposed to

1 *Ibid.* p. 23. 2 *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S.", p. 91.

3 Mulla Feeroze Library Ms. No. 411, VIII, f.185a, l. 5. *Vide* the lithographed edition of the Daoody Press of Bombay (1854) by Behedin Shiavakhsh bin Hormazdyar Irani, p. 565.

4 *Vide* Sheriarji D. Bharucha's "The Desatir" (1907), p. 19.

have originated in a modern misunderstanding, whereby the destruction consequent upon the Mohamedan conquest, has been attributed to the Greek invader. Heeren first expressed the opinion that, as the persecution of foreign religions was quite contrary to Alexander's policy, this statement of the Parsis was not to be credited; and his opinion has been generally adopted by later writers without further examination."[1] But the fact is, that howsoever Alexander may be averse to the persecution of other religions, he is represented by classical writers, as we will see later on, to have destroyed the royal palace, which contained the books, under a frolic of drunkenness.

II

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE RISE AND FALL OF THE ANCIENT IRANIAN LITERATURE.

We will here see what the ancient Iranian literature, which Alexander destroyed, was.

The ancient Iranian literature may be divided into three parts: 1. Pre-Zoroastrian Literature. 2. Zoroastrian Literature. 3. Post-Zoroastrian Literature.

1. Pre-Zoroastrian Literature.

According to Firdousi, the art of writing was introduced in Iran by Tehmuras, the Takhma-urupa of the Avesta, centuries before the time of Zoroaster. But, laying aside that reference by a later writer like Firdousi, we find from the Avesta, that there was some literature before the time of Zoroaster. One Haoma, who seems to be the discoverer of the health-giving Haoma plant, is spoken of as a master of learning (vaêdhyâ-paiti, Yasna IX, 27). He lived before the time of Yima-khshaeta or Jamshed.

1 The Book of Arda Viraf, by Dastur Hoshangji and Haug, p. 142.

If his opponent, Kêrêsâni, may be taken to be the Indian Krishna, his age may be put into a pre-historic period. His writings are spoken of as *gâthâ*. We read : " Imâosê tê Haoma gâthâo," *i.e.*, " O Haoma, these are thy Gathas" (Yasna X, 18). He seems to have even written some books (nasks).[1] He is spoken of as endowing with wisdom those who read the nasks (yôi katayô naskô frasâonghô âonghenti spânô mastîmcha bakhshaiti—Yasna IX, 22).

Coming to the Pahlavi books, we read of the " Dinkard -i Haft Khodâyân ", *i.e.*, " the collected religious books of seven kings ", in the Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i Irân.[2] These, seven kings were Jamshed, Faridun, Minocheher, Kaus, Kaikhosru, Lohrasp and Gushtasp. We thus see, that some literature flourished even before the time of king Gushtâsp, in whose reign Zoroaster flourished. This literature was that of the old Mazdayasnân faith, which was renovated, and added to, by Zoroaster. It can be spoken of as the literature of the Mazdayasnân religion, while that of the time of Zoroaster may be spoken of as that of the Mazdayasnân Zoroastrian religion (cf. Mazdayasnô ahmî, Mazdayasnô Zarathushtrish, Yasna XII, 8). The well-known Avesta prayer-formulæ of Yathâ Ahû Vairiyô, Ashem Vohû and Yenghê hâtâm are believed to belong to the old pre-Zoroastrian Mazdayasnân literature.

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1 The late Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha took the words pâpô and pairigâ (pâpô-vachâo and pairigâ-vachâo, Yasna LVII, 29), used in connection with Haoma, as the names of two, out of the 21, nasks, *viz.*, Pajah and Barash. The Pahlavi word "pâjah" can be read as pâpô. The Pahlavi word Barash can be read Baraga, which is taken to be another form of Avesta Pairiga.

2 *Vide* my Translation of the Shatroihâ-i Airân (s. 4) in my "Ayâdgâr-i Zarirân, Shatroihâ-i Airân va Afdya va Shahigiha-i Seistân", p. 55.

2. Zoroastrian Literature.

Vishtâsp, the royal patron of Zoroaster, collected the pre-Zoroastrian writings of the old Mazdayasnân faith and the writings of Zoroaster in his own time. He got written two authenticated copies of these writings, and got one copy, the original (bûn), placed in the library attached to the Treasury of Saspigân and the other, a copy (pajin) in the library of the Daz-i Napisht. We read in the Pahlavi Dinkard (end of Bk. III) as follows:—

Bûn val ganj-i Shaspigân avaspârdê va pajin pasijakihâ vastartan farmûd va min zak i âkhar pajin val Daz-i napisht shadkûnît temaman dâshtan akâsihâ.

Translation:—He (Vishtâsp) ordered the original (bûn) to be distributed to the Treasury of Shaspigân and to distribute (other) prepared copies; and afterwards, he sent a copy to Daz-i napisht to keep the information there.[1]

The two great Libraries of ancient Iran.

Here, the two great libraries of ancient Irân are referred to. One was at Persipolis and was known as the Daz-i Napisht, *i.e.*, the Fortress or Stronghold of Writings. The other was attached to the Treasury of a Fire-temple of Samarkand, known as the Ganj-i Shaspigân, *i.e.*, the Treasury of Shaspigân. These two libraries were to ancient Irân what the British Museum and Bodleian libraries are to modern England. The originals of all writings were placed in the library of the Ganj-i Shaspigân, attached to a great Fire-temple of Samarkand

1 I give my reading and translation. *Vide* for the text, Dastur Dr. Peshotan's Dinkard, Vol. IX, p. 450, subject 420, s. 2. *Vide* p. 569 for Dastur Peshotan's translation. *Vide* Mr. D. M. Madon's Dinkard, Part I, p. 405, ll. 18-21. *Vide* "An Old Zend-Pahlavi Glossary" by Dastur Hoshangji and Dr. M. Haug for the text (p. XXXII) and translation (p. XXXVI, s. 5). *Vide* S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII, Introduction, p. XXX for Dr. West's translation.

and a copy of it was deposited in the state archives at Persipolis. Other copies were taken from these and were distributed all round.

The fourth book of the Dinkard also refers to the above two libraries of Irân. We read: Darâ-i Dârâyân hamâ Avasta v zand chegûn Zartuhst min Oharmazd padîraft napishtê do pajîn ayôk pavan ganj-i Shaspigân ayôk pavan ganj-i napisht dâshtan farmûd[1], *i.e.*, Dârâ son of Dârâ, ordered that two copies of the whole Avesta and its commentary, as accepted by Zarathosht from Ahurmazd, may be written, and one may be deposited in the Ganj-i Shaspigân and the other in the Daz-i Napesht."

This para shows that these two libraries continued as the two great libraries of ancient Persia upto the time of Dârâ of Dârâ, the contemporary of Alexander.

Kazwini[2] thus refers to the library at Istakhar:

Kazwini, on the Library at Istakhar.

گشتاسپ چون با ستخر مراجعت نمود فرمود تا دخمه ساختند و کتاب زند را به تعظیم تمام آنجا بنهاد و گروهی را به محافظت آن برگماشت

Translation :—When Gushtasp went to Istakhar, he ordered a receptacle to be prepared and placed therein Zend books with all reverence and he appointed some people to look after them.

Ibn-al Balkhi on the Library at Istakhar.

The seat of the library of the Daz-i Napisht is referred to by Ibn-al Balkhi. Mr. G. Le Strange, in his article in the J. R. A. S. for 1912 (pp. 1-30), entitled "Description

1 *Vide* Dastur Peshotan's Dinkard, Vol. IX, p. 456, ll. 5-8, for the text and p. 577 for translation. *Vide* D. M. Madon's Dinkard, Part I, p. 412, ll. 3-5.

2 He was a known Arab writer who compiled his works from those of Istakhri and Ibn Haukal, in about 1263.

of the Province of Fars in Persia at the beginning of the twelfth century A.D.", gives his translation from this Arab writer's work. There we read : "Near Istakhar is seen the mountain of Nafasht on which was preserved the book of Zend which (the Prophet) Zoroaster revealed." This passage shows, that it was known, even long after the Arab conquest, that there was a library of the ancient Iranians at Istakhar. In his footnote 3, to the word Zend, the author of the article says: "This mountain and its connection with the revelation of the Zend Avesta does not appear to be mentioned by any other authority." In my "Note on the Mountain of Nafasht, near Istakhar" (J.R.A.S., April 1918, p. 911), I have shown, that the mountain Nafasht of the Arab writer was the Napisht of the Pahlavi writers and that the connection has been mentioned by Pahlavi writers. The books referred to by the Arab writers are the books in the Royal Library of the Daz-i Napisht.

Mirkhond.

Mirkhond, in his Rozat us Safa, refers to the library at Istakhar or Persipolis, and says that its books were written on 12000 cow-skins.

فرمود تا دوازده هزار پشت گاورا [1] دغابت و آنرا مانند پوست آهو تنك ساختند .... و چون گشتاسپ با صتخر آمد حکم کرد تا دخمه ساختند و کتابها زندرا بتعظیم هرچه تمامتر در آنجا نهادند [2]

Translation :—He (Gushtasp) ordered that 12000 cow-skins may be tanned and prepared like the skins of deer . . . . . and when Gushtasp came to Istakhar, he ordered, so that a subterranean receptacle (dakhmê) was made and they placed there books of Zend with all possible respect.

1 Dighâbat, tannery.

2 Mirkhond, Bombay Ed., p. 180 ; Shea's Translation, p. 285.

The contents of the Libraries.

As to the library in the Fire-temple of Samarkand, which is spoken of, as situated in Khorassan, the Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i Airân says, that its books consisted of writings on gold-coloured tables (takhtê-gâh-i zahbain). The writings formed 1200 chapters.

As to the bulk of the literature deposited by king Gushtasp in the library at Istakhar, the above passage of Mirkhond speaks of it as written on 12000 cow-skins. The Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i Airân speaks of the literature in the library of Shaspigân as 1200 pargards or chapters. The letter of Tansar or Tausar, the prime minister of Ardeshir Bâbegân, to Jasnasfshah, the king of Tabaristan, speaks of it as 1000 chapters, written on 12000 cow-skins.[1] Pliny speaks of the writings of Zoroaster as consisting of 20 lacs of verses.

3. Post-Zoroastrian Literature.

We will complete our brief sketch of the rise and fall of Iranian literature by referring to the attempts in the cause of its revival in the post-Zoroastrian times, before we speak of the devastation at the hands of Alexander.

(*a*) Vulkhas of the Askânian dynasty, was the first to restore the literature, lost and scattered at the hands of Alexander (Dinkard Bk. IV).[2] He ordered the collection and preservation of the scattered writings of the Avesta and Zend, both as written in scattered fragments and as remembered and recited by heart by the high-

1 For the Text and Translation in French of this letter by Prof. Darmesteter, *vide* Journal Asiatique, Neuvième Série, Tome III (Mars-Avril 1894) pp. 185-200; (Mai-Juin 1894) pp. 502-55. For the substance of the correspondence, *vide* my Gujarati Iranian Essays, Part III (ઈરાની વિષયો ભાગ ત્રીજો).

2 Dastur Peshotan's Dinkard, Vol. IX, p. 577. D. M. Madon's Dinkard, Part I, pp. 411-12. West, S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII, p. 413.

priests. (*b*) After him Artakhshatra (Ardeshir Bâbegân) carried on the work of collection, with the help of his Dastur Tansar or Tausar. He, in fact, was the real founder of the Iranian Renaissance after the devastation caused by Alexander. He restored both, the state as well as the church, to its pristine glory. (*c*) His son Shapur I followed the footsteps of his father. He not only tried to restore the ancient religious literature, but also to add to the old literature by procuring help from India and Greece. He got authentic copies of this collection placed in the Library of the Ganj-i Shaspigan. (*d*) Shapur II, the son of Oharmazd, carried on the work. His arch-priest and prime minister, Dastur Adarbad Marespand, was to Shapur what Dastur Tansar was to Ardeshir Babegân. He held, what may now be called, religious conferences and carried on the work of collection and preservation. (*e*) Then came Khusro Kobad or Noshirwan Adal, who broke the power of Mazdakaism, started in the reign of his father, preserved the purity of the old religious literature and added much to the general literature. He resorted to foreign countries also for the purpose, and we know, that the Indian Hitopadesha was translated into Pahlavi, and, from it, passed, as the story of Bidpai, into various languages.

III

DESTRUCTION OF PRE-ZOROASTRIAN AND ZOROASTRIAN LITERATURE AT THE HAND OF ALEXANDER.

The pre-Zoroastrian and Zoroastrian literature, treasured carefully into the above two libraries, was destroyed by Alexander the Great when he defeated Dârâ-i Dârâ (the last Darius) and conquered Persia. Several Pahlavi and

Persian books speak of this devastation. I will first refer to the Pahlavi books.

Pahlavi Books :
1. The Dinkard.

(*a*) The third book of the Dinkard thus refers to this devastation at the end: Dayan vazand-i min mar-i dush gadman Alaksandar val Airân shatr dayan[1] khudâiyeh mad zak-i val daz i napisht val suzashne va zak i pavan Ganj-i Shaspigan val yadman i Arumâyân mad va avash valach yutnâik uzvân vajarde va pavan akâsiah i min pishigân goftê.[2]

Translation :—During the calamity, which spread in the country of Irân from the wicked notorious Alexander during his rule, that (library) which was in the Daz-i Napisht was burnt, and that which was in the Ganj-i Shaspigan came to the hands of the Arumâyân (Greeks) and they got it rendered into the Greek language for getting information about the sayings of the ancients.

(*b*) The fourth book of the Dinkard also refers to the destruction at the hands of Alexander. While giving the traditional history of the Iranian literature referring to the Askanian or Parthian period, it says :

Darâ-i Darâyân hamâ Avesta va Zend chegûn Zartuhasht min Oharmazd padiraftê napishtê dô pajin ayôk pavan Ganji Shapigan (Shaspigan) ayok pavan Daz-i Napisht dâshtan farmûd.

Valkhash-i Askânân Avesta va Zend chegûn âvizagihâ dayan yâtunt yakvimunât hâmukuch-i avash kola meman min vazand-i vashuftagarih-i Alaksandar va hin-

1 Thus read in place of ,ש din.

2 I give my own reading and translation. *Vide* Dastur Peshotan's Dinkard, Vol. IX, Daftar III, ch. 420, s. 3, page 450, for the text. p. 564 for transliteration, p. 569 for translation. *Vide* Drs. Hoshangji and Haug's "An Old Zand-Pahlavi Glossary," Introduction p. XXXII, ll. 9 ff. Mr. D. M. Madon's ed., Part 1. p. 405, ll. 21 ff.

var-i rapin-i Arumâyân dayan Airân shatra pargandagiha madam napishtê va vad meman huzvân avaspareshnih pavan dastobar katrunta yekvimûnât dayan shatra chegûn farâz-matê yekvimunât nekâs dâshtan val shatroihâ aibâdgâr kartan farmûd.[1] (I give my own translation.)

Translation:—Dârâ of Dârâ, having got written all the Avesta and Zend which Zoroaster had accepted from God, ordered two copies to be deposited—one in the Ganj-i Shaspigan and one in the Daz-i Napisht.

Vulkhas of the Ashkanians ordered, that the Avesta and Zend, as they had come down in purity and also all that, which (having escaped) from the calamity of destruction by Alexander and his plundering army of Arumayans, had been scattered in the country in writing, and all that, which had remained with Dasturs having been entrusted to tongue (*i.e.*, kept by heart)—all these, as they had come down in the country, shall be looked after in the country and kept in memoranda (aibâdgâr).

(*c*) The eighth book of the Dinkard also refers to this destruction. We read:

Âkhar min vashûpashna min mar-i dush-gadman aeshma-kird Alaksandar mad avash yehvûnt i aêdûn lakhvâr la vindâti pavan dastobar dâshtan shâyad humani.[2]

Translation:—And from what remained after the devastation which came from the wicked, ill-fated wrathful Alexander (even) as much was not recovered as could be kept (by heart) by a Dastur.

1 Dastur Peshotan's Dinkard, Vol. IX, Text p. 456 (The name Shapigân is misprinted in the text. It is correctly transliterated on p. 571, l. 12); West S.B.E., Vol. XXXVII, p. 413. Madon's Dinkard I, p. 412, ll. 3 ff. Haug's Essay on Pahlavi in "An Old Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary," p. 150.

2 Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 21; West (S.B.E., Vol. XXXVII, p. 9). Introductory Chapter of Dastur Darab Peshotan's Dinkard, 20, Vol. XV, p. 6, Text. Madon's ed. Part II, p. 679, ll. 18 ff.

2. The Bundehesh.

In the Bundehesh, known as the Great Bundehesh,[1] in the 33rd chapter, entitled "Vazand-i Hazârê Hazârê[2] val Airân shatra mad", *i.e.*, "The Calamities which came to the country of Irân from Millenium to Millenium", we read as follows:—

Âkhar dayan khudâih-i Darâ-i Dârâyân Alakjandiar Kaisar min Arûm dobarastê val Airân shatra yâtûnt Dârâi malakâ jaktalûnt hamak dutak-i khûdâyân magôvad mardân paitâkân Airân shatra avasinit va kabad mar-i âtash afsârd. Din-i Mahistân (Mazdayasnân) Zend insiyunt val Arum satunt Avasta sûkht va Airân shatra pavan 90 kardê khudai halkunt.

Translation:—At last, in the reign of Dârâ of Dârâ, Kaisar Alexander rushed on from Arum, came to the country of Irân, killed king Dârâ and destroyed (*i.e.* killed) all the families of Kings, Mobads and great men of the country of Irân and he extinguished a number of (sacred) fires. He took away Zend (books) of the Religion of the Mazdayasnans and took them to Arum. He burnt Avesta and divided the country of Irân into 90 small parts (lit. sections).

3. Shatroihâ-i Airan.

The Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i Airân thus refers to the destruction of one of the libraries by Alexander:

Pahlavi:—Zartûsht din yaityûnt min farmân Vish-

1 The Bundehesh, edited by the late Ervad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria with an Introduction by Behramgore T. Anklesaria and published by the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet of Bombay (1908), p. 214, ll. 8-13. Darmesteter (Le Zend-Avesta, Tome I, p. 81 n), speaks of this Bundehesh as the Grand Bundehesh. It is grand or amplified, but, as said by me in the Introduction of my Translation of the Bundehesh, some of the matter is of later addition.

2 The word may be read "avâre avâre", *i.e.* from time to time; cf. Parsee Gujarati અવારનવાર.

tâsp shâh hazâr va do sad pargard pavan din dapîniha pavan takhtegâh-i zahbâin kand va napisht va pavan ganj-i zak âtash khanakhtûnt va âkhar gazasta Sikandar sûkht va dayan val daryâv ramitûnt Din-i kard-i haft khûdâyân.[1]

Translation:—"Zoroaster brought the religion, and, by the order of King Vishtâsp, prepared and wrote 1200 chapters of religious writings on golden tablets, and deposited them in the treasury of that Fire (-temple of Samarkand), and, at last, the accursed Alexander burnt and threw into river the Dinkard (or the collection of religious books) of seven kings."[2]

Here the Pahlavi Shatroiha-i Airân speaks of destruction, both by fire and drowning in water. We will see later on, that the Sikander-nameh of Nizami also refers to destruction by these two processes.

4. Viraf-nameh.

The Pahlavi Viraf-nameh refers to the destruction of literature, and, saying that the religion was at first pure for a number of years, thus speaks of Alexander's times:—

Pahlavi:—Âkhar gazasta Ganâk-mîno-î darvand, gûmân kardan-î anshûtâân pavan denman dîn râî, zak gazasta Alaksagdar-i Arûmâyak-î Mûjrâyîk-mânishn nîyâzânînîḍ-î pavan girân sazd va napart va dahîk, val Airân shatrô yâtûnd; avash valman Airân dahyûpat zektelûnd, va babâ va khûdâîh vashûft va avîrân kard. Va denman dîn, chîgûn hamâk avistâk va zand, madam tôrâ pôstihâ-î vîrâsta va pavan maya-î zahabâ nipishta, dayan Stâkhar Pâpakân pavan karîtâ-nipist khankhtûnd yekavîmûnâḍ va valman patîyârak-î salyâ-bakht-î Âharmôk-î darvand-î hanâk-kardâr Alaksagdar-î

1 *Vide* Dastur Jamaspji's Pahlavi Texts, p. 18, ll. ff.

2 I quote from my Translation. *Vide* my Aiyâdgâr-i Zarirân, Shatroihâ-i Airân va Afdya va Shahigiha-i-Seistân (1899), p. 55.

Arūmāyīk-ī Mūjrāyīk-mānishna madam yāītyūnt va barā sūkht va chand dastōbarān va dātōbarānva āerpatān va magōpatān va dīn-būrdārān va afzār-hōmandān va dānākān-ī Aīrān shatra rāī barā neksūnd. Va masān va kada-khudyān-ī Aīrān shatra, ayôk levatman dûd kīn va anāshtīh val mīyān ramitūnd ; va benafshman tebrūnast, val dushakhū dūbārast.[1]

Translation:—Afterwards, the accursed Gnâk Minô (Âhriman) the wicked, in order to make men sceptical over religion, instigated that accursed Alexander the Roman, who lived in Egypt, who came to (*i.e.*, invaded) Irân with great harm, warfare, and destruction. He killed the king of Irân and destroyed and devastated the capital and empire. This (book of) religion like Avesta and Zend, written on decorated cow-skins with golden liquid (ink), were deposited in the fort of writings (*i.e.*, archives) of Astakhar Papakan. The hostile evil-fated wicked Aharmog, the evil-doer brought Alexander, the Roman, who lived in Egypt, and he (Alexander) burnt (the archives) and killed several Dasturs and Dâtobars (Davars) and Aerpats and Magopats (Mobads) and supporters of religion and clever men and wise men of the country of Irân. He brought about hatred and hostility with one another among the great men and heads of families in the country of Irân and, self-ruined, hastened to Hell.

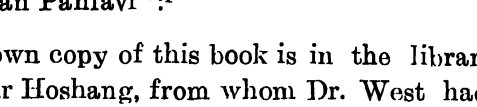
5. Din-i Vazar-kard.

The Pahlavi Din-i Vazar-kard refers to the 21 nasks, and, while speaking of the various nasks alludes to the devastation at the hands,

1 *Vide* for the text (*a*) Hoshangji and Haug's "Book of Arda Virâf", pp. 3-4 ; (*b*) Dastur Kaikhusru Jamaspji's E[illegible] p. 1-2; (*c*) An Old Zand-Pahlavi Glossary by Hoshangji and [illegible] XXXIX-XL. *Vide* (*a*) Haug's translation, (*b*) M. A. Barthelemy's Arta Virâf-Nâmak ou Livre d' Ardâ Virâf (1887), pp. 3-4. *Vide* T. A. Pope's Ardai Virâf-Nameh ed. of G. Maddox (1904), p. 2.

of Alexander. This book is not strictly a Pahlavi work. It is, of course, written in Pahlavi characters, but its language is not purely Pahlavi. It may be called Pahlavi-Persian or Persian-Pahlavi. Dr. West thus speaks of it. It is "A Rivayat in Pahlavi writing, but its language is more Persian than Pahlavi":[1]

A known copy of this book is in the library of the late Dastur Hoshang, from whom Dr. West had a copy. The late Dastur Kaikobad, the successor of Dastur Hoshang, kindly lent it to me for some time for use and I give here, extracts from it, with translation.[2] As this book is not published as yet, I give the Pahlavi passages also.[3]



1. Hashtûm nûsk zak aêt hachâ. Ratashtâih kardeh zak nûsk panjah aêt chegûn gajasta Alakzander nûskhâ bara sujanid.

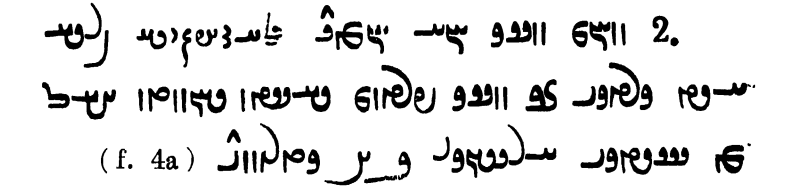
Translation :—The eighth nûsk. That is Hachâ.

1 S.B.E., Vol. XXXVII, p. 438.

2 *Vide* S.B.E., Vol. XXXVII, p. 438 *et seq.* I am indebted to Mr. B. N. Dhabhar for kindly copying for me the extracts.

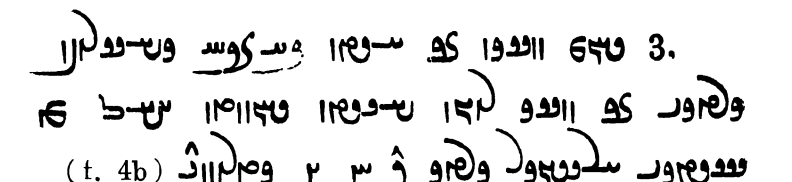
3 I have a copy of this book with me, taken from Dr. West's copy. Some yeas ago, the Royal Asiatic Society, which has acquired all the manuscripts of Dr. West, kindly lent it to me, through our Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. But this Ms. of Dr. West does not contain the portion of the Nasks, though Dr. West refers to it, in the contents of Dastur Hoshangji's Ms., of which his Ms. is a copy.

(It is) Ratashtâih.[1] The sections of that nûsk are 50 as (at the time) when the cursed Alexander burnt the nûsks.



2. Nahûm nûsk hanâ hûmand Vanghêush Barêsh aêt. Kardeh zak nûsk fartum shast yehvûnt. Âkhar min gajasta Alakzandar dvâzdeh katrûnd.

Translation:—The ninth nûsk. That is Vanghêush. It is Barêsh. The sections of this nûsk were sixty at first. After the cursed Alexander, there remained twenty.

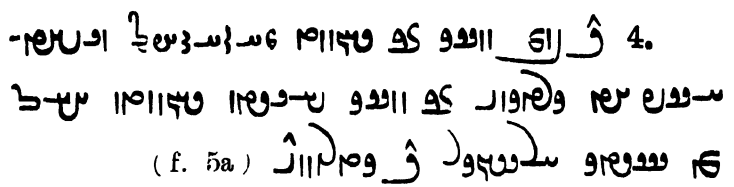


3. Dahûm nûsk zak aêt Dazdâ Kashsrûb. Kardeh zak nûsk levin shasht yehvûnt. Âkhar min gajasta Alaksandar kardeh panjdeh katrûnd.

Translation:—The tenth nûsk. That is Dazdâ. (It is) Kashsrûb. The sections of that nûsk were sixty

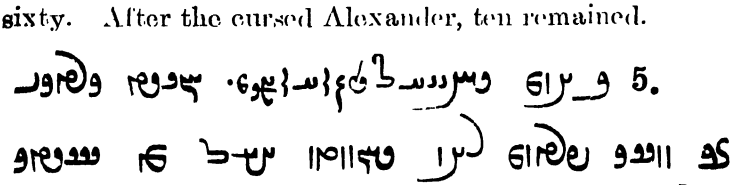
1 For an account of these nûsks, *vide* Mr. Dosabhoy Framji Karaka's "History of the Parsis," Vol. II, pp. (137-164), wherein I had the pleasure of contributing an account, as collected from (*a*) Burzo Kamdin's Rivâyat, (*b*) Dr. Haug's Essays and (*c*) Prof. Harlez's "Introduction à l'Etude de l'Avesta et de la Religion Mazdéenne." The Rivâyats and the Din-i Vazarkard differ here and there in the later Pahlavi names, corresponding to the 21 words of Yathâ Ahû Vairyô, after which the nûsks are named.

before. After the cursed Alexander, fifteen sections have remained.


4.

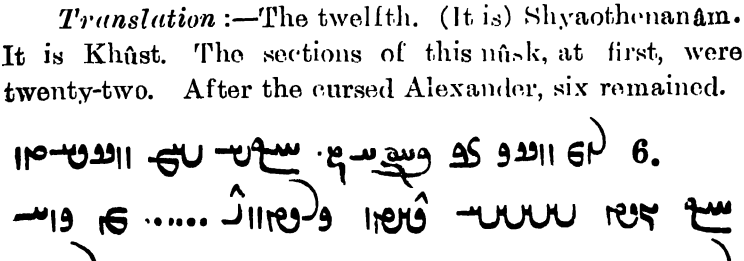
4. Yâzdahûm nûsk zak yehvûnt Mananghô Vîshtâsp aêt. Kardeh zak nûsk shasht yehvûnt. Âkhar min gajasta Alaksandar deh katrûnd.

Translation:—The eleventh nûsk. That was Mananghô. It is Vîshtâsp. The sections of this nûsk were sixty. After the cursed Alexander, ten remained.


5.

5. Dvazdehûm Shyaothenanâm. Khûst. Kardeh zak nûsk fardûm bîsht-o-dô yehvûnt. Âkhar min gajasta Alaksandar shash katrûnd.

Translation:—The twelfth. (It is) Shyaothenanâm. It is Khûst. The sections of this nûsk, at first, were twenty-two. After the cursed Alexander, six remained.

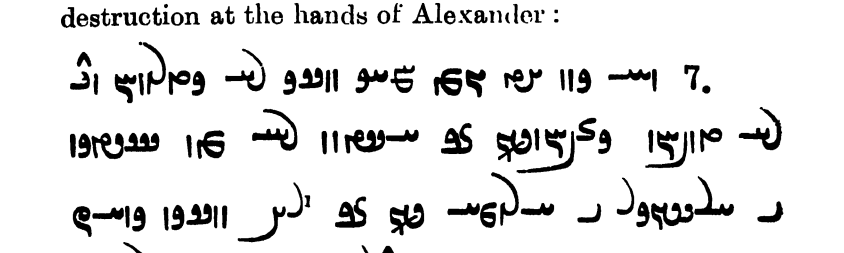

6.

(f. 8a) .....

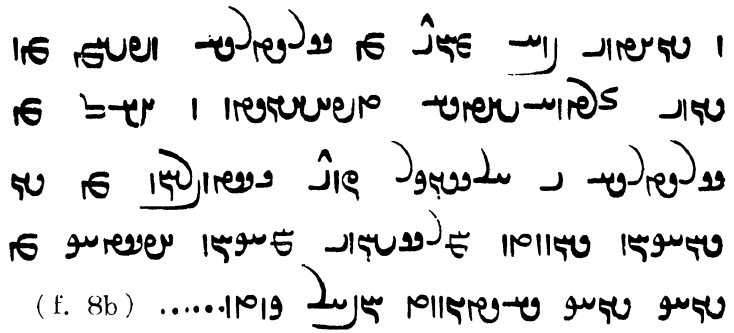
6. Bishtûm nûsk zak Dadat âîghash sham Vandidâd âigh Javit Shaedâdad karitund.... Min kola bisht-o-yak nûsk nusk-i Javit Shaeda-dad harvesp katrûnidê aêt vad chandihâ pargandeh barâ katrûnd min shûmih-i gajasteh Alaksandar denman nûsk i Vendidâd madam yadman mând.

Translation :—The twentieth nûsk. That is Dadat the name of which is Vendidâd, *i.e.*, it is called Javit Shaedâ dâd (that which is given against the Devs). Out of the twenty-one nûsks, the nûsk of Javit Shaedâ-dâd has remained whole. When several (nûsks) have, through the vileness of the cursed Alexander, remained dispersed, this nûsk of the Vendidâd has remained in hand.

After the account of all the twenty-one nûsks, one by one, the Pahlavi writer thus refers to the general destruction at the hands of Alexander :

7. 

1 For .



(f. 8b) .....

7. Vae kûn. Ât denman hamâ nûsk la katrûnd vad lâ tobân yezbahund zak aedûn râe mun gajasteh Aleksandar i Arûmâ dayan zak bisht-o yak nûsk kôlâch mûn najûm va bajashk yehvûnt andarg huzvân va harûf i Arumâk chand napisht vâdûnt va zakâi nûskhâ barâ sûkht zak robân-i gajasteh Alaksandar Arumâ dayan duzakhu i târik vad rastâkhiz dushkhâr va sûkhtê barâ mânad min salitarih nefshman mûn din-i zartuhashtih tapâhinit va âkhar min salitarih-i Alaksandar chand dastobarân min dîn dânakân yehvûnt ham rasashna-i hamakân Avastâ min jinâk jinâk yâityûnt hanbâr kardeh.

Translation.—Alas now! If all these nûsks have not remained, so that they can be recited, that is, for this reason, *viz.*, that the cursed Alexander of Arum got, out of the twenty-one nûsks, some writings, which were about astrology and medicine, written (*i.e.*, translated) into the language and script of Arum and (then) burnt those nûsks. The soul of that cursed Alexander of Arum will remain till resurrection in dark hell, miserable and burnt, on account of his own vileness which destroyed the Zartushtian religion. After (this) vileness of Alexander, some Dasturs, out of those who were wise in religion, met together and brought and collected all Avesta from place to place.

6. Afdiya va Sahigiya-i Seistân.

In a small Pahlavi treatise on Seistân, entitled Afdiya va Sahigiya-i Seistân, *i.e.*, The Wonder and the Greatness of Seistân, we read:

"Amat gajasteh Alaksandar-i Aruma val Airân shatra mad valmanshân mûn pavan bareh-i moghamardiya sâtunt geraft zaktalunt."

Translation:—"When the cursed Alexander of Arum came to the country of Irân, he arrested and killed those who had gone forth to Magian priests (in different cities)".[1]

This passage does not directly refer to the destruction of literature, but shows Alexander's hostility to the spread of Iranian religion.

Letter of Dastur Tansar or Taosar, translated from Pahlavi into Persian *via* Arabic

There is another Pahlavi writing which draws our attention to this matter. It is the letter, written by Tansar or Taosar the Archpriest and Prime Minister of Ardeshir Babegan, to Jasnasfshah, the king of Tabaristan. It was, at first, written in Pahlavi and then rendered into Arabic. Both these are lost, but its later Persian rendering has survived. The king of Tabaristan, in this letter to the above Minister, objects to the innovations made by Ardeshir in various matters. The Minister, in his reply, defends the action of his royal master, and, in so doing, while describing the previous state of affairs, thus refers to Alexander[2]:

میدانی که اسکندر [از] کتاب دین ما دوازده هزار پوست گاو

1 *Vide* my "Aiyâdgâr-i Zarirân, Shatroihâ-i Airân va Afdiya va Sahigiya-i Seistân," p. 127.

2 *Vide* Journal Asiatique, Mars-Avril 1894. Article by Prof. Darmesteter, entitled "Lettre de Tansar au Roi de Tabaristan" pp. 200 *et seq* for the Text; pp. 502 *et seq.* for French Translation.

بسوخت باصطخر سر یکی از ان در دلها مانده بود و آن نیز جمله قصص[1] و احادیث[2] بود شرایع و احکام ندانستند تا آن قصص و احادیث نیز از فساد مردم روزگار و ذهاب سنت و حرص بر بدعت و [تمویها] و طمع فخر از یاد خلایق چنان فرو شد که از صدق آن الفی نماند[3]

Translation:—You know that Askander burnt at Istakhar our religious books (written on) 12000 cow-skins. The subject (sar) of (only) one[4] of these has remained by heart and that also (consists) wholly of legends and traditions. They did not know religious regulations (sharâya) and commandments, so that, on account of the turmoils of the men of the times, the disappearance (zahâl, lit. "passing away") of religious laws (sunnat), vain desire for innovations in matters of religion (bada'at) and desire and ambition for praise, those legends and traditions also went out of the memory of (*i.e.* were forgotten by) the world to such an extent that not a iota (alif, lit. a, b, c,) of truth remained in existence.

The above evidence of Tansar's letter, though written in Persian, is in fact as important, if not more important, than the above Pahlavi writings, because, as pointed out by Prof. Darmesteter, its authority can be traced to the times of Ardeshir Babegan. The letter was originally written in Pahlavi and was subsequently translated into Arabic by Ibn-al-Moqafta, that well-known translator of

1 Qasas=legend. 2 Pl. of حدیث tradition.

3 Jour. Asiatique *op. cit*, p. 212, ll. 14 *et seq*.

4 This, says Darmesteter, is a reference to the Yashts. I think, it may be Vendidad. (For Darmesteter's French translation, *vide ibid.*, p. 516)

many Pahlavi writings, who was a Zoroastrian converted into Mahomedanism, and whose name is connected with the translations of the Khudâi-nâmeh and Kalilah and Damna (died 152 Hijri 760 A.C.). The present Persian text is a translation from the Arabic by Mohammed bin ul Hasan bin Asfandyâr, in about 1210 A.C.[1]

Aristotle's advice to Alexander.

We saw above, in the passages from the Viraf-nameh and the Grand Bundehesh, that Alexander killed the grandees of Irân. The letter of Tansar gives an interesting correspondence between Alexander and his teacher Aristotle on the subject. It says that, before coming to India after the conquest of Persia, Alexander was afraid that, if the grandees of Irân would rise in rebellion, in his march towards India, his base was likely to be cut off. So, he thought of putting to death many of the powerful great men of Persia, so that they may not rise in rebellion and endanger his march towards India. But Aristotle advised him not to do so. Alexander wrote to Aristotle, his minister and teacher (vazir and ustâd): "By the grace of the respected and Great God, my state of affairs has become so far (successful). (Now) I wish to proceed to India, China and the Eastern lands. I am afraid that if I leave the great men of Persia alive, in my absence, some one from among them, may raise disturbances, the suppression of which may be difficult. They may go to Roum and invade our country. So, I think it advisable to kill all of them, and thus, without any fear from them, put my project (of going to India, etc.) in practice." Aristotle replied[2]: "It is an averred fact, that, in the world, the races of every climate are distinguished by an excellent trait, a talent, or a special superiority which is not

1 Jour. Asiatique, *op. cit.* p. 188.

2 I translate this from Darmesteter's version.

found in the races of other climates. What distinguishes the Persians, is courage, bravery, and prudence on the day of battle,—qualities which form the most powerful instruments for sovereignty and success. If you will exterminate them, you will destroy from this world, the best pillar of talent, and once the great men have disappeared, thou shalt be unavoidably forced to pass down to villains, the functions and the ranks of the great. Now, bear this in mind, that in this world, there is no evil, plague, revolt and pestilence, the action of which shall be so pernicious as the promotion of villains to the ranks of nobles. Take care then, turn away your bridle from this project, and in your accomplished wisdom, cut off the tongue of the severity which carries (pain) and wounds more than the lance which slays a man, and for the sake of getting a little ease, in this ephemeral life, do not go to lose your good name by following vague calculations, instead of truth and certainty of religion and faith ..... What you have to do, is to entrust the kingdom of Persia to these kings (*i.e.*, the petty kings of provinces), and to confer crowns and thrones upon them, wherever you find them (fit) without giving to any one of them, precedence or authority over others, in such a way, that every one rules like an independent prince. To bear the crown is a thing of which one may be proud, and a chief, who has obtained the crown, does neither consent to pay tribute to anybody, nor to bend his head before another. This will create, then, among the petty kings, so much of discord, misunderstandings, competitions and disputes for the purpose of having power, so much of rivalry for the display and spread of their riches, so much of quarrels for the degree of respect, so much of trouble for the show of their followers, that they will have no leisure to take revenge against thee, and, being absorbed in their

own affairs, will no more think of the past. And when you will go to the furthest end of the world, every one of them will frighten his neighbour with thy power, with thy force, and with the threat of thy assistance, and there will be (enough of) security for thee and after thee."[1] We thus see that Aristotle advised the policy of "Divide and Rule". Alexander did not follow his first advice *viz.*, not to kill the grandees, but followed the second advice and founded the rule of, what is latterly known as, "Mulûk-i Tawâif".

Firdousi on the correspondence between Alexander and Aristotle.

Firdousi also refers to this fact of the correspondence, but he places it after Alexander's return to Persia from India.[2] The version of Tansar seems to be more appropriate, as it was to the interest of Alexander that he should provide for a safe base before advancing to Further East. According to Firdousi, he wrote thus about killing the nobles:

که رای آن چنان دارم اندرجهان که یك تن نمانم ز تخم مهان

i.e., I think to myself, that I should not keep (alive) a single person from the descent of great men.

Viraf and Tansar supported by (*a*) an Arab writer Al-Makin and by (*b*) an Ethiopic writer.

(*a*) Al-Makin.

Now, what is said by Tansar about Alexander's desire to kill the Persian grandees is supported by Al-Makin (602-772 A.C.),[3] an Arab writer who died in 1273 or 1274 A.C. at Damascus. According to this writer, on the defeat and death of

1 *Ibid.* pp. 503-505. I translate from the French of Prof. Darmesteter. *Vide* my article "Alexandria and its Library" in the "East and West" of October 1904 (Vol. III, No. 36, pp. 101-819).

2 Mohl. small edition Vol. V, p. 198. Kutar Brothers, Vol. VII, p. 134. Warner Brothers, Vol. VI, p. 179, Dastur Minochehr, Vol. III, p. 369.

3 The History of Alexander the Great, from the Universal History of Al-Makin in "The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great, translated from Ethiopic Texts", by Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge (1896), Vol. II, Translation, p. 366.

Darius, Alexander wrote to his teacher Aristotle: "Behold! I have mingled with the governors of Persia, who are many, and they are men of understanding, and are perfect, and wise, and penetrating, and men of noble minds and they are gentle, strong and serviceable for the work of the kingdom; but behold! I wish to slay them, one after the other; do thou, now, give me the counsel in this matter". And concerning this Aristotle wrote, saying: "Although thou art able to slay them, slay them not, for thou wilt be able to change neither the spirit of their country, nor the water of their land; but rule them well, and be submissive unto them and thou shalt vanquish them by love and they will be subject unto thee". And Alexander did so".

Just as Persian writers make Alexander a Persian, some Ethiopian writers make him a Christian. With them, "Alexander himself becomes a Christian teacher, having a profound knowledge of Old Testament history and is evidently described as a saint who was worthy to receive revelation from the Divine Spirit of God Almighty" and to preach the Christian doctrine of Resurrection.[1]

(*b*) The support of an Ethiopic writer.

In the Ethiopic version of Alexander, of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, we read: "It came to pass that Alexander straightway commanded the friends of Darius to be brought out and he slew them and buried them; and again he commanded the gods of Darius to be burnt and his graven images to be destroyed".[2]

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1 *Ibid.* Vol. I, Preface, p. XI.

2 *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 87. Callisthenes was a companion of Alexander. His work is lost, "but his name remains connected with a spurious work" known as that of Pseudo-Callisthenes. (Encyc. Brit., 9th ed., Vol. XX, p. 640.)

IV

ARABIC WRITERS

1. Maçoudi.

Among Arab writers, Maçoudi and Tabari refer to the destruction of Persia's old literature at the hands of Alexander. Maçoudi, while briefly referring to the history of the early dynasties of the Peshdadians and Kayanians, coming to the reign of Gushtasp, of whom he speaks as Yustāsf (يوستاسف), speaks of Zoroaster and his Avesta. I give here in full what Maçoudi says of Zoroaster, of his Avesta writings and of the destruction of a part of the writings at the hands of Alexander. I give my rendering from its French translation [1]

"Youstasf reigned after his father and lived at Balkh. He was on the throne for 30 years, when Zarâdûsht (زرا دشت) son of Espimân,[2] presented himself before him. They (*i.e.* some) say that Zarâdûsht was the son of Bourshasf,[3] son of Federasf,[4] son of Arikdasf,[5] son of Hedjdasf,[6] son of Hakhich,[7] son of Bâtir (باتير),[8] son of Arhadas (ارحدس),[9] son of Herdâr (هردار),[10] son of Asbimân

1 Maçoudi, Texte et Traduction, par C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, Tome II, pp. 123-27.

2 Cf. Spitamân of the Dibâcheh of the Afringâns. *Vide* my "Dictionary of Avestaic Proper Names" (p. 221) for the geneology of Zoroaster, according to this Dibâcheh, the Vazarkard-dini, the Dink and the Bundahesh. I give below, the names of the Dibâcheh, to compare them with the names of Maçoudi's geneology.

3 Pourushasp 4 Paitirasp. 5 Urvadasp. 6 Haechadasp.

7 Chakshnoosh. The name Hakhish of Maçoudi is the first part (Chakhsh) of this name.

8 Bâtir corresponds to the first part Paêta of the name Paêtarasp of the Dibâcheh.

9 Arhadas corresponds to the Hardarashna of the Dibâcheh.

10 Hardâr of the Dibâcheh.

(اسپیمان),[1] son of Vandast (واندست),[2] son of Hâizm (هایزم),[3] son of Eraj (ارج),[4] son of Dursharin (دورشرین),[5] son of Manushahr (منوشهر).[6] He was a native of Azarbaijân and his most ordinary name is Zarâdasht son of Aspimân.[7]

"He was the prophet of the Magis (مجوس) and brought them the book, which ordinary people (عوام) called zamzameh (زمزمه), but of which the proper name among the Magis is Bestah[8] (بستاه). Zarâdusht captured the judgment of the proselytes by miracles. He revealed before them events—general or particular—which were hidden in the darkness of future. In other terms, his predictions embraced, at the same time, the whole of future events and particular facts, like the death or illness of such and such person on such and such day, the birth of such another person at such and such period and other predictions of the same kind. The language of the books revealed by Zarâdusht does not confine itself to less than sixty letters, but no known alphabet is composed of a larger number of letters. .....As the people pronounced difficulty and did not understand the words of the book, their prophet, as we will say later on,

1 Spitamân. 2 Vidast 3 Ayem.

4 The Dibâcheh and the Vazarkard-dini have the name Rajishna. The Bundehesh has Rajan but the more authentic Dinkard has Airij (ایرج) which corresponds to Maçoudi's name.

5 Durâsharun. 6 Minochehr.

7 We know that Zoroaster is spoken of in the Avesta and Pahlavi books as Zarathushtra Spitamân, *i.e.* Zoroaster of the family of Spitama (the 9th ancestor in the above list), but Maçoudi mistakes that as "son of Spitama" and gives the above descent as another version.

8 Vastâ, Avesta. The Mahomedans called the Avesta Zamzameh, *i.e.* "soft whispering speech," because, it seems that, the Zoroastrians, to avoid the curiosity of the Moslems, recited it in a low tone.

independently of the explanations which he gave in his book, added a commentary which he explained afterwards by a second commentary. The whole text, traced in letters of gold, form twelve thousand volumes. It contains promises, threats, precepts and, in general, all that concerns civil and religious law. This book became the code of Persian kings upto the time, when Alexander, after having killed Dara, threw in fire a part of the work. Later on, when Ardeshir, son of Babak, the chief of the satrapies, came, in succession, to the throne, the custom was introduced to read one of the chapters which they named isnâd (اسناد).[1] Still to-day, the Guebres confine themselves to the recital of this chapter. As to the original book, it is called Basta (بستاه Avesta). To facilitate its understanding, Zarâdusht composed a commentary which they named Zend (زند). Later on, he wrote out another commentary which they named Bâzend (بازند).[2] In the end, after his death, the learned men (علما) of his religion gave a gloss and a new explanation of the preceding two commentaries. It is what they call Bardeh (باردة).[3] The Guebres have not yet succeeded to remember by heart all the revealed books.

1 The *isnâd* of Maçoudi seems to be the Yaçna. What Maçoudi seems to say is, that they recited every day one chapter of the Yaçna. Perhaps, isnâd is Yasht and what is meant is that every day they recited one *yasht*, *e.g.* on Hormazd roz, Hormazd Yasht; on Bahman roz, Bahman Yasht and so on. They say that, upto about 60 years ago or so, the Kadmi priests recited their Farishta prayers for 30 days. They recited the Hormazd ruz of Afringan on Hormazd roz, the Bahman Afringan on Bahman roz and so on. (*Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis," the word Fireshta.)

2 Modern word, Pâzend. 3 According to the abovenamed translation of Maçoudi, another Ms. gives the name as Bârzeh (بارزه) (Vol. II, p. 447, n). It is not clear which book is meant. The translators in their translation suggest Bundehesh.

Therefore, their learned men (ulamâ) and Herbads (هرابد) confine themselves to learn fragments, for example, a seventh, a fourth or a third. One of the priests commences by reciting the fragment which he remembers (by heart); a second takes up (another part) in his turn; then a third; and in this way which follows upto they have completed their recitations in common. This shows that it is impossible for them to learn (by heart) this book wholly. They name, however, a Guebre of Sijistan, who, some time subsequent to the Hijri year 300, recited it (the whole Avesta) by heart wholly. Youstasf reigned for hundred and twenty years before adopting the religion of the Magis; then he died. The preaching of Zarâdusht lasted for 35 years and he died at the age of 77 years. He was replaced (succeeded) by Khânâs (خاناس),[1] the savant, a native of Azarbaizan, and the first Mobad who received, after Zarâdusht (بعد زرادشت),[2] the investiture at the hands of Youstasf."

I have given this passage from Maçoudi (b. end of 9th century; d. 956), in full, as it is a very interesting passage, giving the view of Iranian literature held in his time in Persia. We see from it, that he refers to the destruction of the sacred books of the Parsees at the hands of Alexander.

2. Tabari on Alexander's work in connection with Iranian Literature.

Tabari gives a brief account[3] of Alexander's invasion of Persia. According to his account, Alexander bribed two of Dara's followers and got him murdered by them. On Dara's death, he, on one

1 As to Khânâs, the translators have put in (?) a mark of interrogation to show that they doubt the name and do not understand who he was. I think the name Khânâs (خاناس) is Jamas (جاماس), the Jamasp of the Pahlavi books. He was the prime minister and divine of the Court of Gushtasp. 2 The translators have omitted these words by mistake. 3 Tabari par Zotenberg, Tome I, Partie I, Chapitre CXI, pp. 512-17.

hand, rewarded them, as promised, and, on the other put them to death for being disloyal to their king.[1] In his account, he speaks of the destruction of a number of towns. As to the literature, he says that he got the Iranian books translated into Greek and sent them to Aristotle. He then adds, that he got the records (divân) of Dârâ burnt. We take it, that the records referred to are the archives of Perseipolis, including, among others, the religious writings and other literature. We read[2]:

مهتران عجم را بیاورد و گفت تا حکمها ایشان را بنوشت
و ترجمه کرد بزبان یونانی و به یونان فرستاد سوی ارسطا طالیس
که مهتر حکیمان زمین یونان بود هرچند بتوانست از شهرهای عراق
و پارس ویران کرد و حصارها فروهشت و مهتران را بکشت....
و دیوان ها دارا را بسوخت

Translation:—He asked for the great men of Ajam (Iran) to be brought before him and said that their (books of) injunctions may be written down and translated in the Greek language (Yûnâni). He sent these (translations) to Greece, to Arstâtâlis (Aristotle), who was greater among the Hakims (learned men) of the land of Yûnân. He (then) destroyed, as much as he could from the cities of Iraq and Pars. He demolished the fortresses and killed great men .... He burnt the administration records (divân) of Dârâ.

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1 *Ibid.* p. 516. Bom. ed. of Tabari p. 215 ll. 2 ff.

2 Bombay Edition of Tabari, p. 215 last but one line. *Vide* Tabari par Zotenberg, Tome I, p. 516.

3. Hamza Ispahani.

Hamza Ispahani[1], who wrote in the middle of the 10th century, thus refers to the subject of devastation. I give my rendering from Darmesteter's translation[2]: "On the taking of Babylon,[3] envying the science (*i.e.* the scientific books) of the conquered people, he ordered to be burned all their books which he could get hold of and to be put to death all the *mobads*, the *herbads*, the learned and the wise."

V

PERSIAN WRITERS.

1. The Rivayats.

We now come to the Persian writers. The Persian Rivâyats speak, at some length, of the literature that existed at one time in the 21 nasks or books. While speaking of the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th books, they refer to Alexander.

(*a*) The Rivâyat of Kama Bohra speaking of the 8th book says:

هشتوم نامش رتشتای است و این پنجاه کرده است بعد از سکندر طلب دانشتن سیزده کرده بیش نیافتند[4]

[1] *Vide* for the Arabic text of his Annales, I M. E. Gottwaldt's Hamzae Isp[illegible]ensis, Vol. I; for the Latin Translation Vol. II. *Vide* for the particular passage, p. 22, ll. 11 ff., of the text, and p. 15 of the translation.

[2] Translated from the French of Darmesteter in his "La Légende d'Alexandre chez les Parses" (Essais Orientaux, pp. 236-237).

[3] As pointed out by Darmesteter there may be a mistake in Hamza's name of the city as بابل Babel (Babylon), in place of Istakhar. If we do not take it as a mistake, we must take it that Alexander did also at Babylon what he did at Istakhar.

[4] Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unvala's Lithographed Text with my [illegible] I, p. 5, l. 10. *Vide* West, S.B.E., Vol. XXXVII, p. 422.

Translation:—The Eighth (book). Its name is Ratashtâi. It consists of 50 *kardehs* (sections or chapters) and, when they made a search of it after Alexander, they did not find more than 13 sections.

Similarly it is said of the 9th, 10th, and 11th books, that they each contained sixty but *kardehs*, after the devastation (نکبت nakbat) by Alexander, they recovered only twelve, fifteen and ten *kardehs*, respectively.[1] Thus, we find that, out of the 230 sections in all, of the above four nasks out of the 21 books, 50 only were recovered. Thus five-twenty thirds, or about one-fifth part only, was recovered and nearly four-fifth, lost.

(*b*) The Rivâyat of Nariman Hoshang also gives the same figures.[2]

(*c*) The Rivâyat of Shapur Bharuchi thus speaks about the devastation at the hands of Alexander:

الحال چون نسکها درست درمیانه نمانده نمیتوان یشت
ازیرا که اسکندر رومي بیست و یك اوستا آنچه نجومات
و طبابت بود بخط رومی سواد بر داشتند و باز کتابهای اوستا را
سوخت که روان اسکندر بدوزخ بسوزد بعد از نکبت او دستوران
بهم مشورت هر کس از اوستا چیزی بخاطر داشتند جمع نموده
کتاب یشت و وسفرد و وندیداد و فره‌وش و خوروه اوستا
و درون و آفرینگان و جیده و جرکرد و بندهش درست نویشتند
تتمه که ننویشتند از ان سبب بود که درست بخاطر نداشتند و از میان
اوفتاده امیدواری بدرگاه اورمزد و امشاسفندان چنین است

1 *Ibid*, p. 5, l. 13, l. 17, p. 6, l. 2.

2 Rivâyat, *ibid.*, p. 8, ll. 10, 12, 14, 16. West, pp. 429-30.

که بزودی ورجاوند و پشوتن و هشید ر پیدایهٔ دین رسند و باژ دین بهی از سر نو رونك گیرد و بهان و بهدینان خرم و خوشحال گردند و بدان و دروندان نیست و فنا گردند آمین[1]

Translation:—At present as (all) the nasks have not remained amongst us, they cannot be solemnized, because Askandar Roumi took away, out of the 21 nasks, a copy (سواد) in Rumy characters of those which were on Astronomy and Medicine and then he burnt the books of 'Avesta. Therefore the soul of Askandar burns in Hell. After this calamity (نکبت), the Dasturs consulted together and everybody, who had Avesta in his mind (*i.e.*, had by heart), collecting (from memory) the books of Yasht and Visfarad and Vendidad and Farhûsh (Farokhsi) and Khordeh Avesta and Darun and Afringan, gathered[2] (chideh) them and wrote well (or corrected) the Vazarkard and Bundehsh. They did not write the rest (tatimeh)[3] for the reason, that they had not kept that in mind (by heart) properly. And out of what has fallen (*i.e.*, lost) (our) hope in the Court of Oharmazd and the Amshaspands is this, that in a short time, Varjâvand and Peshotan and Hoshedar may come for the revival of the religion; and the good Religion will again receive fresh splendour; and the virtuous and the Behdins (Zoroastrians) may be glad and cheerful and the vicious and the Darvands may be annihilated and destroyed. Amen!

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 12, l. 15, to p. 13 l. 2. Dr. West (S.B.E., Vol. XXXVII, p. 433), speaks of the Rivâyat as that of Barzû Qiyâmu-d din. But, in Darab Hormazdyar's above Rivâyat (p. 9, l. 10) it is given as that of Shapur Bharuchi.

2 Jideh for • چید = gathered, collected.

3 Arab. tatimat = remainder.

2. The Kisseh-i Sanjan.

The Kisseh-i Sanjan, written in India in 1600 A.C.[1], thus speaks of the destruction of books[2] :

سکندر شاه شان آمد در آخر کتبها سوخت او در دین بظاهر

بسیصد ساله این دین خوارگشته ستم بر مردم دیندار گشته

پس از وی مدتی شد دین تباهی گرفته اردشیر بادشاهی

Translation :—Then Sikandar came like a king. He burnt the books of religion openly. For 300 years, this religion was reduced to distress, and the people, observing the religion, were under oppression. After him, the religion remained in distress for a long period (till the time when) Ardeshir took the sovereignty.

3. Nizami.

Coming to Persian writings other than those by Parsis, we find Nizami referring to the devastation of the Zoroastrian religion and literature at the hands of Alexander. He thus speaks on the subject in his Sikandar-nameh[3] :—

گذارندهٔ داستانها پیش چنین گوید از پیش عهدان خویش

1 *Vide* my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis and their Dates", p. 1.

2 Kisseh-i Sanjan by Rustam B. Paymaster (1915), Text p. 4, ll. 83-85. Gujarati translation, p. 4. For English translation, *vide* (*a*) Jour. B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. I (1848). It is reproduced by Mr. R. B. Paymaster in his above book ; (*b*) Mr. Paymaster's Translation in his above book ; (*c*) Studies in Parsi History, by Prof. Shapurshah H. Hodivala (1920), p. 92 *et seq.* For a Gujarati version, *vide* (*a*) Dastur Framji Aspandiarji Rabadi's translation (1831) which is reproduced by Mr. R. B. Paymaster in his above-named book. Another Gujarati translation in verse is also reproduced by the same author. Anquetil du Perron gives a very brief version in French in his Zend Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre, Tome I, Partie I, pp. 320 *et seq.*

3 Lithographed Edition of 1261 Hijri by Mirza Naumat Khan, p. 293.

که چون دین دهقان بر آتش نشست بمرد آتش و سوخت آتش پرست
سکندر بفرمود کایرانیان کشایند ز آتش پرستی میان
همان دین دیرینه را نو کنند گرایش سوی دین خسرو کنند
مغان را بآتش سپارند رخت بر آتش کده کار گیرند سخت
چنان بود رسم اندران روزگار که باشد در آتش‌گه آموزگار
کند گنج ها را در و پای بست نباشد کسی را بر آگنج دست
تونگر که میراث خواری نداشت بر آتش کده مال خود را گذاشت
بدان رسم کافاق را رنج بود هر آتشکده خانهٔ گنج بود
سکندر کرد آن بناها خراب روان کرد گنجی چو دریا آب
بر آتشکده کو گذر داشتی بنا کندی آن گنج برداشتی
... ...
چنان داد فرمان شه نیک رای که رسم مغان کس نیارد بجای
... ...
همه نقش نیرنگها پاره کرد مغان را ز بتخانه آواره کرد
... ...
بایران زمین از چنان پشتی نماند آتش هیچ ذردشتی
وگر زان مجوسان گنجینه سنج بآتش کده کس نیاگند گنج
... ...
بفرمود تا آتش مو بدی کشند از هنرمندی و بخردی
فسون نامهٔ زند را تر کنند وگرنی بزندان دفتر کنند
براه نیا خلق را ره نمود تف دود آتش ز دلها زدود
وزانجا بتدبیر آزادگان در آمد سوی آذر آبادگان

بهرجا که او آتشی دید چست هم آتش فروگشت و هم رند شست
در آن خط بود آتشی سنگی بست که خواندی خرد سوزش آتش پرست
صدش هیربد بود با طوق زر بآتش پرستی کمر بر کمر
بفرمود کان آتش دیر سال بکشند و کردند یکسر زکال
چو آتش فروگشت زان جای گاه روان کرد سوی سپاهان سپاه
... ...
بسی آتش هیربد را بکشت بسی هیربد را دوتا کرد پشت

Translation[1]:—The narrator of old episodes, thus speaks of olden times. When the religion of Dehkan[2] was destroyed (lit. set on fire), the (sacred) fire was extinguished and the Fire-worshippers were burned, Sikandar ordered that the Iranians shall give up fire-worship (lit. untie their waists from fire-worship). They shall make their old religion new (*i.e.*, take up a new religion) and turn their thoughts to the religion of the Khusrou (*i.e.*, Sikandar). They shall give up to fire the furniture (rakht) of the Magis and destroy their fire-temples (lit. make their work hard). In those times, there was a custom that learned teachers,[3] lived in the Fire-temples (places of Fire) and they guarded (lit. closed the door and limit) the treasury (of the temple), so that nobody had any

1 I give my own translation. *Vide*, for comparison, Captain H. Wilberforce Clarke's Translation of the Sikandar-nameh-i Bara (1881), pp. 382-92. Rehatsek has translated this portion in his paper on "The Alexander Myth of the Persians" (Journal B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XV, pp. 37-64). *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S., pp. 91-93.

2 The commentator of the lithographed edition says that by Dehkan was meant زردست, *i.e.*, Zoroaster.

3 The commentator takes the word *amuzgár* for Mobads.

access to that treasure. A rich man, who had no heir, left his estate to the Fire-temple. The public[1] suffered through this custom, because every Fire-temple had a treasury[2]. Sikandar destroyed these edifices and made their treasures run like seas of water. He destroyed the fire-temples to which he had access and took away its treasure.....[3] The well-thinking king ordered that the customs of the Magi may not be observed..... He destroyed all the writings of the incantations (naksh-i nirang) and dispersed the Magi from the But-khânch....Under such a chief[4] in the country of Iran, there did not remain the fire of any Zardoshti. Again, out of the Magis who collected treasures, none now collected treasure in the fire-temples... He ordered that the fire of every Mobad may be extinguished tactfully and with discretion and that water be poured on the magic books of Zend or make an inventory,[5] with a pen (nai) to be put into a pinfold (zindân). He showed to the world the path by way of his power (niyâ) and cleaned (zadûd) the warmth (taf) of the smoke of fire from their heart. Then, with the help (lit. contrivance) of some Iraniâns[6] (lit. free people), he came to the coun-

1 Afâq. 2 The complaint seems to be that wealth remained unproductive in the hidden treasures of the Fire-temples.

3 The portions omitted refer to an old Iranian custom, whereby women frequently visited the fire-temples on the Jashan days like those of Jamshedi Naoroz and Sadeh. They freely took part in the religious rites of the holidays and in the subsequent feasts. It appears from Nizami's account, that the Greeks observed a kind of pardâh system, the breach of which by the Iranian women was not liked by Sikandar. Herodotus (Bk. V, 18) also refers to the custom, whereby Iranian women mixed freely with men in festive gatherings and the Macedonian women kept away from such gatherings.

4 Pûsht=protector, supporter.

5 Dafter kardan=to make a list or inventory.

6 Azâdgân "free high-born, especially applied to the Iranians".

try of Azarâbâdgân. Wherever he saw a (sacred) fire, he quickly (chust) got the fire extinguished and the Zend (books) washed (*i.e.* destroyed by water). In that province, there was a fire (temple), built of stone, which the fire-worshippers named Wisdom-illuminator[1]. There were in the service of the (sacred) fire, one hundred Herbads with golden chains[2] with belt (kamar) over waist (kamar).[3] He ordered that the ancient fire of many years may be extinguished and dispersed[4] altogether. When the (sacred) fire there, was thus extinguished he marched his army from that place to Ispahan. . . He extinguished many (sacred) fires of the Herbads and broke (lit. doubled) the back of many a Herbad.

We thus see from Nizami's Sikandar-nameh that Alexander destroyed Zoroastrian Fire-temples and Zoroastrian literature and killed many great men.

4. The Târikh-i Guzideh.

The Târikh-i Guzideh (*i.e.*, a Select History), written by Hamdu'llâh Mustawfi-i Qazwin in about 1330 A.C., refers to the devastation of Irân at the hands of Alexander. This writer speaks of Alexander as the son of Darab (ibn Darab bin Bahman bin Asfandyâr bin Gûshtâsp bin Lohrâsp bin Arvandshâh bin Kai Bashan bin Kaikobad)[5] and he takes him as the brother of

1 I think the word خرد سوز is miswritten for خود سوز, *i.e.* self-burning.

2 Perhaps, this is an allusion to the chain for tying the Barsam wires, now spoken of as તાર સાંકરી, *i.e.*, the chain for the wires. *Vide* for the ritual my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis", pp. 284-85.

3 I think this to be an allusion to the *kusti* tied over the waist.

4 Kâl = dispersion, flight.

5 The Târikh-i-Guzideh or Select History of Hamdu'llâh Mustawfi-i Qazwini, by Prof. Browne, Vol. 1, Text, pp 99-100.

Darâ-i Darâ, the last king. He adds, on the authority of Hamza Ispahani, that Alexander killed 8000 rulers and princes of Irân.

We further read:

ارسطالیس حکیم وزیر اسکندر بود اقسام اصول حکمت
از ایران بروم فرستاد و باقی بسوخت و آن علوم از این مملکت
بر انداخت .... بعضی گویند او همه خرابی کرد و در ایران
از او آباداني نماند

Translation:—Arstalis (Aristotle) philosopher was the Vazir of Iskandar. He sent from Irân to Roum various doctrines[1] of philosophy[2] and burnt the rest and threw off (*i.e.*, destroyed) sciences from this country ... Some say that he caused all destruction and there remained no prosperity from him in Irân.

Shârastân-i Chahâr Chaman.

The Shârastân-i Chahâr Chaman by Farzaneh Behram, a disciple of Azar Kaewan, thus[3] speaks of Alexander's destruction of Irân and of his carrying away to Greece the translations of books:

ایرانرا متفرق[4] گردید و نود[5] نفر از احکام که ایشانرا پادشاه
و بتازی ملوك طوایف گویند حاکم و فرمان فرما گردیدانید

1 اصول original doctrines or tenets.

2 Browne translates this portion as he "plagiarizes Persian philosophy" (The Târikh-i-Guzideh *op. cit.* abridged in English by E. G. Browne, Vol. II, p. 33.)

3 Ms. No. 411 VIII of the Mulla Feroze Library f. 185a, ll. 14-17. Lith. ed. *op. cit.* p. 565.

4 The lithographed ed. (p. 265 l. 1) gives the word as مصرف, *i.e.* possessed.

5 The litho. ed. gives يك, *i.e.* one person, but the Ms. is correct, as Aristotle had advised him to have many rulers.

وکتب فلسفه را با شاره اواز زبان پارسی بلغت یونانی نقل کرده بدان ولایت برد ند

Translation:—He divided Irân and he made ninety persons, out of the governors who were called Pâdshâh (king) and in Arabic (were called) Muluk-i-tawaif, rulers and commanders, and, getting books on philosophy copied with the signs (ishâra), of the sounds of the Persian language in Greeks words, carried them to his country.[1]

Later Persian Tradition about Perseipolis.

We know that the royal palace of Perseipolis was latterly known as Takht-i Jamshed, *i.e.*, the Throne of Jamshed. The palace was supposed to contain ten very rare things which all were attributed to Jamshed. Later Parsee tradition, as noted in an old Gujarati manuscript in my possession[2], thus speaks of the destruction of the palace, spoken of as a house (ઘર) at the hand of Alexander:

"જમશેદશાહે પારશ જમીનમાંહ એક ઘર બાંધેઉં હતું તે ઘરમાં સાત ચીજ પેદાકી. તે ચીજ જે વાર શેકંદર રૂમીએ ઇરાન શેહરમાંહા પાદશાહી એેઠો તે વારે તે ચીજ તે ઘર શરવે તફરેકા[3] કીધી."

i.e., King Jamshed had built in the land of Pars a house. He had produced in that house seven things. When Sikandar sat as a king in this city of Irân, then he destroyed (lit. scattered) the things, the house and all.

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1 *i.e.*, he got them transliterated and translated.

2 The Ms. bears no colophon. It simply bears in Pahlavi characters the name of the late Mr. Manockji Rustamji Unwala, who had kindly presented it to me.

3 P. تفرقه =scattered.

VI

CLASSICAL WRITERS.

1. Diodorus.

Diodorus Secculus (1st century B.C.) refers to the devastation of the palace of Perseipolis at the hands of Alexander, though he does not speak in particular about the archives of books. He says[1] : "Then having assembled his Macedonians, he told them that Perseipolis, capital of Persia and the seat of its kings, has always been the city out of whole Asia, which was most hostile to the Macedonians. Therefore he abandoned it with the exception of the royal palace to the pillage of the soldiers. Perseipolis was at that time the richest city under the sun . . . The royal palace which was the largest and the most celebrated in the world, partly plundered, was exposed to a devastation and ignominy, proportionate to its preceding splendour." According to Diodorus, the plundering soldiers drew swords against one another to possess excellent things. They even carried women to despoil them and as prisoners. "It was in this way that Perseipolis, the most superb and the most prosperous city of the world, became an object of contemptuous treatment and compassion."[2] Alexander himself entered the citadel and carried away all treasures, amassed from the time of Cyrus, "of the value of 120000 talents.[3]" To carry

1 I translate from the French translation of his work: "Histoire Universelle de Diodore de Secile," traduit en François par M. l'Abbé Terrasen (1769), (Bk. XVII, s. 16), Tome V, pp. 116-117.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 118.

3 Diodorus does not say whether he speaks of talents of silver or of gold. A Greek silver talent was worth about £244, *i.e.*, at the present rate, about Rs. 3,660. So, the whole amount comes to (120000 × 3760 =) Rs. 43,92,00,000, *i.e.*, nearly Rs. 43 crores. If we take the talent to be golden, a golden talent was worth about £5400, *i.e.*, about Rs. 81,000. So, the whole amount would come to (120000 × 81000 =) Rs. 9,72,00,00,000.

away all the treasure to Susa, Alexander sent for, from Babylon and from Susa itself, "a large number of beasts of burden and wagons. Besides, 3000 mules carried treasures, to different places where they were wanted."

Diodorus gives an excellent account of the grandeur of the palace, and then, referring to the royal tomb on the mountains, says that no way up to them can be traced, but the bodies were pulled up to their places by machines of suspension, specially made for the purpose.[1] At the close of all this above pillage, Alexander had a thanksgiving prayer to his Greek gods, followed by a jovial feast, ending in intoxication. We read: "He treated magnificently his friends and his officers. In the end, all the guests being satiated and the wine having taken effect in their heads, they became furious and raging."[2] It was under the influence of this drink that Alexander is said to have ordered the palace to be burned; and, therewith, the library also was burnt.

We find a further reference in Diodorus, in his account of the funeral of Hephaestion (XVII, 72), to the extinguishing of the sacred Fire of the Fire-temples at the hands of Alexander. This Macedonian was a bosom friend of Alexander and had accompanied him in his expedition to Asia. On Alexander's return journey, he died at Ecbatana (modern Hamadân) in B.C. 325. He took his body to Babylon, where he gave him a magnificent funeral

1 This custom explains the Parsi custom in connection with old Towers of Silence in India. They had no regular steps whereby the bodies could be carried in, but the bodies had to be lifted up. It is latterly that steps have been constructed. I had the pleasure of visiting these tombs in Persia in November 1925 during my visit of Persia *via* Russia. I tried to climb, by ropes suspended from above, but got nervous and gave up the attempt.

2 Diodorus *op. cit.* p. 120.

costing 10000 talents. He had ordered a general mourning throughout the whole of his empire. Diodorus thus speaks of the grandeur of this funeral: "He prepared for it ceremonies of such a kind that they surpassed in magnificence not only what people had seen anything of the kind upto then but they left no hope for any future kings to be able to approach them even from afar. He loved this favourite beyond all that of which history has preserved examples, famous for real and sincere friendship and he entertained the same sentiments (of friendship) after his death." Diodorus says that, as a part of the ceremony, he ordered the sacred fires of the fire-temples of Babylon to be extinguished. We read: "He got published, in the province of Asia, an edict by which it was enjoined to extinguish in all the temples what the Persians called 'the sacred fire' upto the time that Hephaestion was buried as they did on the death of kings."[1]

1 This statement of Diodorus, if it be correct, shows, that there was a strange custom prevalent at the time among the Persians of Babylon. It was, that, on the death of a king, they extinguished all the sacred fires of the temples. But, when we learn from other authors, and among them Mahomedan authors, that there were Sacred Fires burning in some temples of Persia for hundreds of years, the above custom of extinguishing sacred fires on the deaths of ruling kings, looks very strange. If that be true, we are reminded of the possible fact that it seems that in Fire-temples there were two sacred Fires. One was in an interior hidden chamber—the sanctum sanctorum—which was hidden from ordinary public gaze. The other was in the outer chamber and it was viewed by the ordinary worshippers. I remember having seen, on 16th November 1905, at Sharifâbâd, an old Zoroastrian village near Yezd, a fire-temple, where two fires of this kind were burning (*Vide* my book of Travels "મુંબાઇ બહારની સેહેલ", pp. 410-11). Perhaps, it was the second outside fire that was extinguished.

2. Plutarch on the Destruction of the Royal Palace.

Plutarch (born about A.C. 50) thus speaks of the destruction of the royal palace at the instigation of Thaïs, in his life of Alexander[1]: "When he was upon the point of marching against Darius, he made a great entertainment for his friends, at which they drank to a degree of intoxication; and the women had a share in it, for they came in masquerade to seek their lovers. The most celebrated among these women was Thaïs, a native of Africa, and mistress of Ptolemy, afterwards king of Egypt. When she had gained Alexander's attention by her flattery and humorous vein, she addressed him over her cups in a manner agreeable to the spirit of her country but far above a person of her stamp: 'I have undergone great fatigues,' said she 'in wandering about Asia; but this day has brought me a compensation, by putting it in my power to insult the proud courts of the Persian kings. Ah! how much greater pleasure would it be to finish the carousal with burning the palace of Xerxes, who laid Athens in ashes and to set fire to it myself in the sight of Alexander! Then shall it be said in times to come, the women of his train have more signally avenged the cause of Greece upon the Persians, than all that the generals before him could do by sea or land.' This speech was received with the loudest plaudits and most tumultuous acclamations. All the company strove to persuade the king to comply with the proposal. At last, yielding to their instances, he leapt from his seat, and with his garland on his head, and a flambeau in his hand, led the way. The rest followed with shouts of joy, and dancing as they went, spread themselves round the palace. The Macedonians who got intelligence of this

1 Plutarch's Lives by John and William Langhorne (1813), Vol. II, pp. 483-84.

frolic ran up with lighted torches, and joined them with great pleasure, for they concluded from his destroying the royal palace, that the king's thoughts were turned towards home, and that he did not design to fix his seat among the barbarians. Such is the account most writers give us of the motives of this transaction. There are not, however, wanting those who assert, that it was in consequence of cool reflection: but all agree that the king soon repented, and ordered this fire to be extinguished." So, according to Plutarch, the destruction of the ancient Persian literature at the hands of Alexander may be neither intentional nor accidental, but what we may call incidental. However it be, Plutarch also supports all Iranian writers.

3. Arrian on the Destruction of Perseipolis.

Arrian (born A.C. 90), in his History of Alexander's expedition, thus speaks of the destruction of the palace of Perseipolis: "The Royal Palais of the Persian Monarchs he burnt, much against the Will of Parmenio, who entreated him to leave it untouched, not only because it was improper to spoil and destroy what he had gained by his Valour, but that he could thereby disoblige the Asiatics and render them less benevolent to him.....To which Alexander made Answer, that he was resolved to revenge the ancient Injuries his country had received by the Persians, who, when they arrived, with their Army, in Greece, subverted Athens, burnt their temples and committed many other barbarous Devastations there. But this in my opinion, seems to have been no prudent or politick Action in Alexander and was no revenge upon the Persians at all."[1]

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1 Bk. III, Chap. 18. Translation by Rooke (1729), Vol. I, pp. 177-78.

4. Quintus Curtius.

Quintus Rufus Curtius was the author of a book on the life of Alexander called "De Rebus Gestes Alexandri Magni". His work consisted of 10 books, the first two of which are lost and the remaining two are not complete and in good order. Greater doubt is thrown upon his work as history than upon Zenophon's Cyropædia. Some say, that Curtius himself perhaps intended his work more as a historic romance than history.[1] However, Curtius refers[2] to the destruction of the royal palace at the hands of Alexander. We read[3] (Lib. V, Cap. VIII):

"Besides, Alexander possessed many excellent qualities: his extraordinary talents which distinguished him from other kings; his remarkable firmness of decision and execution of his plans; his trust in his subordinates; his clemency to the vanquished; his moderation in pleasures which were both permissible and wonted. All these, however, he marred on one occasion by his uncontrolled desire for wine. He was at that time renewing the war with his enemy, who was contesting with him for the Kingdom, whom he had defeated but who spurned his new rule. During the day he used to indulge in banquets at which ladies were present—for it was no shame for them to share these revels with men—in fact these concubines were accustomed to live with the soldiers more freely than decency allowed. One of them Thaïs by name, herself drunk, said that 'Alexander would win the greatest favour with all the Greeks, if he

1 *Vide* "Arrian's History of Alexander's Expedition by Rooke (1729), Vol. I. Preface and Criticism upon Quintus Curtius.

2 *Ibid.* p. LI, Lib. V, Cap. VII, 12. For the original Greek, *vide* "Quinti Curti Rufi de Rebus Gestis Alexandri Magni," by Henricus Snakenburg (1724), Vol. I, p 355.

3 I am thankful to Revd. Father Heras, for kindly getting the chapter translated for me.

ordered the Palace of the Persians to be burnt, and that those whose towns the Barbarians had destroyed expected this '. The opinion of his drunken concubine carried such a weight that all of them, who were likewise intoxicated, gave their assent. The king likewise was more eager than patient. 'What, then,' said he, 'shall we avenge Greece and apply fire-brands to the city ?' All were aglow with wine; accordingly, as *drunkards* they rushed to set fire to the city which as *soldiers* they had spared. The King was the first to cast fire-brands on the palace, then followed the guests, then the servants and finally the mistresses.

"The palace was constructed chiefly of cedar-wood which easily catching fire the flames spread far and wide. When the army which lay encamped not far from the city, saw the flames, they thought that it was an accident and rushed to the spot to extinguish the flames. But when they reached the court-yard of the palace, they saw the King himself carrying fire-brands. They, therefore, threw away the water which they had brought with them and began to cast dry wood into the flames.

"This, then, was the destruction of the Palace of the whole of the East, which formerly gave laws to so many nations, which was the abode of so many kings, which had once proved the only terror of Greece, and which was built with the aid of a fleet of a thousand ships and an army with which Europe was flooded: the sea was planked with mighty beams, the mountains were dug through and the sea was let in in their hollow. And not even at a later date did it rear its head up again from this destruction. The Macedonian kings had other cities which have now become the possession of the Parthians and no vestige of this would be found, were it not for the river Araxes. It had flowed not far from its walls,

hence the neighbours believe rather than know that the city occupied a space of nearly 20 furlongs.

"The Macedonians felt ashamed that so distinguished a city was destroyed by their king during his revels; therefore they became serious and persuaded themselves to belive that 'this was the only fitting manner in which it could be destroyed'. They say that Alexander, on becoming sober again, felt ashamed of what he had done and remarked that the Persians would pay the Greeks a heavier penalty, if they were compelled to see him on the throne and in the palace of Xerxes.

"On the following day he gave Lycius a present of thirty talents for guiding him to Perfides. From this place he crossed into Media where he obtained from Cilicia a supply of fresh troops. There were five thousand foot-soldiers and one thousand horse-soldiers, both of which were commanded by Plato of Athens. Strengthened by these troops, he went in pursuit of Darius."

The above passage of Curtius draws our attention to the following points:—

(1) Alexander had an "uncontrolled desire for wine". He seems to have inherited it from his father, Philip.

(2) He indulged in banquets where concubines, who "were accustomed to live with the soldiers more freely than decency allowed," used to be present.

(3) One of such women, Thaïs, who herself had got drunk, excited Alexander to burn the royal palace, saying that the act "would win (for Alexander) the greatest favour with all the Greeks".

(4) All the courtiers, who also were drunk, gave

their assent to the proposal of this "drunken concubine" who "carried weight" in the court.

(5) Alexander was the first to set fire to the palace. He was then followed by his guests and then by the servants and then by the mistresses.

(6) Most part of the palace being constructed of cedar-wood easily caught fire.

(7) The Persians at one time (*a*) "gave laws to many nations," (*b*) "proved the only terror of Greece," (*c*) had "a fleet of a thousand ships," (*d*) "built bridges over seas" with mighty beams, and (*e*) "dug mountains to form canals for sea to run in."[1]

(8) Alexander, on becoming sober, got ashamed of his drunken frolic.

(9) Darius III, though defeated, continued to contest for the kingdom upto the last moment possible.

Haug's reference to Classical Writers and his conclusion.

All the above classical writers refer to the burning of the royal palace at Perseipolis. But, though they do not refer specially to the archives of books there, we must take it that, with the palace, the books, which were deposited there, were also burnt. Haug very properly takes this view in his translation of the Pahlavi Virâf-nâmeh (Chap. I) and says: "This statement (of Ardai Virâf) regarding the burning of the religious books by Alexander, which often occurs in Parsi writings, has been supposed to have originated in a modern misunderstanding, whereby the destruction consequent upon the Mahomedan conquest has been attributed to the Greek invader. Heern first expressed the opinion that as the

1 One may say, from this destruction, that Curtius speaks here of the destruction of a palace of another place.

persecution of foreign religion was quite contrary to Alexander's policy, the statement of the Parsis was not to be credited; and his opinion has been generally adopted by later writers, without further examination. On comparing however the statements made in Pahlavi books, with the accounts of the destruction of Persepolis, given by classical writers, it appears, that the latter rather confirm, than contradict, the statement of the Parsis.....This act of barbarous folly was evidently the result of hasty impulse, and was probably committed at night, when the palace was full of attendants, courtiers and priests; the last who had special charge of the archives, would naturally attempt to save their treasures and would certainly be opposed by the intoxicated Greeks, at the cost of many lives. The religious books would be burned with the archives, in which they were deposited, and many Persians priests and others would lose their lives in the confusion; such would be the natural consequences of the facts mentioned by the western writers, and such are the statements made by the eastern writer in our text[1] (the Virâf-nâmeh)."

Chardin on Alexander.

Sir John Chardin (1643-73), who had twice travelled in Persia and India, in his long account of the Guebres, thus speaks on the view held by the Parsis about Alexander: "I have not found anything more sensible in the teaching of the Guebres than the complaint which they speak of about Alexander the Great. Instead of admiring him and receiving his name as all other people do, they curse, detest and imprecate him, taking him as a pirate, as a brigand, as a man without justice and without brain, born

1 "The Book of Arda Viraf", prepared by Dastur Hoshangji and translated by Haug (1872), p. 142.

to disturb order in the world and destroy a part of human kind.....in which they are not wrong."[1]

Darmesteter on Alexander.

Prof. Darmesteter, to support his view, that the Avesta were post-Alexandrian, wrongly takes it that Alexander is referred to in the Avesta. We have in the Haoma Yasht (Yasna IX, 24) a passage, which says: "Haomô temchit yim Keresanîm apa-khshathrem nishâdhayat yô raosta khshathrô-kâmya, yô davata nôit me apâm âthrava aiwishtish vèrêdhyê danghava charât, ho vîspê varedhanâm vanât nî vispê varêdhanâm janât.

Translation:—Haoma brought down from the throne (*i.e.*, dethroned) Keresâni who had grown desirous of power (and) who cried out: "Hereafter no Âthravan (priest) teacher shall go about in my country for the spread (of Zoroastrian teachings). He (the Âthravan) will strike a blow against my progress; he will destroy all my progress."

As to who the Keresâni is, there is a difference of opinion. The Pahlavi translators take the word for Christians (kilisiyâk). Neryosang's Sanskrit version also takes the name to be a reference to the Christians. Some take him to be Indian Krishna.[2] Darmesteter takes him to be Alexander, who killed many *mobads* and *herbads* (âthravan), who, he thought, would come in his way of progress in Persia.[3] So, he seems to take, that the story of Alexander killing the Mobads and destroying the Iranian literature is very old. He also refers to this subject in his article, "La Légende d'Alexandre chez les Parses".[4]

1 I translate from "Voyage du Chevalier Chardin en Perse" (1811), Vol. VIII, 378. Darmesteter has given the French in his "Le Légende d'Alexandre". 2 Mills, S.B.E., XXXI, p. 237 n.

3 Le Zend Avesta, Tome I, p. 82.

4 *Vide* his "Essais Orientaux", pp. 227 *et seq.*

Referring to the Parsi tradition and to historical books like those of Hamza and Maçoudi, he says that the historical books support the Iranian tradition.[1]

Gabriel du Chinon.

Prof. Darmesteter, in his paper "La Légende d' Alexandre chez les Parses"[2] quotes Rev. Father Gabriel du Chinon to show that the reasons which he gives for the Iranians' hatred of Alexander was well-nigh the same as given by the Rivayets.

A recent writer on this subject.

Mr. Rogers, in his recently published work on the History of Persia,[3] thinks the work of destruction to be deliberate on the part of Alexander. He says: "A Persian king had burned and desecrated Athens. Alexander burned the palace of the Persian kings. It was quite likely a deliberate act, ordered by Alexander as symbolic of the end of the Persian empire, and with that quite likely as a deed of revenge in memory of the acts of a Persian king at Athens. It was contrary to the usual practice of Alexander so to destroy what it had cost much to secure, but the hour was glorious and much must be allowed of folly to a man in the position Alexander had now attained. In four years (March, 334 to March, 330) he had penetrated to the very heart of the Persian empire, conquering all its territory between Hellas and Persepolis. The ancient world upto this day could show no parallel, and if he who had accomplished it were drunk with pride instead of wine it were not a marvel."

1 "Ainsi les documents historique les plus anciens de la Perse musulmane s'accordent avec la légende parsie; pour eux comme pour elle, Alexandre est le destructeur et le persecuteur de la religion de Zoroastre" (*Ibid.*, p. 237).

2 Essais Orientaux (1883), pp. 232-3.

3 A History of Ancient Persia, by Robert William Rogers (1829), page 336.

VII

NATURE OF THE IRANIAN LITERATURE, LOST OR GOT TRANSLATED INTO GREEK AT THE HANDS OF ALEXANDER.

Nature of the Iranian Literature, lost or got translated into Greek at the hands of Alexander.

The Dinkard (Bks. VIII and IV) contains an account of the 21 nasks or books of Iranian literature[1] which have been lost either wholly or got translated into Greek, by Alexander. Of all the literature on the different branches of Science, that on Medicine and Astronomy draws our special attention, as having passed into the hands of the Greeks and, later on, into those of the Arabs.

(*a*) As to Medicine, we have an excellent account by Mr. E. G. Browne in his "Arabian Medicine".[2] He says: "Be this as it may, it was in the middle of the eighth century of our era, and through the then newly founded city of Baghdad, that the great stream of Greek and other ancient learning began to pour into the Muhammadan world and to reclothe itself in an Arabian dress. And so far as Medicine is concerned, the tradition of the old Sasanian school of Jundi-Shapur was predominant. Of this once celebrated school, now long a mere name, with difficulty located by modern travellers and scholars on the site of the hamlet of Shahbad

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1 The whole of the 37th Volume of the S.B.E. series gives an excellent account of the contents of the Dinkard, the Zâdsparam, the Din-i Vajarkard and the Rivâyats which treat of this subject. For a brief account of the 21 nasks or books, *vide* Mr. Dossabhoy Framji's History of the Parsees, Vol. II, pp. 157-164, where I had the pleasure of contributing the account.

2 Arabian Medicine, by Edward G. Browne, pp. 19-23.

in the province of Khuzistan in S. W. Persia..."[1] Shapur II is said to have summoned the Greek physician Theodosius or Theodorus to attend him. According to Browne,[2] "this physician's system of medicine is mentioned in the *Fihrist* as one of the Persian books on medicine afterwards translated into Arabic and preserved at any rate until the tenth century of our era.[3] This physician, who was a Christian, obtained such honour and consideration in Persia that Shapur caused a church to be built for him and at his request set free a number of his captive countrymen." Browne thus speaks of the development of this school: "The great development of the school of Jundi-Shapur was, however, the unforeseen and unintended result of that Byzantine intolerance which in the fifth century of our era drove the Nestorians from their school at Edessa and forced them to seek refuge in Persian territory. In the following century the enlightened and wisdom-loving Khusraw Anusharwan the protector of the exiled Neo-Platonist philosophers, sent his physician Burzuya to India, who, together with the game of chess and the celebrated *Book of Kalila and Dimna*, brought back Indian works on Medicine and

1 Browne thus speaks of this city of medical school: "The city owed its foundation to the Sasanian monarch Shapur I, and son and successor of Ardashir Babakan, who founded this great dynasty in the third century after Christ, and restored after five centuries and a half of eclipse, the ancient glories of Achaemenian Persia. Shapur, after he had defeated and taken captive the Emperor Valerian, and sacked the famous city of Antioch, built, at the place called Syriac Beth Lapat, a town which he named Veh-az-Andev-i Shapur, or 'Shapur's Better than Antioch', a name which was gradually converted into *Gundi Shapur* or in Arabic Jundi Sabur."[1]

2 *Ibid.*, p. 303. 3 About A.D. 531.

1 "See Th. Noldeke's Gesch. d. Perser u. Arab Zur Zeitder Sasaniden (Leyden 1879), pp. 44-42

also, apparently, Indian physicians to Persia. The school of Jundi-Shapur was, then, at the time of the Prophet Muhammad's birth, at the height of its glory. There converged Greek and Oriental learning, the former transmitted in part directly through Greek scholars, but for the most part through the industrious and assimilative Syrians, who made up in diligence what they lacked in originality. Sergius of Rasul-Ayn, who flourished a little before this time, was one of those who translated Hippocratus and Galen into Syriac. Of these intermediate Syriac medical literature, from which many, perhaps most, of the Arabic translations of the eighth and ninth centuries were made, not much survives."

Of the original Persian element in the medical teaching of the school of Jundi-Shapur, Browne says: "But though the medical teaching of Jundi-Shapur was in the main Greek, there was no doubt an underlying Persian element, especially in Pharmacology, where the Arabic nomenclature plainly reveals in many cases Persian origins. Unfortunately, the two most glorious periods of pre-Islamic Persia, the Achaemenian (B.C. 550-330) and the Sasanian (A.D. 226-640), both terminated in a disastrous foreign invasion, Greek in the first case, Arab in the second, which involved the wholesale destruction of the indigenous learning and literature, so that it is impossible for us to reconstitute more than the main outlines of these two ancient civilizations. Yet the Avesta, the sacred book of the Zoroastrians, speaks of three classes of healers, by prayers and religious observances, by diet and drugs, and by instruments; in other words priests, physicians and surgeons. As regards the latter, one curious passage in the Vendidad, ordains that the tyro must operate successfully on three unbelievers before he may attempt an operation on one of the 'good

Mazdayasnian religion'. And, of course, Greek physicians, of whom Ctesias is the best known, besides an occasional Egyptian, were to be found at the Achaemenian Court before the time of Alexander of Macedon." Even after the Arab conquest the medical school of Jundi-Shapur continued to influence. We read: "The medical school of Jundi-Shapur seems to have been little affected by the Arab invasion and conquest of the seventh century of our era, but it was not till the latter half of the eighth century, when Baghdad became the metropolis of Islam that its influence began to be widely felt on the Muslims."

THE DOCTRINE OF *KARMA* FROM THE ZOROASTRIAN POINT OF VIEW.[1]

I.

Introduction.

The object of the paper is two-fold, *viz.* (1) to present the Zoroastrian view of the doctrine of *Karma* in the sense that "Happiness and misery are the result of an individual's own acts," and (2) to discuss that view.

In the ordinary primitive sense, the word *karma* means "a deed, work or action". Then, in the technical religious sense, it has come to mean "a religious rite" or "a religious action or deed". Then, it has also come to mean "Fate, the certain consequence of acts done in a former life."[2]

A recent writer thus pithily presents the signification of the word: "The future, both in this life and hereafter, is a product, of which the past and the present are factors,

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1 This paper was at first written for the Baroda State. About 10 years ago, His Highness Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaikwar, who is always eager to help the cause of learning in general and Oriental learning in particular, desired that a book may be written and published on the subject of the Doctrine of Karma from the points of view of all religions. Prof. Widgery, the then Professor of Philosophy at His Highness's Baroda College, kindly conveyed to me His Highness's desire and requested me to write from the Zoroastrian point of view. I did so and submitted this paper which was accepted and liked. But as some other scholars of other religions, whom Prof. Widgery had approached, did not, as said by Prof. Widgery, send in their papers, the scheme fell through. The paper was then read at the Second Oriental Conference held at Calcutta in 1922. *Vide* Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference, pp. 47-82.

2 Prof. Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1890), p. 383.

the past as *Karma* and the present as Free-will."[1] In the above sense of "Fate, the certain consequence of acts done in a former life," the word *karma* seems to be now passing into the literature of the West. As an instance, I may point to a recent article by Lady Paget, a learned lady, a little inclined towards some eastern ways of thought. In her recent article on the late Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph, she uses the word in this sense.[2]

II

Iranian Equivalents of the Indian word Karma.

Its Avesta equivalent in the ordinary sense.

Karma (कर्म, कर्मन्) is a Sanskrit word which comes from an old Aryan root *kar*, which is (कृ) in Sanskrit, *kr* (𐬐𐬭) in Avesta, *kartan* (𐭪𐭫𐭲𐭭) in Pahlavi, *kardan* (کردن) in Persian, *creare* in Latin (Fr. *créer*). The root bears the meaning "to do, to produce". Hence, in the ordinary primitive sense, the word *karma* means "a deed, work or action". The Avesta word kāra (𐬐𐬁𐬭𐬀, S. कार, P. کار) comes nearer to it in its ordinary sense.

A corresponding Pahlavi equivalent of Karma.

An old Parsi word, closely corresponding to the word *Karma*, both in its original etymological sense and in its subsequent technical religious sense, is the Pahlavi word *kunishna* (𐭪𐭥𐭲𐭭), Persian *kunishna* or *kunish*

1 "*East and West*" of February 1918, p. 178.

2 "No doubt a heavy load of crime and misdeeds in past centuries remains to the account of the House of Hapsburg, and, when looking to the Emperor Francis Joseph, I always had the impression that a weighty Karma rested on his fated head . . . . The Emperor Francis Joseph may in his life have paid off long standing debts incurred in former existences." (*The Nineteenth Century and After*", December 1917, p. 1078.)

(کُنِش or کُنِشَن). It comes from *kûn* (کُن), the crude form of Pahlavi *kartan* (וּרטיוּ) or Persian کردن (*kardan*) to do. Hence, the word *kunishna*, like the Indian word *karma*, originally means "an act, work or deed," and then, it has subsequently come to mean, "the certain consequence or result of acts done in one's life". In this signification, it is limited to a certain extent. It does not extend, as in the case of the Indian word *karma*, to any number of past lives, but is confined to one life. It is in the Parsi writings which speak of a future life and of happiness and misery resulting from one's actions, that the word *kûnishna* is used in the above limited second technical religious sense of Karma. We read in the Pahlavi *Mînôkherad*: "*aôman lâ kanîk barâ kûnishna-i nîyok-i lak hûmanam*,[1] *i.e.*, "I am not a (real) maiden but am your good *kûnishna* (deed)." Mobad Neryôsang Dhaval, in his Sanskrit translation, renders the word by *karma* (कर्म). We read: अहं न कन्या कर्मता च या सुभा तेऽस्मि.[2] Later on also, as the Sanskrit rendering of the Pahlavi *hukunishna* (וּקוּנִשְׁנ), *i.e.*, good *kunishna* or good deed, Neryôsang gives शुभ कर्मन्. The word occurs several times in this part of the *Mînôkherad* and Neryôsang everywhere renders it into Sanskrit as *karma*.

Again, we find the word *kunishna* used in the same double sense[3] of *Karma* in the Pahlavi *Ardâi Virâf-*

1 Chap. II, 130. Dastur Darab Peshotan's Text, p. 11. *Vide Dînâk-u Mainyô-i khard*, Pahlavi, Pazand and Sanskrit Texts, edited by Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria, with an Introduction by me (1913), p. 24, l. 4. 2 *Ibid.*, Sanskrit Text, l. 3.

3 Chap. IV, 24. Drs. Hoshang-Haug-West Text, p. 19; Translation, p. 155. *Vide Artâ Virâf-Namak* or Livre d'Ardâ Virâf. Traduction par M. A. Barthélemy (1887, p. 14. *Vide* George Madox's Prose-verse rendering (from Pope's prose translation of the Persian Virâf-nâmeh) (1904), p. 8. Dastur Kaikhosru's Text, p. 10.

nāmeh. We read there, that a figure in the form of a handsome woman, who, as we will see later on, represents the sum total of a man's good or bad actions in the world, says : *li kunishna-i lak hūmanam yudān-i khūp-minashni khup-gobashni khup-kunashni, i.e.*, "O youth of good thoughts, of good words and good deeds ! I am your *kunishna.*" Here, the word *kunishna* is in the sense of Karma. In the same book, we read that the bad *kunishna* or deed appears in the form of an ugly woman, saying : *li hūmanam zak-i lak kunishna-i salyā-i,*[1] *i.e.*, " I am your evil *kunishna.*"

In the Sanskrit version of the Pahlavi *Shikand Gumānīk Vijār* also, the Pahlavi word *kunishna* is rendered by *karmman, karmmatva.*[2]

In the Pahlavi *Hādōkht Nask*[3] also, we find the Pahlavi word *kunishna* used in a similar passage.

A corresponding Persian equivalent of Karma.

Kunishna, the Pahlavi equivalent of the Sanskrit Karma, is rendered into Persian by *kerdār* كردار. This Persian word also has, like the Sanskrit *karma* and the Pahlavi *kunishna*, the original signification of 'an act' or 'deed'. The root form of all these words is the same. Then, latterly, the word *kerdār* has also come to signify the resultant sum of one's past actions. In the Persian *Virāf-nāmeh*, the Pahlavi word *kunishna* of the Pahlavi *Virāf-nāmeh* is rendered by *kerdār*. For example, we read :—

جواب این داد این صورت بدانکس که من کردار نیکوئي توام بس

(*javāb īn dād īn surat badān kas,*[4]
ke man kerdār niku-ī tō am bas)

1 Chap. XVII, 14. Hoshang-Haug-West Text, p. 46.

2 *Shikand Gûmânik Vijâr.* The Pâzand-Sanskrit Text by Hoshang-West, Vocabulary, p. 257. 3 Chap. II, 22. Hoshang-Haug-West Text, in the Book of Arda Virâf, p. 284, l. 5. 4 *The Virâf-nâmeh* by Dastur Kaikhosru, Persian Text, p. 6, l. 19.

"This (maiden) form thus replied to him: 'I am only the *kerdār* of your good deeds.'"

In the corresponding part of the Persian *Virāf-nāmeh*, where one's evil deeds appear before him, we read :—

جوابش داد صورت گفت شو یار که من فعل توام با کار و کردار[1]

(*javābash dād sūrat, gōft shaō yār*
kē man fa'l tō am bā kār ō kerdār)

Here, there are two other words besides the word *kerdār* which also carry the same signification. They are *kār* and *fa'l* which both mean "action".

So far then, we see that the Pahlavi and Persian words, *kunishna* and *kerdār* are, in both, their primitive or etymological sense and their secondary or technical religious sense, the same as the Sanskrit *karma*. In fact, the Sanskrit translator of one of the Pahlavi books has translated the Pahlavi *kunishna* as *karma*.

The Avesta equivalent of Karma in its technical secondary sense.

The Avesta equivalent of the Indian word *karma* in its secondary technical sense is *Daēnā* (𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀). Instead of beginning with the earlier Avesta, I began with the Pahlavi, because, in the Pahlavi equivalent, we find the word to be the same as the Indian *karma*, both etymologically and technically, *i.e.*, in the religious sense The Avesta word *daenā* is etymologically different, but, in the technical religious sense, it is well-nigh the same as *karma*.

The Avesta *daēnā* (𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀) has become *dīn* (𐭣𐭩𐭭) in Pahlavi and *dīn* (دین) in Persian. The word comes from

1 *Ibid.*, p. 21, l. 29.

the Avesta root *di* (𐬛𐬌) = Sanskrit दी, Pahl. (𐭣𐭩𐭭), Pers. دیدن 'to see, to think, to show, to announce'. The prophets or promulgators of *Daēnās* or *Dins*, *i.e.*, religions, are all "seers". So, *Daēnā* is a kind of law or system, which shows or teaches us, or announces or reveals to us, 'something'. That 'something' is duty—duty towards our Maker, duty towards those round about us, and duty towards ourselves. Just as the Pahlavi word *kunishn* has two meanings—the ordinary original one of deed or action and the technical religious one of *karma*, *i.e.*, the resultant sum total of one's actions, so the Avesta *daēnā* also has two meanings, the ordinary original one of law or religion and the technical religious one of *karma* or the resultant sum total of one's actions.

It is from the Pahlavi *Hādōkht Nask* that one can say with certainty, that the Avesta word *daēnā* is, in one of its significations, the same as Pahlavi *kunishn*. In the Avesta text of the *Hādōkht Nask*, in those parts which treat of subjects similar to those treated in the above passages of the *Mīnōkherad* and *Vīrāf-nāmeh*, it is *hva daēnā* (𐬵𐬀 𐬛𐬌𐬌𐬀)[1] that is spoken of as appearing in the form of a maiden. In the Pahlavi rendering of it we find the words *nefshman dīn*, *nefshman kunishna*, *i.e.*, one's *dīn* (*daēnā*), one's *kunishna* (deed). This shows that the Pahlavi translator clearly understands the Avesta word *Daēnā* to mean *kunishna*, *i.e.*, action. He uses both the words as equivalents.

The Avesta *Daēnā* is often used as a spiritual component or associate of the soul. We read, more than once, this invocation in the Avesta[2]: *ahūmcha daēnāmcha*,

1 *Hâdôkht Nask* (Yt. XXII), 9, 11: *Vîshtâsp Yasht* (Yt. XXIV, Chap. VIII), 56, 58. Westergaard's text, pp. 296, 297 and 311.

2 Chap II. Hoshang-Haug-West Text, p. 284.

baodhascha, urvānemcha, fravashīmcha yazamaidē[1], *i.e.*, we invoke the *ahu* (life, spirit) and the *Daēnā* and the Intelligence and the Soul and the *Fravashi*. Prof. S. G. Oliphant[2] thinks that this Avesta *daēnā*, is the same as Sanskrit *dhénā* and Lithuanian *dainā*. The Sanskrit word *dhénā* is variously rendered by different scholars, but, after a pretty long dissertation, Prof. Oliphant considers it to be " a gunated form of the root *dhī* 'to think' and a synonym of *dhitī* and *dhī* ". He then adds : " *dhínā* is the exact phonetic equivalent of the Avesta *daēnā* and the Lithuanian *dainā*. The *daēnā* of the Avesta is (1) religion, especially the Ahuran religion, also (2) a theological-philosophical concept of the totality of the psychic and religious properties of man. It is the spiritual ego, the immortal part of man. the mental λογος (logos) . . . . *Dhēnnā daēnā* and (Lithuanian) *dainā* are all thought but thought, in its higher and spiritual reaches. Both phonetics and sematics proclaim them own sisters in the old Indo-European family circle."

Ordinarily, the word *Daēnā* has come to mean " religion". In Pahlavi it has become *dīn* (𐭤𐭭) and in Persian *dīn* (دین). The Mahomedans also have taken the same word for " religion". In this broader sense, the Iranian word *daēnā* or *dīn* is the same as Indian *dharma* धर्म. It is from this word *Daēnā*, that we have the later Persian *diyānat* (دیانت), in the sense of " adherence to religion, conscience, honesty, virtue".

I have spoken at some length upon the Iranian words which are equivalents of the Indian *karma*, with a view to show, that the technical religious idea is well-nigh the

1 Yasna XXVI, 4, 6.

2 " Sanskrit *dhénâ*=Avesta *daênâ*=Lithuanian *daina*," an article by Dr. Samuel Grant Oliphant, Professor in Grove City College, Grove City, Penn., in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 32nd Vol., Part IV, December 1912, pp. 393-413.

same in both. Now, I will give, at some length, the Avesta and Pahlavi passages which expound the theory or belief of Karma in the sense which forms the subject proper of our paper.

III

The Avesta and Pahlavi Passages illustrating the Doctrine of Karma as regards the Future Life.

The Avesta and Pahlavi books contain several passages which present the view, that a man's soul meets after death, as it were, an exact counterpart of his actions in this world. He sees happiness or misery in the next world according as he has done good or bad actions in this world. If he has led a good, honest, virtuous life in this world, he sees happiness in the next life immediately after death. If he has led a bad, dishonest, vicious life, he sees misery.

Perhaps, it may be said, that it will be better if we confine ourselves to happiness and misery in this life. But, we must bear in mind, that the question of happiness and misery is always connected with the future,—the future of this life or the future of the next. A man who looks to the happiness of the moment is really not happy. The momentary happiness may bring in reaction. In the same way, a man who feels dejected at any misery of the moment, feels, as it were, for ever lost. Again, we have to look to the question of happiness from a religious point of view. So, we must present, at first, the religious view of future happiness or misery. A religion, to be a good religion, must be practical. So, the religious view will, in its very nature, present the practical point of view of happiness and misery in this world. We will, therefore, at first, consider the Zoroastrian view of the sum total of one's actions, as presented

by Zoroastrian books—(A) the Avesta books and (B) the Pahlavi books.

(*A*) The Avesta Books.

(*a*) The Vendīdād.

Firstly, we read in the *Vendīdād* (XIX, 27, *et seq*): "Zoroaster asked[1]: 'O Holy Creator of the material world! What becomes of the works of charity which a man bestows for (the good of) his soul in the material world? Where do they go? Where do they spread? Where do they meet (*i.e.*, where are they recompensed)?' Ahura Mazda replied thereto: 'After the death of man, after the passing away of man, after the departure (of man), the Daēvas and the mal-informed Dravants (evil persons) do their work. When the dawn after the third night brightens and shines, and when the well-armed Mithra appears on the beautiful mountains, and when the Sun rises, (then), O Spitama Zarathushtra! a Daēva, named Vizaresha, carries away (well-)tied, the soul of the wicked devil-worshipping sinful man. (The soul whether of) the unrighteous or the righteous goes towards the old-created path, the holy Chinvat bridge created by Mazda. There, the consciousness and the soul (baodhascha urvānemcha) are asked to account for the conduct (observed) in the world, for the actions done in the corporeal word. There comes that beautiful (well-) formed, strong, handsome, watchful, discriminative, graceful, resourceful, artful (maiden). She saddens the sinful soul of the unrighteous in darkness. She carries the soul of the righteous to the other side of Harabêrêzaiti (*i.e.*, the Elbourz mountain), and guides him across the Chinvat bridge, the bridge of the spiritual Yazatas. (Then,) Vohumanô rises from his golden seat.

1 The translations of most of these passages in this paper are my own and are taken from my other previous papers.

Vohumanō sayeth (thus): 'O righteous! How (well that) thou hast come hither to this imperishable world from (that) perishable world!' The souls of the righteous go delighted towards Ahura Mazda, towards the Amesha-Spentas, towards the golden seat (of Vohumanō), to the Garō-nmâna (*i.e.*, Paradise) which is the mansion of Ahura Mazda, the mansion of the Amesha-Spentas, the mansion of other Holy ones."

We must note that, according to the *Vendīdād*, it is only one maiden, the handsome maiden, that appears before both—the righteous and the unrighteous souls. She pleases the one, and saddens the other. We do not find in this passage a distinct word for the maiden but the feminine gender (*hā* 𐬵𐬀, Sans. सा, she) of the person shows that it is a maiden. Again, other Avesta books[1] distinctly speak of the person as a maiden (*kaînîna* 𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀; Sans. कन्या). The *Vîshtâsp Yasht*, which distinctly speaks of the maiden, is spoken of by Darmesteter[2] as the counterpart (*contre partie*) of this 19th chapter of the *Vendīdād*. The maiden is also spoken of as *charâiti* (𐬌𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌). Sans. *charī* चरी, चरीक, Pahl. *charâîtîk* (𐬌𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬐).

(*b*) The Hādōkht Nask.

The *Hādōkht Nask*[3] presents to us a more amplified version of what we read in the *Vendīdād*. We read as follows:—

"Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, Beneficent Spirit, Holy Creator of the corporeal world! when a righteous person dies, where

1 The *Hâdôkht Nask*, Chap. II, 23, Hoshang-Haug-West Book of Virâf-Nâmeh, p. 284; Westergaard, Yasht fragment XXII, 9; The Vishtâsp Yasht, Westergaard, Yt. XXIV, Chap. VIII, 56.

2 *Le Zend Avesta*, II, p. 663.

3 Chap. II, 1 *et seq.* (Hoshang-Haug-West, *Virâf-Nâmeh*, pp. 279 *et seq.*), Westergaard, Yt. XXII, 1 *et seq.*

dwells his own soul during that (first) night (after death?' Then Ahura Mazda replied: 'It sits near the head (of its corpse), chanting the *Ushtavaiti Gāthā* (and) praying for happiness (*ushtatātem*) thus: 'Hapiness to him, from whom happiness (reaches) to any body else. May Ahura Mazda Who rules according to His will grant (blessings to him).'[1] The soul receives on that (one) night as much happiness (*shāto*) as the whole living world (receives)'.[2]

"(Then Zarathushtra asked:) Where dwells his soul during that second night? (The reply of Ahura Mazda is the same as that in the case of the above first question.)

"Then Zarathushtra asked: Where dwells his soul during that third night? (The reply of Ahura Mazda is the same as that in the case of the above first and second questions.)

"At the end of the third night, when dawn approaches, the soul of the righteous man passes through trees, inhaling fragrance. Towards it (the soul), there approaches a fragrant wind, more fragrant than other winds, blowing from the southern direction.[3] Then, the soul of (that) righteous man seems to inhale through his nostrils that (fragrant) wind (thinking to itself:) 'Whence comes this wind, which is the most fragrant wind I have ever inhaled through my nostrils'?—In that wind, his *Daēnā*, coming forward, presents itself before him, in the form of a maiden (who was) beautiful, brilliant, white-armed, bold, well-formed, well-sized, with pro-

1 *Ushtâ ahmîi yahmâi ushtâ kahmâichît, vasê-kshayâs Mazdâo dâyât Ahurô.*

2 Or, as much happiness as it received during its whole living life.

3 It seems that in ancient Irân, the south was taken to be a healthy, and therefore an auspicious direction.

truding-breasts, straight-bodied,[1] well-born, nobly-descended, aged fifteen years, with a growth of body as excellent as the most excellent of creatures. Then the soul of the righteous person asked her (the maiden): 'What maiden art thou whom, out of all maidens ever (seen), I have seen here the most beautiful in form'? Then its (the soul's) own *Daēnā* replied to him: 'O young man with good thougts, good words, good actions, good *Daēnā*![2] I am really your *Daēnā*, of thine own body (*i.e.*, the result of actions done during your corporeal existence).[3] Everybody, on seeing you, as thou appearest to me, liked thee on account of (thy) greatness, goodness, excellence, fragrance, triumph (over evil), (and) freedom from malice. O thou youth of good thoughts, good words, good actions, good *Daēnā*! thou liked me, owing to thy greatness, goodness, excellence, fragrance, triumph, freedom from malice; so I appear before thee as such (*i.e.*, I am a reflection of thy greatness, goodness, etc.) When you saw others, burning, performing idolatry, causing destruction (and) cutting off trees, you (did not like these, but) sat chanting *Gāthās*, praised good waters, praised fire and helped the righteous men who came to you from near or far. With such (thy)

1 *Srao-tanvô*. Haug takes the Pers. سرو (*surv*), cypress, to have been derived from the first part of the words; *vide* his *Virâf-nâmeh*, p. 311, n. 5.

2 Or, here the word may be translated good conscience (P. دیانت).

3 Haug (*Virâf-nâmeh*, p. 311) translates this sentence thus: "I am, O youth, thy good thoughts, good words, good deeds (and) good religion, on account of which good religion in thy own possession, every one has loved thee for such greatness, etc." Spiegel also gives similar translation (*Khôrdeh-Avesta*, p. 137). This translation fits better with our line of thought, but we have to take a little liberty with grammar. The sense is the same, *viz.*, "I am the resultant sum total of your actions."

good thoughts, good words and good actions, you made me, who was endeared to you, more endeared, made me, who was beautiful, more beautiful, made me, who was desirable, more desirable, made me, who was occupying a high position, occupy a still higher position.' ''

We need not enter here into further particulars as given in the *Hādōkht Nask*. The soul of the righteous person, after this interview with his own *daēnā*, his own *Karma*, the resultant sum total of his own actions in this world, proceeds, in the form of a handsome maiden, step by step, from one heaven to another, from the heaven of *Humata*, *i.e.*, good thoughts, to the heaven of *Hukhta*, *i.e.*, good words, and from that heaven to that of *Hvarshta*, *i.e.*, the heaven of good actions, and finally, to the seat of Infinite Light, the *Garōnmāna*, the seat of Ahura Mazda himself.

The third chapter of the *Hādōkht Nask* presents a picture quite the reverse of the above. Here, the question is about the soul of the sinner, the unrighteous. His soul also sits, for the first three nights after death, near the dead body. It utters words of despondency and despair like the following: " O Ahura *Mazda !* Where am I to go ? In which direction I am to go ?'' (*kām nemōi zām Ahura Mazda ? kuthrā nēmē ayēni ?*) During the first night after death, the soul of the unrighteous sees as much misery as that seen by the whole living world (or as much misery as he had seen during his whole living life). Feeling miserable, it utters the above words of despair and despondency for three consecutive nights. On the dawn after the third night, his soul passes through a stinking dirty place, and there, the most stinking wind from the north blows before it. It was the most stinking wind that he had ever inhaled in his lifetime.

The extant copies of the *Hādōkht Nask* do not give the converse passages corresponding to the passages relating to the righteous soul. But, from what we read in the corresponding writing of the *Ardāi Vîraf-Nāmeh*, we learn, that the soul of an unrighteous person is accosted by his evil *daēnā* in the form of a very ugly woman, who, in response to the question of the soul, says, that she is the *daēnā* of his own evil thoughts, evil words and evil actions, and that his thoughts, words and deeds gradually made her more hideous. The soul then passes, step by step, to the hell of *Dushmata*, *i.e.*, evil thoughts, to the hell of *Duzukhta*, *i.e.*, evil words, and then to the hell of *Duzvarshta*, *i.e.*, evil actions.

(c) The Vishtāsp Yasht.

We now come to the *Vîshtāsp Yasht*.[1] In the *Vendīdād*, it is Zoroaster who asks a question about the destiny of the soul, and it is Ahura Mazda who replies. In the *Hādōkht Nask* also, there is the same procedure. But the *Vîshtāsp Yasht* (Chap. VIII) differs from the first two. In the *Patet*, a Parsi thus speaks of his faith in the Zoroastrian religion: (*pa ān dîn dastur est hōm, în Ahura Mazda Zartōsht chāsht, Zartōsht oī Gōshtāsp, i.e.*) "I accept the commandments of that religion, which Ahura Mazda taught to Zoroaster and which Zoroaster taught to Gushtâsp (Vîshtâsp)." The *Vîshtāsp Yasht* is framed in the spirit of the latter part of the above passage of the *Patet*. It is the teaching of Zoroaster to King Gushtâsp whose Avesta name was Vîshtâsp. Hence it is, that it is called *Vîshtāsp Yasht*. It is also spoken of as *Vîshtāsp Nask*.

1 Westergaard, pp. 302 to 132; *Zend Avesta*, par Darmesteter, Vol. II, pp. 663-83. In this account of the *Vîshtâsp Yasht* and the Pahlavi books, I draw materials from my paper on "A Principle of Justice among the Ancient Persians as described by Herodotus; its origin in Persian books" (*The Sir J. J. Madressa Jubilee Volume*, edited by me, pp. 386-97. *Vide* my "Memorial Papers," pp. 68-79.)

It seems to be a much mutilated and abridged form of the 10th Nask, which is also known as *Vīshtāsp sāst, i.e.*, "that which was taught to Vīshtāsp (by Zoroaster)." In all the 8 chapters of the Nask or the Yasht, the subject in hand is addressed to Vīshtâsp, as "(my) son (*puthra*) Kava Vīshtâspa"! But the 8th chapter, which treats of the subject of the destiny of the soul, is, in addition to Vīshtâsp, addressed to Frashaoshtra as "(my) son Frashaoshtra"! In this Yasht, the soul is represented, as reposing during the first night on Good Words, and during the second night on Good Actions. On the third night it proceeds towards the Chinvat bridge. Here, the usual stage of good thoughts is dropped. But, in the final-passage to *Garō-nmāna*, we find the usual order. The description of this book about the destiny of the righteous soul is well nigh the same as that of the *Hādōkht Nask*. As to the destiny of the unrighteous soul, it only alludes to it in the last para and omits the detailed account found in the *Hādōkht Nask*.

IV

(*B*) The Pahlavi Books.

(*a*) The Mīnōkherad.

We now come to the Pahlavi books. We will first see, what the *Mīnōkherad* says. The second chapter of the book treats of the good of the body and the soul (*tan va ravān*). Therein, after speaking of the transient state of life, it gives the following account of the destiny of the soul: For three days and nights the soul hovers near the body (or near the last resting-place). On the dawn of the fourth day, it meets, on one hand, with help and support (*awākīh*) from three Yazatas or angels, *viz.*, Sarosh, Vâe-i-shapir (*i.e.* the good Vâe) and Vahrâm (Behrâm), and on the oth er, with the opposition (*hamīstārīh*) of demons like

Ast-vidât, Vâe-i salîtar, Farzîsht, Nazîsht and Aeshm, and then proceeds to the Chînvad bridge. The souls of both, the righteous as well as the unrighteous, go to the bridge. There, they are judged impartially; nothing, not even a hair's breadth of injustice is shown, by Meher, Sarosh and Rashnu, the last one holding the balance to weigh their deeds. When a righteous soul passes, the bridge becomes as wide as a *farsang*. The rest of the description of the *Mînôkherad* is well-nigh the same as that of the *Hâdôkht Nask*. In the case of the unrighteous soul, the demon Vîzaresh takes hold of it. It meets with opposition from the good Yazata like Sarosh, and with bad treatment from demons like Vîzaresh who beat it. We then find in the *Mînôkherad* some further matter, which is wanting in the previous descriptions of the Avesta books and which we had to assume, *viz.*, that the unrighteous soul is accosted by the picture of its bad deeds in the form of an ugly wicked maiden. On being asked by the soul as to who she was, she says: "I am not a maiden, but am thy deeds" (*Îi lâ kanîk burâ kunishn-i tak*). She then taunts the soul and reminds it of its past deeds. Finally, with four steps, the soul goes to the final hell. As said above, according to the *Vendîdâd*, the souls of both, the righteous and the unrighteous, were accosted by a handsome maiden, who saddened the souls of the unrighteous and gladdened those of the righteous. But here, we find that the righteous and the unrighteous are met by two different types of maidens.

(*b*) The Dadistân-i Dînî.

The next Pahlavi book that treats of the destiny of soul is the *Dâdistân-i Dînî*.[1] Its version varies a little, though not in the main points. It says nothing of the soul hovering over the corpse or its last resting-place,

1 Chaps. XX-XXV.

but says, that it entertains some fears and doubts about its place (*gumān ī madam nefshman gās*).[1] It sees before itself its good deeds or misdeeds. In the case of the righteous souls, during the first three nights, the recollection of their good thoughts, good words and good deeds brings them joy, pleasure and commendment (*shnāyashnā*, *rāmashna* and *farātashna*)[2] respectively. On the contrary, to the wicked souls, there come pain, discomfort and punishment (*bīsh*, *dushāvarih* and *pātafarās*)[3] respectively. All the souls then pass over the bridge. We find in the *Dādistān* the following additional statements, which are not found in the preceding versions :

(1) The first statement is, that there is a class of souls between the righteous (*āhloban*) and the unrighteous (*darvand*). They are spoken of as the *hamistagāni*, *i.e.*, the equal-stationary or the ever-stationary. They are the souls of those whose good deeds equal their bad deeds in weight. The righteous go higher up (*lālā*) from over the bridge, the unrighteous fall down headforemost, and the *hamistagāni* go to their own place, which seems to be neither higher up nor lower down, but on the same level.

(2) We also find some additional matter about the bridge. It is said that the bridge is like a many-sided wooden beam (*dār hūmānāk-i kabad pāhlūk*).[4] It has both broad and narrow sides, the broad being as broad as 27 reeds (*nāi*)[5] and the narrow as small as the edge

1 Chap. XXIV, 2, Ervad Tehmuras's Text, *Pursishn* XXIII, 2, p. 49, l. 11.

2 Chap. XX, 2, *Pursishn* XIX, 2, Ervad Tehmuras's Text, p. 43.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.* Chap. XXI, 3, *Pursishn* XX, 3, p. 44.

5 *Ibid.*

of a razor (*ōstareh tāi*).[1] When a righteous soul passes over it, the broad side gives a passage to it; but when the unrighteous passes, it is the narrow side, edged like a razor, that gives a passage. The broad side gives an easy passage to the righteous, the narrow side throws down the unrighteous on pointed darts.

(3) On the departure of a righteous person from this world, the creation—water, earth, trees and animals—grieves for his departure.[2] Ahura Mazda makes up for the loss by sending another righteous man to this world. So, the world continues to have a fresh supply of good men in place of those who have departed.[3]

(4) In the Avesta books, above referred to, the picture of one's deeds which presents itself before the soul in the form of a maiden is spoken of as *daenā* (*i.e.*, the picture of his conscience). In the *Mīnō-kherād* it is spoken of as *kunashni* (*i.e.*, the aggregate of his actions). In the *Dādistān*, it is spoken of as "the *ganjōbar-i kērfē*"[4] (*i.e.*, the treasurer of one's meritoriousness).

(5) There is one more additional new idea in the *Dādistān*.[5] It is that of the soul seeing both its good and evil deeds before it. The good soul sees before it, its meritorious as well as sinful works (*nefshman kerfē va vanās negiret*).[6] The righteous soul, in the midst of

1 Cf. the "razor-bridge" of the Mahomedans; also the क्षुरस्य धारा (the razor's edge) of the *Upanishad*.

2 The *Dādistān-i Dīnīk*, chap. XXII. This statement of the *Dādistān* reminds us of what we read in the *Farvardīn Yasht* (Yt. XIII, 93-94), *viz.*, that the creation or the whole Nature was delighted on the birth of the righteous person, Zoroaster

3 *Ibid.* Chap. XXII.

4 *Ibid.* Chap. XXIV, 5; *Pursishn* XXIII, 5; Tehmuras's, Text p. 50.

5 *Ibid.* Chap. XXIV.

6 *Ibid. Pursishn* XXIII, 2; Text p. 50, l. 1.

its pleasure for the consciousness of having acted well in this world, meets, on the third night, some punishment for any wrong deeds that it may have done. It says : "If there be some sin also with righteousness, which (sin) continues in its origin, for the first time, on the same third night, punishment by way of retribution for the evil deeds reaches him (*āat levatmanach āhlubīh vanūs aet zakash pavan būn istēt fardūm pavan tojashneh dūshāvarshta pātafarās ham se digar leliyā yāmtunet*).[1] In the same way, the unrighteous soul, while it sees before it, its evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds and the punishment due to them, sees also on the first, second and third nights, the spirit (*mīnōi*) of its good thoughts, good words and good actions respectively, if any, and derives pleasure therefrom.[2]

(*c*) The Grand Bundehesh.

When we come to the *Grand Bundehesh*, we find therein some further new matter as follows[3] :—

(1) The most important new matter that one finds in the *Grand Bundehesh* is this : While in all the other Avesta and Pahlavi books, a man's conscience or his actions are represented as appearing before the soul after

1 Chap. XXIV, 4, *Pursishn* XXIII, 4 ; Text p. 5, ll. 6-8.

2 Chap. XXV, 4, *Pursishn* XXIV, p. Text p. 51, ll. 14-16.

3 The chapter of the *Grand Bundehesh*, I refer to, has been translated by me fully, and I would refer my readers to the full text and translation given by me in "An untranslated chapter of the *Bundehesh*," a paper read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on 1st August 1901. *Vide Journal B.B.R.A. Society*, Vol. XXI, pp. 49-65. *Vide* my *Asiatic Papers*, Part I, pp 217-234. *Vide* my Introduction to that paper, for my views about the date and the author of the *Bundehesh*. *Vide* the Preface of my Gujarati Translation of the Bundehesh.

death, in the form of a damsel,[1] in this new chapter, in addition to their being so represented, they are represented (1) in the form of a cow (*torā-karp*) and (2) in the form of a garden (*bōstān-karp*).[2] (2) Again, we learn, that the mountain of Chekâti or Chakât-i Dâitî, on which stands the Chinvat bridge and which is situated in the middle of the world, is the place where the balance of justice is held. (3) We further learn that the balance is held by the angel Rashna. (4) Spiritual Yazatas and spiritual dogs guard the bridge which rests on this mountain, the northern and the southern ends of the bridge being on two summits of the Elbourz. The sword-like edge of the bridge rests on the Chakât-i Dâitî. (5) The chapter alludes to the Parsi custom of keeping the fire burning before the corpse, and says, that it helps, as it were, in frightening the Daêva Vîzaresha, who turns his back from the fire. In case, there is, for one reason or another, no fire there, the fire of Âtash Beharâm will take care of the soul. This seems to account for the custom, still prevalent to some extent, of sending some sandalwood for the sacred fire of the Âtash Beharâm or for that of the adjoining Âtash Âdarân when death takes place. Fire assists the virtuous soul again, when it crosses the bridge. It illuminates his path. During the first three days and nights, the pain to the soul is like that "to a man when his house is being dug up". The soul sits before its dead body, hoping "that the blood may be heated and the wind may enter the body" (again), and

1 Dr. Haug thought that this allegory may have "suggested to Mohammad the idea of the Celestial *Huris*". Dr. Cheyne says, "At any rate this Zoroastrian allegory suggested the Talmudic story of the three bands of the ministering angels who meet the soul of the pious man, and the three bands of wounding angels who meet the bad man when he dies." (*The Origin of the Psalter*, p. 437.)

2 *Vide* my above paper in my *Asiatic Papers*, p. 220.

that it (the soul) may be able to enter the body again. The picture of his pious deeds as a virtuous person appears before him, in addition to that in the figure of a damsel, in the form of "a fat and milky cow," and "a garden full of leaves, full of water, full of fruits, full of fertility, from (all) which blissful and fertile thoughts come to him." When the soul is sinful, the cow is "without milk, weak and frightful," and the garden "waterless, treeless, dreary." The good wind (*rāe-i-shapir*), in which the pious soul sees the form of a handsome damsel, catches hold of its hand and carries it to its own destined place. The ugly damsel who presents herself before the wicked soul in the midst of the stinking wind asks it to cross the sharp-edged path. The soul refuses to do so. It is asked thrice to do so, and thrice it refuses. Then, in the end there comes before the soul "a frightful untamed wild beast". The soul is frightened, and there being no help before it, it advances on the sharp-edged path of the bridge, and, in doing so, falls in the abyss of hell. "Those whose sins and righteous acts are both equal" go to the Hamistagân which is "a place like the world (*jināki chegūn gētī humānāk*)".[1]

In the above description of the *Grand Bundehesh*, we find a number of newly interpolated ideas, foreign to the old ideas. It is such interpolations that have made the old *small Bundehesh* "the *Grand Bundehesh*".[2]

(*d*) The Ardāi Virāf-Nāmeh.

Lastly, we come to the *Ardāi Virāf-Nāmeh*.[3] Here, the picture that presents itself before the soul is spoken of both as *Dīn* (*Daēnā*) and *kunishna*,[4] *i.e.*, conscience

1 For these and other quotations, *vide* my above paper on "*An untranslated chapter of the Bundehesh*".

2 The text of this *Bundehesh*, as collated by the late Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria, has been edited by his son, Mr. Behramgore, and published by the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat.

3 Chaps. IV, V, VI and XVII. 4 Chap. IV, 18.

and actions. Again, we find in addition to those Yazatas or angels which are referred to in the above books, the mention of the Yazata Âshtâd.[1] Rashna is spoken of as holding a golden balance, wherein he weighs (the deeds of) the pious and the wicked.[2] The *hamistagān* is spoken of as a place wherein are the souls of those whose meritorious and sinful acts are equal.[3] Here, we find—and this is the only Pahlavi book wherein we find—some more particulars about the weighing of the deeds in the balance. One whose meritorious deeds exceeds his misdeeds by the weight of three *srōshō-charanām*,[4] goes to Heaven. One, whose misdeeds exceeds his meritorious deeds by three *sraōshō-charanām*, goes to Hell. One, whose meritorious and evil deeds are equal, goes to the *Hamistagān*.

We saw above, that the extant copies of the Avesta *Hādōkht Nask* did not give in full the passages referring to the appearance of the evil *kunishna* or *karma* in the form of an ugly woman and to the conversation of the soul with that *kunishna*. To make our picture complete, I will give here that part of the allegorical episode from the *Virāf-Nāmeh* (Chap. XVII) : "The soul of the wicked roamed for three nights there, where the wicked man died, there, near which place life went out. It (the soul) stood at the head (of the dead corpse) and uttered the (following despondent) words of the *Gāthā* : 'O Dâdâr Ahurmazd ! To which land shall I go ? Which place shall I have for refuge ? ' And to him, on that night, there came as much pain and difficulty as could possibly come to a worldly man when he lived in the world in difficulty and pain. Then, a cold stinking wind blows towards it. It appeared to the soul as if it (the wind) blew from the northern direction, from the direction of the demons, and that he had not perceived

1 Chap. V, 3. 2 Chap. V, 5 3 Chap. VI, 7.

4 The amount of this weight is not properly known.

in the world a more stinking wind than this. And in that (stinking northern) wind he saw his own *din*, his own *kunishna* like a woman who was profligate, naked, decayed, raging, bandy-kneed, back-hipped, spotted, to such a great extent, that one spot was joined to another spot, and like a wicked, most polluted, stinking, noxious creature. Then that sinful soul asked (that woman) : 'Who art thou,—thou, than whom I never saw a creature more ugly, more polluted and more stinking in the creation of Ahura Mazda or Āhriman ?' She (the ugly woman) replied : 'O thou youth of evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds ! I am thy evil *kunishna* (deed). It is as the result of your will and deed that I am evil and bad and sinful and diseased and decayed and stinking and unlucky and miserable, as I appear to thee . . . . and though I have been unpleasing (*i.e.*, I have been taken to be bad), I am made more unpleasing by thee, and though I have been frightful. I am made more frightful by thee. Though I have been complaining (*garazashnīk*) I am made more complaining by thee. Though I have been from the northern (evil) direction, I am made (to appear) more from the northern direction by thee. (I am all this) through the evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds, which thou didst . . . .' Then that soul of the wicked man took its first step with evil thoughts, the second step with evil words and the third one with evil deeds. With the fourth step it went to Hell."

V

The Iranian allegory of Karma, appearing in the form of a maiden, as represented in other literatures.

The above mentioned old view of one's *karma* appearing before him in the form of a maiden—a handsome maiden if his deeds are good, an ugly maiden if his deeds are bad—seems to appear in the literature of

other nations also. (1) The Greeks are said to have thought that the "doubles" of things had the form of a Dryad,[1] *i.e.*, a nymph of the woods.[2] The Avestan maiden also, when it appeared before the pious souls on the third night after death, appeared as "moving in the midst of sweet scented trees (*aurvar bui-i basim.* Virāfnāmeh, IV, 15), and in the form of a garden (*bostānkarp.* The *Grand Bundehesh*). The "double" of the Greeks seems to be the same as the *Fravashi* or *Farohar*, which with *ahu* (spirit), *daēnā* (*karma*), *baōdha* (intelligence) and *urvāna* (soul) makes the entity of the soul.[3] (2) According to Dr. Haug, as said above, it was this allegory of the *kunishna* or *karma* appearing in the form of a maiden, that "suggested to Mohammad the idea of the celestial *Huris*".[4] (3) According to Rev. Dr. Cheyne, this Zoroastrian allegory which he calls "a noble and fine allegory," suggested the Talmudic story of three bands of ministering angels who meet the soul of the pious man and the three bands of wounding angels who meet the bad man when he dies.[5]

The Action of Karma to begin in this World.

One must not understand from the above narration of the destiny of man's soul, that the doctrine of *kunishna* or *karma* has to do with the future world alone. No, it has everything to do with the present also. We read in the Pahlavi *Mīnōkherad*: "He who has not attained his soul (*i.e.*, acted well through his soul) *up to now*, has attained nothing. He who in process of time does not

1 *Vide* the *Academy* of 10th February 1906, p. 134.

2 The word *Dryad*, comes from Lat. *dryas*, Gr. δρυάς, Avesta *dâuru* (Pahl. *dâr*), San. द्रु, P. دار (درخت), Eng. tree.

3 *Yasna* XXVI, 4. 6. 4 Haug's *Essays*.

5 *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* (1891); *Bampton Lectures* of 1889, p. 437.

attain his soul, attains nothing."[1] Neryôsang thus renders this Pahlavi passage:—यत् न किंचित् गृहीतं येन न आत्मा गृहीत: ॥ यावच्च इदानीं न किंचिद् गृह्णाति यो न आत्मानं गृह्णाति.

By "attaining the soul" (*robān vakhduntan*, आत्म ग्रहात:) is meant, what we speak of as, "salvation" in a very broad sense of the word. It says: "Do good acts yourselves *now*, and you are saved *now*, in this world."

VI

Iranian Proverbs or Sayings reflecting the Doctrine of Kunishn or Karma.

Besides the above writings from the Avesta and Pahlavi, there are a number of proverbs or pithy Iranian sayings, that point to the truth of the doctrine of Karma. The following may be said to be the best Avestan proverb illustrating the belief:—

Akem akāi, vanguhīm ashīm vanghavé[2], *i.e.*, Evil to the evil-minded, blessed good to the good-minded.

The following tew corresponding Persian proverbs may be taken as reflecting the old Iranian belief:—

هرچه کاري بدروي (*a*) Whatever you will sow, you will reap.

هرچه کني بخود کني گر همه نيک و بد کني (*b*) Whatever you do—whether all that you do is good or bad—you do to yourself.

سخت زني سخت خوري (*c*) If you will strike hard, you will be struck hard.

1 Chap. I, 28-30 (*Vide* S.B.E., XXIV. p. 6); Ervad Tehmuras's Edition, p. 4.

2 *Gâthâ Ushtavaiti*, *Yasna* XLIII, 5.

(*d*) کرده خویش آید پیش — Whatever you will do, that will come in front of you. (This and the following proverb seem to refer to the *karma* or *kunishn* or *kerdār* coming before one's soul at the end of his life in the form of a maiden.)

(*e*) آنرا که چنان کند چنین آید پیش — To him who does (a deed) in such and such a way, the same comes in front of him.

The following Gujarati proverbs or proverbial phrases are often heard from the lips of Parsis and may be taken as, well-nigh akin to, and in the line of, the Avestan proverb. Some of these are commonly uttered and some are rare :—

(*a*) કરણી તેવી પાર ઉતરણી. — As the deed, so the result of the crossing on the other side.

(*b*) કરશો તેવું પામશો. — As you will do, so you will have.

(*c*) કરશો હાથે તે લેશો સાથે. — What you will do with your own hands, you will take with you.

The two variants of this last proverb having the same meaning are:—

(*i*) કરશે હાથે તે લઇ જશે સાથે.

(*ii*) કરે હાથે ને રાખે સાથે.

(*d*) કરે તેવું પામે. — One will have, as he will do.

(૯) કરશે તે ભરશે. One shall have to fill up (or pay) as he will do.

All the above Iranian sayings and Parsi proverbs tell us, as it were, that "to-day is the incarnation of yesterday, and to-morrow the incarnation of to-day". Take care of to-day and your to-morrow will be happy.

VII

The words daena, kunishna, kerdar or karma to be taken in a broad sense.

The above Avesta and Pahlavi passages and the above pithy sayings point to the fact, that, in order to understand the question of happiness and misery, we must understand the word *karma*, *kunishna*, *daenā* or *deed* in a very broad sense, not in the restricted sense of action or deed. Happiness and misery result not only from an action or deed in the strictest sense of the word, but also from a thought or word. For every one instance of a deed bringing happiness or misery, there may be a dozen or two instances of mere thoughts causing happiness or misery, or a dozen or two instances of the utterance of words bringing happiness or misery. It is very often the case, that though no words may be uttered or no actions performed, still mere *thoughts* bring happiness or misery. It is very properly said that "As you *think* so you will be". It is mind that does the work first. It is mind that leads to the utterance of words and the performance of actions. So mind or thought is the principal thing. So, in the broad sense of *karma* or *kunishna*, thoughts and words both should be included with acts. That is especially the case in the above quoted passages about the noble allegory of *daenā*, *kunishna* or *kerdār*. The *daēnā* or *kunishn* that presents itself in the form of a maiden before the soul as the sum resultant of its actions, speaks of herself as the resultant of the soul's

thoughts, words and acts all combined, and not acts or deeds alone. In a broad sense, a thought or word is as well a deed, as a deed properly so called. This brings us to the question of the Zoroastrian triad of *manashni, gavashni,* and *kunashni, i.e.,* Thought, Word and Deed. The whole moral structure of Zoroastrianism rests upon that. This triad is, as it were, the pivot upon which the Zoroastrian moral structure turns. The Avesta and Pahlavi books are replete with passages about this triad, and that very properly, because everything depends upon these and especially upon mind. It is very properly said :

"Nothing divine in world but the man,
Nothing divine in man but the mind."

Think of nothing but the truth, and you will speak what is true, and your actions will be truthful. *Think* well and you will *speak* well and you will *act* well. It is this *daēnā*, this *kunishna*, this *kerdār* made up of the sum total of your thoughts, words and actions, that influences your happiness or misery.

Zoroaster thus conveys to his disciples a message from Ahura Mazda : "I declare to you the word which the most Beneficent told me and which is the best to be heard by mankind. Those who will grant me (a hearing) with obedience and attention, will be blessed with health and immortality. (The word is this :) 'Ahura Mazda (is approached) through deeds of good mind.' "[1]

The best of happiness, which Eastern thinkers think of, is that of being one, as it were, with the Great Architect of the Universe. Now, if one can attain that great happiness through good mind, as said in the above passage, all the worldly happiness is sure to be attained by good mind, *i.e.,* by good *thoughts.*

1 *Gâthâ Ushtavaiti,* Yasna XLV, 5.

What constitutes Hapiness? Righteousness.

According to the teachings of the Avesta there are two things that bring happiness, and two that bring misery. *Asha, i.e.*, Righteousness and Industry bring happiness. Unrighteousness and Sloth bring in misery. Broadly speaking, *Asha* or Righteousness must include Industry. But ordinarily it does not. So we will speak of them separately.

Asha.

Firstly, according to the teachings of the Avesta, it is *Asha* that constitutes happiness. Of the several Iranian technical or special words which cannot be sufficiently well rendered into another language, one is *Asha* (𐬀𐬰𐬀). It is the Sanskrit *ṛtā* ऋता. The English word *right* comes close to it. *Asha* is Righteousness—righteousness in thoughts, words and deeds. This Righteousness is the only path to happiness. There is an Avesta maxim which says: "There is only one path (and that is the path) of Righteousness. All other paths are no paths" (*aēvō pantāo yō ashahe ; vispē anyaēshām apantam*). *Asha* or Righteousness alone leads to happiness. That is the only road that leads to it, others are misleading roads. As Dr. Haug[1] has well said, the moral philosophy of Zoroaster "was moving in the triad of thought, word and deed". The word *Asha*, which signifies Righteousness, Purity or Piety, is, as it were, the watchword or motto of Zoroastrianism. M. Harlez very properly says that the notion of word "vertue" sums itself up in that of *Asha*. According to the *Vendīdād*, the preservation of good thoughts, good words and good deeds constitutes *Asha*.

There are a number of Avesta, Pahlavi and Pazend passages which recommend the above triad of good

1 Haug's *Essays on the Parsees* (2nd ed.), p. 309.

thought, good word and good deed which lead to *Asha* or Righteousness. Some of these are the following :—

(1) "Righteousness is the best good and happiness. Happiness to him who is righteous for the best righteousness."[1]

(2) "O Ahura Mazda! May Thou rule in all glory, as Thou likest, over Thy creation—over vegetation, over all good things, which bear the seed of Righteousness. Let the Righteous be powerful. Let the unrighteous be powerless. May the Righteous rule as they like. May the unrighteous be without the rule of their choice."[2]

(3) The following dialogue presents, in a succinct form, the importance of the above triad of thought, word and deed :—

Question : Who is the most fortunate or happy man in this world?

Answer: He who is most innocent.

Question: Who is the most innocent man in the world?

Answer: He, who walks in the path of God and shuns that of the devil.

Question: Which is the path of God and which that of the devil?

Answer: Virtue is the path of God and vice that of the devil.

Question: What constitutes virtue and what vice?

Answer: Good thoughts, good words and good deeds constitute virtue; and evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds constitute vice.

Question: What constitutes good thoughts, good words and good deeds and what constitutes evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds?

1 *Ashem Vohû*, Yasna, XX, 1-3. 2 Yasna, VIII, 5-6.

Answer: Honesty, Charity and Truthfulness constitute the former; and Dishonesty, Want of charity and Falsehood constitute the latter.[1]

(4) The *Virâf-Nâmeh*[2] gives an instructive and inspiring message of God to mankind. It says :—

"O Ardâ Virâf! Tell the Mazdayasnâns of the world that there is only one path and that (is the path) of Righteousness, which has come down from old for religious-minded people. The others are not (really good) paths. You follow that only path of Righteousness. Never turn away from it in prosperity or in adversity or in any other circumstance. Practise good thoughts, good words and good deeds: . . . . Follow the path of virtue and shun that of vice. Be informed of this, that your cattle will be reduced to dust, that your horses will be reduced to dust, your gold and silver will be reduced to dust, the bodies of men will be reduced to dust. (But) that man will not be reduced to dust, who will praise Righteousness and do Righteous acts of meritoriousness."

Industry. Zoroastrianism elevates Work to the position of Worship.

According to the Avesta next to Righteousness, it is Industry that brings happiness. Idleness or sloth brings misery. An Avestan maxim says: "No harm comes to the honest and to the diligent (even when) living among the evil-minded" (*nôit êrêzijyôi frajyâitish, nôit fshuyantê dregvaçû pairi*).[3] The Pahlavi rendering of the maxim says: "No disaster unto him who lives aright, nor unto him who is diligent. He is apart from the evil-minded." Zoroastrianism elevates *Work* to the position of *Worship*. The pursuit of agriculture is taken as the type of all good work, so much so, that in it, as it were, lies

1 *Ganj-i Shâyagân* (Dastur Dr. Peshotan B. Sanjana's Text, 2-7).

2 Chap. CI, 14-21.

3 Yasna, XXIX, 5.

the spread of religion. We read the following dialogue in the *Vendīdād*:—

Zoroaster asks Ahura Mazda: "O Holy Creator of the Material World! Wherein lies the spread of the Mazdayasnân religion?"

Ahura Mazda replies: "O Spitama Zarathushtra! In the plentiful sowing of the corn (lies the spread of the religion). He who sows corn, sows Holiness or Piety. He (thereby) causes the spread of the Mazdayasnân religion, as it were, with hundredfold acts of Yasna (prayer) recitals. Where grows corn, there, the Daēvas (or evil influences) are destroyed."[1]

Gibbon refers to this teaching of the *Vendīdād* as "a wise and benevolent maxim"[2] of the ancient Persians. *Laborare est orare, i.e.*, "Work is Worship," and *servere est regnare, i.e.*, "To serve is to reign," are, as it were, the maxims of the Avesta also. For a concrete instance, take the case of the domestic duties of women. For them, all domestic work is worship. There are three periods of the day (the *gāhs*), when a man has to say his necessary prayers (*farziāt*). For a woman to do her domestic duties at these periods is equal to worship. According to the *Ganj-i Shāyagān*, the Sun himself, as it were, gives to the men of the world, a message, three times during the day, reminding them of their duties. In the first period of the day (the *Hāvan gāh* in the morning), he asks them to be busy (*tōkhshāk*) with virtuous deeds. In the second period (the *Rapithwin* in the mid-day), he reminds them of the duties of a married life. In the third period when he goes down towards the horizon (the *Uziran gāh* in the evening), he reminds them of

1 *Vendīdād*, III, 30-31.

2 Gibbons, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1845), Vol. I, p. 120.

their acts of omission and asks them to repent for them.[1] All this amounts to saying: "We must read duty in prayers"; "Prayer is a self-preaching sermon." The efficacy of prayer, among other things, consists principally of this preaching of duty. The doing of own's duty, brings in happiness. A prayer reminds us of our duties. So prayer brings in happiness.

VIII

One's Work procures him Paradise.

Paradise or Heaven is the abode of Happiness or Bliss and it is good work that carries one there. The golden maxim—

> "Early to bed and early to rise
> Makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise,"

is one, that is well recommended by the Avesta. One, who rises early and falls to his work early, is thus represented as being blessed by the fire of his family hearth: "Get up, Time advances. He, who, out of two, gets up early, goes first to Paradise. He, who, out of two, first carries with his two well-washed hands clean fuel for the Fire of Ahura Mazda, is thus blessed by that well-pleased, unannoyed, well-fed fire: 'May cattle increase (in numbers) in thy house. May thy progeny increase. May thy mind be active. May thy life be active. For all the nights that thou mayst happen to live (*i.e.*, for all thy life) may thou live in the pleasure of a happy life.'"[2]

The Earth blesses the workers, curses the idlers.

In the Avesta, agriculture is the best type of all industry and work. The Earth blesses or curses an industrious man who tills the ground well or an idle man who neglects it. "Zoroaster asks Ahura Mazda: 'O Holy Creator of

1 *Ganj-i Shâyagân*, 153-56. 2 *Vendîdâd*, XVIII, 26-27.

the material world! Who is the fourth person who rejoices this Earth with the greatest of joys?' Ahura Mazda replied: 'O Spitama Zarathushtra! He, who most cultivates (the ground), for corn, pasture and fruit-bearing trees, who irrigates the waterless ground, who dries (*i.e.*, reclaims) watery or damp ground . . . . (rejoices the Earth).

"O Spitama Zarathushtra! When a man cultivates the Earth with the left hand and the right, with the right hand and the left, the Earth says unto him: 'O man! (as) thou tillest me with the left hand and with the right, with the right hand and the left, I will bring prosperity here in thy country: I will come with fruit, I will bear food of fruit and corn.'

"O Spitama Zarathushtra! When a man does not cultivate the earth with the left hand and with the right, with the right hand and with the left (*i.e.*, with both hands and right earnestly), the Earth says unto him: 'O man! thou, who tillest me not with the left hand and with the right, with the right hand and with the left, thou shalt undoubtedly stand at the door of others as a vagrant: and when thou shalt sit (begging) at their doors, they will keep thee waiting, and will bring thee some stale food, fetched out of their plenty.'"[1]

The Avesta teaching on the subject of industry is like that of the proverbs, "The more the marble wastes, the more the statue grows" and "Work is polish, undue rest is rust."

Firdousi represents Naoshirwân the Just (Chosroes I) as saying the following words:—

تن آسان شود هر که رنج آورد ز رنج تن باز گنج آورد

1 *Vendîdâd* III, 25-29.

i.e., He who works hard gets the ease of body. The body gets wealth (or happiness) by hard work.

The result of one's actions increasing with interest.

The Pahlavi *Dādistān-i Dīnī*[1] presents a beautiful view of the result of one's actions. It inculcates the moral, that the earlier in life a man does good actions, the greater the advantage to him. The good, resulting from his actions, increases with interest. This book advises, that a man should, from his very young age, lead a good life and do good actions. One need not wait for old age for the performance of pious virtuous deeds. The earlier in life he performs these, the greater the advantage. The result increases as it were with interest (*vakhsh*). What is meant to be said by the *Dādistān-i Dīnī* is, that, for one's future happiness, he must set a foundation from early young life.

Good deeds for the present as well as for future generations.

A Zoroastrian is asked to perform good deeds, not only for the good of the present generation, but even for the good of the coming generations. In the *Yasna* (IV, 5) he prays for the prosperity and well-being, both of cattle and of men, both of those that were born and those that will hereafter be born in the house (*fradathāi ahē nmānahē paçvāmcha narāmcha zātanāmcha* zāhyamnanâmcha). There is a similar prayer in the *Visparad* (XI, 13).

IX

The Sense of Duty.

Duty done brings happiness; duty neglected brings misery.

The *Vendīdād* has a beautiful passage on the subject of Duty. It places those who neglect their duty on the same level as that of robbers. It says: "He who does not do his duty towards those to whom duty

1 Question IX, Chap. X, *et seq.*

is due, becomes a thief of duty, for having robbed them of what is due to them. He must stick during the night or during the day, to his duty towards those, to whom duty is due, irrespective of their (high or low) position.''[1]

We read in the *Mīnōkherad*: "Every body has to undergo some trouble for (the sake of his) soul. He must know what work (duty) and meritorious acts are. That meritorious act, which a man unknowingly (unintentionally) does is less of a meritorious work (*i.e.*, has less merit).''[2] "That worship of God is good, ... which does not seek one's own good and advantage at the cost of harm to others, which is kind to the creatures of Ahura Mazda, which seeks industry and perseverance in duty and acts of meritoriousness,''[3] *i.e.*, Doing one's duty is an act of Worship.

The Avesta teaches that a man must practise both active and passive virtues. A man *must* do what it is his duty to do. The commission of these acts of duty brings happiness. The omission of these acts of duty brings misery. For example, it is the duty of the parents to educate their children. That duty, when done, bring its own reward. If the children, by virtue of the good training received from their parents, do virtuous deeds, the parents are believed to have a share in the meritoriousness of the acts of their children and *vice versa*. We read in the *Ganj-ī Shāyagān* that the parents must teach their children (to do) some of those deeds of righteousness before they are of the age of fifteen. When they are thus taught, the parents participate in whatever deeds of righteousness the children may do. When they are not taught, if in consequence of not being taught, the children com-

1 *Vendîdâd*, Chap. IV, I.

2 *Mînôkherad* I, 23-25. 3 *Mînôkherad*, LII, 2-13.

mit sins, the parents participate in those (sins).[1] The Pahlavi *Shāyast lā Shāyast* says: "The duty and good works which a son performs are as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand."[2]

All good work has its reward. If you, on finding a hungry man, feed him, and if the hungry man, by being well-fed, does some good acts, you participate in the meritoriousness of his good acts. The *Shāyast lā Shāyast* says: "(If) A man gives a hungry man a bread, which is much (*i.e.*, sufficient), all the good work, which he performs through that satiety becomes as it were his own as if done by his own hand."[3] In the same way, it is the duty of those who have, by their position, wealth or education, opportunities, to guide and help the less-favoured, the ignorant If they do that duty, they are rewarded: if they neglect that duty, they suffer. We read in the *Bundehesh*: "Every body will see (the consequence of) his good actions or bad actions. At the end, in the midst of the Anjuman (the whole assembly or community), the sinful will be conspicuous, in the same way, as a white sheep becomes conspicuous in the midst of black sheep. In that assembly, a sinful person will thus complain for a righteous person, who may have been his friend in this world: 'Why did you not instruct me to perform the virtuous deeds which you performed?' The righteous man shall have to go away from the assembly much ashamed for not having done so."[4] The pith of what is said here is this: One has not to rest satisfied with a passive life of virtue. If he has opportunities to teach others, to improve others, he must seize these

1 *Ganj-i Shāyagān*, 143, Dastur Dr. Peshotan's Text, p. 15.

2 Chap X, 22; XII, 15 (*vide* West, *S.B.E.*, V, pp. 325 and 345).

3 Chap. X, 23 (West, *S.B.E.*, Vol. V, p. 325).

4 *Vide* my *Bundehesh*, XXX, 5 (West, p. 123).

opportunities. If he neglects to do so, he will be put to shame and shall have to repent.

According to a later Persian *Rivāyat*,[1] if a leader (*sālār*), who has by his position, wealth or education, opportunities to lead others aright and to improve them, and if he takes hold of these opportunities, he is spiritually benefited by the meritoriousness of the good acts performed by those led and taught by him. One-tenth (دِهْ یَکی *deh-yakī*) of the meritoriousness of the good acts of those others accrues to him. If he misses the opportunities, and others commit wrongful deeds as the result of his omission to take advantage of his opportunities to instruct them properly, he has his one-tenth share of the responsibility of the wrong deeds.

The smallest act of goodness has its reward.

No action of man, however small, goes unrewarded. The Pahlavi *Virâf-Nâmeh* has the story of one Davânôs who, according to a Pahlavi *Rivâyat*,[2] was a ruler over thirty countries. Though he had many opportunities to do good, he did no act of goodness except one. It was this : Once, an ox was straining himself to catch hold of a bundle of grass. While passing, Davânôs saw this, and, in order to help the poor animal, he pushed the bundle towards him with his right foot. The result was, that though he was cast into hell where his whole body suffered pain, his right foot was saved from any pain. This little story shows, that every act, every *kunishn* or *karma*, however small, has its own recompense, its own satisfaction, happiness or reward.

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1 *Narîmân Hoshang's First Rivâyat*, Bombay University Library MS., Vol. I, folio 12*a*, ll. 4-5.

2 *Virâf-Nâmeh* of Hoshang-Haug-West, Chap. XXXII and note.

X

Zoroastrian view of Heaven and Hell.

The above considerations of the Doctrine of Karma, some of which refer to the destiny of the soul hereafter, suggest the question of the original Zoroastrian ideal of Heaven, wherein good is rewarded, and that of Hell wherein evil meets its due. Though later books seem, like books of other religions, to localise Heaven and Hell, the early writings of the Avesta have a lofty ideal, irrespective of space or time. The following Zoroastrian prayer tells us as to what leads to Heaven and what leads to Hell: "All good thoughts, all good words and all good actions are the result of knowledge. All bad thoughts, all bad words and all bad actions are not the result of knowledge. All good thoughts, all good words and all good actions lead to the best state of existence (*i.e.*, Heaven). All bad thoughts, all bad words and all bad actions lead to the worst state of existence (*i.e.*, Hell). The result of all good thoughts, good words and good actions is the best state of existence (*i.e.*, Heaven). This is evident to the Righteous."[1]

This small prayer presents a beautiful view of what Heaven and Hell is. It does not give any space limit to Heaven or Hell, *i.e.*, it does not localise Heaven or Hell. Again, it does not assign any time limit to Heaven, *i.e.*, a man has not to wait till death to attain his heaven. Heaven is a state of existence to be attained even in this world, even in this lifetime. The only way to go to Heaven, the only way to attain heavenly existence, the only way for salvation is to practise the triad of good thoughts, good words and good deeds above referred to. No priest

1 The Prayer of *Vispa Humata*. *Vide* "*Le Zend Avesta*" par Darmesteter, Vol. III, p. 3.

or prophet saviour or intercessor is required. Your own good thoughts, good words and goods actions are your saviours, your intercessors. If you practise these, you are taking steps to proceed to Heaven, the moment you do so. If you do not practise these but resort to bad thoughts, bad words and bad actions, the moment you do so, you are taking steps to proceed to Hell.

The very word for Heaven in the Avesta is significant. It is *Vahishta-ahu, i.e.*, the Best Life. It is the first part of the compound word, *viz.*: *vahishta* 𐬬𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬱𐬀, Sanskrit *vasiṣṭa* (वसिष्ठ), that has given us the later Persian word for Heaven, *viz.*, *behesht* بهشت, which word is the same as English *best*. If one makes his progress from "good" to "better" and from "better" to "best" he makes his progress towards his *behesht*, towards his Heaven.

The converse is the case with the idea of Hell, the Avesta word for which is *achishta-ahu, i.e.*, the worst life. Just as *vahishta* is the superlative form of *vanghu* 𐬬𐬀𐬙𐬹, Pahl. *veh*, Sanskrit *vasu* (वसु), Pers. وه *bah*, so *achishta* is the superlative form of *aka* 𐬀𐬐𐬀, Sanskrit *aka* (अक), *i.e.*, bad or evil (Eng. *ache* in headache). The fall from "bad" (*aka*) to "worse" and from "worse" to "worst" is a fall in the abyss of Hell. Here the "good" or the "bad" is to be understood not only in the material sense, but also, and especially, in the mental or moral and spiritual sense. Progress in the path of goodness is Happiness, and is an advancement to Heaven. Fall in the path of vice is Misery, and is a step to Hell. Heaven or Hell is a kind of state of existence and it depends upon a man's thoughts, words and deeds (*manashni, gavashni, kunashni*).

The Iranian Hamâzor. To be in tune with the whole Universe.

Zoroastrian scriptures say, that in order to be really happy—not only physically happy, but mentally, and morally or spiritually happy, one must be, as it were, in tune with the whole world, with the whole of the creation of God, with the whole universe. Happiness does not rest only upon one's own physical or material possessions. It depends more upon mental or spiritual possessions or qualities. A man may be happy, if he chooses to be so, without possessing a single pie of his own. The whole of nature, the whole universe, is, as it were, his own. It is his wealth, and he can draw from it, whatever materials he likes, in order to be happy. He must try to be, as it were, in tune with the whole universe. That will make him happy.

In the Parsi books we come across a particular technical word, *viz.*, *hamāzor*, which cannot properly be translated in any other language. The word also signifies a particular custom observed with the recital of the word. As to the meaning of the word *hamāzor*, the first part of the word *hama* or *hamā* 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀 or 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬁 is the same as Sanskrit *sama* (सम), Lat. *similis*, English *same*. The second part of the word *zor* is Avesta *zaothra* (𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬚𐬭𐬀), Sanskrit होत्र, which comes from the root *zu* 𐬰𐬎, Sanskrit हु, to dedicate, invoke, offer, to perform a ceremony. Thus, the word means "to be the same or to be one in ceremony, in making offerings". The word also signifies a religious ceremony, wherein the principal celebrants or participants in the ceremony pass their hands in the hands of others. This custom or ceremony of *hamāzor* corresponds, to a certain extent, to the "Kiss of Peace" among the Jews and the early Christians. The passing of hands is often accompanied by the recital of a religious formula, *viz.*, *hamāzor hamā ashō bed*, *i.e.*, "May you be

one with us in the ceremony, may you be *ashō* or righteous." The recital of the words signify the object and aim of the ceremony, *viz.*, the general wish of the participants that all may be *ashō* or righteous.

Now, there is not only the idea of physical *hamāzor* between man and man, but there is also a kind of mental or spiritual *hamāzor* between man and Nature, even between man and Nature's God. The Pâzend *Āfrins*, recited at the end of the *Āfringāns*, when the *hamāzor* ceremony is performed, are full of expressions about this mental or spiritual *hamāzor* with the whole of Nature and Nature's God. The signification is, that man, in order to be happy, must try to be one with the Harmony, Order, System established by God in Nature. He must be in tune with the whole universe.[1] There is a mental or spiritual *hamāzor* with the divisions of time and space in the Grand infinity of time and space. They are divisions brought about by the movements of heavenly bodies and are all intended for Harmony, Order, and System. So, the spiritual *hamāzor* with these, asks the worshipper to be one with that Harmony, that Order, that System in Nature.

I have referred above to an Avesta saying '*aēvō pantāo yō Ashahē, vispē anyaēshām a-pantām, i.e.*, "there is only one path and that is the path of Righteousness. All other paths are no (or misleading) paths." Rev.

1 *Vide* my paper on "The Kiss of Peace among the Bene-Israels of Bombay and the Hamâzor among the Parsees" (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay. Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 84-95. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 283-94. The similar custom of "the Kiss of Peace" is still prevalent in Eastern Patriarchal Churches, where, on the Easter Eve, the participants in the religious services kiss each other with the recital of the words, "Christ is risen." "He is arisen indeed." (*Forty Years in Constantinople*, by Sir Edward Pears, 1916, p. 64.)

Casartelli referring to these words very properly ejaculates, "Voila! le rèsumè de toute religion,"[1] *i.e.*, "Here is the *résumé* of the whole of religion." This Avestan proverb reminds us of the Christian saying: "In the way Righteousness is life; and in the pathway thereof there is no death."

XI

Karma (Deed) or Destiny—Freewill or Fate.

In the commencement of this paper, we referred to a recent writer who presented a pithy signification of the word Karma. He said: "The future both in this life and hereafter is the product of which the past and the present are factors, the past as Karma and the present as Freewill." Thus, with the question of one's *karma* or *kunishna* is connected the question of "Deed or Destiny". The question is spoken of variously. It is the question of Deed or Destiny, or that of Freewill or Fate, or that of Self-exertion or Fate, or that of Prudence or Providence. We have so far seen, that a man's happiness or misery, depends upon himself, upon his own deeds, his own exertions, his own prudence, his own freewill. But, we know, that at times, notwithstanding one's best efforts, he fails, and meets with misery. There are, what are called, accidents of life, on which a man has no control and which unexpectedly bring grief, sorrow or misery. Cases like these may be taken as vitiating, to some extent, the wholesome law of *karma* or *kunishna* in the sense in which we have been considering it. But here comes in, the Belief in the Existence of a Higher Power or Intelligence, of Providence, of God. Whatever differences there may be in the different religious systems of the world, there are a few elements that are common. There are

1 *L'Idée du Péché chez les Indo-Eraniens de l'Antiquité*, p. 14.

different religions in the world, but at the bottom of all these there is *only one* religion. There is one religion under or above, within or without, at the back of, or in the front of, all religions.

The story of Duff, Renan and V. Hugo.

France was said to have, at one time, destroyed all religion, all belief; and a story is related in connection with that destruction. It is said, that M. Renan of France, once took Sir Grant Duff of England to Victor Hugo at Paris. Victor Hugo said to Duff that they, in France, had attacked Christianity and destroyed a good deal, destroyed religion: Duff inquired, whether they had kept anything in place of all that was destroyed. They replied, "Ces trois mots: Dieu, Ame, Responsibilitè" (*i.e.*, These three words: God, Soul and the Responsibility of the soul to God). Sir Grant Duff is said to have been satisfied when he heard the above reply. He said: "O, then you have kept Religion." If a man, community or nation believes in (*a*) the Existence of God, (*b*) in the individual Existence of the Soul and its Future, and (*c*) in the Responsibility of the Soul for its actions, then, notwithstanding any disbelief or scepticism in doctrines or dogmas, the man, community or nation may be taken, to a great extent, to believe in Religion, to be religious. In the above consideration of the law of *kunishna* or *karma*, the existence of the last two elements out of the three above referred to, has been taken to be understood or granted. In the further consideration of the question of the law, the first of the above three elements or the first of "les trois mots" presents itself.

When, in spite of our best efforts, we fail, and misery or grief stands before us and stares at us, it is the belief in the power and wisdom of God, that should support us, that should afford happiness or consolation to us. With

all our power, all our knowledge, all our mental faculties, our capability is limited. There is the Omnipresent, Omniscient, Omnipotent God Who alone sees behind the curtain. So, when we fail in spite of all our best efforts, we have simply to depend upon Him. Contentment, which should be the result of such belief, must come to our help.

Taqdīr and Tadbīr.

This question of Deed or Destiny, Freewill or Fate, Prudence or Providence, is the question of, what is known in later Persian, as *Taqdīr* and *Tadbīr* (تقدیر و تدبیر). In the Pahlavi *Dādistān-i Dīnī*,[1] we read the following question and answer on the subject:—

Question.—"Is anything which happens unto men, through fate or through action? Is exertion destiny or without destiny? Does anything devoid of destiny happen unto men?"

Reply.—"There are some things through destiny, and there are some through action; and it is thus fully decided by them, that life, wife, and child, authority and wealth are through destiny, and the righteousness and wickedness of priesthood, warfare, and husbandry are through action."[2]

What is meant in this question and answer is this: Priesthood, warfare and husbandry were the three principal professions in ancient Irân, and so, as such, they typified all work. All men must practise *tadbīr*, *i.e.*, must exert themselves in their different professions and thus seek livelihood and happiness. But there are certain things beyond the scope of exertion; in the matter of these, they must depend upon their *taqdīr*, upon the Will of God. For example, in spite

1 Chap. LXXI. 2 Dr. West, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 214-215

of all your efforts, you cannot be sure of your own life or of the life of your dear ones. Something unexpected may happen and the life is gone. In such cases, which are beyond your power of exertion, your source of happiness, or consolation is pure Faith in God. The beautiful words, "Thy Will be done," are your only source of comfort. The author of the Pahlavi *Dādistān-i Dīnī* takes the selection of a wife also to be, as it were, in the hand of *taqdīr* (Destiny, Fate) and not in that of *tadbīr* or exertion. You may exercise all possible prudence in selecting your wife, but notwithstanding that, it is a matter of chance, whether her temper will agree with yours or not. It is in the hand of Providence. But in such a view of life's events also, the law of *kunishna* or *karma* is not without its influence. When you have done all your possible best, and in spite of your active work or virtues have failed, you have still to exert the passive virtues of patience, fortitude, forbearance, toleration. These may bring you happiness. You have done your best, exercising all your prudence, to select a good wife, but have been unfortunate in your selection; then you are to depend upon Providence and pray for the passive virtues of contentment, patience, etc. They may bring you a little happiness even in the lot of having a bad wife.

To sum up, the Avesta teaching is, "Exert your best. Do good to-day. Do better to-morrow. Then go on doing better and better every day, keeping 'the best' for your highest 'ideal'. Let 'Excelsior' be your watchword. Then, have Faith in God. *First*, exert and *then* have Faith in God." As Tennyson says :—

"Cling ever to the summer side of doubt
And cling to Faith, beyond the form of Faith."

The man of Faith ought to be the man of work. In

the consideration of such a question, one must use more the word "God" than the word "Fate". With Faith in God, there must always be within us a "mounting spirit," which is the root of all *tadbīr*. It is this "mounting spirit" which inspires the following Avesta prayer :—

"O Ahura Mazda! Whatever Thou hast thought, whatever Thou hast uttered, whatever Thou hast done, has all been good. So, Ahura Mazda! We offer and dedicate our things to Thee. We worship Thee, offer our homage to Thee, render our thanks to Thee."[1]

The story of Prophet Mahomed and his camel-driver.

The following story attributed to Prophet Mahomed very properly represents the view which we must hold in this matter of the question of Fate and Freewill. Mahomedanism, which is said to have taken some of its thoughts from Zoroastrianism, is often represented as teaching Fatalism, but this story shows, that, really speaking, it is not so. Unbounded faith in God is possibly misunderstood to be Fatalism. The story says, that a camel-driver, who had accompanied Prophet Mahomed in his travels, once, at the end of his day's journey, set the camel loose and said to Mahomed : "I have set the camel free and I now depend upon God, that He will take care of it." Mahomed said : "No, do what you have to do as a matter of course. Fasten the camel with a rope and then depend upon God." The moral of the story is, that one must *first* do his duty, his necessary work, and *then* depend upon the Almighty God. His *tadbīr* first and *taqdīr* second.

Action first. A story of two kings.

The following story of two kings who were equally pious and righteous, illustrates the view, which we must take of the doctrine of *kunishna, kerdār* or *karma* :

1 Yasna XIII, 5

There were two monarchs who were both equally pious and righteous. Owing to some differences, they had to go to war against one another. Both exerted their *tadbīr* to the best and prepared good fighting armies and personally commanded them. The battle was long and well-fought by both sides. There came a critical time, when the result hung, as it were, in a balance, the scales of which would turn one way or the other, as it were, by the mere weight of a straw. In the midst of these critical moments, one of the two pious monarchs got down from his elephant, knelt down before his God and prayed for victory. The other monarch, who had the same amount of faith in God, prayed for victory at the critical moment, but he did not get down from his elephant. He prayed from over his elephant, and therewith, drawing sword, went forward, encouraging his troops. The other monarch, who was equally pious and righteous, committed the fatal mistake of getting down from his elephant for prayer. The result was that his troops, not seeing him on the *howdāh* of his elephant, took it that he was killed. So, they got dejected and lost courage and thus lost the battle. Here, both the monarchs had exerted their full in the matter of both, *tadbīr* and *taqdīr*, but, at the critical moment, one had more of *tadbīr* than *taqdīr* ; and so, he won.

THE HUNS, WHO INVADED INDIA. WHAT WAS THEIR RELIGION?[1]

This is the third paper, I am writing on the subject of the Huns. The first, I had the pleasure of writing for the R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume[2] under the title of "Hunas in Avesta and Pahlavi." The second was read before the B. B. R. A. Society on 25th August 1916 under the title of "The Early History of the Huns and their Inroads in India and Persia."[3] In the first of these two papers, I have referred, at the end, partly to the subject of this paper. The object of this paper is to speak at some length on the subject of the Religion of the Huns who invaded India.

I

The Home of the Huns.

From where came the Huns who invaded India?

Before determining, what the religion of the Huns who invaded India was, it is necessary to determine, from where came the Huns to India. As said by Mr. Deguignes,[4] the history of the Huns is a history "of a nation almost ignored which established, at different times,

1 This paper was read before the Third Oriental Conference at Madras in December 1924. It was published in full in the volume of its proceedings.

2 *Vide* the R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume (1917), pp. 65-80. *Vide* my "Memorial Papers", pp. 127-39.

3 Journal B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXIV, pp. 539-595. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part II, pp. 293-349.

4 I translate from the "Histoire Générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, et des autre Tartares Occidentaux etc. avant et depuis Jesus-Christ jusqu'a present," par M. Deguignes (1756), Tome Premier, partie premiere, Preface page V.

powerful monarchies in Asia, Europe and Africa .... They had empires more extensive than that of Rome, illustrious emperors, legislators and conquerors who had given rise to considerable revolutions." It is the history of a nation which has "contributed to the destruction of the Roman Empire, ravaged France, Italy, Germany and all the countries north of Europe, ruined the empire of the Khalifs and possessed the Holy Land." "Their empire at one time extended in the West to Western Europe and in the East to China. They had relations with Chinese, Roman, Persian and Indian empires."

The Origin of the Huns.

We will, at first, see who the Huns were. Like the name Turks the use of the name Huns is not definite or limited. "The first Turkish people mentioned by the Chinese are," as said by Prof. M. Th. Houtsma,[1] "the Hiong-Nu,[2] who, wandering to the West, occupied the country south of the Altai mountains, and expelled (about 177 B.C.) the former occupants of those regions, the Yuechi, Kangoi and Usun (U-ssun)—tribes of unknown nationality, but possibly also Turks. The Hiong-Nu were identified by Deguignes with the Huns, this denomination being used in a political or collective sense, and including, besides the Huns proper, the Ephthalites, or White Huns, Avars, Bulgars, Magyars, Khazars, and Petchenegs, who are styled by several scholars Hunnic or Scythian people .....The Hiong-Nu are so to speak proto-Turks and the history of the Turks proper begins with the Tu-kiu, the Chinese equivalent of the word Turk." It is these

1 Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. 23, 9th Ed., p. 659.

2 "The Hiong-Nu of Chinese historians have often been described as a Turki race, yet it is significant that Professor de Lacouperie, on investigating the point, came to the conclusion that the Hiong-Nu seem to have been a policy not a racial unity." (See Western Origin Chinese Civilization, p. 223, The Tarikh-i Rashidi, by Elias, p. 87.)

Tu-Kiu who entered into friendly relations with Byzantium in the time of Justin II. Sinjibulus (Arab. Sinjibu), their ruling prince at the time, destroyed the empire of the Ephthalite or Haital tribe in the time of Khosru I. The mythical Afrāsiāb, the Afrāsciab of Firdousi's Schāihnāmeh, was believed to have belonged to the Karluk section of the Turks. There were a number of "the so-called Afrāsiāb kings or Ilekkhans". Some kings of that name ruled at Kashgar even in the 10th century A.C. We thus see that there were Western Huns and the Eastern Huns.

Then, the question is: Who were the Huns, who invaded India? Were they the Huns of the East or the Huns of the West? From what particular country they came? Our reply is that they were the Huns of the West. They came from the direction of Persia. We will examine this question.

Reference to the Huns in Indian books and inscriptions and in a Chinese book.

We have reference to the Huns in two Indian books and several inscriptions. The books are: (1) The Viṣṇu Purāṇa and (2) The Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsā. The inscriptions are: (1) The Bhitari Pillar of Victory of Skandagupta, (2) The three inscriptions, bearing the name of the Hun king Toramana, (3) The two inscriptions of Yaśodharman at Mandasor, known as *raṇa-stambhas*, *i.e.*, Columns of Victory in war.

1. The reference in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa.

There are two references to the Huns in Viṣṇu Purāṇa in the third chapter of the second book.[1] (*a*) In the first, the writer, while describing the Bhārata Varṣa (India), speaks of some principal nations, "in the extreme

1 The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, a System of Hindu Mythology and Tradition, translated from the Original Sanskrit, by H. H. Wilson (1840), pp. 177 and 191.

west." Among these nations, he includes the Huns. This reference shows, that they were Huns, not from the direction of China in the East, but from somewhere in the East. Wilson says, that they were "the White Huns or Indo-Scythians, who were established in the Punjab and along the Indus at the commencement of our era as we know from Arrian, Strabo and Ptolemy confirmed by recent discoveries of their coins."[1]

(*b*) The second reference is in the list of "ferocious and uncivilized races", among whom he names "Hūnas and Pārasīkas"[2]. The Pārasīkas are Parsees of Persia. Thus, when we find the Huns mentioned with the Pārasīkas of Persia, we have reason to take it, that the Huns, who are mentioned with the Parsees, were Huns from the direction of Persia where the Pārasīkas lived.

2. Reference in the Raghuvamsa of Kālidāsa.

Kālidāsa refers to the Huns in his Raghuvaṁśa (canto, IV. 68)[3]. Here, the hero Raghu is represented, as marching "against the regions of Kubera", and fighting against the Huns who were accompanied by their queens. Mallinātha, the commentator of the Raghuvaṁśa, says, that Kālidāsa meant to represent Raghu as marching against the country of the Huns. Here, we have no direct reference or allusion to guide us to determine who those Huns were and from where they came, from the East or the West. But the previous reference of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa leads us to say that the Huns referred to by Kālidāsa were also from the East, from the direction of Persia.

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1 *Ibid.* p. 177, n. 6. 2 *Ibid.* p. 194.

3 The Raghuvamsa of Kālidāsa with a commentary of Mallinātha, by Kashinath Pāndurang Paraba, 2nd Edition (1882), p. 89.

Two Invasions of India by the Huns in the reign of Skandagupta.

The reference to the Huns in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and in the Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa may be taken as unauthentic in the sense of not being identified with any historic period or historic personage. Irrespective of the question of the particular period to which the Huns referred to in these books belonged, we are not certain of the dates of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and of Kālidāsa. But, when we come to references to the Huns in later inscriptions, we are on surer and more authentic grounds.

The First Invasion referred to in an Inscription.

The first authentic reference to the invasion of India by the Huns is that in the reign of Skandagupta. The period A.C. 330 to 450, about a century and a half, is spoken of as "the Golden Age of the Guptas"—the Guptas who were known as the "Early Guptas" as distinguished from the later Guptas of Magadha. With the death of Kumārgupta I, in 455 A.C., this golden age ended. Skandagupta,[1] who next came to the throne, would have continued this golden age, had it not been for an invasion of his country by the Huns who came from the steppes of Central Asia, *via* the North-Western mountain passes. Skandagupta boldly and victoriously kept them off for a time, but ultimately he was defeated. He takes a note of his early victories in an inscription[2] on the above-mentioned "Column of Victory" erected at Bhitari in the Ghazipur district of the North-Western Provinces. The inscription records "the installation of an image of the God Viṣṇu.....and the allotment to the idol of the village.....in which the column

1 For his predecessor and successors, *vide* my above-mentioned paper on the Huns. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part II, p. 336, n. 2.

2 *Vide* "Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their successors," by Dr. J. F. Fleet (1888), pp. 52-56.

stands."[1] In this inscription, Skandagupta makes an allusion to "a terrible whirlpool joined in close contact with the Hûnas."[2] The victory seems to have been gained, as suggested by Dr. Smith,[3] by Skandagupta at the very beginning of his reign, in about 455 A.C. This date is inferred from Skandagupta's another inscription, the inscription on the rock of Aśoka's edicts at Junaghad at the foot of Girnār.[4]

The Second Invasion, referred to by a Chinese traveller.

A few years after the above repulse, the Huns invaded India again in or about 465 A.C. The Chinese traveller Sung-yun or Sing-yung, who travelled in India in 520 A.C., refers to this invasion.[5] He speaks of these Huns as belonging to Ye-tha tribe. According to Beal, "They were in fact the Ephthalites or Huns of the Byzantine writers." Their king was Lei-lih, whom Cunningham thinks to be the father of Toramana. Skandagupta was, in the end, defeated by these Huns.

The Invasion of India by the Huns under Toramana.

The defeat of Skandagupta, referred to above, seems to have emboldened the Huns. A few years after, in about 500 A.C., they again invaded India under Toramana, believed to be the son of Lei-lih, referred to above, who settled himself in Malwa. Following the Persian kings, who called themselves Shāhān-Shāh and Malikān Malik Toramana assumed the similar Indian title of Mahārājādhirāja, *i.e.* the Raja of the Mahārājas. He is known to

1 Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, p. 53. 2 *Ibid.* p. 56.

3 "The Early History of India," by Vincent Smith, 3rd Ed. (1914), p. 309.

4 *Vide*, for particulars, my paper on the History of the Huns, in my "Asiatic Papers," Part II, pp. 336-337.

5 Si-yu-ki, "Buddhist Records of the Western World," by Samuel Beal, Vol. I (1884), Introduction, pp. 99-100.

have struck coins in his name. Three inscriptions are known in which his name occurs.[1] He had established his rule in India. He was succeeded by his son Mihirkula.

Now, who were these Huns, who, under the leadership of Lei-lih and his son Toramana, invaded India in the time of Skandagupta (455-80 A.C.), and who, in the time of his successors,—his brother Puragupta (480-85) and Puragupta's son, Narsihmagupta Bālāditya—again invaded India? They were the Huns who had come from the direction of Persia. The Sassanian kings Behramgore, his son Firouz, and then Kobad, Noshirwan, Hormaz and Khusro Parviz, all had to fight, with more or less success, against the different tribes of the Huns known as Hastalites, Khazars, etc. Now and then, when they were defeated by the Persian kings, or when they were flushed with victory against them, they turned towards India for their inroads. On the defeat and death of Firouz (484 A.C.) at their hands, the Huns had grown more powerful. So, in about 500 A.C., led by Toramana, they brought stronger assaults on India.

In the second of the three inscriptions, bearing Toramana's name—the inscription at Kura in the Salt range, which is now in the Lahore Museum—Toramana is spoken of as "Shāhi Jau....." (षाहिजउ). I have shown in my paper on the Huns[2], that this "Toramana Shāhi Jau..." is the Hunnic king Faghanish (فغانش) of Firdousi who speaks of him as Shāh-i Haital (شاه هیتال) and also as Chagāni Shāhi (چغان شاهی). The title Shāhi of the Indian inscription of Toramana is the same as the title Shāhi of Firdousi.

1 For an account of these inscriptions, *vide* my paper on the Huns. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part II, pp. 339-40.

2 My Asiatic Papers, Part II, pp. 340-41.

Thus, (*a*) the history of their wars[1] with the Sassanian kings, (*b*) the above identification of their titles, (*c*) and the fact, that Toramana's son Mihirkula bore an Iranian name, all these show that the Huns, who invaded India in the time of the above referred to Guptas, were Huns from the West, from the direction of Persia.

II

The Question of their Religion.

Now, we come to the subject proper of our paper, *viz.*, What was the religion of these Huns who invaded India?

The Huns had come into contact with the Persians from very early times. But, coming to later more historical and authenticated times, we find that a tribe of these, the Hastalites or Ephthalites had settled firmly in Transoxania in the beginning of the 5th century. So, the natural presumption is, that their religion was likely to contain elements common to the Iranian religion. But, laying aside this natural presumption, we will proceed to produce other stronger evidence to show, that their religion was more akin to that of the Iranians.

The Iranian religion before the time of Zoroaster was known as the Mazdayasnān religion. So, the Huns of those early times also were Mazdayasnān like the Iranians. After the time of Zoroaster, the Iranian religion became Zoroastrian, or, more properly speaking, Mazdayasnān Zoroastrian. Even now, a Parsee, while reciting and declaring his creed or confession of faith, speaks of himself, first as a Mazdayasnān, and then as a Mazdayasnān Zoroastrian (Mazdayasnō ahmī, Mazdayasnō Zarathushtrish, Yasna, Ha XII). On the advent of Zoroaster, the Iranians followed his new creed, which was not

1 For a brief account of these wars, *vide* my paper on the Huns in my Asiatic Papers, Part II, pp. 318-333.

altogether a new creed, but the old creed, well reformed.[1] But the Huns continued to follow, at least for some time, their old form of Iranian religion; it seems that latterly, after a long stay on the frontiers of Irân, and after coming into a continuous close contact with the Iranians, they may have taken into their faith many of the elements of the new reformed religion of Zoroaster.

I will divide my subject of evidence on this point under two principal heads:

I. Evidence from Iranian sources.

II. Evidence from Indian sources.

Under the first head I will produce evidence from the following:—

1. The Avesta Writings.
2. The Pahlavi Writings.
3. The Persian Writings. Under this sub-head I will also refer to some Arab writers of Persia.

III

I. Evidence from Iranian Sources. The Avesta Writings.

We have two sets of passages in the Avesta, wherein Hunus or Huns and their kings or leaders are referred to:

A. The first set of passages refer directly to the Huns. The Huns are distinctly named there.

B. In the second set of passages, they are not named distinctly, but we infer from other collateral evidences that they are referred to there.

1 *Vide* my paper, "Zoroastrianism. Its Puritanic influence in the Old World," in my "Dante Papers", pp. 99-100.

(A) The first set of passages, wherein the Huns are referred to distinctly by name, is formed of the following:

1. Ābān Yasht. Yt. V, 53-55.
2. Ābān Yasht. Yt. V, 57-59.
3. Meher Yasht. Yt. X, 113.
4. Farvardin Yasht. Yt. XIII, 100.
5. Zamyād Yasht. Yt. XIX, 41.
6. Zamyād Yasht. Yt. XIX, 86.

Out of these six passages, the 1st, 2nd, 4th and 6th are of use to us for the purpose of determining the religion of the Huns.

(B) The second set is formed of the following passages:

1. Ābān Yasht. Yt. V, 108-110.
2. Ābān Yasht. Yt. V, 112-114.
3. Ābān Yasht. Yt. V, 116-118.
4. Gosh Yasht. Yt. IX, 27-31.
5. Ashishavangh Yasht. Yt. XVII, 49-51.

All the above passages,[1] both of the first set and the second set, refer to the Huns as a hostile people with whom the Iranians were at war. In the first set, the cause of continued hostility seems to be tribal. It is something like blood-feud, the usual war between two neighbouring nations. In the second set, the cause is religious. They had, at first, well-nigh a common religion. But, as the Iranians accepted the reforms of Zoroaster, the Hunus or Huns or Hyons or Khyons opposed them.

Two great wars between the Iranians and the Hunus or Huns.

We find references in the Avesta to two great wars between the Iranians and the Hunus or Huns. The first war was pre-Zoroastrian or one before the time of Zoroaster. The other was co-Zoroastrian or one in the

1 *Vide*, for the passages in Transliteration and Translation, my paper on the Hunus in the Bhandarkar Commemorative Volume, pp. 68-74. *Vide* my Memorial Papers, pp. 128-135.

time of Zoroaster himself. The second war was one, which, according to later writings, was advocated by Zoroaster. The Âbân Yasht passages refer to both these wars.

The Âbân Yasht passage referring to the First War.

(*a*) The earlier passages of the Âbân Yasht refer to the first war. We read there (sections 53-55) :

Tâm yazata takhmô Tusô rathaêshtârô barshaêshu paiti aspanâm zâvarê jaidhyantô hitaêibyo dravatâtem tanubyô pouru-spakhshtîm tbishayantâm paiti-jaitîm dushmainyunâm hathrânivâitîm hamêrêthanâm aurvathanâm tbishyantâm. Âat him jaidhyat avat âyaptem dazdi mê vanguhi sevishtê Ardvsiûra Anâhitê yat bavâni aiwi-vanyâo aurva Hunavô Vaêskaya upa dvarem khsathrô-saokem apanôtemem Kanghaya berezantya ashavanaya yatha azem nijanâni Tuiryanâm dakhyunâm panchasagnâi satagnâishcha satagnâi hazangragnaishcha hazangragnâi baevarêgnâishcha baevarêgnâi ahânkhshttagnâishcha. Dathat ahmâi tat avat âyaptem Ardvisûra Anâhita hadha zaothrôbarâi aredrai yazêmnâi jaidhyantâi dâthrish âyaptem.

Translation :—The brave warrior Tusa invoked her (Ardvisûra), riding on horse-back and praying for strength to his horses, strength to (his own) body, great watchfulness over those who annoyed him, power to strike his enemies, power to run down his foes, adversaries and annoyers. Then he asked of her, O Good beneficient Ardvisûra Anâhita! give me this gift, that I may be the overcomer of the brave Hunus of Vaêsaka[1] at the gate of the lofty (fort of) Khshthrôsaoka of the high and

1 Dr. West seems to be wrong in translating "Hunavo Vaêsakaya" as the "Hunus Vaêskain" and thus taking Vaêskaya to be the name of a place (Legends relating to Kershâsp, Pahlavi Texts, Part II, S.B.E., XVIII, p. 311, ss. 4).

holy Kanga,[1] (and) that I may kill the fifties and the hundreds, the hundreds and the thousands, the thousands and the ten thousands, the ten thousands and the innumerables of (the people of) the country of Turān. Holy Ardvisūra Anāhita granted the desire of him who carried offerings, gave gifts, made invocations sought the fulfilment of desires:

(*b*) We then read in the Ābān Yasht (57-59).

Tām yazēnta aurva Hunavō Vaēskaya upa dvarem khshathrō-saokem apanotemem Kanghaya berezantya ashavanaya satēe aspanām arshnām hazangrē gavām baēvarē anumayanām. Âat hîm jaidhyen avat āyaptem dazdi nō vanguhi sevishtē Ardvīsūra Anāhitē yat havāma aiwa-vanyāo takhmem Tusem rathaēshtārem yatha vaem nijanāma airyannām dakhyunām panchasagnāi satagnāishcha satagnāi hazanghragnāishcha hazanghragnāi baēvarēgānishcha baēvarēgnāi ahankhshtagnāishcha. Nōit aeibyâschit dathat tat avat āyaptem Ardvisūra Anāhita

Translation:—The brave Hunus of Vaēsaka invoked her (Ardvisūra) at the gate of the lofty (fort of) Khsathrō-saoka of the high and holy Kanga, with one hundred horses, one thousand oxen, (and) ten thousand lambs. Then (thus invoking), they asked of her: "O good beneficent holy Ardvisūra, give us this gift; that we may be the overcomers of the brave warrior Tusa (and) that we may kill the fifties and the hundreds, the hundreds and the thousands, the thousands and the ten thousands, the ten thousands and the innumerables of (the people of) the country of Irân." Ardvisūra Anāhita did not grant this gift to them.

1 Firdousi places the fortress of Kang (Kangdez) at about a month's distance from China. Maçoudi (Traduction de Barbier de Meynard, II, p. 131, ch. 21) also places it in China. He calls it Kang-dar.

We find from the above passages of the Ābān Yasht, that a war was fought by the Iranians under the commandership of Tusa[1] against a Hun tribe led by Vaēsaka. We note in the above passages of prayer, that, in the case of the prayer of the Iranians, the worshipper is one, namely Tusa, and the verb (*yazata*), used with his name as the nominative, is in the singular number. In the case of the prayer of the Huns, it is not one person who is mentioned as worshipping and opposing the Iranian hero Tus, but a clan, or tribe, the Hunavō Vaēsakyā, *i.e.*, the Hunas of Vaēsaka. The verb used is plural (*yazenta*). So the war was with a particular Hun tribe or clan, the clan of Vaēsaka. This clan or tribe seems to have derived its name from Vaēsāka, the Visak of the Pahlavi Bundehesh (Chap. XXXI, 16, 17)[2]. He was one of the ancestors of the later Turanians, an uncle of Afrāsiāb and the father of Pirân, who was the Nestor of the Turanians in the court of Afrāsiāb, just as Godrez, the father of Tus, was the Nestor in the court of Persia.[3] The cause of the war was tribal.[4]

The ceremonial form or ritual referred to in the Âbân Yasht.

Now, let us look to the ceremonial form or ritual, with which Ardvisūra was prayed to, by the Huns. The form, as given in the above passage, is "Satēe aspanām hazanghrê gavām baevarē anumayanām", *i.e.*, "with one hundred horses, one thousand oxen (and) ten thousand lambs." This is the typical form in which we find several great Iranian personages

1 In the Pahlavi Bundehesh (ch. XXIX, 6), he is spoken of as Naodarân, *i.e.*, of the family or clan of Naodar.

2 *Vide* my translation of the Bundehesh, p. 169.

3 For this Vaēsaka, *vide* my Dictionary of Avesta Proper Names p. 130.

4 For the reason, why these two families or clans were specially hostile, *vide* my paper op. cit. in the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 70.

praying to Ardvisūra.[1] In the case of a few personages who pray to the goddess, we do not find this form of ceremony accompanying their prayers. But, we can explain, why their cases were exceptions. The explanation seems to be this. The ceremony required a long leisurely celebration with all religious apparatus.[1] When the heroes prayed to Ardvisūra, in the very midst or thick of a battle, or on an emergency, or in some such exceptional circumstances, they could not perform the accompanying long ritual. Thus, Tus, the Iranian hero, prayed in the midst of a battle from his very saddle (barashaēshu paiti aspanām;) lit. on the back of his horse (53). Similarly, Vifro Navāz prayed on an emergency when he was suddenly made to fly high in the air (uscha uzdvānayat verethrajā takhmō Thraētaonō mereghahē kehrpa kahrkāsahē, sec. 61). Vistaurush of the Naotar family (*yō Naotairyāno*) prayed on an emergency, when he found his way closed by an intervening river and found himself unable to cross (s. 76). Zarathushtra's prayer to Ardvisūra also was an exception (s. 104), perhaps, because, he was above the necessity of any long expensive ritual.[2]

1 *Vide* Ābān Yasht, Yt. V, 21, 25, 29, 33, 37, 41, 45, 49, 57, 68, 72, 81, 108, 112, 116.

2 We are not in a position to say with certainty, what this ceremonial prayer (" with one hundred horses, 1,000 oxen and 10,000 lambs") was. Did it mean any actual sacrifice of so many animals? Some kind of animal sacrifice undoubtedly there did exist in those olden times, but it does not seem that the sacrifice was of such a large number of animals. There may be a sacrifice of a few animals, but the large number as mentioned, seems to represent the estimate of a great ceremony valued in animals which measured a man's wealth at a time. The mode, as mentioned in the Avesta, seems to refer to a great royal ceremony, for example, one like that of the Ashvamedha of India. It required a long leisurely celebration. This is evidenced by the fact, that, as said above, some heroes, though they are represented as praying to Ardvisūra, are not represented as praying with the accompaniment of this mode of ritual ceremony.

We find the above typical Iranian form of ceremonial offering, not only in the Ābān Yasht, but also in the Gosh Yasht.[1]

These two facts, *viz.*, (*a*) that the Iranians and the Huns prayed to the same goddess Ardvisūra Anāhita and (*b*) that the Hunnic form of ceremonial offering was the same as that of the Iranians, show, that both the nations had a common religion, if not exactly the same, well-nigh the same.

The Second Great War.

Now, we come to the second great war between the Iranians and the Huns,—the war which took place in the time of Zoroaster himself, and which, as said in some later books, was recommended by Zoroaster himself, as a war against the evil-minded. For this purpose, we will examine the Ābān Yasht passages of the second set, wherein the Huns are not referred to directly but indirectly. The war is between the Iranian Vishtāsp and his army and an enemy Arjāsp and his army. But in these passages, the proper nationality of Arjāsp is not mentioned. So, let us first determine it.

The nationality of Arejataspa or Arjāsp.

Though in the above passages of the Ābān Yasht, the proper nationality of Arjāsp is not mentioned, there are other passages of a similar prayer by the Iranian king Vishtāsp which point to Arjāsp being Hyaona (Huns) or Khyaona.

(*a*) The Gosh Yasht (ss. 29-31) contains a similar prayer of the Iranian king. (*b*) Again, the Ashishvangh Yasht (ss. 49-50) also contains a similar prayer. In both of these Yashts, Arejat-aspa or Arjāsp is spoken of as Khyaona, which name is the same as Hyaona, another form of Huna. (*c*) The Zamyād Yasht (s. 87) speaks of

1 Yt. IX, 3, 8, 13, 21, 29.

Arejataspa or Arjāsp[1] as one of the wicked Khyaonas We read there: Drvantemcha Arejat-aspem uta anyāoschit agha duzvandrāvō, Khyaonāonghō, *i.e.*, the wicked Arejataspa and other similar sinful notorious Khyaonas. Thus, we see, that Arjāsp is included in the class of wicked Khyaonas or Hyaonas.

The Pahlavi books also, as we will see later on, speak of him as a Khyaona (Arjāspa Khyaonān khudāi, *i.e.*, Arjāsp, the king of the Khyaonas). All these references show, that, though the nationality of Arjāsp is not given in the above Ābān Yasht passages of the second set, other passages point to him as being a Khyaona.

Again, in the Gosh[2] and Ashishang Yashts[3], where the Iranian king Vishtāsp prays for having a victory over Arejataspa and other heroes of his clan, he prays as well, that he may be victorious over the country of the Khyaonas and that he may be able to spread goodness in the country of the Varedhakas and the Khyaonas. He prays: "Uta azem fraourvaēsayeni humaya Varedhakanāmcha Khyaonyēhēcha danghhāvō uta azem nijanāni Khyaoninām dakhyunām."

Translation:—"I may introduce good law in the countries of the Varedhakas and the Khyaonas and I may smite (the people) of the Khyaona countries."

Thus, this reference also shows that Arejat-aspa, who fought with the Iranian king Vishtāsp, was a Khyaona by nationality. This word Khyaona corresponds to the Chionitae. Darmesteter thinks, though with some doubt, that they were the same as Hyaonas ("identique aux Hyaonas." Le Zend Avesta III, Index II, p. 241). But there seems to be no reason for this doubt.[4] H and Kh

1 Arjāsp is the Pahlavi and Persian form of Av *Arejataspa*.

2 Yt. IX, 31. 3 Yt. XVIII, 51.

4 For example, we have both *hvar* and *khar* for to eat, drink; *franghuharaiti* and *kharaiti*.

often seem to be interchangeable. In the later Pahlavi, the same latter can be read both as h and kh.[1] So, there is no doubt that the words Khyaona and Hyaona or Huna refer to the same people. In the Pahlavi Dinkard, Dastur Peshotan has correctly read the word[2] (read as Khyaonān pl. *i.e.* the Khyaonas) as Hinavān. I will refer to this matter later on.

The Ābān Yasht passages referring to the Second Great War.

Now, having shown that Arejataspa, who fought against the Iranian king Vishtāsp, was a Khyaona, Hyaona or Hun by nationality, and that the Khyaonas were the same as Hyaonas, Hunus or Huns[3], let us turn to examine the Ābān Yasht passages of the second set. In this examination, we find, that here also, the Iranian Vishtāsp and his brother Zairivairi on the one hand, and the Hunnic kings on the other, (*a*) pray before the same deity and (*b*) with the same form of ceremonial offering, *viz.*, with 100 horses, 1,000 oxen and 10,000 smaller animals like sheep. We read in the Ābān Yasht:

Tām yazata bērēzaidhish Kava Vīshtāspō pasnē āpem frazdānaom satēē aspanām arshnām hazanghrē gavām baēvarē anumayanām, Āat hīm jaidhyat avat āyaptem dazdi mē vanghuhi sevishtē Ardvisūra Anāhitē yat bavāni aiwi-vanyāo Tānthravantem duzdaēnem peshanemcha daevayasnem dravantemcha Ārejat-aspem ahmya gaethe peshanāhu, Dathat ahmāi tat avat āyaptem Ardvisūra Anāhita (ss. 108-110).

Translation:—The great[4] Kava Vishtāspa invoked her

1 *Vide* Kanga's Avesta Grammar, p. 33.

2 Dastur Peshotan's Dinkard, Vol. IX, Text p. 489, l. 6.

3 Dr. E. W. West also identifies the Khyaonas of the Pahlavi books with the Khyaonas or the Huns of the Avesta, mentioned in the Ashishang and Zamyād Yashts (S.B.E., XLVII, p. 68, n. 1).

4 Berezaidhish, corresponding to Persian buland. Lit. seeing high above (berez and dī Sanskrit धी to see, to think).

(Ardvisūra) on the other side of the waters of (lake) Frazdanava, with hundred valiant[1] horses, thousand oxen and ten thousand animals of moderate size.[2] He then asked of her : "O good beneficent Ardvisūra Anāhita! give me this boon that I may be victorious[3] in the wars of this world over Tānthryavanta who professed a wrong faith, Peshna who worshipped the daēvas and the evil Arejat-aspa." Ardvisūra Anāhita granted him his desire.

In similar passages of the Ābān Yasht (ss. 112-114), Zairivairi, (Zarir of the Pahlavi books and of Firdousi's Shāh-nāmeh), the brother of King Vishtāsp, also invokes Ardvisūra and asks for a boon similar to that of his brother (ss. 112-113), but, with this difference, that his place of prayer is different from that of his royal brother. He prays on the banks of the river Dāiti (pasnē āpo. Dāityayāo).

Then Arējat-āspa or Arjāsp also invokes the goddess Ardvisūra) and asks for a well-nigh similar boon. We read (ss. 116-118) :

Tām yazata Vandarēmainish Arejat-āspō, upa zrayō vourukashem stâtēē aspanām arshnām hazanghrē gavām baēvarē anumayanām. Āat hīm jaidhyat avat āyaptem, dazdi me vanghuhi sevishtē Ardvisūra Anāhitē yat bavāni awi-vanyāo takhmem Kavaem Vishtāspem aspāyaodhō[4] Zairivairish, yatha azem nijanāni Airyanām

1 Arshan. It is used to signify that the horses were male-horses and not mares or female horses.

2 Anu-maya. Anu Sans. अनु Gr. *Ana*, moderate, proportionate, and मा mā, Lat. *me-tiri*, Fr. *me-surer*, Germ. *messen*, to measure. The word is used for small animals like sheep, lambs or goat.

3 *Aiwi vanyao* from *aiwi* (*aibi*) Sans. अभि above, and *van* Sans. वन्, Eng. win, to strike, to conquer.

4 Here Zairivairi is spoken of as aspyaodho, *i.e.*, one fighting on horse. Many a warrior fight from the back of a horse. So, why should he have been specially mentioned as "One fighting on a horse"? I have explained the reason, at some length in my Iranian Essays ઈરાની વિષયો, Part I, pp. 156-59, and shown, that it is a special reference to a famous horse which he possessed.

dakhyunam panchasagnāi satagnāishcha satagnāi hazanghraghnāishcha hazanghraghnāi baevarēghnāishcha baevareghnāi ahānkhshghnāishcha.[1] Nōit ahmāi dathat tat avat āyaptem Ardvisūra Anāhita.

Translation:—Arjet-aspa of Vandaremna invoked Ardvisūra on (the shores of) the sea Vourukasha with one hundred valiant horses, 1,000 oxen and 10,000 animals of moderate size. He then asked of her, "O good beneficent Ardvisūra Anāhita! give me this boon, that I may be victorious over valiant Kava Vishtāsp and over Zairivairi who fights from the back of the horse, and that I may smite fifties and hundreds, hundreds and thousands, thousands and ten thousands of people, ten thousands and innumerable of Iranian countries." Ardvisūra Anāhita did not grant him that boon.

We find from these Ābān Yasht passages of the second set, that they also treat of a war. It is the war between Kava Vishtāspa, the Iranian royal patron of Zoroaster, and his brother Zairivairi (Zarir), on the one hand, and Arejat-aspa (Arjāsp) of Vandaremna[2] on the other. We also find, that the Iranian and the Hunnic kings observed the same ceremonial in their prayer before Ardvisūra, thus showing, that they had, if not wholly, in many respects, a common religion.

Again, let us note the wording of the last portion of the prayers of the Iranians and the Hunnic kings. The

1 Ahānkhshtagnāishcha, from Av. a Sans. अ, Gr. A. negative, and khya, ख्या, to speak. *Hankhya* Guj. सख्या, (sum) to number. Hence innumerable.

2 He seems to be the same as Anderman of the Shâh-nâmeh of Firdousi (Mohl. IV, p. 382). He was a brother of Arjāsp. In this passage what is meant to be said is "Arjataspa (the brother) of Vandaremna."

Iranian king, in the Gosh Yasht (sec. 31) and Ashishang Yasht (sec. 51), prays for smiting the Huns by fifties and hundreds and thousands and ten thousands and uncountable numbers. The same is the form of the prayer of the Hunnic king who wants to smite the Iranians similarly. This, in itself, is a small matter to show similarity between the religions of the two nations, but, with other facts, it lends strength to my view.

The other passages of the Avesta.

Having examined the long principal passages of the Ābān Yasht referring to both the wars, we will now examine the passages of the Farvardin and Zamyād Yashts, which (*a*) not only speak of the Huns by name, but (*b*) also point directly to a schism or war on account of religion. In the Farvardin Yasht (ss. 99-100), while invoking the holy spirit of king Vishtāsp, the king is spoken of thus:

Yō bāzushcha upastacha visata anghhao daenayāo yat Āhurōish Zarathushtrōish yō hīm stātām hitām haitim uzvazhat hacha hunūiwyō.[1]

Translation :—Who (Vishtāsp) became the arm and support of this Ahuramazdi religion of Zoroaster (and) who separated the strong holy existing religion from the Huns.

This passage clearly points to the above war with Arjāsp as that with the Huns. Again, the most important words are those which speak of separating the existing religion, *i.e.*, the religion which was common to them, from

1 Darmesteter, in his translation of this passage (*s.* 100), very properly says of the word "Huns", that it is a name of the people called elsewhere Varedhaks (Yt. IX, 31 ; XVII, 51) or Khyaonas (*Ibid.* and XIX, 87).

the Huns. This passage, occurring in two Yashts, then shows, that upto the time of Vishtāsp and Zoroaster, the religion of the Iranians and the Hunus was one and the same or well-nigh the same. But, on the advent of Zoroaster, Vishtāsp, the royal patron of Zoroaster, under the instructions of the prophet, separated or differentiated the Iranian religion from that of the Huns. The Huns and others adhered to the old orthodox Mazdayasnān religion, but the Iranians under Vishtāsp admitted the reforms suggested in the old creed by Zoroaster. Upto the time of the advent of Zoroaster, the Iranians and the Huns, referred to in the above passages, followed well-nigh the same religion, the old Mazdayasnān religion, which led thoughts of men from Nature to Nature's God. But Zoroaster basing his religion on the groundwork of the old religion, as all prophets generally do, and, preserving the elements, which were good, and rejecting those which had degenerated and become bad, introduced new elements, mostly from a pure monotheistic and ethical point of view. He appealed more to pure morals and less to forms and ceremonial. The Huns, who lived on the frontiers of the then Irān proper, did not like any innovation, and hence arose a split or schism.

Thus, we find from the above long examination of the references to the Huns and their king Arjāsp in the Avesta, that, while the previous great war or a set of wars between the Iranians and the Huns, before the time of Zoroaster, was more or less a tribal or national war, a magnified form of a great blood-feud, the second great war of the time of Zoroaster was a kind of religious war. On the advent of Zoroaster, Vishtāsp learning his reformed form of the old Mazdayasnān religion, adopted it and separated his religion from that of the Huns. This separation was the cause of a great war.

IV

The Pahlavi Writings.

We will now turn to the Pahlavi books, which contain references to the war between the Iranian king Vishtāsp and the Khyaona or Hyaona (Hunnic) king Arejat-aspa or Arjāsp—references suggesting that the religion of the Iranians and the Huns was well-nigh the same. These are the following :—

1. The Dinkard: (*a*) Book V, Chapter III, 1
   (*b*) Book VII, Chapter IV, 77
   (*c*) Book VII, Chapter IV, 83
   (*d*) Book VIII, Chapter V, 7
   (*e*) Book VIII, Chapter XI, 4
2. The Yādgār-i-Zarirān.
3. The Zādsparam.
4. The Jāmāspi.
5. The Bahman Yasht.

1. The Pahlavi Dinkard.

The Dinkard, in the 5th, 7th and 8th books, refers to the religious war between the Iranians under Vishtāsp and the Hyonas or Huns under Arjāsp. We will briefly refer to these.

(*a*) We find a reference to the victory of Vishtāsp over Arjāsp in the fifth book of the Dinkard.[1] There, the writer refers to "the victory of Kai Vishtāsp, the Iranian, over Arjāsp and Hyaonans and other non-Iranians of innumerable kinds (Pirujih-i Kai Vishtāsp-i Airān madam Arjāsp va Hyaonan va avārīk an-Airān-i anhushmār āininak).

1 Dinkard, Bk. V, Chap. III, 1; S.B.E., Vol. XLVII, 126; Dastur Peshotan's Dinkard, Vol. IX, Text p. 480 l. 6 Transliteration in Avesta characters, p. 606, l. 1; Madon's Dinkard, Vol. I, p. 437, l. 5.

The word Hyaona, in singular or plural, occurs more than once in the Dinkard, and Dastur Peshotan has correctly read the word here as Hinavān Hyaonān, though he has erroneously taken it to be a common noun in the sense of the Avesta 'haena,' *i.e.*, army, which word also when written in Pahlavi can be written in a similar way. Dr. West has similarly translated this word, which occurs in the Bahman Yasht,[1] as "army," but has very properly added in the foot-note: "But another possible reading is Khyōn (Av. Hvyaona), the old name of some country probably in Turkistan, as Arjāsp, the opponent of Vishtāsp, is called 'lord or king of Khyōn' in the Yādgār-i-Zarirān."

(*b*) Then there are several references in the seventh book. The first reference[2] to the war is in the matter of a previous event of the religious war—the arrival of two messengers[3] (*paētāmber*) who came to the court of Vishtāsp from Arjāsp, to dissuade the Iranian king from adopting the religion of Zoroaster. Here, the Holy Fire is represented as encouraging the Iranian king and asking him not to be frightened by Arjāsp's messengers. We read :—

Avash goft pavan zak-i virān gobashnāih Ātash-i Oharmazd āīgh al tars memanat lā madam tarsashna burzāvand Kai Vishtāsp la-at val mān tarsidan mat homand ashte avarkār paētāmbar-i Arjāsp; avāt lā val mān tarsidan mat homanand, do Khyaona-i Arjāsp mun sāk va bāz bavihund.

1 S.B.E., Vol. V, p. 209, Chap. II, 49. *Vide* n. 6.

2 Dinkard, Bk. VII, Chap. IV-7, 87-90. S.B.E., XLVII. pp. 72-73, Dastur Darab's Dinkard Vol. XIV, Text p. 29. Translation p. 28. Mr. Madon's Dinkard, Vol. II, p. 640, l. 13.

3 According to the Pahlavi Yādgār-i-Zarirān, they were Vidarafsh and Shamkhāst. *Vide* my Transliteration and Text of the Yādgār-i-Zarirān. They were the Bidarafsh and Namkhasht of the Shāh-nāmeh.

Translation :—Then the Fire of Ohrmazd told him (Vishtāsp) in a bold (encouraging) way, that 'Do not fear, O great king Vishtāsp ! you have no (cause of) fear. No fear will come to your house. The messengers of Arjāsp are peaceful (and) business-like. The two Khyaonas of Arjāsp who ask for tribute have not come to let any fear reach your house.

We learn from this passage that the first move from the side of the Hunnic king was, as it were, peaceful. That this was the case, appears from Firdousi also. We learn from his Shāh-nāmah also, that, at this time, the Iranian king was paying tribute to the Hunnic king. The words used by Firdousi for " tribute " in his account are *baz va sav*[1]. These are the same as the " *Sāk va bāz* " of the above quoted Pahlavi passage of the Dinkard. According to Firdousi also, the first message of the Hunnic king was comparatively friendly (dustvār)[2]. This word of Firdousi corresponds to the word peaceful (ashte) of the Dinkard[3].

(*c*) From the second reference in the 7th book of the Dinkard[4], we learn, that the Iranians met at first with a heavy bloodshed (khun rizashna) at the hand of Arjāsp, the Khyona, Hyona or Hun, and then they gave him a defeat (*Pasgirasna*).[5] This ended in Vishtāsp's victory over Arjāsp and his Khyaonas (*piroajīh-i-madam Arjāsp va Khyona*).[6]

(*d*) A little further on again, we read of the collapse of the power of Arjāsp and his Khyaonas, and Zoroaster's

1 Vuller's " Firdusii liber Regum ", Tomus Tertium, p. 1500. Mohl IV, p. 308. 2 *Ibid.* p. 1504. 3 *Vide* the above passage.

4 Madon's Dinkard II, p. 641, l. 21. Book VII, Chap. 83.

5 *Ibid.* lit, subsequent weeping or calamity. Pers. girastan= to weep.

6 *Ibid.* p. 642 l. 1. S.B.E., XLVII, pp. 72-73. Dinkard Bk VII, Chap. IV, 83 90.

name is associated with this result. In this third reference of its seventh book, the Dinkard associates Zoroaster with the victory of Vishtāsp over Arjāsp, the Khyaona, and other non-Iranians (*Pirōjih-i-Vishtāsp madam Arjāsp Khyona va ārārik anairān*).[1]

(*e*) Then there is another reference to the war in the 8th book of the Dinkard. In its account of the contents of the tenth Nask, Vishtāsp Sāsta, it refers to this war and associates it with the new religion of Zoroaster. It says, that it was intented to show "hostility to Zoroaster" (*paityārdārih-i Zartusht*).[2]

All these references in the Dinkard simultaneously point to the fact, that the war was for the sake of the new reformed religion, which Arjāsp, who wanted to stick to the old faith, did not like.

2. The Pahlavi Yādgār-i Zarirān.

The Pahlavi Yādgār-i Zarirān distinctly refers to the split. According to that book,[3] when Vishtāsp, with his sons, brothers, family members and courtiers, accepted (from Zoroaster) the new Mazdayasnān religion, Arjāsp, the king of the Khyaonas, or the Hyaonas,[4] did not like it; so he sent two of his generals, Vidarafsh[5] and Shamkhâst,[6] as messengers to Irān to persuade the Iranian king not to adopt the new religion and to adhere to the old faith.

1 Madon's Dinkard II, p. 645, ll. 11-12, S.B.E., XLVII, p. 75, Chap. V, 7.

2 Bk. VIII, Chap. XI, 4. West, S.B.E., Vol. XXXVII, pp. 24-25, Dastur Darab's Vol. XV, p. 23 Text, The Dinkard published by D. M. Madon, Vol. II, 688, p. 1, 1.

3 For details, *vide* my translation of the Yādgār-i Zarirân.

4 The Pahlavi word can be read both as Hyaonān or Khyaonān (The Pahlavi Text by Dastur Jamaspji, p. 1, l. 8).

5 Bidarafsh of the Shāh-nāmeh (Mohl. IX, p. 368).

6 Nâmkhâst of the Shāh-nāmeh (*ibid.* p. 368)

We read the following letter sent by the Hunnic king to the Iranian king:

"Āigham ashnūt āigh lekūm bagān denman dīn-i avīzeh Mazdayasnān min Auharmazd makīrūnt. Va āt lā zak rāi yekhsūnit amat lenman gerān zyān va dūshkhvārih azash shīyad yehvūntan. Barā at lekūm bagān madammunīt denman dīn-i-avizeh shedkūnīt levatmān lenman hamkīsh yehvūnīt adīntān pavan khudāih parastīm adīntān yehbūnīm shant pavan shant kabad zahbā kabad sīmīn va kabad susyā nyōk kabad gās shatrūihāiya. Va āt denman dīn barā lā shedkūnīt va levatman lenman hamkish lā yehvūnīt adīntān madam yāmtūnīm."[1]

Translation:—"I have heard that your Majesty has accepted from Oharmazd, the pure Mazdayasnān religion. If you will not think of it, great harm and unhappiness may result to us from that (religion). But, if it please your Majesty, and you give up this pure religion, and be of the same religion with us, then we will pay homage to you as a king, and then we will give you from year to year, plenty of gold, plenty of silver, and plenty of good horses and the sovereignty of many places. But, if you will not give up this religion and will not be of the same religion with us, then we will come to attack you."[2]

This message clearly shows, that, before the advent of Zoroaster, the Iranians and the Huns had well-nigh the same religion. When the Hunnic Arjāsp says to the Iranian Vishtāsp that "harm and unhappiness may result to us from that (new religion)", and, when he asked the Iranian king to be of the same religion with us (*levatman lenman hamkish yehvūnīt*), the inference is clear, that, up to then, both had a well-nigh common religion. Were it

1 *Vide* my Transliteration and Translation of Yādgār i Zarirān, etc., pp. 4 to 7. *Vide* the Pahlavi Texts, p. 2, l. 3.

2 *Vide* my Translation of the Yādgār (1899), p. 5.

not so, and were the religion of the Hunnic king Arjāsp different from that of the Iranian king Vishtāsp, where was then the necessity of Arjāsp trying to dissuade Vishtāsp from adopting the new religion? The two kings followed well-nigh the same creed, and so, Arjāsp did not like that his brother-king of the neighbouring Iranian country should change their common religion. Vishtāsp's reply also points to their religion being common before their advent. He says—"*Levatman lekum hamkīsh la yahvūnim*" (s. 18), *i.e.*, "We will not (continue to be) of the same religion with you."

The account of the war, given further on, in this Pahlavi treatise, says that there were large armies on both the sides. The result of the war was, that the Huns whose army in one place alone at the last battle was that of 120,000 men were defeated[1] and the Hunnic king Arjāsp was taken prisoner by Asfandyār, the son of Vishtāsp. One of his hands, legs, and ears were cut off, one of his eyes was burnt, and he was allowed to go back to his country on an ass whose tail was cut, so that all the Huns of his country may know what the result of the war was.

3. The Pahlavi Zādsparam.

The Pahlavi Zādsparam[2] speaks of the war of Vishtāsp and Arjāsp as occurring in the 30th year after Zoroaster's revelation of his religion. We read:—

Pavan si sale yāmtund Khyān val Airān matayan,[3] *i.e.*, in 30 years the Khyaons arrive in the country of Irān.

1 *Vide* my Transliteration and Translation of the Yādgār-i Zarirān, p. 49.

2 S.B.E., XLVII, p 165, Chapter XXIII, 8.

3 The Text of Zādsparam by Behramgore T. Anklesaria, p. 91, Chapter XXV, 3.

4. The Pahlavi Jāmāspi.

The Pahlavi Jāmāspi, which speaks of these Huns as White Huns, refers to this war with the Hunnic king. Here, three wars are mentioned as the greatest wars (kārizar-i-raba).[1] The first is that which King Kai Kaus had fought with foreigners. The second war is the war of Vishtāsp (*Gushtasp*) with the Hunnic king, the magician, the white Hyaona or Khyaona, whom they call Arjāsp, for the sake of religion (*Sapīt Hyaona-i-yatu din rāe kard mūnash Arjāsp karitund*).[2] We see from this passage, that the Hunnic king, who fought with the Iranian king Arjāsp to oppose the reformed religion of Zoroaster, was a White (sapīt) Hun

5. The Bahman Yasht.

The Pahlavi Bahman Yasht (Chap. II, 49) is a book of prophecy in which Ahura-Mazda tells Zoroaster, what calamities will fall upon Irān. In the long list of such prophecies, we find a list of some foreign people, who, occasionally, will rule some part of Irān. We read:

"Khutāih va pātakhshāih val an-Airān bandagān rased, chegūnān Tūrk va Tūr.....va sapīt Khyōn".[3]

Translation:—The sovereignty and kingship will arrive to non-Iranian slaves like Turk and Tur..... .....and White Huns."

Of the words at the end, Dr. West has taken the first word '*sapīd*' with the preceding words '*Karmak rakht*' and translated as "the white clothed Karmak". Thus, he seems to have taken the second word as 'han,'

1 *Vide* my Text and Translation of the Jāmāspi, p. 19-5 of the Text, Chapter II, and pp. 36-37 of the Translation.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Zand-i Vohuman Yasht by Dastūr Kekobad Adarbad, Text p. 10, ll. 5-8. Bahman Yasht, West, S.B.E., V, p. 209, Chap. II, 49.

and has translated it as "then". Dastur Kekobad has read the two words as Supidō Khivo, and taking them together with the preceding word '*rakht*,' (p. رخت) translated them as "white coloured Khivs". But the words are exactly like similar words in the Pahlavi Jāmāspi, above referred to, and it seems to me, that there is no doubt, that the second word is Khyaon or Hyaon and that the two words refer to the inroads of the White Huns, who are also referred to in the Jāmāspi, which also is, like the Bahman Yasht, a book of prophecy.

Thus, all the above passages of the five Pahlavi books refer to the second great war between the Iranians and the Huns—the religious war due to the advent of Zoroaster. They point to the fact, that Vishtāsp's Iranians and Arjāsp's Huns had well-nigh the same religion, but that Zoroaster's advent brought about a reform which Arjāsp, the Turanian Hunnic king, did not like; so, he first sent two messengers to the court of Irān to dissuade Vishtāsp from accepting the new faith. Why should Arjāsp, the Hunnic king, do so? To understand the matter clearly, take the case of any two modern powers and their religions. If a Christian State adopted a new faith, opposed to Christianity, or introduced new reforms in Christianity opposed to the orthodox faith, no Mahomedan State would ever remonstrate. But a Christian State can remonstrate against any innovation in the old orthodox faith. We had a case of this kind among European Christian powers, due to the new form of the Protestant faith. The State which followed the old orthodox Christian faith fought against the States which adopted the reformed faith. Just the same thing occurred in our case. This then points to the conclusion, that the faith of the Huns was well-nigh the same as that of the Iranians before the advent of Zoroaster.

V

The Persian (and Arabic) Writings.

Under this head, I will refer to the books of (*a*) Firdousi, and (*b*) Tabari, whose Arabic has been rendered into Persian, and (*c*) Maçoudi.

(*a*) Firdousi.

According to Firdousi, the Sassanians had frequent wars with the Huns who were known, in different parts and at different times, under different names, such as Euthalites, Ephthalites, Haitalites, Naphthalites, Atelites, Alatelites, etc. Oriental writers, and among them Firdousi, speak of them at times, under the general head of Turks. We find from Firdousi and other writers, that the Sassanian kings, from Behramgore down to Noushirwan, had frequent wars with them. I will refer my readers to my paper on the Early History of the Huns for a brief history of the wars.

Firdousi's account of the war in the time of Behramgore of Irān, provides with evidences, that the Huns who fought with him, and who belonged to the various tribes known as the Chaghāni, Khatli, etc., were partly Zoroastrian in their faith.

(*a*) They paid reverence to Fire, observing the old Iranian sacerdotal ritual of Bāj and Barsam. We learn, that these Hunnic tribes, after the final victory of Behramgore over their Hunnic king, who was taken prisoner, paid tribute to the Iranian king and observed the above Zoroastrian ritual. We read[1]:

چغـانی و ختلی و بلخی ردان

بخاری و از غرچکان موبدان

1 Macan's Calcutta Ed. Vol. III, p. 1548.

برفتند با باژ و برسم بدست
نیایش کنان پیش آتش پرست

Translation:—The Chagānis, the Khatlis and the Balkhi chiefs, the Bokhāris and Mobads from Garchgân, they all went before the (sacred) fire for worship, observing Baz and holding Barsam in their hands.

Now, we know, that the observation of Bāj and the holding of Barsam are Zoroastrian religious ceremonies. So, the observance of these ceremonies by the above Hunnic tribes shows, that they were, if not wholly, partly Zoroastrian in their faith.

(*b*) Tabari.

We learn from Tabari's account of the war of Behrām with a Hunnic king, that the queen of the Hunnic king had fallen a prisoner in his hands. Behrām sent her, as if it were, a state prisoner to the great Fire-temple of Āzer Gushasp[1] to serve at the temple. Tabari[2] says:

آن خاتون که زن خاقان بود بخدمت آتشکده کردن فرستاد

i.e., He sent the royal wife (khâtun) of the Khakân to serve at the Fire-temple. This shows, that the Hunnic queen must be Zoroastrian in her faith; otherwise, she could not have been sent to the great Fire-temple which was held in great reverence in Irān for several centuries.

It seems from Firdousi and other writers that like the temples of the early Greeks and Romans, the Fire-temples of Irān served various purposes. They had institutions attached to them which served the purposes of our modern Banks, Houses of Correction, Libraries,

1 *Vide* my "Iranian Essays," Part I, for the History of this great Fire-temple.

2 Tabari, Naval Kishore's Ed. of 1874, p. 301. Tabari par otenberg, Vol. II, p. 121.

etc.[1] So, the Hunnic queen was sent, as it were, as a state prisoner to a State religious House of Correction.

(c) Maçoudi.

That the enemy, with whom Gushtāsp fought, belonged to a tribe of the Huns appears from Maçoudi[2] who refers to Isfendiâr, the son of Gushtāsp, and says that he had built a fortress in the Caucasus to withstand the Alans who were a tribe of the Huns. He says:

"Entre le royaume des Alans et le Caucase, il y a un château et un pont construit sur une rivière considérable. Le château est appelé *château des Alans*;[3] il a été bâti autrefois par un des anciens princes de la Perse, Isbendiar (Isfendiar), fils de Gushtasp. Il y avait placé une garde chargée de fermer aux Alans la route du Caucase."

VI

II. Evidence from Indian Sources.

Now, we will turn to Indian sources to see, that the Huns who invaded India followed the ancient Iranian religion.

Just as in the history of Persia, we find two sets of references—one, which may be called semi-historical, referring to the old Kianian times, and the other, historical or authentic, referring to the Sassanian times—so, also in the history of India, we have two sets of references. The set of references in the Viṣṇu Puraṇa and Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśa, may be taken as semi-historical, and the other set, referring to the times of the Guptas as historical

1 *Vide* my Iranian Essays, Part II, for an account of these Fire-temples, pp. 93-123.

2 Maçoudi, traduit par Barbier de Meynard, Vol. II, pp. 42-43.

3 ان الا *Ibid.* p. 43.

and authentic. It is the second set that helps us to say, that the religion of the Huns who invaded India was well-nigh the same as that of the Iranians.

These historical references or evidence can be divided under three headings—

(A) Inscriptions.
(B) Writings.
(C) Coins.

A. Inscriptions.

The authentic history of the times of the Guptas places the later Hunnic invasion of India in years 457 to 500 A.C. I will not enter here into this history, but refer my readers to my paper on the History of the Huns.[1] This history shows that the Huns who invaded India had come from the direction of Persia and that both, their victories and defeats in Persia, drove them towards India. At one time, the growth of their power on being victorious near Persia encouraged them to "pastures new" in the direction of India. At another time, defeat and dearth or want turned them towards India.

The first Hunnic king referred to in, what may be called, the authentic history, is Toramana, who had settled in Malwa, a few years before 500 A.C. He had assumed the Indian title Mahārājādhirāja, *i.e.* the Rāja of the Mahārājas. He had struck his coins in India, and we find his name in Indian inscriptions. The defeat and the death of the Iranian king Phiroze (457-484) seem to have made him powerful enough to turn to India for fresh victories. He had a son named Mihirkula. Mihirkula is the Gollas of the monk-writer Cosmas Indicopleustes who wrote in 547 A.C. The last part Kula or Kola of the name of Mihirkula has given the form Gollas. This writer speaks of him as a king of the White Huns. The Indian

1 Jour. B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXIV, pp. 539-95. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part II, pp. 336 *et seq.*

account of Mihirkula helps us to say, that Toramana, Mihirkula and their clan were, if not wholly, partly Zoroastrians in their belief. There are several facts that lead us to say so.

We have an inscription of the time of Mihirkula, inscribed in the 15th year of his reign. It was found "built into the wall in the porch of a temple of the Sun in the fortress at Gwalior in Central India." The inscription,[1] refers to the worship of the sun. The inscription is by one Mātrichēta, who said that he had built the temple and dedicated it to the sun "for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and himself"[2]. Mihirkula's father, Toramana, is spoken of in this inscription "as a ruler of great merit"[3]. Mihirkula himself, is spoken of as a man of "unequalled powers, the Lord of the Earth"[4]. I think that the donor Mātrichēta himself may be a Zoroastrian in his belief. His reference to the[5] *sad dharma* seems to me to be a reference to the Zoroastrian Mazdayasnān religion which is often spoken of in Parsee writings as the good true religion (Veh-din, behdin). The eulogistic way in which this donor, who seems to be a Zoroastrian, speaks of Toramana and his son Mihirkula, in a temple dedicated to the Sun, on whose light Mithra presides, leads us to infer that these Hunnic kings also were Zoroastrian.

B. Evidence from Historical Writings. The Râjatarangiṇi.

Coming to books, the most important evidence is that from Rājatarangiṇi. We learn that Mihirkula the son of Toramana was finally defeated[6]. Now, in the final battle, which led to the defeat, Mihirkula

1 Dr. Fleet's Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, p. 163, No. 3.

2 *Ibid.* 3 *Ibid.* 4 *Ibid.*

5 Fleet's Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, No. 37, p. 162.

6 There had been, for some time, a discussion, as to Who defeated Mihirkula and thus put an end to the Hunnic rule in India? Some

was taken prisoner and sent away to his capital at Sakala (Sialkot). But, having found, that his brother had, taking advantage of his defeat in the south, usurped his throne, Mihirkula went to Kashmir, where he was hospitably received by the king of the country. But, later on, he abused his host's hospitality and raising a revolt, seized his throne. Now Kalhaṇa, the poet-historian of Kashmir, refers to Mihirkula and his rule over Kashmir in the Rājatarangiṇi, his well-known work on the history of Kashmir, which is taken to be the first historical work of its kind in India. There are several statements in his account which point to Mihirkula's religion being somewhat the same as that of the Iranians of Persia. We will refer here to these.

(*a*) Firstly, his very name Mihirkula is Iranian. Mihr or Meher is the later form of the Avestan Mithra (Indian Mitra).

(*b*) He is spoken[1] of as having founded at Shrinagar a temple of Mihir (Mihireshwar[2]) and the city of Mihirpura.

These names show, that they bore the name of Mihir, the Iranian Yazata (Mithra), presiding over the light of the sun. One may say, that Mithra Mihir as Indian Mitra is the Indian word for sun; so, there is nothing unusual or un-Indian in the names. But, when we know that Mihirkula was a non-Indian or a foreigner and that names of cities or temples bearing the

said, it was Bālāditya and others that it was Yashodharman. In my paper on the Hunas in the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, I have given my view in favour of Yashodharman. Prof. K. B. Pathak also has, in his learned paper, entitled "New Light on Gupta Era and Mihirkula" in the same Volume, shown, that it was Yashodharman who gave the final defeat.

1 Troyer's Text, p. 34, sloka 306. Stein's Text, p. 13.

2 Troyer translates as "un sanctuaire à Mihira", Vol. II, Translation, p. 33.

name Mihir are otherwise scarce. it seems, that the names have an Iranian tinge in them. Again, we must remember that the name is not Mithrakula (Mitrakula), but Mihirkula wherein Mihir is purely an Iranian name.

(*c*) Immediately after the mention of these two places, bearing the name of Mihir, we find a mention in the Rājatarangiṇi of Gāndhāra Brāhmaṇas. They are spoken of as (*a*) Brāhmaṇas of Gāndhāra, (*b*) as being the last of the Dvijas, (*c*) as undoubtedly having the same dispositions as that of Mihirkula and (*d*) as coming from various agrahāras.

Now as to the Gāndhāras. I will quote here, what I have said in my paper on Kashmir and the ancient Persians[1] :

"The references to the Gandarii by the classical writers, as collected both by Wilson and Troyer, point to two different races of the Gandarii. It appears that the Gandhāras, referred to by the author of the Rājatarangiṇi, were not the same, as those referred to by Herodotus, as Gandarians and as a people of one of the twenty satrapies, in which Darius Hystaspes had divided his Persian Empire.[2] They were the same, who, with the Sogdians 'having the same accoutrements as the Bactrians',[3] formed a part of the army of Xerxes. They are the same, as to those referred to by Pliny, as being a tribe of Sogdiana, the Sogdha of the Vendidad. Thus, the Gāndhārā Brāhmins, referred to by the Rājatarangiṇi, as being preferred to the Brāhmins of the country, and as having won the favour of Mihirkula, were some foreigners from the

1 Jour. B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XIX, pp. 237-48; Asiatic Papers, Part I, pp. 23-110. *Vide* p. 105 for the quotation.

2 Herodotus, Book III, 91.

3 *Ibid.* Book VII; 66 "Had the Bactrian equipment in all respect." Rawlinson's Translation.

further west. That they were Zoroastrian Mobeds, appears from the description given in the Rājataraṅgiṇi."[1]

These Brāhmaṇas or Mobads are spoken of as having the custom of the next-of-kin-marriage. It is the custom referred to by some Greek writers also. Modern European scholars connect it with the custom of Khetyodath referred to in Parsee books. I have spoken on, and explained elsewhere, the subject. However, Kalhaṇa's reference to the alleged observation of this custom by the Brāhmins (Mobads), newly brought by Mihirkula to India, shows, that the Brāhmins were some Zoroastrian priests. Thus, the fact of the Hunnic king Mihirkula, who bore an Iranian name, bringing to Kashmir foreign Zoroastrian Brāhmins who were alleged to have been observing the custom of the next-of-kin marriage attributed to some sects of Zoroastrians, leads to show that Mihirkula's faith also was, if not wholly, at least partly, Zoroastrian.

(*d*) Then, the Rājataraṅgiṇi says, that the coming of Mihirkula and his army could be known by the people by the fact of their being followed by falcons, crows and other flesh-devouring animals. Perhaps, the writer seems to say that wherever he went there was a slaughter of armies, etc., and therefore a number of flesh-devouring creatures followed his army. But, I think that here also, there is a subtle allusion to the Iranian custom of the disposal of the dead. If so, this allusion also points to the Hunnic king Mihirkula as following the Iranian faith.

C. Numismatic Evidence.

The coins of the Hun kings in India also show that they followed the religion of ancient Irān. The coins of the Hun king Toramana and Mihirkula bore Fire-altars like those

1 Book I, shlokas 346 ff.

on the Sassanian coins. Their coins served as intermediate models for the later Gadha coins, known as Gadhiya Paisa, known in Indian literature as Drammas. I have referred, in my paper, entitled "A Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S., from a Parsee point of view"[1] to Dr. Condrington's plate, in which he has arranged 20 coins of the type known in Gujarat as Gadhia coins and in Kathiāwār as Gadhaiyā coins. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji has described the plate, and, as said by him, the coins in the plate are arranged in a way as would easily give to one looking at them "the gradual transition from the Persian face and fire-altar, seen in the former (Sassanian) coins, into the oblong button dots and lines on the latter (Gadhiā) coins, and which showed pretty plainly that the so-called Gadhiās are a debased imitation of the coins of the Sassanian kings of about the 6th or 7th century A.D."[2] Now, in this series, the coins of the Hun kings occupy an intermediate place. As said by Mr. Brown "the Huns were mainly instrumental in introducing Sassanian types into India."[3] Mr. Brown refers to a coin bearing the name Shāhi Tigin with the Nagari legend "King of India and Persia." I think this Shāhi Tigin is the Shāhi Chagān or Chagān Shāhi of Firdousi (Macan's Calcutta edition of the Shāhnāmeh, Vol. III, p. 1589, *e.g.*, The name is a title and not the name of the king.) The name of this particular king was Faghanish and he was a Hunnic king of the Haitalite tribe, spoken of by Firdousi as Shāhi-Haital.

Of course, the mere fact, that we find fire-altars

1 The Centenary Volume of the B.B R.A.S. (1905). *Vide* my Reprint of the paper, p. 152.

2 Journal B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XII. Abstract of Proceedings, p. XXII.

3 The Coins of India (The Heritage of India Series) by C. J. Brown (1922), p. 51.

in the coins of the Hunnic kings of India, standing alone, would not suffice to show, that they paid reverence to fire and were Zoroastrians in belief, but, together with other evidences referred to in this paper, it presents a very strong presumption of their following the religion of Irān.

The view of M. Deguignes, principally based on the authority of Chinese writings.

M. Deguignes has written an excellent history of the Huns under the title of "Histoire Générale des Huns." He speaks of his work, as a work principally drawn from, or based upon, Chinese books (Ouvrage tiré des livres Chinois.) He has also drawn from other oriental sources. In this history, he speaks in two places on the religion of the Huns. At first, he speaks of their religion under the head of "Histoire des Anciens Huns."[1] This account is of the ancient Huns, other than the White Huns, who lived on the frontiers of Persia and who now and then invaded Persia, and who, in the time of the Sassanides, invaded both Persia and India. He again speaks of their religion under the head of "Les Turcs Orientaux."[2] These Turks were the Huns who had come into a long contact with the Persians, and had invaded Persia and India under the Sassanides. He thus speaks of their religion[3]: "As to other religion, the Turks have much respect for fire, air, water and earth. They worship one God whom they regard as the author of the Universe. They sacrifice to him camels, oxen and sheep. Their priests claim to have the gift of prophecy

1 Histoire Générale des Huns (1756), Tome I, partie II, Livre premier, p. 26.

2 *Ibid.* pp. 375-77, Livre V.

3 I translate from Deguignes' Histoire Générale des Huns, Tome I, seconde partie, p. 374, Livre cinquième.

.....But there existed in their neighbourhood a religion celebrated in olden time, I mean that of Zoroaster, which, a part (tribe) of Turks, had embraced, principally those who lived in the direction of Persia and in Transoxania." Then, describing the religion of Zoroaster on the authority of Hyde, M. Deguignes adds: "But probably the Turks had not adopted the sublime ideas of the Persian religion." We see that Deguignes' account of the offerings tallies with what we have said above about the ceremonialous offering of animals according to the Yashts by the Vaēsaka Huns and by the Huns of king Arejataspa or Arjāsp.

THE IRANIAN NAME OF THE HUNNIC KING TORAMANA WHO INVADED INDIA.[1]

Introduction.

Indian writings and inscriptions speak of two Hunnic kings—Toramana and his son Mihirkula,—as having reig ied in India and oppressed the people. The object of this paper is to determine, that the Hunnic king Toramana, referred to in the Indian inscriptions, is the Hunnic king Khashnawâz or Khûshnawâz referred to by the writer of the Pahlavi Grand Bundehesh and by other later writers of Persia. I will first give a brief account of the historical relations of the Huns with I. India and II. Persia.

I

RELATIONS OF THE HUNS WITH INDIA.

The two periods of the Invasion of India by the Huns.

We have two periods of the invasion of the Huns, referred to in Indian books and inscriptions. (*a*) The first early period is that referred to in the Vishnu Purāṇa (2nd book, 3rd chap.)[2] and the Raghuvança of Kālidasā.[3] But these references do not help us in determining the dates.

1 This paper was read before the Third Oriental Conference at Madras in December 1924.

2 The Vishnu Purāṇa, a system of Hindu Mythology and Tradition, translated from the original Sanskrit, by H. H. Wilson (1840), pp. 177 and 194. For details of these references, *vide* my paper on "The early History of the Huns and their Inroads in India and Persia" (Jour. B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXIV, pp. 532-95. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part II, pp. 293-349. For this particular portion, *vide* pp. 334-40).

3 The Raghuvança of Kālidasā with the commentary of Mallinātha by Kashinath Pandurang Paraba, 2nd Ed. (1882), p. 89.

(*b*) The second period is, what may be termed, historically authentic, as we are in a position to determine the dates, though approximately, in the case of some events. For this period, we have the help of our Indian inscriptions and writings. Prof. Pathak has, recently, brought to bear upon the subject fresh light in his learned paper, entitled "New Light on Gupta Era and Mihirkula"[1] which is based on some Jaina writings. We had more than one invasion in this period, the history of which, based on the above materials, can be thus summed up briefly :

History of the Second Period.

The first invasion of India by the Huns in this authentic period took place at the end of the period of a century and a half, known as the "Golden age of the Guptas". It took place in about 455 A.C., on the death of Kumârgupta and the accession of Skandagupta. The Huns came from the direction of the frontiers of Persia and from the steppes of Central Asia, through the North-Western passes. They lived in those parts from remote times, carrying inroads in one country or another ; but they founded, after occasional rises and falls, at various times, what may be called, a new Empire in the basin of the Oxus, in the middle of the 5th century, in about 448 A.C. In their above mentioned first invasion, they were defeated by Skandagupta, who commemorated his victory[2] over them by "a pillar of victory" at Bhitari[3].

1 The Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 195-222.

2 Smith's Early History of India, 3rd Ed. of 1914, p. 309.

3 *Vide*, for particulars, my Asiatic Papers, Part II, p. 336. We have another reference to this victory in an inscription of Skandagupta on the great boulder of Asoka's inscription at Girnar in Junaghad in Kathiawar. (Dr. Fleet's Inscriptions of the Early Guptas, p. 58). For a full account of this Inscription, *vide* the History of Kathiawad by Capt. Wilberforce Bell (1915), pp. 32-36.

The second invasion was in or about 465 A.C. We have the authority of the Chinese traveller Sung-yung or Sing-yun[1], who travelled in India in 520 A.C., for some information about this invasion. These Huns were of the Ye-tha or Ephthalite tribe. Skandagupta was defeated and he died in 480 A.C. They then continued their inroads on India. In or about 500 A.C., led by Toramana, they brought stronger attacks. This Hunnic king settled in Malwa and assumed the title of Mâhârâjâdhirâjâ, *i.e.*, The Râjâ of the Mâhârâjâs. In this invasion, the Huns had even attacked Pataliputra[2]. He even struck coins in his own name. His name is mentioned in three Indian inscriptions.[3]

(*a*) The first inscription is that of his own reign and is at Eran in the Khura sub-division of the Sagar district in the Central Provinces. It is inscribed on "the chest of a colossal red sand-stone statue of a Boar, about 11 feet high, representing the God Vishnu in his incarnation as such."[4] This inscription, which seems to have been engraved in the first year of Toramana's reign, was of some date about 484-85 A.C.[5]

(*b*) The second inscription is that at Kura[6] in the salt range of Sagar in the Central Provinces. According

1 "Buddhist Records of the Western World" by Samuel Beal (1884), Vol. I.

2 For the influence of this victory on Saurashtra or Kathiawad, *vide* the History of Kathiawad, by Capt. Wilberforce Bell (1915), p. 37.

3 *Vide* my paper on the Huns op. cit. in my Asiatic Papers, Part II, p. 338 *et seq.* for particulars.

4 "Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III. Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their successors," by Dr. J. F. Fleet (1888), 1 55.

5 *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, II, p. 339.

6 In Constable's Hand Atlas of India, under direction of J. G. Bartholomew (1893), the name is given as Kurai. *Vide* the General Index of the Atlas.

to Dr. Buhler's account of the inscription, in his article entitled "The new Inscription of Toramana Shaha", it "was incised during the reign of the king of kings, the great king Toramâna Shâha or Shahi, Jaüvla....On palæographical grounds, it may be assigned to the fourth or the fifth century."[1] This inscription is now in the Lahore Museum.

(c) There is a third inscription which bears Toramana's name, but it was inscribed, not in the reign of Toramana, but in that of his son Mihirkula. It was "found built into the wall in the porch of a temple of the Sun in the fortress at Gwalior in Central India."[2] It is now in the Calcutta Imperial Museum.

II

RELATIONS OF THE HUNS WITH PERSIA.

As in the case of the history of India, so in the case of the history of Persia also, the history of the relations of the Huns can be divided into two great periods: (1) The very ancient period and (2) the later authentic period of the Sassanians. I have spoken elsewhere of the first period.[3] So, I will not speak of it here, especially as it has not much to do with our subject proper.

As to the later authentic period of the history of Persia in Sassanian times, I will state in brief what the relations of the Huns with the Persians were. We find from the history of this period, that the Huns, known as

1 Epigraphia Indica, a Collection of Inscriptions supplementary to the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, edited by Dr. J. Burgess (1892), p. 239.

2 Dr. Fleet's Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, p. 163, No. 3.

3 *Vide* my paper on the Huns in the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume.

the Ephthalites or Haitalites or Hephthalites, and spoken of as White Huns both by Western and Eastern writers, first came to Transoxania in about 420-425 A.C. and they had, off and on, several wars with the Persians. They had the first war with Behramgore. Yazdagard, the successor of Behramgore, had three wars with them, in 442-47, 450-51 and 454. Yazdagard, who died in 454, had set aside the claims of his eldest son Feroze, and had named Hormazd, the second son, as his heir. So, on his death, his son Feroze sought the aid of the Hunnic king, spoken of[1] by Firdousi as Shâh-i-Haital (شاه هيتل) and Chaghâni Shâhi (چغانی شاهي).[2] He is named Faghanish (فغانش). With the help of this king, Feroze won his Persian throne.

Later on, while speaking of the wars of Feroze with the Hunnic king, Firdousi names the latter as Khûshnawâz (خوشنواز)[3] and speaks of him as the son of the Khaqan (فرزند خاقان)[4]. According to Firdousi, Feroze was killed in a war with this Hunnic King Khûshnawâz.[5] Thus, according to Firdousi, the Hunnic king who first helped him to gain his throne was Faghânish, and the Hunnic king who latterly fought with him was Khushnawâz. A year after coming to the throne, Feroze had to fight against a great famine, which lasted for seven years. His famine administration and his solicitude to help his people were such, as would do credit to any best of our modern kings.[6]

Feroze subsequently had to fight with the Ephthalites, and, it seems, that he had more than one war with

1 Macan's Calcutta edition Vol. III, p. 1589. Mohl's small edition of Translation, Vol. VI, p. 68. 2 *Ibid.*

3 Macan's Calcutta Edition III, p. 1592, l. 4. Kutar Brothers' Ed. VIII, p. 160. 4 *Ibid.* p. 1592, l. 14. 5 *Ibid.* p. 1594.

6 *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, II, p. 324.

them. He was killed in the last war. Thereafter also, there were wars between the Persians and the Huns, during the times of kings, Balash, Kobad, Jamasp and Nowsherwan.[1]

Table of Events with Dates.

I give below a table of events, with dates, in connection with the wars of the Huns with the four great empires of ancient times and especially their wars with India and Persia. This table helps us to see, at what period during their long wars with the Persians, fought, off and on, for more than 100 years, the Huns were at war with India.

Years.	Events.
1200 B.C.	The beginning of the history of the Huns in the East, according to Chinese accounts, as stated by M. Deguignes, in his "Histoire Générale des Huns."
7th Cent. B.C.	Their War with Gushtasp (according to Pahlavi writers).
246 B.C.	Chinese Emperor Cheng, who built the great Chinese Wall, came to the throne.
215 B.C.	Cheng drove away the Huns and built the great China Wall.
209 B.C.	The approximate date of some of the materials of their history.
209 B.C.	Their first Emperor in the East, towards China, died.
46 A.C.	The empire of the Huns in Tartary destroyed by the Eastern Tartars and the Chinese.

1 *Vide* my above-mentioned paper for a detailed account. My Asiatic Papers, II, pp. 318-333.

139 A.C.	Claudius Ptolemy, the Geographer, wrote about Xouvi Chuni (Chænoi), a tribe of the Huns as living on the Dneiper.
200 A.C.	Dionysius Periegetes wrote about Huns living on the borders of the Caspian.
372 A.C.	The Huns advanced westwards under Balamir, and, defeating the Alani, enlisted them in their own service.
374 A.C.	They invaded the country of the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths).
376 A.C.	Balamir became the chief of that branch of the early Huns who had gone to Europe in the time of the Roman Emperor Valens.
404-5 A.C.	The Huns under Uldin helped the Roman general Honorius against the Ostrogoths.
406 A.C.	Attila born.
409 A.C.	They invaded Bulgaria.
420-25 A.C.	The arrival of the Haetalities or the Ephthalites or the White Huns in Transoxania.
420 A.C.	Behramgore (Behram V, 420-438) came to the throne of Persia.
424 A.C.	Defeating the Visigoths, they conquered various tribes on the North of Italy.
427 A.C.	Behramgore's war with the White Huns.
434 A.C.	The Hunnic king Ruas or Rugulas, to whom the Roman king Theodosius paid a tribute of £14,000, died, and his nephew Attila became king.
441 A.C.	They invaded both, the Western and the Eastern Roman Empires.

442-44 A.C.	Their war with the Persians under Yazdagard II.
445 A.C.	Bleda, the colleague of Attila, died and Attila began to rule alone.
448 A.C.	They founded a new great Empire in the basin of the Oxus
451 A.C.	Attila, crossing the Rhine, led an army through Central Germany.
450-51 A.C.	Another war with the Persians under Yazdagard II.
453 A.C.	Attila died. Alaric and he had given a blow to Mithraism in Europe, thus making the way for Christianity smooth.
454 A.C.	Their another war with the Persians under Yazdagard II.
455 A.C.	Their first invasion of India in which Skandagupta defeated them.
458 A.C.	Feroze (458-484) sought the aid of the Huns who were ruled by their King Faghâna, according to Firdousi, and by Khûshnawâz or Khashnawâz according to other oriental writers.
465 A.C.	Second invasion of India by the Huns when they took Pataliputra.
472 A.C.	Mihirkula, the son of Toramana, born.
474-76 A.C.	The first War of Feroze with the Huns under Khûshnawâz.
480 A.C.	The defeat of the Huns under Toramana.
480 A.C.	Skandagupta died.
484-85 A.C.	The War of the Haetalite Huns with the Persians under Sufra.
485 A.C.	The Huns again invade the Eastern Empire of the Romans and continue harrassing it for 72 years upto 557.

484-85 A.C.	The date of the First Inscription bearing Toramana's name at Eran.
486 A.C.	The Persian king Kobad at the Court of the Haetalites to ask for help.
497-99 A.C.	Kobad at their Court for the second time.
500 A.C.	Toramana brings stronger invasions on India.
502 A.C.	Death of Toramana and accession of Mihirkula to the Hunnic throne in India.
503-13 A.C.	The Persian king Kobad's War with the Haetalites.
517 A.C.	The Third Inscription bearing Toramana's name, inscribed in the 15th year of Mihirkula's reign.
528 A.C.	Mihirkula defeated by king Yashodharma.
530 A.C.	Mihirkula referred to as Gollas by Cosmas Indicopleustes, the monk writer, who wrote in 547 A.C.
542 A.C.	Mihirkula died.
556-57 A.C.	The War of Noushirwân (Chosroes I) with the Haetalites when they were finally driven away from Persia.

This table shows, that the wars of the Huns with the Indians went on, off and on, during the period when they fought with Persia. It also shows, that the history of the Hunnic king Toramana was connected with that of India from 455 A.C. to 502, the date of his death. During this period, at times, he was successful, and, at times, defeated. He was defeated in 455. He was successful in 500 and he finally died in 502, leaving his son Mihirkula as his successor to his conquered territories of India.

During this period (455-502) of Toramana's invasions of, and rule over, India, there reigned in Persia, as we saw above, Feroze (457-484), his son Balash or Palash (484-488), Kobad (488-497), Jamasp (497-499), Kobad again (499-510). But the period, in connection with which we have to seek the aid from Persian history, is that about A.C. 455 when the Huns invaded India for the first time, and that about 480 when Skandagupta defeated Toramana. It seems that after 480 Toramana made a more or less permanent stay in India. This period 455 to 480 was mostly the period of the reign of Feroze. So, we will speak at some length about the relations of this Persian king with the Huns.

III

KING FEROZE OF PERSIA AND THE HUNS.

We will examine the relations of Feroze with the Huns, on the authority of Oriental and Western writers. We find a great difference, not only between what the Eastern and Western writers say, but also between the statements of the Eastern writers themselves.

Famine driving Huns to India.

Some time[1] after Feroze's accession to the throne of Persia, there occurred a great famine in Persia which lasted for from six to seven years. According to the Pahlavi Bundehesh, which we will refer to later on, it lasted for seven years. I think, that though the famine is spoken of as having occurred in Persia, the Haetalite Huns, who lived on the frontiers of Persia, also suffered. According to Tabari, the rains had kept off so long, that even great rivers like the Tigris and the Oxus got dry. Tabari says :

تنگي چنان شد که دجله و همه چشمه ها و رودها خشکي شد [2]

1 According to Mirkhond, one year after the accession. Nawal Kishore's Text p. 231, l. 7. 2 Nawal Kishore's Text p. 303, l 24.

i.e., The scarcity (of water) was so much, that the Tigris and all streams and rivers got dry.

According to the text followed by Zotenberg, the same was the case with the Jehoun (جیحون), *i.e.*, the Oxus. Mirkhond also says that both the above rivers had got dry. (در جیحون و دجله مطلقاً نمانده بود[1], *i.e.*, No water had remained in the Tigris and Oxus). When the scarcity of water and rain were felt in the basin of the Oxus, it is natural that the Huns who had their headquarters there, were also hard pressed by the famine. It seems therefore that the Huns were forced to leave their country and to turn towards India by this great famine, which devastated the country of Persia and the surrounding regions for seven years. The whole history of all the Hunnic tribes tells us that they, as it were, according to Huttington's Bread and Butter theory, wandered from country to country in search of food. They lived in a particular region for a number of years, and, then, when hard pressed there by any kind of scarcity, small or great, they migrated to another region, and, driving away its original occupants from their place, halted and lived there for a number of years. So, it seems, that these Haetalite or Ephthalite or White Huns were driven from Persia by force of circumstances, by the great famine of seven years which occurred in their country. This may be one of their reasons to turn towards India which grew grain and other foodstuffs in large quantities. According to some Oriental writers, who describe the famine policy of Feroze, the Persian king himself had also sent for grain from India among other countries, to feed his starving people.

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1 Nawal Kishore's Text of Mirkhond's Rauzat-us-safa, p. 231, l. 9.

Proceeding a little further in the history of the reign of Feroze, we find that, afterwards, Feroze had more than one war with the Haetalites. Oriental writers differ as to the cause of the war. Firdousi and Maçoudi give no reason as to why Feroze declared war against the Haetalite Huns. Tabari[1] says, that the war was due to the oppression of the Hunnic king. His subjects left his country and sought refuge at the court of Feroze and asked his help. Hence Feroze declared war against the Hunnic king. Mirkhond in his Rauzat-us-safa gives the same cause:

فیروز بقصد بلاد هیاطله بنابر نظام متظلمان که از جور[2]
ملك آن دیار بدرگاه او مجتمع شده بودند لشکرها را جمع آورده
از نقفی عهد نیندیشد

i.e., Firouz collected an army with the intention of invading the country of the Hactalatioes in order to make arrangements (nazâm, for the affairs) of the oppressed who had on account of the oppression of the king of that country gathered in his Court and he was not afraid of breaking the treaty.

According to the Byzantine historian Priscus, the cause of the war was different: When the Hunnic king gave help to Feroze to gain the throne of Persia, one of the terms of the treaty was, that Feroze was to give to a prince of the Huns, his sister in marriage. This prince was named Coucha[3] (or Konkhas).[4] Feroze is said to have deceived the Hunnic king, as the lady, later on given in marriage, was not the sister of Feroze, but a

1 Nawal Kishore's Text of Tabari, p. 30, l. 10 *et seq.* Zotenberg, II, p. 136. 2 Nawal Kishore's Text I, p. 231, l. 15.

3 Histoire Générale des Huns, by Deguignes. Tome I, Partie II, p. 328. 4 Mémoire sur les Huns, by Drouin, p. 34.

Persian lady who was passed off as a princess and a sister of Feroze. Whatever the real cause of the war may be, on proceeding further in the history of the reign of Feroze, we find, that Feroze had two wars with the Ephthalite or White Huns, and in both of these he was defeated. Here, we must bear in mind, that the Huns who invaded India also are spoken of as White Huns. Now, it seems, that the later invasions of India by Toramana in the reign of the Gupta king Skandagupta, were, as it were, the result of the victory of the Huns over the Persians. It seems that, flushed with the victory, they turned to India to find, as it were, new pastures.

IV

THE HUNNIC KING WHO HELPED FEROZE AND THE HUNNIC KING WHO DEFEATED AND KILLED FEROZE.

Now, the question is: Who was the Hunnic king, who, at first helped Feroze in getting his father's throne, and, later on, fought with him and defeated and killed him? Authorities differ on this question. We will refer to some different writers who have written more or less on the subject. We will first see what the Pahlavi Bundehesh says on the subject:

(*a*) The Pahlavi Bundehesh.

In the Pahlavi Bundehesh, known as the Grand Bundehesh,[1] we have an Iranian authority which speaks about Feroze. The writer of this book, or of this portion of the book, refers to the above referred to two great events of the reign

1 *Vide* the Introduction of my Transliteration and Translation of the Bundehesh for this name and for other particulars about this book.

of Feroze, *viz.*, the great famine of his time and his wars with the Huns. He refers to the great famine in the reign of Feroze and Feroze's death at the hand of Khûshnawâz in the war with the Haetalites. We read therein (in the chapter, enumerated as 39 by Dr. West[1], and entitled "Madam vazand i hazâreh hazâreh val Airân shatra matè"[2], *i.e.*, "On calamities which fell upon the country of Airan from millenium to millenium"), the following, when we come to the reign of Feroze:

"Dayan khudâiya-i Piruz i yazdagardân shash shant matrâ lâ yehvûnt, mardûm halâkih va shaktih gerân yâmtunit. Tûnd Khashnavâz Haiyâptalân khôdâ yâitûntè Piruz zaktalûnt."[3]

Translation:—In the reign of Piruz (the son) of Yazdagard, there fell no rain[4] for six years. Great calamity and affliction came to mankind. Hot-spirited[5] Khashnavâz, the king of the Haeptalites, came and killed Piruz.

Thus, we learn from this passage, that the name of the Haetalite king, was Khashnavâz.

(*b*) Firdousi.

Firdousi speaks, as said above, of the Hunnic king who first helped Feroze as Shah-i-Haital (شاه هیتال)[6] and Chaghani Shah (چغانی شاه)[7] and gives his name as Faghânish (فغانیش)[8]. As to the king who latterly fought with Feroze,

1 S.B.E., Vol. V (Bundehesh), Introduction p. XXXVII.

2 The Grand Bundehesh, edited by Tehmuras and Behramgore Anklesaria, p. 211, ll. 3-4.

3 Grand Bundehesh, *Ibid.* p, 215, ll. 5-8.

4 Matarg or matra (Pahlavi Vendidad XXI. 2). Arabic مطر matar, rain.

5 Pers. tund تند

6 Macan's Calcutta Edition, Vol. III, p. 1589. Mohl's small Ed. Translation, Vol. VI, p. 68.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.* p. 1592

he names him Khûshnavâz and speaks of him as the son of the Khâkân (فرزند خاکان). By Khâkân, he refers, as said by M. Drouin,[1] to the Khâkân, previously referred to, *viz.*, Faghânish. Thus, it was the father who had helped Feroze and it was the son with whom Feroze had to fight.

(*c*) Tabari.

Tabari, referring to the event of Feroze asking for help, at first, speaks of the Hunnic king as the king of the Haetalites (Hayâtale هیاطله[2]) who ruled over Badakhshan etc. According to the text used by Zotenberg for his translation, the king then ruled over Ghardgistân, Tokhâristân, Balkh and Badakhshân. Tabari then gives the name of the Haetalite king as Khashnawâz (نام ملك هیاطله اخشنواز بود)[3]

According to Tabari, Feroze fought battles with the very Hunnic king Khashnawâz who had helped him. Tabari represents Feroze as defending his conduct, by saying that, though he was under obligation to the Hunnic king, he was under a higher obligation to God, and to the people who lived under the rule of the Hunnic people and who complained that they were much oppressed[4]. In the war with this king Khashnawâz, Feroze was killed.[5]

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1 Mémoire sur les Huns, p. 33.

2 Nawal Kishore's Text, p. 303 ll. 22 *et seq.* Tabari par Zotenberg II, p. 127.

3 Nawal Kishore's Text, p, 304 ll. 1 and 3. The initial alif ا is one which we find before several Persian names, *e.g.* Anoushirwan, and Iskandar. Tabari derives the name of these people from Pers. هیتال strong (معنی هیطاله بپارسی هیتال بود . یعنی مرد قوی بود و دلیر)(*Ibid.* l. 6).

4 ترا به من حق بسیار است و لکن خدای عز و جل را حق بیشتر است اما خلایق بسیار بسوی من آمدند از تو فریاد خواست
(Nawal Kishore's Text, p. 30 ll. 12). Tabari, par Zotenberg I I, p. 131.

5 Zotenberg II, p. 142.

(*d*) Maçoudi.

Maçoudi does not refer to the event of Feroze asking the help of the Hunnic king, but says, that he was killed at the hand of Akhashnawâz (اخشنواز)[1]. He speaks of the Hunnic king as the king of the Hayatalis (ملك الهياطله). He speaks of these Haetalites as the Sogdians, who lived between Balkh and Samarkand. He names the place of his being killed, as Merv-al-rud (مروالرود).

(*e*) Mirkhond.

Mirkhond, in his Rauzat-us-Safa, refers to both the events—Feroze seeking for help from, and his fight with, the Hunnic king. While speaking of the first event, he speaks of the Hunnic king as the king of the Hayatalahs or Haetalites (ملك هياطله)[2]. While speaking of the war, he gives the name of the Hunnic king as Khûshnawâz (خوشنواز)[3]. We can therefore infer, though not say positively, that, perhaps he took that the Hunnic king who helped Feroze was different from the one who fought with him.

(*f*) Priscus, a Byzantine historian.

Priscus (died about 471), who was a Byzantine historian, and who led an embassy from the Roman emperor, Theodosius the Younger, to the great Hunnic conqueror Attila, about 445 A.C., is said[4] to be the only Roman author who referred to the event of Feroze seeking the aid of the Hunnic king. According to this historian,[5] Feroze, after winning the Persian throne of his father with the help of the Hunnic king, made a treaty with

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1 Maçoudi, par B. de Meynard, II p. 195.

2 Nawal Kishore's Text, Vol. I, p. 231, l. 2. 3 *Ibid.* 1. 18.

4 Drouin's "Mémoire sur les Huns," p. 34.

5 Histoire des Huns, par Deguignes, Tome I, Partie II, p. 238. Drouin, *Ibid.* p. 34.

him. Thereby, he agreed to give his sister in marriage to a Hunnic prince, who is named Cousha (or Koukhas).

This name seems to be a corruption of Khûshnawâz. Then, according to this Byzantine historian, the Hunnic king who helped Feroze was another king, not Khûshnawâz. According to him, Khûshnawâz was a prince of his family for whom he arranged a marriage with a Persian princess. This historian then seems to support Firdousi, that the Hunnic king who helped Feroze was Faghânish and the one with whom he had to fight later on, was Khûshnawâz who was the son (فرزند) of the Haetalite king.

(g) Malcolm.

Malcolm, in his account of Feroze and the Hunnic king who helped him, says that "the name of the Tartar prince, according to some Mahomedan authors, was Khoosh-Nuaz; but this appellation, which may be interpreted 'The Bountiful Monarch', was probably only given to denote his kindness and liberality. Ferdosi calls him Faganish and Khakan".[1] Anyhow, Malcolm takes it that it was the same Hunnic king who helped Feroze who latterly fought with him.

(h) M. Drouin.

M. Drouin, in his "Mémoire of the Huns"[2] (Le Muséon of 1895), seems to accept the version of Firdousi, that the Haetalite king who helped Feroze to gain the throne of Persia was a Chagani king named Faghânish, and that the king with whom Feroze, later on, fought was Khûshnawâz who was the son of Faganish (fils de Foughonish).

1 Malcolm's History of Persia, Vol. I, pp. 99-100.

2 "Mémoire sur les Hun Epthalites dans leurs Rapports, avec les Rois Perses Sassanides," par É. Drouin (1895. Extraits du Muséon), pp. 33-36.

What Drouin says[1] of the generality of Mahomedan authors, giving the name of the Hunnic king as Khûshnawâz, refers to the king who fought with Feroze.

We see from the above accounts of different writers, that they differed. According to some, the Hunnic king who helped Feroze was the same king with whom Feroze fought later on. According to Firdousi and according to Priscus, who was well nigh a contemporary of the times, they were two different persons. The former was the father, and the latter, the son.

V

IDENTIFICATION OF THE HUNNIC KING WHO FOUGHT WITH PERSIA WITH THE HUNNIC KING WHO FOUGHT WITH INDIA.

Our Indian materials, as examined above, do not tell us, who the first Hunnic king, who fought with, and was defeated by, Skandagupta was. But, we find that three inscriptions give us the name of Toramana as that of the later Hunnic king, who was successful and who made his stay and died in India. When we look to the above table of dates and look into the above history of the wars of the Huns with the Persians and Indians, we are led to believe, that it was the Hunnic king who defeated Feroze in Persia, that later on came to India and conquered and stayed here. So, it was the Iranian Khûshnawâz who was the Indian Toramana. In other words, the Iranian name of the Hunnic king Toramana named in the Indian inscriptions was Khûsh-

1 La plus part des auteurs musulmans donnent au Khâqân des Ephthalites le nom de Khoushnavâz. Ce mot qui signifie en persan " bon roi " خوش نواز, est écrit aussi El Akshenvar (Aboulfeda) et El Akshvar, Ashnovar etc., suivant les autres.

nawaz. We will examine some of the evidences on the subject:

(1) Toramana is spoken of in the Indian inscriptions as Shâh or Shâhi. This word is Iranian, and we saw above, that the Hunnic king who came into contact with Feroze is spoken of by Firdousi as Shâh-i Haitâl, *i.e.*, the king of Haital. These Hunnic kings were, in manner, custom, and religion, Iranian, to some extent. So, they had assumed the Persian title Shâh to denote their kingship.

(2) The second inscription of Toramana speaks of him as षाहि जउ Shahi Jau. According to Dr. Buhler,[1] the letters after जउ Jau are "very faint and partly doubtful". On the suggestion of Dr. Fleet, Buhler has read the faint or doubtful letters as *vla*, thus reading the whole word as *jaula*. I think, that these letters are something like Persian ghan or ghani (غن or غی) and the whole word is Jaughan or Jaughâni. In Persian, the same letter ج may be read as چ *ch* or ج *j*. The pronunciation depends upon the nuktahs or points—one or three, whatever you take with the word. In the Shakasta style of writing, they do not put any nuktahs. Again, according to M. Drouin[2], Tchegan (چغان) (Chagan) was also written Djagan (Jugân جغان). So, it seems quite probable, that the missing or doubtful letters of the Indian inscription are somewhat like *ghan*, and the whole word is Jaughan or Jaughâni, and is the same as Firdousi's Chaghâni, which is also written Jaghâni. Thus, I think, that the king referred to in the Indian inscription as Shâhi Jaghâni (or Chaghâni) is the Hunnic king referred to by Firdousi. Shâhi is a titular

1 Epigraphia Indica, edited by Dr Burgess, p. 239, n. 1.

2 Mémoire sur les Huns Ephthalite, p. 21.

word for a king used in Persia. Even now, the king of Persia is spoken of as Shâh, and Chaghâni or Jaghâni is a tribal name. A part of Samarkand is still known as Chaghanian چغانیان.[1]

(3) We saw above, and we see from the above referred to table of dates and events, that the successful invasion of the Hunnic Toramana occurred in the time of the reign of king Feroze of Persia (457-484). Now, as the Hunnic king came from Persia, flushed with victory there, and as the times are contemporary, it seems more than probable that the Indian Hunnic king was the same as the Persian Hunnic king.

From all these facts, we are led to conclude, that the Hunnic king named in the Indian inscription, as Toramana and who is spoken of as the Shâhi Jaughâni (or Chaghâni) is the same as the Hunnic king named in the Pahlavi Bundehesh and in the writings of Firdousi and other eastern authors as Khoushnawâz.

VI

THE NAME OF THE HUNNIC KING AND ITS SIGNIFICATION.

The proper form of the name Khûshnawâz.

Firdousi gives the name as Khûshnawâz (خوشنواز); Tabari and Maçoudi as Akhshnawâz (اخشنواز); Mirkhond as Khashnawâz (خشنواز) and the Byzantine historian Priscus as Cousha or Koukhas, which is a corrupted foreign form of Khashnawâz. Thus, the question is, whether the proper form is Khûshnawâz (خوسنواز) or Khashnawâz (خشنواز). The Pahlavi Grand Bundehesh, which must be taken as an older authority, gives the name as "Khash-

1 Steingass.

nawâz Haiyaptalân Khûdâ (𐭧𐭮𐭭𐭥𐭰𐭠𐭲𐭤𐭠𐭤𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭭 𐭧𐭮𐭭𐭥𐭰𐭠𐭲𐭤𐭠𐭤𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭭),[1] *i.e.*, Khashnawâz, the chief or the king of the Haetalites. So, it seems, that the first part of the name is Khash (خش) as given by Tabari, Maçoudi and Mirkhond and not Khûsh (خوش) as given by Firdousi. In Pahlavi, khush *i.e.*, 'pleasure', is written as 𐭧𐭥𐭱[2]. The Persian form of this word is rendered in Persian both as (خوش) or (خش) (khûsh or khash). Firdousi, erroneously taking it to be a word expressing pleasure in the sense of the above Pahlavi word khûsh, has adopted the first form khûsh (خوش). But Tabari and others have strictly followed the Pahlavi form 𐭧𐭥𐭱 khash and given the word as خش khash. Drouin and Malcolm[3] have been guided by Firdousi's form and have tried to give the meaning of the name, taking the first part to be Persian khûsh.

Mihirkula of the Indian inscriptions and the Chaturmukha-Kalkin, of the Jain writings.

I will say here a few words on Prof. K. B. Pathak's identification of Toramana's son Mihirkula with a person in the Jain writings. In his paper, entitled "New Light on Gupta Era and Mihirkula",[4] he shows, that the Mihirkula of the Indian inscriptions, the Mihirkula of Kalhaṇa's Râjatarangiṇi, and the Mihirkula of the Chinese writer Hieun Tseng is the same person as the Chatrumukha-Kalkin, Kalkin or Kalkirâja (472-542 A.C.)[5] of the Jain writers. "Kalkirâja was only another name of the famous tyrant Mihirkula".[6] He says that according to one Jain writer,

1 *Vide* the Text, edited by Tehmuras Anklesaria, p. 215, l. 7.
2 *Vide* Dastur Hoshangji's Text of Ardai Viraf, Chap. III, p. 18.
3 *Vide* above.
4 The Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 195 *et seq.*
5 *Ibid.* pp. 215-16. 6 *Ibid.* p. 216.

Jinasena, he ruled for 42 years, and, according to two others, for 40 years. His father Toramana's first year of rule is taken to be 500 A.C. The number 52 on the inscription of Toramana is taken to be the first year of his rule in India. This number is taken to be the 52nd year of the Hunnic Empire on the banks of the river Vanksu (Vakṣû) tira[1] or Oxus[2]. The Jain writers speak of this Kalkirâja as "a paramount sovereign.....foremost among wicked men, a perpetrator of sinful deeds."[3] He flourished between 472 to 542 A.C. He was reigning in 520 A.C.

Now I think that the Râjatarangiṇi suggests to us the origin of the above Indian name Kalkirâja as given by Jain authors. This Kashmir history, while speaking of the terrors that Mihirkula (महिरकुल) spread, speaks of him as kâlopamô कालो पमो (नृप), *i.e.*, Kala-like ("semblable à Kála" as Troyer renders the words[4] in his French translation). Kala was the god of Destruction and Death. So, as Mihirkula caused destruction all round, he seems to have been spoken of as one ruling over or spreading death.

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1 *Ibid.* p. 213.

2 I have said elsewhere, that the river Aredvisûra of the Avesta is the modern Oxus, and that the principal main branch Aksu, from which the name Oxus is derived, is a later corrupted form of Ardvisu-(ra). The above Jain name Vanksuhira or Vaksutira, seem to be another form of Aredvisura (*Vide* my Gujarati paper on the Geography of the Avesta in my "અવસ્તા જમાનાની પર સંસારી જંગલી ખૂંખાર અને એકરારનામું", pp. 188-192.)

3 Prof. Pathak, Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 215.

4 Râjatarangiṇi, traduite et commentée par M. A. Troyer (1840), Text Vol. I, p. 32, sloka 289. Stein's Râjatarangiṇi, Vol. I, Text p. 13. *Ibid.* Vol. II, Translation p. 32.

Meaning of the name Toramana.

The Iranian name of the Hunnic king who invaded India was Khashnawâz and the Indian name was Toramana. Why a different name in India? We know that the Hunnic king, on coming to India, assumed the title of Mahârâjâdhirâja, *i.e.*, the Râja of the Mahârâjas. This was to impress his new Indian subjects with an idea of his greatness. So, similarly perhaps, he assumed this name Toramana to gain some importance. If so, I beg to suggest with some diffidence, the meaning of this Indian name. I think, the name is Tolamana तोलमान, *i.e.*, "Heavy or high in honour." Tola तोल or तुला tula means heavy, weighty, and mâna मान: means respect, honour.

We know, that, in the inscription bearing his name, he is spoken of, not as an oppressor or tyrant, but as a king of good merit. For example, in the first inscription, bearing his name, he is spoken of as "the glorious Toramana of great fame (and) of great lustre"[1]. In the second inscription, "the donor wishes to make over a share of the merit gained by his pious gift to[2] Toramana and his family." In the third inscription, he is spoken of as "a ruler of great merit."[3]

Thus, the Iranian name assumed by Toramana in India, giving up his Iranian name Khashnawâz, seems to be in line with the statements about himself in the inscriptions.

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1 Dr. Fleet's Inscriptions of the Early Guptas, No. 36, p 160.

2 Epigraphia Indica, a Collection of Inscriptions supplementary to the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, edited by Dr. Burgess (1892), p. 239.

3 Dr. Fleet's Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, p. 163.

THE DISA-POTHI (FAMILY DEATH-REGISTER) AMONG THE PARSEES.[1]

Introduction.

Prayers in honour of the dead play an important part in the prayers of many religious communities. It is so among the Parsees. To remember one's dead relatives, especially the near ones like parents, wife or husband, children, brothers and sisters, is an important religious and moral duty. The departed dear ones, if remembered with love and piety, are believed to bless the living ones who remember them. This belief and this idea of duty have necessitated the keeping of two record books in a well regulated Parsee family. They are (1) the Disā-pothi and (2) the Nām-grahan.

1. Disā-pothi.

The word *disā* (દિસા) used among the Parsees seems to be another form of દિસ or દિવસ, *i.e.*, day. It has then come to mean *the day* of the anniversary of the death of a person. For example, the Parsees speak of the day of the death of their prophet Zoroaster, as " Zarthosht no disô", *i.e.*, " the anniversary of the death of Zoroaster". They speak of the anniversaries of the deaths of their parents as "mā bāp no disô" (મા બાપ નો દિસો), *i.e.*, *the* (*anniversary*) *day* of the death of their father or mother. The word *pothi* (પોથી) is an Indian word meaning a book. So, disā-pothi means " a book in which are recorded the dates of the deaths of the departed ones".

Every family is supposed to have a Disā-pothi, in which the names of the departed ancestors and members

1 This paper was read before the Anthropological Section of the Second Oriental Conference at Calcutta in January 1923.

of the family and also those of the departed lateral and collateral relations by blood or marriage are entered with the dates, *i.e.*, the days (*roz*), months (*māh*) and years (*sāl*) of their deaths. It is, as it were, a family calendar of the departed dear ones.

Like all calendars, the Disā-pothi begins with the first day (Ohrmazd) of the first month (Farvardin) of the Parsee year and ends with the last day (Gatha Vahishtoisht) of the year. Thus, the Disā-pothi is divided into 12 parts for 12 months. The deaths in the family that have occurred on the first day of the year (*roz* Ohrmazd, *māh* Farvardin) are entered under the heading of the first day, Ohrmazd ; those that have occurred on the second day are entered under the heading of the second day Bahman. The thirty days of a Parsee month are known by thirty special names which are the names of the Yazatas (literally, those who are worthy to be worshipped) or angels, such as 1 Ohrmazd, 2 Bahman, 3 Ardibehsht, 4 Shehriver, and so on, upto 30 Aneran, the last day of each month. Similarly, the months also are named after the 12 great Yazatas of whom seven are the Ameshâspands or archangels. But, in the Disā-pothi, the days and months are generally marked, not by their special names, but, by their numbers 1, 2, 3, etc., as in the case of Christian dates. Thus, for example, all the deaths that have occurred, say, on *roz* Ardibehsht, the 3rd day of a Parsee month, are put under the heading or marginal figure of number "3".

The head or elderly member of a well-regulated Parsee family generally knows the dates of the deaths of the near dear ones of the family, especially the dates of those who died during his life-time; and so, knowing them, he prepares for the performance of the usual ceremonies on the coming anniversaries of the demise of those

members. Some generally look to the Disā-pothi, every month or two months, to refresh their memory. To forget the day, and thus to let the anniversary day of the deceased pass unnoticed, without the performance of the requisite obsequies, is a great dereliction of duty. Pious people, on finding that they have, by neglect, let the proper day pass without the proper ceremonies, grieve over their neglect and, according to the proverb "Better late than never", direct the due ceremonies to be observed immediately after their being reminded of their neglect.

The Disā-pothi in the hands of family priests.

But, to provide against such forgetfulness or neglect, the family-priest of the family also keeps a Disā-pothi of the family with himself. In the mofussil Parsee centres generally, and, to some extent, even in Bombay, it is considered to be the duty of the family priest to look into the Disā-pothi of the family from time to time and to inform the heads of the families of the coming anniversaries, so that they may be prepared for the occasion and may give the requisite instructions to the priests also. If the priest neglects to do that and the day passes unobserved, the priest is censured.

Now, generally, a Parsee priest is the family priest of more than one Parsee family. So, at times, he keeps in his house a general or common Disā-pothi, *i.e.*, a book of memoranda of the death anniversaries, not only of one family, but of all the families of which he is a family priest. He looks in that general or common Disā-pothi, daily or weekly, and gives due information to all parties. For example, if on looking to his common Disā-pothi, he finds that four deaths have taken place on a particular day, say the 10th day (Abān) of the 12th month Aspandād, of four individuals belonging to four different families of which he is the family priest,

he goes a few days before that day, at his convenience to the heads or other members of the families and reminds them of the coming anniversary days of the deceased members of the family. At times, he is asked to go to them again after a day or two, or, at times, he receives instructions at once, as to what to do or what religious ceremonies to perform. The directions are as to (*a*) whether the ceremonies are to be performed at home or in a Fire-temple, (*b*) as to what ceremonies to perform—a few ordinary or also any special, (*c*) as to the cost of the fruits, sacred bread, meals, etc., to be procured for the requisite offerings and (*d*) as to how the consecrated offerings are to be disposed of, *i.e.*, whether they are to be sent to the families for *chāshni*,[1] or religious ceremonial eating, or to be sent, in whole or in part, to a related or friendly family, or to be used by the priest himself.

Sacerdotal arrangements of priests.

Now, in some Parsee centres, there are special arrangements and stipulations among the priests themselves, as to who should perform the anniversary or other ceremonies. Even now, all Parsee priests cannot perform all religious ceremonies in all Parsee towns. They have their sacerdotal rights and privileges as well as restrictions. For example, a priest of Bombay or Naosari cannot officiate at all religious ceremonies in Broach or Udwada. Similarly, a Broach Parsee priest cannot officiate at Udwada and *vice versa*. After the settlement of the Parsees in India, their priesthood divided the country of Gujarat into, what is called, *panthaks* (પંથક)[2] or districts of ecclesiastical functions or jurisdic-

1 *Vide* my Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees, pp. 298-99, 362.

2 *Vide*, for this division, my "A few Event in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates", pp. 15-17.

tions. This was done to avoid disputes. The division has been, since then, more or less faithfully adhered to. Not only that, but even in one Parsee town, for example at Naosari, there are divisions among the priesthood, and the priests of one section cannot officiate at the ceremonies in the houses of certain parts of the town, where only those of the other section can officiate. Again, in one section and the same section also, the rights, privileges and prerogatives are divided in a certain way by certain families of the priests. Some months of a year are set apart for one particular family and some for another. Again, some certain ceremonies can be performed during certain months by the priests of one particular family or a stock of families and not by others.

This sacerdotal arrangement has led to the preparations of a larger or more common and general Disā-pothi. At Malesar, in Naosari, there is an arrangement of the above kind. So, there, the priests have with them a larger or more common and general Disā-pothi, wherein are noted the anniversaries of the deaths, not only of one family or a number of families of which the priest is a family priest, but of all the families of Malesar, where about 2000 Parsees lived. As, the priests, in turn, have the right to officiate at certain periods at certain ceremonies and, among them, the ceremonies in honour of the dead, at the houses of all the laymen of the whole quarter, they have to keep a common register or Disā-pothi for all the dead of that Parsee quarter.

I produce an old Disā-pothi of Malesar of that kind. It belongs to Ervad Merwanji Karkaria of Naosari. I beg to thank that gentleman for kindly lending it to me. It was first prepared in Samvat 1782 (1726 A.C.). We learn this from the following short statement, given as a heading on the very first page:

સંમત ૧૭૮૨ ના વરખે રોજ ૧૩ તીર માહા પ અમરદાદ એ વહી આ.

જમશેદજી કેરશાસજી ચારણાંએ કરાવી રોજ ૧૩ મા ૫ અમરદાદ સંવત ૧૭૮૨ મલેશર ફલીઆનાં ઉતારી કાઢ્યા તેની વગત, *i.e.*, A. Jamshedji Kershasji Châmâ got this book (vahi) prepared on *roz* 13 Tir, *mâh* 5 Amerdad, year Samvat 1782. The days of the deaths of (the laymen of) Malesar faliâ (*i.e.*, street) are copied in it, (the following are) its details[1].

The pothi or vahi, as it is called in the above preamble, begins with a heading માહા ફરવરદીન, *i.e.*, month Farvardin. Then we read the following :—પેતીતી[2] ને દન ઇથા અહુ વેરીઓ ૨ દોઢે. વનત તશતર હોરમજ[3].....ઈ ખરા...નેપઢે, *i.e.*, "on the day of Pateti,[2] one must recite two Yathâ Ahû Vairyô. Recite with the Khsh[4] (numan) of Vanant,[5] Tishtrya, Hormuz..." Then, by the side of a figure, marking No. "1", run a number of names of those who died on that No. 1 day, *i.e.*, the first day Ohrmazd of the first month Farvardin. Sixteen deaths are noted on that day in the hand of the original writer Jamshedji Kershasji Châmâ. These are the deaths of persons who were dead before

1 The manuscript is in two volumes. The first volume contains 736 pages, out of which 233 pages are blank. They were kept blank with the view of having further additions. It contains about 11500 entries for the first six months—Farvardin to Shehrivar. The second volume has 746 pages, out of which 307 are blank. It contains about 9800 entries. In Vol. I about 3000 entries are of years prior to that of the commencement of the Disâ-pothi, *i.e.*, prior to Samvat 1782. In the second volume, there are 3065 entries of years prior to Samvat 1782.

2 For Pateti, the New Year's day. It is so called, because it is enjoined, that one should repent on that day for his faults during the past year, and, for that purpose, recite *patets* or prayers of repentance (*Vide* my Religious Customs and Ceremonies of the Parsees, p. 98.)

3 The paper of the Ms. is torn off here.

4 The word is ખશનુમન Khshnuman ખ્શ્નૂમ્. *Vide* for this word my Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees, pp. 381-82.

5 *Vide Ibid.* pp. 366-67.

roz Tir, *māh* Amerdad, Samvat 1782, the day when he began writing this register of deaths. All the names entered into this register of death by the hand of Jamshedji should be taken as having occurred before Samvat 1782.

Before beginning the list of deaths on *roz* 2, *i.e.*, the second day of the first month, the writer has left empty space to provide for the addition of names that may occur after the above date. He and his heirs seem to have gone on adding names of persons who died after that date. To provide for the book lasting for a long time, he, or his heir has, at first, gone on adding names in the spaces between two old names. Then more names are added in the empty space originally provided between two consecutive days. In the manuscript Disā-pothi here submitted for inspection, we find, some names of the priestly class added subsequently by the priests who used it. They seem to have begun to use it also as a note-book or register of the dead of their own families. They have added even names of some great men of Naosari who died out of Naosari.

Abbreviations. There are a number of abbreviations adopted in this register. They are the following:—

(1) *ba* (બ) This stands for બેહેદીન Behdin, *i.e.*, layman. This બ *ba* is generally written—and that very properly—as *bê* in the present day Disā-pothis.

Wherever the name occurs with the above abbreviated word Behdin, it must be taken that the death was of an adult of, or above, the age of 7, which is the proper age of initiating a child into the fold by the Naojote ceremony.

Wherever the name of the deceased is noted without this abbreviated word *ba* (*i.e.*, Behdin), one must take it

that the deceased was a child under seven years of age. In that case, the name is mentioned in the recital in the ritual as khurd (P. خرد), *i.e.*, small. The abbreviated form of the word is khu (ખુ).

In the case of an infant that is not named as yet, it is mentioned as Vahmān, *e.g.*, Vahmān Bahmanji, *i.e.*, the unnamed child of Bahmanji. The word vahmān means "of good mind" (vah man), *i.e.*, innocent.

In the Disā-pothi of priestly families the abbreviated forms are the following:—

A (આ) is the abbreviated form of Andhiāru (અંધ્યારુ). The names of those members of the priestly family who have gone through Nāvarhood, *i.e.*, the initiation of priesthood, are recited in the ritual with the honorific appellation of Ervad. Those who have not gone through that initiation are spoken of as Oshtā which is a corrupted form of Avesta *hāvishta*, *i.e.*, a pupil. In this case, the abbreviated form is O (ઓ) for Oshtā.

(2) The next abbreviation is ભા *bhā* for ભારજ્યા Bhārajiā. This abbreviation occurs after the name of a female and signifies that she was married. For example read a name બા. હાંશી બા. શોહરાબ ભા. (Bā Hānshi Bā Shohrāb bhā). Here, the final *bhā* shows that this lady was a married woman, and was the wife of Shohrāb. Wherever the abbreviation does not occur that may mean that she was unmarried. In the case of a married woman her name is recited with that of her husband and in that of an unmarried woman with that of her father[1].

(3) The third abbreviation we notice is that of પુ *pu* which stands for પુત્રી, *i.e.*, daughter, *e.g.*, રાણી બ. શાગર

1 In the Kadmi sect, to which all Zoroastrians from Persia belong, the name of a woman, whether married or unmarried, is recited with that of her father.

પુ. નાના ભીખા પરમ વાંખડા ખારી (Note of *roz* 1, *māh* 1, No. 8). This means that Rani, the daughter of Shagar (the son of) Nana, Bhikha Param (surnamed or resident of Vânkhdâ khâri).

(4) Abbreviation ૦ા stands for પાલક. In the Hindu accounts ૦ા stands for one quarter. The Gujarati word for one quarter is પા *pa*. Now the word પાલક can be abbreviated into પા. So, the form ૦ા, which is pronounced as પા, is used as an abbreviated sign for પાલક.

Thus runs a note on *roz* 15, *māh* 3 : ૧૫ એ. હોરમજ એ દારાબ ૦ા રૂસ્તમ દારાબ રૂસ્તમ શેરીઆર કુકા મેહેરજી ચાંદના કર્કરીઆ ૧૯૪૯. This is a note of the death of the father of Mr. Merwanji Karkaria, who has kindly lent me the old Disā-pothi which I submit here for inspection. His father Hormuz was adopted by his uncle Darab. So, the abbreviation symbol ૦ા is put down after the name દારાબ (Darab) to show that Darab was the adoptive father and not the real father. The names after the abbreviation symbol ૦ા Rustam, Darab, Rustom, Sheheyar, Kuka, Meherji, Chândnâ are the names of Hormuz's own ancestors. The last name Karkaria is the name of the family.

These Disā-pothis continue in some priestly families for some generations. So, though the original writer may know the party or the family, his successor or successors may not recognize the family, and may, therefore, be in doubts, as to whom the information of the coming anniversary may be given. So, for guidance, some further particulars are given. For example, in the list of the deaths on the 4th day of the 1st month there is the name ૪ માબાઈ રતંન શોરાબ પુ. ગામ દુમસનો નવા ગામડીઆનેધેર *i.e.*, Mâbâi, the daughter of Rattan, Sohrab; (he is) of the village of Dumas ; at the house of the new villager (the information is to be given). Take another case: ૪ (માહા ૧) બે. શોહોરાબ બે. જીવણ ધનજી હોશંગ ચાંદજી જેશા

નીશા ૧૭૭૮ રૂસ્તમ કાલાનો બાપ, *i.e.*, Behdin Sohrab Behedin Jivan (the son of) Dhanji (the son of) Hoshang. Chandji Jesha-Nisha (died in Samvat) 1778. (He is) the father of Rustam Kīlī.

There may be several persons of the same name. So, to avoid mistakes the writers of the registers put down some additional information or designation or nick-name by which the deceased or his near relative was known. In the above case, the writer has given the pedigree of six ancestors, and has, besides that, given his relationship with a living person who seems to have had a nickname as Kala, *i.e.*, the black. One other instance we find under *roz* 1, *māh* 4, as બ. જીબાઈ બ. કાવસ ભા. કુંવરજી તમોળી માણક શોરાબ રામજી શાગરની બેટી, *i.e.*, Behedin Jibāi Behdin Kīvas, married (to Kīvas) son of Kūarji Tamoli (and) the daughter of Manock Sorab Rīmji Shīgar.

(5) જી is an abbreviation for જીવતેહાવાન (P. زنده روان), *i.e.*, living soul. This signifies that the person named was living. For example, in the list of names of day (*roz*) 6, month (*māh*) 1, there is among the latterly added names, a name as જી જમશેદ રૂસ્તમ બમ(ન) મેહેરજી દીવેટીઓ, *i.e.*, Zindeh rawān, *i.e.*, living, Jamshed Rustam Baman Meherji (surnamed) Divetiô.

The name of living persons in the list of the dead.

It may strike one as strange, why the name of a living person (zindeh ravān[1]) should be found in the list of the names of the dead. But the following custom among the Parsees explains this procedure: A person, in his life-time, performs for his soul all the funeral ceremonies, that have to be performed for it on his death by his surviving relatives. This is considered a meritorious act for him or her. When one does so in his life-time, he or she is believed to feel

1 *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees" for this word, pp. 444-46.

a little easy or happy in his or her mind, that it will not matter much, if, under any circumstances, his or her funeral ceremonies are not performed by anybody on his or her death. In such a case, what can be called, a kind of vicariousness is done away with, because the person himself or herself performs what is believed to be requisite for the good of the soul instead of leaving it to others for being performed after his or her death. The funeral ceremonies of all religious communities are believed by intelligent men to have, as their aim, a prayer to God and other Higher Powers or Intelligences under Him (*a*) to forgive and forget the faults of the deceased and to reward him for whatever good he may have done; (*b*) to protect and guide his soul in its further progress; and (*c*) to thank the Higher Powers for all the gifts and blessings that may have been conferred upon the deceased in his life-time. The funeral ceremonies of a Parsee are celebrated with the name Sraosha, an Yazata or angel presiding over divine obedience, whose function is to protect and guide the soul of a person when he is living, and to protect and guide it after death. As it is the function of the same angel to protect and guide one during his life, and to protect and guide his soul after his death, the ceremonies in honour of that angel, whether performed by one in his life-time, or performed by others after his death, are almost all the same. The principal occasions on which the funeral ceremonies are generally performed by the Parsees are (*a*) the first three days after death, for which period the soul is believed to be still within the precincts of this world[1], (*b*) the dawn of the third night after death when the soul is believed to pass the precincts of this world and to enter into those of the

1 This ceremony is known as that of Sarosh. *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees", p. 3.

next world, (*c*) the fourth day (chehârûm)[1], (*d*) the tenth day (dehûm), (*e*) the thirtieth day (si-roz) and (*f*) the anniversary (sal roz) after death[2].

The thirtieth day is generally meant to mean, every thirtieth day after death; so, the day of death during every month is also taken to be the proper occasion for the ceremonies for the soul. Some perform these for the 12 months of the same year and some continue them for the months of some subsequent years also. Similarly by "anniversary" is meant not only the first anniversary but many subsequent anniversaries.

So, the Zindeh-ravān ceremonies are the ceremonies which one performs himself for his soul during his lifetime (Zindeh-ravān, *i.e.*, living soul) and they are almost the same as those performed after death. The occasions also are the same, *viz.*, the first three days, the third dawn, the fourth, tenth, thirtieth and anniversary days. Such being the case, the names of some living persons—it is not many who perform continuously the Zindeh-ravān ceremonies—who have performed the Zindeh-ravān ceremonies, are entered into the Disā-pothi or the Register of Deaths, so that, on proper occasions, the priests, referring to the Disā-pothi, may go to the proper parties, and, reminding them of the occasions, may receive due instructions for the performance of the (living) funeral ceremonies, on each successive anniversary of the day on which he first performed his funeral ceremony.

The custom of performing the Zindeh-ravān ceremony was more common about twenty-five to thirty years ago than now. It is still prevalent at old orthodox Parsee centres like Naosari. The occasion is held to be important and the party who performs his Zindeh-ravān

1 Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees, p. 443.

2 The Dibacheh of the Afringān.

is believed to be celebrating a joyful occasion like Naojote or marriage; and so, he or she is presented with gifts, in kind and money, by relations and friends, as on the above joyful occasions. I know of my own knowledge, where a Parsee lady performed her Zindeh-ravān ceremony at the Seth Jejeebhoy Dadabhoy Parsi Fire-temple at Colaba with some eclat, and on the fourth (cheharûm) day, at noon, feasted about 200 relations and friends and received a number of presents in suits of clothes, jewellery and money as on a joyful occasion. It is said, that in an old centre like Naosari, in former times, even a musical country band was sent for for the occasion.

The Zindeh-rivān ceremonies are all along similar to the funeral ceremonies of the Anoushe-ravān, *i.e.*, of the dead, and they begin with the performance of the Yazashna in honour of Sarosh. But, they say that, in former times, in the last century, there were occasional instances of persons performing their Zindeh-ravān, from the very beginning with which the ceremonies for the dead are performed, *i.e.*, even the Gehsârna ceremony was performed. The person bathed, or had a sacred religious bath of *nān*[1] (Sans. स्नान) at the hands of a priest, and he then laid himself down on a stone slab (લાદી) on the ground as if dead and the priests celebrated the proper last ceremony which is performed before the disposal of the body into a Tower of Silence. This reminds us of King Charles V of Germany (Don Charles I of Spain)[2] who is said to have got performed, as it were, his Zindeh-ravān, by getting all the funeral ceremonies performed over his body, as if he were dead. He was even put on a bier and carried with due observance to a cemetery and placed in a grave dug for him. The clergy

1 *Ibid.* pp. 95-101. 2 *Vide* my શાહનામાના દાસ્તાનો. p. 144.

and others said the last prayers before the grave and retired, leaving him in full meditation in the grave which he left after a short time to go to his place.

The procedure for preparing the Disā-pothi.

There are three processes, which follow one another, for preparing a Disā-pothi :

a. The daily note.

b. The monthly (બાંધીઓ) *bandhio.*

c. The Disā-pothi or the joint register for all years, of all the dead of the whole quarter of the town—Malesar in the case of our Disā-pothi.

(*a*) When a death takes place the priests enter it on a stray slip of paper. They go on doing so for a month. (*b*) At the end of a month, or, at convenience, at two or three or more months, they enter the notes of death into a paper which they call બાંધીઓ (*bandhio*). Perhaps, the word comes from બાંધવું, *i.e.*, " to bind together ", because it takes a collected or joint note of all the deaths during a month. Perhaps, it is so called because it leads to the binding or uniting of all monthly notes into the third list, the disā-pothi, which embodies all the deaths during the year.

(*c*) At the end of the year, or at convenience later on, even after two, three or more years, the names of all the dead during the year are entered into a *vahi* or book called, as said above, દિસા પોથી.

Disā-pothi or Vahi.

On the occasion of the observation of the death anniversaries of relatives, devout religiously-minded persons get, not only the names of the deceased of their own family invoked, but also of all the deceased of the families of their own ancestral stock. Some go further, and get all the dead of their street invoked. Some go still further, and get the spirits of all the dead of the whole quarter thus invoked. The priest recites these names of the dead of

the whole quarter from the *nām-graham* of the whole quarter. The nām-grahan is the collection of the names of the dead, irrespective of the days or months or years of deaths.

Historical importance of such Disā-pothis

These registers of deaths serve at times the useful purpose of supplying materials of historical importance. I will give some instances from the above Disā-pothi or vahi of 1782.

1. The Variâv Tragedy.

There is the story of a massacre of some Parsees at Variâv near Surat. It is thus narrated in the Bombay Gazetteer (Volume IX, Part II, Gujarat Population, page 186): "According to one account, the Variâv settlement was as old as the settlement at Sanjan (Lord (1620) in Churchill's voyages (1620) VI 329). These settlers enraged the Rajput chief of Ratanpur by refusing to pay tribute and defeating a body of troops sent to enforce the order. When a fresh force arrived from Ratanpur the Pârsi men were absent at a feast outside the limits of Variâv but the women donned the armour of their husbands and relations and opposed the troops valiantly. When about to obtain a victory, the helmet of one of the female warriors dropped and exposed her dishevelled hair. On this, the Ratanpur troops rallied and made a desperate assault, and the women, preferring death to dishonour, heroically leapt into the Tapti which runs through the village of Variâv and drowned themselves. The day of this disaster (the 25th day of the first month Farvardin) is still commemorated at Surat by special religious ceremonies. The year is unknown."[1]

1 The Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, Part II, Gujarat Population, Musaulmans and Parsis, p. 186, n. 9. *Vide* "Gujarat Parsis" by Kharshedji Nasarwanji Seervai and Bomanji Bahramji Patel, p. 4, n. 9.

Mr. Sorabji Muncherji Desai, the author of the History of Naosari, (1897, pp. 353-55) also relates this story which shows that the Gujarati proverb "રાંડના માર્યો ફેરા ગયા", *i.e.*, "We had to weep and fly, having been beaten by women" seems to have originated with this story, in which the above words were uttered by one of the defeated troops, when he saw that they were being repulsed by women dressed as men. Mr. Desai's account is interesting as it shows, how, even now, the event of the Parsee massacre is celebrated at Malesar in Naosari, every year, by the Parsees there, because the ancestors of some of them were some of the Variâv Parsees who had fled and settled there. A place is still pointed out to us near a place known as દસેરાની ટેકરી (Dasserâ hill) where the anniversary of the day of massacre was celebrated upto a few years ago by the Malesar Parsees. It is now celebrated by an annual Jashan at the adjoining Lady Avabai Jamshedjee Jeejeebhoy Fire-temple. The details, as given in the Gazetteer and in Mr. Desai's book, differ a little, but the main fact of the massacre is the same.

Now, the above Disā-pothi (p. 101) of Samvat 1782 (A.D. 1725-26, *i.e.*, written nearly 200 years ago) confirms the occurrence of the main event. In the list of the deaths on *roz* 25, *māh* 1, we find in the very beginning the following entry: વરીઆવા બેહેદીન શમશ તેનો રોજગાર ૧૬૭૬, *i.e.*, the anniversary day of all the Behedins of Variâv 1676. This Samvat year 1676 corresponds to 1619 A.C. Thus, we see that this Disā-pothi written in 1782, which has, like all the deaths of Malesar, entered in one note the death of all the Behedins of Variâv, takes a note of this event of the massacre. Again, this fact of the entry having been made in the very commencement of the entries of *roz* 25, *māh* 1, shows, that the event is taken to be a very old event preceding the event of the death of

any individual named there. The entry, as originally written, bears no date in the name of the original writer, but some one, later on,[1] has given the date of the event of the massacre as Samvat 1676 (1619 A.C.). So, we find that if we accept the latterly-added date as correct, the event occurred about 300 years ago. But the fact, that the original writer Jamshedji Kersasji Châmâ himself has not put down the date, throws doubt upon this date of 1676, latterly put down by one of his successors. He himself has put down dates as old as 1593, the date when three members of the Changa Shâh family were killed (*roz* 21, *mâh* 4, 1593). So, had the event of the massacre occurred as late as 1676, *i.e.*, about 83 years later, he would have known it and given it in his own hand. The writer of the Disâ-pothi Jamshed Kersasp died on *roz* 26, *mâh* 7, Samvat 1788 (1732 A.C.)[2]. So, he had written the Disâ-pothi about (1788-1782) six years before his death. It is generally elderly or grown up people who write such Disâ-pothis. So, even taking his age to be as young as 30 at the time of writing, he must have been born in Samvat 1752. So, his generation was later than that of 1676 by 76 years. In that case, then, he would have assuredly known the date of the Variâv event, had it really happened in Samvat 1676. So, as he himself has not given the date, it seems that the event must have happened long before 1676.[3]

1 On inquiry at Naosari during the Christmas of 1921, I was told, that it was a heir of the original writer Mr. Jamsetji Chandana who had entered this date, which he had heard from somebody.

2 *Vide* કરકરીઆ કુટુંબની હકિકત (p 51).

3 After writing this paper, I have entered into a detailed discussion of the question of this massacre of Parsees at Variâv, in my paper, entitled "A note on the Parsee Massacre at Variâv," *vide* the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 2, pp. 122-124 (*Vide* my Cama Oriental Institute Papers, pp. 47-49). I have shown there that even Rev. Henry Lord, who wrote on 1621 A.C. refers to this event.

There is another Disā-pothi written in 1793, *i.e.*, eleven years after the above one of 1782. It is headed: સ્વસ્ટ[1] શ્રી મલેસર ફ્લીઆના બેહેદીન મખનાતવાના એ દીશા પોથી લખવા માંડી શવંત ૧૭૯૩ નાં વરખે રોજ ૨૯ માહા ૨ અરદીબેહેશ્ત, *i.e.*, This Disā-pothi of all the laymen dead of the Malesar quarter is commenced to be written on *roz* 29, *māh* 2, Ardibehesht year 1793 (Samvat). In it, under the entries of *roz* 25. *māh* 1. we read the entry of this event as follows :—

સાવશટ[1] વરીઆવા બેહેદીન, *i.e.*, all the Variâvâ Behdin[2]. In a manuscript book[3] of ritual, named Kitab-e Darun Yasht, written in 1119 Yazdezerdi, Samvat 1806, *i.e.*, 13 years later than the above second Disā-pothi and 23 years later than the first, the subject is headed as follows:— રોજ અરસેસંગ માહા ફરવરદીન એણ દન બાજ વરીઆવાની ગુજરાતમાં આવ પછી મારા ગ્યા તેની બાજ અરદા ફરોશ ધરવી, *i.e.*, "*roz* Arshisang *māh* Farvardin, on this day is the anniversary of those who were killed at Variâv after (our) coming to Gujarat. To perform the Baj of Ardafarosh".

The words "ગુજરાતમાં આવ પછી", *i.e.*, "after (our) coming to Gujarat," are significant. The Parsees began to be dispersed in Gujarat in 1090. This dispersion led to the division of the panthaks or

1 Savast સવસ્ત is સમસ્ત, *i.e.* all, from Sama સમ, Avesta hama.

2 It is not certain, in which sense the word Behdin is used here. The word literally means "(people of) the good religion", *i.e.*, Zoroastrians in general. It was so used formerly, but latterly the word has come to be applied to laymen as distinguished from the priests, who are spoken of as Andhiaroo.

3 *Vide* my paper entitled "An Old Manuscript of the Kitab-i Darun Yasht" read before the Zarthoshti Din-ni Khol Karnari Mandali in 1921 (*Vide* the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 1. *Vide* my Cama Oriental Institute Papers, pp. 6-25).

ecclesiastical jurisdictions in 1290.[1] So, when the writer refers to that event as occurring after the migration to Gujarat (from Sanjān), he seems to refer to it as a very old event in the twelfth, thirteenth or fourteenth century. We thus see that the Disā-pothi supplies a proof about a historical event; and, we further see, that the Note of the Disā-pothi is supported by an old manuscript.

2. The date of Changa Shâh and that of the removal of the Sacred Irân Shâh Fire to Naosari.

Another important historical event, the date of which this Disā-pothi helps us in fixing, is that of the removal from Wansda to Naosari of the Sacred Fire of Irân Shâh, the first Sacred Fire founded by the Parsees on their immigration to India. I have discussed the date in my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates." I have fixed it about 1516. I have shown therein, that Changa Shâh, who had a great hand in the removal of the sacred fire, lived in the end of the 15th century. His dates given by the Rivâyets are as follows:—

Nariman Hoshang's First Rivâyet,	1478 A. C.
,, ,, Second Rivâyet,	1481
An unnamed Rivâyet,	1511

These dates show that between 1478 and 1511 A.C. Changa Shâh was a known man, and I have shown that he must have died before 1520 A.C. Again, his son Manock is known to have built a Tower of Silence at Naosari in 1531 A.C. (*Parsi Prakash*, I, p. 11). So, the time of the life of his father Changa Shâh must be in the second half of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century.

1 *Vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates," p. 86.

So, when some Parsee authors place the event of the transfer of the Irân Shâh Fire to Naosari by Changa Shâh as Samvat 1475 (A.C. 1419) they do not seem to be right. Changa Shâh must not have even been born at the time.[1]

Now, this Disā-pothi gives the dates of the death of Manock, the son of Changa Shâh, as Samvat 1593, *i.e.*, A.C. 1537. So if the son died in A.C. 1537, the father cannot be taken as living in A.C. 1419. The interval is that of (1537-1419=) 118 years. So, Changa Shâh must not have lived in 1419.[2]

3. The above event of Changa Shâh's sons being murdered.

There is a tradition about Changa Shâh's three sons, that they were murdered together by some Mahomedans, out of jealousy. Even the place of their being killed is traditionally known. The fact of this event known by tradition is confirmed by an entry in this Disā-pothi, which, in the list of the deaths on *roz* 21, *māh* 4, 1593. gives the following names (p. 451): ૨૧ શેઠ. માણક શેઠ. ચાંગા આશાહુલા રાંણા[3] દીનદાર ૧૫૯૩ (સંવત)

૨૧ શેઠ કેકબાદ માણક ચાંગા આશારાણાહુલા ૧૫૯૩

૨૧ શેઠ માણક શેઠ જન ૩ એક દહાડે મારેઆ ૧૫૯૩

i.e., Sheth Manock Sheth Changa Asha Hula Rana Dindar 1593 (Samvat)

Sheth Kekobad Manock Changa Asha Rana Hula 1593

Sheth Maneck Sheth. Three persons killed on the same day 1593.

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1 *Vide* my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees" at pages 51-61 for a full discussion of the subject. 2 *Ibid*,

3 The names, રાણા and હુલા, are here inverted by mistake.

This note refers to the death of three persons of the Changa Shâh family, who were, as said above, killed by persons who had got jealous of their influence.

The traditional story of the death of three persons of Changa Asha's family.

The traditional story, as heard at Naosari, about the murder of these members of the Changa Asha's family is as follows:—Of the three persons, named above, the first Manock was the son of Changa Shâh and Kekobad was a son of this Manock, *i.e.*, a grandson of Changa Asha. As to the second Manock (the third in the list) it is difficult to identify him because his father's name is not mentioned. It is said that owing to some differences and jealousy, some Mahomedans killed these three persons.[1] In those days, Parsees, who could afford, celebrated the first anniversaries of the deaths of their near relatives with dinners to a number of relations and friends. So, Bahman, the son of Manock, celebrated the anniversary of the above three persons of his family by giving a dinner at Bhâtha on the other side of the river Purnâ on which stands Naosari. He invited also some Hindu and Mahomedan friends and acquaintances. Among the latter, were the Mahomedans whom Bahman knew to be the murderers of his father, brother and his third relative. While returning after dinner, Bahman managed to put the three murderers in one boat and secretly arranged with the boat-man, that he may drown the boat in the middle of the river. He thus avenged the death of his dear relatives. The story was preserved for some time in a

1 Perhaps these murderers were some Muqaddams, referred to by Dastur Kaikobad in his petition to Emperor Jehangir. These Mahomedan Muqaddams do not seem to have liked Parsees carrying on the Desâigiri of Naosari (*Vide* my paper on "A Petition of Dastur Kaikobad to Emperor Jehangir" in the Journal of the K. R Cama Oriental Institute, No. 13, p. 36).

khiál (ખ્યાલ) or ballad, known as "Kaka Madham" ballad. One of the lines of the chorus of the ballad is said to be "હુનેતો હુની ખન્નઇ", *i.e.*, "He got successfully planned what he thought to do". This is said to refer to the above act of Bahman Manock. The house where the murder of the three Parsees took place is pointed out as that now occupied by Mr. Pestonji Merwanji Karkaria at Naosari. The street is, at times, spoken of as Asa Daji's street[1].

Thus the tradition of the event is confirmed by the above note in the Disâ-pothi.

4. The dates of the deaths of known persons.

We find from these Disâ-pothis the dates of the deaths of known persons. Take, for example, the date of the death of the first Sir Jamshedjee Jejeebhoy, Bart., who hailed from Naosari. In the entries of *roz* 22, *máh* Meher, in the above mentioned Disâ-pothi of Jamshed Châmâ (p. 86), we find the following note about his death: બો. જમશેદજી બો. રૂસ્તમ જીજીભાઇ ચાનજી વાછા બાતલીવારા બારોનેત શાહેબ ૧૯૧૫.[2]

i.e., "*B* (Behdin) Jamshedji *B.* Rustam Jeejeebhoy Chanji Vacha Batlivârâ Baronet-Saheb. 1915" (Samvat, *i.e.*, 1859 A.C.).

I find the same entry in a vahi written by the late Ervad Burjorji Behramji Karkaria (died Samvat 1910). In the entries of the above date, we find this entry as:

બો. જમશેદજી બો. રૂસ્તમજી[3] તે સર જમશેદજી જીજીભાઇ ચાનજી વાછા બારોનેત સાહેબ ગુજરેઆ ૧૯૧૫.

1 I am indebted to Mr. Rustomji Merwanji Karkaria of Naosari for the above information.

2 The exact date of the first Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy's death is 14th April 1859.

3 Rustomji was his brother who had adopted him. It is said by some people of Malesar, that this adoptive father of Sir Jamshedji was drowned in a *khaid* ખાડી in some part of Calcutta (કલકતાનીખાડી).

There are notes, here and there, of the dates of the deaths of some other members of the Sir Jamsetji family, though all of them lived in Bombay. We find entries of some other events.

(*a*) In the entries of *roz* 12, *mah* 1 (Vol. I, p. 49), there is an entry of the death of Dastur Jamaspji Minocherji Jamaspasa. (*b*) There are notes of events like the founding of the Bombay Anjuman Atash Behram (Vol. I, p. 137), (*c*) consecration of a new Bareshnum-gah on *roz* 5, *mâh* 2, Samvat 1941 (I, p. 145), (*d*) consecration of the new Fire-temple of Minocher Homji on *roz* 20, *mah* 2 (I, p. 207), (*e*) presentation of a Fire-vase to the Fire-temple at Malesar by Mr. Framji Muncherji Bumlakhâu on *roz* 3, *mâh* 6, Samvat 1954 (I, p. 627), (*f*) consecration of the Nusserwanji Tata Tower of Silence at Naosari on *roz* 20, *mâh* 6, Samvat 1934 (I. p. 695). (*g*) The removal from Naosari to Surat of the Sacred Fire founded by the Wadia Trustees of the Wadia Fire-temple of Bombay on *roz* 8, *mâh* 7 (Vol. II, p. 31). (*h*) The opening of the new road from Malesar to the Tower of Silence built to commemorate the name of the late Mr. Nusserwanji Mancekji Petit on *roz* 6, *mâh* 9, Samvat 1950 (Vol. II, p. 260). All these are later interpolations which are not relevant to the original object of the Disâ-pothi.

On page 28 of the vahi, the names of the dead of the family of the first Sir Jamshedji are given under the following heading :—

રૂસતમજી મેહેરજી રતનજી વાછા રામજી ન શર જમશેદજી જીજીભાઈ બારેનેન ને તાફં. In the Disâ-pothi of Dastur Burjorji, the above ancestor Rustomji's death is entered as below : બો. રૂશતમ બો. મેહેરજી રતન વાછા રામજી ૨૨ ૧૮૭૫.

We see from this entry, that the family surname of

the First Sir Jamsetjee was Tat (૮૮ or ત૮). The names are in all 67. The name of the above Rustomji Meherji has 4-12 after its name, *i.e.*, his death occurred on *roz* 4 of the 12th month. It is strange that in these entries, in some places, the figures of the *roz* are separated from those of the month by a dash like this, — but, in various places, they are not separated. For example, after one name we read 2811, *i.e.*, *roz* 28 of month 11, which figures are not separated by a — dash. The name of Sir Jamsetjee is entered here as શર જમશેદજી રૂસતમજી ૨૨૭ (*i.e.*, 22—7, *i.e.*, on the 22nd day of the 7th Parsi month). The name of Lady Awabai, Sir Jamsetjee's wife, is entered as આવાંબાઇ જમશેદજી ૫૫ (*i.e.*, *roz* 5, *mâh* 5).

In the Disā-pothi under examination of Ervad Jamshed Kershasp, all the years of death are given in Hindu Samvat years In another Disā-pothi copied from the above, the copyist has given the Yezdezerdi year also. He thus describes in the beginning of his Disā-pothi what he has done :

શ્રી દાદાર હોરમજદની મદદ હોજો.

શાલ ૧૯૫૫ ના-માંડું-વદ-રોજ ૨૩ મો દેપદીન દાદાર- માહા-૬ શો-શરેવર અમેશાસપંદ શને ૧૨૬૮ એજદે-જરદીના-રોજે એ દીશા પોથી મુએલાં-અશો રૂવાનો મલેશાર ફલીઆનાં તા. મેહરજી- ચાંદણાં-ણાં વારશો-કરકરીઆ-સાથના અશો રૂવાનોના નામ-શાલ-શને શાથે-બેરાતનશીન દશતુર-બરજોરજી શો બેરામજી-બીન-બરજોરજી-પાલનજી-નોશેરવાનજી-મેહેરજી-ચાંદણા-હોરફે કકલીઆ-એ-સાલ ૧૮૬૮ ના સને ૧૧૭૪[1] ના રોજે બેહેરતશીનન મોબેદ નવરોજી શાપુરજી કરકરીઆની દીશા પોથીના ઉપરથી લખેલી તેના ઉપરથી આએ દીશા પોથી લખીછે ને જુની દી(શાં) પોથીમાં શને નહી ઉતા તે આએ નવી દીશા પોથીમાં શને પણ લખ્યાછે. એ દીશા પોથી લખનાર મોબેદ દોશાભાઈ રૂસતમજી બીન ફરામજી બરજોરજી બેરામજી બરજોજી પાલનજી નોશેરવાનજી મેહેરજી ચાંદણાં હોરફે કરકરીઆએ શંપુરન કરીતે.

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1 Here the સને is Yezdejardi.

THE PERSIAN RIVĀYATS OF THE PARSIS.[1]

I

INTRODUCTION.

The Persian Rivāyats of the Parsis are not known to many students of Persian, outside the Parsi community of India, mostly because they have not much literary value as good works of Persian literature. They have not been regularly studied even by many scholars of Persian among the Parsis. I will, at first, say what led me to a little deeper study of these Rivāyats. I place on the table, for inspection, advanced proofs of two volumes of a lithographed edition of Darab Hormazdyar's Rivāyat which will shortly be published. About 21 years ago, my late lamented friend, Ervad Manockji Rustomji Unvala, who was the fortunate possessor of many old manuscripts of Avesta, Pahlavi and Persian, had begun the publication. Though the second volume was lithographed, the first, for some reason or another, had remained unpublished. The colophon of the second volume gives the date as the 15th of October 1900. Though unpublished as a whole, he had the generosity of giving advanced proofs to scholars who wanted it for their studies. I had the pleasure

1 This paper formed, at first, the subject of a popular discourse before the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute on Saturday, the 20th August 1921, the 12th Anniversary of the death of Mr. K. R. Cama. It was then developed and read, as a paper, before the 2nd Oriental Conference at Calcutta in January 1923.

of sending it to some scholars. Among these, one is Mr. Frederic Rosenberg of St. Petersburg, the author of an excellent edition of the Zarathusht-nāmeh with translation. He has made use of it in his "Notices de Litterature Parsie", I-II (1909 St. Petersburg), and has given a good list of the contents of the second volume which was sent to him in advance. He thus speaks of this lithographed edition in his above book: "Ce volume lithographic qui paraitra prochainement est de la plus haute importance pour l'étude de la litérature parsie... Nous felicitons M. Ounvala de mettre entre les mains des interessés un matériel si important, et qui jusq'alors ne pouvait être étudié que sur les manuscrits peu nombreux, se trouvant principalement à Bombay et à Paris" (pp. 14-15).

Mr. Unvala had kindly supplied an advanced copy, through me, to Dr. Louis Gray of America, a learned co-laborateur with Rev. Dr. Hastings in his monumental work of editing the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics. Dr. Gray has made use of some pages of this copy in his paper on "Iranian Miscellanies", in the Journal of the American Oriental Society (Vol. 33, Part III, 1903). Now, recently, Mr. Framroze R. Joshi, the Secretary of the Mulla Feroze Library, which is attached to the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, sent, on my recommendation, copies of the supplementary catalogue of the Library, for which I had the pleasure of writing an Introduction, to several scholars, and among them, to Dr. Louis Gray. Dr. Gray, in acknowledging the receipt of the copy, wrote :— "It has frequently impressed itself upon me, how advisable it would be, if, at least, the more important of the Rivāyats would be made accessible both in the original and in translation (or at least in summary). Is this idea worth considering?" On Mr. Framroze Joshi

referring Dr. Gray's above view to me, I requested him to write officially to me as the Secretary of the Parsi Punchayet. He wrote, and I placed the matter before my Trustees, who, thereupon, called upon the late Mr. Manockji Unwalla to complete, within a limited period, his work and publish his lithographed volumes, the publication of which they had patronized by subscribing 100 copies in advance. Mr. Unvala undertook to do so, but, before he could complete the work, he died, on 3rd October 1919. His death is a loss to students of Parsi tradition, of which he was, as it were, a walking gazetteer. On his death, his sons undertook the completion. His nephew Mr. Minochehr Pallonji Kutar and his cousin Mr. Mahiyar Nowroji Kutar kindly finished the incomplete text and pepared an Index. The result is now before you and the two volumes will be shortly published. Mr. Unvala's relatives asked me to write an Introduction for the volumes. To do justice to the volumes and to my work, I have been, off and on, studying the Rivāyats for nearly a year. I have placed the results of my humble studies during several sittings and propose doing so in some more sittings, before my learned colleagues of the Zarthoshti Din-ni Khol Karnari Mandli. This paper is intended to be a less technical and more popular treatment of the subject of the Persian Rivāyats in general.

II

WHAT IS A RIVĀYAT?

First of all, I will say what a Rivāyat is. Richardson and Steingass take the word to be Arabic. The Persian well-known lexicon, the Burhān-i Kāta, does not give the word. Some take the word to be Arabic, but

I take it to be Persian, deriving it from ravā ﻭﺍ, *i.e.*, permissible or lawful. The Parsees generally speak of રવા and ના-રવા (ravā and nā-ravā), in the Pahlavi sense of "Shāyast and nā-shayast (or lā shayast)", *i.e.*, what is lawful and unlawful from a religious point of view. In this sense, I derive the word ravā from Persian raftan = to go. So, ravāyat is that which is going, what is current, what is customary. So, the Persian Rivāyats are books which speak of beliefs religious and social, precepts, customs, manners and traditions that are, current. In this sense, as we will see later on, most of the Pahlavi writings may be taken as the Pahlavi Rivāyats. In fact, some of the Pahlavi writings, *e.g.*, those accompanying some old manuscripts of the Dādistān-i Dini, are spoken of as the Pahlavi Rivāyats. They are published, under that head, by the Parsi Punchayet, under the able editorship of Ervad Bamanji Nasarwanji Dhabhar. But we have to speak to-day of the Persian Rivāyats.

These Persian Rivāyats are mostly the compositions of the Dasturs of Persia, who lived in Persia in the 15th to the 18th century. The Parsis of India had, as it were, lost touch with their co-religionists in Persia, some time after their settling in India. Casual travellers, here and there, may have come to India from Persia or gone to Persia from India. For example, it appears from the names of the Parsis, who visited the Kennery caves in the neighbourhood of Bombay, near Borivli, and inscribed their names in Pahlavi, that some Persians from Persia had come to India in 1009 and 1021.[1] But there was no regular correspondence like that which we see in the Persian Rivāyats.

1 *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society during the last 100 years from a Parsi Point of View," pp. 141-42.

As Dr. West says :—"The Rivāyats, or collections of religious traditions....contained the replies and information collected by some special messenger who had been sent, by some of the chief Parsis in India, to obtain the opinions of the Parsis in Persia regarding certain particulars of religious practice which were duly specified in writing, or to apply for copies of Mss. which were either unknown or scarce in India"[1].

As to the Mss. unknown or scarce in India, we find, for example, the following in these Rivāyats :—

1. Ulmā-i Islam[2].
2. Mar-nāmeh[3].
3. Sogand-nāmeh[4].
4. Jamasp-nāmeh or Jamaspi or Ahkām-i Jamasp[5].
5. Kisseh-i Sultan Mahmad Ghiznavi[6].
6. The Dāstan of Mazdak and Noshirvān[7].

1 Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie I, Band II, Literatur Pahlavi, p. 125.

2 *Vide*, for this treatise, "Fragments relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre" (1827) par M. Mohl, Oulemâ-i Islam, pp. 1-2. *Vide* M. Blochet's very interesting brochure, entitled "Le Livre intitulé L'Oulamâ-i Islam" (1898), published as a number of "Revue de l' Histoire des Religions".

3 *Vide* my paper "The Persian Mar-nāmeh, or the Book for taking Omens from Snakes" (Jour. Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. II, No. I, pp. 35-40. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 34-42).

4 *Vide* my paper "Oaths among the ancient Iranians and the Persian Sogand-nāmeh" (Jour. Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XII, pp. 204-24. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part III, pp. 72-92).

5 *Vide* my Jamaspi (Pahlavi Text, Transliteration and Translation with Notes).

6 *Vide* M. R. Unwala's Darab Hormazdyar's Rivāyat with my Introduction, Vol. II, pp. 194-990. *Vide* my Introduction, p. 8, item 33

7 *Ibid.* pp. 214-30.

7. The Kisseh of a Prince of Irān and Omar Khatab[1].

The Persian Rivāyats are to the Parsis, what the Smṛtis are to the Hindus, the Talmud to the Hebrews and the Shir'at (شرعت) to the Mahomedans.

III

THE RIVĀYATS AND THE SMṚTIS.

The Hindu Smṛtis and the Persian Rivāyats.

The Avesta is to the Parsis what the Vedas are to the Hindus. The word *Avesta* is variously derived by different scholars, but I am inclined to agree with Dr. Haug and say that the word Avesta is from *ā* and *vista* (past participle of *vid*, to know) and means "what is known" or "knowledge", corresponding nearly with *Veda*, the name of the sacred scriptures of the Brāhmans[2].

Now, as, broadly speaking, the Smṛtis come next to the Vedas, the Rivāyats come next to the Avesta. John Dowson says of the Smṛtis, that they are "what has been remembered and handed down by tradition. In its widest application, the term includes the Vedāṅgas, the Sūtras, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Purānas, the Dharma-śāstras, especially the works of Manu, Yajñavalkya and other inspired law-givers, and the Nīti-śāstras or ethics, but its ordinary application is to the Dharma-śāstras; as Manu says, 'By *śruti* is meant the Veda and by *smṛti* the institutes of law'."[3] Similarly, most of the Pahlavi writings are, in the widest application of the sense of the word, Rivāyats. We know that, as said above, some Pahlavi writings, like those that are found accompanying the Pahlavi Dādistān-i Dīnī proper, are

1 *Ibid.* pp. 242 ff.

2 Haug, Essays on the Parsis (2nd ed.), p. 121.

3 A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, etc. (1879), p. 301.

specially spoken of as Pahlavi Rivāyats. All the Pahlavi books which speak of old traditions, laws, usages, ritual, customs, etc., are Rivāyats.

At present, there is before the Government, a question of codifying the Hindu Law, a question on which even the opinion of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society is asked. In that codification, the Smṛtis have to be appealed to. The Parsis have codified their laws of Marriage and Inheritance about half a century ago. It was a long and arduous work for them. They had founded a special association for the purpose, which was known as the Zoroastrian Law Association. Their first move in the matter was in the year 1836. But that move and other moves in subsequent years had failed. But the final move which began in 1853 and ended in 1864 was successful and we have now our Parsi Marriage Act and the Succession Act. In this movement, it was the Rivāyats that were often looked into by the learned Dasturs, Mobads, and Behedins of Bombay, Surat, Naosāri, Broach and other places.

In Hindu cases before the courts, even now, it is the Smṛtis that have often to be referred to. In Parsi cases, other than those that can be decided by the codified Acts, even now, the Rivāyats have been referred to in courts, now and then. Like the Smṛtis, the Persian Rivāyats also are written partly in prose and partly in verse.

IV

THE RIVĀYATS AND THE TALMUD.

The Hebrew Talmud and the Persian Rivāyats.

As said above, to a certain extent, the Persian Rivāyats are to the Parsis what the Talmud is to the Hebrews. The Parsis have their Avesta books as their Scriptures or Written Laws, just as the

Hebrews have their Old Testament. The Parsis have their five Gāthās as the original compositions of Zoroaster, (*Gāthāo yā panch Spitāmahe ašaonō Zarathuštrahe*—Yasna LVII, 8), just as the Hebrews have their Pentateuch, *i.e.*, the five books—the first five books of the Old Testament—as the original composition of Moses. And, just as among the Parsis, the seven chapters of the Yasna, known as Yasna Haptanghāiti, have been taken as belonging to the class of Gāthās, so the book of Joshua, which forms, after the Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy, the sixth book of the Old Testament, has been added to the Pentateuch and the whole forms the Hexateuch or the six books of Moses.

Among the Parsis, later on, there came to be written in the Avesta language itself, commentaries on the original writings; for example, commentaries on the Ahunavar, the Ashem Vohu and the Yenghe Hātām (Yasna XIX-XXI). The commentaries are spoken of as the Zend. Hence, at times, the whole of the scriptures are spoken of as the Zend Avesta. These commentaries, later on, in the times of the Sassanians, came to be written in the then current language, the Pahlavi. These Pahlavi commentaries of the Parsis correspond to the Mishna of the Jews, which were the interpretations of the early writings.

Among the Jews, after the Mishna, there came the Talmud which was chiefly based upon the Mishna. Just as the Mishna itself was an explanation, commentary and expansion of the original Pentateuch or Hexateuch, so, again, the Talmud itself was an explanation, expansion and commentary of the Mishna. Now, the Persian Rivāyats of the Parsis also are, like the Talmud of the Jews, the commentaries, explanations and expansions of the

Pahlavi writings with quotations, here and there, from the Avesta itself. The following table shows, at one glance, the corresponding order of their literatures :—

Parsi.	*Hebrew.*
1. Avesta.	1. Old Testament.
2. The five Gāthās:	2. The Pentateuch, or the first five books of the Old Testament :
(*a*) Ahunavad.	(*a*) Genesis.
(*b*) Ushtavad.	(*b*) Exodus.
(*c*) Spentomad,	(*c*) Leviticus.
(*d*) Vohu-khshathra.	(*d*) Numbers.
(*e*) Vahishtoisht.	(*e*) Deuteronomy.
3. Yasna Haptanghāiti, or additional Gāthās.	3. Joshua, added to the Pentateuch forming the Hexateuch.
4. The Pahlavi commentaries and other writings, spoken of as the Pahlavi Rivāyats.	4. Mishna.
5. The Persian Rivāyats.	5. The Talmud.

Prof. H. Polano, one of the translators of the Talmud, thus speaks of the nature of the Talmud :—

"The Talmud is a collection of early Biblical discussions with comments of generations of teachers who devoted their lives to the study of the Scriptures. It is an encyclopædia of law, civil and penal, human and divine. It is more, however, than a mere book of laws. It records the thoughts and the events of a thousand years of the national life of the Jewish people ; all their oral traditions, carefully gathered and preserved with a love, devout in its trust and simplicity, accepted as a standard study, it became endeared to the people,

who, as they were forbidden to add to or diminish from the law of Moses, would not suffer this work of their Rabbis to be tampered with in any manner. As it was originally compiled it has been transmitted to us. It is a literary wilderness. At the first view everything, style, method and language, seems tangled and confused. The student, however, will soon observe two motives or currents in the work; at times harmonious, at times diverse —one displaying the logical mind, which compares, investigates, develops and instructs; the other, imaginative and poetical. The first is called '*Halachah*' (Rule), and finds a vast field in the Levitical and ceremonial laws; the other takes possession of the ethical and historical portions of Holy Writ. It is called '*Hagadah*' or Legend, not so much in our present acceptance of the term, as in the widest sense of a saying without positive authority, an allegory, a parable, a tale.

"The Talmud is divided into two parts, Mishna and Gemarah. They are the continued works of successive Rabbis, chiefs or principals of the colleges in which they devoted their lives to study. Most of the redacteurs of the Mishna were dead, however, long before the Gemarah commenced. The time consumed in the completion of the entire Talmud is stated to have been three hundred and eleven years. In its present form it consists of twelve folio volumes, containing the precepts of the Pentateuch with extended commentaries upon them; amplified Biblical incidents; occurrences affecting the religious life of those who prepared its philosophical treatises, stories, traditions and parables. It was called the oral or unwritten law in contradistinction to the Pentateuch, which remained, under all circumstances, the immutable code, the divinely given constitution, the written law."

What is said above of the Talmud is true, to a great extent, of the Persian Rivāyats. What struck me especially, when I read the above account of the Talmud, was the word "wilderness". To a casual and superficial reader, the Persian Rivāyats also may appear like a "wilderness". They are a wilderness in the sense, that they bewilder you in the matter of the varieties of their subjects. From a very exhaustive Index of a manuscript of Barzo Kamdin's Rivāyat in the Mulla Feroze Library in Bombay, prepared by the late Dastur Erachji Sohrabji Meherji Rana, we find that, that Rivāyat treats of about 687 subjects. From this number—of course some of them can be grouped together—one may form an idea of the wilderness of the variety of subjects.

If you want to form an idea of the corresponding minute points of treatment in the Talmud and in the Persian Rivāyats, I will refer you to some questions treated in them. For example, the Talmud asks "During what time in the evening is the reading of the Shema begun?" A corresponding subject treated in the Rivāyats is: "At what time the Vendidād should be recited and up to what part the recital must be completed before the dawn?" The reply to the above question of the Talmud is: "From the time when the priests go in to eat their leaven (Lv. 22, 7), until the end of the first watch of the night." That was on the authority of R. Eliezer. But some sages said "until midnight". Gamaliel said, "until the coming of the dawn."[1] Thus, the doctors of divinity, like the doctors of medicine, differed. You have something of the same kind, here and there, in the Rivāyats The Dasturs or doctors of divinity of Persia, who sent replies to the questions from India, at times, differed. You will read: Nariman Hoshang's Rivāyat says

1 Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. *Talmud*, p. 891.

this; Aspandyar's Rivāyat says this; and so on. As to the above subject of the Talmud, the Jewish doctors and commentators have entered into long dissertations and discussions. When one of the doctors spoke of the dawn, the question was: "When did dawn begin?" Questions of that kind remind me of a similar question among the Parsis, even now, as to "When does the dawn set in? and When does the Hushain gāh end and the Hāvan commence?"

The term *halakhah* of the Hebrew Talmud is similar to our word Rivāyat. It also comes from a verb meaning 'to go'. As Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley says: (1) "Under this term, the entire legal body of Jewish oral tradition is included; it comes from a verb meaning 'to go' and expresses the way of 'going' or 'acting,' *i.e.*, custom, usage, which ultimately issues in *law*. Originally, it was used in the plural form *halakhoth*, which had reference to the multifarious civil and ritual laws, customs, decrees, etc., as handed down by tradition, which were not, however, of scriptural authority....Sometimes the word *halakhah* is used for 'tradition' which is binding in contradistinction to *Din*, 'argument' (lit. 'judgment'), which is not necessarily binding."[1]

If you will look into the contents of one of the large classified Rivāyats, you will find the same thing. You will find the number of subjects which you would class under the head of Rivāyat proper, *i.e*, the writings which treat of religious beliefs, manners, customs, ritual, etc., all which form, as it were, the Iranian *halakhah* (rules). Then you will find a number of subjects which you can class under the head of legends, "not so much" as said by Prof. Polano "in our present acceptance of the term, as in the wide sense of a saying without positive authority,

1 *Ibid.* col. 1.

an allegory, a parable, a tale." Much of what is narrated as stories in the Rivāyats, falls under this second class.

Again, the duration of time, during which the Talmud was written and that during which the Persian Rivāyats were written, is well-nigh the same. "The time consumed in completion of the entire Talmud" says Prof. Polano, "is stated to have been 311 years." The time during which the Persian Rivāyats were written, comes to about 295 years, the first Rivāyat, that of Nariman Hoshang, being dated 847 A.Y. (1478 A.C.), the last, Ithoter Rivāyat, being dated 1142 A.Y. (1773 A.C.).

V

THE LANGUAGE OF THE RIVĀYATS

The language of the Rivāyats.

The language of the Rivāyats is Persian as spoken about three to four hundred years ago by the Zoroastrians of Persia. When I speak of the language of the Zoroastrians of Persia, I mean the language spoken generally in Persia by all Mahomedans there, but with a tinge of special Zoroastrian religious phraseology all round.

It is a fact, that when a certain community or group of people, living in the midst of a larger community or group of people in a particular country or a tract of a country, speak the language of that country, in spite of their speaking the common language of the country, they have in their language certain specialities or peculiarities which make their language differ a little from the language of their country. For example, the Parsis speak Gujarāti, the language of Gujarāt; but their Gujarāti has peculiarities of its own. The Persian Rivāyats, throw some light on some forms of their speech. I did not understand up to last year, why, in order to express "to take oaths" the Persians

used the phrase, (in Pahlavi *saogand vashtmuntan* (𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌), in Persian سوگند خوردن (*saogand khurdan*)[1] and in Parsi Gujarāti सोगंद खावा (*sogand khāvā*), *i.e.*) to *eat* the oath. Marathi Hindus also generally speak of it as शपथ गयावे to *take* the oath. Some Hindus do use the words सोगंद खावा, but that is due to the influence of the Persian language during the times of the Moguls. Now, it is the Saogand-nāmeh in the Rivāyats, which explains why the Parsis speak of *eating* oath. It was a custom of the ancient Iranians to take an oath, after a religious ritual, in which, at the end, they had to eat solemnly a piece of bread (*nān*).

VI

CLASSIFICATION OF THE RIVĀYATS

Classification of the Rivāyats.

The Rivāyats may be divided into two classes—

I. The *Individual Rivāyats.* This class includes those that bear the names of the individual messengers who went to Persia and brought replies to the questions of the Indian Parsis. These Rivāyats are the works of the Dasturs of Persia.

II. *Compiled Rivāyats.* These are the works of the Dasturs of India. They are of two kinds (1) *Collective Rivāyats* and (2) *Classified Rivāyats.*

(1) The Dasturs of India have collected in one volume some of the Individual Rivāyats of the first class. These are compilations. Three compilations of that kind are known. They are those of (1) Bahman Punjiāh, (2) Hormazdyār Frāmroz, and (3) Barzo Kāmdin.

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1 *Vide* my paper on Oaths op. cit. Anthropological Papers, Part III, p. 88.

(2) In the Classified Rivāyats, the Indian Dasturs have tried to arrange, under the headings of different subjects, the replies from Persia, brought by different messengers and embodied into Individual Rivāyats. These classified Rivāyats also include some of the religious treatises brought from Persia by the individual messengers. In some cases, they also contain the original compositions of the compilers or classifiers. Darab Hormazdyārs Rivāyat and Barzo Kamdin's Rivāyat are works of this kind[1].

The importance of the Rivāvats as sources of materials for history.

We saw above, that the Rivāyats treat of various matters. They contain, at times, opinions or views of individual Dasturs, which are not on all fours with what is said in the Avesta books. Some views may, from our point of view, be pure errors. But, as Milton says : " All opinions, all errors known, read and collected, are of much service and assistance towards the speedy attainment of what is Truth."

A good history of the Parsis in India still remains to be written. The Persian Rivāyat will supply a number of materials for that history. They refer, here and there, to some events in Persia. For example, we learn from one of the Rivāyats, that in the times of Shah Abbas, under the instigation of some fanatics, some Persian books like the Mss. of Jamasp-nāmeh were[2] destroyed. Again, there is a story about Firdousi which refers to the case of the jealousy of other poets towards him in the king's court.

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1 For details, see my Introduction of Mr. M. R. Unwala's Ed. of Rivāyat of Darab Hormazdyār, p. 4.

2 Burjo Kamdin's Rivāyat. Small MS. Rivāyat of Kutar Brothers, p. 272.

The story of Firdousi and the jealous poets corroborated.

We learn from the life of this great "Homer of the East", that his success in writing poetry and his consequent welcome at the court of Mahamud of Ghazni had drawn the jealous eyes of some other persons of the court. His enemies tried to direct the wrath of the king towards him by saying that Firdousi praised too much the ancient Iranian kings, and that he was not an orthodox Mahomedan in his belief. Now, the Rivāyats give a story, from which it appears, that the other poets of the court of the king had a great hand in drawing the anger of the king upon Firdousi. The story is spoken of as the Kisseh-i Sultan Mahamud. It says that, when Sultan Mahamud came to the throne, the condition of the Parsis in Persia was not good. In his reign, when Firdousi wrote his Shāh-nāmeh, the king got it read and was much pleased with the poet's work. This roused the jealousy of other poets of the court. They said that Firdousi was praising the Fire-worshippers who were not a good religious sort of people. To spite Firdousi, they misrepresented the Zoroastrians whom he had praised. Their misrepresentation succeeded and the king sent for the Parsis and asked them to become Mahomedans, and said that, if they refused, they would be massacred. Thereupon, their leader said, that they may be killed by the king if he liked, but they would never turn Mahomedans. They stuck to their own religion brought by Zoroaster who had proved the truth of his religion by miracles. The king then demanded that, if their Zoroastrian religion was true, they might prove it by some miracles. The story proceeds further and says that they showed some miracles to the king and won him over, and he allowed them to follow their religion. This story, however exaggerated, throws some side-light on the life of Firdousi in the court of Mahamud of Ghazni.

The numerous various subjects, treated in the classified Rivāyat of Darab Hormazdyār, can be classified under the following broad heads :—

I. Iranian Alphabets. The oldest Avesta prayer formulas of Yathā and Ashem. An account of the 21 Nasks or books which contain all the ancient Iranian literature.

II. The investiture of a child with the sacred shirt and thread (*Sudreh* and *Kusti*).

III. Patet, the Prayer of Repentance.

IV. Truthfulness.

V. Fires and Fire-temples.

VI. Death. The dead body. The place of its exposure. The funeral ceremonies relating to the disposal of the body and those relating to the soul.

VII. Marriage.

VIII. Women in menses and accouchément.

IX. Things and actions lawful and unlawful.

X. *Pādiyāb* (purification) and *Nirang* or *Gōmēz* (cow's urine).

XI. Various Nirangs or incantations.

XII. Various Āfringāns and Afrins or Blessing-prayers.

XIII. Priests, their qualifications and disqualifications.

XIV. Some liturgical subjects.

XV. The genealogy of Zoroaster.

XVI. The other world.

XVII. The Āhriman, or the evil spirit.

XVIII. Treatises on different subjects.

XIX. Miscellaneous subjects.

A PARSEE HIGH PRIEST (DASTUR AZAR KAIWAN, 1529-1614 A.D.) WITH HIS ZOROASTRIAN DISCIPLES IN PATNA, IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURY A.C.[1]

I

INTRODUCTION

The object of this paper is to give a brief account of a band of Zoroastrians—priests and laymen, with Dastur Âzar Kaiwân as their head,—who visited Northern India and stayed at Patna in the latter part of the 16th century and the earlier part of the 17th century A.C.

What drew the Zoroastrian band to India?

The first question is: What drew the Zoroastrians from Persia to India? The number of Zoroastrians in Persia, at the time of which we write, was much larger than at present.[2] They knew of the existence of the Zoroastrian Parsees of India, because the latter corresponded

1 This paper was read before the Sixth Oriental Conference at Patna on 18th December 1930. It then formed the subject of a discourse before the Zarthoshti Din ni Khol Karnâri Mandli, in the hall of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, on 4th December 1931.

2 The figures of Zoroastrian population in Persia, at various times, seem approximately to be as follows: (*a*) Beginning of 18th century 1 million. (*b*) In the time of Fath Ali Shah (1798-1836) 50,000. (*c*) In the time of Mahomad Shah (1836-46) 30,000. (*d*) In 1854, as ascertained by Mr. Maneckji Hataria, the agent in Persia of the Parsees of India, 7,725. (*e*) In 1925-27, as ascertained by Mr. Manock F. Mulla, 10,050. The Zoroastrians of Iran residing, at present, in India, about 5,000 (Manock F. Mulla's book on Seistan, p. 121).

with their learned men.[1] But the then position of the Indian Parsees was not such as to draw them from Persia to India.

The position of Indian Parsees at the time of Akbar.

In the times of Humayun and his successors, individual Parsees had risen to fame and to some high positions and had founded families, some of which have carried down the name and fame of their founders upto now. Individual families, like those of Changa Shah, Dastur Meherji Rana, Desai, Dordi, etc., of Naosari, the Nek-sâat Khans, Behermand Khans, Taleyârkhans, Seths and others of Surat, the Mirzâns of Udwara, and others had come into prominence. But much cannot be said with certainty about the community as a whole. Mr. Morland[2] says that the position of the Parsees was not clear. Rev. Terry (1615-16) said that their profession was husbandry. Mundy (1632) said that it was that of cultivating palm trees.[3] Father A. Monserrate (1580) could not even distinguish them at Naosari from other Indians and mixed them up with non-Parsees of the place. It was at Surat that Thevenot (1660) found them to be conspicuous figures. Garcia da Orta (1534) had found them to be traders. From Akbar's time, they began to turn a little from agriculture to "commer-

1 The subjects of this correspondence are noted in the compilations, known as the Rivâyats. *Vide* my Introduction to Ervad Manekji Rustomji Unwala's Rivâyat of Darab Hormuzdiâr, for their contents.

2 India at the death of Akbar, by W. H. Morland, p. 23.

3 It seems, that they had inherited this art of cultivating the palm trees and preparing a wine, a kind of healthy drink, from this, from the times of their Achæmenian forefathers. According to Herodotus, the king of distant Ethiopia (modern Abyssinia), though he believed that his Abyssinians lived longer on their wheat than the Persians, attributed the health of the Persians, whatever it be, to their health-giving wine, made from palm trees.

cial career" in which they have since accomplished success.[1] They had gone for business, from Gujarat, the place of their head-quarters, to distant places like Delhi, Agra and even Kashmir. But, whatever their pursuit, they had, to a great extent, faithfully adhered to their faith. Their literature was mostly confined to religion, in the matter of which they occasionally consulted their co-religionists in Persia. So, it were not the Parsees of India that drew here Âzar Kaiwân and his party. On the other hand, from what happened in later times, when the written works of some of the disciples of Azar Kaiwan were sought after and translated, at the instance of the first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Baronet, in the middle of the last century, it seems probable, that, possibly, their advent in India, drew the attention of the Indian Parsees to them and to their beliefs. So, as all the members of the party were of a mystic frame of mind, it seems probable that it was the religious fervour of the time in the Moghul Court of Akbar that drew them here. I will here speak on the state of that religious fervour.

II

AKBAR AND HIS TIMES.

The Moghul Emperors as friends of Literature.

The Court of the Moghul Emperors of India[2] was a king of academy, where men of literature, secular and religious, and men of art and science, met under the patronage of the rulers. Their patronage and encourage-

1 *Ibid. Vide* my Gujarati History of the Parsee Panchayat of Bombay, in two volumes, Vol. I, Preface page V.

2 The years of the rule of the early Moghul rulers were as follows—Baber 1525 to 1530; Humayun 1530 to 1556; Akbar 1556 to 1605; Jehangir 1605 to 1627; Shah Jehan 1627 to 1658 and Aurungzeb 1658 to 1707.

ment drew many outsiders to India, not only to the Royal Courts, but to the country in general. The period of the Moghul rule was a splendid period in various ways. It was specially a period of literary advancement. Most of them wrote, or got written under their own personal instructions, their memoires. Humayun was a lover of books and he is said to have carried his own chosen library wherever he went, even in his wars and flights[1] after defeat. His successors inherited that love of books and they encouraged the cause of Persian literature. Akbar the Great, though said to be illiterate—and his illiteracy has been defended by his great Minister Abu Fazal[2]—was a great friend of literature and arts.

Akbar as a Mystic.

Akbar was more or less a mystic from his boyhood. At the boyish age of 15, he is said to have "mounted a specially vicious Irâkî horse, named Haîrân, and rode off, leaving orders that nobody, not even a groom, should follow him. He dismounted and was supposed to have 'assumed the posture of communing with his God'..... Akbar was by nature a mystic, who sought earnestly, like his Sûfî friends, to attain the ineffable bliss of direct contact with the Divine Reality, and now and again believed or fancied that he had succeeded. His temperament was profoundly melancholic, and there seems to be some reason to suspect that, at times, he was not far from the danger of falling into a state of religious mania".[3]

1 *Vide* my paper on a Petition in Persian verse by Dastur Kaikobad of Naosari to Emperor Jehangir (Jour. K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 13. *Vide* my "Dastur Kaikobad Mahiyar's Petition to Jehangir and Laudatory Poem to Khurram (Shah Jehan)", p. 103.

2 *Vide* my paper on "King Akbar and the Persian translations of Sanskrit books" before the 1st Oriental Conference at Poona (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (1924-25), Vol. VI, Part II, pp. 84 107). 3 Smith's "Akbar, the Great Moghul," p. 160.

Vincent Smith, further on, thus sums up Akbar's religious views: "His religious speculations and vagaries rested primarily on the fact that he was born with the mystic temperament. Even in the early years of his reign, when he was a zealous pilgrim to the shrines of the saints, a generous builder of mosques, and a willing persecutor of unorthodox theologians, his orthodoxy was modified by a strain of mysticism based chiefly on the writings of the Persian Sufi poets. Later in life he came in more under the influence of Hindu pantheistic doctrine, which has close affinities with Sufi teaching. Throughout all phases he seems always to have cherished the mystic's ideal of close and direct communion with God, unobscured by priestly intervention or disputable dogmas..... He remained a mystic to the end."[1]

The religious fervour of Akbar's time drew Azar Kaiwan and his disciples to India.

Among the various activities of the time of Akbar, one was in the matter of religion. His zeal for an eclectic religion was well known. It had been known far and wide. It drew towards India the attention of many foreigners. Some of these foreigners were attracted direct to his Royal Court, and some to other parts of the country. Akbar was a religious-minded man who saw a religion behind all religions, who saw a God or *the* God, behind the gods of all religions. With this view, he secured the company of Hindu Yogis, Gurus and Sanyasis, Mahomedan Pirs and Fakirs, Christian fathers and clergymen and Parsee Dasturs and Mobads.

Azar Kaiwan and his disciples were among those who had come at this time to India, to the country of Sanyasis and Sadhus, Yogis and Fakirs. Akbar was born in 1542 A.C. and died in 1605. Azar Kaiwan was born in

1 *Ibid.* pp. 348-349.

1533 and died in 1613. So, he was his contemporary and was older than Akbar by nine years. In Persia itself, they were already drawn towards *riâzat* (رياضت), towards abstemiousness and austerities which, they believed, were practised even by their ancient Peshdadian, Kayânian and Sassanian Kings. So, the talk of Akbar's religious frame of mind, of his inclination towards *riâzat*, Yog, and such other matters, and of his converse with people who practised these, seem to have drawn to India many people of Akbar's tendency of mind. Among these were Azar Kaiwan and his disciples.

Azar Kaiwan does not seem to have come into any contact with the court of Akbar. Some of his disciples had come to Akbarabad (Agra). But his and his follower's head-quarters during the time were at Patna. It was the religious fervour of the time in India, due to the influence of the eclectic trend of mind of Akbar, that seems to have drawn the mystic-minded Zoroastrians of Persia to India, but for his head-quarters, Azar Kaiwan chose Patna.

Why at Patna?

The reason, why Azar Kaiwan and his disciples made Patna their head-quarters is not quite clear. But, we know, that Patna was one of the old centres of Buddhist belief. At Panj Pahari (Five Hills), about half a mile south of Patna, there stood some old ruins. The old palace of Chandragupta's Pataliputra stood at Kumrahâr near Patna. The ruins are the remnants of old Buddhist stupas or Jain cupolas. Some of the ruins are said to have been of the times of the Nandas who preceded Chandragupta. Some of the earliest remains of Buddhism in India are in the Rajagriha Hills of the Patna District. So, it seems that Patna may have become, in Azar Kaiwan's time, a seat of old Indian philosophy and mysticism.

III

AUTHORITIES FOR AN ACCOUNT OF AZAR KAIWAN AND HIS DISCIPLES.

Our main authorities for an account of Azar Kaiwan and his disciples is the Persian Dabistan, written in India. Besides this, there are the smaller works of some of his disciples, of which I will speak later on, which give some insight into their work. I will here speak of the Dabistan, known as the Dabistan-i-Mazâhab (دبستان مذاهب), *i.e.*, the School of Religious Creeds. The word Dabistan is a contraction of Pahlavi Dapiristan (𐭣𐭐𐭩𐭩𐭮𐭕𐭭), or Dabiristan.[1]

The Dabistan.

Among Persian books relating to mystic sects and beliefs and austere practices (رياضت), I think the Dabistan and the Desatir are more known than any other book in Northern India and perhaps in the city of Patna. I myself have heard much of the Dabistan, in my travels in Northern India, even in the distant Kashmir, during my three visits of the beautiful valley. They were taken in the last century, to a great extent, and, even now, to a certain extent, to be two Parsi or semi-Parsi books. Both have been translated into Gujarati for the Parsis. The present Parsi students refer more to the English translation by Shea and Troyer than to the Gujarati translation with an invocation to God in Persian and Pahlavi[2], by Mobed

1 Steingass thinks that it may also be a contraction of P. Adabistân (ادبستان), a place where *adab*, *i.e.*, politeness, or good breeding, is taught.

2 Dabistan-ul-Mazâhab, published in 1815 at Bombay. The second edition appeared in 1845. Of this translator, Fardunji Murzbanji, his grandson Mr. Kaekobad Byramji Marzban, in his life of his grandfather "ફરદુનજી મર્ઝબાનજી, ગુજરાતી છાપાના સ્થાપક, એક શીલસુકૃ, એક સુધારક, એક કવી" says, that he himself was much of a

Fardunji Murzbanji, the pioneer of the Gujarati press in India. I will quote here what I have said elsewhere[1] about these two books: "Had it not been for the honoured name of Sir William Jones, 'the Columbus of the new Old World of Sanskrit and Persian literature', they would not have perhaps drawn that attention. Sir William Jones attached a good deal of importance to them, especially to the Dabistan, from the historical point of view. In his Asiatic Researches[2], he grew enthusiastic over the Dabistan and called its discovery 'a fortunate discovery' as dissipating a cloud and casting 'a gleam of light on the primeval history of Irân and of the human race', of which, he 'had long despaired and which could hardly have dawned from any other quarter'."[3] As the English translators say, "it was the state of religion, prevailing in those days in Hindostan, that he (the author) describes".[4]

The author of the Dabistan.

At one time, one Mohsan Fani was taken to be the author of the Dabistan. Sir W. Jones took him to be so.[5] Capt. Kennedy was the first to show that he was wrong.[6] William Erskine supported him, on the autho-

Sâdhu (of the type of Azar Kaiwan himself). તેઓ ખાવેપીવે અને રહેવે એક સાધુ જેવા હતા, *i.e.*, "In his food, drink and living, he was like a Sâdhu."

1 *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S. during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of view" (1905), p. 21.

2 Vol. II, pp. 43-66. The sixth Discourse on the Persians, delivered on 19th February 1789.

3 *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S.," p. 21.

4 Shea and Troyer, Translation, Vol. I, Preface, p. XV.

5 Asiatic Researches, Vol. II, p. 48.

6 Preliminary remarks in his paper, "Notice respecting the Religion introduced into India by the Emperor Akbar." Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II, pp. 256-286.

rity of the Gul-i-Rana, or Charming Rose of Lachmi Narayen, who flourished in Hydrabad.[1] Dastur Mulla Feroze supported them and explained, how the mistake arose. Mohsan Fani, having been quoted in the very beginning of the Dabistan, was mistaken for the author.[2]

The Dabistan is not original in some of its contents. For example, in its chapter on the Shahi Din (Chapter X, Sec. 2) it has taken well-nigh verbatim[3] some passages from Badaoni's Muntakab-al-Tavârikh. As to some particulars about the author, whoever he may be, we find the following particulars,[4] as gathered from his work :—

(1) He had come to India as a child from Persia, where he was born in about 1615 A.C. (2) In 1618 A.C. (H. 1028), Mobad Hushiyâr, one of Azar Kaiwan's disciples, carried him as a child to Bâlk Nâtha (بالك ناتھ),[5] a great Yogi, to receive his blessings. (3) In 1623 A.C. (H. 1033), he went from Patna to Akbarabad (Agra). Mobad Hushiyâr carried him in his arms as a boy when he took him to Chatur Vapah (چتر ویہ), an ascetic of the Nagar[6] Brahmins (ناگر برہمن). (4) Between 1627 and 1643, he moved about, now and then, between Kashmir and Lahore. (5) Between 1634 and 1649, he visited several towns of Punjab and Gujarat. (6) When

1 *Ibid.* II, pp. 395-398. *Vide* p. 398.

2 *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S.," p. 127-28.

3 *Vide* my paper on "The Parsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana" (Jour. B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXI, No. 58, pp. 83-85.) *Vide* my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," (1903), pp. 15-17.

4 *Vide* Shea and Troyer's account in the preface of the Translation of Dabistan, pp. XIII ff.

5 Bombay Ed. p. 152, l. 9.

6 Shea and Troyer are wrong in giving the name as Naga instead of Nagar (Vol. II, p. 142).

in Gujarat, he seems to have gone to Naosari, and to have had a talk, when there, with the well-known compiler of the Rivâyats, Dastur Burzo Kamdin. He may have got some information about Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism from this Burzo Kamdin.[1] (7) He was perhaps at Meshhad in 1643 and (8) at Sikakul in 1653. (9) He died in 1670, in the 11th year of the reign of Aurangzeb.

The Contents o the Dabistan as given by the Author.

As to what the Dabistan contains we read as follows in the book itself:

درین نامه موسوم بدبستان لختی ازدانش وکنش و کیش باستان کرده و گفتار و کردار باز پسین انبوه از آشکارا شناسان و نهان بین صورت پرست و معنی گزین بی کم وکاست و بغض و حسد و اثبات و ابطال گزارده آمدّ

Translation:—In this book, named Dabistan, there is given some account (lakhti) of the knowledge and work and manners of the ancients, and of the words and actions of the later ones (*i.e.*, the moderns) (as described) by those who know what is known and see what is hidden (and by) the worshippers of outward forms (*i.e.*, exoterics) and the choosers of inner meaning (*i.e.*, esoterics). (All this is given) without lessening or diminishing anything, without hatred (بغض) or jealousy and without corroborating (asbât) or refuting (abtâl).

The Divisions of the Dabistan.

The Dabistan is divided into seven teachings (t'alim تعلیم). Of these, the first *t'alim* is on the knowledge (m'arafat معرفت) of the faith

1 *Vide* my paper on "The Birth-place of Zoroaster" in the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 9, pp. 75-78. *Vide* my "Cama Oriental Institute Papers," pp. 204-5.

2 Bombay Ed. p. 2, l 9

of the Parsis (عقاید پارسیان). This first chapter is divided into 15 views (*nazar* نظر) [1]. The first *nazar* treats of the beliefs, of the learning (علمي) and of the practices (عملی) of the Sipâsians (one of the 13 sects of the Persians). The second *nazar* speaks of the revealings of the great men (بزرگان) of the Sipâsians.

The other 13 *nazars* of the first division of the Parsees are the following :—

3. The followers of the Book of Âbâd (احکام آباد).
4. Jamshâspis (جمشاسپیان).
5. Samradis (سمرادیان).
6. Khodânis (خدانیان).
7. Râdis (رادیان).
8. Shidrangis (شیدرنگیان).
9. Paekeris (پیکریان).
10. Milânis (میلانیان).
11. Alaris (الاریان).
12. Shidâbis (شیدابیان).
13. Akhshis (اخشیان).
14. Zardashtis (زردشتیان).
15. Mazdakis (مزدکیان).

The first sect, the Sipâsians, are also generally spoken of as the Parsees (پارسیان). They are also called Iranians (ایرانیان). Among these, there is a sect (perhaps a sub-sect) which is known as Yazdis (ایزدیان) or Yezdanis (یزدانیان) or Abâdis (آبادیان) or Sepasis (سپاسیان) or Hushis (هوشیان) or Anushagân (انوشگان) or Âzar Hushangyans (آذر هوشنگیان) or Azaris (آذریان).

1 Shea and Troyer translate t'alim and nazar freely as Chapter and Section.

This division and sub-divisions show that, among the Parsees or Persians, there were several sects of various beliefs.

IV

SOURCES OF MATERIALS FOR THE FIRST CHAPTER (ON THE PERSIANS) OF THE DABISTAN.

From what the author of the Dabistan says, at the very end of his book,[1] it appears, that he met (بهم رسیدند) learned representatives of the five great religions—the religions[2] of the Hindus (هندو), Jews (یهود), Magis (مجوس), Christians (نصارا) and Mahomedans (مسلمان) and learnt from them. He then wrote this book. In the matter of the very first chapter (تعلیم نخست) on the religion of the Parsiân (عقاید پارسیان), he quotes, now and then, a number of their writings. They are the following[3] :—

1. Amighân (امیغان)[4].
2. Desatir (دساتیر)[5].
3. Dârâ-i-Askandar (دارای اسکندر)[6] by Dâvar Hûryâr (داور هوریار) who was of the Kiyan (کیان) sect and a follower of the Yazdâniân faith.
4. Akhtarastân (اخترستان)[7].

1 Bombay Ed. p. 334, l. 12. 2 *Ibid.* l. 16.

3 *Vide* Shea and Troyer's Vol. I, Preface p. XVII. *Vide* the Bombay Ed. of the text for the names in Persian, pp. 7, 8, 12, 24, 25, 35, 37.

4 *Vide* Shea and Troyer, Introduction page XVII. It gives the name as Amighastân. Bombay Ed. p. 7, l. 2.

5 *Ibid.* p. 8, l. 11. 6 *Ibid.* p. 12, l. 12. 7 *Ibid.* l. 19.

5. Jashan-e-Sadeh (جشن سده) by Mobad Hushiyâr (هوشیار)[1].
6. Sarûd-i-Mastân (سرود مستان) by Mobad Hûshiyâr[2].
7. Jâm-i-Kaikhusru (جام کیخسرو) by Mobad Khudâ Jui (خدا جوي)[3]. It is a commentary (شرح) on the poetical writings (منظومه) of Azar Kaiwan.
8. Shârastân (شارستان)[4] by Farzaneh Behram ebn Farhâd (فرزانه بهرام ابن فرهاد). This book is called "Sharastan-i-Dânesh va Gulistân-i-Binash" (شارستان دانش و گلستان بینش)[5].
9. Zardasht Afshâr (زردشت افشار) by Mobad Sarush (سروش)[6].
10. Nosh Dârû (نوش دارو, *i.e.*, pleasing drink) by the above Mobad Sarush[7].
11. Sagangbin (سگنگبین)[8], *i.e.*, Oxymel, a mixture of vinegar (سرکه) and honey (انگبین), also by the above Mobad Sarush.
12. Bazam gâh (بزمگاه)[9], place of assembly. Shea and Troyer say (Vol. I, p. XVIII) that the name of the author is not known ; but, I think, it seems that he was Farzaneh Khushi (فرزانه خوشی) whose name is mentioned before its name[10] (فرزانه خوشی میگفت و هم در بزمگاه آورده).
13. Arzang Mani (ارژنگ مانی) *i.e.*, the house or the gallery of Mâni, by Farzaneh Behram, son of

1 Bombay Ed. p. 24, l. 5.
2 *Ibid.* p. 25, l. 18. 3 *Ibid.* p. 25, l. 18. 4 *Ibid.* l. 21.
5 A City of Knowledge and Rose-garden of Sight. *Ibid* p. 35, ll. 21-22. 6 *Ibid.* p. 26, l. 7.
7 Bom. Ed. p. 37, l. 13. 8 *Ibid.* The word is also written
9 *Ibid.* p. 34, l. 12. 10 *Ibid.*

Farhâd, who was known as the small (کوچک younger) or junior Bahram.[1]

14. Tapreh-i-Mobadi (تپره موبدي), *i.e.*, the Kettle-drum of the Mobads,[2] by Mobad Paristar (پرستار).
15. Dâdistân-Aurseh (دادستان اورسه)[3].
16. Âmiz-i-Farhang (آمیز فرهنگ)[4] which treats of the Abadiyeh Derwishes (درویشان آبادیه).
17. Mihin Farosh[5]. مهین فروش
18. Andarz-i Jamshid ba Âbtin (اندرز جمشید بآبتین), *i.e.*, Admonitions of Jamshed to Âbtin, by Farhang Dastur (فرهنگ دستور)[6].

Shea and Troyer in their text (Preliminary Discourse, p. XVIII) name the next as No. 19 "Razabad composed by Shidab". The name Shidab is Shidah (شیده)[7] as properly given by them in the Index (Vol. III, p. 373, col. 2). But I do not think that is a separate authority. Again, as usual, these translators do not give the reference in the preliminary discourse. In the reference given by them in the Index, we do not find the name of the authority as Razabad. So, there seems to be some mistake on their part.

19. Samrâd Nâmeh (سمراد نامه,) by Kâmgâr (کامگار)[8]

1 Bombay Ed. p. 40, ll. 6-7.

2 *Ibid.* p. 40, l. 20. It gives the name as د تپره Datapreh which is evidently a mistake. The د dal is added by mistake.

3 *Ibid.* p. 43, ll. 18-19. 4 *Ibid.* p. 48, l. 11. Shea and Troyer give the name as Amizash (Vol. I, p. 145).

5 This book, according to the Dabistan, speaks of a miracle of Zoroaster, not spoken of elsewhere, of Zoroaster keeping two evil-minded persons hanging in the air (Shea I, p. 244).

6 *Ibid.* p. 64, l. 20.

7 *Ibid.* p. 64, l. 20. 8 *Ibid.* p. 66, l. 19.

20. Ramzastân (رمزستان) by Zardust[1].

The known books in the list of the Dabistan.

Out of all the twenty books mentioned in the above list[2] the following four are known :—

1. The Desatir (No. 2).
2. The Jam-i-Kaikhusru (No. 7) by Mobad Khuda Jui.
3. The Sharistan-i-Dânesh va Gulistan-i-Binash (No. 8), *i.e.*, the City of Knowledge and the Garden of Sight, by Farzaneh Behram. I think that it is the same as that known as the "Sharistan-i-Chehar Chaman".
4. The Zardasht Afshâr (No. 9), by Mobad Sarosh.

The English translators of the Dabistan, after enumerating the books, say that "of the twenty-three books just enumerated, a part of the third[3] only is known to us, namely, that of the Desatir."[4] But they are mistaken. Three more also are known. I will briefly speak of these four.

1. The Desatir.

As to the Desatir, referred to as an authority by the Dabistan, it was first brought to the notice of the learned public of India and then of Europe, by Dastur Mulla Feroze of Bombay, whose father Kâus had purchased a manuscript copy of it in 1778 A.C. at Isphahan. It was first published in two volumes, in 1818 A.C., by Mulla Feroze. The glossary of difficult and rare words was given by Mulla Feroze himself, and the English translation was given, with the help of Mulla Feroze, by Mr. William Erskine,

1 *Ibid.* p. 111, l. 17.

2 Shea and Troyer give the names of three more.

3 They make a mistake. It is the second in their list.

4 The Dabistan by Shea and Troyer, Vol. I, Preface, p. XIX

the then Chief Police Officer of Bombay, who was requested by Sir John Malcolm, the then Governor of Bombay, to undertake the work. The first volume contains (*a*) the text of the Desatir in its original, in, what is called, a heavenly language, (*b*) translation and commentary in Persian, by Sasan V, and (*c*) the above said glossary. The second volume contains Erskine's translation.

When Jonathan Duncan, the then Governor of Bombay, first came to know of it, he "considered himself as supremely fortunate in having at length made the longed-for discovery.[1]" He requested Mulla Feroze "to show it to no person whatever, and, having undertaken a translation of it, continued to prosecute his work, at intervals, for several years, intending, on his return to England, to present it to His Majesty as the most valuable tribute which he could bring from the East".[2] But Duncan died in Bombay, before he could finish the translation. The discovery of the book in Bombay was made much of, even by Marquis Hastings, the then Governor-General of India, who, during his "public visitation" of the College of Fort William on the 15th July 1816 spoke of it as a "literary curiosity".[3] But William Erskine began his work by setting this book in its proper position, as a book of no special importance in throwing any authentic light upon the history and religion of ancient Persia. The author of the book is not known, but he seems to have been a Mobad or Parsee priest.

The late Mr. Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, who

1 Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II, p. 368. 2 *Ibid.* p. 369. *Vide* the Desatir (1818 A.C.) I, Preface p. VIII. The Gujarati Ed. of 1848, Preface p. IX.

3 The Desatir (1818 A.C.) I, Preface p. VI.

studied the subject of the Desatir thoroughly, nearly a century after the first discussion on it, thus sums up his views: "It is erroneous to reckon the Dasâtir as one of the genuine Zoroastrian writings, as it is neither coeval with the Avesta nor with the writings of the earlier Sasanian times. It is decidedly a production of still later times. Although its teaching is professedly antagonistic to the Mosaic, the Christian, the Manichean, the Mazdakian, and the Muhammadan doctrines, it does not also wholly agree with all the doctrines of Zoroastrianism. Its tendency is more towards the Hindu, Buddhistic and Platonic philosophies. For example, it prohibits the use of animal flesh as food, and encourages asceticism, self-mortification, celibacy, and renouncement of the world. Its treatment of the dead body by washing it with pure and rose water, and interring or burning it, is diametrically opposed to that of Zoroastrianism, to which all these methods are repugnant. It also considerably differs from the Zoroastrian writings in points of chronology,[1]

1 For an example of the calculation of time by the Dabistan, which often takes the Desatir as its authority, we have the following figures (Bombay Ed. p. 6, ll. 17-22. Shea and Troyer's translation Vol I, p. 14) :—

One Revolution of the Saturn کیوان (یک دور حضرت) = 1 day (روز)
" " 30 days = a month (ماه)
" " 12 months = a year (سال)
(هزار هزار) one million years = 1 Fird (فرد)
(هزار بار) " Fard = 1 Verd (ورد)
" Vard = 1 Mard (مرد)
" Mard = 1 Jâd (جاد)
3000 Jâd = 1 Dâd (داد)
2000 Dâd = 1 Zâd (زاد)

Shea and Troyer give the word *dâd* as *wâd*.

mythology and history; and its so-called *âsmâni*, or celestial language, is decidedly a conventional jargon composed of later Pahlavi, Persian and Hindi dialects. The very syntax of the Dasatir betrays its recent origin. When we consider all these points we cannot put it in the category of the reliable orthodox Zoroastrian writings".[1]

I will quote here, what I have said of the Desatir, elsewhere[2], as giving my views about it: "Now, what is it, that the Desâtir wants to teach us? It is something, that is Zoroastrian, and something, that is Brahminic and Buddhistic. It is, to a certain extent, *sufeistic* in its teachings. It contains the mystic ideas found in Zoroastrianism, Brahminism and Buddhism. It is a book of a certain sect of believers, who, now and then, appear in different countries, and in different ages, and who look to, what is called, the esoteric side of things, as opposed to the exoteric, and who look to the mystic side of almost all religions for their elements of belief. Erskine's estimate of the Desatir is well-nigh correct, when he says: 'Far from regarding the doctrines of the Desatir and the historical narrative of the Dabistan as resting on unexceptionable authority..... I consider the whole of the peculiar doctrine ascribed to Mahabad and Hoshang as being borrowed from the mystical doctrines of the Persian Sufis and from the ascetic tenets and practices of the Yogis and Sanyasis of India, who drew many of their opinions from the Vadanti School[3]."

1 The Dasatir, being a paper prepared for the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists held at Geneva in 1894 A.C., by Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha (1907), p. 27.

2 *Vide* my "Glimpse into the work of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society," p. 23.

3 Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II, p. 393.

The word Desatir is plural of *dastur* (دستور), *i.e.*, a rule, a canon, a learned man. The Pers. plural would be Dasturân. So, some scholars argue, that it cannot be an old Persian book. Other readings are Destânir in one manuscript.[1] The Bombay edition in one place gives it as Vasatir (وساتیر).[2] In this name the د (dal) may have been misread as و (vâv). In the Desatir we read vâdan (وادن) for dâdan (دادن) and vâram (وارم) for dâram (دارم).

The Dabistan quotes Desatir as a work of the Sipâsians, *i.e.*, "the adherents of the most ancient religion of Persia." As to the time when the Desatir was written, the Persian translator and commentator of the Desatir is said to be Sâsân-i- Panjûm, *i.e.*, the 5th Sassan,[3] who is said to have lived in the times of Khusru Parviz. If that be so, the Persian rendering was in the 7th century A.C. The original Desatir, in its peculiar language in that case, must be taken as having been written long before that. But the linguistic examination of the old language does not permit us, as pointed out by Mr. Sheriarji Bharucha, to place it in very olden times.

Mr. Norris speaks of the old language as "nothing more than 'Deri disguised'."[4] He also speaks of it as an invented jargon. Sylvestre de Sacy decided against the antiquity of the book and its language.[5] William

1 Shea and Troyer's Translation, Vol. I, p. 20, n. 1.

2 Bom. Ed. p. 8, l. 11.

3 The 1st Sassan is said to have flourished in the times of Alexander the Great, *i.e.*, about 323 B.C.

4 The Asiatic Journal for November 1820, Vol. X, pp. 421-430. The article of Norris is quoted in full by Dastur Kekobad, the successor of Mulla Feroze, in his Gujarati Edition of 1848 A.C., Preface pp. XLI-XLVII.

5 *Vide* Shea and Troyer's Dabistan, I Preface p. XXXVI.

von Schlegel called the language a "refined forgery."[1] I do not think, that the language may be called an intentional forgery. Some mystic writers aim at a kind of secrecy in the expression of their doctrines. So, in this book also, the author used, what he thought to be a mystic dialect made up from the dialects of the different regions, from which he drew his mystic tenets.[2]

2. Jâm-i-Kaikhusru.

The second known book is Jam-i Kaikhusru. The Persian text of this book was published in 1848 by Sayad Abdul Fattah, *urfé* Mir Ashrafally (عبدالفتاح المعروف سید اشرف علی) in 1848, at the instance of the first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, under the title of كتاب جام كيخسرو شرح مكاشفات[3] آذر كيوان تصنيف خدا جوى ابن نامدار . It also contains a Gujarati translation bearing the title: મકાશેફાતે કેએવાની અથવા જામે કેખશરો.

As to the object for writing this book, the author Khuda Jui says: "Several Yazdanians wished from me (who am) a wine bibler[4] (a drunkard) and a seeker of the light of God,[5] by name Khuda Jui Nâmdâr, that I may write a commentary upon the revelations (mushâhadât) of the king or leader of the philosophers of the 'Ishraqi Sect' (*i.e.*, the Illuminati), who is Azar Kaiwan." Khuda Jui accepted the request. As one of those, who requested him to write the book, was Kaikhusru, son of Kaiwan, he named (موسوم ساخت) the book Jâm-i-Kaikhusru.

1 *Ibid* p. XLV.

2 *Vide* my "Glimpse into the work of the B.B.R.A.S.," p. 25.

3 Makâshafât, "revelations, ecstasies, ecstatic contemplations of God."

4 بادہ نوش, lit., a drinker of wine. Here, the word wine is used in the Sufistic sense of "divine knowledge"

5 بزم انوار Bazam in Arabic, means "biting with the front teeth, milking with the forefinger, stealing a garment" (Steingass). The word in a Sufistic sense means 'a seeker of knowledge'.

The mention of the name of Kaiwan here, as the father of Kaikhusru who was a leading man, after Dastur Azar Kaiwan of the Ishraqi sect, to which Dastur Azar Kaiwan belonged, had led some, for example, Dastur Edalji D. Sanjana, to mistake him to be the son of Dastur Azar Kaiwan. But this Kaiwan and Azar Kaiwan are different persons. The book consists of 4 *gushasbs* (گشسب), *i.e.*, Splendour or Light. The first *gushasb* is on visions or dreams (ruyâ رویا). The second is on hidden or mystic subjects (حالت غیب). The third is on the condition of recovering from ecstatic conditions (حالت محو). And the fourth is on drawing out one's soul from the body (خلع). The first *gushasb* is divided into 11 *farugs* (فروغ) or Lights. Though this work is written by Azar Kaiwan's disciple, Khuda Jui, it may be taken as containing a writing of Azar Kaiwan himself, because, it is a commentary on a work of Azar Kaiwan. The book therefore is ordinarily known as Makashafat-i-Kaiwan (مکاشفات کیوان), *i.e.*, Revelations of Kaiwan. The author of the book was, as said above, Mobad Khuda Jui (خدا جوی), *i.e.*, one in search of God. The text, which the English translators of the Dabistan have followed, gives the name as Khuda Jâi, (*i.e.*, the place of God or one who makes God his place). But, the name Khuda Jui seems to be more significant. The Bombay edition gives it as Khuda Jui. Not only that, but the Persian text of the book itself, which, Shea and Troyer, as they themselves seem to say[1], had not seen, also gives the name as Khuda Jui.[2]

3. The Sharistân.

The Sharistân is spoken of in the Dabistan as Sharistân-i-Dânesh va Gulistân-i-Binash, (*i.e.*, City of Wisdom and Garden of

1 Vol. I, Preface p. XIX.

2 The Bombay Ed. of Abdul Fattah (1848), *Vide* Persian title-page l. 3; *Vide* also 1st page of Pers. preface l. 9.

Sight). It is the same as the Sharistan, ordinarily known as the Sharistan-i-Chehâr Chaman (*i.e.*, the City of Four Gardens).[1] It also is said to have been written by Farzaneh Behram bin Farhad Aspandiyar Parsi (فرزانه بهرام بن فرهاد اسفندیار پارسی). The author, with some others, had Farzâneh (فرزانه) prefixed to his name as a title. The author[2] was a well known disciple of Azar Kaiwan. He traced his descent from Godrez Keshwâd, the Prime Minister of Kaikhusru. The proper old Pahlavi form of Sharistan[3] is 𐭱𐭮𐭧𐭮𐭬𐭮𐭭 Shatrostân. The proper Persian form would be Shehrastân (شهرستان). The author was a

1 Manuscript of the Mulla Feroze Library, presented by Bai Shirinbai, the widow of Mr. Merwanji Khodabakhsh (Catalogue by Edward Rehatzek, VIII, 56, p. 204, folio 2a, l. 13. The Mulla Feroze Library has a manuscript of the version, not a full translation, of this work by Dastur Edulji Darabji Rustomji Sanjana, in what he called, the Hindi, *i.e.*, Gujarati language. It is a free version with comments, here and there, of the translator (દશતુર એદલ બીન દશતુર દારાબ બીન રૂસ્તમ બીન બેહેરામ લકબ શ'જણા). The Ms. of the version has, in all, 548 folios, *i.e.*, 1096 pages, written in a beautiful Gujarati hand. It was presented to the Library in 1914, by the late Mr. Jamshedjee Bomanjee Wadia, a Trustee of the Wadia Fire Temple, of which the translator was the Dastur. The Library has another Ms. in Persian dated *roz* 19, *mah* 3, year 1179, written at the direction of Khodabax Meherban of Yazd (The above catalogue, *ibid.* No. 57, *vide* f. 251a for the date).

2 For an account of the author as given in the Dabistan, *vide* below.

3 A lithographed text is published in Bombay in (Yazdazardi) 1223, *i.e.*, 1854 A.C., by Shiavakhsh ibn Hormuzdiyar Yazdani Irani, p. 664, l. 12. Its title runs thus, as given in English: "Shâristân-i Chehâr Chaman by Furzane Behram bin Furhad, published by Behdin Shiavux bin Hormuzdyar Irani, Bombay. Lithographed at Dadoomiya's Press, in the year of Zoroaster 2243, Yezdjerd 1223, A.D. 1854," p. 1. This title page is preceded by 6 prefatory pages in Persian, wherein the publisher says (p. 5, l. 14) that he was helped by Mr. Manockji Sorabji Ashuran (Ashburner).

learned Zoroastrian, versed in Arabic also. He quotes from the Koran also.[1]

The four *chamans* of the Sharistân.

The work has four *chamans*. By *chaman* or garden, the author means a division. The first *chaman* treats of Creation. The second treats of the Kayanian kings and other miscellaneous advices. The third *chaman* treats of the Askanians and the Sassanians. The fourth *chaman* is said to have treated of Azar Kaiwan and of his ancestors and of their mystic practices. But, it (the fourth *chaman*) does not exist, because the Dabistan itself is supposed to form the fourth *chaman*. Dastur Edalji D. Sanjana says :—"તે મધે ચમન ૩ તરંણ રેહઆં છ અને ચોથું ચમન છે જ નહી પણ અમોએ કેતાબનો તરજુમાનો કરનાર અરજ કરૂં છઉં જે અમોએ અમારા ઉસતાદ દસ્તમજીથી સાંભલીઉં છે કે ચોથું ચમન તે દબેસ્તાનની કેતાબ છે. પણ તે કેતાબ તમામ હીન્દુ લોકોના મજહબ પરમાણે છ પછી તેા એ વાત ખુદાને માલુમ છે."[2] Dastur Edalji says, in this passage, that, out of the four *chamans*, only three exist. The fourth does not exist at all, but he had heard it from his teacher (ustâd), Rustamji, that the Dabistan itself formed the fourth *chaman* and that it was all according to the Hindu religion. His teacher was his grand-father Rustumji, a learned Dastur of his time.

This seems to be a very important statement, and it seems to lead to the solution of the question, as to who the author of the Dabistan was. It seems to say, that Farzaneh Behram was the author of the Dabistan. But, in that case, one may say : "How can then Farzaneh Behram speak of himself, in the Dabistan, in the list of Azar Kaiwan's disciples, in the third person?" But we must not judge of olden authors and of their old ways of writing by our present standard.

1 Bombay Ed. p. 3, l. 2. Dastur Edalji Sanjana's version, fol. 3a, l. 15. 2 Folio 6b, l. 16, of Dastur Edalji's version.

4. Zardasht Afshâr.

Zardasht Afshâr (زردشت افشار) was written by Mobad Sarosh ibn Kaiwân ibn Kâmgâr (موبد سروش ابن کیوان ابن کامگار).[1] This book, with two other books on similar subjects, was published in the Durbin Press of Bombay, at the instance of the first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy.[2] Then, Sir Jamsetjee got it translated, by Mobad Dossabhai Sohrabji Munshi, and published in 1848 at the Jam-i-Jamshed Press. The other two Persian treatises, published and translated with this, are Khishtâb and Zindeh-rod. The Gujarati translation bears the name, "કેતાબે ખેશતાબ જરદેશત અફ્શાર તથા જીનદેહ રોદ." The book was published by the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Translation Fund.[3] As I have not come across the original Persian, I will say here a few words about it, on the authority of the above Gujarati version. According to the translation, the author blesses, among others, one Kaikhusru Asfandiyar : આગે જમાનાનો ઈમામ કેખશરો અશફંદીઆર, કે જે હજરત આજર કેઅવાનનો બેટો છે તે ઉપર (દરૂદ) હોજો[4]. Here he speaks of Kaikhusru, as the son of Azar Kaiwan. This is, as pointed out by me above, a mistake.

The author says that Azar Kaiwan himself named it as "Zar-i-dasht Afshâr," and adds in a foot-note, that Zar-i-Dasht Afshâr was a certain gold (zar) in the treasury of Khusru Purviz (તે એક જાતનું શોનું જે ખશરો પરવેજના ખજનામાં હતું તે મીનની મીસાલે નરમ હતું અને તે શોનાથી જેવી મુરતી બનાવવા ચાહતા હતા તેવી બનતી હતી.)

Thus, it was a kind of malleable gold that seems

1 Bom. Ed. p. 261, l. 27 ; p. 37, l. 6.

2 *Vide* ખેશતાબ-જરદશત અફ્શાર તથા જીનદેહ રોદ, by Mobad Dossabhai Sorabji Munshi (1848), p. 11. I have not come across its Persian text.

3 *Vide* my Gujarati History of the Parsi Punchayat, Vol. II, p. 827.

4 P. 2 of the second part of the Gujarati book.

to have given its name to the book.[1] So, if we accept the significance, the word Dasht, in the words Dasht Afshâr may perhaps be Persian Dasht (دشت), meaning "dry musk", and afshâr (افشار) may mean "squeezing out". But the significance seems to be doubtful. The English translators of the Dabistan mean by Zardasht Afshâr, "the companion (afshâr) of Zardusht". But, on looking to the contents of the book, as given in the Gujarati work, I do not find any reason or ground to associate it with Zardusht or Zoroaster. The work is divided into 37 parts called Qual, *i.e.*, words.

V

AZAR KAIWAN.

Now I will give some particulars about Azar Kaiwan and his disciples as mainly collected from the Dabistan. According to the Dabistan[2], Azar Kaiwan was the chief (سر) of the modern or the last (متاخرین) Âbâdian or Azar Hushangiân sect (گروه).

Azar Kaiwan's Pedigree.

His ascending genealogy was as follows: Azar Kaiwan —Azar Gushasb—Azar Zardusht—Azar Barzin—Azar Khûrîn—Azar Âin (آئین)—Azar Behrâm—Azar Nûsh—Azar Mehtar —the younger (کهتر) Azar Sassan, called the 5th Sassan —the elder Azar Sassan[3], called the 4th Sassan—the young Azar Sassan, called the 3rd Azar Sassan—elder Azar Sassan, known as the 2nd Sassan—the Great (سترگ) Azar

1 For a towel made of such gold in the treasury of Khusru Parviz, *vide* my paper "Eighteen remarkable Things or Events of the Reign of Khusru Parviz (Chosroes II) of Persia" (Jour. B.B.R.A.S., Vol. II (New Series), No. 2, p. 124. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part IV, p. 32). 2 2nd Nazar, Bombay Ed., p. 29, l. 8.

3 The word ابن in the Bombay ed. p. 29, l. 10, is a mistake for ابن.

Sassan, called the 1st Azar Sassan—young (خورد) Darab—old Darab—Bahman—Asfandiyâr—Gustâsp—Luhrâsp—Arvand—Kai Nashin—Kaikobad—Zâb—Nodar—Minochehr—Irach of the descent from Faridun—Âbtin of the descent from Jamshed—Tehmuras—Hushang—Siâmak—Kayomars—Yâsân Ajâm of the descent from Yâsân—Shai Mahbul of the descent from Shâi Kaliv—Jai Âlâd of the descent from Jai Afrâm—Abâd Azad of the descent from Meh Abad, who had appeared and become resplendent in the beginning of the great cycle (عین چرخ)[1].

The mother of Azar Kaiwan was Shirin, the daughter of Humayun Nami[2], who was descended from Khusru, the Just (Dâdgar) Noshirwan.

Azar Kaiwan's Mysticism and Retirement.

It is said that, from his very fifth year, Azar Kaiwan began having less food and sleep. We read: آذر کیوان بازلي[3] تائید[4] و یزدانی نیرو از پنج سالگی بکم خوري و شب بیداري پرداخت[5], *i.e.*, Azar Kaiwan, with eternal help and divine strength, took to less eating and wakefulness, from his age of five.

He reduced his food to the weight of one diram (درم وزن)[6]. For 28 years, he sat in Khum (در خوم نشست)[7].

1 Bombay Ed. p. 29, l. 16. Shea and Troyer, Vol. I, pp. 87-88.

2 Nâmi may be an adjective, *i.e.*, the well-known.

3 Azali, eternity. 4 Ta'yid, help.

5 Bom. Ed. p. 29, l. 18. 6 *Ibid.* l. 20.

7 *Ibid.* l. 22. Shea and Troyer translate as "the abode in Khum," as if Khum was the name of a place; but *khum* here is a common noun, meaning a jar. In my copy of the Bombay lithographic edition (p. 29, l. 22) a reader has properly put down the meaning in Gujarati as માટલું, *i.e.*, an earthen pot. Such postures formed a rule for those who practised riâzat. The word seems to have been miswritten as خوم in place of خم. This story of Azar Kaiwan living in a *khum* or jar reminds us of the story of Parshadgô Khambyân of the Bundehesh

In his later days, he came to India from Iran, and remained here for some time in the city of Patna (پٹنہ). He died there in 1027 Hijri, *i.e.*, 1617-18 A.C. He lived for 85 years and always practised riâzat.

Azar Kaiwan's extraordinary powers.

The Dabistan then gives some further particulars on the authority of the Sharistan of Farzaneh Behram (شارستان فرزانه بهرام). It says that Azar Kaiwan from the very beginning (در نخست), *i.e.*, boyhood, sought knowledge. So, the great philosophers (علماي سترگ) of Yunân, Hind and Pars (Greece, India and Persia) appeared to him, in dreams (khâb), and instructed him with all kinds of knowledge. Once, when he was at Madresseh (school), he answered there all questions and solved all difficulties. So, he was named Zu-l-ulm (ذوالعلوم), *i.e.*, Master of Sciences. According to the Dabistan, Sayyad Hasan Shirazi (سيد حسن شرازي), a learned pious man, tells the following story about Azar Kaiwan: Once, two followers of Sufism (منصوفين) met Azar Kaiwan, and discussed with him some questions as oppositionists (راه انكار ذوالعلوم پيش گرفتند) and did not treat him well with respect. Their teacher, one night, saw in dream the Prophet, who asked him to tell his disciples that Azar Kaiwan[1] is a man perfect in, divine knowledge (كامل و رسيده). The Holy Prophet said many words of praise for Azar Kaiwan and asked the teacher to see him personally. Sayyad Hasan says that the *murshid, i.e.*, the teacher, repeated in his ecstacy (سكر) several times the above mentioned panegyric (ستايش), uttered by the Prophet, and that he put that down in writing. On being free from his sleep of ecstacy

(Chap. XXIX, 5, the Fradhakhsti Khunbya of the Farvardin Yasht, 138. *Vide* my Bundehesh, pp. 146-147) who was believed to have been brought up in a *khum*.

1 Shea and Troyer here give the name as Ali Kaiwan, but the Bombay Ed. (p. 30, l. 15) gives the name correctly as Azar Kaiwan.

(خواب بيخودي), the teacher awoke (انگيخت) the Sayyad and inquired, as to who Azar Kaiwan in the city was, before whom the Prophet had asked him to go. The Sayyad said that since some time past, he had come from Istakhar (اسطخر). The teacher asked the Sayyad to take him to Azar Kaiwan. But the Sayyad did not know where he lived. However, both started to find him out. When they proceeded a little, Farhad (فرهاد), a disciple of Azar Kaiwan, met them and said, that Azar Kaiwan wanted them and that he had sent him, to show them the way. When they went to Azar Kaiwan, the teacher had thought of first saluting him; but before he could do so, Azar Kaiwan saluted him in Persian and began to converse in Arabic. They were surprised (فرو ماندم). The teacher then described his dream to Azar Kaiwan who asked him to keep the matter secret (پرده ازين راز برمفكنيد). The teacher, on going home, directed his two disciples to be respectful to Azar Kaiwan.

According to the Sharistan of Farzaneh Behram, Azar Kaiwan did not mix with people other than his disciples. He had the power of removing his soul (روان) from his body (تن) and of re-entering it. He forbade eating flesh and killing living animals and injuring animals (گوشت خوردن و جانور كشن و جاندار آزردن).

Azar Kaiwan advised (*a*) that the beliefs of his sect may be kept secret, (*b*) that one must stick to his own faith[2] (برهمين عقيده باش كه خداي تا اكنون آنچه خواست), and (*c*) that the knowledge of perishable thing is no knowledge (معرفت فاني معرفت نيست).[3]

1 Bom. Ed. p. 32. l. 9.

2 *Ibid.* p. 32, l. 17. 3 *Ibid.* l. 19.

His views in relation to the destruction of the Fire-temples of Iran and the Shiah sect.

At one time, one expressed surprise to Azar Kaiwan for the fact, that the Shiahites (متین شعی) opposed men like the great (akbar) truthful (حضرت صدیق اکبر)[1] and the great justiciary[2] (فاروق اعظم) and the master of the two lights (ذوالنورین)[3] who had made great attempts (بسا کوشش) for the good of the people. Azar Kaiwan said that the generality of people are carried away by time and place against the cause of the truth of belief (عوام گرفتار زمان و مکانند برخلاف تحقیق کیشان)[4]. The above great men destroyed the Fire-temples (آتشکده ها) and the ancient faith (دین سابق) of the Iranians. So, the Iranians, who all have adopted the Shiah faith, have always been cherishing revolt and envy (بغض و حسد) against them.[5]

1 This is a reference to Abou Bakar, who was called the truthful, because he is said to have "attested the miracle of the Prophet's ascension to heaven" (Shea p. 99). Shea and Troyer are wrong in taking the word "akbar" to be a proper noun for the great Indian ruler Akbar. It is not correct to say of him that he was one of those who destroyed Fire-temples. On the contrary, he is said to have founded one in his palace. The other two great personages referred to are Omar and Osman.

2 Fâruq (فاروق) Discoverer. "Surname of Omar (as discriminating between truth and falsehood, at an early stage of Islam or as making orthodoxy distinct from, *i.e.*, triumphant over, infidelity)" (Steingass).

3 Zu-n-nurain = Master of two lights "Name of the Caliph Osman (as having married two daughters of Mohommad)" (Steingass).

4 Bom. Ed. p. 33, l. 2.

5 What is meant seems to be this: "The above great personages destroyed the Fire-temples and the religion of the ancient Iranians. So, the later Iranians, who had adopted the Shiah faith, which contained elements of the ancient Zoroastrian faith, did not forget this injury done to the faith of their forefathers who were all Zoroastrians,

Date of Azar Kaiwan's death.

The date of the death of Azar Kaiwan, as given by different authors, differs. The Bombay Edition of 1262 Hijri (1846 A.C.) gives it as 1027 (هزار و بیست و هفت), *i.e.*, 1617-18[1]. The Gujarati translator of the Dabistan, Mobad Fardunji Marzban gives the Hijri year 1027 (*i.e.*, 1618 A.C.). Dastur Edalji Dorabji Sanjana, in the introductory portion of his Gujarati version of the Sharistan-i-Chahar Chaman, gives the year as 1018 Hijri (1609 A.C.). He says : ઉજરત "આજરે કએવાન રાને ૧૦૧૮ હીજરીના વરશમાં ગુજરેઆ છે". He does not give his authority for this Hijri year 1018 (*i.e.*, 1609 A.C.). Mr. Bomanji B. Patel in his *Parsee Prakâsh* (Vol. I, p. 10) gives the year of the death as 1614 A.C. on the authority of a copy (p. 209) of the Dabistan published in 1262 Hijri in Lachman Press of Bombay. Thus, we are given three dates of his death, *viz.*, A.C. 1609, 1614 and 1618. I think that we must take the date, as given in the text of the Dabistan, *viz.*, 1027 Hijri (*i.e.*, 1618 A.C.) as the correct date.

Date of his arrival in India.

Azar Kaiwan died at the age of 85 (هشتاد و پنج سال یا عنصري پیکر بود)[2], *i.e.*, for 85 years, he remained united with the elements of the body (lit. was element faced). So, he must have been born in about (1618 — 85) 1533. From his age of 5 years he began to show the tendencies of a recluse

and therefore, now and then, revolted." This is a reference to the generally accepted belief, that the Shiahs of Iran, though they accepted the new religion of the great Mahomedan prophet, under the stress of circumstances, they have not forgotten, that, after all, they were the progeny of the ancient Zoroastrians, whose Fire-temples and faith were destroyed by the early Arab conquerors.

1 The translators, Shea and Troyer, give the corresponding year as 1673 A.C., which is evidently a mistake.

2 Bombay. Ed. p. 30, l. 3.

and a mystic (از پنج سالکی بکم خوردي و شب بیدادی پرداخت)[1] and ate only one diram[2] weight of food (غذاش یکي درم وزن رسید).[3] He sat in a jar for 28 years (بیست و هشت سال در خم نشست).[4] So, if we take it that he began passing his time in a jar[5] from the above very early age of 5, he must have continued sitting in this way till the age of (5 plus 28) 33 years, *i.e.*, upto (1533 plus 33) 1566 A.C. Then he is said to have come to India in later days (باز پسین روز)[6]. The words *bâz pasîn*, *i.e.*, later, are rather vague. But, we must take the words in the sense of " long afterwards", say, about 15 or 20 years after his leaving off his close retirement. So, we may take it, that he came to India, some time about 1581 to 1585 A.C., *i.e.*, about the 40th year of the life of Akbar, who died in 1605. So, what Mobad Dossabhai Sorabji Munshi says, in the preface (p. 6) of his Gujarati translation of Ketâb-i-Khestâb Zardasht Afshar and Zindehrud[7], that he came to Patna in the time of Akbar is correct.

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1 *Ibid.* p. 29, l. 18.

2 A diram, according to Steingass, corresponds to a Greek Drachma, which, according to Webster, is 2 dwt. 7 grains, *i.e.*, 55 grains Mobad Fardunji Murzban, in his translation of the Dabistan (1st Ed. published on 25th December 1805, p. 172), gives the weight as that of 48 grains of barley (૪૮ ઓડતાલીસ જવ બરાબર ખાણું ખાવા લાગે).

3 *Ibid.* p. 29, l. 20. 4 *Ibid.* l. 22.

5 Shea and Troyer take خم khum to be a town. This seems to be a mistake. Fardunji Marzban very properly translated અંધારી તંગ જગા, *i.e.*, dark narrow place (1st Ed., p. 173).

6 Bom. Ed. p 29, l. 22.

7 દીલીના પાદશાહ અકબર શાહના વખતમાં 'પટનાં' નામના શેહરમાં આવીએા હતેા. (કેતાબે ખેશતાબ-જરેદશત અફશાર તથા છનદેહ રૂફ ૧૮૪૮ ઈસવી પા. ૬). Of these three books, the Kheshtâb is said to be a translation, in the Persian of the time, by Mobad Sarosh, a disciple of Azar Kaiwan. The original was written by one Hakim Khastâ in the time of Khusru Purviz. It was also known as Garzan-i-Danesh (گرزن دانش)

Azar Kaiwan, spoken of as a Dastur by later writers.

Mr. B. B. Patel, in his *Parsi Prakâsh* (Vol. I, p. 10), speaks of Azar Kaiwan as a Dastur. We have not the authority of the Dabistan or the Sharistan-i-Chehar Chaman to speak of him as such. But Mobad Fardunji Marzban, in his translation of the Dabistan, began speaking of him as Dastur (દસ્તુર હુજરત આજરે કૈવાન, *i.e.*, Dastur pious Azar-i-Kaiwan).[1] Then others followed suit.

Had Azar Kaiwan a son?

Some later writers speak of Azar Kaiwan having a son. It looks strange, that a mystic like him, who had mystic tendencies from the age of five, and who is said to have confined himself in a narrow congested place, and who had retired from the world for 28 years, should have a son. So, I will say here a few words on this subject. It seems, that the name of a person, named Kaikhusru having been mentioned as the son of Kaiwan (كيخسرو ابن كيوان). has led some Parsi writers to commit the mistake of speaking of there being a son of Azar Kaiwan. Khuda Jui, the son of Nâmdâr (خدا جوي ابن نامدار)[2],

i.e., the Crown of Wisdom. The author of the first book, Khastâb was a disciple of the 5th Sassan. The second book, Zardasht Afshar, is said to have been translated by Dadpai bin Mobad Hosh Ayin Originally, it was written by one Hash-gui and it was called Azar Goshasp. According to the Dabistan, the later version was by a disciple of Azar Kaiwan, *viz.*, Mobad Sarosh bin Kaiwan bin Kamgar, whose pedigree went to Zoroaster. The third book, Zindeh Rod, was also rendered into the then Persian by the above named Dadpai. Its original name was Chasmah-i-Zindagi. It was originally written in the reign of Khusru Purviz by a sage named Zindeh Azarm (*vide* pp. 5-7 of the preface of Mobad Dossabhai S. Munshi's Khestâb, etc.).

1 *Vide* his translation of the Dabistan, pp. 169 ff.

2 The Persian text of the work of Sayad Abdul Fattah, p. 2, l. 6. The title of the book is "મકારીકૃાતે કૃએેરાન અથવા જમે કૈખશરૂ. રાઈઅદ અબદુલ ફતા ઉરફ મીર અશરફ અલી મુનશી. ૧૮૪૮."

who was a disciple of Azar Kaiwan, had, as said above, written a work named Jâm-i-Kaikhusru. It was on the subject of the revelations (مكاشفات) or ecstacies of Azar Kaiwan.[1] He named it Jâm-i-Kaikhusru because one Kaikhusru ibn Kaiwan had desired him to write it.[2] The Gujarati translator writes: "આએ મુકારોફાતે કએવાની માહા વીદેઆવાંન આજર કએવાનની ફારશીમાં જોડેલી આશરે ૩૨૫ બેતોમાં હતી. તેહેની કેખશરૂ ઈબને કએવાનના હોકમથી ખુદાજીએ ઈબને નામદારે ફારશીમાં શરેહ બનાવી હતી અને એ કેતાબનું નામ જમે કેખશરૂ રાખેલ હતું."[3]

It seems that the above name, Kaikhusru ibn Kaiwan, led some subsequent writers to take it, that this Kaikhusru was the son of Dastur Azar Kaiwan. We read in the Gujarati translation of the Khestâb: "મોટા પેગંબ્બરોનો ખલીફો અને નબી લોકોનાં આગેવાન લોકોનો કાએમ મોકામ હજરત આજર કેવાનના બેટા કેખશરૂ આશફેન્દીઆરે મહને ફરમાંવેલ....."[4] Here we see that this author, Mobad Dossabhai Munshi, has mistaken the name Kaiwan of the Jâm-i-Kaikhusru to be Azar Kaiwan. Here, the important words are "Kaikhusru Ashfandyâr, the son of Azar Kaiwan". Now, if this Kaikhusru was the son of Azar Kaiwan, how can his name be mentioned as "Kaikhusru Asfandiyâr", *i.e.*, Kaikhusru, son of Asfandiyâr. Mobad Dossabhai Munshi has inadvertently committed the mistake of calling him the son (બેટા) of Azar Kaiwan.

The same translator has committed a similar mistake in his translation of the Zardasht Afshar. He writes: "આએ જમાનાનો ઈમામ 'કેખશરો અશફંદીઆર' કેજે હજરત આજર કએ-

1 *Ibid.* p. 1 of the Persian Dibâcheh of the author.

2 *Ibid.* p. 3, l. 4.

3 P. 3 of the Gujarati translation of the Jam-i-Kaikhusru, published by Munshi Abdul Fattah at the instance of the 1st Sir Jamsetjee.

4 કેતાબે બેશતાબ જરદશ્ત અફશાર તથા જનદેહ રોદ by Mobad Dossabhai S Munshi. 1848. P. 2 of the second batch of pages.

વાનનો બેટો છે."[1] He has again repeated the same mistake in his translation of the Zindeh-rud (જનદેહ રૌદ) where he says: "'કેખશરો અશકંદીઆર' કે જે હુજરત 'આજર કએવાન'નો બેટોથાય."[2]

Dastur Edalji Sanjana also erroneously infers from a passage of the Sharistan (Text. p. 3, l. 11) that he had a son. He writes in his version: "કેતાબનો જોડનાર શાએર ફરન્દને બેહરામ બેન ફરહાદ પારશી લખે છે જે એ કેતાબ જોડવાનો બીજો કારણ એ છે જે અમારો શાહેબ જ્યદો ૧ કેખશરો નામનો છે તે હજરત આજરે કેવાનનો બેટો છે ને હમનાં પોતાના બાપથી જુદો પડીને બુરા લોકોની શોહોબત પકડી હતી....તેહને રાહમાં લાવાને વાસ્તે એ કેતાબ શરૂઈ ભરેલી એબારત શાઠે જોડી છે." (f. 4 b).

The Persian text speaks of Kaikhusru as مخدوم زاده عالم اشرف کیخسرو, *i.e.*, born of a lord, the noble learned Kaikhusru. But Dastur Edalji has taken "Makhdum-zadeh" as "son of Lord Azar Kaiwan," though Azar Kaiwan's name is not mentioned. His manuscript translation of the Sharistan bears no colophon. So, we are not in a position to say, whether he followed Ervad Dossabhai Munshi or Ervad Dossabhai Munshi followed him. Under all these circumstances, we must conclude that it is not the case that Azar Kaiwan who was inclined from childhood to a quiet meditative mystic way of life, was married and that he had a son named Kaikhusru. The writer, Ervad Dossabhai, seems to have been misled by a similarity of names.

VI

THE DISCIPLES OF AZAR KAIWAN.

The School of Azar Kaiwan's Sufism.

The school of Azar Kaiwan's disciples contained, both, much learned and less learned, Sufists. Some seem to be simply experimenting mystics, *i.e.*, those who seemed

1 *Ibid.* the third batch of pages, p. 2.

2 *Ibid.* the fourth batch of pages, p. 1.

to observe certain practices without resorting much to the study of doctrines; and some were doctrinaires, *i.e.*, those who resorted more to doctrines than to observances. Some of these were authors of learned works—learned from the point of view of dialectics and theology. One or two seem to be ordinary disciples, inasmuch as they did not even abstain from meat diet and carried on commerce.

Azar Kaiwan had a number of disciples, Zoroastrian and non-Zoroastrian. Some had come with him from Persia. One Zoroastrian had gone from Surat to meet him at Patna. The Dabistan has spoken in some details, more or less, of 13 principal Zoroastrian disciples. Among the non-Zoroastrian disciples, 7 were Mahomedans, 2 Jews, 1 Christian, and 1 Brahmin. I give below a list of his 13 Zoroastrian disciples and will then give a brief account of each of them.

A list of the disciples of Azar Kaiwan.[1]

Out of the number of disciples whom Azar Kaiwan had, the author of the Dabistan[1] had met some personally in Kashmir.

I. Zoroastrian Disciples.

1. Farzaneh Kharrâd (فرزانه خراد Bom. Ed. p. 34).
2. Farzaneh Farshidward (فرزانه فرسیدورد).
3. Farzaneh Kheradmand (فرزانه خردمند p. 35).
4. Farzaneh Behram (فرزانه بهرام).
5. Mobad Hushyâr of Surat (موبد هوشیار p. 36).
6. Another Mobad Hushiyâr (موبد هوشیار p. 37).
7. Mobad Sarosh (موبد سروش p. 37).
8. Khudâ Jui (خدا جوي p. 39.)
9. Farzaneh Behram the younger (فرزانه بهرام کوچك p. 40).

1 Bom. Ed. pp. 34 *et seq.* Shea and Troyer, Vol. I, pp. 105 *et seq.*

10. Mobad Parastar (موبد پرستار p. 40.)
11. Mobad Peshkar (موبد پیشکار p. 41.)
12. Shidush (شیدوش p. 41).

Then, on the authority of Mobad Khurshid, the writer of Bazamgah (بزمگاه), the Dabistan names the following twelve without giving any particulars about them,[1] and says that they all ate food under ten dirams in weight:—

1. Ardeshir (اردشیر).
2. Kharrâd (خراد).
3. Shiruyeh (شیرویه).
4. Kheradmand (خردمند).
5. Farhâd (فرهاد).
6. Sohrâb (سهراب).
7. Azâdeh (آزاده).
8. Bizan (بیژن).
9. Asfandiyâr (اسفندیار).
10. Farshidward (فرشیدورد).
11. Bahman (بهمن).
12. Rustam (رستم).

II. Non-Zoroastrian Disciples.

The following were the non-Zoroastrian disciples of Azar Kaiwan :—

1. Mahamad Ali Shirazi[2] (محمد علي شیرازی).
2. Mahamad S'ayid Isphahani[3] (محمد سعید اصفهانی).
3. 'Ashûr Beg Qarâmânlu.[4] (عاشور بیم قرمانلو).

1 Bom. Ed. p. 39, l. 13 ff. Shea and Troyer, I, p. 119.

2 Bom. Ed. of the Dabistan, p. 43, l. 21. Shea and Troyer. I., p. 132. 3 *Ibid.* p. 44, l. 5. 4 *Ibid.* l. 11

4. Mahmud Beg Tamin[1] (محمود بیگ تمین).
5. Musa (a Jew)[2] (موسی).
6. Hârun (a Jew)[3] (هارون).
7. Antun Bashuyeh Vavarj (انتون بشویه واورج) (a Portuguese فرنگ), who ran after the religion of the Christians.[4]
8. Râm Bhat (رام بهت), a learned Hindu Brahmin of Benarâs (براهمه بنارس).[5]
9. Mir-abu-l-Quasam Fandarski (میر ابوالقاسم فندرسکی) who was a sun worshipper (آفتاب پرستی).[6]
10. Mehrâb[7] (مهراب).
11. Mâh-âb (ماه آب), a younger brother of Mehrâb.[8]

I will now give a few particulars about these disciples of Azar Kaiwan. I will speak at first of—

(1) The Zoroastrian disciples, and then of
(2) The non-Zoroastrian disciples.

1. *A brief account of the Zoroastrian Disciples of Azar Kaiwan.*

1. Farzaneh Kharrâd.[9]

He had descended from the family of Mahbud[10] who was the Khân Sâlâr (خان سالار)[11] of Noshirwan. He was killed through

1 Bom. Ed. p. 45, l. 2. 2 *Ibid.* l. 10. 3 *Ibid.* l. 10
4 *Ibid.* l. 21. 5 *Ibid.* p. 46, l. 8. 6 *Ibid.* l. 22.
7 *Ibid.* p. 47, l. 13. 8 *Ibid.* p. 48, l. 1. 9 *Ibid.* p. 34, l. 9.

10 The Bombay edition gives the name as Mehbul which seems to be a mistake, because we know that Noshirwan had a courtier of the name of Mahbûd.

11 Khân sâlâr lit. means, the chief of the house. We know from Firdousi that Mahbûd was the Dastur (دستور) of the King. He was also his treasurer (ganjûr) (M. Mohl's small ed. Vol. VI, p. 232. Kutar Brothers' Gujarati Ed. Vol. VIII, p. 264. Warner Brothers' ed. VII, p. 319. Dastur Minochehr's ed. IV, p. 58. Macan's Calcutta Ed. IV, p. 1679.)

the magic (jâdu) of a Jew and the machinations of the (royal) door-keeper (حاجب).[1] He first met Azar Kaiwan in a market of Shiraz. He had practised *riâzat* for several years. One of his miraculous exploits mentioned by Farzaneh Khushi (فرزانه خوشی) in his Bazam-gah[2] was this: Once Kharrad met Ardeshir, a descendant of Ardeshir Babegan,[3] who (Ardeshir) was a disciple of Azar Kaiwan. Both attacked each other. Whenever Ardeshir aimed a blow with a sword, Karrad turned himself into a stone and the sword broke. He died in 1029 Hijri (*i.e.*, 1620 A.C.).

2. Farzaneh Farshidward[4].

Farshidward was a Parsi Dehkân (chief villager). He was descended from Farzaneh Shihdush, a disciple of the fifth Sassan. He also had met Azar Kaiwan in the above said place, *i.e.*, in the *bazar* of Shiraz, and become his disciple. As related by Khushi, he also fought once with Bahman. Both attacked each other with weapons but they saved themselves by dexterous movements. They used muskets and guns (تفنگ and بندوق) against one another so dexterously, that the shot of one struck against the shot of another and both remained safe. He died in 1029 Hijri (*i.e.*, 1619 A.C.).

3. Farzaneh Kheradmand[5].

Kheradmand had descended from Sam Nariman. He joined Zul 'Alûm[6] (*i.e.*, Azar Kaiwan), and performed *riâzât*. According to Khushi, when he once met Rustam who

1 The story, as given in the Shah-nameh, describes, how an evil eye of a Jew poisoned the milk of the King and how Mahbud's sons died by drinking the milk poisoned by evil eye.

2 Shea and Toyer give the name as Bazam Gâh-i-Durveshân.

3 The Bombay Edition gives this name itself as Ardeshir Behjar but that seems to be a mistake and the text which Shea and Troyer have followed seems to be correct.

4 *Ibid.* p. 34, l. 16.

5 *Ibid.* p. 35, l. 2.

6 Lit. Master of Learning.

had descended from Behramgore and who was one of the great disciples of Azar Kaiwan, he turned himself into a serpent and emitted flames to such an extent that a large (تنومند) *chinâr* (چنار [1] a plane tree) was burnt. Three months after Bahman's death, Kheradmand resumed his original condition.[2] The following miracles of these men are related. (*a*) They hid the sun (آفتاب پوشانید), *i.e.*, stopped his light; (*b*) made the sun appear at night; (*c*) made the stars shine at day; (*d*) walked over water; (*e*) made trees give fruit out of season; (*f*) made dry trees green; (*g*) caused trees to bow down (سجود); (*h*) showed themselves like a lightning (برق); (*i*) took different forms of animals; (*j*) made themselves invisible to others (*k*) assumed different forms. All these wonders are referred to in the Bazam-Gah-i-Darwish (درویش) of Khushi. The author (آورنامه) of the Dabistan says that he himself had seen at Patna, these four holy men (آزاده), *viz.*, Kharrad, Farshidward, Bahman, and Kheradmand, who all blessed him.

4. Farzaneh Behram.

Farzaneh Behram, son of Farhad, was descended from Goudarz Keshwad[3]. He joined Azar Kaiwan, not in Persia, but in Patna. He came from Shiraz. He was versed in Dialectics (منطقیات), the science of knowing one's nature (طبعیات) and devotional austerities (ریاضت) and Theology (الهیات), as taught by books in Parsi, Pahlavi and Arabic languages. He had close relations (نسبت) with

1 Shea and Troyer give 'palm' (Vol. I, p. 107) which seems to be a mistake for 'plane.' 2 *I.e.*, from his condition of being burnt to ashes. The name Bahman seems to be a mistake for that of Rustam.

3 Shea and Troyer give the name as Hashwâd, but this seems to be a mistake, because the Shâhnameh also gives the name of the father of Godarz as Keshwâd

Khajeh Jamal-ul-din Mahmud, a disciple of Mulla Jalâl Dawâni. He had written Sharistan-i-Dânesh and Gulistân-i-Binash. He says of himself in his Sharistan, that it was with the help (یاوری) of Azar Kaiwan that he acquired knowledge of the angels, and the angelic world, etc. Mobad Hoshiyar tells us as having heard from Farzaneh Behram, that once Farzaneh Behram wished that Azar Kaiwan may tell him what the secrets of his (Farzaneh Behram's) heart were. Azar Kaiwan told all the secrets. He knew alchemy. He died in Hijri 1034, *i.e.*, 1624 A.C., at Lahore.[1]

5. Mobad Hoshiyar.

Mobad Hoshiyar[2] wrote Sarûd-i-Mastân (سرود مستان), *i.e.*, The songs of the intoxicated. He was born at the *bunder* of Surat. He traced his descent from Tehmtan, *i.e.*, Rustam, the son of Zal. He was very brave, courageous and experienced. He was wise and settled disputes (قطع خصومات). If an account of all his work was given, *e.g.*, his conquest of the Heavens (*gardûn*) and his moving about (*gashtan*) above (علی) at once or at the same time (یکه), his story would be as large as that of the Shah Nameh.[3] He slept in a particular attitude known as *Murdeh Khwab* (مرده خواب) or *Murdeh Khust* (مرده خست) or Sâv-nus (ساونوس).[4] He stopped his breathing for one

1 Bom. Ed. p. 36, l. 6. Shea and Troyer do not give the name of Lahore as the place of his death.

2 Bom. Ed. p. 36, l. 8. 3 Shea and Troyer translate this part as, "his victory at Girdun, his defeat of Ali Yakub". Shea then says in a foot-note "This passage is very obscure—the occurrences here mentioned must have been local." I think they are not right in taking some common names as proper names. What is meant is that he miraculously moved in all parts of the Heavens.

4 These are different postures or state of sleep said to be resorted to by ascetics.

watch (پاس), *i.e.*, 3 hours. He did not abstain from any kind of food, but avoided doing any injury to animals (آزار جاندار). He died in 1050 Hijri, *i.e.*, 1640 A.C., in the capital Akbarabad.

6. Another Hoshiyar.

One other Mobad Hoshiyâr,[1] a disciple of Azar Kaiwan, was one who explained (مترجم), *i.e.*, commented upon, Jashn-i-Sadeh (جشن سده).[2] He traced his descent from Jamasp Hakim. The author of the work (کردار گذار), *i.e.*, the Dabistan, met him in the heart-ravishing country of Kashmir (خطه دلپزیر کشمیر)[3], in 1036 (*i.e.*, 1626 A.C.). He stood from midnight to dawn on the fingers of his hand (سر انگوشتان دست).

7. Mobad Sarush.

Mobad Sarush[4] was the son of Kaiwan, son of Kâmgâr. Kâmgâr was so called for being known for much knowledge. He was descended on father's side from the prophet Shat Zardusht, and, on mother's side, from Jamasp Hakim. He knew Tâzi (Arabic), Persian and Hindi languages. He had travelled a good deal in prosperous (or populated) countries. He became a disciple of Azar Kaiwan and learnt Arbiyat (عربیت)[5] from Farzaneh Behram, the

1 Bom. Ed. p. 37, l. 1.

2 Originally Jashn-i-Sadeh, was one of the several festivals celebrated by the ancient Persians. It celebrated the event of the discovery of fire at the hands of Faridun.

3 Shea and Troyer's text (I, p. 113) gives the name as Kashnim. This seems to be a mistake. We know of no beautiful country of this name.

4 Bombay Ed. p. 37, l. 6.

2 Shea and Troyer translate the word as "Arabic language". I have doubts. It seems to mean simply "culture of the Arabs," because Arabic is spoken of above as Tazi. The word 'Arabi' means "civilized Arabian" (Steingass, p. 842, col. 2).

son of Farhad. He was aged 60 and had never seen the company of any woman (روی آمیزش زن ندیده) and had never tasted animal food. He was the writer of Nôsh Dârû and Sagangbin[1] and Zardasht Afshar.[2] Mahmad Hasan said that he had heard from him, 360 proofs of the confirmation of the Existence of God.[3] Many miracles of his are related, *e.g.*, (*a*) bringing into existence what is non-existent (*aijâd, madûm*), (*b*) making non-existent what is existent, (*c*) revealing what is hidden, (*d*) concealing what is known, (*e*) the fulfilment of his prayer, (*f*) cutting long distances in a short time, (*g*) knowledge of hidden affairs, (*h*) appearing in different places at one and the same time, (*i*) reviving the dead and depriving the living of life, (*j*) understanding the language of animals and vegetables and minerals (kâni), (*k*) producing food and wine without any means or materials (bî-sabab), (*l*) to walk on water, (*m*) passing through fire and air and (*n*) such other miraculous things. The author (*râqem nameh* of Dabistan) says that he met him in Kashmir in 1036 Hijri (*i.e.*, 1627 A.C.). Farrah Kari (فره قاري), a servant of Shîdûshi, said, that once, he was hurt by the people of Keshâwar (کشاور) of Achan (اچن), a place near the Idgah (عید گاه) of Kashmir. He complained of this to Yazdan Sitâi (یزدان ستای),[4] a disciple of Sarosh. Yazdan Sitâi, on learning this complaint, asked the complainant whether he wished that God may destroy their country by flood. On receiving a reply in the affirmative, he

1 *I.e.*, The Honey of Dogs. 2 Companion (Afshar) of Zardasht.

3 دلیل اثبات واجب Lit. Proofs confirming the existence of the one who is necessary. *Wajib-ul wujud* is the Self-existent.

4 Shea and Troyer give the name as Yazdan Silâi which seems to be a mistake. There is no word like Silâi but we have Sitâyi meaning "one who praises".

caused rain to fall and destroyed their properties by flood. Sarosh, on hearing of this kind of revenge, rebuked his disciple and got rain ceased at once. When once Farrah Qâri was ill-treated by the people of a caravanserâi (khan) at Bâlik (بالیق), in the city of Torkhan (ترخان), he complained to Sarosh. Sarosh caused, at night, figures of extraordinary large men to appear in the air before the men and frightened them and forced them to desist from ill-treating others. Even Sarosh's disciple, Yazdan Sitâi, performed many miracles, one of which was that he turned heaps of broken pottery (سفالی شکسة) into golden mohurs (اشرفي). He at times held a towel (منديل)[1] in fire but it did not burn. Again, at times, he swallowed fire and played in the midst of fire.

8. Khuda Jui.

Khuda Jui was another disciple of Azar Kaiwan. He was a native of Hirat (هرات) and he knew Persian and Arabic (Tâzi). He was the author of the Jâm-i-Kaikhusru which is a commentary on the poems of Azar Kaiwan. He arrived in 1040 Hijri (1631 A.C.) in Kashmir, where the author (آورنامه of Dabistan) met him. He died there in the same year. According to his own statement[2], he was asked in a dream to seek for a spiritual guide (رهبري). He was in search of one when he saw, in dream[3], Azar Kaiwan, whom he found to his liking. He went to him with Farzaneh Khushi. He abstained from all animal food, whether it be of wild animals or of domesticated animals (حیوان جلالی و جمالی).[4] He kept up his breath (دم فرو بستي[5]) for 4 watches (*i.e.*, 12 hours), and exercised the practice of suppression of breath (*habs-i-nafsh*[6]). He passed sleepless nights and ate

1 Bom. Ed. p. 38, l. 15.
2 *Ibid.* p. 39, l. 14.
3 *Ibid.* l. 4.
4 *Ibid.* l. 6.
5 *Ibid.* p. 39, l. 6.
6 *Ibid.*

only 50 dirams weight of food. He had gone from Herat to Istakhar to meet Azar Kaiwan.[1]

9. Mobad Khushi.

Mobad Khushi was the author (خداوند) of Bazam Gah (بزم گاه)[2], wherein he refers by name to 12 disciples of Azar Kaiwan. According to his own version, as given by him in his Bazam Gah and narrated in the Dabistan, he was, from his very youth, in search of a spiritual guide (پیری) and he sought the advice of the pious personages (مشایخ) of Iran, Turan, Roum and Hind, whether Musulman, Hindu, Gabr, Christian (نصاری) or Jew. All said to him : "Mend your faith (کیش) and come to our way (راه)." But he was not inclined to give up his creed. He is named a Mobad; and he speaks of having gone for consultation, among others, to Gabrs, *i.e.*, Zoroastrians, also, who also are said to have told him to quit his faith and to go to their path. This looks rather strange, but he seems to speak in general terms. Perhaps, by *kish* and *rah* is meant some particular beliefs of the speakers. He says, that during this perplexity of belief, his father Hush (هوش)[3] advised him to pray to God for advice. Then a voice (*nadâ*) reached him, saying : "Oh man! leaving off the main river, you have turned towards rivulets or canals (انهار)." Then, when he turned towards the river, an angel (Sarûsh) said, that the great sea or river is Azar Kaiwan. He then joined Azar Kaiwan in the company of Khuda Jui.

10. Farzaneh Behram, the Younger.

Farzaneh Behram, son of Farshâd[4], was called the younger (kuchak) Behram. The Arzang-i-mâni (ارزنگ مانی) was his work. He became a disciple of Azar Kaiwan,

1 *Ibid.* l. 4. 2 *Ibid* p. 39, l. 12. 3 *Ibid.* p. 40, l. 2.

4 Shea and Troyer give the name as Farhad. This is evidently wrong, because Farzaneh Behram of Farhad is already spoken of above.

and in the religious company (parastâri) of Farzaneh Behram, son of Farhad, soon acquired perfection. The author (nâmeh gerd-âvar) of the Dabistan says, that, in 1048 Hijri (1638 A.C.), in the capital city of Lahore he found the young Behram, the son of Farshâd[1], in complete pleasure (سراسر سرور). But he died[2] in the same year. He knew Arabic, Persian, Hindi, and Firangi (*i.e.*, Portuguese) languages. He had translated into Persian, known as Persian mixed with Arabic, the writings of Shaikh Ashrak Shahabuddin Maqtul, who was of the Istarâq sect. He maintained himself as a scribe. The author (*nameh-negâr*) of the Dabistan says that, when one night in Hijri 1048 (1638 A.C.), he saw him, with Mobad Hushiyar, at Lahore, he saw him sitting on his knees facing the East, the whole night. He sat in this posture for 2 to 3 days even without bread and water. He lived on a small quantity of cow's milk, which even he took at the interval of 2 or 3 days.

11. Mobad Parastâr.

Mobad Parastâr, son of Khurshid, took the form of elements (عنصري بيكر, *i.e.*, was born) in Patna[3]. His father Khurshid was of Isphahan. In his very young days, he joined Azar Kaiwan and was much attached to Azar Kaiwan's disciple, Mobad Sarosh. He wrote the Tapreh-i-Mobadi.[4] In Hijri 1049 (A.C. 1640), the author

1 Here also the text, followed by the above author, erroneously gives the name as Farhad.

2 Bom. Ed. p. 40, l. 9.

3 *Ibid.* p. 40, l. 18.

4 I think that, here the word *tap* is Indian तप which is a kind of ritual of devotion. Being born in India, he seems to use an Indian word. So, the words would mean, "The Path of making Tap or *riazât*) for Mobads."

(*nameh-negâr*) of the Dabistan met him in Kashmir. There, from night-fall to morning, Mobad Parastâr was engaged in Sarâyast (سرایست).[1] In the heavenly language (زبان آسمانی), *i.e.*, in the Desatir, Sarayast is called Faru shavad (فرو شود). In this practice, they hold up the feet in the air and stand on the head. It is called Kapâl âsan (کپال آسن)[2] in Hindi. He suddenly died in that position in the year of his visit to Kashmir (in 1640).

12. Mobad Peshkâr.

Peshkâr,[3] son of Khorshid, was also born in Patna. He was one year younger than Parastâr. As both are mentioned as sons of Khurshid, Parastâr and Peshkâr seem to be brothers. Both were born in Patna. Their father Khurshid, who was of Isphahan, seems to have come and settled in Patna. He seems to have come down from Isphahan on some business, and not in search of riyâzat. The very fact of his having two sons, Parastâr and Peshkâr, one after another at the interval of an year, shows, that he was not of that belief of the riyazât, which enjoined abstinence from the company of women. Peshkâr, became an expert in Hindi songs (*nagmah*) and verse (هندی نغمها و اشعار). He was specially attached to Mobad Sarosh. He went with his brother to Kashmir, intending to go from there to Khatâ (خطا).[4] He practised the holding up of breath (حبس نفس) to such an extent, that, according to Mobad Hushiyar, he once remained under

2 Sarayâst in Persian means a kettle-drum. So, Shea and Troyer translate the word as kettle-drum. Here, the word Sarayâst seems to mean standing (*istadan*) on the head (*sar*).

2 The words are Indian कपाल आसन, *i.e.*, the posture (*âsan*) of resting on forehead (*kapâl*). 3 Bom. ed. p. 41, l. 3.

4 Khatâ was the name of Northern China. Cathay seem to be a later form of it.

water continually for two watches, *i.e.*, six hours. He seems to have carried out his above intention of going to Khatâ (Cathay, China), because, the author of the Dabistan does not say anything about his death, but simply wishes him safety wherever he be (هر کجا هست خدایا بسلامت دارش).[1]

13. Shidûsh.

Shidush[2], son of Anôsh (انوش), was descended from prophet Zoroaster. His father Anôsh was known as Farhush (فرهوش). He was one of the devoted relatives or allies (پیوندان) of Azar Kaiwan. One Zarbâdi[3] (زربادی) also was descended from the divine prophet (vakhshûr) Zardusht. At first, he had no money or capital (مایه) except the distress of destitution (درد نادای), but, afterwards, he became one of the possessors of property (دارندگان). When both the brothers were in the early stage of destitution, they visited Azar Kaiwan for advice. Azar Kaiwan advised that they may, with a small capital (باندك سرمایه), go to the country of the rising sun, *i.e.*, to the East, and then return to the country of the setting sun, *i.e.*, the West. Thus advised, they went to the Eastern Countries for trade and amassed some money. In the mea time, Azarn Kaiwan died. After some time, Zarbâdi sent an old servant, named Farrah Qari (فره قاری), to Patna, in order that he (Farrah Qari) may send his daughter to the female apartments of his brother Shidosh (*i.e.*, give his daughter in marriage to his brother). Then Shidosh and Farrah Qari again went out from Patna for trade (بازرگانی). they thought of going to Kashghar (کاشغر), *via* Kashmir.

1 *Ibid.* p. l. 8. 2 *Ibid.* p. 41, l. 9.

3 Shea and Troyer give the name Zarbâdi. The Bom. ed. gives the name here (p. 41, l. 10) as Razbâdi; but that is a mistake, as later on the name is given as Zarbâdi (*ibid.* l. 17).

So, they waited for some time in Kashmir. From the very time when Shidosh left Patna, there had begun in his mind mystic thoughts. He took to the religious practice of what is called Âzâd Âwâd (آزاد آواد) or Âwâd Âzâd (آواد آزاد) in Persian, Sut Mutlaq (صوت مطلق) in Arabic, and Anâhad (اناهد) in Hindi. One day, he said to the writer (نگارنده) of Dabistan, that the heavenly light was revealed to him. Though drowned in mystic thoughts, he appeared in worldly magnificence in the matter of his own and his retinue's dress. He said that, he owed his worldly wealth to Azar Kaiwan. So, it will not be proper to ignore it. He must use it in some good way. Shidosh was a selected[1] good youth. He seems to have been a mystic recluse in the midst of the world. He fell ill in Kashmir and in the midst of his great illness, he remained very cheerful. When he found, that his friends round about him were affected, he consoled them, saying, that he was going to a better world and raising his hands and turning his face toward the heavens which is the direction for turning to at the time of prayer (قبله دعا), he recited couplets from Sahifeh al Awalia (صحیفه الاولیا) of Imam Mahamad Nurbakhsh and closed his eyes. He died in 1040 Hijri (1629 A.C.).

Mobad Hosh.

We do not find his name in the list of the disciples of Azar Kaiwan, as given collectively in one place in the Dabistan. But he seems to be a follower of Azar Kaiwan's school. The author of the Dabistan met him in Kashmir in Hijri 1032 (1622-23 A.C.) when he was performing a *tap*.[2]

1 Shea and Troyer have taken the word بهين to be a part of Shidosh's proper name, as "Shidosh Behin" but that does not seem to be so. Behin means "selected, good".

2 *Vide* the preface (p. 7) of Mobad Dossabhai Munshi's Kheshtab, etc.

All the above thirteen disciples were Zoroastrians. Out of these thirteen, six (Nos. 5, 6, 7, 9, 11 and 12) who bear the appellation of Mobads were of the priestly class and the remaining seven were laymen. The epithet Farzâneh, *i.e.*, wise or learned, which is applied to five of these seven, seems to show that, they, though they were not priests, were all learned to a great degree. The remaining two may be ordinarily learned. One of these two was evidently a merchant. It appears that, though it was expected from all members of the school that they should abstain from meat, there was one who did not abstain from meat. Then, there were a number of non-Zoroastrian disciples.

The above 13 Zoroastrian Disciples.

(2) *Non-Zoroastrian Disciples of Azar Kaiwan.*

The Dabistan says that there was a work known as Dâstân Adresah (داستان ادرسه)[1], which gave an account of some other learned Âbâdians of the creed of Azar Kaiwan, and that, if he were to give an account of all those learned men, his work (Dabistan) would grow too large; so, he now proceeds with an account of those who were non-Yazdanians, *i.e.*, non-Parsis, and who followed the rules (سلوك) of the disciples of Azar Kaiwan. He names and gives a brief account of great ones (تنی چند سزگ). I will give here a brief account of them.

He was a fellow student (هم درس)[2] of Shah Fatah Ali. He was of the family stock of Azar Kaiwan (آذر کیوان در مولد خویشتن رسید). So, it seems, he was converted from Zoroastrianism. He was a disciple of Farzaneh Behram, son of Farhad. One night, when he found that a

1. Mahamad Ali of Shiraz.

1 Bom Ed. p. 43, ll. 18-19. Shea and Troyer give the name as Dadistân Aursah (Vol. I, p. 131). 2 *Ibid.* p. 43, l. 21.

thief was going away from his house in despair, he, who had pretended to be in deep sleep, stopped him and told him where his valuables were. The thief was put to shame and turned a new leaf.

2. Mahmud S'ayad of Ispahan.

He was a disciple[1] of Farzaneh Behram, son of Farhad, and died in 1045 Hijri (1634 A.C.). Once, when he went to see Farzaneh, he was given an honoured seat, but a *darwish*, who followed, was given a lower spot in the place where shoes are placed (n'al-jâ). On being questioned, Farzaneh explained saying "external forms are not perfect" (sûri kamâl nist).

3. Ashur Beg Qarâmânlu.

He was a pupil of Farzaneh[2] Behram of Farshad.[3] He was illiterate. The author of the Dabistan met him in Kashmir in 1048 Hijri (1636 A.C.). Farzaneh Behram taught him proper positions for breathing. He never touched money.

4. Mahmud Beg Tamin.

Tamin[4] is a sect (firqeh) of Arang in Lahore. He was a disciple of Farzaneh Behram, and became one of the Yakaneh-bins, *i.e.*, those who looked to the Unity of God. He also was illiterate. One day, seeing a dog in pains, he purchased medicine for him, by selling his prayer-carpet and rosary, and cured him.

5 and 6. Musa and Hârûn.[5]

They were Jews and were the disciples of Farzaneh Behram of Farshâd. They were of the class of Rabbis (ربان). They were merchants, but they never told a lie in selling and buying. They said, that Farzaneh Behram

1 Bom. ed. p. 44, l. 5. 2 *Ibid.* l. 11.
3 Shea and Troyer mistakenly give the name as Farhâd.
4 *Ibid.* p. 45, l. 2. 5 *Ibid.* l. 10.

had an extraordinary characteristic and appearance, which captured, at once, those who saw him. For example, one Mulla Muhamad Sayyad of Samarkand, who went to scoff at him, was captured by him at Lahore. On the very first sight of Farzaneh Behram, he fell to his feet and bowed.

7. Antun Bashuyeh Vavraj.[1]

He was a Farangi (Portuguese) and a staunch believer of Christianity. He was rich, but he became a *qalandâr*, *i.e.*, a mendicant, a *darwesh*.

8. Ram Bhat.[2]

He was a learned Hindu Brahmin of Benares. He was a disciple of Farzaneh Behram, the son of Farhad. He drew one Ramchand, a Khatri (کتری), one of the great men of the court of Shahan-i Sakal (شاهان سکل), to his fold, and both joined together, and made many others, disciples of Farzaneh Behram, the son of Farhad. Sâh in Hindi means a proprietor, a rich man. Sakhal is a sect in India.

9. Mir Abdul Qâsam Fandarasky.

He was introduced to sun-worship (آفتاب پرستی) by the disciples of Kaiwan. We learn from an account of this man, that the disciples of Azar Kaiwan did not ask the initiated in their fold to abandon their faith.

10 Mehrâb.

He joined the disciples of Azar Kaiwan in Hijri 1047 (A.C. 1637).

11. Mâhâh.

He was a young brother of Mehrâb. He was seen by the author of the Dabistan in work (پیشکاری) with Farzaneh Behram, the son of Farhad.

At the end of the section treating of the disciples, the author of the Dabistan says, that, though the later kings

1 *Ibid.* p. 45, l. 21. 2 *Ibid.* p. 46, l. 8.

of Persia adopted the faith of Zardusht, they did not give up their old Abâdian faith, which they called Farhang Kish (فرهنگ کیش).

The ancestors of Azar Kaiwan and of his disciples.

According to the Dabistan, Azar Kaiwan and his disciples were descended from noble ancestors of the ancient dynasties of Persia. I give below a list giving the names of these ancestors as ascertained from the Dabistan :—

Name.		*Ancestors.*
Azar Kaiwan	...	The first Sassan.[1]
Farzaneh Kharrad	...	From Mahbud of the Court of Noshirwan.
Farzaneh Farshidward	...	From Farzaneh Sedush, one of the disciples of the 5th Sassan.
Farzaneh Kheradmand	...	From Sam Nariman.
Farzaneh Behram	...	From Godarz Keshwad.
Mobad Hushyâr	...	From Rustam-i-Zal.
Second Mobad Hushyâr	...	From Jâmâsp Hakim.
Mobad Sarush	...	From Zardasht on father's side, and from Jamasp on mother's side.
Khuda Jui. (His ancestry is not mentioned).		
Shidush	...	Descended from Prophet Zardusht.
Zarbad, brother of Shidush	...	From Zardusht.

1 Bom. ed. p. 29.

The original home of Azar Kaiwan and his Zoroastrian disciples.

Azar Kaiwan and his disciples were from different parts of Persia. Some were from India. I give here, a list of their countries as ascertained from the Dabistan :—

Names.	*Places.*
Azar Kaiwan ...	Istakhar.
Farzaneh Kharrad ...	Met Azar Kaiwan in Shiraz.
Farzaneh Farshidward ...	Met Azar Kaiwan in Shiraz.
Farzaneh Kheradmand ...	[1]
Farzaneh Behram ...	He was from Shiraz and first met Azar Kaiwan at Patna.
Mobad Hushyâr ...	Surat.
Second Mobad Hushyâr ...	[1]
Mobad Sarush ...	[1]
Khuda Jui ...	Herat.
Mobad Parastâr, son of Khorshid.	He was born at Patna in India. His father was of Isphahan.
Mobad Peshkâr, brother of Parastâr.	He also was born at Patna.
Mobad Shidush ...	[1]

The dates of the deaths of Azar Kaiwan and his disciples.

I give below, a list, giving the dates of the deaths of Azar Kaiwan and his disciples. We see from it, that they all flourished in the time of Akbar (died 1605) and his son Jehangir (1605-28). Two lived upto the reign of Shah Jehan (1628-1707) :—

1 His place is not mentioned.

Names.	*Date of death.*
Azar Kaiwan ...	... 1614
Farzaneh Kharrad ...	... 1620
Farzaneh Farshidward	... 1619
Farzaneh Kheradmand	... Date not known.
Farzaneh Behram ...	... 1624 (at Lahore).
Mobad Hushyâr of Surat of the family of Tehmtan Rustam	... 1640, at Akabarabad.
Second Mobad Hushyâr of the family of Jāmasp ...	... Not known.
Mobad Sarush ...	... Some time after 1627, aged 60.
Khuda Jui ...	... 1631, died at Kashmir.
Farzaneh Behram, the younger	... 1638, died at Lahore.
Mobad Parastâr ...	... 1640, in Kashmir.
Shidush ...	... 1629, in Kashmir.

The author of the Dabistan says, that he met some of the disciples of Azar Kaiwan personally. He met Kharrad, Farshidvard, Bahman and Kheradmand, at Patna. He met the second Mobad Hushyâr in Kashmir in 1626 A.D. He met Sarush also in Kashmir in 1627. He first met Khuda Jui in Kashmir in 1831. It seems that, possibly, he met also Shirdush, son of Anush in Kashmir.

Works written by the different pupils of Azar Kaiwan and by Azar Kaiwan himself.

We find the names of the following books, as written by the different followers of Azar Kaiwan :—

1. Jashan-i-Sadeh by Mobad Hushyar (Bombay ed. p. 24, l. 5. Shea and Troyer's Translation I, p. 72).

2. Sarud-i-Mastan by Mobad Hushyar (*Ibid.* l. 6, *Ibid.*)

3. A commentary on Jam-i-Kaikhusroo by Mobad Khuda Jui (*Ibid.* p. 25, l. 18. Shea and Troyer, p. 76). This book is said to be a commentary (شرح) on the text of the poem of venerable Azar Kaiwan (متن منظومه شت اذر کیوان).

4. Zardusht Afshar by Mobad Sarush (*Ibid.* p. 26, l. 7, Shea, p. 77). That the original, of which it is a commentary, was written by Azar Kaiwan himself (*Ibid.* p. 26, l. 9, Shea, p. 84) appears from what is said in the Dabistan, where, while speaking of this work, it is said that it was written by him (Bom. ed. p. 31, l. 14 آذر کیوان در جام کیخسرو آورده).

5. Kheshtâb. It appears, not from the Dabistan but from the book (Kheshtab) itself, that this book was written by Mobad Hosh at the desire of Kaikhusru Asfandiyar, the successor of Azar Kaiwan[1]. Mobad Hosh calls himself Khaneh Zâd (one brought up by the family) of Azar Kaiwan. The book was originally written by one Kheshtab, a disciple of Sassan-i-Panjum, in the reign of Khusru Purviz. Its original name was Garzan-i-Danesh, *i.e.*, the Crown of Wisdom. Mobad Hosh was desired to render it into the Persian of his times[2]. The author says that the name Kheshtab comes from Khesh-tâb (self-burning) which was the name of a fire-temple, the sacred fire of which was self-burning (خود سوز). So, Kheshtab is another form of Khud Suz. The book consists of 47 dalil (دلیل), *i.e.*, arguments to

1 I write this on the authority of the translation—not the original—by Mobad Dosabhai S. Munshi (*Vide* his Gujarati book ખેશતાબ-ઝરેદશત અફશાર તથા સન્દેહરોહ (1848).

2 *Ibid.* p. 2.

prove the Existence of God. The very first proof is that which modern theologians speak of, as the Argument from Design. The translator illustrates its contents, by saying that it is something like the *kol* (word) of European savants, who say : " Carefully study Nature, and look, through Nature, up to nature's God".[1]

6. Zindeh Rud[2], *i.e.*, the living river. The author of the book is Mobad Khushi. He also was asked by Kaikhusru Asfandiyar, the immediate successor of Azar Kaiwan[3], to write the book. It was originally written in the time of Khusru Purviz in the then Persian language by a sage, named Zindeh Azarm (زندہ آزرم),[4] *i.e.*, living greatness. The book is divided into 58 quals (قول) or words.

VII

A FEW TENETS OF BELIEF, OBSERVANCES, ETC., OF AZAR KAIWAN AND HIS DISCIPLES.

I will give here a few principal tenets of belief, observances, and practices of Azar Kaiwan and his disciples.

1. They believed that they were in communion with God and received instructions in visions (در خواب) from old philosophers of India, Greece and Persia.[5]

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1 *Ibid.* p. 5.

2 Zindeh Rud is the name of a river at Ispahan which gives beauty to Ispahan. Of the several places in Persia, which I liked much in my travels in 1925, this was one. (*Vide* my મુંબઇ બાહારની સેહેલ.)

3 The translator in both cases—in that of this book and that of the preceding Khishtab—speaks by mistake of Kaikhusru as being a son of Azar Kaiwan.

4 My rendering is from the names in the Gujarati book.

5 Bom. Ed p. 30, l. 7. Shea, I, p. 89.

2. They avoided contact with ordinary people, and gave audiences mostly to their disciples.[1] They said that the masses are not to be depended upon, عوام گرفتار زمان و مکانند برخلاف تحقیق , *i.e.*, Common people are slaves to time and place, as opposed to truth.
3. They advised people to stick to their own religions. One need not give up his religion to follow their views.[2]
4. They kept their tenets secret even from relatives.[3]

As to the practices and observances, observed by Azar Kaiwan and his disciples, many of them may be termed extraordinary or the miraculous. I will enumerate some of these. We see some of these, and hear of some of these, as being practised, even now, here and there, by some persons. Some of them can be explained in one way or the other. But there are others that cannot be explained.

1. They formed themselves into inanimate forms. If one struck them with a sword they changed themselves into a stone which broke the sword.[4]
2. They divested themselves of physical bodies when they liked and returned to the bodies when they liked.[5]
3. They read the secret thoughts of others.[6]
4. They resorted to different modes of sleeping. One of these, was known as *Murdah khasp* or *Murdah khab* or *Sâônôs*.[7] In this process

1 Bom. Ed. p. 31, l. 10. Shea and Troyer, I, p. 93.
2 *Ibid.* Bom. Ed. p. 32, l. 17. 3 *Ibid.* p. 32, l. 14.
4 Shea and Troyer's Dabistan, Vol. I, p. 105.
5 *Ibid.* p. 108. 6 *Ibid.* p. 109. 7 *Ibid.* p. 111.

they do not sleep lengthwise but rest on knees and with head resting on fingers. They stopped breathing in this posture. Another process was that of supporting one's self on fingers, the rest of the body not touching the ground.[1]

5. They passed their whole nights in prayers without sleep.[2]

6. They limited their food to a very small quantity. At times they ate 50 *dirams*.[3] Some ate only 10 *dirams*.[4]

7. Some of them never looked on women.[5]

8. They created, what was previously not in existence.

9. They knew the secrets of others.[6]

10. They hid things from the sight of others, though otherwise the things were visible.[7]

11. They travelled long distances in unusually short times.[8]

12. They appeared at one and the same time in distant places.[9]

13. They brought the dead to life.[10]

14. They deprived the life of the living by marvellous powers.[11]

1 *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 113. 2 *Ibid.* 3 *Ibid.* p. 118. 4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.* p. 113. This reminds us of the practices of the inmates of some of the Christian monasteries of the West. There, the monks refused to see even their mother on death-bed. They did not even admit within their precincts, female animals. *Vide* my paper on the "Monastic Institution of Burma" (Jour. Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. of 1922. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part III, pp. 130-48).

6 *Ibid.* p 114. 7 *Ibid.* 8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.* 10 *Ibid.* 11 *Ibid.*

15. They understood the languages of (*a*) animals, (*b*) vegetables and (*c*) minerals.[1]

16. They produced food and wines without any visible means.[2]

17. They walked over water and in fire and air.[3]

18. To punish the evil-minded, they produced floods in their fields and destroyed their houses.[4] For a similar purpose, with a view to frighten the wicked, they produced extraordinary huge figures in the air.[5]

19. They changed worthless things, like broken pottery, into golden money.[6]

20. They created miraculously extraordinary houses, in entering which people saw the Sun there.[7]

21. They turned themselves into animals like crocodiles and carried away people from river banks.[8]

22. They threw clothes into fire where they did not burn.[9]

23. They repeated some words and thereby made themselves invisible to others.[10]

24. They appeared at times hovering in the air.[11]

25. They produced various appearances like those of peacocks by putting burning taper in water.[12]

26. They disported themselves in blazing fires.[13]

27. They swallowed fire.[14]

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1 *Ibid.* I, p. 114 2 *Ibid.* 3 *Ibid.* 4 *Ibid.* p. 115.
5 *Ibid.* p. 116. 6 *Ibid.* 7 *Ibid.* p. 117.
8 *Ibid.* p. 117. 9 *Ibid.* 10 *Ibid.* 11 *Ibid.*
12 *Ibid.* 13 *Ibid.* 14 *Ibid.*

28. They made houses appear as full of serpents and scorpions.[1]

29. They laid particular things on the breasts of others, whereby the latter were made to answer whatever they were asked.[2]

30. They lighted a match (فتیله)[3] in an hospitable assembly whereon there appeared Lulies (لولیان)[4] who danced naked.

31. They suppressed their breath for hours together, at times for 12 hours at a stretch.[5] This practice was known as Habs-i-dam (حبس دم).[6]

32. They plunged themselves into water and remained underneath it for two watches (pâs), *i.e.*, 6 hours.

33. In the case of some disciples, some acts are described, which persons of their line of thought may speak of as acts of unusual kindness towards others. For example, a Mahomedan disciple (No. 14) saw, one night, a thief in his house. In order to let him do his work to his satisfaction, he pretended to have been in deep sleep, but, when he saw, that the thief felt disappointed, because all things were put in a secure place which the thief could not trace, he got up and pointed out to him the place where some valuables were put. This unusual kindness put the thief to shame and he left the house without taking anything.

34. They practised long breathing in particular positions of the body. While doing so, they

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1 *Ibid.* I, p. 117. 2 *Ibid.* 3 *Ibid.* I, pp. 117-18. Bom. Ed. p. 38, last line. 4 *Ibid.* 5 *Ibid.* p. 118. 6 *Ibid.*

concentrated their mind upon God and on pious thoughts and personages.[1]

35. Some of them never touched money in gold or silver or copper.

36. They passed two or three days at a stretch without food.

37. Some of them showed unusual kindness towards animals. A Mahomedan disciple of Farzaneh Behram, son of Farhad, sold off his only property, a prayer-carpet and rosary, to procure medicine for a suffering dog.[2]

38. Some of them lived naked, day and night, summer and winter.[3]

39. Some of them, if injured by any person, never complained and remained quiet. One of such said, on an occasion of assault over him : " I am not distressed for my own bodily sufferings, but that person's hands and fists must have suffered so much."[4]

40. They abstained from animal food, and even never killed or injured animals.

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1 *Ibid.* p. 134. The modern school or sect of the Mazdasnans, which, having been once started in America, has spread in Europe, has the practice of long and slow breathing as one of their principal tenets, They also abstain from wine and flesh.

2 *Ibid.* p. 135.

3 *Ibid.* I, p. 138. I remember seeing at Nasik, at the time of the last twelve years' *jatra* of the river Godavari at Nasik, a number of Sâdhûs on a hill, quite naked (*Vide* my paper " A Visit to Nasik on the opening days of the present Sinhast pilgrimage", Jour. Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XII, No. 5, pp. 493-527. *Vide* my " Anthropological Papers, Part III, pp. 149-83).

4 *Ibid.* Shea and Troyer, p. 138.

VIII

THE BASIC BELIEF OF AZAR KAIWAN AND HIS DISCIPLES. THEIR SUFISM.

Persia was the country of Sufism and Mysticism. Azar Kaiwan and his school seem to be influenced partly by the prevalent Sufism, but they were influenced more by mysticism.

Sufism. Persia, its cradle.

Sufism is spoken of by some as Mahomedan Theosophy. The Shiah sect of the Mahomedans do not much believe in it. One may see a trace of pantheism, in it. It is thought to be a kind of neo-Platonism. A kind of union with God, is the principle tenet of its belief. The Sufis use much of symbolism and they explain some ordinary expressions as symbolic and expressive of some mystic meaning. For example, they thus explain some ordinary expressions as follows: (*a*) When Sufistic poets like Hafiz speak of Love, it is divine love. (*b*) Embracing and kissing in their writings are raptures of Divine love. (*c*) Sleep is contemplation. (*d*) Wine is Divine knowledge. An ale-house, which Hafiz speaks of as being in charge of an old Mobad (Pîr-i Moghan), is a place for drinking Divine knowledge. The drunken in this ale-house are people drunk with Divine knowledge. The drunkenness there is the cheerfulness of religious thoughts. (*e*) Beauty is God's glory and so on.

Though Sufism has elements derived from the learning and thoughts of various countries, Persia is said to be its cradle.[1] A recent writer says, "Persia,

1 At times, the whole class of Sufis, and, at times, a certain sect of them is spoken of as Mystics

a country peopled by Shiah Mahomedans, situated between Turkey and Afghanistan, which are peopled by Sunnis, their sworn antagonists, has exercised a profound influence. In Persia, the conception of God as an austere despot, whose chief attribute is merciless power which is the conception of Orthodox Islam, never took deep root. On the other hand, Mahomedan mysticism, which sprang partly from the influence of Christian monks and anchorites in Arabia and partly from the Neo-Platonism of Alexandria, found in Persia, the home of Manes and the early Gnostics, a congenial soil."[1]

There are various classes of mystics, *e.g.*, *qalandars*[2] and *mulâmati*[3]. But a member of the strict Sufi sect is superior to these, because the above two, though they have renounced the world, acknowledge a superior, but the Sufi acknowledges no spiritual head. Azar Kaiwan's class acknowledged spiritual heads. As to Azar Kaiwan and his disciples, their views were somewhat Sufistic with a mixture of some Indian practices of Yoga. As said above, though Sufism has taken its element from the learning of various countries, Persia is said to be the cradle or its early home. So, the question is: Was there anything like Sufism among the ancient Mazdayasnan Persians? According to the Dabistan, it was there. The belief of the school of Azar Kaiwan was a kind of mysticism based on Sufistic ideas prevalent in Persia,

1 "With the Afghans," by C. Field, Chap. XII, p. 183.

2 قلندر "a kind of itinerating Muhammadan monk, with shaven head and beard, who abandons everything, wife, friends, possessions, and wanders in the world." (Steingass.)

3 ملامتي "a kind of Muhammadan monk who conceals his devotions, makes no parade of anything good, and hides nothing bad." (Steingass.)

in his time and intermixed with the thoughts of Indian mystics of the class of Sadhus and Sanyasis. So I will say here a few words (*a*) on Sufism and (*b*) examine the question: Whether there was anything like Sufism in the ancient Mazdayasnan Persia? and, if so, to what extent? At first, let us see what Sufism is.

(*a*) What is Sufism.

The word Sufism has been variously derived, but the generally accepted derivation is from *suf* (صوف) wool, because the Sufis generally put on woolen garments.[1] The principal or basic idea on which Sufism rests, or round which it turns, is that of Divine Love, or Union or Communion with God.[2] All men in their prayers, whether formal prayers or extempore prayers, or in prayerful thoughts, carry their thoughts to God. Expressing their dependence upon God, they implore Him for the fulfilment of their wishes, for their happiness. They pour forth all their devotion in this direction and put themselves into a kind of communion with God. They, as it were, talk with their God. The literate as well as the illiterate, in their high sounded or simple language give an expression to their thoughts. They

1 Some derive it from *suf* (*i.e.*, rank). They say, that the Sufis are those who are men of (first) rank, as they are always engaged in communion with God. (*b*) Others derive it from *saffá* (صفا) "large smooth stones." The Sufis are said to be "the people of the bench" (اهل الصفاء). The Sufis had no home of their own; so they rested at night on the stone benches outside the mosque. (*c*) Others derive it from *safá* (صفا) purity, because the Sufis are pure in character. (*d*) Others connect the word with Gr. *Sophos*, wisdom, as the Sufis are all expected to be wise. (*Vide* Hastings' Dictionary of Religion and Ethics, article by Prof. Nicholson)

2 A lady Sufist, Rabia of the 1st century A. C, is said to be the first person founding mysticism with this idea of Divine Love and Union with God.

pour forth their expression of dependence upon God, and, in turn, pray for His love, for His kindness, what we call Divine Love is love of that kind. It is man's love for God and God's love for man. As said by a recent writer on Sufism, this "religious emotion common to all mankind, is, so to speak, raised to its highest power in the mystics. They are overwhelmed by the sense of the Divine omnipresence and of their own dependence on God. They are dominated and intoxicated by their vivid sense of the closer relation subsisting between the soul and God. They conceive themselves as being in touch with God, feeling His motions in their souls, and at times rising to the beatific vision and blinded by excess of light. These religious experiences were the rough material out of which the doctrinal reasoned system, set out in treatises like the Lawâ'ih was built up. Psychologists have advanced various theories as to the genesis of these experiences....The source of Sûfi theology was Neo-Platonism."[1]

The Platonists.

Platonism, as taught by Plato (B.C. 429-347), who is said to have travelled a good deal, and to have gone even to Persia, was following the teachings of Socrates whose pupil Plato was. This Platonism was imbued with the idea that Wisdom was the attribute of the Godhead. If we may take some liberty of using Iranian phraseology we may say that he believed in Mino-i-Kherad (𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬦 𐬌 𐬑𐬭𐬀𐬴), *i.e.*, the Divine Spirit of Wisdom. To know this, is the intellectual necessity of Man. It is a great blessing. Persevere after Wisdom as you would pursue one whom you love. Such a perseverance and pursuit would purify your soul. That will lead you from Dark-

1 "Lawâ'ih", a Treatise on Sûfism by Nûr-ud-dîn Abd-ur Rahman Jâmi with a Translation by E. H. Whinfield and Mirzâ Muhammad Kazvînî (1914), Preface p. VII.

ness to Light. You will be illuminated. Such a perseverance, such an illumination, require communion with God, or, in the words of Parsi Scriptures, a kind of relationship with God (خویشی یزدان). They are the result of such a communion. This impulse of the soul to be in communion with God leads one to the high ideal of being like God. Unless you are not something, however little, like God, you will not have that communion. Those of the Persian Sufis who took up the above idea of being illuminated by perseverance and pursuit of Wisdom were known as the Ishrâqiâns (اشراقین), *i.e.*, the Illuminati. The word comes from sharq (شرق) the rising of the sun in the East (*mashraq* مشرق). They were called Ishrâqians or Illuminati, because they looked for intellectual light or illumination or intuition and had got some of it. According to the Dabistan, Izad (ایزد), the God of the Parsis, is the same as the Allah of the Arabs, the Para Brahma Narayana (પરબ્રહ્મ નારાયણ) of the Hindus.[1]

New Platonism.

Neo-Platonism is looked to, more than Platonism itself, as a source that influenced Persian Sufism. After Plato and Aristotle, the oriental and occidental civilization of Greece and Persia began to be united, as it were, in a new civilization with a new philosophy, which, latterly, came to be known as Neo-Platonism, which is much associated with the name of Philo Judæus, and of which the foremost teacher was Plotinus (205-270 B.C.). It contained elements of pantheism and aimed at eclecticism. It tried to reconcile the old philosophy of Plato with the philosophy of the East

1 Bom. Ed. p. 28, l. 1. It writes the Indian name as پار برهم نرنجن The last part, Naranjan, is a mistake for Narayan (نارائن). Shea and Troyer's text gives the name correctly.

including that of Persia. Its tendency was towards mysticism and towards theurgy. This theurgy is said to have begun with Egyptian Platonists who took it as a science or a theory of knowledge conveyed by God to exceptional men who practised certain acts, observed certain observances, and, thereby, acquired powers of knowing the future and supernatural secrets.

Prof. A. Harnack thus sums up the aim of Neo-Platonism: "Neo-platonism claimed to be not merely the absolute philosophy, the keystone of all previous systems, but also the absolute religion, reinvigorating and transforming all previous religions. It contemplated a restoration of all the religions of antiquity, by allowing each to retain its traditional forms, and at the same time making each a vehicle for the religious attitude and the religious truth embraced in Neo-platonism; while every form of ritual was to become a stepping stone to a high morality worthy of mankind. In short, Neo-platonism seizes on the aspiration of the human soul after a higher life, and treats this psychological fact as the key to the interpretation, of the universe. Hence the existing religions, after being refined and spritualized, were made the basis of philosophy."[1]

The Ishrâqians of Persia were Platonists.

The Dabistan says:

از عارف بحق سبحانی نامه نگار شنید که در عقاید صوفیه همانست که اشراقیان راست اما صوفیه اکنون عقاید خود برمز و اشارت در آمیخته اند تا نااهل در نیابد بر سنت انبیا و اولیا و قدمای حکما

Translation:—The author (*nameh nagâr*) has heard from Shabjâni, the knower of the truth, that, in the

1 Encycl. Brit 9th ed., Vol. XVII, p. 333, col. 2.

tenets of the Sufis, there is the same thing, which is with the Ishrâqis. But the Sufis have now mixed up their beliefs with enigmas (ramz) and mysterious allusions. So that, incapable persons (*nâ-ahl*) do not find their door, (*i.e.*, way) to the instructions (*sunnat*) of the prophets and saints and ancient sages.

The Ishrâqis are, according to the writer of the Dabistan, followers of the teachings of Plato. He says this in the section, wherein he speaks of the sect of the Akhbârins (اخباريں),[1] (*i.e.*, the followers of historical information, *akhbār*) founded by Mulla Mahamad Amin of Astrabad. This sect was divided into several sub-sects. One of these was that of Matakalamin (متكلمين, *i.e.*, the speakers, the declaimers).[2] Another sect was Hokmâ-i-Mashâyin (حكما مشائين, *i.e.*, philosophers who follow or who are escorted). They were so called because they followed the stirrup of Arstu (ارسطو Aristotle).[3] The Dabistan says that "When Arstu (Aristotle) was the *Vazir* of Alexander and when he went to and fro (taraddud) to the palace (daulat-khaneh) of Alexander, then they acquired knowledge from him while walking with him (وقتيكه ارسطو وزير اسكندر شده بود و تردد بدولت خانه اسكندر ميكرد در آن اثنا اخذ علوم از ارسطو ميكر دند)[4]

Their another sect was that of the Hukmâ-i-Ishrayin (اشرائين). They were given training in the line of riyâzat by Aflatun (Plato) the teacher of Aristotle (افلاطون كه اسناد ارسطو است تعلم و تعليم بطريق رياضات كرده است).[5]

Influence of the Platonists and Neo-Platonists.

Now, it is this Platonism and Neo-Platonism that are said to have influenced to a great extent Persian Sufism. Mr. Whinfield, in his above referred to book[6], thus

1 Bom. Ed. p. 229, l. 18, Shea, Vol. II, p. 372. 2 *Ibid.* p. 230, l. 2. Shea and Troyer speak of them as the Scholastics. *Ibid.* p. 278. 3 Bom. Ed. p. 230, l. 4. 4 *Ibid.* p. 230, l. 5.
5 *Ibid* l. 7. 6 Lawa'ih *op. cit.* Preface p. VII.

refers to the question of the influence. "The title of the book, Lawâ'ih or 'Flashes of Light', suggests the philosophy employed to systematize and give a reasoned basis for the unreasoned 'experiences' of unlearned Sûfîs. It of course refers to the 'inner light'. The Platonists were called Ishrâqin or Illuminati because they regarded intellectual intuition or intuitive reason (*Nous*) as the main source of knowledge, whereas the Peripatetics (*Mashshâ'in*) recognized no sources of knowledge except the senses and the discursive reason (*Dianoia*). The word Ishrâq or Lights is often met with in this connection.....Haji Khalfa, in his article on Sufism (*Tasawwuf*), says, that any one who reads Sufi books cannot fail to remark that their terminology is borrowed from the Platonists (Ishrâqin) and more especially from the later ones, *i.e.*, the Neo-Platonists. .....It was probably at about the end of the fifth century A.H. that Neo-Platonic *gnosis* began to influence and modify Sufi doctrine.....We have (Imam) Ghazâli's own account of the way in which he was attracted to Sufism, and other passages in his writings prove that he used the forms of Greek thought to explain Sufi principles. If it be asked how Greek philosophy reached Ghazâli, who was a native of Khurâsân, the answer is easy. When Justinian closed the schools at Athens, Damascius and his Neo-Platonist brethren fled to the court of Nushirvân. They only remained there about a year and left in 533 A.D. but Nushirvân had some translations of Neo-Platonist books made at theti me, and these were followed by many others, made two centuries and a half later, under the Abbasides at Baghdâd. Greek philosophy was expounded by the so called Arabian, but really Persian, philosophers.....Neo-Platonism, mainly in the form expounded by Plotinus, was used by all the more learned Sufis to explain and justify the simple emotional

sayings of the early Sufis. Henceforward Neo-Platonism pervades all systematic treatises on Sufism.....Even the poets use Greek terminology.....The central doctrine of Islam 'There is no God but Allah' was restated in the form 'There is no real Being and no real Agent (*Fa'il-i-haqiqi*) but the One, the 'Truth' (*Al Haqq*). Allah was not entirely stripped of personal attributes, such as will and consciousness, but He has ceased to be conceived as a purely supramundane Deity, enthroned above the empyrean heaven, creating the world by one fiat, ruling His subjects like some mighty monarch, by commands and prohibitions, and paying them wages according to their deserts. He has become a Being immanent and 'deeply interfused' in the universe, and giving it all the real existence it has. The Koran speaks of Allah as omniscient, but omniscience was now expanded into 'omniessence' if one may use such a word. It was the Platonian doctrine of the 'One' and its Emanations which furnished the Sufi theologians with the material for the wider conception of 'The Truth,' the ultimate divine ground of all things, the 'Substance' as Spinoza called it...The Sufi theologians adopted the Neo-Platonist view that the ritual law is not binding upon spiritual men." (Preface, pp. VII-XII.)

I have quoted Mr. Whinfield, at some length, as he sums up, in brief, the question of the influence of Platonism and Neo-Platonism. We gather the following facts:

1. The religious emotion which is seen in Sufism is common to all mankind, but it is "raised to its highest power in the mystics," who are, as it were, intoxicated with the wine of "their vivid sense of the close relation subsisting between the soul and God."

2. Persian Sufis were influenced by the early Platonism and latter Neo-Platonism. The Persian Sufis especially known as Ishrâqin were Platonists.

3. The Neo-Platonic philosophy of the Greeks first entered Persia in the time of the Sassanian King Noshirwan, who had welcomed in his court the Neo-Platonist philosophers of Athens who were driven away from their city by Justinian. Noshirwan got their books translated into Pahlavi. From the Pahlavi, they were translated, after the Arab conquest of Persia, into Arabic. It is those Arabic translations that Sufi writers like Ghazali and Avicena (Abu Saena)[1], Sharastani and others followed.

As said by Prof. Nicholson, "the Neo-Platonists, with their doctrine of emanation, were theists, although 'the One' of Plotinus is not a personal God; and a similar position is reached in some types of mysticism which are not so much religious as philosophical".[2]

Platonism in Ardeshir Babegan's time.

We have the authority of Maçoudi to say that Platonism may have entered somewhat into Persia, long before the advance of Neo-Platonism in the time of Noshirwan. Dastur Tansar or Taosar, the Head Priest and Prime Minister of Ardeshir Babegan, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, is said to have been a Platonist.

1 I had the pleasure of seeing the tomb of this philosopher at Hamadan in 1925, when I noted, that there, he was known more as a physician than a philosopher.

2 "The idea of Personality in Sufism", by Reynold A. Nicholson (1923), p. 52.

It is possible, that some mystic thoughts of the school of Plato, who is said to have travelled in Persia, may have entered into Persia from olden times, the times of the early Sassanians. Maçoudi, speaking on the view as the "Transmigration of souls" (تنقل الارواح), says that Plato and his disciples believed in transmigration of souls. He adds that Plato believed that the soul was independent of body and passed from one body to another (من جسد الي جسد)[1]. According to this same author, Ardeshir Babegan's Dastur or head priest belonged to the sect of Platonists. He says: Ardeshir had with him a holy of holy persons (زاهد من زهادهم) named Bishar[2] (بيشر) who belonged to the Platonic religion (افلاطوني المذهب)[3] or sect which sect he associates also with Socrates (سقراط). As pointed out by Prof. Darmesteter, this name Bishar is another form of the above Tansar or Taosar, who was the head priest of Ardeshir Babegan[4]. With a change of *nuktahs* (dots) over, and above, some of the letters of the word, the name Tansar or Taosar can be read as Bishar.

Thus, we see, that it is pointed out that, since Ardeshir Babegan's time, the mystic side of Platonism had begun to be known, to some extent, in Persia. So, the theory of the soul being independent of the body, and of its transference from one body to another,

1 Maçoudi traduit par B. de Meynard, Vol. IV. p. 66, l. 5, Chap. LXVII. 2 *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 161, ll. 7-8, Chap. XXIV. 3 *Ibid.*

4 For this Dastur's influence in the court of Ardeshir Babegan, *vide* Darmesteter's article in Journal Asiatique, Neuviémme Série, Tome III (Mars-Avril 1894), pp. 185-250, (Mai-Juin 1894), pp. 502-555

though not commonly believed, had come to be known in Persia.

Ancient Greece knew Persia and its religion.

The learned among the ancient Greeks, knew the ancient Persians pretty well. They had learnt much from the ancient Persians. So, it is possible that, in turn, they may have given something to Persia. John Fredrick Kleuker, who translated Anquetil du Perron's Zend Avesta into German,[1] has discussed the question of the knowledge of Zoroastrianism in Greece. Anthony Troyer thus sums up what Kleuker says on this subject: "It was in the sixth century B.C. that the Persian religion & philosophy became known in Europe by Hostanes, the Archimagus who accompanied Xerxes in his expedition against Greece. In the fourth century B.C., Plato, Aristotle and Theopompus show a knowledge of Zoroaster's works. In the third century B.C., Hermippus treats expressly of them, as containing no less than 120,000 distichs. Soon after the beginning of the Christian era, works attributed to Zoroaster are mentioned under different names by Nicolaus of Damascus, Strabo, Pausanius, Pliny and Dion Chrysostomus[2]. St. Clement of Alexandria, in the third century, was not unacquainted with, them. Later, the Gnostics made a great use of the oriental cosmogony and psychology, as derived from Zoroaster. The testimony of Eusebius establishes that, in the fourth

1 It consists of five volumes, three of which contain the translation and two, forming an appendix, contain his own views and deductions.

2 For the passages from some of these writers, *vide* Prof. Jackson's "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran". For the translation of these and other passages from classical writers, *vide* the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute No. 14, where they are translated by Dr. W. Sherwood Fox and Prof. R. E. K. Pemberton.

century, there existed a collection of sacred works respecting the theology and religion of the Persians. It was mostly the liturgical part of them that was spread about, mixed with notions relative to the magical art. The Empress Eudokia of the fifth, and Suidas of the twelfth, century, attribute to Zoroaster several books, four of which treat of nature, one of precious stones, and five of astrology and prognostics. So much and more can be gathered from Greek and Latin works about the writings of the Persian legislator."[1]

In the account of Zoroaster, as given by the Dabistan, there is a reference to the Prophet's presence before God. God tells Zoroaster, that he is the author of all that is good and not of the evil. Troyer quoting Plato from his De Republica says, that the above sentiment agrees with that of Plato, who says: "The author of good is God alone; but the author of evil anything else rather than God."[2] As said above, the Dabistan takes the people of the Ishrâqian sect to be the "Platonists of Persia."[3]

Anthony Troyer compares Arda Virâf's resuscitation after his vision of Heaven and Hell to Plato's account (Republica, t. X) "of Hero, the son of Armenius, a Pamphilian by origin; *viz.*, when this man had been killed in battle, and when, on the tenth day, the dead bodies were in a state of decomposition, he alone was preserved and carried home to be burned, and on the twelfth day, being placed upon the funeral pyre, he gave signs of life, and, resuscitated, he related what he had seen in the other world."[4]

1 Note by Anthony Troyer in Shea and Troyer's Translation of the Dabistan, Vol. I, pp. 223-24.

2 Shea and Troyer, The Dabistan, Vol. I, p. 237, n. 1.

3 *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 83. 4 *Ibid* Vol. I, p. 304 n.

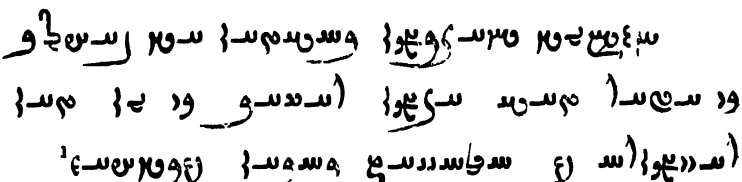
Thus, we see that there was some intellectual intercourse between Greece and Persia, and that Greece knew Iran and Iran new Greece. So, some of the learned of Iran also may have learnt something of the mystic philosophy of Greece.

IX

WAS THE MYSTICISM, PROFESSED BY AZAR KAIWAN AND HIS DISCIPLES, KNOWN TO THE ANCIENT ZOROASTRIANS ?

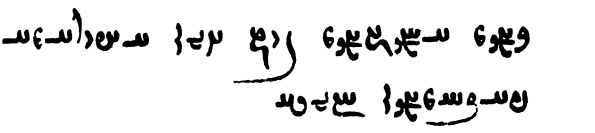
But, even apart from all that is said above, the question rises: Was the Sufism or Mysticism, professed by Azar Kaiwan and his Zoroastrian disciples in the 15th and 16th centuries A.C., known to the ancient Zoroastrians of Persia ? Our reply is both ' Yes' and ' No'.

The principal idea, round which Sufism turns, is that of "Divine Love" or "Union with God." If one were to ask: Whether we can trace some thoughts of Union with God in Zoroastrian books, we may say, 'Yes.' In the Patet (s. 1), known as the Patet of Adarbad Marespand, a divine of the Sassanian times, we read:

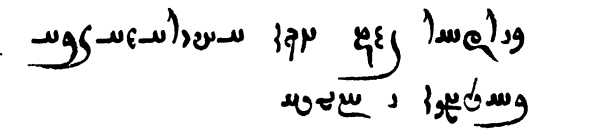


i.e., "To keep relationship (or communion) with God is this: that, if things come to such a pitch that this body should be given up to the soul, I will give it". One may say, that it is with this view, that one is thus blessed in the Afrin-i-buzorgán (s. 1):

1 *Vide* the Pazend Texts, by E. K. Antia, p. 119.



i.e., "May your desire be fulfilled, as that of the Creator Ahura Mazdan is fulfilled in His creation." Again we read (s. 4):



i.e., "Be in your actions, just as God Ahura Mazda is in His creation."

As far as communion with God is concerned, we can confidently affirm that there is much of it, in the Avesta and other Parsi books. It is beautifully expressed in the Yasna (Ha LX, 12) and recited in the Hosbâm prayer, which is asked to be recited in the early morning. We read: "Ahura Mazda .....Asha Vahishta asha sraéshta daresâma thwâ pairi thwâ jamyâma, hamem thwâ hakhma," *i.e.*, "O Ahura Mazda! May we see Thee. May we reach Thee. May we attain Your eternal friendship, by means of our best righteousness, our most excellent righteousness."

The Gathas are replete with such expressions of union with God, by means of one's righteous conduct. Space and Time (Zravana Akarana) are infinite. So, God is infinite. God is distinct from His things created, yet, He is omnipresent in the creation. So, the Zoroastrian view of directing one's mind to God is that of, "From Nature to Nature's God." Even the Ameshâspentas, the bountiful Spirits, are all His creation (man dâmi, Hormuzd Yasht) and He Himself is an Ameshaspenta. The Yazatas are His creation and He Himself is an Yazata. The Fravashis are His creation and He Himself

has a Fravashi. It is He who bestows *kharenangha* glory, halo, splendour to many and He Himself is full of *kharenangha* (*khur*). He is omnipresent in His creation, but still He is separate from it. So, when homage is paid to His creation, then that homage is paid to Him. Threefold homage is due to Him at first (Nemasê tê Ahura Mazda, nemasê tê Ahura Mazda, nemasê tê Ahura Mazda, thrischit paro anyâish dâmana). But, when we come to the question of other particular beliefs of the School of Azar Kaiwan, we have to say, 'No' to the above question.

The belief in the transmigration of soul.

Let us first take the question of the transmigration of soul. Zoroastrian books do not speak of this belief. The transmigration of soul, believed in by some nations of the East, have two forms. One is that of transmigration in general, *i.e.*, transmigration even into animals or plants. The second is that of the transmigration of soul into another human form. This is same as re-incarnation. The view of Zoroastrian writings is against these transmigrations. Zoroastrianism does not say 'No' in so many words. But its views generally say 'No.' I personally should say a qualified 'No.' I will make myself clear, when I say "qualified."

Every religion that believes in the immortality of the soul believes in a kind of transmigration. It is transmigration from its former state to another state. But the main question is: Where is that other state? It is in the answer to this question that there lies the rub. It is a large academical question, suggested by Plato in his teachings at the Academy and it is still an undecided question. But, looking to the question from a practical point of view, I think it does not matter much. One cannot dogmatically say, that the next

state is back in this world. One cannot say "God has destined the transmigration to any part of the universe *minus* this earth." It is assuming too much. Why should God exempt earth, as the place of transmigration? Again, on the other hand, one cannot dogmatically say, that the transmigration is back to this earth and this earth alone, and not in any other part of God's Universe.

Old Avestaic view of heaven.

This question brings us to the question of heaven and hell. Where is Heaven or Paradise? Where is Hell? They are not localised. If one were to ask me this question "Where is Heaven?," I shall say: "Tell me, where God is. There, where God is, there is Heaven." So, as God is omnipresent, Heaven is omnipresent. The Avesta phraseology for heaven is beautifully comprehensive. The words are "vahishta ahu," *i.e.*, the best life. The words do not localise heaven. They say, that heaven is more a condition or state, than a place. The above word "vahisht" has given us our English word "best," which is nothing more or less than the Persian word for heaven, *viz.*, "behesht" (بهشت). We know that the word 'best' is an irregular superlative of 'good.' The three degrees are "beh," "behtar" (English better) and "behesht" (English best). Be good (beh), and that is your first step towards Heaven. Then try to be better (behtar), and that is your second step towards Heaven. Then try to be best (behesht), and that is your third step towards Heaven. Your heaven, your paradise, your *behesht* is in your hands. You need not wait till death to go to Heaven. Do all you can in this very world to be good, to be better and to be best. That is your progress towards your Heaven, towards your *behesht*. Thus, when your soul passes, even in its life-time here, from 'good' to 'better' and from 'better' to 'best',

it has a kind of transmigration from one stage to another. But this single life is not sufficient. Soul is immortal. It has still a future before it, where it may still advance towards perfection, the embodiment of which perfect condition is in God. Addison has, in one of the papers of his *Spectator*, very beautifully expressed the thought of this advancement—a thought which is similar to that of communion with God, or union with God. Imagine two parallel lines. God is at the upper end of one line. A man's soul is at the lower end of another line. It rises and rises to go to the top of the line where God stands; but the lines are parallel and they never meet; so, the advancement towards perfection is, as it were, eternal as God is eternal.

Rise and fall of the soul.

But one must bear in mind, that there is no advancement in the case of every soul. There may be advancement and retreat, rise and fall. A man's soul may advance from good to better and from better to best. But, that is not always so. In some cases there may be a check; there may be a fall. The fall may be from good to bad, from bad to worse, from worse to worst. The same is the case with the soul which, being immortal, exists somewhere, we do not know where. This view of the rise and fall is very beautifully expressed by Thomas Moore, in his "Fall of the Angels" which forms an episode of his beautiful "Lalla Rookh." Therein, we learn, that three angels who boasted and thought too much and too highly of themselves in the presence of God, fell from heaven. On the other hand an ordinary songstress, a woman not highly spoken of, rose from the earth to the Heaven. All these considerations lead us to say that in the matter of the belief in the "transmigration of soul,"—as ordinarily understood—back to this earth, we may say a qualified "no." It may be or may not be. It is *terra incognita*.

Zoroastrian view of Mortification and Austere Practices.

Coming to the question of the mortification of the body and of the austerities practised by Azar Kaiwan and his disciples, we can positively say "no". The Avesta is averse to all these. One may perhaps suspect, that there may be something of this kind in the times of the Avesta; and so, it was for this reason, that the Avesta speaks strongly against fasting, celibacy and some austerities. For example,

1. Azar Kaiwan's school of Sufis favour celibacy. The Avesta is dead against it (Vendidad, Chap. IV, 47).
2. Azar Kaiwan's school favours self-mortification as one of the ways to be in union with God. The Avesta is quite opposed to this view. On the contrary, it preaches *mens sana in corpore sana*. It is replete with instructions to take care of the body. It says that physical health will lead to mental and moral health.
3. They favoured fasting and abstinence from food. They practised these to such an extent, that they lived only on a few dams or grains of food. Azar Kaiwan lived on a daily ration of one dam. Zoroastrianism simply preached moderation and not abstinence. A full meal was taken to be a means for a healthy spiritual life. Pliny says of Zoroaster that he lived simply on cheese. But that even does not mean that it was abstinence of the above kind. The Vendidad says, that the more the wheat is grown, the more are the evil powers crushed.
4. This school practised and preached asceticism. Zoroastrianism was opposed to such a life. It preached industry and hard work.

Parsee view of the last century towards Azar Kaiwan's school.

It seems that the Parsees of the last century looked with some favour towards the broad general feature of the lives of Azar Kaiwan and his disciples, *viz.*, the feature of a kind of unworldliness and devotion to God. They looked less towards their austerities and more towards their devotion to God. It was that view of their life that led them to look with favour and respect towards the Dabistan and Desatir and towards writings of the disciples of Azar Kaiwan. They encouraged and patronised translations of those writings. The Desatir was translated by Mulla Feroze and published by his successor. The Dabistan was translated and published by Dastur Edalji Sanjana. The Sharistan-i-Chahar Chaman was translated—really speaking, it is more a free version than translation—by the same learned Dastur, but the translation has as yet remained unpublished. The Jam-i-Kaikhusru was translated and published with the text by Munshi Abdul Fatah under the patronage of the first Sir Jamshetjee Jejeebhoy, Baronet, and his Translation Fund. Three other treatises, Khishtab, Zardasht Afshar and Zindehrud, were published and translated by Ervad Dossabhai Munshi under the same patronage. Even now some devoted Parsees look with favour towards these publications. The foundation of the Theosophical Society in Bombay, about fifty-five years ago, has drawn attention to, and has led to the study of, these books. The Jam-i-Kaikhusru has gone through a second edition, the text of the Sharistan-i-Chahar Chaman has been published by a Persian Zoroastrian. Azar Kaiwan's school was more or less a Persian school, *i.e.*, a school of the Zoroastrians of Persia. He seems to have had only one disciple from the Bombay side. He was from Surat. We do not know by which way Azar Kaiwan and his disciples came to India and

went to Patna. Perhaps, they came to India, as it was then usual, by sea and landed at Surat which was then the port of embarkation and debarkation. They then went to Patna. Perhaps, it was during their stay at Surat at this time that they attracted toward them, Rustam the Parsee of Surat who is mentioned as a disciple of Azar Kaiwan.

Makulât-i Bahmani, a similar book of mysticism.

It is this inclination or bent of mind towards mysticism and occulticism that led to the publication of a book in Gujarati called Mâkulât (ماكولات)-i Bahmani, *i.e.*, the Eatables of Bahman.[1] The Gujarati book was, at first, written by Dastur Mulla Kaus bin Rustam, at the instance of Wadiaji Saheb Bahmanji Nowroji in 1157 A.Y., *i.e.*, 1788 A.C., and was published with some explanatory additions, in 1842 A.C., by Fardunji Marzbanji. It is said to be a version, as given in Persian Kershasp-nâmeh, of a conversation between Kersasp, a hero and ancestor of Rustam, and a Brahmin. The following title of the book explains the whole matter :—

"માકુલાતે બહમની

"એ કેતાબમેા કેરશાશપ નામાં મધેનાં કેરશાશપ તથા બરહેમન વચે થાએલા દાનાંઇનાં જવાબ શવાલેામેાથી થેાડાએક જવાબ શવાલ તથા તે શાથે એ માકુલાતે બહમની કેતાબનાં બનાંવનાંર એાશતાદે પેાતાંની તરફથી કેટલીએક હેકમત તથા દાનાંઇ તથા ખેાદા શનાંશી તથા નશીહતેા તથા નજુમ તથા શેતારાવેાની ગરદેશ તથા ચેહારે એાનશેારની બાબત તથા દીને માંજદીઅશનીનાં નાંદેર શેાખનેા અને તે વનાંએ બીજી ઘણુ એક મેાખતેશરમેા દાખેલ કરેલું છે.

એ કેતાબ

બેહશત બેહરે વાડીઆજી શાહેબ બહમનજી નવરેાજજીની ફરમાંએશથી શને ૧૧૫૭ ખ્યજદજરદીનાં શાલમેા ફેરદેાશ નીશીન એાશતાદ. દશતુર મેાલા કાઉશ બીને રશત મ ભરવચી. લકબે. જલાલનાંએ બનાવી છે.

1 I am thankful to Mr. Hoshang T. Anklesaria, the owner of the Press, where this work is published, for drawing my attention to it.

એ કેતાબની એબારત ઘણી મુશ્કેલ હતી. તેહને ફરદુનજી મોબેદ અરજબાનજી એ છાપતી વેલાએ કાંઇએક ફરાવીને આશાંન કરી આપી છે. શ્રી મુમબઇ મધે કાવશજી ફરદુનજીએ દફતર આશકારનાં શપાખાનાંમેં છાપી છે.

શને ૧૨૧૧ ઇએજદેજરદી, શને ૧૮૪૨ ઇશવી."

The book is called Mâkulât-i Bahmani, *i.e.*, Eatables of Bahman, from the name of Bahmanji Nowroji Wadia, under whose patronage it was published (*Ibid.* p. 6).[1] This book itself, being on some kind of occultism or mysticism, refers to Azar Kaiwan and some of his disciples, *e.g.*, Azar Kaiwan (on page 56) of whom the author speaks as (શરતાજ બશતે કુસ્તીઆન) a *sartâj* (سرتاج, crown of the head, *i.e.*, leader) of the Zoroastrians (lit., those who tie the *kusti*), and as having visited Kashmir, Akbarabad (Agra) and Patna in the time of Akbar, in the year about 935 or 937 A.Y., *i.e.*, 1566 or 1568 A.C. Its author also, mistakenly speaks of Azar Kaiwan having a son. He speaks of a work of Azar Kaiwan as "મોગઇઅબાતે આજર કેવાન", (مغيبات, Mysteries of Azar Kaiwan). This author refers to Farshidmard having written a Pand-Nâmeh (a book of advice) in the name of Ardeshir Babegan (p. 28). It was translated into Arabic by Shaikh Abou Barakat of Bagdad under the name of Badâe-ul-Hekmat બદાએ ઉલ હેકમત (بدايع الحكمت, Marvels of Science). He speaks of Kheshtâb as having been written by Aspandyâr bin Behram in the reign of Khoshru Parvez. He speaks of the Sharistân-i Chahar Chaman having been written by Behdin Behram bin Aspandyâr at the instance of Mobad Sarosh and Mobad Hush in the time of Akbar. He also speaks of a book Zur'a-i bâstân (ઝોર એ બાશતાન, زرعه باستان, *i.e.*, the seeds of ancient times) containing a letter, with commentary, written by Prophet Zoroaster upon an Indian King.

1 Among the adjectives applied by the publisher, Mr. Fardunj Marzbanji to Dastur Mulla Kaus, the following draw our attention: (*a*) બતલમીહશે અવાન, *i.e.* the Ptolemy of the time (آوان, pl. of Arab. آن time), and (*b*) અરશતુ નેશાન, *i.e.*, having the character (*nishân*) of Aristotle

APPENDIX.

I have said above in section IV, under the marginal heading of "3. The Sharistân", that the book has only three *chamans* that are known. After the proofs of the above paper were paged, Mr. Hoshang Tehmuras Anklesaria, the owner of the Press, where the paper is being printed, on happening to read the paper, kindly sent me a lithographed copy of the Sharistân-i Chahâr Chaman belonging to Prof. M. D. Minocherhomji, which contains, the 4th *chaman*. It is published by Mobad Behram Bizan, Mobad Khudadad Mobad Ardashir Khodabandeh and Rustam, son of (pûr-i) Behram Sarush Takti, in Bombay in 1279 Yazdazardi[1]. The publishers say that the book of Sharistân-i Chahâr Chaman was written by Farzaneh Behram ibn Farhad bin Aspandyâr Yazdani,[2] a disciple of Azar Kaiwan,[3] son of Azar Gushasp, who was descended from the fifth Sassan. They say that, among other sciences, the work also contains the science of Geography (علم جغرافیا)[4]. They then say that they, all the three, tried their best to search for the 4th *chaman*. They inquired from all the libraries of Hindustan, but they did not succeed[5]. At last, they saw Dastur Manockji[6], son of the late Dastur Rustamji (son of) the late Jamsetji Unwala (عون والہ)[7]. Mr. Manockji Unwala showed them three volumes (جلد) of the Sharistân-i Chahâr Chaman. One of these was from the property of Shah Akbar[8] (مالہ عہد سلطنت مرحوم مغفور اکبر شاہ دہلی). It was written about

1 *Vide* the title-page. 2 *Ibid.* Dibacheh, p. 4, l. 1.

3 *Ibid.* l. 4. 4 *Ibid.* l. 8. 5 *Ibid.* l. 13. 6 *Ibid.* ll. 14-15.

7 For the life of this gentleman, *vide* my "Life-sketch of Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unvala" in the Darab Hormuzyar's Rivâyat, with my Introduction (pp. I-IX).

8 Dibacheh of the above lithographed edition, p. 5, l. 4.

525 years before[1]. This lithographed edition by the above three Irani gentlemen was, as said above, published in 1279 Yazdazardi. So, the date of this manuscript of King Akbar comes to (1279 − 525 =) 754 Yazdazardi, *i.e.*, (754 + 631 =) 1385 A.C. Mr. Manockji Unwala then said to them that they may look into the collection of books of the late Manockji Saheb, son of Limji Hataria[2]. They took the permission of the late Shapurji Behramji Katrak (كترت)[3], the manager of this Kitab-khaneh, and copied the 4th *chaman* from it and embodied it in their present edition. The library of the late Manockji Limji Hataria, which was accommodated in the Zarthoshti Anjuman Atash Behram, has now passed into the hands of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. So, it will be well if the 4th *chaman*, as given in the last lithographed edition referred to above, is carefully examined and translated, before accepting it as the real 4th *chaman*.

THE DERIVATION OF THE GUJARATI WORD કરંજો યા કારંજો (*KARANJÔ* OR *KÂRANJÔ*).[1]

For the English word "fountain", we have in our Gujarati dictionaries, ફુવારો, કરંજો, કારંજો (*fûârô, karanjô, kâranjô*)[2]. Shapurji Edalji, in his Gujarati-English Dictionary[3], gives, for the Gujarati word કરંજો (*karanjô*), "a cascade, fountain."

Now, what is this word ? I do not find the word in Steingass's Persian Dictionary. I do not find it in Apte's Sanskrit Dictionary. I beg to suggest the following derivation. It may be Persian *kârez* (کاریز). Steingass (p. 1004) says: "*Kârez*, a subterraneous canal, a sewer; a ditch dug round a field to convey water." Johnson gives, for a "canal", the word قنات *qanât* and the word کاریز *kâriz.*

Then, how can we explain the Persian word *kâriz ?* (*a*) At first thought, one may be tempted to derive the word from کاہ *kâh*, hay or straw, and *rikhtan* (ریختن), to pour, *i.e.*, that which carries water for straw or vegetation. (*b*) Or, perhaps, one may take it as *kishtriz* کشتریز, *i.e.*, from *kisht* (کشت), field, and *rikhtan*, *i.e.*, "what pours (*i.e.*, carries) water to fields."

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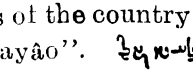
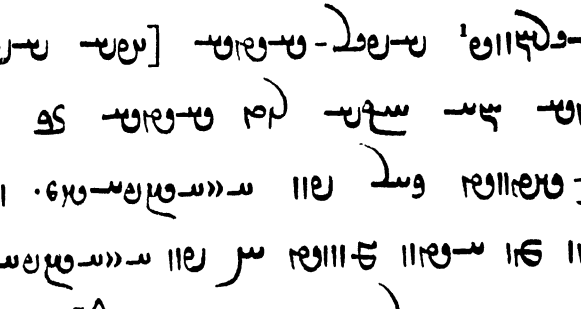
1 This paper was read before the 5th Oriental Conference, which met at Lahore in November 1928.

2 *Vide* Students' English and Gujarati Dictionary, by M. Trikamdas and Javerilal G. Desai, 1885, p. 296.

3 Ed. of 1863, p. 72.

But the most probable derivation is suggested to me by the Pahlavi commentary of the third section of the first chapter of the Vendidad. There, in the original Avesta, is a mention of Aerân-vej as the first, out of the 16, countries which formed, at one time or another, the Great Irân. The Avesta speaks of the country as "Airyanem Vêjô Vanghuyâo Daityayâo".  , *i.e.*, the Irân Vej of the good Daiti.

The Pahlavi translator and commentator translates thus:



Translation:—Airân Vej of the good Dâitya. [This (river) is (called) good Dâiti for this reason, that the river Dâiti flows in that country and does its work by *avae-paêm* (*i.e.*, subterranean conduits). There are some, who say, thus, that, by means of *avae-paêm* (which) they bring, they do work (cultivation) in that place].

The Avesta word *avaepaêm* is a rare word. The Pahlavi translator gives it in Avesta characters. It is used nowhere else. It seems to be some corrupted form of *ava* and *âpa* (and *âpa*), *i.e.*, "below" and "water", meaning subterranean water.

1 Pahlavi Vendidad, by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp, p. 4, l. 5. *Vide* Pahlavi Vendidad by Dastur Darab P. Sanjana, p. 2.

The Pahlavi word *kar* or *kâr* may be taken to be the same as Arabic *karr* ( ), meaning a small cistern or reservoir.[1] Now, those who have seen the *kâriz* and *kanâts* of Persia, know how water is brought to the fields by subterranean channels and other means. So, I think, that the Pahlavi word *kâr* in the above passage has originated the word *kâriz*. The word may be *kâr-riz*, *i.e.*, a canal or conduit, whereby water is poured or brought into work in a field. So, I derive the Parsee Gujarati word *karanjô* (કારંજો) from Pahlavi *kâr-riz* which may be written or . The latter form may be read *kârniz*.

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