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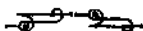
Author Pymaster, R.B. Comp.

Title Writings of G.K. Narayan, N.D.

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Mrittings of G. k. Aariman

(ORIENTALIST AND LINGUIST.)



AUTHOR OF

**Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism;
Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature;
Priyadarsika, (jointly with Jackson
and Ogden); the Religion of
the Iranian Peoples,
e t c**



Compiled by

R. B. Paymaster, B.A., LLB., Advocate.

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Dedicated in grateful Appreciation

TO

Sir Mancherji Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E.

DEDICATION.

Of the many distinguished individuals who took a sustained interest in the literary activities of G. K. Nariman, one was Sir Muncherji M. Bhavnagaree, Kt., C.I.E., to whose memory this little volume is respectfully dedicated.

Sir Muncherji Bhavnagaree was born on 27th August 1851 in the well known family of the Bhavnagarees, his father Merwanji being an enterprising captain of industry. His father had connections with numerous industrial and banking concerns, in which he held position as a Director. He also acted as the Bombay Agent of then Thakore Saheb of Bhavnagar. In 1816 the Thakore Saheb was deprived of criminal and civil jurisdiction over 116 villages and the late Mr. Merwanji succeeded in having this restored to him in 1866 after protracted litigation with authorities in England.

Sir Muncherji Bhavnagaree maintained untarnished the high traditions handed down to him by his illustrious father. After being matriculated in 1867, he entered the Elphinstone College. Very early Sir Muncherji took to journalism and was author of numerous works, one of special interest being a Historical Survey of the East India Company. In 1873 he was appointed Agent to the Bhavnagar State. In 1887 an Executive Council of the Bhavnagar State was constituted and Sir Muncherji was placed as a Councillor in charge of Police and Legal Departments. He reorganised these Departments and introduced many reforms. In 1888 he was called to the Bar and established very quickly his reputation as an astute lawyer with legal acumen of no mean order.

The peak of Sir Muncherji's career was reached in July 1895, when he was elected a Conservative Member from one of the constituencies of London, viz., Bethnal Green. Next to Dadabhoy Naoroji, this unique honour of election of an Indian as an M.P. went to Sir Muncherji. When after his election he visited India in 1896, he was recipient of numerous laudatory addresses. The Parsis regarded his election as a tribute to the Community itself and Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhoy and other leaders of the Parsi Community organised numerous social functions in his honour. Next year, knighthood was conferred on him and he received the accolade at the august hands of Queen Victoria.

In October 1900 Sir Muncherji contested again a seat as a Conservative and his reputation as a parliamentarian was by then so well established that he scored an easy victory over his powerful rival English candidate. His parliamentary career is now a matter of history. Sir Muncherji was an eloquent speaker and writer of no mean ability and his fearless utterances in the Commons soon commanded esteem of his British colleagues. Even in that dim distant past he realised the utility of propaganda outside the legislature and delivered lectures, the themes of his speeches ranging from industrial development and public finance to question of employment of Indian seamen on British vessels.

The versatile activities of this statesman, however, were not restricted to the confines of the legislature. He had a varied interest. He encouraged physical culture, established a Nursing Home in Bombay to perpetuate the memory of his deceased sister Avambai, established a corridor in the Imperial Institute of London, revived a Society for spread of knowledge, served as a Fellow of the Bombay University, organised and was President of the Parsi Association in London and maintained active connections with numerous industrial concerns. He was held in high regard not only by the members of his own Community in Bombay but also by the Hindus throughout Kathiawar where his straightforward administrative measures earned him the silent gratitude of the inarticulate masses. He encouraged Indian students in England and often served as a link between them and the India Office.

Sir Muncherji had a very high regard for the Parsi Community. In July 1927 Sir Muncherji's 77th birthday was celebrated at Hotel Cecil, London, and the function was attended by members of the British nobility and leaders of the House of Commons amongst other prominent citizens. A former Secretary of State for India, Earl Winterton, was present on this occasion and paid a unique tribute to the Parsi Community. He observed, "I believe no community which in proportion to its numbers has done so much as the Parsi Community has done. Its record of preeminence in the communal world in Western India, of educational attainment and of abounding philanthropy is most remarkable." To this tribute Sir Muncherji replied with a legitimate communal pride. He said, "I use no mere figure of speech when I express the conviction that when the sweet dish of Nationalism which is now in the process of preparation arrives at the stage of digestion, there will be detected in it a savour of that pinch of salt and a spoonful of the sauce which the Parsis are pouring into it,"

On 14th November 1933 the remarkable career of this great man was brought to a close in London at the ripe age of eighty-two. In his private life Sir Muncherji was sociable, eager to encourage Parsi scholarship and anxious to promote female education in his community.

To this illustrious personage, as an homage to the high ideals he held in life, to the lustre he shed on the Parsi Community and in grateful appreciation for the kindly interest he evinced in the literary activities of the late G. K. Nariman, this small work is respectfully dedicated.



PREFACE.

In the following pages are collected some of the writings of G. K. Nariman which were either published in newspapers or periodicals as tracts or had never seen the light of day before. These comprise his Essays on Sasanian Civilisation, Notes on Parsi History in Arabic Works, the Pahlavi and Arabic Sources of Persian History, Religion under the Achaemenides and other subjects. The book is a kaleidoscopic volume, depicting the varied interest and versatile genius of this well-known Orientalist and Linguist.

The main object of this compilation is to make available to the Parsi community and to posterity the results of studious researches of G. K. Nariman in domains hitherto traversed cursorily by other authors. The Compiler does not ask the critic to accept at face-value every conclusion drawn by the author of this work. For "Truth is many-sided." If the efforts of the Compiler only serve to reveal one more facet of the many-sided Truth, they will not have been in vain.

This little volume, the Compiler trusts, will kindle not only in the student of ancient Persian History, but generally in the Parsi community, a desire to know more of the Glory that once was Iran.

COMPILER.



LIFE-SKETCH OF G. K. NARIMAN. ,

—:or—

Of the few writers who have attained international repute and yet who were misunderstood by their own people, G. K. Nariman was one, who in advance of his time spoke and wrote in a manner which to many of his contemporaries seemed unacceptable. Steeped in knowledge of Persian, Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic, Zend, German, Russian and other languages, the versatile genius of the late G. K. Nariman covered many fields. In literature, ancient history, modern politics and other spheres of not only national but international activities. The following pages contain part of his works, selected particularly with the object of giving the reader a true insight into the philosophy of life of the author, of his interest in bewilderingly diverse subjects, his scholarly research in ancient Iranian History, particularly of the Parsis—a sphere in which he has been most misunderstood—and to convey to the reader a true pen-picture of G. K. Nariman the author, historian, critic and philosopher. They are in no manner an apology. As a critic said of Edmund Burke, he will be more read and appreciated in the next twenty years than he has been in the past eighty. Some day the writings of this great scholar would be similarly appreciated. To-day, this is but a small effort to reproduce what G. K. Nariman thought and wrote, and wrote with such a convincing earnestness that the pages bear the stamp as much of his sincerity as of erudition, unostentatious as both these in his life had been.

The late G. K. Nariman had a chequered career. He was born in August 1873, tracing his descent from a long line of illustrious ancestors, though in his life-time he ridiculed the fad of tracing geneology upto the umpteenth ancestor. But certain it is he descended from the famous Mulla Firoze, one of the great High Priests who did so much for the preservation of Zoroastrianism in Gujrat and for propagation of its ideals, A lineal descendant of this Mulla Firoze was one Dastur Kaikhusroo who died in 1869, leaving his son Dastoor Noshirwanji behind him. This illustrious personage was a scholar of Persian Avesta and Pahlavi and his services were requisitioned by the East India Co., during the days of the Great Mutiny as a translator. Dastoor Nashirwanji had a daughter named Khorshedbai, who was married to the late Col. Nariman one of the earliest Parsi members of the I. M. S. and father of G. K. Nariman. Col Nariman had an illustrious career as an officer in the army. He

served in the Afghan War in 1880, and in the Burmese War in 1886, where he was present at several engagements, viz., Bauline, Thyatbin, Shevada, Injongan, Awnee, etc., and on one occasion when other combatant officers were wounded, Col. Narinran had the unique distinction of being in charge of a convoy in joint capacity of both medical and combatant officer. As a civil officer he was equally popular. When the Government contemplated his transfer from Surat as Civil Surgeon, the public sent a memorial praying for his retention there.

G. K. Narinran had thus the advantage of high family traditions and good training in earlier years of his life. After his school career he joined the Elphinstone College, where his linguistic talents gave ample proof of a brilliant career that was to be his. In 1902, he was appointed Translator in the Chief Court of Rangoon. It was during this appointment that G. K. Narinran cultivated a taste for Pali and pursued further his researches in Arabic and Sanskrit. On the out-break of the Great War he returned to Bombay, and held the post of Assistant Censor of foreign communications pouring into India through this city. Here his profound knowledge of languages stood him in good stead. Russian, German and French correspondence passed through his hands. This occupation though one for which he was best fitted by his talents, left him little time for his other pursuits. But his industry was great and he devoured in spare hours a mass of ancient literature which no scholar has so far cared to pry into.

In the meantime he built up connections with newspapers in India, in the Middle East and in Europe. His contributions on ancient Persian history, both of the Parsis and early Islam, to the press in India were widely appreciated. "G. K. N." the pen-name under which he wrote, observed Mr. B. G. Horniman, on the death of the author "became the hall-mark of scholarly contributions to newspapers." Besides newspapers he contributed to numerous journals. In all cases he made it a point to carry out intensive research work before sending his material to the press. His writings on historical topics collected in the pages that follow, bear on almost every page traces of hard labour and genuine love for truth. His researches into almost impenetrable sources brought him amazing discoveries. And when any such was made, he never hesitated for fear of incurring popular displeasure to announce blunt truth from the house-top, however unpalatable it might be. For instance it was G. K. Narinran who was the first historian to declare that the conversion of Zoroastrians and

the exodus from Iran for sake of religion dearer than life'—as it is customary to put it—were not the consequences of coercion or oppression of the Arabs. His theory has been that secular motives coupled with neglect not only supplied enough force for conversion but was also responsible for destruction of a large part of our sacred books. He advances incontrovertible arguments and evidence in support of that historical fact. It is for one to accept or reject such theory after perusal of the writings under the head of "Parsis and Early Islam," but this incident is quoted to portray how the author with a fidelity to scholarship and historic truth had the courage of his convictions to shatter theories around which Parsis had clustered many fond, though unfounded beliefs.

His blunt exposition of historical facts however did not detract from his abounding love for Iran, as the ancient Motherland of the Parsis and he devoted the prime of his life to creation of cordial relations between Muslims and Persian Zoroastrians in Iran on the one hand and the Parsi community on the other. To this end, he helped to found the Iraṇ League, an institution which to-day has come to be regarded as the repository of every information or movement connected with Iran. In collaboration with Sir Hormusji Adenwala, Mr. Dinsha Irani and others, he laid the foundation of the League and helped it through its nascent and most critical periods of existence. For years he remained its vice-President and due to his personal exertion and influence the League acquired the status it commands to-day both in Iran and India. He founded a journal of the League and for some years edited it. In later period of his association with the League the late G. K. Nariman could not agree with the principles of his colleagues and the differences became irreconcilable and he resigned. It is a matter of gratification that to-day the work initiated and nurtured by him progresses satisfactorily and the League has become an important medium in establishing greater harmony between the two communities in Iran and India.

Of the literary activities of G. K. N. a few of his prominent works deserve mention in some detail. In 1912, appeared a translation of "The Religion of the Iraniāji People" by C. P. Tiele, to which were annexed Darmesteter's Sketch of "Persia," and Goldziher's "Influence of Parsism on Islam." This work had a peculiar importance of its own, shedding as it does new light on the sources of the Mazdayasnian religion. The age of Avesta, its components, early history of Zoroastrian Religion, the causes of diversity of the Indian and Iranian religions despite their common

descent, the concept of Mazda Ahura, His satellites and the Doctrine of Dualism are a few of the fascinating subjects discussed in this magnificent work. In his preface the late G. K. N. wrote "The great value of the work of Tiele is centred in sound brevity. Just as he has written no sentence for which there is not ample warrant, so also there is not a superfluous paragraph... Dr. Tiele was anxious to see his book read by the Parsis and the main portion of the book is in the first instance intended for our community. And it is produced before them with some confidence." This work of G. K. N. immediately singled him out as a linguist of exceptional ability.

Six years later, G. K. N. translated from the Russian of M. Inostranzev the "Iranian Influence on Muslim Literature," with supplementary appendices from Arabic sources. This work is in part a vindication of the theory which G. K. N. put forward that Iranian thought and Iranian culture had influenced mediaeval Islamic literature and that the extermination of Parsis from Persia and the destruction of a large part of their religious scriptures were in no measure due to the tyranny and intolerance of the Arab conquerors. G. K. N. observes in this work "it has been credited with uncritical alacrity, congenial to self complacency that the Arabs so utterly and ruthlessly annihilated the civilization of Iran in its mental and material aspects that no source whatever is left from which to bring reliable information about Zoroastrian Iran. The following limited pages are devoted to a disproof of this age-long error." One need hardly observe that to-day barring a few die-hards no student of ancient history of Iran seriously countenances the story of Arab tyranny and intolerance wiping the ancient Zoroastrian culture out of existence. In so far as G. K. N. removed this misconception he helped to pave way for a better understanding between Muslims and Parsis. Incidentally it might be noted that the 'Iranian Influence on Muslim Literature' is the first book translated by an Indian author from Russian. Its publication confirmed G. K. Nariman's reputation as a profound and scholarly Orientalist who did not shirk the most abstruse and difficult sources in relentless search after historical truth and precision. It is a sad reflection, however, that G. K. N. paid the price of brushing aside conventions. He was looked upon as a pro-Moslem and as one indifferent to the interests of his own religion. Nothing would have been remoter from this reckless suggestion. The very love he bore for his community induced him to devote his entire life to a study of Zoroastrianism and to researches from Armenian, Russian and other sources still untouched by many a savant and orientalist.

Two years after the publication of "Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature," another momentous work of G. K. Nariman made its appearance. It was the "Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism" a work which is regarded to-day as authoritative pronouncement on the various subjects it deals with, and ranks equal to some of the Brahmanic texts of history of Sanskrit literature. This work of G. K. N. is a beautiful elucidation of historical data comprising the Buddhist literature surviving in Sanskrit and marshals available sources of study of this subject within a handy compass. The publication was hailed as a great scholarly attainment by most eminent authors, scholars and public men of the day. His Majesty, the King of Siam, the Mahendra Maharaja of Panna, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore to whom this work was dedicated, His Highness the Aga Khan, Dr. Moonje and Dr. Narendra Nath Law spoke of the work in highly appreciative terms. This publication revealed an amazing mastery of G. K. N. over this ancient language. The works in original to which he referred with the object of imparting accuracy to his transcription were seldom touched by previous writers. Incidentally the publication exploded a malicious charge often indiscriminately levelled against him, that he was pro-Moslem, even to the extent of being indifferent to his own religion and religious traditions. The fact was that G. K. N. studied the major religions with the devotion of a scholar, with a passion for research that was singularly his. In doing so he often tripped over discoveries which clashed with popular beliefs. In face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, he could scarcely as a scholar conceal historic facts, even though he realised fully the penalty he had to pay for brushing aside fond popular beliefs.

In 1923, the Columbia University Press, New York, published "Prjya-darsika"—a drama written in Sanskrit and Prakrit by Harsa, King of Northern India in the 7th century. G. K. N. prepared a tentative translation and forwarded it for scrutiny to Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, who was so inspired with the effort that he actually introduced the "Priyadarsika" as a part of his classes at Columbia. In the prefatory note of this work, which was undertaken in collaboration with Prof. Williams Jackson and Dr. Charles J. Ogden, the former wrote, "The basis of the translation was a preliminary version submitted a number of years ago by my Parsi friend Gustaspshah Kaikhusroo Nariman of Bombay, who sent it to me in a tentative form for later revision and editing before its inclusion in the Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, This led me to take up

the Priyadarsika with my classes at Columbia, and I have read the drama several times with them, writing out also a translation of my own."

Among other literary works of G. K. Nariman must be mentioned an English translation of "Barthold's Iran," a Russian Work. It deals with the place of Iranian culture in the history of the world ; the geography and ethnography of Iran; the historical literature available and access of European scholars to it. Its chief value lies in a detailed mention of some of the important Russian researches throwing light on ancient history and culture of Iran, which on account of the difficulty of the language were practically left unexplored. This literary excursion of G. K. N. in the domain of Russian literature has opened up a vast vista for research to scholars of Iranian studies.

Besides these works G. K. N. wrote many tracts on diverse subjects, largely, though not exclusively, on Iranian topics. The pages that follow bear testimony to only a few of these. A vast heap of material still remains to be sifted and made public property. "Sassanian Civilization" was published in 1918-1919 in the Journals of the Iranian Association so ably edited by Prof. P. A. Wadia, himself a keen student of ancient Iranian history and culture. The Sassanian Festival of the Spring sees light for the first time. A few of the writings in the pages that follow appeared in some newspapers or the other. This work is an attempt to bring within a handy compass the scattered and the unpublished works which are well worth the trouble of preservation.

However the prolific genius of G. K. N. was not confined to studies pertaining to history and culture of ancient Iran. Politics and current events in India equally interested him. He took an active part in several activities and the Government of India appreciating the versatility of his linguistic abilities set him to important missions. He was deputed by the Government of Lord Chelmsford to investigate into the causes of the Mopla Riots which created such a profound stir in the whole of the country. Mr. Nariman handled that delicate task with the efficiency of a seasoned statesman and his masterly report on that unhappy phase of history produced in the country a profound impression. During this period he was closely associated with Lord Willingdon, who was then the Governor of Madras, and that association ripened into a personal friendship retained by G. K. N. till his death. Of the many persons who spoke with regret on his death, Lord Willingdon, then Viceroy of India, was one.

G. K. N. was also deputed by the Government to make an investigation of the perennial Frontier problem, to trace the causes and make a report on the seasonal recrudescence of hostilities in that region. He critically studied the conditions and made a comprehensive survey of Frontier conditions in his report. One main fact he boldly asserted. The defence expenditure was out of all proportions to the requirements of the Frontier and the purse of a poor country like India.

In politics G. K. N. held independent views and bore no allegiance to any political organization in particular. His political philosophy may be summed up in one phrase 'each question on its merits.' While in politico-economic problems, he exhibited a national outlook, he never endorsed views on current topics of the day simply because the 'big guns' in politics held such views. He ridiculed Prohibition* at a time when liquor shops were being picketed by the Congress, and a mass hysteria swept over a section of the people. While all country boycotted the Simon Commission on the ground of failure of the British Government to associate Indians with that Statutory Enquiry, G. K. Nariman candidly said that he felt that the policy of boycott was a great mistake. He did not believe in the Civil Disobedience movement and opined that it was bound to undermine respect for law and order and make Government difficult without taking India nearer to Swaraj. And yet he was an able exponent of India's political aspirations.

His attitude towards religion and religious controversies was free from sentimentalism or fanaticism with which various religious controversies were associated. In the famous Bella case he took a prominent part. The Parsi community of Rangoon presented him with a beautiful silver shield which bore the significant inscription "This shield is presented to Gustasp K. Nariman, Esq., as a token of high appreciation of his invaluable services rendered and great personal sacrifices made in the defence of Parsi communal interests during the Juddin controversy of 1914, by his Parsi co-religionists of Rangoon, opposed to the admission of aliens into their fold." In more recent times, he spoke and wrote on religious subjects strictly from the point of view of religious scriptures. In all he said and wrote, he adhered to truth and truth alone. In doing so he came into conflict with various types of vested interests, the priest-craft in particular. He wrote not against Zoroastrian rites, as has been often misrepresented by his critics from sinister motives, as against accretions unsanctioned by Zoroaster, which grew round the real kernel of religious

rites. His aim was to enlighten the laity, not well-versed in scriptures, to induce it to revert to simpler, purer pristine form of Zoroaster's religion. He repeatedly pointed out that the obsequies and other religious ceremonies performed from the day of a Parsi's death to the first anniversary, and often much later were not intended by Zoroaster to be so complicated or costly. He once wrote "One of the causes of the downfall of Zoroastrian monarchy of the Sassanians was the bigotry of the Mobeds. They had made Zoroastrian religion impossible to practice. The ceremonies had exceeded all reasonable bounds. If we look at the prayers alone we are amazed at their variety, and if they were all compulsory, life would be a burden." He also spoke on the custom of using cow's urine with a singularly free mind. He pointed out the defects of the Yeshts and the grosser concepts they exhibited. But nothing was remoter from his mind in this self-imposed labour of love than to hurt the sentiments of his co-religionists. He approached the religious controversies as a surgeon approaches a patient for a surgical operation—to remove the atrophy and preserve all that is sound. In the pages that follow a critical reader may see this attitude revealed over and over again, if he has developed the art of reading between the lines.

No account of G. K. N.'s life, however cursory, would be complete without reference to his relations with Iran. During the last twenty-two years of his life he ceaselessly strove to promote a friendly intercourse between Parsis in Bombay and the Zoroastrian and the Mahommedan communities in Persia. The story of the founding of the Iran League has already been narrated in preceding paragraphs. But his love for Iran did not prevent him from perceiving hard, cold, unpalatable facts. When a section of the Parsi community began to make fetish of Parsis' past associations with Iran, he felt constrained to place the blunt truth before the community. During the post-war period a tendency developed among the Parsis to pour Parsi money indiscriminately into Persia. Whether it was flood or earthquake calamity, Parsi money went to relieve the distress. Often the generosity was misplaced and only a fraction of the charity reached the suffering populace. G. K. N. pointed out this misplaced charity. Then a campaign was started in the Parsi community in Bombay that economically and commercially Persia offered "good field for Parsi capital" It was also stated without due care that the Shah was inclined to grant concessions to the Parsi community if some of its leaders undertook to start commercial enterprises there. G. K. N. thought it his duty to warn his community against exaggerated notions of concessions and

commercial possibilities, pointing to the community the exchange restrictions which were then newly enacted in Persia. The main object of G. K. N. in doing this was not to prevent commercial development through the instrumentality of Parsi capital and enterprise but to suggest caution. His suggestions were misunderstood and he was much criticised. The subsequent events have however, proved what G. K. N. in his life-time strove in vain to convey.

G. K. Nariman leaves behind him three surviving brothers. Dr. Bahadur K. Nariman, an M.B.C.M. and B. Sc. of Edinborough University, served as the Chief Medical Officer on the Bhavnagar-Gondal-Jamnagar-Porbunder Railway. He also served as the only Parsi Medical Officer in West Africa on the Gold Coast Government Railways. The distinction is in a way singular, for Parsi commercial enterprise—even if it be in the shape of Manekji Punjiaji's 'Chutney'—is not unknown in this remote part of the Dark Continent. Another brother Prof. Rustom K. Nariman is an M.I.C.E., I.S.E., and an Associate, Cooper's Hill, being one of the first few Parsis to secure the distinction of membership of the Institute of Civil Engineers and one of the six Parsi Coopers Hillmen. He was elected a Delegate to the World Engineering Congress at Tokyo in 1929; a Delegate to the Institution of Engineers (Australia) Celebrations at Melbourne, while in 1933 was deputed as a representative on the "International Congress on Large Dams" held in Scandinavia. He is also a Member of American Society of Civil Engineers and the only Parsi member of Engineers' Institution of Canada. The youngest, Major J. K. Nariman, a retired I.M.S., saw war-service from 1914 right to the conclusion of the Peace Treaties. He is perhaps the only Parsi who served at Neuve Chappelle, Loos, Le Basse, Festubert and other fronts in addition to active service in British Somaliland, Egypt, Palestine and Syria.

In March 1933, G. K. N. was prostrated with illness from which he never recovered. On April 4, 1933, the end came peacefully, as that of a man who had known all through his life that his career was a sacred Trust to be administered for the benefit of his co-religionists, and had discharged that Trust well with a profound sense of responsibility towards his Creator. His loss was universally felt. Newspapers, even those which had been critical of his some activity or other paid a spontaneous tribute to his qualities and appreciated his substantial contribution to the cause of religious studies. The recognition was not local or confined to those of his community. The 'Islamic Culture' so ably edited by the late Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall,

himself a scholar of no mean repute, wrote, "While going to the Press, we have received the sad news of the death of Mr. G. K. Nariman, who always described himself as a fearless seeker after truth and fully justified that claim by his researches. His loss will be felt by Orientalists all over the world." Foreign papers and periodicals spoke in like vein. To the Parsi community this loss was irreplaceable. The *Jam-e-Jamshed* paid to the memory of the deceased a glorious tribute such has been the lot of only a very few scholars to earn.

Thus ended a unique career, in prime of its scholarly activities. The memory of this departed scholar has been aptly commemorated by his surviving brothers in the shape of the Nariman Home for the aged, decrepit invalids and incurables, established at Surat, largely from the estate of the deceased, supplemented substantially by contributions of the brothers. A Trust Fund with a corpus of about Es. 1,00,000 has been created and the Institution handed over to the Parsi Panchayat of Surat for administration. The object of this Institution is to receive the aged, poor, decrepit and ailing persons, suffering from some chronic incurable infirmity and to house them, feed them, clothe them and give them free medical relief. It is the only Institution of its kind among the Parsis which affords shelter, sustenance and medical aid free to those who have none to depend on. The purpose of the Trust is to do its best to make the path of life of those wretched creatures easier so that their last short journey to the grave may be free from those terrible ordeals which have thrown them on the streets or crippled them beyond repair.

To the memory of one who always believed in helping the lame dog over the stile, who always believed in the principle that "What you do unto least of these you do unto Me" there could not have been erected a more appropriate monument than this Institution, which carries on unbroken the main mission of his life.

WRITINGS OF "G. K. N."

CONTENTS.



SASANIAN CIVILISATION.	PAGE.
INTRODUCTORY.	1_13
The Parthian Period	1
Zoroastrianism before the Advent of Sasanides	10
CHAPTER I—THE POPULATION.	14—39
Shathradharan	15
Vishphran	17
Wazurgan	22
Athravan	27
Dabiran	31
Azatan	35
The Professions	3 6
CHAPTER II.-THE FAMILY AND SOCIETY.	40-44
CHAPTER III.-ADMINISTRATION.	45-63
Administration	45
Finance	46
The Army	49
The Church	53
Administration of Justice	56
CHAPTER IV.-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT UNDER	64-74
THE SASANIDES.	
Political Development	64
CHAPTER V.-THE KING AND THE COURT.	75~8&
The King and His Pomp	75
CHAPTER VI.-INTELLEOTUAL AND MORAL CHARACTER OF THE ANCIENT PERSIANS.	89-M

THE SASANIAN FESTIVAL OF THE SPRING.

CHAPTER I.

Popular Calendar Festivals. Persian Elements in Islam, Nouruz and Ruz-i-Qatl. Arabic Sources about the Nouruz Kitab-al-mahasin, wa-1-addad and the Tradition of Kisrawi	...	03—90
---	-----	-------

CHAPTER II.

Translation of Kisrawi's Tradition	...	100-103
------------------------------------	-----	---------

CHAPTER III.

Legends about the Origin of the Nouruz. The Ceremonial Division of the Months and days	...	104-106
--	-----	---------

CHAPTER IV.

The Ceremony of Congratulation. The Congratulator and the Ceremonial Table. Contemporary Analogies of the Custom	...	107-115
--	-----	---------

CHAPTER V.

The Stealing of Water and the Bestowing of a Present on the Head of the Jewish Community. Explanation of the same through a Process of Survival	...	116-119
---	-----	---------

CHAPTER VI.

Sowing and Gathering of Cereals. "The Gardens of Adonis" in Ancient Persia.	...	120-122
---	-----	---------

CHAPTER VII.

Persian Songs on the Nouruz. The Singer Fahlabad	...	123-124
--	-----	---------

NOTES ON PARSI HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

PARSI HISTORY IN ARABIC WORKS.

Biographical Notices of Some Arabic Writers. Moqaddajri—Ibn Khordadbeh, Al Kisrawi, Boladthori, Ibn Rostch Moqaddasi Hamandani Ibn Qotaiba. Yakut, Ibn Maskawaihi, Yakubi, Jahiz	...	126-133
--	-----	---------

CHAPTER II.

Brockelmann's Views on Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature, Arabic Literature as a Source of Information. History-Social and Political, Religion, Architecture and Archaeology, Patet in Arabic History, Fir© Temples	...	134-1,39
--	-----	----------

CHAPTER III.

Geography and Topography. Society and Customs. Haji Khalifa on Iranians ...	...	...	...	...	140-142
--	-----	-----	-----	-----	---------

CHAPTER IV.

Sasanian and Post-Sasanian Period	...	...	...	...	143-147
-----------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	---------

**A NOTE ON PAHLAVI AND ARABIC SOURCES
OF PERSIAN HISTORY.**

CHAPTER I.

Ibn Qutayba. The Ain Nameh	...	...	...	...	148-161
----------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	---------

PARSIS AND EARLY ISLAM.

The Myth of Religious Persecution	...	...	...	...	163-169
-----------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	---------

CHAPTER II.

Uncoerced Surrender to Islam	...	...	...	...	170-174
------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	---------

CHAPTER III.

Some Authorities	...	...	...	...	175-179
------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	---------

CHAPTER IV.

Schisms in Zoroastrianism	...	...	...	...	180-184
---------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	---------

CHAPTER V.

Persian Adaptability	...	...	...	...	185-192
----------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	---------

CHAPTER VI.

Further Evidence of Islam's Impartiality	...	...	...	...	193-195
--	-----	-----	-----	-----	---------

CHAPTER VII.

Islam's Spirit of Tolerance	...	...	...	...	196-200
-----------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	---------

RELIGION UNDER THE ACHÆMENIDES.

The Problem, The Religion of the Iranians in General according to Herodotus and Greek Writers. The Religion of the Elder Line of the Achæmenides. The Religion of the Younger line of Achaemenides according to the Foreign Sources. Conclusion					201-234
--	--	--	--	--	---------

**THE ZARATHUSHTRIAN RELIGION ACCORDING
TO THE YOUNGER AVESTA.**

General Remarks. Ahura Mazda in the Younger Avesta					235-242
The Priesthood in Avesta	...	...	...	...	243-248

PARSI SCHOLARSHIP.

Need of the Cama Spirit	...	...			248-252
-------------------------	-----	-----	--	--	---------

SASANIAN CIVILIZATION.

INTRODUCTORY.

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The Parthian Period.

When the Iranians made their entry into history, they lived under a patriarchal system resembling that which we find among other Indo-European peoples in remote antiquity. It is in the most ancient portions of the Avesta that we come across this stage of their historic evolution.

Among the Avesta people the State was founded on the family (Nafah), of which the centre was the house (Nmana). Several related families formed the clan (Tauma) concentrated in the village (Vis) and which bore the name of the common head of all the families. The woman when she married was adopted into the family of the husband and thereby into his clan. A plurality of clans formed the tribe (Zantu). The most extended notion of "province" (Dahyu) was not yet defined with precision and the word equally signified "people". Finally, the denomination of Aryan common to all the Iranians was their distinguishing mark contrasting them with the nomadic Scythians, their congeners, who lived towards the North and the foreign peoples in the West.

Generally speaking power was concentrated in the hands of local chieftains, while the authority of the principal ruler, the king, was more nominal than real. The principal occupation of the king was war and this military task included for him the opportunity to consolidate and extend his power. Thus in pre-historic times, Husrava, of the clan of the Kavis, seems to have created in the North and in the East of Iran a powerful ephemeral empire which acquired in the eyes of posterity such splendour that the name of Kavis, like the name Caesar among the Romans, came to be regarded as the honorific title for the successive kings who belong to other dynasties. Vishtaspa, the protector of Zaratustra called in the Gathas Kavi Vishtaspa, was in reality only a provincial prince of little power (Danhupaiti).

This state of affairs was clearly marked in the East, the countries of the Avesta. In Western Iran the patriarchal basis of society was concealed partly under a surface which had the impress of Babylonian civilization. The Achaemenide empire of which the capitals (Babylon, Susa) were situated beyond the Iranian territory was but a continuation of the Assyrian, Babylonian and Elamite empires. The political system of the Achaemenides was that of the Babylonian kings brought to perfection by the genius of the great organiser Cyrus and before all Darius. But the patriarchal organisation had not ceased to exist. It was still alive in Persia proper and it appears in the sepulchral inscriptions of Naqsh-e Rostam where Darius is called son of Vishtaspa, an Achaemenide and a Persian and an Aryan, indicating thereby his family clan and nation.

[Achaemenide Persia had seven privileged clans of which one was the royal house. Herodotus is mistaken in seeing in the privileges of these clans a reward for their participation in the murder of the Pseudo-Smerdes, Gaumata. They have been the great clans of the province of Persia the native land of the Achaemenides who originally in their capacity as provincial princes (Dahyupati) were considered by the chiefs of the clans (Vispati) as "primi inter pares". If Mr. Andreas is right in presuming that the six figures placed on both the sides of the throne on the bas-reliefs of the tomb of Darius are the representatives of the six clans and bearers of high military dignities it is easy to imagine how Herodotus was mistaken in including Aspathines (Aspachana) among the murderers of the Magi in place of Ardumanish; Aspachana is one of the six figures on the sculpture of Darius. Herodotus knew that that man was the chief of one of the clans which had special privileges, and according to his theory of the origin of the privileges he has thought it proper to reserve for him a place among the assassins of the false Smerdes.]

Beyond this circle of the greater nobles by birth there were in the empire of the Achaemenides a series of vassals. In Asia Minor, for example, the ancient princely houses continued to rule under the suzerainty of the great king, subject, however, to an effective surveillance on the part of the satraps. But on the other hand, the great king created some vassals by giving them portions of his dominions as hereditary property provided with certain prerogatives. The power of the great families was no more exclusively attached to small villages of Persia proper

from where they came but also stretched to the extensive gifts in lajid bestowed on them in other parts of the empire. People who did not belong to the great families, Persians, Medes, persons coming from all the countries, even foreigners, exiled Greeks for example, could equally obtain lesser principalities due to the liberality of the great king. The inter-relation between these lords and the satraps is not quite clear to us. At any rate they enjoyed more or less considerable privileges, some times probably certain immunities, so that they could impose taxes on their own account on the subjects.

[This is the origin of Persian feudalism. It, however, had not been fully developed under the Achaemenides; the lords did not levy troops in war, Persia having a real imperial army of its own. Moreover, the unity of the empire was preserved throughout the period by a system of centralized administration, by satraps who governed the provinces in the name of the king, and by the system of control which permitted of the king always being assured of the obedience of the satraps.]

Alexander and the Seleucides, the political inheritors of the Achaemenides, left untouched the institutions of the great Darius so far as their principles were concerned.

The political traditions of the times of the Achaemenides were not even abandoned when the Arsacides with the assistance of the Parthian chiefs or perhaps Dahians (Scythians) and their levy of soldiers created by their conquest a new Iranian empire. This empire of the Parthians had a special impress of its own. It was the Arsacides who transported the supremacy from the West to the northern countries which were guarded with a greater purity of Iranian character. The Parthian kingdom was despite its Hellenic varnish really more Iranian than the Achaemenide. During about two centuries the Arsacide kings had their residence at Hecatompylos before historic evolution compelled them to transfer it to Ctesiphon on the banks of the Tigris.

With the predominance of southern Iranians the ancient patriarchal regime resumed its vigour. The notion of genealogical filiation of society was preserved through centuries even after the fall of the Sasanian empire in the Zoroastrian community. In a *Pahlvi book, the

Shaya st la-Shayast, we have the mention of the four commanders, the chief of the house, the chief of the village, the chief of the tribe, and the chief of the province. In the fragments of the Manichian texts recently discovered we equally meet with this ancient classification. At the time of the formation of the Sasanian empire the position of the chief of the province was taken up by the great king himself; the Achaemenide kings in their inscriptions called themselves Kings of provinces (*Khshayathiya dahyunam*). The tribal chiefs were replaced by royal satraps. The same state of affairs existed in the Arsacide empire, the Achaemenide organisation in this point being sufficiently vigorous to survive all vicissitudes.

[On the contrary, the two inferior degrees of the patriarchal system which were most solid, namely, the family with its head (*Manbed*) and the clan with its head (*Visbed*) continued to exist. The religion of Zoroaster is based on family and racial ties. The Arsacides themselves and the men who joined them from the first and who later on constituted the flower and pith of the State of Parthia had been clan chieftains like Darius and his companions before them and the chiefs of the clans were, it must be repeated, the superior class of this aristocracy whose power was reared on hereditary landed properties. On this basis the germs of a feudalism which existed in the Achaemenide period attained their full development as soon as the Parthian empire was constituted.]

The great houses which occupied the premier rank during this period were, probably under the influence of the tradition of the Achaemenide times, seven in number, of whom we know two besides the royal family, namely, the Suren who had the hereditary charge of crowning the king and the Karen. In this class, among the *Visbeds*, was the centre of gravity of the State. It was the great vassals who levied soldiers for war purposes either on the side of or against the great king, their supreme overlord. Suren conducted against Crassus an army of 10,000 cavalry " who were all his slaves," which means to say, no doubt, that the peasants on whom the military service was compulsory had fallen into the state of servitude under the domination of powerful landlords. However, between the great vassals and the peasants there was an intermediate class of small landholders and horsemen and this was probably the class of **Manbeds**, Royalty itself never became feudal. It was attached to

the family of the Arsacides though it did not descend necessarily from father to son. The nobles decided who should be king and if they were not unanimous the opposing factions engaged in combats each choosing its Arsacide prince for king.

The nobles were often governors of provinces where they had their principal fiefs. The governments were in the hands of princes of the royal family and of the members of the six other privileged houses. For the most part the governments were much less extensive than the ancients satrapies, but on the other hand the governors had a more independent position than that occupied by the Achaemenide satraps. It seems that not only the governors of blood royal bore the title of king (Shah), which has always been customary in Iran, but that the 18 governments were designated "kingdoms". The word "satrap" was known in the Parthian period. This is proved by the fact that this word was adopted in Armenia in the Parthian form; but this word was not the common title of the governor. The Armenians who copied all the political institutions of the Parthians employed the title Shapap only to indicate the governors of a very small number of provinces.

The political authority of the great nobles found its expression in the aristocratic Council which set bounds to royal power. Justin calls this Council a Senate and we know that among the members there were generals and governors, which shows that the governments were not hereditary functions. The members of the Senate called themselves kinsmen of the great king and this Council must have been composed of princes of the blood and the greater nobles belonging to the other six privileged families; because among the Parthian generals we often encounter the names Suren and 'Karen. We also know that these families considered themselves as colateral lines of the royal house. Moreover we have notices of another assembly which must have participated in the government of the State, an assembly of "the sages and the magi," that is to say, the astrologers and the representatives of the different religious sects whose advise the Arsacides must have demanded and who must have represented on important occasions a certain amount of religious authority. The influence of this assembly does not seem ever to have been very considerable. At all events we never hear that the sages And the magi counted for anything in moulding the destiny of **the** Parthian empire. This assembly must have had merely an advisory

authority whilst the senate was a real power in the State. The small number of the greater landlords who had their centre in the senate arrogated to themselves the right to occupy all important posts. the posts of honour at Court as well as superior public offices.

The scanty information on the institutions of the Parthians supplied to us by Greek and Roman sources have been supplemented by Armenian historians writing about the organisation of their own country, Being under the rule since 66 A. D. of a branch of the Arsacide family, Armenia was re-organised after the Parthian model. Moses of Khorene gives us an interesting account of this transformation effected by Valarshak, the first Arsacide king of Armenia. Valarshak began with the organisation of the royal house. The chief of the family of Bagratuni, whom tradition assigns a Jewish origin, received the dignity of the chief of the family with the hereditary office of putting the crown on the head of the king, the equally hereditary post of general of the cavalry, and the prerogative to wear the diadem with three strings of pearls with or without gems while in Court or in the royal chamber. The chief of another clan was assigned the office of helping the king to put on his royal ornaments. The guards of the royal corps were composed of members of another clan or rather of a favoured tribe. Other offices were distributed amongst diverse families such as that of the superintendent of the royal hunt, the superintendent of the wheat-granary, the majordomo, of the chamberlain, the supervisor of sacrifices, keeper of falcons, the curator of summer residences, and of the bearer of shields before the king in battle.

[Probably all these families were not all of the first rank before this time, for Moses expressly tells us that whoever received the office of Echanon was raised to the rank of governor and that he who had the control of the summer residences of the king was ennobled "like gens of the royal house."]

[After having thus arranged his Court, Valarshak gave fiefs and governments to his nobles. In Moses as well as in other Armenian historians there is a note-worthy confusion in the application of the terms principality or fief and government. Moses relates, for instance, that Valarshak had given to Gabal and to Abel, the majordomo and chamberlain, certain villages which were called after them, and he, adds that it is hence that the governments were called Gabelean and Abelean.

Without doubt the word government must have been used here in the sense of fief. In enumerating the fiefs distributed by Valarshak, Moses mentions that the family of Goucar became the Toparques of the North but he formally calls this Toparchie a piincipality. And we might easily multiply examples of this confusion which is explicable only on the supposition that the governments had been at least partly hereditary in Armenia and had thereby become actual principalities and that thus there was more advanced evolution in Armenia than in Iran itself.]

The most powerful of the governors were the four Bdeashkh or Toparques who governed the marches situated towards the four cardinal points. That the institution of the Bdeashkh was borrowed from the Parthians is demonstrated not only by the fact that the name itself is an Iranian term but also from this that we find the same institution under the Sasanides under a more developed designation, the whole of the Persian empire being divided under four governors-general corresponding to the four points of the compass.

To Valarshak is also ascribed a series of other reforms relating to the Court and the State. He divided the militia into several classes, he appointed hours for audience, for councils, for amusements, and nominated two reporters on whom it was incumbent to remind the king in writing, the one to do good, the other to take vengeance; the first was to prevent the king from pronouncing an unrighteous judgment in his anger and to call the king's attention to his duty with reference to justice and philanthropy. He created justices in cities and plains and directed that the citizen was to hold a rank higher than the peasant, that the latter was to look upon the citizen as his superior and that the people of larger cities should not conduct themselves with arrogance towards the peasants. All this no doubt is a reflex of Iranian institutions.

As regards the precedence of ranks in Armenia we also find there a mixture of feudalism and bureaucracy.

Faustus of Byzantium relates how king Arshak in the middle of the 4th century after Christ undertook the reorganisation of his kingdom after a troubled period. He appointed Marzbans for the marches. The family of the Gnouni was invested with the high direction of affairs and

the army was confided to the control of the family of Mamikon. "The members of these two houses as well as of the nobles who succeeded them, decorated with the title of governors, obtained the privilege of keeping seated in the presence of the king carrying the insignia of honour on their head. The chiefs of the greater families in their capacity of governors were likewise admitted to the palace at the hour of the royal repast. A considerable number of courtiers performed their functions standing."

If we compare these reports with others of a similar character we see that function and rank were not always so rigidly attached to the same family as the landed properties and that a king gifted with a firm character could effectually control the nobles. On the other hand we have examples of a grand dignitary dying and conferring all his privileges on his own son and investing him with his own charge. The revolts on part of princes and governors were of common occurrence but to dare to usurp the title of king it was necessary to belong to the reigning family. It some time happened that when the king was very strong he caused the extermination of such noble families as appeared dangerous to him, and if it was possible, he profited by the occasion to resume their fiefs and attach them to the crown-lands. The struggles between the nobles themselves were however not rare. At times the head of the eunuchs acquired sufficient power to tyrannise over families from whom satraps were descended.

[One passage from the work of Faustus of Byzantium goes far to put in clear light the state of affairs. King Khosrov II of Armenia, having had in the middle of the 4th century a sanguinary war with the Persians, desired to secure for himself immunity from treason on part of his nobles. He issued an order to the effect that hence-forward the nobles and governors, masters and possessors of provinces, commanders of from 1,000 to 10,000 troops should wait on the king composing his suit and none of them was to join the royal army. In this manner Khosrov regained all the troops of the ancient families for his own army; and the royal army thus created was placed under the command of two approved generals, the two individual greater nobles in whom he had confidence. By one stroke he thus essayed to destroy feudalism in Armenia. The command, however, seems not to have been carried into effect. For, before the death

of Khosrov, Vace the generalissimo, one of his two confidential commanders, united the governors with all their troops to lead them against the Persians.

The picture which the classical historians furnish us of Parthia does not differ much from that of the kingdom of Armenia. The salient character of the constitution is the perpetual antagonism between the feudal lords and the authority of the great king. A perfect type of a superior member of nobility among the Parthians we find in the Suren, the enemy of Crassus, as depicted by Plutarch. *' In wealth and nobility and in glory he was the first after the king, in valour and capacity he was the first among the Parthians, in stature and physical beauty he had no peer. When he marched out to battle he was accompanied by a thousand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for his concubines, a thousand cuirassed horsemen and a much larger number of light-armed soldiers; he had in all a hundred thousand horse composed partly of vassals and partly of slaves." On the day of the battle he appeared well dressed at the head of his troops, with a reputation for valour which ill-accorded with his effeminate beauty. After the fashion of the Medes he parted his hair whilst the other Parthians wore them long and uncombed in the manner of the Scythians to be possessed of a terrific appearance. He emerged from his harem and passed during the campaign his nights in debauch, amusing himself with wine, song, music and love.

This powerful Suren attracted the jealousy of the king. The coalitions of the greater nobles often made and unmade kings in quick succession. If the kingdom of the Arsacides never attained to the force and stability of the empire of the Achaemenides it remained in form at least ever a despotism. The power of the king was not limited by laws and when circumstances lent him a strong position he ruled with all the arbitrariness of an oriental potentate. The king was held in constant fear of his own family for with the innate and almost religious respect for legitimacy which is peculiar to the Iranians, the nobles did not venture to risk a struggle with the reigning monarch without having on their side an Arsacide pretender to oppose him. The Parthian kings behaved with cruel harshness towards the members of their own blood but mostly to their own loss, because generally the malcontents succeeded in finding some Arsacide prince who had escaped the massacre and who was fortunate enough to avenge the miseries inflicted on others,

According to the oriental custom the king was inaccessible. All the strangers arriving at one of the greater cities were presented with a gold statue of the king to which they had to offer reverence. The royal prerogatives included inter alia the right to wear the diadem and to lie on a golden bed, privileges which Artaban III conceded as an exception to the vassal king of Adiabene in recompense for his services in helping the king to regain his crown. A throne of gold was kept in the royal palace at Ktesiphon ; it fell into the hands of the Emperor Trajan in 115 A.D. The king had for the hunt as in the Achaemenide period "paradises" in which were reared lions, onigars and panthers. In consequence of the great role which the harem enjoys in an oriental Court the eunuchs frequently arrogated to themselves great authority and exercised considerable influence on the affairs of State. When the king set out on his voyage, he was surrounded by a numerous suit of followers and bodyguards. As in the Achaemenide epoch it was a custom that whoever desired an audience of the king had to offer presents to his majesty. The private treasury of the king and the State coffers were always the same,—as ever in Persia. The tributes of the subject countries were poured into the royal exchequer where enormous riches were amassed.

Zoroastrianism before the advent of the Sasanides.

If we endeavour to form an idea according to the Persian cuneiform Inscriptions of the religious life under the Achaemenides the image will be very incomplete. We shall see, however, that Ahura Mazda was the supreme God and we shall find powerful pernicious personifications, at the head of them the Drauga (mendacity), corresponding to the Druj of the Avesta, a demon who existed in the faith of the Aryans long before Zarathushtra. We do not find the name Anghro Mainyush, which may be an accident. The inscriptions contain several theological expressions like "the good path" which recall the terminology of the Avesta. But by the side of Ahura Mazda the gods of the clans have their place. These are the primitive deities of the Aryans who continued their existence under this form. Among these is the pre-Zarathustrian Mithra. In the inscription of Artaxerxes II Anahita and Mithra figure for the first time by the side of Ahura Mazda as great universal gods and this Mithra is the well known god of the Sun and of promise which in its Zarathustrian form had just made his entry along with Anahita into Persia.

With all that, it seems hardly possible that Zarathushtrianism was the official religion during this period. It is a significant fact that every

year there was celebrated a feast called Magophonia. It is true that Gaumata the Magian, the false Smerdes, perished rather as an adventurer and Imposter than as a martyr to his religion; and thus it was natural enough that the Achaemenides, and the people imbued with the idea of legitimacy, celebrated the anniversary of the murder; but in designating this feast the "murder of the magus" and not, for example, "murder of the Mede " they emphasized the religious antagonism between the Persia of the Achaemenides and that of the partizans of the Magians, and the joy of having escaped the domination of Zarathushtrian priests. The existence of this feast clearly shows that the magians were not the official and privileged clergy under the Achaemenides. But the Persians adopted successively the most important elements of the Zarathushtrian religion all the while that they remained faithful to their ancient popular deities. They were not afraid of borrowing loans from religions of foreign peoples. We have Egyptian, Greek and Babylonian inscriptions carved by order of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius in which these kings honour the Egyptian, Greek and Babylonian gods with a liberalism inconceivable among the professors of the Zarathushtrian faith and the partizans of the Magian hierarchy. Every year on the first day, Darius received, according to the Babylonian custom, the sanction of his Babylonian sovereignty by seizing the hand of the statue of Marduk. This was a policy ; but it was a policy which Zarathushtrianism as the State religion could with difficulty have tolerated. And when Artaxerxes I recognised Jahve as a powerful god there was nothing of politics in it. Again Cyrus the younger or his protecting genius is represented in the well-known bas relief at Murghab in the form of a winged god after the Babylonian model and bearing on his head the divine Egyptian insignia.

Moreover the Persians down to the time of Strabo, that is to say, long after the end of the Achaemenide empire, continued to bury their dead instead of exposing them to birds of prey as was prescribed in the sacred books of Zarathushtra ; but they buried the corpse covered with wax in order not to pollute the elements in which we must certainly see the influence of the spirit of the Avesta.

Thus the Achaemenide period was a period of syncretism. Zarathushtrianism which expanded more and more among the Iranian population did not influence the kings and the State. But Aramaism, the religion which so to say, is a fusion of the ancient pagan Semitic forms and

which prevailed in Asia to the East of the Tigris, was its equal in force. Of the three residences of the Achaemenides, Ecbatana was **the centre of Zarathushtrianism** ; Babylon represented Aramaism ; Persepolis, the city of the royal race and the great Persian clans, was the citadel of the cult of the ancient Aryan penates. Here is the explanation why Zarathushtrianism did not attain to a dominant position in spite of all that the Persians borrowed from it. Aramaism had shown to them how they could keep open the doors of their religion and adapt foreign religious ideas. If Darius and his successors are represented in the bas reliefs over their tombs standing before the fire altar, it does not necessarily show that these kings were Zarathushtrians. The cult of fire was pre-Zarathushtrian ; it rather would appear that it was effaced to a certain degree by the reforms of Zarathushtra in order later on again to recover its lost ground.

Hence the assertion of Isidore of Characene that a fire-temple was situated at Asaak, the place from which the Arsasides started on their invasion, is equally without value for the solution of the problem of the religion of the Arsacides. As a matter of fact it is evident that the position of Zarathushtrianism was the same under the Parthian rule as under the Achaemenides ; only, there was by the side of Aramaism a new current of Hellenism. When the Greek and Roman authors mention the Magians during the Parthian period they make use of this well-known term to designate all sorts of oriental priests, astrologers and divines. It is not, therefore, certain that it is a question of Zarathushtrian priests when we have mention of " the Council of the sages and the Magians " any more than when we are told that the king in the presence of the Magians immolated a horse. However we perceive the influence of Zarathushtrian ideas. Gutschmid, for instance, has noted that the Parthian king Tiridate going to Rome took the land route in order not to pollute the waters. But Parsism was not the official religion ; the intolerance which asserts itself as soon as Zarathushtrianism became the religion of the State under the Sasanians was unknown during the Parthian ages. The coins and the works of art belonging to the Arsacides bear the images of Hellenic gods just as Achaemenide art was influenced by Babylon.

The religious syncretism is still more marked in the East of Iran **where the Indo-Scythian coins show a pantheon of Iranian, Greek, Zarathushtrian and Buddhist deities as well as gods belonging to the**

peoples of central Asia. Nershakhi, the chronicler of the city of Bokhara, tells us that there was in former times in Bokhara a cult of the moon in connection with which there were sold idols probably Buddhistic. Later on when Zarathushtrianism got access to the city it was confounded with the ancient cults and the sale of the gods was held jointly with the service of the new temple to fire. When several centuries later, Islam was introduced the fire-temple was replaced by a mosque which was called the "Mosque of the Moon." If there has been so much discussion without any result regarding the religion of the Achaemenides and the Arsacides it is because this tendency to syncretism and eclecticism in matters of religion, which is so common and so marked throughout Iran, has not been well comprehended.

One further proof that Parsism was not the State religion before the advent of the Sasanides is furnished to us by Parsi tradition. This tradition, which appertains as much to Pahlavi books as to Firdawsi, is aware of the ancient legendary history of the North and East of Iran which was connected with the history of the Zarathushtrian religion. After Zarathushtra there is an enormous lacuna up to the creation of the new Persian Empire by the Sasanian Ardashir Papakan. The Achaemenide and the Parthian periods have been ignored by tradition as epochs foreign to Parsism,

Finally in order to comprehend the situation in which Zarathushtrianism lived during so many centuries, being the popular faith of the greater portion of Iran without being recognised as official religion, let us call to mind the Shiahism which was equally during centuries the religion of the majority of Persians all the while that one dynasty after another of the Sunni profession succeeded to the throne of Persia till Ismail of the Sefi line, following the example of Ardashir Papakhan, raised the popular faith to the rank of State religion and founded a national empire on the Shia clergy of the nation. The parallel is sufficiently striking ; only the Shiahism of the middle ages was more exposed to persecution than Zarathushtrianism under the Achaemenides and the Arsacides, since Sunnism which reigned in the middle ages was fanatic and ancient Persia had no official theology to serve as a point d'appui for religious fanaticism.

Chapter I.

The Population.

In the new empire we find the social division based on holy scriptures but having undergone certain changes. At first three or four states are mentioned. On one occasion only in the Avesta the following four are enumerated:-1. The preacher (Athrava), 2. the warrior (Rathaesto), 3. the Agriculturist (Vastroyo Fshuyons), 4. the artisan (Huiti). Elsewhere the two last classes are united in a single position, namely the third.

In the Pahlavi theological literature the ancient division in four states is preserved but the practical life had created a new classification in four, the writers having entered the third class and the peasant and artisans forming the fourth. The social division was thus accommodated to the political situation and under the Sasanides there were these four great classes: 1. the state of the ecclesiastic (Athraivan), 2. the warrior (Arteshtar), 3. the bureaucracy (Dabiran), 4. the people (the peasants, Vastrioshan, and the artisans and citizens, Hutukhshan). Each of these classes is further subdivided into several more, the clergy into judges (Dadvar), preachers (the lowest and the most numerous class is that of the magians, mogh, then come the mobeds, the herbeds, and diverse preachers with special functions), supervisors (Dastur) and preceptors (Mogan-andarzbed). The military state consisted of cavalry and infantry, each having its own rank and peculiar function. The writer class is divided into secretaries, accountants, editors of judgments, diplomas, contracts and biographers as well as physicians, poets and astrologers. Finally the common people are composed of tradesmen, cultivators, brokers, and the followers of various other professions.

Each class has its own head, the clergy have their mobedan mobed, the warriors their Iran-spahbed, the secretaries have their Iran-dabirbed, sometimes also called dabiran mehisht, the fourth state their vastrio shanslar otherwise called vastrioshbed or hutukhshbed. Each chief has under him a controller charged with the supervision of his estate, then an inspector whose duty it was to examine the income of every individual (his title was perhaps hamarkar), finally an instructor to teach every one from childhood an art or a profession in order to enable him to gain his livelihood **in peace**. (Andarzbed).

Another social division of the earlier ages of the Sasanian epoch is without doubt a heritage from the Parthians. We find it in the bilingual inscription of Haji Abad in which King Shapur I recounts to us his celebrated feat with a bow drawn in the presence of the princes of the empire (Shathradhran) the sons of the clans (Vispuhran) the nobles (Vazurgan) and the freemen (Azatan). It is difficult to define the relation between this division which comprises only the privileged classes and the classification into the states. In fine the order of the rank was a very complex matter and it was registered, possibly annually, in a royal almanac (ayinnamagh or gahna magh).

It seems that the old division by the state was resented in the later centuries of the Sasanide period as something abstract and purely theoretical. The heads of the four classes had become more of the great officers of the empire and ministers than representatives of class interests. The clergy and the secretaries had become members of the class of the Vazurgan and the reform in the army introduced by Khusrau I created a new distinction between the landed high nobility and the officers and the military lords of a much lower rank, the cavaliers. Thus we understand that one passage in the Letter of Tansar does not speak of the four classes but only of the three namely the nobles, the soldiers and the people.

The confusion and the apparent contradictions in the social and political divisions of the nation are directly connected with the peculiar form of combination of feudalism and bureaucratic despotism which the empire of the Sasanides had inherited from the Parthians. It is the antagonism between these two elements which characterizes the social and political evolution from the times of Ardeshir Papakan to the days of Khusrau.

The members of the first class in the Sasanide state bore the title of king which justified the official title of the King of Persia, that of, king of kings. This class contained in the first place the vassal princes who reigned at the extremities of the empire, the kinglets who had placed themselves under the protection of the King of Persia and to whom the great King of Persia had assured in return royalty for themselves and their successors with obligation of putting their troops at the disposal of the sovereign and perhaps of paying a certain amount of tribute. The Letter

of Tansar says this to Ardeshir. " We shall not deprive any one of the title of king who comes to us to offer his submission and will restore, the highway of obedience". The most famous of these vassal kings were the Arab kings of Hira. Ammien Marcellinus mentions among the followers of Shapur II the Kings of Chionites and the Albans. There was in Mesopotamia a certain king Pular vassal of Shapur whose children bore Persian names. In the first days of Sasanian domination Armenia under Arsacide kings was a vassal state of the great king till the year 430 when it was made a province of Persian empire and placed under the governance of a Marzban.

Of the same rank with these royal families were certain Marzbans (Margraves) whose provinces were particularly exposed to attacks and whom it was necessary to reward for their activity in the defence of the frontiers. At the time of Khusrau I according to the letter of Tansar there were only three hereditary Marzbanats the titularies of which bore the name of king namely that of the northwest on the frontier of Alanans and Khazares, that of the West to a certain extent specially exposed to the Roman frontier and that of Khwarezm (against the Turks).

To these were added the governors who belonged to the royal family. According to the ancient custom which is maintained to the present day the sons of kings received the governments and especially the princes who could aspire to inherit some day the throne of the great king had to exercise themselves by governing an important province to fit themselves for their future royal occupation. The nobles desiring to exclude Bahram V from the succession brought forward the pretext that " he had not governed a province so that they could not know what sort of person he was". Among the Sasanide kings Hormazd I had been governor of Khorasan before his accession to the throne, Bahram III had been governor of Seistan, Ardeshir II governor of Adiabene, Bahram IV of Kerman (Kermanshah), and Hormizd III of Seistan (Saganshah) but political reasons demanded that these governors of the royal race should not possess their provinces as hereditary functionaries and that the great king was empowered to replace them as appeared to him proper in the interests of the state. For these princes the name of King was only a title which secured them a place in the premier rank of the high society. It is however to be considered that during the decadence of the royal power after the deprivation of Kousrou II the royal princes

as well as other nobles had succeeded in establishing themselves in certain provinces where they must have carved out for themselves petty hereditary principalities. It is thus that we are enabled to understand the existence of a number of small vassal kings at the time of the Arab conquest.

All the Shathradhars were obliged to repair to the Court, each according to his turn, to present his duties ; but they were not necessarily entrusted with particular functions " for if they pretended to dignities they should fall into quarrels, struggles, conflicts, intrigues all their dignity would be lost and they would be degraded in the eye of public opinion."

At the time of the Arab conquest there were following kinglets in Iran of whom each had a special title: the king of Neshapur, Kanar; of Merv, Mahoe; of Serakhs, Zadoe; of Abivird, Bahmana; of Nisa, Baraz; of Gharshistan, Baraz-banda; of Mervi-rud, Kilan; of Zabulistan, Peroz; of Kabul, Kabulshah; of Tirmidz, Tirmiz-shah; of Bamiyan, Sherbamf-yanjofSoghd, Peroz or Ikshesh; of Ferghana, Ikshesh; of Revsharan, Revsher; of Gozgan, Gozgankhoda; of Khwarezn, Khusrakhtar; of Khottal Khottalanshah; of Bukhara, Bukhar Khoda; of Ustrushana, Afsin; of Samarcand, Tarkhan; of Seistan; of Arachosia; of Oflawer, Rotbil; of Wardana, Wardanshah; of Herat; of Pushang and Badghesh; of Kish, Naidun, ofGorgan, Sui; of Transoxania, Kushanshah. Certain among these kings especially of the north-eastern countries were probably Turks by nationality.

The Sasanides inherited the feudal system from the Arsacides. Also in the new empire founded by Ardeshir we once more come across in the second place in the order

Vishphwn. of rank the powerful class of the chiefs of clans at the head of which were the seven privileged families. Of these at least three had already occupied a pre-eminent position under the Parthians, namely, Karen, Suren and Aspahbed who all were of Arsacide blood and bore the surname of Pahlav i. e., Parthian; and descent from the Parthian dynasty was considered a mark of distinction so that the rest of the seven privileged families of the Sasanide period like the house Spendiary and the house of Mihran attributed to themselves an Arsacide extraction.

The first of these seven families was the reigning house, the Sassanides, the other six were Karen, Pahlav Suren Pahlav, Aspahbud Pahlav, Spendiyar, Mihran and possibly Zik. According to Tabiri (Noeldeke, p. 37) Karen resided somewhere near Nehavend in Media, Suren in Seistan, Spendiyar round about Rai or Regha, near modern Tehran and Aspahbed in Dehistan in the country of Gorgan. On the other part we know that Sokhra of the family of Karen originally belonged to Shiraz in the district of Ardeshir-Khurra, that is to say, Persia proper (Noeldeke, pp. 121 and 126); that a river near Rai and a village near Neshapur were called after Suren (Noeldeke, p. 439); that Mahir Narse of the race of Spendiyar originally belonged to the village of Abruva in the district of Dasht-i-barin in the canton of Ardeshir-Khurra in Persia, and that he had inherited from his ancestors both this village and the village of Gireh in the neighbouring canton the canton of Shapur (Noeldeke, p. 11). Of the members of the family of Mihran, Bahram Chobin (Noeldeke, p. 270) and Pirangushnasp Gregory (Hoffmann, *Auszude Aus Syr Akten*, p. 78) were of Rai origin, but the river Mihran in Pars was named after this family (Noeldeke, p. 140). I conclude from this that the possessions of the Vispuhrs were dispersed in different parts of the empire perhaps principally in the Medo-Parthian lands which had formed the nucleus of the Arsacide empire and in Persia proper the native land of the Sassanides. This is also probably one of the principal causes why the superior landlords assumed during this period more and more the character of a Court nobility. The ancient connection of the Visbedes or Vispuhrs with the village (Vis) was not lost so long as the ancient society existed for whenever the place of the origin of one of these landed proprietors is mentioned it is generally a village that is named.

The feudal nobility was undoubtedly not composed exclusively of the seven great families. Faustus of Byzantium mentions a general by the name of Dmavund, whose family name was Kavoskan, probably after the legendary Kai Kavos. A number of patronymics having the termination must have designated feudatory families or the various branches of such families. Still on the whole the portions of the country which were in the hands of the higher nobility in their capacity as fiefs could hardly have been of considerable extent in comparison with the portion directly dependent upon the State; and this latter was administered by royal governors.

The great families were registered in the books and the archives, and royalty took care to assure itself of their existence lest the common people

who were independent should purchase the properties of the nobles. Nevertheless certain families did vanish in the course of centuries and on the other hand the king exercised without doubt his right to elevate other families to the rank of feudal nobles. "The ruin of the family and the hierarchy is accomplished in two ways" says Tansar's Letter "sometimes it is the men who ruin a house and transfer the rank elsewhere, sometimes it is an act only of time which without the effort of strangers deprives it of its reputation, glory and power. Unworthy generations appear impregnated with ignoble morals oblivious of the dignity of their rank and lose all value in the eyes of the people. Exactly like the people of vulgar occupations they are absorbed in acquiring property and no more anxious to amass the treasure of good renown. They comeingle with the baser classes, associate no more with their equals and from such unions are produced villains who degrade the position of the family."

As regards the life of the higher rank of nobles and the way in which they cultivated their lands very few details have come down to us. A very interesting notice on the premier minister Mahr Narse and his family is given by Tabri (Noeld. pp: 109 to 112). In his villages of Abruvan and Graeh this powerful man caused to be built lofty edifices and a fire temple which existed through centuries after the close of the Sasanide empire and which was called after the name of its builder the Mahr Narsiyān, In the vicinity of Abruvan he founded four villages. One of these he kept for himself naming it Fraz-Mara-Avar-Khudeya (Come to me Oh Lord) and gave to the three others names of Zarvandadan, of Kardaran and of Mahgushnasp, assigning them to his three sons, Zarvandad, Kardar and Mahgushnasp, for whom he reserved besides three of the highest offices in the state. In the same region he planted three gardens of which the first contained 12,000 date palms, the second 12,000 olive trees, and the third 12,000 cypruses. And all this was still in existence in the 9th century after Christ as an evidence of the activity of Mahr Narse and was still in the hands of his descendants. Evidently Mahr Narse was a model of Iranian patriarch who though the weight of the government fell on him did not neglect to take care of his lands and to work for its prosperity with a view to a far off future. We must believe that occupied with the duties of offices, titles and rank and attracted by the brilliance of the Court and the Capital the majority of wealthy land-owners did not cherish an equally ardent solicitude for the interests of their country houses.

the acts of Christian martyrs supply us certain interesting particulars. After the death of Shahren of the family of Mihran his brother sent messengers to look for the son of the deceased, Gushnyazdad (Saint Sabha) who must direct on the day of offerings the ceremonies of the sacred feast on the family lands a representative duty which was incumbent on the Visbed even when he was a minor as happened in the present case. When his uncle who was a tutor of Gushnyazdad learnt that he had embraced the Christian faith he considered himself the legitimate possessor of the family properties. From this we may suppose that apostasy led at least during certain periods of the Sasanide rule to the forfeiture of hereditary fiefs which then devolved upon the next heirs. In the present case the uncle dying a few days later Gushnyazdad took possession of the fortune which he distributed among the poor.

It is related of Mihrangushnasp (Saint Giwargis) who belonged to the royal race and whose father had been the Ostanvar of Nisibis and grandfather prefect of New Antiochia founded by Khusrau I (Noeld. p. 165) that his family lands were the village of Pakorya in the district of Naneshtar in Babylonia and that he possessed according to the custom of the great lords a magnificent house in the capital. When the plague broke out there Mihrangushnasp who had not yet turned Christian took flight as the average pagan did, maliciously adds the Christian author, to other countries. He had entrusted the supervision of his villages and "of his other slaves" to a Christian. The explanation of this singular expression is probably that the village peasants were serfs whose situation was not much different from that of the private slaves of the wealthy lord. It was in fact the same state of affairs which we already noticed under the Parthian domination.

We have no precise information touching the privileges enjoyed by the feudatories. We are not aware whether the royal governor had any authority over the fiefs situated in his government or whether they enjoyed full or partial immunity. What however we know for certain is that the people had to pay imposts to the territorial lords or to the state or rather to both and that military service under the command of their lord was obligatory on them.

Under the Sasanides we encounter the ancient custom by which certain offices appertain hereditarily to the heads of the seven premier houses. Theophylact (III,8) informs us as to the nature of these hereditary dignities; "the family called Artabides possesses royal dignity

and it is also charged with the function of placing the crown on the king's head; another is at the head of the military affairs; one more supervises civil transactions; another looks after the cases of those who are fighting over something and who desire an arbiter; the fifth commands the cavalry; the sixth looks to the taxes of the subjects and superintends the royal treasury and the seventh has the care of military arms and equipments."

The Greek Artabides is a corruption of Argabides, the original of which was Argabed, a term which primarily signified the commander of a fortress and which latterly came to designate an important military office. As Ardeshir Papakan bore this title it was attached in the new empire to the royal family as the highest military title. The function of crowning the king must have belonged to a colateral line of the royal family or to a near relation of the king. At a time when the power of the king was considerably enfeebled and that of the clergy was in its zenith, on the accession of Bahram V the Mobedan mobed (the high priest) placed as an exception the crown on the head of the king, and we may suppose that this great dignity always enjoyed an important role at the coronation as one who conveyed to this solemn act the sanction of the official church.

Of the other hereditary offices mentioned by Theophylact three are military and three civil. The military offices are the Commander-in-chief (Eram-Spahbed) the Captain of the cavalry (Aspabad) and the Controller of Magazine (Iran-Ambaragbed). If we believe a remark of Procopius that the office of Chanaranges (i. e., Strategos) was one of those which were hereditary in certain families we must suppose that this was another designation of a head of military treasures.

It is difficult to decide to which family each of the offices belonged. We know that the dignity of the Argabed was attached to the house of the Sasanides and we might consider it probable that the post of Iran-spahbed appertained to the family of the Aspahdes. Finally from the fact that the names of Suren and Mahran often figure among the Captains of the Persian armies we might conclude that each of these two houses had one of the other two military offices. It is however but a supposition, proofs in support of which are lacking. As regards the distribution of the civil posts we know absolutely nothing.

Everything considered the hereditary offices **royalty itself not included** were highly important and distinguished situations yet certainly **not the** highest nor the most important. That the premier post of **the** empire **that** of the prime minister was transmitted from father to son in such a way that the king had no choice, and that at the most he could have his grand vazier assassinated in order to facilitate the succession of his eldest son-such an institution would have been incompatible with the absolute government which was in fact the basis of the Persian state, such an institution would in a short time have landed the empire in ruin. The hereditary offices in the Sasanide empire were positions of honour indicating the privileged position of the seven first families, but their power rested equally on the revenues of their fiefs, and at least for the period preceding Kavad and Khusrau I on the force of the feudal attachment between themselves and their subjects and finally on the circumstance that their easy access to the king of kings invested them with a certain prerogative for nomination to the higher posts of the empire.

Long after the fall of the Sasanides and of **the** old society the Vispuhrs maintained themselves in Pars. Ibn Hauqal writes in the tenth century A. D. "in Pars there is an ancient tradition and custom relating to the affairs of the population, namely, the excellent thing that the members of old families (Ahlul-buyutat *i. e.*, Vispuhran) are honoured and that the most distinguished races are venerated, among the latter being certain families which possess by inheritance the direction of the divan or the bureaux of administration from times long gone by down to our own days. These Ahlul-buyutat are equally mentioned by Masudi.

In the chronicles of the Sasanides which are partially descended to us in the great work of Tabari we meet almost on every page with the expression "the grandees and the nobles".

Every time that a new king ascends the throne the grandees and the nobles assemble to do him homage and listen to the discourse by which he introduces himself to his people. It was these grandees and noble who dethroned Ardeshir II and who killed Shapur III. Some of the grandees and nobles engaged to exclude the descendants of Yazdegerd I from the throne and in the negotiations which followed with the Arab king Mundhir regarding the succession to the throne it was they who managed the affairs. Sometimes we come across a combination "the grandees and men of distinction".

The Arabic expressions Ahlul-buyutat (the nobles), al-uzama (the great

ones) and al-Ashraf (the men of distinction) are so many literal translations of the Pahlavi-terms Vispuhran, Wazurgan and Azatan. Sometimes the grandees occur alone. According to the part played by the grandees throughout the historical period of the Sasanides regard being had to the fact that they appear regularly by the side of the territorial landlords, there can hardly be any doubt as to the meaning of the term,—the grandees were the great officials of the empire, the supreme representatives of the bureaucracy.

As regards the series of functionaries of the central administration we are indebted to Masudi for an interesting notice to which we have already alluded. In his *Kitab Et-Tanbih wal-ishraf* this Arab author says that the highest offices of State among the Persians were the five following: 1. The Mobedan Mobed or high priest, 2. The Vazurg framadar or the grand vazier, 3. The Spahbed or general, 4. The Dabirbed or the secretary or keeper of registers, 5. The Hutukshbed who was otherwise called Wastrioshbed or the Controller of all those who were engaged in manual labour like tradesmen, labourers, slaves, etc. Masudi adds that these five personages were "the directors and conductors of the empire and the intermediaries between the king and his subject"; we might say that they formed a ministry of the empire. These are the representatives of the four states plus the representative of the king and it is worthy of note that the latter is placed after the representative of the clergy. Among other important dignitaries Masudi names the Marzbans or the Commanders of the marches, who were four in number one for each point of the compass. This last remark is incorrect, for the four governor-generals of the four cardinal points had the title of Padgospan. On this point Masudi has not well understood the old royal almanach or Gahnmag which he used as his sword. But as far as the five supreme posts of the empire are concerned there is no doubt that he has presented them exactly as he found them in the ancient Pahlavi almanach. At all events it is quite probable that the Persians who were conservative by nature should have preserved through centuries in this venerable almanach a traditional order without reference to the alterations which time had introduced in their social and political relations.

Yaqubi gives us a list of the most important officers of the Sasanide State but without indicating those who took actual part in the administration and without discriminating between the higher and the lower strata of nobility. However the order which Yaqubi has observed in his stats-

ment probably corresponded very nearly to the actual situation of the times of Khusrau I. Immediately after the king of kings he mentions the, Vazurg-framadar, then the Mobedan Mobed, then the Herbed or the guardian of the fire, after him the Dabirbed and finally the Spahbed who had under him a padghospan. The Commander of the province was called Marzban, that of the canton Shahrig. The officers all bore the title of cavaliers, Asawirat (corresponding to the Pahlavi plural Aswaran or aspwaragan), the judges of peace Shahrishit (?) and the chief of the administrative Council, Mardumanbed (?).

Finally quite a different source gives us some information on the composition of the ministry of the king of kings. According to Shahrastani, Mazdak, the founder of the notorious religious and communistic sect represented to himself god seated on his throne like Khusrau in the nether world having before him four spiritual forces corresponding to the four persons who waited standing on Khusrau namely, Mobedan Mobed, Herbedan Herbed, Spahbed and Ramishgar (musician). It goes without saying that in the Persian empire the last did not take his place amongst the highest dignitaries but if music enjoyed such a considerable role in the divine service of the Mazdkites and Manichians we can understand that the musician took in the celestial hierarchy of Mazdak the place of the superior Councillors of the great king, probably that of the grand vazier, for the musician certainly occupied a really high rank at Court. According to Masudi Ardeshir Papakan instituted seven corps of state. In the first four he places the chiefs of the governments, all those who took part in administrative affairs, in the enactment and the execution of the laws : 1. the ministers 2. the mobed or supreme judge the religious pontiff and the herbed superior 3. the four Spahbeds, the principal agents of the State of whom each was the master of one-quarter of the empire and was subserved by a lieutenant called, 4 Marzban. Then he places in a special category the professional singers, the virtus, and all those who are connected with the profession of music. Our author adds that BahramGor introduced several changes in the rank of musicians but that Khusrau I re-established the organisation of Ardeshir. Tabri relates that Khusrau II called together "Marzbans and musicians" to celebrate the inauguration of a canal on the Tigris.

Comparing the diverse indications we come to this result that four or five supreme functionaries of the State composed a sort of a ministry. Probably this ministry varied according to the times both to its

constitution and in its number. The Vazurg-framadar and the Mobedan Mobed always occupied their places in it. The Herbedan Herbed who almost equalled the Mobedan Mobed in rank seems equally to have taken part in it but it seems so far as we can judge that this office was not always occupied ; for the grand Mobed is at times mentioned as the supreme Herbed. When the functions of the single Eran-Spahbed were distributed by Khusrau I among four Spahbeds and when the latter became in the following period Governors as well as generals their position among the Councillors of the king must have undergone various alterations. Finally we must assume that the director general of imposts (Wastrioshansalar) and the chief secretary of the empire (Eran) dabirbed were counted at certain times if not right through the Sasanian epoch amongst the greatest officials.

The title of the grand vazier was at first Hazarabed. Already under the Achaemenides the Hazarpat had become the chief functionary of the empire, the one through whom the king governed the State (Chiliarchos, originally the captain of a guard of a thousand men). This name continued through the Parthian into the Sasanian period. The Armenians called the prime minister of Persia Hazarapet Dran Ariats (Chiliarch at the Port of Iran) and in a letter to Mihr Narse the prime minister of Yazdegerd II they mention the "Hazarapet of Iran and non-Iran", while he called himself writing to the Armenians the "Wazurg-framadar of Iran and non-Iran". We learn from Tabri (Noeld. p. 111) that the latter was his official designation and the passages we have already cited from Masudi and Yaqubi sufficiently attest that the title of Wazurg-framadar was the designation of the grand vazier down to the end of the Sasanian epoch.

Among the dignitaries who occupied this post we know Abarsam under Ardeshir I, Kat under Shapur II, Khusrau Yazdegerd under Yazdegerd I, Mihr Narse surnamed Hazarbanda (the master of a thousand slaves) under Yazdegerd I and Bahram V, Suren Pahlav under Bahram V, and under Khusrau I Wazurgmihr, in modern Persian Buzurjmihr of legendary celebrity whose existence however as a historical personage has not been well established.

We are in the dark as to the duties and the powers exercised by the Wazurg-farmadar. It goes without saying that he had not only to direct the affairs of the State under the control of the king and for the most part on his initiative but also to act for him whenever the latter

was away on a voyage or engaged in war. Diplomatic negotiations were his business and he even at times had a military command. In brief as the principal councillor of the king his duties comprised all parts of the State mechanism in which he could at times interfere. The ideal Wazurg-farmadar was a person of perfect mental culture distinguished by his manners, excelling his contemporaries in every respect, a man in whom were united noble and prudent character a sagacity at once theoretical and practical, and who was capable of influencing a king likely to be carried away by evil instincts.

For the rest the function of the great Vazier in the form which has been handed down through times of Khalifat and which has been preserved to our own days in the countries of Islam is a direct loan from the Sasanide empire. Hence the notices which the Arab theorists give regarding politics and with reference to the position of the grand Vazier in general are valuable in so far as they concern the Persian Wazarg-farmadar. According to Mardi the grand vazier exercised all the power possessed by the Khalif with the sole obligation to instruct the Khalif in every way emphasising his dependence and his submission. On the other part it was the Khalif's duty to control all the actions of his vazier. And the power of the grand vazier was unlimited save in three respects : firstly he had not the right to name his own successor or lieutenant, secondly he could not ask to retire to the common people inasmuch as he acted in the name of the king and not in the name of the people and lastly he could not deprive without special authorization the functionaries appointed by the king of their privileges nor could he remove them. In the Arabic work called "A Guide to the Vaziers" it is said: "The kings of Persia honoured their Vazier more than any other king and used to say that the vazier is the person who manages our affairs, he is the ornament of our empire, he is the tongue with which we speak and he is our arm with which to strike our enemy in a far off country."

Like his Arabian copy the original Persian wazurg-farmadar was a kind of factotum. Armed with the seal of the empire he managed the affairs of State but along side of his political activity he had to instruct the king whenever the latter was in need of mental support and on other occasions he had to honour him. He must be proficient in science and anecdotes, must know all games and sports, poetry and music, must be able to read the stars and if need be cure the monarch when he fell ill

When the doctrine of Zaiathushtra advanced from its cradle from the North and the East of Iran towards, and when it acquired a new centre in Media, the tribe of the Magisns acquired the privileges of the sacerdotal class. That must have been the condition of affairs already at the time when Media began to appear on the stage of the world's history with Cyaxares. The word Maghu became the common denomination of all preachers in place of the Athravan of the Avesta. Still the magians continued to feel that they were a tribe apart and even among the Sasariides they are designated as a class of people "come from the same tribe devoted to the service of the gods". In course of time there was formed among the magians a superior class episcopal in nature the members of which were called magupat from which came Mogbed and the last form of which is Mobed.

In the Sasanide empire the clergy were closely linked with the feudal nobility and during the periods of decadence these two classes generally maintained themselves against the king. But they always kept apart from each other each class following its own vocation. Among the members of the great noble families in the Sasanide period known to us no one so far as I know was a mobed. The clergy were recruited at all times from the tribe of the magians which in course of centuries naturally grew in number and the magians looked in the glorious legendary history for a genealogical tree which should equal those of the great noble families. While the princes of the house of Sasan trace their origin back through the Achsemenides to Kavi Vishtaspa the protector of Zarathushtra and while the majority of the other illustrious families derived themselves from the same ancestors thorough the Arsacides (and the Achsemenides) the author of the great race of the mobeds was the legendary king Manushchithra of the dynasty of Paradhapa more ancient even than Vishtaspa. All the mobeds who acquired a celebrity in the empire were of the same race, descendants of Manushchithra, says the Bundehishn.

So late as during the reign of Shapur II Media more especially Atropatene was a magian country. Here they possessed their fertile lands; they had their country seats which had not to be protected by walls and they lived by laws of their own. In effect the superior clergy were sufficiently provided with landed estates.

The head of all the Mobeds, the high pontiff or pope of the Zarathustriari world, was the Mobedan Mobed. The first; time that we hear of

the ecclesiastical dignity is when Ardeshir I nominated a man by the name which may be read Fahr to be his Mobedan Mobed. It is quite possible that the post existed before, but it acquired an extraordinary importance only when Parsism became the state religion.

The other great mobeds known to us are Bahak and his celebrated successor Ataropat Maraspendan under Shapur II and later on Mitrowaraz and Mitroakawid. The Mobedan Mobed had the supreme direction in all matters ecclesiastical. The decision on theoretical questions in theology came from him, as well as practical questions relating to dogma and state policy. He had to be a man of solid learning. Eliseus mentions a great mobed who had earned by his theological erudition the honoured title of hamakden or one who knew the whole religion; he had read the five codes which contain all the doctrine of the magians, namely "Antparkesh, Boz-payit, Pahlavik or the Parthian code and Parskaden or the Parsi religion".

It was within the jurisdiction of the mobedan mobed to invest with or deprive of his office his ecclesiastical subordinates while on the other hand everything seems to indicate that he was himself elected by the king. He co-operated in the conduct of commissions, of inquisition in parts of the empire where opposition to the orthodox religion was particularly fierce. He was the adviser of the king in every matter connected with religion and he had generally immense influence in all the affairs of State in his capacity as a moral guide, mentor and spiritual director of his monarch.

The position of the Herbedan Herbed is less clear to us. The word Herbed is found in the Avesta in the form of Aethrapaitis and with the signification of instructor of preachers or director of a clerical school. In modern times the word denotes the last class of the hierarchy and it seems that the same was the case at a time when the main source of Tabri was composed, which was towards close of the Sasanide period. Tabri tells us that Khusrav II built a fire-temple in which he placed 12,000 Herbeds for the recitation of prayers and invocations. But those must have been Herbeds whose position was different and much more distinguished. In the Persian dictionary called the Burhan-i-qati the term Herbed is explained thus: "firstly, the servant of a fire-temple, secondly, the judge and the mufti of the Parsis, according to others the Herbed is the master and head of the temple servants." Another testimony to the respect in which the Herbeds were originally held is provided by the fact that a Herbed governed

the province of Persia proper as a kind of prince-preacher when in the 7th century the Arabs overran the province. We are unable to fix the difference between the functions of the Mobed and the Herbed ; it may be that the Herbed had to concentrate his activity on the domain of clerical jurisdiction.

Among the Herbedan Herbeds we have to mention the renowned Tansar who co-operated with Ardeshir I in the organization of the official church and then Zarwanbad, son of Mibr Narse, who was "destined by his father for the church and for jurisprudence."

Up to the time of Khusrau I the army of the empire was under only one commandar-in-chief the Eran-spahbed. But his field of action was much more extensive than that of his modern descendant. He had the triple charge of minister of war, of general-in-chief and of the negotiator of peace.

That he had in his hands the organization and administration of the army of the empire shows his position as member of the small circle of the councillors of the king. As minister he must have had under him the war department. The authority of the Wazarg-farmadar being not clearly defined he probably always had his say in the administration of the army also, and the king himself may well be expected to have interfered in the important department of war. The majority of the Sasanide kings were greatly interested in wars and took an active part in military operations. Thus it is easy to assume that the position of the Eran-spahbed was hardly independent under the warlike kings.

It is hardly possible to mention which of the generals during the first reigns of the Sasanide dynasty were Eran-spahbeds. We find Spahbeds for certain districts and Kanarangs and Marzbans were employed by the king to conduct campaigns. The Byzantine, Armenian and Scyrian historians scarcely give us precise information touching the title of the Persian generals. Besides other functionaries of the empire whose proper positions had little of the military character in them were sometimes placed at the head of the army. For among the great number of Persian generals whom Faustus of Byzantium mentions in his somewhat fantastic account of the wars of Shapur II with Armenia we find the chief secretary, the chief of Court ceremonial and the superintendent of stores.

We find at least among Byzantine writers numerous examples of generals who were employed to negotiate peace with special mandates from the king. Thus Suren was dispatched to negotiate with the Emperor Jovian ; Siyavush the Arteshtaransalar and the Spahbed Mebod went to the Roman frontier for the *pourparlers* ; Mermerops whose ability in council as well as in the field is attested by Agathias was sent to Justinian. In the chronicle of Joshua the stylite, the spahbed represents himself as a diplomat, whilst the military operations were undertaken by the Marzbans.

A considerable change occurred when Khusrau I abolished the Eran-spahbed and appointed four spahbeds as chiefs of the army, one for each quarter of the empire. In order to win over the dangerous rebel Bahram Chobin, Khusrau II offered to abandon the reform of his grandfather and to assign to Bahram the old charge of Iran-spahbed but as Bahram refused the new institution of four generals remained unaltered.

To the spahbeds was reserved the special prerogative of entering the camp to the sound of the trumpets.

An exceptional dignity which was only distinguished by a rank higher than that of the Eran-spahbed was the office of Arteshtaransalar or chief of warriors. The title Arteshtaransalar is "more than spahbed and almost as much as the Argabed".

The Wastriosansalar was the director of land revenue. The term signifies in its other form of Wastrioshbed also the head of the agriculturists, for it was the cultivators of the soil upon whom in the first place weighed the land-tax ; and as the taxation was regulated according to the fertility and the good or bad cultivation of the various cantons it was no doubt incumbent upon this officer to supervise the tillage and the watering of the land. Probably the Wastrioshansalar was the head of the finance department for our sources do not mention any other functionary representing finance among the ministers. He was the director of the land revenue but as under the title of Hutukhshbed, chief of artisans, he was designated the chief of all those who work manually like merchants, peasants and slaves, we may presume that not only land revenue but also personal taxes were his charge. In short he was probably the finance minister as well as minister of agriculture, industry and commerce. Of the Wastri-

shansakrs best known to history are Gushmaspadar before the advent of Bahram V (Dinawari, p. 57) Mahgushnasp son of Mihr Narse (Noeld. p. no) and Yazdin the Christian convert under Khusrau II (Noeld. p. 343).

Quite characteristic was the influence exercised in Persia by the Secretaries of State who were called Dabiran. The Iranians have always been extreme formalists. The official documents as well as private letters must be composed in an artificial conventional style. Learned quotations, moral and religious apophthegms verses and settled enigmas were all intermingled to form an elegant style and in the manner in which a letter was composed and addressed all the shades of relationship between the writer and the addressee must be presented with minute exactitude. This tendency to frigid rhetoric is frequently shown in Pahlavi literature or in the speeches from the throne with which every new king commenced his reign. This is manifested clearly in the correspondence between the various state officials of the Sasanian empire and the other countries. The Persian writer Nizami-arudi says in his *chahar maqalah* or four discourses that it was a custom among the ancient dynasts of Persia as well as among the khalifs of a subsequent date that all ambassadors delighted by the king should be proficient in wise sayings and enigmatic questions. For the kings required men of intelligence and judiciousness as well as political talents and several councils were held till all were at one with regard to their opinions and the ambassador was dispatched only when the hidden idea of their problems and enigmas was made clear and apparent. This explains to us how "an intelligent and accomplished secretary is a valuable ornament for the glory of a royal Court."

The secretaryship in the Islamic countries is like the office of the *vazier*, a faithful copy of the Persian model and the account which Nizami gives us of this institution of his times, the 12th century, might serve us in its main features as a description of the duties and importance of the Dabirs of the Sasanide epoch. The special qualifications for Dabirs included "different forms of address and communications, consultation, contention, praise, condemnation, diplomacy, provocation, conciliation as well as the art of expanding or belittling a thing, inventing means for excuse or censure, for imposing engagements, for finding antecedents, for exposing matters, and above all a manner in which **every**

thing is expressed at one and the same time, once for all." A secretary should be of noble birth, he should have a keen sense of honour, a penetrating and firm judgment, power of profound reflection; he must be fully versed in the "methods of his art, must be familiar with the ranks and dignities of his contemporaries, must be a capable logician, able in correspondence, law, politics, poetry and diction. He must have a good handwriting; the most intelligent secretaries and those who write the finest hand are employed at Court whilst the others are attached to provincial governments.

The secretaries were in fact actual diplomats. They drew up all sorts of documents; they conducted state correspondence; they framed royal ordinances, they drew up lists of revenue receipts. In corresponding with the enemies and adversaries of the king they must assume the requisite tone, conciliating or haughty, menacing or tranquil, according to the exigencies of the case. Should the king come off worse in the correspondence the life of the scribe was at stake. Thus Ardeshir I killed with his own hand Dabundad, secretary of the last king of Parthia because he had composed an outrageous letter on behalf of his sovereign to Ardeshir **himself**.

The chief of the numerous class of secretaries was the Eran Dabirbed or Dabiran Mehisht who is sometimes mentioned among the entourage of the king and to whom the king occasionally confided diplomatic commissions.

In Tabari the "Vaziers and secretaries" are very often mentioned together as two groups of grantees supplementing each other, for instance when he says that on the accession of a new king there was change of all ministers and secretaries (Noeld. p. 53). Probably Wazirbed was the common designation of all "who were before the face of the king" inclusive of the great ecclesiastical dignitaries. Of the other officers we know of the keeper of the seal, the head of the intelligence department and the administrator of pious works.

To these high functionaries we have to add, without being able to define exactly either their duties or their ranks, other officials about Court **who** were concerned in the protection and the amusement of **the** king, **like the** commanders of the bodyguard, the chamberlain and others **In the** Karnamak the pushtigbansalar **or the** chief of **the** personal attendants **of the king is mentioned** along with the Mobedan Mobed the Eran-spahbed, the Dabiran Mehisht, and the Andarzbed-t-asparagan, the instructor and

organiser of cavalry, as the principal companions of imperial chase. An Armenian authority mentions the Der-andarzbed along with the Mobedan Mobed and the Eran-spahbed. The "keepers of the royal annals" must also have enjoyed high position.

In the theoretical description of the principal of central government and of the Court as given by Ibn Khalebun we perceive the foundation to be Sasanian. This author divides the acts appertaining to the exercise of kingship into three categories, to take the necessary measures for the protection of the community, inspecting the troops and their arms, engaging in war and in all which conduces to the defence of the subjects and the repulsion of the enemy. These are the functions of the vazierat as they once were in the East and as they yet are in the West. 2. Correspondence in the name of the Sultan with those living at a distance, communicating his orders to persons who have not the facility of approaching him; the officer who fulfils these functions is the secretary. 3. The noting of revenue, the supervising of public officers and of keeping a correct and detailed register with a view to prevent embezzlement: he who is charged with this role is called "master of the money and imposts", a functionary who in our days bears the title of vazier in the East. 4. Preventing petitioners from besieging the Sultan and distracting his attention from more serious occupations; this is the function of the chamberlain, "master of the gate which he guards."

The category of the higher functionaries of State must have comprised the provincial governors. Of these the most powerful were the four Padkospan, who were the viceroys each of his own territory. They control certain branches of the civil administration and they had no doubt a military force sufficient to protect their section of the empire from enemies from within and without. It was only under Khusrau I that the Padkospan had for his superior a spahbed, who became the military head of the quarter. For the rest it seems that the places of the Padkospan were not always occupied. Here are some of the names of the Padkospan known to history:—Yazdgushnasp under Bahram V, (Noeld. p. 96), Zadoe "of the family of the Nakhwer-gans" under Khusrau I (Noeld, p. 152), Merdانشah under Hormizd IV (Noeld. p. 379) and Shahan Wahumanzadagan possibly of the family of Spendiyar under Khushrau II (Noeld. p. 291).

As regards the governors probably so called the ancient designation "satrap" had almost completely disappeared before the times of the Sasanide; and Marzban was the common accepted title of the governors.

of the royal race who were qualified as Shah. By Marzban was always understood especially the military officers of the marches or margaves and in times of war the Marzbans often acted as generals under the orders of Spahbeds in a manner that it seemed they had almost lost their capacity of governors. But we are acquainted with Marzbans of several interior provinces also. Noeldeke following Arab sources names the following provinces which were under the governorship of Marzbans ; Armenia, Beth Aramaie, Pars Kerman, Ispahan, Azerbaijan, Tabaristan, Zarang (Drangiana), Bahrain, Herat, Merv, Serakhs, Neshapur, Tus. Many of these provinces were of limited area. On the whole it seems that under the Sasanides the satrapies had not the fixed limits which they had with some possible exceptions under the house of the Achaemenides. The king sent a Marzban according to necessity. He amalgamated or divided provinces according to opportunity. Probably the Marzbans always had a more military than civil character, the civil administration being for the most part under the centralization so accentuated in the Sasanian times in the hands of inferior functionaries in respect of small holdings (Shahrighs or Dehigs) who derived their revenue ostensibly directly from the central government, or through the Padkospan if there was one there.

The Marzbans were chosen from the nobles of the higher rank. We have mention of Marzbans who had palaces in the capital. A special mark of honour for a Marzban was the gift of a silver throne while the Marzban-shathradar of the Alano-khazar frontier enjoyed the extraordinary right of occupying a throne of gold.

Another name of the governor was Ostandar. We find an Ostandar" in Kashkar, in Maishan, in Khuzistan. At Nisibi3 a man of royal race Babhai by name was created Ostandar " as an honour and for the security of the borders*" It seems that these governors who like the Marzbans had a military force at their disposal were by origin administrators of the royal dominions and probably they continued to exercise this function even when they were made governors of the regions where those lands lay.

Towards the end of the Sasanian epoch all forms of provincial governorship gave place to the Spahbed who became superior to the Padkospan or assimilated his functions with his own. The Spahbed acquired by this combination of civil and military authorities in one portion of the empire a power which nearly surpassed that of the Achaemenide satraps and who accordingly aspired to the perpetuation of the post by heredity

We may presume that the Azsatan, freedmen, were originally a name which the Aryan conquerors arrogated to themselves with reference to the aborigines whom they subjugated.

Azatan. Without doubt the races were to a certain measure intermingled and this mixture caused a number of originally free Aryan families to be degraded into the order of servile peasants and the other inhabitants of lesser respect. Besides other vicissitudes the consequences of wars, the constant divisions of lands must have contributed to the evolution. Among the Aryan families who preserved their blood relatively in a pure state some were elevated to the small circle of powerful Vispuhrs whilst others formed a category of lower nobility numerous under the Sasanides spread over the whole empire and employed for the most part as lower subordinates of provincial administrations. It is they who preserve the common name of Azatan.

It is probably in this class that we must locate the cavaliers the flower of the Sasanian army. The majority of the cavaliers lived during times of peace on their lands cultivating their fields and occupied with their peasantry though it would appear that some of them had a permanent place at the Imperial Court. We know that a certain number of cavaliers were entrusted with the upbringing of the sons of Khusrau II. And we have already mentioned that "the Instructor of cavaliers" was one of the great functionaries. These cavaliers who constantly basked under the sun of royal grace could attain to the highest places in society and occupy positions of supreme trust. Thus Wahrax having conquered Yemen was confided with its government by Khusrau I ; his successor Zin on this throne was like himself a cavalier by origin. Towards the close of the Sasanian period the cavaliers were placed on a par with the princes and official to the highest rank.

In short it was quite natural for a people who had from remote antiquity a taste for horsemanship and who were filled with chivalrous tendencies that the order of cavaliers should be of first consideration and in rank not much inferior to the highest nobles who were comparatively few in number. On the other hand other classes of lesser nobility comprised under the general term of Dehkans had their strength in the hereditary possession of local administration. As indispensable parts of the political machinery the Dehkans were exempt from military life and compelled to serve only for the

defence of the provinces which they inhabited. Thus it is that they rarely figure in the great historical events though they were the most important elements in the administration and in the continued unity of the empire.

Whilst the division of the empire into Marzbans was variable and depended on military reasons the division into cantons was purely administrative. Each of the small cantons of which the empire was composed was under the control of a Shahrag who was chosen by the Dehkans. At the head of the village with its field there was a Dehig doubtless the paterfamilias of the house which enjoyed the village by inheritance. According to the definition of the Mujmil-et-tawarikh the Dehkans were "the heads, owners of lands and villages." But for the most part the amount of land appertaining by inheritance to the family of a Dehkan was inconsiderable and sometimes the Dehkan himself was none other than the first peasant of the district. The Dehkan had not with reference to the peasantry the same position as the landlords of higher nobility; they were only representatives of government before the peasants of the state. The principal occupation of the Dehkans in this respect was the collection of revenue and it was above all on account of the knowledge of the countries and the population that the lands generally of little fertility were made to support the luxuries of the Court and costly wars without the burden being felt too heavily. After the Arab conquest the conquerors in spite of their brutal extortions could not wrench from Iran the sums of money which were received by the Sasanian kings without the friendly assistance of the Dehkans.

In the Sasanide society the distinction between the nobles and the followers of various professions was more accentuated than between the different classes of the nobles themselves. The differ-

The professions. ence was marked 'in the vehicles used, in the dress, dwelling place, gardens, women and domestics'; or as is expressed in another passage the nobles were distinguished from the commons and slaves 'by the splendour of their horses, clothing, weapons and their women by their vestments of silk head-dress, addition to chase the use of boots and exercises appertaining to the great. The warriors or the cavalier class enjoyed "a high rank and royal favours of all sorts."

It was an established custom that "no person followed a profession other than that for which God had created him," In general the

transition from one class to another was prohibited though it did take place as an exception in cases when an artisan showed extraordinary talents. "The case was placed before the king. After a trial and a prolonged investigation made by the mobeds and herbeds into the merits of the candidate he was adopted into another caste." If he distinguished himself by approved devotion he was admitted to the clerical community ; into that of the warriors if he had strength and courage ; and into the class of secretaries if he excelled and had a good memory. Under any circumstances the way to this elevation was prepared by solid instruction. Thus the king possessed the means of infusing new blood into the veins of the nobles though I fancy such cases were of rare occurrence.

• If the theological Pahlavi literature compares the state of preachers to the head of society, the state of warriors to hands, the husbandmen to the body, and the artisans to the feet we must understand by agriculturists not the peasants properly so-called but the landholders of Aryan extraction who were not warriors—in other words the class of Dehkans. The great mass of these ordinary peasants "marched along as if they were doomed to eternal servitude" without being encouraged by payment or recompense in any other way. In a word the laws did not grant too much protection to the peasantry and even when an amiable king loving his subjects like Hormizd IV recommended his soldiers not to commit violence towards the peaceful populace in his campaigns he had in view not so much the tillers of the soil as the Dehkans. We have no precise information regarding the condition of the peasants under the domination of the nobles who "claimed a right of life and death with reference to the slaves and the vulgar." It is a significant fact that the Ganabasar-nijad Nask contains an exposition of "what properties appertain to the nobles, what to the vulgar crowd, and in which manner those belonging to the common folk could become nobles." On the contrary the laws took care that the properties of the nobles did not fall into the hands of meaner people.

It goes without saying that the population of the cities was in a more advantageous situation. It paid the personal tax just like the peasants but probably it was exempt from military service ; and by commerce and other occupations it could acquire wealth and attain to a certain degree of consideration. But an artisan could not dare

...d to honours reserved for nobles. In the Mainyo-i-Khard the spirit of wisdom thus defines the business of the artizan ; "The duty of the artizan is not to interfere in matters which he does not understand but to do well and with attention the work which he knows and to ask for it the lawful wages ; for he who works always at things which he does not understand by him such work is spoilt and rendered fruitless." Abul Fida affirms that the kings of Persia entrusted no business touching the administration to men of low birth; and amongst the principal accusations brought forward against Khusrau II was that he had conferred the finance ministership on a common artizan called Khurdadin and approved of his extortions. According to the Siaset Nameh, Buzurgmihr when asked the causes of the fall of the Sasanide empire adduced two, namely, in the first place that the empire had been entrusted to men of obscure condition and profound ignorance ; and secondly that instead of attracting men of learning and sound judgment the monarchs had abandoned the direction of affairs to women and children.

Our sources do not give us any information that under the Sasanides any great enterprises in the interests of commerce took place or that new ways of communication were opened up. We may suppose that the Sasanides in general were not much concerned about economic questions; for the Sasanide society imbued with ideas of the Avesta commerce was held in much lower esteem than agriculture. It is possible however that the frequent communication between Iran and India in the times of Khushrau I had conduced to an increase of commercial relations between the two countries. Silk was first introduced into India by sea route and on this point the Persian merchants had formed a rude alliance with the Ethiopians. Moreover commerce by land always followed the old paths. From China was introduced silk whilst the Chinese purchased in Persia among other things the celebrated Persian staff which was very costly and which the Empress of China ordered for her own use. Babylonian carpets were also an element of valuable merchandise. But before all the transit between China and the Roman empire was profitable to the Persians. The precious stones natural as well as artificial from Syria, corals and pearls from the Red Sea, embroidered stuffs from Syria and Egypt were transported across Central Asia down to China and Chinese silk was highly prized at Byzantium. The narcotics of further Asia had already been introduced into China.

One of the principal industries of Iran was fabrics. Certain of its lands had then- peculiar specialties, Those who desired to be dressed

always according to the season had to wear in spring clothes made of stuff manufactured at Merv or Dabiq; in summer fabrics from Tavvaz or Shata ; in autumn cloths of Rai or mixed stuff of Merv ; in winter woven woollen fabrics or silks or garments made of fur or the skin of the cormorant. For the great cold of the country there were garments made of double silk and woollen of the same tissue and of thick silk in the middle.

With a view to introduce new branches of industry as well as to cultivate deserted regions it was a custom in ancient Persia to establish columns of prisoners of war in different parts of the country. Thus Darius I had transported a number of Erethrians to the interior of Susiana and Orodes had settled Roman prisoners in the neighbourhood of Merv. Likewise Shapur I planted Roman prisoners, among them being the Emperor Valerian himself at Gondeshupur, where they utilised their ability in constructing the famous dyke" of the Emperor/' Shapur II distributed the prisoners made at Amid among Sus, Tushter, and other ciities of Ahwaz where they introduced new species of brocade and silks. Mostly these colonies fell into ruins in a short time but sometimes durable results were obtained from them.

Chapter II.

Family and Society.

Family and property were the two pillars which supported the Iranian Society ; and social legislation was considerably occupied with the care of the family and the questions of inheritance. A section of the social code of the times of the Sasanides has been preserved in manuscript to our own days and a photozincographic facsimile edition of it has been published. West gave a summary of it with a translation of one paragraph. Besides the Dinkard, the Dadistan-i-deni and other Pahlavi works give us an amount of information on these questions; and although these books were composed at a comparatively recent date, it is indubitable that the social institutions described in them were in force under the Sasanides.

Polygamy existed as in other places ; and generally distinguished Iranians had their legitimate wives and concubines as well as slaves that were purchased or women taken in war. Still women among the Zarathushtrians occupied a position of greater honour than anywhere else in the Orient though she was subjected to absolute obedience to her husband. Betrothals some times took place in childhood and the married state was entered into when young. A young girl had to be married at the age of 15. It was religious duty to marry young in order to perpetuate the family and to enjoy the good actions of one's children ; on the other hand the bad actions of the children recoiled on the parents.

There were five different forms of marriage. The virgin who married with the consent of her parents was called Padshah Zan or the privileged wife. The children which she bore to her husband were his in this world and the next. A virgin who was the only child of her parents became by marriage an Evak Zan ; the first child whom she bore was given to her parents in compensation of herself after which she became a Padshah Zan. If a man of marriageable age, that is 15 years old at least, died unmarried and if his family dowered a stranger girl and married her to a stranger this woman was called Sadar Zan or adopted wife. Of the children half belonged to the deceased, the other half to the living husband and she herself became the spouse of the deceased for the next World, A

widow marrying again became a Chakar Zan or servant wife. If she had no children by her former husband she was considered as a Sadar Zan, half of her children by her second husband belonging to the first whose wife she became for the next world. The last class of wife who was looked upon with the least respect was the Khudsharai Zan or a wife who disposes of herself, one who contracts a marriage without the consent of parents. The Christians reproached the Zarathushtrians with facility in contracting and dissolving marriages but it seems that the reproach was unjustifiable. The young man who desired to marry had to pay to the parents of the young girl a certain present in money or otherwise; but under given conditions he had a right to demand it back if "the girl was not worth in marriage the price paid", an expression which no doubt refers to sterility.

When a child was born her father was obliged to show his gratitude by pious gifts and by celebrating certain solemnities ; but the obligations in this respect were not the same in case of a female child as a male child. Then came the giving of the name, and here we must remember that it was a heinous offence to give a child any of the names in vogue among the idolators. The child was considered with reference to the father as a light which issued from fire. The child was entirely dependant upon the father and owed obedience to him ; and if the son violated his duty in this respect, a portion of his patrimony might be transferred to the mother if she was more worthy. The care of rearing the child devolved upon the mother or if she was dead on the sister or an adult daughter of the father. If it was a female child her moral instruction from early infancy was undertaken by the mother while the father alone could marry her. However, a Padshah Zan had the right to marry her daughter after the death of the father otherwise this right belonged to the legitimate guardian ; and in any case a young girl was not authorised to take her husband herself. On the other hand the father or his representative had !t for his imperative duty to marry the daughter as soon as she attained puberty and he committed a sin in his neglect so to do.

The "marriages by substitution" was a characteristic feature of **the** importance which the Iranians ascribe to the propagation of the family. They are mentioned in Tansar's Letters and in greater detail in a passage of Al-Biruni in his book on India. " When a man dies without leaving male posterity he must examine the case. If he leaves a wife she is married to her near relation. Should he leave no wife his daughter or his **near relation is married to another near relation. Should there be no woman**

in the family a wife is demanded by means of the money of the deceased for his family and she is married to some relation of the deceased. The issue of such a marriage is considered the child of the deceased. Whoever neglects this duty and does not perform it kills numberless souls, for he cuts off the progeny as well as the name of the defunct for all eternity."

Another peculiar institution of the Zarathushtrian society was adoption. When a man died without having an adult son who could take his place as the chief of the family the minor members of it had to be placed under guardianship; and if the deceased were possessed of a fortune it was necessary that an adopted son should take his place for the administration of his inheritance. If there was a privileged wife or Padshah Zan she would take the direction of affairs of the family under the title of the adopted son. On the contrary a Chakar Zan had no authority and must be placed in guardianship like the minor children; and the guardian then would be the father of the Chakar Zan or if he was dead his brother or another nearest relation. If he had no privileged wife nor an only daughter the duty of the adopted son devolved on a brother, then on a sister, then on the daughter of a brother, then on the son of a brother, and then to the nearest successive relations. To be adopted as son, the law required that the person must be major, must belong to the Zarathushtrian community, must be intelligent, must have a numerous family himself and that he should have children or at least the hope of having them and that he should not be tainted with the commission of anyone of the moral sins. Of a woman it was required that she should not have and should not look for a husband herself, that she should not live in concubinage and should not make her living by prostitution, that she should not have been adopted in other family, for women could be submitted to but one adoption whilst a man might be received in adoption by as many families as he chose.

Then there are three kinds of adoptions. "Living adopted son** is the designation of a privileged wife or of an only unmarried daughter her adoption reposing on natural relationship and having the force of law without any special disposition. "Preappointed adopted son" is the designation of the person who receives the charge from the hand of the deceased whilst he who is chosen after the death of the father of the family from amongst the near relations qualified to be adopted is called the "constitutionally adopted son". The privileged wife when she becomes a widow must take care of everything pertaining to the family, religious ceremonies, and pious works the execution of which is incumbent on the

family; she must marry the daughters and maintain **the** unmarried **sisters of the** deceased if they are placed under her guardianship. She had **the right** to dispose the greater part of the fortune for her own use, **But** when one of the daughters is married the mother must share her authority with the husband of her daughter and the authority of the latter increases if the marriage is fruitful of a son who shall one day be the chief of the family.

We are acquainted with some of the prescriptions of the law regarding inheritance and the partition of property. Superintendents were established to look after the maintenance of the law of succession. When a man died it was the mobeds who partitioned the property among the heirs according to the testamentary law. When the deceased left no property they had to see to his funeral and to arrangements about the children. It was a fixed rule that a substitute for a royal prince should be a royal prince and that a noble should be substituted by a noble only. If a man had two wives whom he considered both to be fully his own and if he had made the contract with them so that the goods belonging to himself were common property, each of these wives could claim the property in common with her husband whilst each of them had exclusive property as between themselves.

When a man dying gives part of his properties to some individuals with whom he is not connected thus depriving his legitimate heirs, his disposition is not held to be valid except when it is for the payment of a debt or the maintenance of a wife and children or of father or any other aged person under his protection. On the other hand the dispositions made by a man when seriously ill are held valid after his restoration to health provided only they are made in the full possession of his consciousness. When a man draws up his will it is obligatory that he should give one share to each of his unmarried daughters and two to his privileged wife if he has one.

After the serious disorders which the communistic movement directed by Mazdak and abetted by King Kawad had disreputed all social life Khusrau I had to regulate the relations of family and property by means of new enactments. Having massacred the heads of the sect and a large number of its partisans he recovered so far as possible the properties of which the Mazdakites had possessed themselves gave them to their original owners, and directed that those who had deprived other people of their **fortune, should reimburse them, entirely and undergo themselves corres-**

ponding punishment. He furthermore commanded that **every** child of doubtful origin was to be considered as belonging to the family in which it was found at the time the edict was published, and was entitled to inherit after the man to whom it was attributed if the latter recognised it. To every woman who was forced to abandon herself to a man the author of the violence had to give the ordinary dower of marriage and the woman was left the choice either to remain with the man or to wed another husband. Should she however happen to be married at the time she was thus separated she had to be restored to the husband. The king took upon himself the guardianship of noble children whose supporters had perished and married them according to their social status, giving dowers to the girls from state funds, and giving marriage presents for the boys whom he subsequently attached to the court. In this way he created a new class of nobility bound to him by ties of gratitude.

Chapter IU.

Administration.

The empire of the Sasanides was administered by the Dureaux (in Pahlavi) the devans in which there prevailed a system of order fixed to the minutest detail. We do not possess direct information regarding the number of these devans and their respective administrative domains. We only know that the king had separate seals for the secret chancellerie, for dispatches, for criminal justice, for distribution of marks of honour and offices and for finances; and we may conclude that there was at least one devan corresponding to each of these branches. However this list is probably not complete. It seems that there existed likewise devans concerned with military affairs, the post for coins and measures, for the royal crown lands, etc. Moreover it would be singular if there was not a number of devans attached to the most important branch of administration—namely finance. At any rate in the later Moslem times under the Umeyyads and the Abbasides there did exist such a devan.

Beladhori gives us some curious information about the machinery of these offices especially that of finance. The reports of the amounts of monies received were read in a loud voice before the king; and the Wastnōshansalar remitted every year to the king a complete account of the revenue derived from various imposts and of the condition of the exchequer to which the king affixed his seal. Khusrau II disliked the odour of parchment, and directed that these annual accounts should be transcribed on paper perfumed with safron and rose-water. When the king passed an order it was drawn up in his presence by the secretary. It was then registered in his journal by another official who edited it monthly; and it was at the end of the period deposited in the archives, having been previously sealed with royal signet. The order as drawn up in the original was handed over to the keeper of the seal who after sealing it dispatched it to the officer whose duty it was to carry it out. This latter transcribed the edict in the ordinary laboured style of Persian bureaucracy; and original of this last version was sent to the secretary who presented to the king and then compared it with the copy in his journal, after which if the two versions were in accord he sealed it in the presence of the king or his most confidential lieutenant, generally the Wazurg frarnadar, and the order then was put into force.

The royal ordinances the treaties and other documents of State were sealed with the royal seal which consisted of a ring bearing the engraved *effigy* of a bear. If it was a matter of importance with respect to another country dependent on or independent of Persia the document was accompanied with a bag of salt sealed with the imperial ring as a sign of irrevocable oath.

Finance.

The head of the finance department was the Director general of revenue, the Wastrioshansalar. Another of the great officials with whose name we have been made acquainted was the receiver of taxes from the Vispahrs, called the Vispuhranhamarkar. Most probably the officer in charge of the treasury had the title Ganjvar.

The principal revenues of State were derived from land tax, kharaj, and personal tax, gesith. The personal tax was fixed once for all at a constant annual sum which the authorities had to hand over.

These repartitions and receipts of taxes occasioned malversations on the part of officials ; and as according to this system there was considerable variation in the revenues of different years it was not possible to make an approximate estimate in advance of the condition of finances and their use. The control of finances was a very difficult matter. It often happened that there was a deficit resulting from a preceding war and then extraordinary taxes had to be levied which hit hard almost exclusively the richer provinces of the West, mostly Babylonia. Shapur II desiring to bring together all the forces of his kingdom in the war against Rome wrote as follows to the Marzbans of the Armenian provinces:—"As soon as you take notice of our present divine order which is dispatched herewith you shall arrest Simon the chief of the Nazarenes. You shall not release him until he has signed this document and has agreed to collect for us a double capitation tax and a double tribute from all the Nazarenes inhabiting our divine provinces and dwelling in our dominions. For our divine selves we have all the troubles of a war while they have nothing but repose and pleasures. They dwell in our territory but share the sentiments of the Roman Emperor enemy." It goes without saying that such arbitrary impositions which proved sometimes so oppressive did not contribute to inclining the Christians to be well affected towards the power of Persia.

On the whole the system thus pursued was not only of little advantage to the crown but it led to serious difficulty. We are told for instance that the cultivators may not touch the ripe fruit before the tax on it was paid in, and that it was a comprehension of this state of things which led Kawad to decide to change radically the system of imposts, a reform which was subsequently carried out by Khushrau I. The whole area of arable land was accurately measured and taxed and this taxation became the basis of a new repartition of land revenue, the latter being imposed according to fixed taxes, that is, one dirhem per year per garib on froment or orge, 8 dirhems per gatib on wine, 7 dirhams per garib on lucerne, 5/6th dirhem per garib on rice; all the other products on land were exempt from taxation. as well as isolated date palms which did not form part of a continued plantation. These taxes could not have proved very burdensome, and in general the new system was undoubtedly an amelioration for the populace at the same time that it procured to the treasury a multiple and constant revenue. It was therefore that the Muhammedan Khalifat took this Persian system for its basis of land revenue.

The individual tax was also revised by Khushrau I. It was levied on all men between the ages of 20 and 50 "except grandees and nobles, soldiers and priests, secretaries and other persons in royal service." The tax-paying population was divided into several classes according to their means. There were some who paid 10 dirhems, some who paid 8 and some 6 while the great mass of the people contributed 4 dirhems per head. The imposts were payable by the term of every 3 months called Simarak.

Khushrau deposited a copy of his new system of taxes in the archives; other copies were sent down to the employees of the financial department and to all the canton judges whose duty it was to supervise the receipt of taxation and to see to it that the enactments were just and that those whose wheat or trees had suffered damage were exempted from the corresponding rise in the taxation. The canton judges had to render accounts of the exemptions to the central government, which accordingly issued orders to the receiving officers. By this system of control Khushrau attempted to check the abuses which were common up to his time in the exaction of taxes.

To the regular taxation we have to add the customary presents which were called Ayin and also the compulsory gifts on the occasions

of anuruz and mihrgan. There were besides more important revenues derived from crown lands and regales. Among the latter were included gold mines at Pharangion in Persarmenia. A more irregular source of revenue was the booty acquired in war. Khusrau II refers in his apology to the wealth he had obtained in war, to gold and silver, gems of all sorts, atrie, acier, silk, satin, brocade, betail, arms, women and children taken in captivity " which are to be found in enormous masses in out treasuries and magazines." Probably there must have been the right of douane but I have found no information on this point in our histories.

In the 18th year of the reign of Khusrau II, 607-8 A. D., the contents of the treasury which the king directed to be transferred to a new building at Ctesiphon was about 468 millions of miskals in specie which would correspond to about 336 millions of franks, inasmuch as a miskal was equivalent to a Sasanian dirhem. Add to this the immense quantities of jewelry and articles of clothing the greater portion of which must have formed part of inordinate contributions. With what little misgivings Khusrau II exacted tributes from his people is evidenced by the fact that despite incessant wars which were costly and devastating in character he had accumulated up to the 30th year of his reign 1,600 millions of misqals in coin money or about 1,400 millions of franks.

To dispense with the arrears of taxes was of frequent occurrence. For a new king it was the means of gaining popularity. Bahram V directed on his accession to the throne the remission of arrears of revenue which amounted to about 60 millions of franks and he diminished the land revenue in the year of his advent by a third. During a famine Peroz remitted the entire land revenue as well as the poll tax and the contributions usually levied for works of public utility and exempted them from Impressed labour and other obligations.

The imperial disbursement mostly related to wars, the maintenance of the Court, the entertaining of State functionaries and the regular expenses of State mechanism, and lastly public works such as the construction and the up-keep of dykes, canals, etc. But as regards public works the country population which was affected by them often contributed towards them by extraordinary payments. Along with the remission of taxation we meet with the distribution of money among the poor as was done by Bahram V and Peroz. The first of

these kings gave large Sums of money in charity not only to the indigenous population but also "to the nobles and the highly honoured ones" who received 20 millions of dirhems. The portion of the treasury utilized for public weal could not have been very great for the kings of Persia for all times were in the habit of heaping up as much treasures of money and valuable things in general as they possibly could.

According to Armenian authors as soon as a new king came to the throne all the existing coinage in the treasury was melted down and a fresh coin was struck with the effigy of the new sovereign. Similarly all the records preserved in the archives were transcribed again in the name of the new majesty with only the necessary changes.

The flower of the army consisted as in the Arsacide times of mailed cavalry and mounted nobles. The cavalry (Aswarān) had the first place in the battle array and it was on its strength and bravery that success mostly depended. A bas-relief in Flamdin at Coste represents such a Persian cavalier on horseback dressed in a cuirass the ends of which descended almost to the knees and provided with manches and a sort of collet which completely covered his face. On the head he wore a casque with flying streamers, in the right hand a lance about 2 metres in length and in the left a small shield and in the middle was attached a carquois. The head, the neck and the chest of the charger were equally protected by mail armour. This bas-relief probably dates from the early Sasanide times. Ammien. relates that the Persians threw against the Romans such a mass of mailed horsemen in thick ranks that the scales of the cuirasses which according as the corps took turns threw a blinding reflection, and he adds that the horses were protected by cuir coverings. At the time of Khusrau the complete arms of the horsemen consisted of a cuirass for the horse a halbert a chest cuirass of cuissards, a sword, a lance, a shield.

On account of the thick steel armour the horsemen were known as tanurik. The principal arms were the lance and the bow, the classical weapons which from very olden times the Persians wielded as masters. Procopius testifies that the Persians were nearly all of them archers and the most capable of men in this arm, though their arrows lacked strength as the strings were not tight enough.

A great official, the cavalry instructor, called the *andarzbed-i-asparagan* was charged with the duty of going the rounds of cities and countryside to initiate the people in the art of war as a profession in the discipline of the martial calling.

Just as at the Achaemenide epoch, there was a chosen body of horse denominated the immortal corps which must be composed according to its Achaemenide model of ten thousand units.

Next to the cavalry came the infantry (*paigan*) commanded by their officer the *paigansalar*. The foot soldiers were armed like the *Mirmydons* and served as camp followers and the whole mass of them marched to battle without any encouragement of salary or any other recompense. They were the body of peasants subject to military service. In general these foot soldiers were bad warriors and they threw down their arms and turned their backs without coming to blows. This was the expression of Emperor Julian in pointing his finger at the Iranian captives to inspire his Roman army with courage. And two centuries after the Byzantine generals Belisarius and Hermogenes looked down upon them as "a rabble of miserable peasants who followed the army only to lower the morale, to pillage the corpses and to serve the soldiers" by which he meant the horsemen.

More useful than the peasantry were the auxiliary troops supplied by various warlike nations living within the limits of the empire but which, governed by their own princes or *shathradars*, occupied a privileged position. Such troops were also an important element of the Achaemenide army. In the wars of Darius and Xerxes the 'Saces' were the most appreciated of troops. Under the Sasanides also we come upon the tributary contingents which were the most relied upon, the soldiers from Segestan who were immigrants of Satian descent. Besides the troops of various mountain tribes south of the Caspian Sea were frequently employed like the Geles, the Cadusis, the Virtes, the Albans, the Chionites and possibly also the Kushans of Bactria. The Chionites proceeded to war in the times of Shapur II under the command of their own king of Delem. Khusrau I sent out troops from Delem and surrounding countries to Yemen to help the natives against the Abyssinians. Some of these nations were perhaps wholly independent and swelled the army only as mercenary followers. Such were at least the Huns whom we sometimes find in the Persian army. The people of Chuls in Gorgan

who were conquered by Khusrau I and transported to Shahram-peroa in Azerbaijan were compelled to render military service to the Persians but this tributary army fought on horseback like the Persian cavalry. The Armenian cavalry serving under the Persian banner were treated with special regard. When they entered Ctesiphon the king of Persia sent out one of his lords to enquire after the well-being of Armenia, and this ceremony was gone through three times and the next day the Emperor in person passed the troops in review. The Persians employed elephants in war which were mounted by soldiers forming the rear of the army. These animals struck terror among the Romans. Ibn Khaldun describes these elephants of war bearing enormous towers of wood filled with armed men and decorated with flags. During the engagement they were kept in a line like so many castles at the back of the army which lent considerable courage and confidence to the soldiers.

The great corps were called gund at the head of each of which was the gundsalar. Smaller divisions were called dirafsh and still lesser sub-divisions washt. Each dirafsh had its standard. The Sasanide bas-reliefs show us some examples of these standards and military insignias. We see a flag long and straight. The national banner was the famous and venerated dirafsh-i-kavyan the standard form according to tradition of the tablier of smith Kave who in pre-historic times incited the people against the Dahak the Arab tyrant. This leather flag which had grown to enormous proportions of 22 feet in course of time was studded with precious stones. The sovereigns connected their good fortune with it and vied with one another in adorning it with the most beautiful of jewels. It was carried before the king in battle and it was trusted to no hands lesser than those of the Commander-in-chief. The war being terminated happily it was returned to the care of the official who was its special custodian. It fell into the hands of the Arab general Saad Ibn Abi-waqas in the battle of Qadisiya.

In the times of peace the arms and the accoutrements of war were stored in the magazines and arsenals respectively called the Ambarak and the Gang and it was the duty of the Eran-ambaragbed to see to it that everything was in good order and ready for service at a brief notice. The war finished, the military stores were placed back. Particular care was taken of the chargers and the veterinary surgeon, Storbezak, was an officer of importance for the use of whom medicinal herbs had to be collected. It was not permitted to catch the horses except when a combat was, imminent and only when the **necessary** remounts **had not arrived in**

time. The provisions of the army—meat, milk, bread, were weighed out and daily apportioned to the soldiers in equal lots. It would appear that on the days of actual engagement both men and horses received more than their usual ration. It was a *sine qua non* of the general that he should be possessed of the necessary talents to command, should be able in tactics, should be sure of eye, should be familiar with his army and should be of a moderate temperament. He must know the divisions of his army and must be aware of the strong point of each of them. On the day of the battle he must not show himself unnecessarily nor assume an attitude which causes the least fear in the army. The soldiers had to be united with one another by amity and had to show blind obedience to the general. On the day of the battle it was the duty of the general to hearten his troops and incite them to death in calling it to their mind that it was a religious obligation to fight the infidels and to remind them of the rewards and preferments in prospect for them in this world and the spiritual remuneration in the next. The army was excited to combat with the noise of trumpets which commenced, after which the nearest course of water was consecrated with some holy water and holy twigs were drawn as if they were the first arrows. It was the custom for the general before the battle to call upon the enemy to submit to the king of kings and to the religion of Zarathushtra, and then a challenge was thrown out to single combat to any one who had the courage by the cries of *mard u mard*, man to man.

In the sanguinary battles which were directed by the king himself a grand throne was erected for his majesty who occupied the centre of the army. The throne was surrounded by the servitors of the sovereign, his personal suite, and a body of guards who were sworn to defend him to death. At the corners of the throne were planted the standards beyond which was formed an outer circle composed of archers and foot soldiers. When the king was not present in person and the battle was conducted by the Captain general of the empire the throne was occupied by the latter. It was from such a magnificent seat that Rusam the last Iranian commander followed the events of the battle of Qadisiya.

Whilst the Parthians had little ability and were assiduous in laying sieges, the Persians of the Sasanian times had acquired polioractics from the Romans. They employed belires balistes moving towers and other materials of siege used in antiquity. The prisoners of war were generally led hands tied at the back to be sold into slavery or were sent out into deserted portions of the empire to form colonies,

The Persians had an ingenious method for computing the loss of **men** in an engagement. Before a battle a review was held in the presence of the king seated on his throne and of the general charged with the coming engagement. The soldiers filed out one by one and each of them threw an arrow in one of the huge baskets kept for the purpose. The baskets were then closed up and sealed with the royal signet. The war ended, the baskets were opened and each of the soldiers took back one of the arrows. The number of arrows left remaining in the baskets indicated the number of soldiers killed or captured. Thus the king could judge for himself whether or not his general had purchased victory for him too dear.

The Marzbans of the Southern provinces had constantly at their disposal mercenary soldiers. The strongholds on the frontiers also contained permanent garrisons.

From the very first the Sasanides allied themselves to the Zarathushtrian clergy and an intimate relation between the church and the State

continued throughout the period with which we are occupied. The Church. The church invested the mundane authority with a sacrosanct character and entered at the same time into the life of each citizen in all circumstances of importance. The church so to say followed the individual from the cradle to the grave. "At present all revere them (the magians) and look upon them with much veneration. Public affairs are arranged according to their advice and predictions and in particular they direct the affairs of those who have a litigation in carefully looking over what is going on and giving their decision. For, nothing among the Persians seems to be legitimate or just which is not affirmed by the magians."

The influence of the preachers did not rest on their spiritual authority alone nor on the jurisdiction which was given them by the State nor on the authority which they possessed of legalizing births, marriages, etc., and of undertaking purifications and sacrifices, but also on their territorial possessions and the abundant resources at their command with reference to religious gifts, the tithe and the largess. Moreover they enjoyed considerable independence, they formed a sort of an imperium in imperio if we may believe Ammien who tells us that the magians lived according to laws of their own.

The Zarathushtrian clergy composed a hierarchy minutely regulated and graduated of which however we possess no exact knowledge, the modern Parsi society being to a great extent different from the times of

the Sasanians. The maglans or moghan were the large class of inferior ecclesiastics. Above them stood the herbeds and the mobeds and diverse other classes of preachers having special functions like the priest of prayers or zot and the priest of fire or raspi. The dastur had apparently a superior rank; but we are unable to define his functions with any certainty. It is most probable that he was a kind of expert in all questions of religion, a theologian and jurisconsult to whom were referred for decisions cases of doubt, a kind of mufti in the world of Islam. Another superior office was that of the instructor of the magians or mogan-andarzbed. At the top of the ecclesiastic edifice were the horbedan herbed and the mobedan mobsd.

The clergyman before everything was attached to the pyre and the service at the temple was his principal occupation. Corresponding to the grades of the patriarchal regime of ancient Iran there was a fire of the house, a fire of the clan or village (aderan), and a fire for each province or canton called the bahram fire. While the house fire was maintained by the manded or the master of the house, two priests at least were necessary for the service of the Adaran and the fire of Bahram required a body of more numerous clergy under the direction of a mobed. But much more adored than any of these fires were three great incarnations of celestial fires corresponding to three primitive states, namely, the fire ader-farn bag sacred to the ecclesiastical order located at Kariyan in Pars; Adar-gushasp the fire of the class of warriors or royal fire at Ganjak in Azerbaijan; and Burzin Mihr the fire of husbandmen on Mount Revand in Khorasan. Instead of the altars in open air as before there were now constructed high and sumptuous temples to fire. It was of extreme importance that the sun should not shine on the fire and the latter was closed in a place in the interior of the temple which was absolutely dark.

At the hour of distress the Sasanian kings went on pilgrimage to the royal fire of Ader Gushasp and bestowed on it gold, lands, and slaves in abundance. Bahram V sent to the temple of Ader Gushasp the precious stones from the crown of the captured Khaqan and of his consort. Khusrau I was equally generous to the temple. Khusrau II vowed to Ader Gushasp ornaments of gold and gifts of silver if he vanquished Bahran Chovin and he kept his word.

If the three principal pyres were objects of a veneration altogether special and received donations richer than any other—many fires sacred to Bahram also, enjoyed high reverence, especially those whose founda-

Hons were attributed to some one of the fabulous heroes of the mythical times or to Zarathushtra himself such as the temple at Tus at Neshapur, at Arrejan in Pars, the temple of Karkra in Seistan, and the temple Kuwisa between Pars and Ispahan.

The prime occupation of the servants of the temple was to look after the fire and to take care that it was not extinguished. To this was to be added the preparation of the Haoma, the offering of bread and wine and the recitations of prayers and litanies. In their relations with the community the functions of the preachers were various and manifold; they had to perform purificatory rituals, listen to confessions, grant absolution, condemn to honourable amends, to perform the usual ceremonies at births, at the investiture of the sacred kosti, at marriages, funerals, and various religious festivals. When we consider how far the religion intervened in the least events of daily life and to what extent the individual was exposed day and night to falling in sin and impurity by the least want of attention, we understand how a clergyman who had not inherited wealth and houses could easily gain a fortune by his diverse occupations. He had to pray to the Sun four times a day, had to offer his devotions to Moon, fire, and water, he had to repeat his prayers going to bed and rising, taking his bath, and putting on his thread before eating, while cutting his hair and nails, when lighting lamps etc. The fire must not be put out and the Sun must not shine on the fire. Metal pots must not contract rust because metals were sacred things. The necessary formalities for removing the impurity of a person who had touched a dead body or a woman in her courses or a lying-in woman especially, if she had given birth to a still-born child, were fatiguing and exhausting in the extreme. In hell Ardaviraf saw among assassins, sodomits, perjurers and other criminals, persons who had sinned by taking a hot bath, by throwing Impure things in fire or water, who had spoken while eating or walked without footwear.

It was the duty of the priest not merely to perform ceremonies but also to supervise the morals of the people and to govern their souls. I have no doubt that primary education and atleast in part higher studies were in the hands of the clergy, but unfortunately our sources of information on this point fail us. We know that the princes and young men of the higher class of nobles learned to read, write and count, learned the games of draughts and chess, they learned riding and hunting. It goes without saying that the noble youths were exercised before everything in the use of arms, But as

regards the great mass of the ordinary people our historians do not enlighten us.

The indications which are supplied to us by the Dinkard on the position of the priests are unfortunately too fragmentary.

The list of delinquencies common among the priesthood is given in Chapter 59 of the Mainyo-i-khard. It includes heresy, greed, negligence, commercial occupation, the habit of attaching too much importance to trifles and infidelity in religious matters. We might add to these intolerance and fanaticism. The persecution of heretics and the adherents of other religions was one of the dark phases of the times. In other books public discussions are mentioned as having occurred on different occasions on which the mobeds and other learned ecclesiastics measured their strength with the adversaries of the Mazdian faith.

The administration of justice occupied a place of high honour in Persia of the Parsis, and from very old times we have sufficient proofs of the fact that the King seriously supervised the legal use made of their judicial authority and of the integrity on part of the judges. Under the Sasanides the name of judge commanded a well-established reputation. Men of approved probity were chosen to be judges such as stood in no need of counsels themselves and the Roman custom of placing men of eloquence and learning in law at the back of ignorant judges was held in ridicule.

Administration of
Justice.

We have seen that the function of mediator and arbiter—possibly only among the nobles—was one of the seven hereditary charges of the great privileged family. But on account of the insoluble connection of religion, ethics and law which is inherent in Parsism the judicial power properly so called must belong to the clergy; and this all the more because all science so to say was the monopoly of the church. The judge who bore the denomination of dadwars are mentioned with the dasturs, the mobeds and the herbeds and they had like the dasturs the title of rad. Such ecclesiastical judges presided over the tribunals of each canton and had to see to it in general that the ends of justice were satisfied even on part of the highest secular authorities of the province. Among the other functionaries of cantons empowered with judicial authority were the shroshawarzdār or the ecleshtical auditeur and the dastbarhamdad. Justice in the villages was dispensed either by the Dehkan or a judicial official specially

appointed. Military jurisdiction was conferred on a special officer named the Spah-dadwar.

No doubt the organization of justice had attained to a high degree of perfection. Often several judges worked together ; in certain cases mixed tribunals were appointed consisting of judge of various degrees. The law allowed the judges a certain amount of delay in summoning witnesses and the duration of the whole procedure was limited by enactments. There were laws against the verbosity of cheats who tended to prolong the cases and confuse the judges, and a judge was liable to be sued who declared from interested motives a doubtful matter as certain or a clear case as doubtful.

The laws among the Persians were very strong, says Ammian. Those against men of ingratitude and deserters were cruel and some were abominable, namely, such by which the crime of a single individual caused the ruin of all his relations. The theoretical basis of the penal code of the ancient Parsis is thus defined in the Letter of Tansar. There were three classes of crimes cognizable by law, crimes against God when people apostatised from their religion and started innovations in it; crimes against the king when people rebel, revolt or act treacherously or run away from a battlefield ; and lastly crimes against one's near kindred when one tyrannizes over another. Formerly when the laws were very severe the two first classes of crime, to wit, heresy, insurrection, treason and desertion were punishable by death without delay ; and the category of offences like abduction burglary, theft, oppression, etc., by the *lex talionis*. At the time of the composition of the Letter of Tansar, that is under Khusrau I, the penalties were in general softened. For the heretics the law prescribed " that the offender shall be held in prison and throughout one whole year the clerks without interruption should catechize him, should advise him, should argue with him, and dissipate his doubts. Should he repent and confess his error he shall be set free, should obstinacy and pride detain him in infidelity he shall be put to death." In reality this law could not be applied to the followers of religions like Christianity and Judaism but it is probable that it was followed in its rigour against the Manichians and the Mazdakites. As regards those who had committed offences against the king, in the latter period the law contented itself by executing a part of the rebels or deserters to intimidate others and to make an example of them; while the crimes against the near kinsmen were punished by the exaction of damages; and by mutilation, the brigand having had to pay four times as much as the

thief. Contrary to the practice of former ages the mutilation was performed in such a manner that the culprit's capacity for work was not diminished. The nose for example of the adulterer was cut off. If the culprit had no previous convictions he could get off by paying a fine without being mutilated ; but in case of repetition of crime the punishment was severe. " The criminals condemned to pecuniary reparation if after their discharge lapsed into sin again their ears and nose must be cut off without having a right to a second pardon."

Cases of theft being very common the penal code of Persia was particularly occupied with it. The thief caught in the fact was placed before the judge, the stolen property being tied to his neck. He was put into prison and in iron. The number of fetters varied according to the gravity of the crime and the offending members of the body were more or less closely tied up. Convicted of the crime he was led to the gallows or strangled to death. In the examination of the accused the judge was permitted if necessary to use pretended good will and deceitful words to make the criminal confess. The accused betraying his accomplices was rewarded. But the receiver of stolen property was awarded the same punishment as the thief himself. Native thieves and thieves from foreign countries did not receive the same treatment with regard to clothing when it was cold, and with regard to medicine in case of illness. On religious grounds foreign criminals were not put in chains.

Imprisonment as punishment does not seem to have been in use in Persia; but preventive detention could last for months or years. The jail was also used as means of procuring the disappearance without noise of dangerous people. Many a man of ancient pedigree was incarcerated in the castle of oblivion, Anushberd, a stronghold in Susiana near Gondeshapur which owed its sinister name to the fact that it was prohibited to mention before the king the individuals who were committed to it.

Blinking was a very common punishment especially for princes who had been in revolt. It was carried out by means either of a heated needle or by pouring boiling oil on the eyes of the victim. According to Moses of Kohren Shapur II punished with death a general who had betrayed lack of courage by making him drink the blood of a bull, a punishment not uncommon in the anterior periods of the History of Persia. Otherwise capital punishment Was generally inflicted by means of the

sword ; but certain crimes such as State treason or abandonment of religion were punished with crucifixion. Mani was tied up to a cross and having been flayed alive his skin was suspended at the Gates of Gondeshapur, a sort of capital punishment of which we know other instances. Stoning to death was also a recognized punishment.

As regards torture the Persians were endowed with a horrible genius for the invention of refined tortures. One infernal engine was an iron bar by means of which the flesh of the unfortunate victim was wrenched from the bones and if the torture had to be aggravated naphtha was poured over the bared bones and lighted. The prisoners were suspended head lowermost sometimes by one leg; the members were dislocated or torn one after another, they were scalped, melted lead was pored into their eyes and ears and sometimes the body was cut into two. In this list refined cruelties were also included the wheel and death by naphtha fire The most frightful perhaps of all was the " nine deaths " of which here are the details. The executioner in the first place cut off the fingers of the hands, then the toes of the feet, then the hands upto the wrists, then the feet upto the ankles, next hand upto the elbows and feet upto the knees, next the ears nose and lastly the head, The dead hodies of the persons executed were given over to wild beasts. Among other punishments was the confiscation of property and compulsory labour, including the repairing of roads, breaking stones, felling trees and cutting wood for the maintenance of the sacred fire.

But we should be wrong in believing that all these deeds of cruelty were an everyday affair in the administration of Persian justice. Our information on this question and on the executions are derived from the acts of Christian martyrs; and without considering the exaggerations which must be presupposed in narratives of this nature we must ponder tho fact that this was a matter of religious persecution ; and that accordingly the cruelties were the result of a particular combination of religious zeal and perversity so well-known from the acts of the inquisition of Europe in the middle ages. Very often the Christians of the Persian empire, called over their own heads the misfortunes by their own fanaticism, their bad ways and their sympathies with the hereditary enemies of the Persians. And the controversies between the Christian sects which looked upon each other as heretics could not contribute to their being raised in the esteem of the Persians, Cruel persecutions were after all rare and for the most part the Christians lived under the Persian rule in tranquillity under the spiritual guidance of their own chatolisus and their bishons.

In the persecutions of the heretics ordinary tribunals were generally superseded. The process the interrogatories and the judgments were supervised either by the Marzbans, Or other provincial authorities, or in most instances by special royal commissions in which as a rule the mobeds played the first part. " The king, the generals and the mobeds had in their train troops of prisoners whom they went on questioning according to their pleasure " says Labourt. The case of bishop Abdisho was first of all tried by Prince Ardeshir, afterwards Ardeshir II, who was governor of Adiabene with the title of king, then by the mobedan mobed assisted by two magians and lastly by the head eunuch who was " the master of all royal elephants." One commission of inquisition was composed of three peculiar dignities the mogan andarzbed, the sroshabarzdar, and the dastbarhambad ; another included the inspector of imperial magazines the mobedan mobed having for his assessors the head eunuch and the master of the royal wardrobe. When the ecclesiastical Rad who tried the case of Pethion began to be disgusted with the cruelties and sought to dispense with the execution of the nine deaths on the martyr the mobedan mobed deprived him of his insignias of honour, and dismissing him from his office, established in his place a junior secretary Shar-dabir to assist the high priest. Ordinarily a special authorization from the king was necessary for taking violent measures against the followers of other religions. The persecutions were ordered by the king himself and they were stopped also by his commands, sometimes under the influence of the clergy but most often at least so far as the Christians were concerned on political grounds only. Generally speaking there was always some connection between an outbreak of persecutions of the Christians and the relations between the Courts of Persia and Byzantium.

Thus justice in such cases of inordinate occurrences was not related to the common laws, as the judges who composed the commission were partly State officials in whom we cannot assume much in the way of judicial knowledge guided by special royal edicts issued for the occasion. These edicts operated without exception on Syrians and Persians, on the vulgar and the noble, and on the royal house itself. The mobedan mobed who was the member of a commission of inquisition but who himself turned a Christian was certainly not exempt ; only the inspector of magazines who was head of the commission could not pass order of capital punishment on his own responsibility. He apprised the king of the circumstances who ordered him to procure from the inhabitants of the districts accusations against the pervert mobedan mobed of the crime of lese majeste, after which the latter was condemned to death by starvation in a far off place in the desert

To examine in case of suspicion the culpability or Innocence of the accused trials by ordeal were in great vogue. In the Varshmtansar Nask these ordeals are glorified side by side with truthfulness, integrity and good acts. One sort of ordeal was the Baresmoghvareh by means of sacred twigs and another was the fire ordeal called the Garmogvareh and this latter was the most common. We have instances of it in the fabulous account of Siyavush in the Shahnameh and in the romance of Wis U Ramin. There were fixed rules regarding the species of wood which had to be used and of course the ordeal was accompanied by religious ceremonies. They were all of a more or less serious character.

The supreme judicial authority naturally rested with the king. If justice was denied by the local functionaries the petitioner had always the chance of gaining his objects by appealing to the king. The only impediment lay in the great distance and in the fact that it was not easy to reach the Court. However many a circumstance handed down to us by tradition shows that the Sasanian kings were solicitous about proper dispensation of justice. We are told, for instance, that the majority of the kings of Persia showed themselves on horseback on certain occasions upon an elevated place from which they could survey the multitudes assembled down below in the plain and that from the exalted place they rendered justice to the oppressed complainants. And this was because "when a prince keeps himself in a residence provided with gates, barriers, vestibules and porticos, ill minded persons could oppose the entrance of ordinary people and might prevent them access to the king." It has been related besides that the earlier kings of the houses of Sasan granted a public audience to their subjects twice a year on the days of JNauruz and Mihrgan on which occasions no one was excluded. Several days prior to these festivals it was announced by a public crier that the audience would be held and on the appointed day a harold stood up in the market and in a loud voice proclaimed as follows :—" If any one person prevents another from entering into this assembly to-day the king does not hold himself responsible for his blood that shall be shed." Then the king made his appearance and received the petitions, and if amongst these representations there was complaint against himself, he came down from the throne, handed the plaint on his knees to the grand mobed and prayed that he might deliver his impartial judgment in the matter; if the judgment was adverse to the king he had to make up for his error; but if the complaint appeared devoid of

foundation and non constat the complainant was condemned " to rigorous punishment reserved for those who have the audacity to criticise the king and his government." After this the king resumed his throne, put on his crown again, and exorted the elders and dignities of his Court to follow his own example and make amends to those whom they had wronged.

This account no doubt proceeds from an ecclesiastical source. The author of the Saiset nameh adds that the custom in question was abolished by Yazdegerd I, the Sasanian king who was the most hated of the priesthood. There is no doubt that there is a germ of historic truth in this account. In the Syrian acts of Christian martyrs we are told that this custom was in practice originally among the Sasanians, that during one week at the commencement of each month every one had access to the functionaries of the State to whom they could address their complaints with reference to injustice, and represent to the king instances of maladministration, but that this custom was put a stop to by Yazdegerd II and not by Yezdegerd I. And such is the inherent truth of these accounts that the majority of Sasanian kings possessed at least the Aryan sense of justice and that often by their direct and personal intercession they remedied the tyranny and the arbitrary acts of the nobles. The story relating to the strong sense of equity shown by Hormizd IV is equally characteristic on this point.

The information at our command about the other branches of administration does not unfortunately permit of our saying much. We have no details as to how the Police was organised. Some of the divisions of the foot-soldiers called paigan under their captain Paigan-salr were placed at the disposal of the provincial officers as their gendarmes. And for similar functions bodies of bow-men under the command of a Tirbed were posted in the villages of at least some parts of the kingdom. At the Court the soldiers of the body of guards had very often to serve as policemen.

The Muhammedan Khalifat borrowed from Persia the postal system of the Sasanians which did not differ much from the times of the Achæmenides as we learn from the Greek writers, and we are justified in feeling certain that the same organisation in its essentials obtained under the Sasanides. The postal service was for the interests of the State and not for the public, the principal object being to secure rapid and convenient mode of communication between the central government and the provincial rulers, Men as well as letters were thus dispatched by relays regularly

entertained, and these relays were provided with an escort and a number of horsemen corresponding to its importance. There were courriers and postmen on horseback the latter being employed especially in the Iranian countries properly so called where the distances between the relays were much shorter than in the provinces of Syria and Arabia which were partly served by a camel service.

Ambassadors from foreign parts were treated with marked civility. Whenever an ambassador arrived the warden of the marches immediately announced the fact and the governors of the provinces which the ambassador had to go through provided for the lodging of the ambassador befitting his rank. On learning the object of his mission the governor informed the king of it after which the latter sent out an escort for the reception of the ambassador and to accompany him to the royal residence. Here the king received him in solemn audience seated on his throne surrounded by the dignitaries of his empire, asked his name, and the route he came by, then the business he had come for, the condition of his country, the health of his royal master and about the army of the latter. Subsequently the king conducted him in person to his palace with all pomp and circumstance due to an ambassador, treated him at his table, took him out hunting and finally dismissed him not without the ceremonial required by his rank of ambassador and presented him with a robe of honour,

Chapter IV.

Political developments under the Sasanides.

There were two things in particular which gave the empire of the Sasanians its peculiar character differentiating it from the preceding kingdom of Parthia, viz., a more accentuated centralization and the recognition of a State church.

The great bureaucratic apparatus was no new creation of the Sasanides; the forms of administration as well as the nomenclature of titles and functionaries were in general inherited from the times of the Parthians; for already under the Arsacides the feudal nobility had become at the same time a noblesse de robe. But the first Sasanian kings gave to the bureaucracy a stability hitherto unknown and forged a solid bond between the provincial government and the central authority. While the disorganisation of the empire had proceeded under the Arsacides to such a point that the Parthian empire had become an assemblage of petty tributary "kingdoms" which were semi-independent, and the great Parthian families disputed the power of the king of kings, Ardeshir was the first to inaugurate a firm centralization which was the cause of the grandeur of his empire. The governors of the provinces came under the complete dependence of the king of kings. The administrative division into provinces had no organic connection with the various provincial governments which had more of a military character. The office of Marzbans had no stability; the extent of their power varied according to opportunity. The Padkospans were appointed if the king thought fit, if not the places remained vacant. Thus the feudal traditions were not transferred to the governments and the latter did not for a long time develop into hereditary principalities. The civil administration of the provinces rested with the lower grade of nobles, the dehkans who were always loyal. The ancient system of espionage was effectively kept up. The strength of the new royal power found its characteristic expression in the fact that the first two kings of the house of Sasan appointed their own successors.

The feudal system continued to exist. The Vispuhrs went to Court with the levy of their subjects; but these armies of peasants were ill organized and composed of bad soldiers, which led to the importance of mercenary soldiers. The elite of the army was formed as we saw before by the cavalry and apparently the majority of the cavaliers were not

sub-vassals of the Vispuhrs but of the lesser feudal lords directly dependent upon the crown. The fiefs of the Persian Vispuhrs were no more geographically compact as was probably the case in the Parthian times but were dispersed in all the corners of the empire. All this went to prevent the territorial landholders from attaining that preponderance which they had enjoyed in former days.

But the feudal nobility remained as under the Arsacides a noblesse de robe. Certain offices of high trust were hereditary in the seven premier families and, when gradually the bureaucracy got the better of feudalism, the landholders were assured of a sort of customary prerogative for the highest dignities of the central government which were non-hereditary. In this way they perpetuated the influence which otherwise would have eluded them; and from the end of the 4th century to the end of the 5th that is from the death of Shapur II down to Kawad the higher nobility once more proved a danger to the royal power especially because it was allied to the priesthood.

It was the clergy who contributed the most to lend to the Sasanian epoch its peculiar physiognomy in striking contrast with the syncretism of the times of the Achaemenides and the Hellenism which was the fashion under the Parthians. The national religion having become the State religion and having penetrated the Sasanian society invested it with its character of harmony and in a manner which no Iranian empire possessed before or since. If all the phenomena of the epoch had their roots in the past and if they projected their shadow into posterity the Sasanian period, with its State and its people, its civilization, its literature and its art, is perhaps a thing apart. It was Parsism which created this style as—without comparison elsewhere—European Christianity created the Gothic style and it is by it that it commands our respect although its theology may be perhaps the most obnoxious and by its crude formalism the most barren of ideas amongst all that has been imagined in the world of theological speculation.

Darius the Great was proud of being not only a Persian but an Aryan; the Arsacides were merely Parthians and "phil-Hellenes." The people themselves before the times of Ardeshir Papakan could hardly have cherished a sentiment of national unity. In exalting Zarathustrianism to State religion the first king of the Sasanian dynasty brought into being a true Iranian national state having for the symbol of unity the ancient **standard** of Rave. And it was here perhaps **that** lay despite the spirit of

domination manifested by the priestly classes the strongest counterbalance against the eventual tendencies to disorganization.

The clergy did not count for nothing in the mysterious death of Yazdegerd I; and in the rivalries for the throne which ensued the mobedan mobed played an important part. In theory the ecclesiastical order being the head of society above all the rest, the class of soldiers whose premier representative was the king stood second in rank. From the preachers "every one must learn rules of morality and religious precepts" for the priests have a superiority due "to the perfection of their recitations (of the sacred book) and to the position and the marks of ecclesiastical dignity." We make no doubt but that many of the grand mobeds attempted as against royalty to draw the practical conclusions from this theory; but unfortunately history has not preserved for us any types of such prelates the Zarathushtrian tradition being more occupied with dogma than individuals. On the contrary the king endeavoured to assert the force of the idea that he the sovereign endowed with divine majesty was the pontiff of religion. This is indicated by the vision of Ardeshir Papkan in which the three sacred fires Gushap, Farnbag, Burzin Mihr were united under the leadership of his grandfather Sasan; and this is the substance of the Naqsh-e-rustam where the divine majesty relates how she crowned one after another six or seven kings of Sasanian dynasty with the crown of mobeds and herbeds. These two facts show that the theory supported by the kings was in force during the first portion of the epoch and again in the last century of the empire. In the Shahnameh of Firdousi the king of Persia is sometimes treated as mobed.

As regards the theory of the royalty of the Sasanides, Tansar's Letter informs us that the King is the Law, the good order in the midst of his subjects and his army; he is the supreme ornament on the day of a festival and in the day of terror the stronghold, the asylum and protection from his enemy. If this reflects possibly too forcibly the imposing position of Khusrau I, the Dinkard gives us an exposition of the duties and the rights of royalty which so to say is a resume of the clerical theory of the Sassanian epoch under the royal power, somewhat modified by the political evolution of the age of Khusrau yet still clerical in essence, According to the Dinkard then the qualities and the beauties of a king were firstly those which had reference to the good religion, (2) to the good sense, (3) good conscience, (4) the strength of pardon, (5) the law of subjects, (6) the ability to procure comfort for his subjects, (?) good humour, (8) Constant remembrance of the transitory nature of his rule, (9) the ability

pf conferring high rank on those of good nature, (10) ability to hold down malcontents, (11) a life of community of ideas with his people, (12) the grant of meritorious orders, (13) the observing of the custom of doing justice publicly, (14) generosity, (15) suppression of cupidity, (16) ability to deliver the people from the fear of hostile nations, (17) rewarding the good by making them courteous and men of rank, (18) care in the nomination of ministers of the empire, (19) keeping to the supreme being by wisdom and obedience.

Through this catalogue of qualities and prescriptions which is as devoid of system as all the other moral exposition of Parsi theologians we see well enough the popular conception of royalty and we find to what point the theory was supported by the religious character of sovereignty. This religious character is manifested especially in the *Dīnkard* for instance in the following passage: "The best sovereign of this world is he who confides in the high priest of the good religion of this world who possesses sagacity from Ahura Mazda." A little further we find in the same chapter these words which show once more that the monarchical theory of the connection between the king and the church finally got the better of the clerical theory; "after the king in the world comes the high priest who is the wisest of mankind."

A bad king is abandoned by the divine majesty and should no longer reign after the manifestation of his ill will or his incapacity. "If calamity appear and the king be not capable by his own forces to quell them or if he is indifferent to them or if he is unable to find a remedy then such a king who is feeble and cannot overcome an evil, nor can remedy it, is obviously incapable to administer justice in any way whatever; it is necessary that other kings should fight him in the cause of justice." In reality as well as in theory the constitution of the empire was a despotism qualified by dethronements and murders. There lay a limitation to royal power which did not reside in the paragraphs of a written constitution but in the religious and moral conception of kingship. Of this we have the best proof in the kind of proceedings instituted against Khusrau II after his dethronement when he was indicted with having violated his moral obligations. The complainant who was the son and successor of the deposed sovereign charges him with crimes against his family, with the harsh treatment which he had meted out to State prisoners, the oppressive taxation with which he ground the people, as well with violent extortions besides having kept the troops still in arms on account of his incessant wars which sapped the energy and force of the country and its people

and lastly with having proved disloyal to a foreign monarch namely the Emperor of Byzantium.

In the period when the royal power was weakened, kings like Bahram V, Yazdegerd II and Feroz who showed in every way their orthodoxy and allowed the affairs of State to be managed by the nobles derived the most advantage. Bahram V was a king after the heart of the nobles themselves, a king who divided his time between chivalrous exercises and fatuous voluptuousness and artistic luxury. Yazdegerd was more of a bigot. Peroz was lauded on account of his religiousness, his want of loyalty towards the king of the Hephthalites notwithstanding. He loved war but his soldiers proved bad warriors and invited misfortune to the land. During this period the king no more chose his successor; the kingdom was in fact an elective monarchy confined to the family of the Sasanides; and the right to elect the king belonged to the higher representatives of the orders of priests, warriors and scribes, or in case of dissension to the mobedan mobed alone. According to Tansar's Letter the election took place in the following manner. With his own hand the king wrote three messages each one of which he entrusted to a person entirely in his confidence, to be handed over to the mobedan mobed, the second to the dabiran Mehisht, and the third to the Eran-spahbed. As Darmesteter remarks this message only contained "general considerations, remarks on the character and the respective capacities of the different candidates, on the needs of the State, but no precise recommendation, for in that case there would have been no necessity for deliberation and of a selection by three great officers." The letter continues thus: "when the world loses the Shahanshah, the mobedan mobed shall be summoned as well as the two other personages. They shall assemble together to deliberate and open the messages and consult one another about the choice to be made from among the king's children. If the view of the mobedan mobed is in agreement with those of the two others the people shall be informed accordingly, but if there is difference nothing shall be let known outside and the mobedan mobed shall hold a secret convocation with the herbeds, the doctors and the faithful. They shall commence prayer and "murmur" the baj. The men of wealth and position shall remain behind saying Amen, prostrating themselves and raising their hands in humility. This shall be terminated with the evening service and the people shall implicitly accept whatever the mind of the high priest is inspired to by God. Over night the crown and throne shall be brought to the great chamber. The higher officials shall take their seats, Then the mobed superior accompanied by

herbeds, the lords and the ministers shall repair to the assembly of royal princes ; they shall draw themselves up before the princes and avow, "we have held consultation before the most high ; he has condescended to guide and inspire us and has instructed us to our benefit." Then the mobed superior shall call out in a loud voice "the angels are agreed that so and so shall be the king ; accept him as such, O men! and may good betide you." The prince elect is then seated on the throne and the crown is put on his head ; then being held by the hand he is asked "do you accept from God the religion of Zarathushtra which has been consolidated by Vishtaspa son of Aurvataspa ? The prince replies in the affirmative and adds " may it please God I will endeavour for the good of my people." The courtiers attached to the palace and the guard remain with him, while the common multitude return to their daily tasks and affairs."

A typical representative of the aristocracy of these times is Sokhra of the family of Karen. He was governor of Seistan a province which had often been administered by the heir apparent in former times when the king could choose his successor After the terrible defeat and death of Peroz he went to war against the Hephthalites "with those who joined him voluntarily with the single purpose of covering themselves." Even if the accounts of these utterances are highly exaggerated it is evident that he procured a tolerable peace for his country. For a number of years he was the most powerful man in the empire. Being at first intimate with Balash he subsequently transferred his allegiance to Kawad who was under proscription and helped him to regain his crown after which he assumed the entire government himself, completely effacing the king, till the latter astutely profiting by the jealousy of other noble families contrived to capture and kill him.

Here the work of the restitution of the royal authority began again. Kawad took it up in the most drastic fashion by allying himself with the communistic movement led by Mazdak. He attempted according to Procopius even to legalise women as common property. At all events he traded on the brutal instincts of the proletariat to destroy the purity of the caste of the aristocrats and to encompass the decomposition of family ties which form the strength of the higher grade of Aryan nobles. And how far his successor's excesses went is evidenced by the fact that his successor Khusrav I had to remedy by special legislation the confusion which reigned in the family relationship of the superior nobles. Once more the nobi-

lity were exasperated; and the clergy, the mobedan mobed at their head, had the upper hand and succeeded in dethroning the king. The latter however succoured by his queen in an adventurous flight was reinstated by Siyavush, one of the powerful nobles who got for his reward the high military post of Arteshtaransalar. This Siyavush was an aristocrat of the olden type who was distinguished for his lofty courage as one of the foremost men of his time " the most honest and faithful guardian of justice" but at the same time consumed with pride to such a point that "though this vice was common among the upper stratum of Persian society and seems to have been innate among them they themselves were of the view that Siyavush had the most of it." The king took a bloody revenge on his enemies but this time made wise by experience he kept more and more aloof from the Mazdakites who were finally broken by the heir apparent with the tacit consent of Kawad.

By the Machiavellian policy of Kawad the royal power was re* established and Kawad was the first king since Shapur II who appointed during his life-time one of his sons to succeed him. This son Khusrau I surnamed Anoshak Rawan, the immortal souled, the greatest statesman of the Sasanide dynasty, accomplished the work of his father but by other means. A new survey which had already been planned by Kawad served him for a basis of his reform in taxation of which the motive was this, namely, that he should amass ready money in the royal coffers so that in case of a war the means might be ready and might obviate the necessity of extraordinary impositions. Having thus brought order into the finances he began to reform the army. He passed in review the cavalry, helped those among them who were without fortune giving them remounts and equipments, and he appointed a fixed salary for them. This brief notice seems to indicate that Khusrau had accomplished the transition from the feudal system to an entirely permanent army. The horsemen who were armed formerly on their own account formed since then the body of noble cavaliers in pay of the State. It is evident that the alterations in levying troops from the peasants were introduced about the same lime. There is a certain connection between this latter reform and the establishment of the four posts of Spahbed which conferred on the Spahbeds a new dignity in the succeeding period.

The privileged classes preserved as compensation for their active service of the State and the Court their exemption from personal taxation; but

for the rest they had become absolutely independent of the king. An anecdote of the youthful days of Khusrau I related by Nizam-ul-mulk puts in clear light the reactions between the king and the nobles as they existed in those days. Although Khusrau on his accession to the throne had called upon the nobles to behave themselves with honesty and humanity towards the populace, the feudatories and the higher functionaries continued to commit all sort of arbitrariness. After three or four years he gathered them together and addressed them as follows: "God having granted me the possession of this world, I have participated it with you, having given each of you the governorship of a province^ and I have left without resources none of you who had during my reign proved of some value to me. I have confirmed the nobles in the offices and administrations which they had received from my father and I have retrenched neither the means of livelihood nor the marks of honour of any", and he went on once more in his exhortation to them not to oppress the vulgar. The assembly dispersed but paid no heed to these counsels of perfection ; for "each one of them in his haueur imagined that it was he who had helped the king to sit on the throne ; and that he could recognise him or not to be his sovereign according to his own pleasure."¹ One of the worst tyrants was a Sipehsalar " who was matchless in authority and opulence and whom Khusrau had charged with the governorship of Azerbaijan. In all the empire there was no prince more puissant than he or possessing more arms or entertaining more guards or having more sumptuous mansions." He desired to build a country seat. The cabin of a poor old widow stood in his way and she was unwilling to sell her property; he evicted her despoiling her of her little all. The tyrant turned a deaf ear to reiterated prayers for redress; and her petitions to the chamberlains and other servants of the Sipehsalar being to no purpose she went to the royal residence and found him out hunting. The courtier being reluctant to procure her an audience, she presented the petition to the king who promisei to examine her case. Meanwhile she was ordered to be conducted by one of the royal servants to the nearest village where her wants were looked after by the headman of the locality. On his return from the hunt she was ordered by the king to be conducted to the capital and lodged in his mansion. The king despatched an agent to Azerbaijan and officially commissioned him to examine all the cities and districts and to report to him the condition of the cereals and fruits and to see if the crops had suffered on account of the inclemency of the weather and the state of the pastures and the places concerned for the chase. But his secret mission was to enquire whether the complaint of the old woman was well-founded. As it proved

perfectly true the king addressed himself to the superior nobles and the mobeds and wanted to learn how much the governor of Azerbaijan owned in gold and silver monies. The reply was two million dinars which were untouched. "How much in properties and moveables," 5,00,000 dinars worth of articles of gold and silver". 6,00,000 dinars worth of jewellery and as regards properties in farms and lands there is not a district or city in Khorasan, in Iraq, in Pars, or Azerbaijan, in which he does not possess mansions, caravanseraies and other immovable possessions, 30,000 horses and mules, 2,00,000 sheep, 1,700 slaves, Turks, Greeks, and Abyssinians, exclusive of 1,400 female slaves all purchased with money. The king next demanded what was the proper punishment for a man of such means who had deprived a weak and God-fearing woman of all she owned. The nobles having replied that he deserved the most cruel death by hanging, the king ordered that the culprit be strangled, that his flesh be thrown to the dogs, and that his skin be suspended from the port royal, and that for 7 days it be publicly announced that whoever gave himself up to high-handedness shall be similarly dealt with.

The king now again became fully the centre of all authority. He reigned over the nobles just as much over the vulgar ; and even the clergy showed themselves to be complacent to the philosophical interests of Khusrau I and to the coquetries of Khusrau II with Christianity. Hormizd I even publicly reprimanded fanaticism of the clergy. As we said everything centred in the Court. It was only there that the art of life, elegance, literature, and art were to be found and conditions developed which recall to our mind in a certain way those of the old regime in France at Versailles at the Court of the "Roi Soleil". The noble boys endowed with natural good qualities were placed at the Court to serve as pages and to be promoted from there to the high offices of the empire and the Court. If one of the noble ceased to present his respects in person the king noticed it and demanded his reason. Mihrangushnasp who had retired into the desert to study the Christian religion desired to know from his sister what news she had received from the Imperial house of Khusrau II. The secret was then revealed of the conversion and she replied "come there is no more danger for you. The king learning that you had turned Christian said nothing worse than this; Mihrangushnasp has gone to hell but do you start off and come. It is possible that the king will direct fortune be left to yourself". It was the special care of the king that no noble fell into destitution. If a nobleman lost his fortune It was the duty of the **king** to succour him giving him money, house, land, slaves, in fact **everything** that he required to **live** up to his position.

But the ancient spirit of independence was not yet extinct, and once more the attitude of the nobles became menacing towards the Crown. This time it was the new system in military matters created by Khusrau I from where the danger originated. The kings who succeeded to the throne after the death of Khusrau I gave up to their detriment the old custom of taking personal part in wars. The result was that the soldiers felt themselves bound to their generals by the most solid ties, especially if the latter led them to victory. They had more regard for the generals under whom they immediately served than for the king who was distant and invisible. After the reforms of Khusrau I when the permanent armies became very numerous a Spahbed or a general invested with extraordinary powers easily fell into the temptation of kindling a civil war to usurp the Crown. There was a marked difference between the two types, like the feudal lord Sokhra who at the close of the 5th. century "was more powerful than the king and the general Behram Chobin who a century later succeeded for some months in getting possession of the throne" by means of select body of disciplined troops. When Khusrau II revolted against his father he made himself acknowledged king in Azerbaijan by the Spahbeds and the Marzbahs, that is to say, the chief generals of four quarters of the empire and their lieutenants. During the incessant wars of the times of Khusrau II the armies became more disciplined and warlike the general had more confidence in them, and evolution entered more and more towards a military domination in which each Spahbed considered every quarter of the kingdom under his military control almost as a hereditary fief, after the manner of old, especially after the royal family had fallen since the death of Khusrau II into the most hopeless decadence. The general Shahrbaraz repeated the essay of Bahram Chobin though with equally transitory success. However, the intrigues of "women and the palace intrigues brought about the ruin of the royal family and with it of the whole empire. Farrukh Hormizd the spahbed of Azerbaijan harboured the design of grasping the throne by marrying queen Azermidokht, He was then the most powerful man in the empire, and the queen not daring to refuse his demand had him caught in an ambush and put to death. Rustom the son of Farrukh Hormizd directed the army of his father towards Ctesiphon, took the city and killed the queen and it was she probably who contributed the most to elevating to the throne the ill-starred Yazdegerd III to the throne. Finally about this time the military rulers of the small southern district especially those to the extreme north and east of Iran turned sovereign rulers more or less independent of the Shanshah. The nomination of military rulers is the final phase of the political evolution of the House of Sasan but the new

military feudalism had not yet had time to be consolidated, for only a few years after the advent of Yazdegerd III the Arabs put an end to the Sasanide empire and the aristocratic Persia of antiquity.

In the last century of the epoch the ancient nomenclature of the social grades and the offices was in complete disorder. Of the four classes of nobles in the time of Shapur I two only are now mentioned, the Grandees and the nobles, the Wazurgan and the Vispuhran. It is possible that the cavaliers were included in the latter. The provincial governors, the padkospan and the Marzbans have become subalterns of the spahbeds and at the end the word padkospan no more signified governor-general of a quarter of the kingdom, but became a title applicable to several marzbans like that of Ispahan. As we said above it was the spahbed who profited by the new order of kings. At the time of the Arab Invasion the spahbed of Khorasan had already become a hereditary prince of Tabaristan. Of the other titles, the functionaries of various degrees spiritual and temporal converged to investing the territorial princes with an authority more or less extensive. A berbed ruled in Bars. A masmog or superior of the magians ruled Demavend. Certain designations became collective nouns for the particular classes of nobles in limited regions, the word Shahrig which originally indicated the Chief of Canton was applied particularly to the small landed proprietors round about Mosul where entire villages were inhabited by Shahrigs, belonging to a certain sect of Christians.

In other respects likewise the decomposition of the body politic was evident. The influence of the Zarathustrian priesthood on the affairs of the empire had so far weakened towards the termination of the Sasanian epoch that the Christian family of Yazdin occupied the highest post in the administration of finance; and in spite of the indignation of the old national nobles Khusrau II could raise to the post of the finance minister the vulgar Khurdadin and entrust Farrakhzad the barber with the receipts of taxes.

Chapter V.

The King and the Court,

The imposing majesty which surrounded royalty as an institution found an analogous expression in the titles with which the king decorated himself. In the inscription of Haji Abad Shapur I calls himself "the worshipper of Mazda the divine Shapur, king of kings of Iran and non-Iran, descendant of the Gods." In a letter to the Emperor Constance he attributes to himself the pompous titles of "King of kings, Companion of the stars, brother of the Sun and Moon." In addressing himself to the Armenian authorities the great king qualifies himself often as "King of kings, the most glorious of the worshippers of Ahura Mazda elevated as high as the Sun." Khusrau I glories himself in being "The divine, the good, the granter of peace to his country, the venerable Khusrau, King of kings, the fortunate, the pious, the beneficent, he on whom the gods have conferred great good luck and a great empire, the one formed after the image of the gods," and Khusrau II gives himself the appellation of "an immortal man among the gods and highly illustrious god among men, the possessor of sublime renown, he who rises with the Sun and grants its eyes to the night."

The aspect of the king ought to correspond to his pompous titles, In the first place he must be free from all vice or deformity. Thus it was that the kings made blind or otherwise incapacitated the members of their family whose rivalries they dreaded in order to disqualify them for the occupation of the throne. It was against convention that the king should acquire wealth by agriculture or commerce; and as soon as he ascended the throne he had to give solemn engagement to govern with justice, to have nothing to do with commerce and to have no slaves in his service, "for they never give advice which prove good or useful." The revenues of the State alone enrich the sovereign and add to his means. A sumptuous magnificence in dress and equipment, a numerous suite and a brilliant Court served to heighten the splendour of his majesty and to dazzle the spectators. In the battle Shapur II surpassed others by his stature, marched on horse back at the head of his army. He carried in the shape of a diadem the figure of the head of Aram in gold set with precious stones; and the numerous suite of the various dignitaries lent to his appearance still greater lustre." Theophylact describes for us Hormizd IV seated on his royal throne, clad in a precious costume; "the, tiara was

of gold and adorned with stones emitting a dazzling splendour with the carbuncles and decorated with strings of pearls which shone on the head-dress mixing its waves of rays with the charming beauty of the emeralds so that the eye contemplating it became partially petrified in insatiable astonishment. He wore trousers of cloth of gold and generally his dress gave proof as much of riches as of an inclination to ostentation." John Chrysostom says that the king of Persia had a golden beard and had the appearance "of a wonderful beast."

The kings of the Sasanian dynasty may still be seen to-day in all their pomp on the coins and the bas-reliefs which they have left. We have got the coins of all the Sasanian kings and from them we learn that each king had made himself a different crown from that of his predecessor. Ardeshir I had struck coins after Arsacides models on which the king is represented wearing a long beard, on the head the pearl tiara of the Arsacides. On more recent coins the tiara is furnished with a summit in the shape of a baloon possibly symbolical of the terrestrial or celestial globe or rather it is no tiara at all but a species of bonnet bearing this singular ornament. On both the sides there are inscriptions in Pahlavi. On the reverse we see the pyre which is never absent from the coins of the Sasanides. Shapur I wears an indented crown of a peculiar shape adorned with a baloon and we can distinctly see that the latter is decked with stones and pearls. The type of coinage inaugurated by Shapur I was maintained during the successive reigns with only an alteration in the ground, for it sometimes bears the dents high and sharp. Sometimes it assumes the shape of a round bonnet enclosed in a low and dented diadem, sometimes this bonnet is supplied with branches and leaves which were probably made in gold, at other times the bonnet has the shape of an eagle head foremost and wings expanded. But the baloon is always there on the crown which however grows lesser in proportions with every following king. Shapur II alone bears on a coin of a rare type a tiara ornamented with three strings of big pearls and minus the baloon. With Bahram V and Yesdergerd II the baloon is raised by means of a perchette a little above the crown; evidently it was regarded at this time as symbol of the sun. Then a crescent is added the horns of which embrace the lower half of the globe.

Bahram V had begun to place the crescent in front of the crown, and this innovation is often imitated up to the times of Peroz. Khusrau I regained the crescent before the crown and added a star to it. After Kawad

the globe forming the summit of the headdress "became so small that it was nearly entirely enveloped by the horns of the crescent. Khusrau II resumed the winged crown of Peroz but here the globe proceeding from the baloon of Ardeshir I is turned into a star. The last kings had the crown of Khusrau II with some trifling changes.

On the reverse of the coins beside the pyre we see two priests. On some of the coins of Bahrain II it seems that the two figures by the side of the altar represent the king and the queen with their particular head-dresses, king on the left, the queen on the right. Since the times of Peroz we always notice a star to the left of the altar and a crescent to the right. Besides the crescent or the combination of stars and the crescent is placed since Kawad three times a l'avers below on the left and on the right the effigy of the king, and four times on the reverse. Among the other symbols which occasionally appear on the coins are some in which the Danish numisatist L. Cha. Muller recognises respectively the marks of divinity and royalty, and others which are according to the same scholar two forms of instrument of the cult called the Mahru which is still in usage among the Parsis. According to the Mujmil-et-tawarikh Shapur I and II and Bahram II, III and IV wore two or three rings of gold round their crowns or other head-gears and the coins of these kings show that the information is correct.

In the year 303 of the Hijra corresponding to 915-16 A. D. Masudi saw at Istakhr at the house of a nobleman of Pars "a big book containing most of the sciences of the Persians as well as history the buildings and the reigns of their kings" and which comprised besides the portraits of the kings of Persia of the line of the Sasanide. "Of each one of them a portrait was drawn on the day of his death whether he died young or old and in it were represented his costume and crown, the fashion in which he wore his beard and the expression of his figure." This image was deposited in the treasury "in order that the appearance of the dead may not be concealed from posterity." If the king was represented as a warrior he appears standing; and if he was delineated as occupied in State affairs he was seated; and each king showed himself surrounded by great and small in such a manner that the prominent memorable events of his reign were expressed by this representation. Masudi adds that this book was a copy of the one which was found in a treasury of the kings of Persia in the middle of the month of Jumadi II, 113 that is 781 A. D. It was translated from Pahlavi into Arabic by Hisham ibn Abdel Malik, son of Merwan, and the images were painted of a marvellous kind of colours

"which have no equals in our days in liquid gold and silver varid with copper filings sprinkled over; and the leaf itself was of a blue colour of a marvellous tint and prepared in a way so beautiful and excellent that I do not know if it was paper or skin." Hamza used this book to insert in his chronicle a description of the portraits of all the Sasanide kings. Probably the figures in question were not authentic from first to last. We may suppose that the custom of preparing the portrait of the king on the day of his death and of depositing in the treasury was adopted at a time which we are unable to fix, and that the whole collection was subsequently completed by supplying from imagination the lineaments of the earlier kings; but we have no grounds whatever to doubt the authenticity of the portraits of the later Sasanide kings. The dress, the entire equipment and the individual positions are so entirely different from what we know of Islamic times, and on the other part are in so much accord with the representations of Sasanide bas-reliefs, that the idea of a post-Sasanide forgery is altogether precluded. I give as an example the description of Khusrau I as given by Hamza, "wearing a white robe brodered or painted in diverse colours, trousers of a blue-sky colour, seated on his throne supporting himself on his sword" and Yezdegerd III the last king of the dynasty "appeared in green robes with coloured designs sky-blue trousers, red crown and shoes of the same colour, holding a lance in one hand and supported by his sword."

The symbol of royalty which we mentioned above is only an amplification of the sign which we see on the Achaemenide and Arsacide coins and which we meet with again under the Sasanides. On the bas-reliefs at the time of Ardeshir I and of Shapur I we notice the same signs, and in addition five more on the headdresses of some of the courtiers surrounding the king. I believe that they were used in this way as a kind of uniform for officers of various divisions of the bodyguard.

The bas-reliefs often consist of representations of groups in which we see the king encircled by his body-guards, soldiers and prisoners or subjects bearing tribute; his appearance is stiff and majestic. His crown or diadem has floating ribbons, a collar, an undergarment brodered with a number of precious stones and pearls. Generally speaking the right hand reposes on the sword; the king's dress must have been very embarrassing. One king, to judge by the form of his crown probably Peroz, is represented in a costume descending right down to the middle of the ankle and the design similar to the flower of lilies in the robes of the old kings of France. As a rule the king's moustache was uniformly turned and the beard trimmed and pointed, the hair curly and falling on the shoulders

Our knowledge of the different shapes of crowns enables us to identify in a majority of cases the Sasanide bas-reliefs. From the times of Ardeshir I has come down to us inter alia a bas-relief representing the king as receiving from the god Ahura Mazda a ring with floating ribbons, a symbol of sovereignty. Both are on horseback, the god having in his left hand a sceptre, the king raising his left hand up to his face pointing his finger towards Ahura Mazda which no doubt is a posture indicative of submission and reverence. Other bas-reliefs show us the members of the king's entourage in the same position with respect to the king, only the posture in question is executed generally by the right hand. The horse of Ardeshir which bears on its chest a Greek inscription and below an ornament of three big medallions at the head of a lion a crowd of people, at the feet of the body of Artaban the vanquished king of Parthia, while Anghro-Mainyush or some other demon is stretched under the feet of the horse of Ahura Mazda. The same scene is represented on other bas-reliefs where the king and the god are on foot. In one of them we find Mithra with a nimbus of rays around his head on the other side of the king. Several bas-reliefs of Shapur I portray his triumph over the Emperor Valerian an event which obviously created a deep impression in Persia. We possess other representations of scenes of combat in which some Sasanide king pursues or overpowers with his lance a crowned adversary. In one bas-relief the king is in steel armour and adorned with a diadem.

As we said above one bas-relief has come down to us which seems to be from Peroz. The king receives the royal ring with the floating ribbons from the hands of a person who is probably the lieutenant of Ahura Mazda on the earth—the mobedan mobed. This person also has put on the diadem set with pearls at the top of which is a globe covered with pearls resembling the one adorning the king's crown, and in ample robes rich with pearls and decorated at intervals by an ornament which seems to have been made of three pearls put together in a line. On the other side of the king there is the queen who too has a crown on the top of which is the globe set with pearls. She has in her right hand the Imperial ring and in her left a mysterious thing resembling a crux. While each turn of the triple circle of the king consists in four rows of pearls the queen had three rows and the putative high priest has only two.

Clustered round the king are numerous courtiers of distinction and rank like the Darigbed or the chief of the Court, the superintendents of the palace, the cup-bearers of maibeds, the head chef de cuisine or khwanslar the chambellans or senecapst as the Armenian historians call him, then the falconeer and pages porters or darbans etc. A body,

of numerous troops called pushtigban had to protect the king -and act as his guard of honour; the head the Pushtigbalar was one of the men of the highest credit at the Court. We have another rank of officers called Hamaharz about whose duties we are not exactly informed. In the later times the royal bodyguard was composed of nobles. When the king mounted his horse the guard fell out into two ranks each individual bearing the cuirasse, the court of mail, the shield, the sword and the lance in the hand ; and as the king passed along each of these soldiers held forward his shield towards the king bending his head so that his forehead touched the shield. At least this was the etiquette towards the termination of the Sasanian epoch. Of the previous times we have representations of the bodyguards in the bas-reliefs of Ardeshir I and Shapur I. It seems that in those days the nobles were not the soldiers ; for we often find a type of soldiers of the bodyguard which have their chins shaved and we know that the nobles gloried in their curly locks. On the bas-relief of plate 53 in the work of Flandin and Coste we see on the left of Shapur I four ranks of cavaliers of whom the two superior grades have assumed a pose of respectfulness, the index finger of the right hand being held up in front. Most of them belong to the shaven class excepting the five horsemen of the third rank who are nearest to the king and who wear curled locks. They are probably noble officers. To the right of the king we see men carrying presents or tribute in kind, below two rows of persons with semi-long hair dressed in blouses reaching to the knees, and in breeches coming down to the ankles. They bear the cruxes, coupes etc., and lead two panthers in chains. I think that they have come from the east of Iran. Below these two we have a row of men presenting clothes, a horse and an elephant.

We see from all these representations of the Court life of the Sasanides that a severe and minute etiquette was observed in the king's palace. A register with all the details of rank called the Gahnmag was kept. Masudi mentions this book as a rarity which is not usually found as a complete copy except among the mobeds and the most distinguished officers of Pars. In it 600 grades of rank were enumerated. The notices of the institutions and the usages at the porte (Der) which have come down to us harmonise with it. The great dignitaries of the empire, the councillors and the persons familiar with the king had their places fixed with minute precision according to their ranks. " In the beginning of the dynasty the order probably was in accord with the classification made known to us by the Hajiabad inscriptions, namely. 1 Shaphfadah aran, a Vispuhran, 3 Wasurgan 4 Azatan. But in course of time diverse

changes took place and towards the end of the epoch the order as communicated to us by Masudi was as follows, that is, the courtiers were divided into three classes, first, the cavaliers and princes who were ten feet from the throne to the right. These were the intimate friends of the king and his courtiers and poets among his noblemen and literati. 2. The Marzbans, the tributary kings who lived at the Court of the great king and the Spahbeds to whom was confided at this time the provincial government. This class kept itself ten feet from the former. Ten feet further away were to be found, 3, the buffoons and familiars friends of pleasure and gaiety ; but men of obscure and infamous origin were excluded as well as such as were afflicted with physical infirmities or were sullied by unnatural crimes or whose father followed a wild profession like that of surgeons and curers of hide.

Yet there was no real intimacy, or it was very rare between the king and his entourage. The etiquette dictated that ordinarily the king should remain concealed, inaccessible and invisible even to the highest circles of the Court. Between the monarch and the courtiers there was a screen which covered him from all eyes and which was hung according to Masudi ten feet from the king and ten feet from the first class of nobles. The screen was in charge of a noble page who had the title of Khurran-bash. Whenever the king received his favourites into intimacy the Khurran-bash called upon some one to go up to the palace terrace and cry in a loud voice audible enough to be heard by all present. To-day you are in presence of the king. This ceremonial was observed each time a feast or a concert took place. The courtiers took their seats according to their grades in silence and without making any gesture. Then Khurran-bash called upon one of them to sing a particular song and upon another to play the accompanying tune.

One of the duties of the Khurran-bash was no doubt to announce the persons who sought king's audience. On these occasions he lifted the screen and announced to the king the name and the business of the intending visitor after repeating the traditional benedictory formula Anoshak Baved, May you be immortal. The permission having been given by the king, the visitor drew out of his sleeve a white clean handkerchief which he applied to his mouth. This was the pandam which is used to prevent human breath from sullyng sacred objects and elements, in this case the royal majesty. Having taken this precaution the visitor entered, threw himself on the ground before the king and remained in this posture until the king asked him to get up when he "respectfully saluted him with his hands",

On certain rare occasions the king appeared in public. These occasions were such as the festivals of Nauruz and Mihrgan. The Armenian writers relate that when serious state of affairs were deliberated upon or when a Persian or Armenian lord was under trial the deliberation took place publicly in the presence of the king, the mobeds, the lords and the troop of guards attached to the palace, the common people keeping beyond and outside the royal enclosure. We need hardly point that the part which the people played was limited to admiring the pompousness of the procedure. And what little value was attached by a sovereign with a will of his own to the councils even of distinguished noblemen and competent advisers is proved by the anecdote related by Tabari regarding the new survey directed by Khusrau I and the financial reforms which he based on it. Khusrau summoned his council, called upon his secretary of finances to read out in a loud voice the new basis of calculation, which finished, he twice asked if anybody had any objections to the proposed reforms. All were silent. When the king repeated his question for the third time a man got up and respectfully asked if the king intended to impose permanent tax on perishable articles which in course of time must lead to injustice. The king thereupon cried out, O shameless and foolish person, what class of men do you belong to? The man replying that he was of the writer class the king commanded: destroy his writing materials, which done, all the other scribes pelted him with their writing materials till he died from it. After this all present unanimously voted, O king, we find all the taxation with which you have charged us to be just.

For foreigners access to Court was not liberal. They cannot even directly enter into the capital. They had first to stop at one or other of five cities. Those Coming from Syria, Hidja², Pars, Turkestan the Countries of the Khazars and Alains had to wait at Hit, El-Odaib, Sarifin, Holwan and Bab-el-abwab, respectively. From there a report of their arrivals was made to the king; and it was only after he had passed orders that the traveller could continue his journey into Persia.

One passage in the acts of martyrs informs us how the sons of nobles were kept in the service of the Court. The young noblemen Mihrangushnasp drew the attention of King Hormied IV by his converse in Persian literature and his knowledge of the principle and practice of the Parsi religion. Having tried his ability to recite by heart the sacred books, the king granted him a sum of money predicting that one day he would certainly come to preferment at Court. As the family of

the boy belonged to the superior rank of nobility, and as he himself had a handsome figure and an acute mind, he was employed as a page in the service of the royal table and he was honoured with the rank of Farrukhshad. Moreover the sons of the higher nobility received at least in part as under the Achaemenides their instruction at the Court, together with the young princes of the blood under the direction of the Instructor of cavaliers whom we have known to be the *andarzbed-i-asparagan*.

We know well enough what dominant part questions of rank and title played in the life of the Persians of the Sasanian times. For the titles and gifts of honour and posts at Court or in the service of the empire were the most common means of rewarding merit; and they served likewise as a powerful instrument to draw back the recusant to the religion of the Parsis who had embraced Christianity. Whenever the king bestowed on any one the tiara it carried with it the privilege of occupying a seat at the imperial table and of taking part in the imperial council. Amongst the highest titles of honour there were besides those we mentioned above three, the exact significance of which has not been transmitted to us by tradition, namely the *Mehihst*, the *Wahriz* and the *Hazaraf*. The generals were honoured sometimes with the decoration of *Hazarmard*. A particular kind of designation of honour was composed of a title one member of which was the name of the reigning king in whose service the recipient of the title had distinguished himself. The other member of the compound title was commonly *Tham* or strong, thus we are acquainted with *Tham-Yazdegerd*, *Tham-Shapur*, *Tham-Khusrau*, *Tham-Hormizd*. Other analogous titles were: *Khusrau-Shnum* or the joy of *Khusrau*, *Javiban-Khusrau* or eternal *Khusrau*, then *Gumand-Shapur*, *Ten-Shapur* or the body of *Shapur* and *Ramavzud-Yazdegerd* or the increase of the joy of *Yazdegerd*. A title of particular distinction reserved for the ecclesiastics was *Hamakben* or the possessor of the whole religion.

The royal custom of distinguishing a person by giving him a robe of honour was very old; for in subsequent ages it was adopted by the Khalifs and through them it entered the Court life of the entire Islamic orient. One passage already quoted from *Ibn-Khaldun* informs us that in the stuff of which the robes of honour were made the portraits of the king or the designs composed of the marks which symbolize royal dignity were generally woven. Manual the Armenian general received from *Shapur II* as a mark of particular distinction a royal dress a fur coat of *ernin*, and for head-dress an ornament in gold and silver to be

attached to the wing of the coat of mail, a band for securing his front and chest ornaments in use among kings, a purple tent with wings a large sky Hue piece of tapestry for the entrance of his tent and vases of gold for his table. A band, that is a diadem studded with gold and enriched with pearls was according to Procopius the highest mark of honour next only to the royal dignity. This author adds that no one had the right to wear a gold ring, a waist band, or a shield except such as were gifts from the king. The high priest who presented Ardeshir Papakin with good news was recompensed by having his mouth filled with rubies, gold pieces, royal pearls and gems. Finally when a person rendered either to the State or to the king a service which merited to be perpetuated his name was mentioned in the inscriptions of royal monuments.

Nizam-ul-mulk relates that it was a practice that each time the king uttered the word Zik indicative of his satisfaction of an action done or a suggestion made in his presence the treasurer had to pour out to the happy individual a sum of 1,000 dirhems.

Even among punishments regard was had to the position of the nobles. The Armenian king Arsace whom Shapur II invited to his Court and there blinded and put to death was fastened in his prison with chains of silver, which among the Persians is felt to be among the distinguished prisoners "a futile consolation in the midst of torture." However high rank did not exempt its bearer from corporal punishment if his majesty demanded it. Shapur-Waraz the Marzban received the bastinado after he was deprived of his costume of honour. On the other hand Peroz Mihran who was defeated by Belisarius got off after being divested of the diadem of honour which the king had given him. After his defeat, Bahram Chobin the general of Hormizd IV was chastized by the latter by being presented with a suit of woman's dress.

Among the amusements at Court the one considered to be royal in the highest degree was the chase, the truly national sport of the Persians. Exactly as in the times of the Achaemenides these later sovereigns gloried in the possession of "Paradises" which were extensive parts enclosed in, kept for the purpose of hunting lions, panthers and bears. The army of Heraclius found in the gardens of the castle abandoned by Khusrau II a vast number of ostriches, gazelles, onagers, peacocks, pheasants, and lions and tigers of uncommon size. We have two bass-reliefs of Sasanian time representing the chase of seals. One shows the hunt of a panther; the

whole ground is covered with nest. The king and his companions traverse in boats the canals or tanks of the paradise in clothes which were adorned with rows of pearls, made of stuff representing birds, roses, etc., and kill the beast of prey with arrows. Other boats were filled with women who amused the company by playing on the harp. The shikar was carried on the back of elephants. The other bass relief represents the hunt of serf which too was made with the help of nets. The king is on horseback shaded by the parasol of a slave and the players of the part are placed on a sort of a stand. The kills are transported with the help of elephants and camels.

In the last century of the Sasanian empire the legendary splendour of the Court of Khusrau was concentrated especially in the "white castle built by Khusrau I at Ctesiphon about 550 of which the audience chamber, called the Apavana, has its imposing walls still standing in the midst of the desert notwithstanding the vandalism of Abbaside Khalifs."

Refined luxury was the order of the day in the Sasanian palace. The kings were fond of delicacies. Among the dishes that were prepared for the king Balash was "the King's dish," then "the dish of Khorasan" and lastly "the dish of the dekhans."

A number of facts have already shown us to what extent music was patronised at the Sasanide Court. Ibn Khaldum relates that the kings of Persia testify great regard for singers received them at court and allowed them to sing in their assemblies. Some of the musical terms of the times of the Sasanides have survived no doubt in corrupt forms the true sense of them having been lost. We know a succession of names of melodies like the Takht-i-Ardeshir or the thrown of Ardeshir, Nauruz-i-Buzurg the high spring, Sarv-isahi or the straight cyprus rushan-cherag or the brilliant lamp, etc. Some thirty forms of modulations are mentioned the invention of which is attributed by legend to Barbed the famous musician at the Court of Khusrau II. Masudi mentions the musical instruments of the Persians—the lute, the flute, the madoline, the hautboys, the harp; and adds that it was the Persians who created the modulations, the rhymes, the divisions, and the "seven royal modes," which express the sentiments of the soul; Madarusnan was the most serious, Saigad was "the one which the heart cherished," Sisum was emotional and serious. The inhabitants of Khorasan played by preference on an instrument with seven strings called the Zang, whilst the people of Rai, Tabaristan and Belem liked better the Mandoline which was generally in high favour among the

Persians, The lute which is supposed to be of Greek origin must be so constructed as to have a certain established relation between its strings and man's soul; the emotion which the player of the lute excites in the listeners is but **the** return of the soul to its natural condition. Khusrau II had at his court two celebrated musicians, Barbed and Sergesh (Sergius). This latter was probably a Greek. The former who was highly renowned had 360 tunes for the royal banquet, so that its musical repertoire had a new air for each day of the year and his verse "were an absolute law **for** the masters of music who could only glean his field." Aufy the most ancient Persian author of the biographies of poets says that Barbed composed several songs which were neither metrically arranged nor in rhyme.

And just as a taste for exquisite delicacies superb wines and ear for music, learnedly studied and executed with virtuosity were cultivated, so was also developed a sense for perfume. The odour of aloes, amber grease, musk, camphor, sandal which in later ages were so much in evidence in **the** palaces of the Khalifs of Baghdad are another loan from the court of ancient Persia. Sweet-smelling woods and essences were likewise utilised in the sacred fires for ceremonies of the cult. When the palace of Khusrau II at Dastgerd was sacked the army of Emperor Heraclius found beside 300 flags belonging to Rome which were captured in battles, an enormous wealth in uncoined silver, embroidered carpets, fabrics of silk, silk dresses, linen chemises without number and extraordinary quantities of aloe wood and other aromatics. Khush-arzu who was a connoisseur in fragrances also mentions the most agreeable perfumes.

The enumeration of the riches of Khusrau II varies considerably and in several authors borders on the fabulous. According to the most modest account preserved by Tabari he had in his harem 3,000 women without counting the hosts of young girls who waited on them or played or danced for them. There were 3,000 male domestics, 8,500 carriages, 760 elephants **and** 12,000 mules to carry the baggage. Thaalibi says that there were among the precious possessions of the King a throne made of ivory and a teakwood of which the planks and balustrades were made of gold and silver. It was 180 feet in length by 130 wide and 15 feet in height; and on it were found seats made of blackwood and ebony of which portions, were solid gold. This throne was surmounted by a canopy of gold and lapis-lazuli on which were represented the sky and the stars, the signs of the Zodiac and the seven climes as well as the kings in their different attitudes **either at banquets or in battle or a-hunting. There was besides**

a mechanism which indicated the hour of the day. The throne itself was throughout covered with four brocade carpets of gold decked with pearls and rubies; and each of these carpets was specially connected with one of the seasons of the year. Khusrau owned also, to follow the same Arab authority, a chess-board of which the pieces were made of red rubies and emeralds and the game of Nard of which the pieces were made of choral and turquoise, a block of malleable gold 200 mithqals in weight which was brought down from a mine in Tibet and a white elephant excelling all others in bulk and strength.

To all these we must add whole collections of valuable objects which had fallen into his hands on different occasions and each of which occupied a particular building. One of these priceless museums was the Gang-i-badaward or treasure brought by the wind. It was sent out on its voyage by the emperor at the time the Persians were menacing Constantinople but the vessels having been cast on the Egyptian shore by the winds they were captured by the Persian General Sharbaraz who despatched the treasures to Khusrau himself. Another such magazine Gang-i-gav or the treasure of the cow which consisted of 100 vases filled with gold, silver and gems buried by Alexander the Great whose seal they were supposed to have borne. Khusrau kept the 99 vases and gave one of them to the peasant who had found the treasure by accident while ploughing the ground with his bullocks.

The booty which fell into the hands of the Arabs after the fall of Ctesiphon was incalculable. According to the Arab computation it amounted to about 7½ millions of French francs, besides 4½ millions in coined money which must be considerable exaggeration. But at all events the children of the desert received from it an ineffaceable impression of the grandeur and luxury of Sasanides. Then was also discovered the famous crown of Khusrau II and his entire royal wardrobe each single garment of which was embroidered with gold and ornamented with precious stones. One robe was entirely made of golden thread and thickly studded with rubies and pearls. In the arsenals which were well supplied the conquerors gave upon the coat of mail and helmet of the king all made of pure gold. Some of the Arabs carried off a carpet 300 cubits in length by 60 broad, made of silk brocade hemmed with emeralds and adorned with artificial flowers made of precious stones. The Khalif Omar had it cut into pieces in order to divide it amongst some of the faithful; and Ali selling his share which certainly was not the best, realised 17,000 francs. **The Arabs of the time were so ignorant of the value of the priceless treasures that some of them exchanged their portion of gold for silver while others pre-**

ferred camphour to their share which the Persians used to mix with cire to produce perfume flambous. The camphour was taken for salt and the ignorant Arabs marvelled at its bitter taste. Works of art of high value were also preserved in Ctesiphon such as a horse made of gold with a saddle studded with gems and a camel of silver with a seat of gold.

Of all these magnificence of the Sasanides there remains nothing to-day but a few rare pieces notably the two which are deposited in the 'ca'binet des medailles' at Paris; one consists of three rows of rosette white and red set in a vehicle of gold in which is fixed an effigy of Khusrau I seated on his throne which is carried by winged camels; the other is of silver being a representation of Khusrau II while out hunting.

Chapter VI.

Intellectual and Moral Character of the Ancient Persians.

The Persian world presents itself to our eyes as a society eminently aristocratic. It was the upper classes exclusively which lent to the Persian nation its peculiar impress and upper classes preserved throughout the long ages their Aryan character. The qualities which distinguished the Achaemenide empire from the previous empires of Asia, the sense of social order, the comparative humanity which had elevated the state of Cyrus and Darius above the Assyrian and Babylonian domination are found again in the Sasanide empire. It was the religion of Zoroaster which was the first to give to ancient Asia a true morality and though this religion lost considerably in intrinsic value by becoming a system of pedantic theology it never lost its view of a moral mission. The treatises on morality built on a theological foundation which remained from the times of the Sasanidas are the proof. With all its defects, with all its cruel fanaticism the Parsi priesthood had the merit of preserving the civilisation of the East during a prolonged period after the death of Alexander, when the strongest code of law prevailed throughout Iran to soften manners and maintain a system of ethics. The religion of Zoroaster enlivened the national sentiment and it was above all a good support of the monarchs for the preservation of the integrity of the empire.

Occidental authors like Ammian Marcellinus and Procopius knew and have described this nation with its good and bad sides. We have often had occasion to quote from the lively description of Ammian given of the Persians. It must be remembered that if he is sometimes mistaken he is only depicting the aristocracy.

Agathias relates what is highly probable, namely, that the Neoplatonic philosophers gave up Persia because they were displeased with the cruelty and oppression reigning among the possessors of power and because they were disgusted with the life of the harem and the immoderate sensuality. One Marzban desiring to attract the Christians to apostasy tempted them with joys of the senses "augmenting the splendour of his banquets from day to day, prolonging the hours of hilarity,

passing long nights of music in inebriation and impudent dances, and he endeavoured to make pleasing to the convert Christians the music and the song of the unbelievers."

In a word the higher classes among the Persians lived a "high" life dividing their time equally between the exercise of arms in war and chase and enervating voluptuousness. Zarathushtrianism the enemy of all asceticism imposed no check on them, though the active life in open air roust have been neutralized in some measure by the emfoebing effects of pleasures. They had many faults but they had on the other hand one great quality wanting in the majority of the nations of antiquity—notably the Romans—namely courtiousness or a chivalrous sentiment. This virtue we find among the Persians from the beginning of historic times. Cyrus was the model of a chivalrous prince and often proscribed Greeks and vanquished kings profited by the courtiousness of the Persians. The same traits remain outstanding throughout the history of the Sasanides. Bahram V seeing the Roman ambassador coming humbly on foot and learning that it was Anatole the Commander-in-chief of his enemy hastily withdrew back into his territory accompanied by his Persians, dismounted from his horse, and came back to receive Anatole on foot granting him peace on conditions proposed by the Romans themselves. Khusrau I embraced the interests of the new Platonic philosophers with avidity, who discontented had quitted his Court, and in the treaty of peace with the Emperor he brought about that they could return free to their country from where they were banished by Rome. Siwavush as portrayed by Procopius was the model of a Persian gentleman, proud, imperious and defiant, but absolutely incorruptible and steeped in the sense of justice. It is related that Bahram Chovin having arrived in his flight, after his transitory enjoyment of royal power, at a far-off village, rested along with his faithful companions in the house of a poor widow who served them with galettes d'orge in an old crib and with wine which they had to drink in the absence of a cup out of a calebasse which was found and cut into two by a companion of Bahram. The old woman who did not know her guests had heard of the defeat and flight of Bahram; and when the latter asked her whether Bahram was right or wrong in undertaking the enterprise the old woman replied "assuredly by God he was wholly in the wrong in that he revolted against his master and the son of his master against whom he drew his sword," To this Bahram returned "and that is why he now eats orge bread in an old crib and drinks turbid wine in a chopped off catebasse," The woman perceiving **with**

Whom she was talking was thrown into confusion and beside herself with fear but Bahram reassured her "fear not mother you have told the truth and you are right." Taking out a few pieces of gold out of the purse at his girdle he handed them to her and left. We need not comment that this anecdote which is derived no doubt from the romance of Bahram Chovin is not necessarily authentic but the type of the great lord which the romance represents Bahram to be is historic truth.

In the age when Sasanian civilisation reached its zenith under Khusrau the manners and conventions of the nobility were impressed with a certain delicacy, with a species of gallantry which recalls our 18th century. When Mihrangushnasp having embraced Christianity paid visit to his sister who was married to one of the nobles he approached her respectfully and bowed down to the ground before her from a distance. She rose from her cushion to do honour to her brother and held out her hand to him "as required of ladies of high rank by the pagan custom" and started conversation.

It is thus that we frequently notice expressions of sincere admiration for the great empire of the Sasanides (we notice in Arab authors) which was a model of political art in the East and for the people which it produced. Amongst all nations the Persian kings are renowned as the most powerful kings of the world. They possessed high judgment and intelligence and as for the organization of the empire no one among kings had their equal" says Abul Feda. And in the "abridgment of marvels" we read the following laudatory expressions "the people of various kingdoms recognise the pre-eminence of the Persians, admiring the perfection of their government, their winning method in war, their manner of resolving the colours or preparing dishes or remedies, their manner of dress, the arrangements of their provinces, their anxiety to keep everything in its place, their epistles, their discourses, their high intelligence, their sense of propriety, their extremely correct attitude, their veneration which they had for their kings. On all these points the superiority of the Persians was incontestible. The books of their histories could furnish examples to any one who should have to govern empires after them."

The Iranians have fallen much lower since those days. They possess however across centuries the intellectual domination over Islamic peoples, though their moral and political force was broken with the downfall of the Sasanide empire. The reason of it was not as was suggested by some that Islam had less moral strength than Parsism;

for it is not religions which taint peoples; It is on the contrary religious which conform themselves to their confessors which develop or remain stagnant just as their adherents develop or stand still. The cause of the decadence of the Iranian people was the democratisation which was brought in the train of Islam. What the Mazdakites could not achieve the zealots of the Koran accomplished, for the noble classes gradually were merged in other strata of the populace and the qualities which were their distinguishing characteristics were effaced. Even during the first centuries of Islam the political traditions and the chivalrous spirit did not perish. It gave to the Khalifat of the Abbasides its solid base ; it revived in its noblest form in the family of the Barmecides. While the Khalifat was in decadence the first new kingdoms which were set up on Iranian soil were reared on ancient tradition and the state of the Samanides is the last reflex of Sasanian grandeur. If for the most part the higher nobility had disappeared there still existed the solid trunk of the dehkans and in them a memory of their glorious past was kept alive. It was reserved for Turkish hordes to accomplish the work of destruction since it was through them that was realized the prophecy of Ahura Mazda, "Righteous Zarathustra I shall make this evident, The sign that Thy millennium has come to its ends and that the worst period has approached shall be that hundred kinds thousand kinds ten thousand kinds of demons with flowing hair of the race of Wrath shall invade the country of Iran issuing from the direction of the East. They will burn and destroy all,--- country, property, nobility, dominion, religion, truth, well-being, security and joy and all other ahurian things, the religion of the worshippers of Ahura Mazda and the fire of Bahram will perish and they will rule with tyranny and oppression."

THE
SASANIAN FESTIVAL
of the Spring

FROM THE RUSSIAN

BY

K. A. Inostrantsev

(Translated Into English)



Chapter I.

Popular Calendar Festivals.

- I.—Popular calendar festivals. Persian elements in Islam—NourQz and Ruz-i-Qatl. Arabic sources about the Nouruz. Kitab-al-mahasin wa-l-addsd and the tradition of Kisrawi.
 - II.—Translation of Kisrawi's tradition.
 - III.—Legends about the origins of the Nouruz, The ceremonial division of the month and its days.
 - IV.—The ceremony of congratulation the congratulator and the ceremonial table—contemporary analogies of that custom.
 - V.—The stealing of water and the bestowing of a present on the head of the Jewish community. Explanation of same through the process of survival.
 - VI.—Sowing and gathering of cereals. "The Gardens of Adonis" in ancient Persia.
 - VII.—Persian songs on the Nouruz. The singer Fahlabad,
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Popular festivals—those moments of the life of a people, when the religious, moral and poetical ideals of the people take a visible form¹ have been attracting very little attention of the investigators of peoples' life and folk-lore. O. Schrader has before now pointed out, that the comparative "anthology", or the comparative study of popular festivals, in spite of the richness of materials available, is hardly at its beginning, and, that, before it is possible to reconstruct the most ancient forms, a considerable amount of time and work has to be spent on the study of various festivals which were being celebrated in historical times.² Notwithstanding all that according to the opinion of Schrader himself, it is already

X. T. Burkhardt) *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*, II 8, Leipzig, 1901, 124.

3. Q. Schrader; *Reallexicon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, strassburg, 1901 978.

at present possible to establish certain common forms of popular festivities and to put those festivities into connection with some other phenomena of popular life. Thus, as one of the chief general theses, a close connection might be established between the festivals and division of time, the, so to say, calendary character of the popular festivals.¹ That character is also prominent in the Persian popular festival under discussion—the Nourīz.

There exists, as we know, a series of investigations in the domain of ancient Iranian chronology, which cannot be considered in detail in this instance. We shall only mention the competent opinion of Noldeke,* who desisted from applying the name of Nourūz to the day of the official New Year at the epoch of the Sasanians, for the reason, that this word, according to him, had always been applied only to the popular festival, of the spring. As a matter of fact, the Sasanian calendar³, although a solar one was changeable, and thus the official beginning of the year was far from always coinciding with the day of the vernal equinox, the popular Nourūz*, which still did not deprive that festival of its calendarial character. The imperfectness of the calendar-system did not influence the norms established in principle. Farvardin, the first month of the year, could become very far removed from the day of the vernal equinox, yet the vital phenomena connected with the system assumed an ideal order, which was obtained in practice by the intercalation after a certain number of years of a supplementary month. The Nourūz, which, as we shall see further, was celebrated most solemnly at the court of the Sasanian Kings, had at that time and has at present, being the festival of the vernal rejuvenation of nature, a first-rate importance in the popular calendar of agricultural Persia. That popular character is clearly shown by the importance attributed now-a-days to the Nourūz, which is celebrated throughout the boundar-

I. o, c. 552- 977.

3 Th. Noldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leydenj 1879, 07, anm 2.

3 With reference to the Iranian calendar in general and its bibliography, see GTPH, II, 1896, 675—678 (the sketch by L. H. Gray). In particular Noldeke, o. c. 406—407. A short notice about the contemporary chronology among the Persians is given by A. G. Ceip, *Astronomic und Zeitrechnung der Perser, in the Ausland*, 1892, 534—538. In Russian a great deal of information about the "Shiah holiday-calendar had been given by A. Berget, *About the popular festivals and solemn days of the Shiah Musalmans in general and Persians in particular.*" *Kavkazskiy Kalendarj* for 1856, Tiflis, 582—608. With reference to the season-festivals among Persians, cf. J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, I, Paris, 1892, 36—42.

4 According to Strabo (XV) chapt. III, 17 } marriages were concluded in ancient Persia at the beginning of the vernal equinox.

of the spreading Persian people and Persian culture—by the Shi'ahs as well as the Parsis¹, by the Babis² and the sect of the All-Ilshs*, among the AhsSrTs* and in Central Asia.⁸

It is well known, what a tremendous influence was wielded by Ifan'ian elements in the formation and development of Islam. Two forms of influence of those elements have been established by Goldziher:—borrowing and reaction.⁶ The two chief festivals of Musalman Persia—the popular New Year, the day of the beginning of spring, Nourūz, and the commemoration of those slain at Kerbela* on the 10th of Muharrem, Ruz-i-Qutl, "the Day of Slaughter"—differ most characteristically from the point of view of the Perso Musalman syncretism. The commemoration of the death of Mussein has been established not only during the Islamic period, but in relatively recent times; leaving alone some indications as to the bewailing of the death of the Alid martyrs in the Omeyyad epoch and the institution of a public mourning for Mussein by the Culd ruler Mu'izz-ed-dovleh, the full development of the cult and the tendency connected therewith must be referred to a later period.⁷ Without concerning ourselves for the present with the question of the possible connections of the cult of the 10th day of the month of Muharrem among Shi'ahs with other more ancient beliefs, we can, I think, state, that this is an instance of reaction without any direct return to antiquity. Quite another thing is the Nourūz. Officially

1 D. F. Karaka, *History of the Parsis*, London, 1884, I, 144 foll, and D. Menant, *Les Parsis*, Paris, 1898, 105.

3 E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians* London, 1893, 321.

3 S. G. Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs*, and edition, Edinburgh—London, 1896; 236 foll.

4 M. Catafago, *Notice sur les Ameiens*, JA, 4me serie, XI, 1848, 161 fl. R. Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Nosairis*, Parisj 1900 (Bibliothèque de école des hautes études, fasc 129,) 149-

5 With reference to the ancient celebration of the New Year in Central Asia see the Chinese sources: A. Rémusat, *Nouveaux mélanges asiatiques*, I, Parisj 1829, 229 (also W. Tomaschek, *Centralasiatische Studien*, I, Sog. diana, S B W A, phil-hist. class, 1877) 72 foll, and 8 sep. repr.) and E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux* (works of the Orkhon-expedition, VI) St. Petersburg, 1903 133 note, and for the Musalman period Ch. Schefer, *Description topographique et historique de Bakharra par Mohammed Nerchakhy, texte persan* (Publications de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes. III Serie, XIII), Paris, 189(1, 16. 7—91 and N. Lykoshin, *History of (in Russian)*, translated from Persian, Tashkent, 1897, 27.

6 I. Goldziher, *Islarnisme et Parsisme*, R H R, 43, 1901, 3.

7 G. Van Vloten, *Les drapeaux en usage a la fete du Hucein a Teheran Internationale** Archiv für Ethnographic, Band V, 105-111, where the bibliography of the question is given.

introduced already by the second Abbasid Khaliph Mansur² that day is celebrated even at present at the Court of the Shah of Persia, as it was celebrated of old by the Sasanian kings. Therefore, in this instance we have to do with a direct borrowing in the spirit of the revival of an old custom, although furthered by reaction as well.¹

The best sources relative to the celebration of the Nourūz-festival in ancient Persia are the works by Arab authors. The chief authority is the well-known work by Abū-Raiḥān Muḥammad-ibn-Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī on the chronology of ancient peoples composed A. D. 1000. That work, as has been justly remarked by E. Sachau, by whom it has been edited and translated,² has all the characteristics of an original source and is especially valuable in the part dealing with the calendar and the calendar holidays of the ancient inhabitants of Central Asia,³ that is to say, with reference to the question which interests us now. More recent authors, like Qazwīnī⁴ and Dimashkī,⁵ whilst sometimes giving information supplementary to Bīrūnī, are certainly inferior to him as far as

3 A. von-Kresmet, *Culturgeschichtliche Streifzüge an dem Gebiete des Islams*, Leipzig! 1873,32; idem, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, II, Wien, 1877, 78 ff.; I. Goldziher *Muhammedanische Studien*, I, Halle, 1889, 210; G. Van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe le chutisme et les croyances messianiques sous le khalifat des Omayyades*, Verhandlungen der koninklyke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe reeks, Deel I, Amsterdam, 1896, 9, 13f. It is worth noticing, that, according to Makdisi (BGA, III, 441), in the Xth century the inhabitants of Fars used to celebrate together with the fire-worshippers the days of Nouruz and Mihrajan and even followed the Parsi calendar. Interesting is also the fact of the existence of the Nouruz festival in Musalman Egypt and up to the present among the Copts. Makrizi (Mitat, Bulaq-edition, I, 267,53—263,37 and 493,7—494 20) relates some Arab legends similar to those quoted by Kisrawi with reference to the origins of the festival and evidence as to its having been celebrated during the Middle Ages and mentions instances of interdiction by Musalman authorities of such celebrations (such interdictions were in vogue even during the Abbasid period — cf. e. g. Tabari, *Annates*, III, 4, 2144, 3—5). It is noteworthy, that the Arab tradition ascribes to its existence in Egypt a very great age.— Baron Carra de Vaux, *Labrege des merveilles* Actes de la Société Philologique X X V I, Paris, 1898, -267-268.

I Thereby is sometimes the old matter arrayed into new forms: see, e. g., the parallel between Jamshed and Alt in Goldziher's *Muhammedanische Studien* II Halle, 1890 331.

2 Chronologie orientalischer Völker von Al-Bīrūnī, herausgegeben von E. Sachau (Leipzig) 1878 and his own translation of the same, *Chronology of ancient nations* London; 1879.

3 Chronology, V-VI.

4 An erratum has slipped into Sachau's Chronology 442, when quoting Bīrūnī and Qazwīnī Qazwīnī speaks about Persian months in the first volume, p. 79-84, not in the second, about Nouruz: 80—81. Notes by Golius on Ferghani referred to by Sachau give information on the Nouruz on p 21-23 (Alferganus, *Elementa astronomica* opera I. Golii 1665) Amstlodami.)

5 A. Mehren, *Cosmographie de Dimichqui, texte arabe*, St Petersburgi 1886 278; idem Manuel de la cosmographie arabe du moyen age, traduction, Copenhague, 1874 404,

integrity and authenticity of the information is concerned. For the Persian, Sogdian and Khorazmian calendars both oral and written sources⁶ have been used by Blrūni. Sachau has pointed out, that these written sources have disappeared altogether; nay, even, most of the authors of those works, as well as the transmitters of the oral tradition, are known only by name. We do not even know, who were Said-ibn-al-Fadl (text 215, 14, 222, 22; translation 199, 208, 422), Iranshahrl (222, 21; 208, 423)⁷, Tahir-ibn-Tahir (225, 4; 211) etc., mentioned by him. The more valuable must, therefore, be for us the information more ancient, than that of Blrūnī, which has been preserved in the works of an author, whose literary activity hails from the IXth century. We are referring to Musa-ibn-Isa⁸ al-Kisrawī.

Interesting information by Kisrawī relative to the Nourūz festival is to be found in the book, *Kitab-al-mahāsin wa-al-addād*, edited by Van Vloten (359, 14—364, 6).¹ Before having been edited that was generally ascribed to the well-known Jāhiz, and even Van Vloten when editing the book calls it "attributed" to Jāhiz, although already in the foreword he states his doubts as to its belonging to that person. Even then he also pointed out the close connection and may be the direct dependence existing between the first part of that book and Baihaqi's work "*Kitab al-mahlsin wa-al-masawl*," which Schwaly refers to a period not later than the time of Khaliph Muqtadir (295-320 A. H.=908-932 A. D).² On the ground of that similitude Browne³ considered it to have been composed most probably by Baihaqi. Yet, it is quite possible, that both these books hail from a common source.⁴

6 Chronology, XI—XII.

7 With reference to that person cf. ZVO, III, 160—161

8 Kisrawī has been mentioned more than once, especially in the Russian scientific literature Baron V. R. Rosen, on the question of the Arabic translations of the *KhudaMiameh*, (in Russian), *Vostochniya Zamietri*, St. Petersburg, 1895, 153 foil, showed the connection between the information given by that author and ancient pre-Musalman materials. Further S. F. Oldenburg, on the Persian prose version of the book of *Sindbad*, *The Al-Muzafhariyeh Series* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1897, p. 253-279, returned to Kisrawī proving his identity with the author of the *Small Sindbad*. cf. also with reference to 'Same, *Goldziher Muhammedanische Studien*, I, 210 anm. 1.

1 *Le livre des beautes et des Antitheses*, attribue a Aba—Othman Amr ibn Bahr al.Djahiz de Basra, texte arabe publie par S. Van Vloten, Leide, 1898.

2 Ibrahim ibn Muhammed al-Baihaqi, *Kitab al Mahasin valmasavi*, herausgegeben von Dr. F. Schwaly, Siessenj 1902, VIII.

3 E. S. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, London, 1902, 15.

4 of my *Persian Literary Tradition*.

Without stopping to discuss at present the question as to who happens to be its author, we may just point out, that the information important for our subject with reference to the celebration of the Nouruz (the day of the vernal equinox) and the Mihrajan (autumnal equinox) is to be found in one of the three quotations from the work by Kisrawi, which have been pointed out by Baron V. R. Rosen.⁵

After the close connection of that book and the work by Baihaqi has been established, the chronological difficulty is also removed of identifying Kisrawi who relates about the Nourūz with the third of the Kisrawls mentioned in the Fihrist—one Abu-I-Hussein AH-ibn-Mahdl, into whose time might fall the literary activities of Baihaqi and who (as we know from the information in the Fihrist, 150, 9, which has been pointed out by Baron V. R. Rosen,) has even written a book "on festivals and Nourūzes," Still, we do not therefore abandon our above opinion, that the Kisrawi of the Kitab al-mahasin wa-al-addad is Musa-ibn-Isa. We think so because the second part of the book, where the information in which we are concerned is to be found, was considered even by Van Vloten, who denied J5hiz any part in its composition, as belonging to the period of the Khaliph Mutewakkil (232-247 A. H. = 847-861 A. I.) and somewhat later,¹ consequently to the time of Musa-ibn-Isa. On the other hand it is quite possible, that the same or a similar description of ancient Iranian festivals might have been contained in the works of the other Kisrawi and contemporaneous Arab authors who wrote on the same subject, as Abu-I-Qasim ibn-Abbad as-S5hib, the author of "The book on the festivities and merits of the Nlrūz" (Fihrist, 135, 5-6) and Abū-1-Hasan All-ibn-Hārūn-ibn All, the author of "The book on the Nourūz and the Mihrajan" (Fihrist, 144, 14).²

Before submitting to the reader the translation of the text, we deem it necessary to point out, that, owing to the character of the subject itself, such a translation requires a detailed commentary, which shall be given here after the translation.³

5 O. c. 167-1683 on quotations from Kisrawi by Baihaqi and in the Kitab al-mahasin wa-al-addad, see my Persian Literary Tradition.

1 Preface, XIII.

2 The attribution of the fragment relating to ancient Iranian festivals to Musa-ibn-Isa seems to be somewhat contradicted by its contents: Musa-ibn-Isa al-Kisrawi is chiefly known in the historical literature as the translator of the Khudai-nameh, being the official chronicles of the external history of the Sasanians and their epoch (cf., however, H. Zotenberg, Histoire des roisdes Perses par al Tha'alibi Paris, 1900, XLII.)

³ In our translation we are indebted for certain valuable suggestions to Baron V. R. Rosen.

Chapter II, Nauruz Ceremonials.

"Says Kisrawl: The first to introduce the Nrrūz and to establish the degrees of the (vassal) rulers*, and to institute the ensigns of governmental power, and to work silver, gold and (other) metals, and to make tools of Iron, and to tame horses and other animals to ride upon, and to get pearls, and to extract musk and amber and other perfumes, and to build castles, and to construct cisterns, and to trace canals (was) Keyṣ Jam⁵, son of Vlvanjhan⁸, i.e., the preserver of the world, son of Arfakhshad, son of Sam, son of Nūh. And the ground for it was, that he conquered the world on the Nirūz and established the provinces of Irānshahr, i.e., the land of Babylon. Nirūz was the beginning of the establishment of his power; after that' it (i.e., the Nirūz) assumed the established aspect and became a custom. And he ruled for one thousand and fifty years; and then Blvarasf killed him and ruled after him one thousand years before Afridun, son of Asfiyan.⁹ And Hablb¹ said about him.: "as if he were Dahhak in his attempts to (conquer) worlds and thou Afridun." And he followed Blvarasf, and ruled after him for one thousand and fifty years, and made him prisoner in the land of the West, and put him in irons, and imprisoned him in the mountain Dūnbavand; and he (Afrīdun) completed what had been destined by God in his life. And the imprisonment of Blvarasf by Afrīdun happened in the middle day of Mihr-māh, the Mihr-rūz', and that day was called Mihrajan. And the Niruz (was established) by Jam, and the Mihrajan by Afrīdun; and Niruz is older than Mihrajan by two thousand and fifty years. And Jam divided the days of the month and appointed the first five days (a holiday) for the nobles; and the next five days the Nirūz of the king, when he made presents and accorded favours; then, the next five days (a holiday) for the king's servants; and five—for the king's intimates; and five—for his army; and the next five days—for the people; on the whole thirty days. And Mihrajan was introduced by Afridun when he took Bivarasf prisoner, on the Ruz-i Mihr.

4 i. e., "table of ranks and classes," Gah-nameh—an artificial attempt to bring back the Sasanian institutions to mythological antiquity.

5 The last two words are a conjecture of the Editor, see 359 k.

6 The last word is a conjecture of the Editor, see 359 l.

7 Accepting the reading C.

8 The last word is a conjecture of the Editor, see 360 h.

1 As already pointed out by Van Vloten in his edition, 360, i—the author of the Hamasa, Abu-Temmam is meant here.

2 The last word is a conjecture of the Editor, see 360, n.

After the king had donned his attire and opened his reception (as established for) these two days, there entered before him a man, agreeable by his name, reliable as to (bringing) luck, with a cheerful face, witty. (He) stood opposite the king and said: "Allow me to enter." And (the King) asked him: "Who art thou? and whence comest thou? and whither goest thou? and who cometh with thee? and with whom appearest thou? and what bringest thou?" and said (he): "I come from the two blessed ones, and I am going to the two blissful ones, and with me goeth every victorious one, and my name is 'Khujesteh'; and I bring with me the new year, and I bring to the king the glad tidings, and a greeting, and a message." And said the king: "let him in," and to him said the king: "enter!" And (that man) placed before him a silver table on the edges of which were laid out cakes baked from different kinds of corn: wheat, barley, millet, durra, gram, lentils, rice, sesame, beans, etc. And seven twigs were taken of each of these kinds and were put on the edges of the table. And in the centre were laid seven twigs of (those) trees, from which and from the names of which omens were taken and the sight of which was considered a good omen, as: the willow, the olive, the quince-tree and the pomegranate, cut with one, two and three joints. And each twig was laid down in the name of one of the provinces. And on (different) places it was written: "abzud", "abzayed", "abzun", "barvar", "farakhi"¹, *Le.*, it increased, it shall increase, increase, wealth, luck, abundance. And there were put (besides) seven white plates, and white dirhams of that year's coinage, and a new dinār, and a bunch of rue*. And he took all that, and wished him (*i. e.* the king) eternal life, and a lasting reign, and happiness, and glory.

And (the king) did not hold any council on that day from fear, that something evil might come forth from him and continue the whole year.

And before anything else a golden or silver dish with white sugar and a peeled fresh Indian nut and silver and golden bowls were presented to him (*i. e.* to the king). And he began the day with some freshly milked milk with a fresh date dissolved in it; then he ate from a cocoa-shell' small dates, and gave out of it to those whom he loved, and ate favourite sweets.

3 *i.e.*, "lucky" in Persian.

1 The Persian words are a conjecture by Houtsma for the Editor, see 361, 0. The first three words are a variation of one and the same well-known formula of good wishes, see I. Olshausen, *Die Pehlevi-Legenden*, Kopenhagen, 1843, 25-26 and E. Drouin, *Observations sur les monnaies a legendes en pehlvi et Pehlvi-arabe*, Paris, 1886, 43.44 (from the *Revue Archeologique*).

2 The last word is a conjecture by the Editor; see 361, s.

3 It is obvious that the shell is meant.

And every day of the days of Niruz a white falcon was let loose. And It was considered a good omen to begin that day with a sip of clean fresh milk and some fresh cheese, and all the kings of Fars considered that a good omen.

And every day of Niruz some water in an iron or silver jar was procured surreptitiously for him ; and said (the king) : it has been procured from the two blessed and the two blissful. And on the neck of the jar was put a necklace of emeralds strung on a golden thread on which were threaded beads of green chrysolyte. And that water was procured surreptitiously by maidens only from under water-mills⁴ and from canal-cisterns. And when the Niruz happened to be on a Sabbath day, the king used to order four thousand dirhams to be given to the Head of the Jewish community ; and no other reason for that was known, but that it is a custom, which had been kept and which became obligatory, like the poll-tax.

And twenty-five days before the Nlrüz twelve pillars of dried bricks were erected in the courtyard of the palace; and there was sown on one of them wheat, and on another pillar, barley, and on the next one, rice, and on the next one, lentils, and on the next one, millet, and on the next one, durra, and on the next one, phasels, and on the next one, peas, and on the next one, sesame, and on the next one, vetch. And that was always reaped with songs, music and games, and it used to be on the Sixth day of the Niruz. And when (the corn) was gathered, it was scattered about the hall. And (the pillars) were not broken until Ruz-i mihr¹ of Mah-i Farvardln. And that corn was sown only for the purpose of augury ; and it was said that the best grown of them and the more ripe indicates good growth of that which was sown of it that year. And the king considered it a good omen to look chiefly at the growth of barley.

And the instructor of the archers gave to the king on the day of Niruz a bow and five arrows. And the king gave to the warden of the palace a citron.*

And then before the king were sung—the song of address, and spring-songs, and songs in which it was related about sons of giants and rain, constellations were described, and the songs—Afrin, Khusravani, Madarastani, Fakhlabad.³ And mostly the Persians sang Fakhlabad with (descriptions

4 Literally: "houses of grindstones" or "houses of mills." The first Word is a conjecture by the Editor, see 362 r,

1 The last word is a conjecture by the Editor, see 363, d.

a With reference to plants of that kind see Schrader, o. c. 997.

3 The last word is a conjecture by the Editor, see 363, r.

of) the days of Kisra Ebervlz. And (Fakhlabad) was of the people of Merv. And in his songs there was praise to the king and, speaking in the Arab manner, relations of his times, and his gatherings, and his victories ; (only) instead of verses he adopted the form of songs. And not a day passed, but that he had a new verse and a wonderful melody. And he sang songs, in which he asked the king for favours and gifts for his marzbins and his chiefs and interceded for an offender. And if some event happened or news arrived, which they were afraid to report to him (*i. e.* to the king), he (*i. e.* Fakhlabad) said a poem about it and expressed it in a song, as happened, when his charger Shabdiz died, and they did not dare to report it, and he sang about it and said, that (the charger) is sprawling in his box, with legs outstretched, and does neither eat fodder nor move; and said the king—so, he has already perished! And said (Fakhlabad): thou saidst that, O king! And (thus) by his verses he made the king say that, about which his satraps did not wish to report."

Chapter III.

Division of the Month.

The above-quoted text, taken, as is shown by the two first words, from Kisrawl, was supplied by the unknown author of the Kit5b-al-mahāsin wa-al-addād with the heading, "Mahašin-an-Nlruž wa-al-Mihrajan"—"The good qualities of the Niruz and the Mihrajan." That this heading belongs to the author of the whole book and not to Kisrawl, may be inferred from its being put before the words: "Says Kisrawl." When describing the celebration Kisrawi speaks the whole time about the Niruz, the festival of the New Year, and the whole series of ceremonial particulars can be attributed only to the vernal, and not to the autumnal equinox. It has, therefore, to be concluded, that either there never existed any description of the celebration of Mihrajan by Kisrawl, or that such a description has not reached us in the above quotation. The second inference is made the more plausible by the circumstance, that in his introduction preceding the description of the festival Kisrawl actually mentions Mihrajan.

In that introduction, as we have already seen, Kisrawl quotes ancient Persian traditions relative to the origins of the celebration of Nourūz and Mihrajān — a topic which used to interest even the Arab authors who wrote about it later. Especially Blrūnī states much and in detail; (text—210 foll., 222 foll.; translation—199 f, 207 f.) These statements, although they sometimes introduce foreign, biblical elements,¹ happen to be a representation of the ancient Iranian tradition, which passed later into the ShaḥnSmeḥ, and, by ascribing the institution of these festivals to Jamshid and Ferldūn, they substantiate their aboriginal popular character.

With reference to calendar-dates the information which reaches us through Kisrawl is only concerned with the celebration of Mihrajan² which fell upon the Mihr-ruz — that was the name of every sixteenth day — of the sixth month, Mihrmah, and does not tell anything about the time of the celebration of Nourūz. Still, that circumstance is quite natural—the name itself shows its place in the calendar; the Nourūz had

I For instance, the genealogy of Jamshid by Kisrawi (see Justi, *Tranisches Namenbuch*, **Marburg**, 1895, 144, 374); Biruni identifies Jamshid and Solomon. Those elements do probably go back to the pre-Musalman Judeo- Iranian syncretism of Persian historiography,

² The tradition about the origins of Mihrajan cf. Masudi, *Prairies d'or*, III, 1864, 401,

to be celebrated at the beginning of the first month of the year Farvardin. Only the later compilers thought it necessary to point out that that day was the first day of the New Year and that such was the meaning of its name in Persian.

Finally, both Kisrawi and Biruni give us the same information with reference to the division of the month into six parts of five days each, allotted as holiday for six different social groups and persons. Biruni (text 218, 16-19, 224, 2-4; translation 203, 209) adds besides, that Mihr-mah, the month of the celebration of Mihraj⁵ⁿ, was divided, like Farvardin, into six parts for the festivities of different classes. Biruni (text 218, 21 — 215, 5; translation 203-204) gives us as well some information, which is not contained in the available text by Kisrawi and which, as we shall see, helps us to understand the text, namely, that along with the division of the month into six parts, each of the first six days had a definite designation in the ceremonial.¹ On the first day the king inaugurated the festival and announced the reception and the favours conferred. On the second day there repaired before him the persons of highest standing in the realm—the "dihqans" and the "ahl-al-buyutat," i. e., firstly representatives of the class of the small landed gentry, those vassals, who constituted, what Noldeke² calls, the veritable "nucleus of the nation," and secondly representatives of the seven principal families of the Persian aristocracy, the so-called "people of houses."³ On the third day—knights⁴ and representatives of the higher priesthood.⁵ On the fourth—domestics, relatives and the retinue of the king. On the fifth—his children and clients. The sixth day was used by the king for rest and for reviewing the presents. That day, called, like every sixth day of a month, Khرداد-Ruz, was in that particular instance, according to Biruni (text 216, 6; translation 201) also known under the name of "The Great Nouruz" and great importance was attributed to that day by the Persians. So, without discussing for the present, why that day was regarded as particularly sacred, we will only note, that the first of the five days of the second group in the month was considered to be pre-eminently the day of the king. Reverting now

1 Similarly *Qazwini*, 81, 3-10. According to Biruni (218, 20; 203) Hormuz the Bold, son of Shapur (272-273) was the first to introduce officially the celebration of the days between the minor and the great Nouruz.

2 Noldeke, o. c. 440.

3 Noldeke, o. c. 71, anm 1 and 437 foll.

4 Noldeke, o. c. 441.

5 Noldeke, o. c. 450 foll.

to the division of the month into six parts, we notice that the social groups and persons, to whom those parts of the month are differently assigned, are related by Kisrawl and Biruni. Whilst in Kisrawi's description the first five days are considered to be the holiday of the nobles,¹ the second of the king himself, the third—of the servants, the fourth—of the retinue, the fifth—of the army, the sixth—of the people, in Biruni's description we find the following order—kings, nobles, servants, clients, people and shepherds.² Further, since the first five days were assigned for the reception of different classes of noblemen, and the sixth day, or the first day of the second group was considered to be the king's day pre-eminently, we are inclined to think Kisrawi's grouping of the days of the festive ceremonial more worthy of credit. From this a conclusion might also be drawn, which is not deprived of interest from the generally historical point of view. Whilst the sixth day of the month is dedicated to the king and considered the highest holiday, the first five days of the year are the Nouriiz of the nobles, and thus, the political organisation of the state of Sasanian Persia, with its well developed feudal relations, is also reflected in the terminology of the ceremonial.



1 Al-asbraf has a particular meaning when applied by Arab authors to Sasanians—it designates, namely, the fourth class of aristocratic families, Noldeke, o. c. 71, anm. I. In our case that word, I think, is used in a wider sense.

2 i. e, probably the nomad population of Persia.

Chapter IV.

Ceremony of Congratulation.

The ceremony of congratulation upon the beginning of the New Year is described by Kisrawl in considerable details, which is the more valuable, since Birūnī does not give any information about it. Although Qazwīnī and Dimishqī, especially the latter, give us some data, Kisrawī speaks about it in more detail than anybody, and some points in his narration bear traces of great antiquity.

The difference from later accounts is visible from the very beginning of the narration. Kisrawl says, that the congratulator appeared before the king after the latter had put on his attire³ and opened the reception; thus, that congratulation was of the character of an official ceremony. The subject is described differently by Qazwīnī and Dimishqī. According to their version the congratulator used to wait at the entrance of the king's bed-chamber, which he entered at day-break, so that the first glance of the king, when he awoke, would fall on that man. Dimishqī quotes besides a series of questions asked by the king and the congratulator's answer. That answer in his narration lacks one very characteristic peculiarity, which is to be found in Kisrawl's description, the real meaning of which was, probably already lost not only for Dimishqī, but for Kisrawī as well. For the proper understanding of the same some explanation is necessary.

In Kisrawī's text the congratulator, after having been questioned by the king, first of all says: "I come from the two blessed ones, and I am going to the two blissful ones." There arises the question, who those two blessed ones and two blissful ones might possibly be? In order to be able to answer that question, we have to revert to the religious representations and the calendar-system in Sasanian Persia.

³ Apparently the principal part of that attire—the crown (cf. Ibn Hisham, *Das Leben Muharrads*, herausgegeben von F. Wustenfeld, I Band, I Theil, Göttingen, 1858, 423 f. and Noldeke, o.c. 221-222) was different for each particular instance: Birūnī (222, 9; 207) says, that on the Mihrajan the kings used to put on a crown, on which there was an image of the sun and of the wheel on which it revolves. Qazwīnī refers that attire to the royal sons, but Nuwairī (J. Golius, *Alferganus*, *Notae*, 25) gives the same account as Birūnī. With reference to the custom of putting on state-dresses on the Nouruz in more recent times see, for instance, E. Quatremère, *Notice de l'ouvrage persan, qui a pour titre Matla assadein*, *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, XIV, 1, 1843, 506-507. Herefrom comes also the name of an ancient Russian head-dress, a kind of high cap—"nauruz", see P. Sawaitov, *Description of ancient Russian utensils, dresses, arms, wai-armours and horse-harnes*, St. Petersburg, 1896, 84 (in Russian).

We know that each day of the Iranian year had a patron-spirit and was called by his name. According to the Avestan hierarchy, the first day of the month was the day of Hormuzd, Ahura Mazda, the Supreme Being, the Creator and the Spirit of the Principle of Good. The next six days were sanctified by the names of the six Amesha Spenta, the immortal holy spirits surrounding Ahura-Mazda, each of whom had a portion of the creation under his direction. We have already seen, that the sixth day Khurd5d-Rūz was called the king's holiday proper, the Great Nourūz. Khurdad the Parsi form of the Avestan Haurvatat, is the name of the fifth Amesha-Spenta. Let us see now, what connection there could have existed between that particular Spirit and the holiday under discussion and what importance that Spirit could have had with regard to the sacredness of that day. Haurvatat and the sixth and last of the Amesha-Spenta, the patron-spirit of the seventh day—Ameretat, the Parsi form of which is Murdād, Amurdād, form the subject of a research by Darmesteter.* Some of the conclusions drawn by that scholar are important for our question. 1. Contrary to the four first Amesha-Spenta, each of whom had a personal and independent existence, Haurvatat and Ameretat appear almost always together and the presence of one of them means the presence of the other—they form a pair. That unity is expressed in the external form as well: their names can be expressed by the dual form of the name of one of them (p. 4). 2. Haurvatat and Ameretat do not merely express the abstract ideas of health and immortality (p. 19), but they also possess material attributes: Haurvatat is the ruler of the waters, Ameretat—of the vegetable realm (pp. 1, 6, 14). 3. With the duality of the Spirits themselves corresponds also the duality of their material attributes—already in the Avesta waters and plants are always mentioned together (p. 12 f.), and they grant health and immortality (p. 51 f.). 4. By the duality of these Spirits is entailed the circumstance, that their functions are not always strictly separated—the Spirit of the waters appears sometimes in the capacity of the Spirit of the plants (p. 62 f.). 5. Prayers are offered to Haurvatat and Ameretat before the meals; their names are used instead of the sacrificial water and wood; they feed the righteous in Paradise (p. 7, 8.). From all these examples the dual nature of the beings mentioned by the congratulator becomes, I think, evident. On the day of the renewal of nature, the day of the beginning of a new era, there comes a congratulator from Haurvatat and

I J. Darmesteter, *Haurvatat et Ameretat*, Paris, 1875 (Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, sc. phil. et hist., 23 fascicule). See also L. H. Gray, the double nature of the Iranian Archangels, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, VII, 1904, 345-373, espec. 371-372, who, contrary to Darmesteter, considers the material meaning of the Amesha-Spenta more ancient than the spiritual.

Ameretat, the holy Spirits, patrons of waters and plants and wishes their blessing for the coming year; it is their names that he mentions, when placing before the king the table with the ceremonial meal. It becomes clear, why the sixth day was called the king's holiday, the Great Nourtiz—the material ideas of these Spirits, united into one single representation, became the attributes of the celebration of the spring¹ The four first Amesha-Spenta, patrons of the cattle, the fire, the earth and the metals, were in that instance relegated to the second place. Finally, from all the above facts the inference may be drawn, that the ceremony described took place on the sixth day, and not on the first day of the Nourtiz as might be concluded from the versions of later authors.

So, the congratulator appeared before the King, invoking the holy patron spirits and uttering wishes of luck. According to Kisrawl he brings with him the ceremonial table; according to Dimishql not a table, but a dish was brought in by another man who accompanied him in which case there were no ceremonial cakes of bread on the dish, and only later after the wazir and other officials had presented themselves, a loaf of bread was brought to the king in a basket; but the dish contained seven ears and seven seeds of corn of different cereals, a piece of sugar, one dinar and one dirham. The contents of the Kisrawl's ceremonial table, as we have seen, are far more complete—here we have both cakes, and seven seeds of cereals, and seven twigs, and seven bowls, and dirhams, and a dinar and a bunch of rue (the latter if we accept Van Vloten's conjecture); all these objects have their assigned places on the table. As a characteristic of the reliability of Kisrawl's relation it is noteworthy that exactly those objects which are mentioned by him and which are absent in Dimishql's description have a particular importance in the ceremonial. In the cakes mentioned in the first place, which are made with different kinds of corn, one cannot fail recognizing the ritual cakes of the ParsI cult, the so-called, draona" (awest) or, "darun" (pars.), which are used by Pgrsis up to the present and are made with wheat-flour in different shapes and sizes ranging from the size of a big coin to the size of the palm of the hand¹. They had and still have such a great importance in the ParsI ritual, that there even exists a series of sacrificial ceremonies named Darun, of which the offering of these cakes constitute indispensable part*. The day Khurdsd of the month

I cf. Darmesteter, o.c. 59, note 5.

1 Anquetil-Dupenon, *Zend-Avesta*, II, Paris, 1771, 535; F. Spiegel, *Awesta*. II, Leipzig, 1859, LII, pictures on the table facing p. XL; M. Haug, *Essays on the sacred language, writings and religion of the Parsis*, and edition by E. W. West, London, 1878, 281, 396.

2 Haug, o.c. 407 foll.

Farvardin³ is one of the days when these ceremonies are enacted. Besides the cakes, Kisrawl mentions seven twigs, the presence of which is also explained by the ritual. We recognize in them the so-called "beresma" (awest) or "barsom" (p5rs.), a bunch of twigs from different trees (now-a-days replaced by wires) used in the divine service, in which the number of twigs is established by regulations for each special ceremony*. In the ceremony called Dar5n the number of twigs of the barsom, which constitutes its indispensable attribute⁸ has to be five, seven (as in our instance), nine or more*. Those twigs are of different trees. A special importance is attributed to the pomegranate twig, which is even placed on one of the ritual cakes in the ceremony called DarQn⁷; the number of joints of the twigs is determined according to Kisrawl, in conformity with the measure of the Parsi ritual, from one to three.⁹ Each of these twigs was consecrated to one of the seven districts, *i. e.* Kishwers, into which, according to the Avesta, the whole world was divided. As far as an obscure passage in Kisrawf's narrative is concerned, namely, the reference to inscriptions on different places, the same might have in view the ritual cakes, on which those good wishes were carved, as well as the New Year coins. Thus, in the description by Kisrawl there are present the two principal elements of the ceremony, which are not mentioned by Dimishql,—the ritual cakes, Darun and the tree—twigs, Barsom. Besides and above there were laid out on the table the following objects: seeds of different cereals, which, as might be inferred from what follows, were later scattered about the hall; the indispensable ceremonial vessels—bowls, which are mostly made of brass, but also of precious metals¹; new coins; a bunch of the plant averting the evil eye—the rue, the Persian name of which "sipend" was connected already by Lagarde² with the avestan

3 Anquetil-Duperron, o.c. 573 ; Spiegel, o.c. LXXIX. With reference to the religious meaning of the food taken on the Nouruz,—Spiegel, C, and E. W. West, Pahlavi texts, III, Oxford, 1885, Sad-dar, LII, 314.

4 Anquetil-Duperron, 532 ; Spiegel, LXXIII ; Haug, 397.

5 Anquetil-Duperron, 573 ; Spiegel, LXXIX,

6 Haug, 397.

7 Anquetil-Duperron, 532, 534 ; Spiegel, LXXIII ; Haug, 139, 282, 407.

8 Haug, 397, note.

1 Haug, 394.

2 P. de Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 173-174. cf. JA., III Serie, V, 1838, 240 (the Persian superstitious belief, that a seed of the wild rue thrown into fire, protects from the malignant eye) and M. Grunbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sprach-und Sagenkunde*, Berlin, 1901, 213 ; the custom of throwing wild rue into the fire to avert the evil eye, noted by Lagarde among Persians, is observed also by Afghans—J. Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Atzhans*, Paris, 1888-1890, 257.,

"Spenta", holy, when he pointed out, that, according to ancient Iranian beliefs, the rue was considered to be the most ancient and holy in the creation. Thus, in the table, presented to the king by the congratulator, we see a miniature representation of the Darūn ceremony, observed by the Parsis up to the present day. Although some of the objects used at the contemporary ceremony of that name³, are not to be found on the table of the congratulator of the Sasanian king, that can in no way affect our statement; on one hand, the mention of some of the less important elements might have been omitted for lack of space, on the other hand the combination of the ceremonial attributes might itself have changed in some of its details.*

Further there comes in Kisrawl's description the morning-meal of the king, which is not to be found in the works by other authors. A golden or silver dish is presented to the king. Of the objects which are brought on that dish in the first instance sugar is mentioned. It has been pointed out already by Birtunl, that there exists in Persia a popular custom of bestowing some sugar on the Nourūz. He also mentions some Persian superstitions—he, who on the first day of Nourūz, early in the morning, before having uttered a word, eats some honey, gets rid of sickness for the whole year, and he who on the sixth day of the Nourūz with which we are concerned in this instance, takes in the morning, before pronouncing a word, some sugar, is safe against misfortune (text 216-217; translation 200-202). The information given by Kisrawl shows, that this superstition was also observed at the royal Court. Further a peeled cocoa-nut is mentioned, which again takes us back to religious rules—according to the Bundahish (XXVII, 23), only the inner part of **that** fruit is allowed for food.¹ Then, the golden and silver bowls, filled, probably, with sweetmeats, cheese, fresh milk with a date dissolved in it; finally, the shell of a cocoa-nut with dates of small size. A dissolved date, f. e., without the stone appears also in accordance with religious prescriptions, because only the outer part of that fruit was allowed for food. In the last instance Kisravi mentions the custom of letting off every day on the days of the Nouruz of a white falcon; that custom

3 Haug, 407-408, there is also the plan of the disposition during the ritual.

4 With reference to the latter, cf. for instance, the data by Hang with nquetil-Duperron, 572.

5 E. W. West, Pahlavi texts, I, Oxford, 1880, 103.

itself is mentioned only by him, but reference to the falcon at that festival is also made by Qazvani—the falcon is held on the hand by the congratulatory

Such is the ceremonial of congratulation, as described by Kisrawl. Leaving aside a whole series of curious details, it is necessary to note in that description the great importance of the religious development. The author, when speaking about the incantations of the congratulator addressed to the holy Spirits, the protectors of the day, and describing in detail the ritual table, reproduces traces of great antiquity. In those descriptions a dependence on Sasanian sources is felt which might be anticipated in similar versions of Musalman writers.

Before continuing our commentaries on Kisrawi's text, we may be allowed to turn our attention for a short while to some phenomena, which might illustrate, as it were, the information given by the Arab author of the IXth century. In the light of these phenomena we understand the congratulations on the occasion of the *New year* in our days all through the area of the spread of the Iranian race and by some peoples which have been under the cultural influence of Iran. In that connection we deem it our duty to make a reservation, seeing, that all these phenomena appear in almost fragmentary state; therefore, without claiming any fullness of data we shall feel satisfied, if we are able to show by a few examples the reality of the existence of those facts, which have just now been referred to, as recollections of a gray antiquity.

The Nouruz in contemporary Persia is observed in two forms—in the form of a Court ceremonial and in the form of a popular festival. The first of these forms has up to the present attracted the most attention and has been described with more details; the information about the popular festival is very scarce. The description of the Court ceremonial goes back to the oldest European travellers and has been most elaborate in the celebrated work by Chardin¹ and in the notes on the same by Langles, who communicates also some data with regard to the ancient ceremonial which coincide in general with the information given by Dimishqi, which

3 See also the interesting information preserved in the *Siyaset-nameh* with regard to the king's public penance on the day of Noaruz—A. Christensen, *L'Empire des Sossanides, le peuple, l'état, la cour*, Copenhagen, 1907, 73.74. With reference to the king's reception on the Nouruz, according to the *Shahnameh*, cf. F. Spiegel *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, III Leipzig, 1878, 707. For a parallel to the citron presented by the king (in our text), see the custom existing in Gilan of bestowing on the Nouruz of orange-blossoms—Chodsko, *Specimens of the popular poetry of Persia*, London, 1842, 469, note.

3 Chardin, *Voyages en Perse, nour*, ed, par L. Langles, t II. Paris 1811, 249

must have been borrowed probably from the Farhangs, from which analogous information has been taken over into certain big dictionaries, like Richardson's². On the same data are based the relations found in the descriptions of later great travels, like Morier's, Ouseley's and Ker-Porter's.⁸ Of the ethnographical descriptions of Persia in the nineteenth century the most comprehensive narrative about the "Nouruz is to be found in the work by Doctor Polak,* who devotes to that festival a whole chapter. His description gives a bright and vivid picture of the contemporary manner of celebration both at the Court and in towns. We become acquainted with the preparations for the festival—how favourite sweetmeats (*shirini*) and fruits are got ready, sumptuous dresses and gifts are prepared; **how** the highest officials expect and welcome the New Year in the presence of the Shah himself; how congratulations are performed; how the Shah distributes the newly minted coins, which are supposed to bring luck; how the festivities go on during thirteen days; how, in the course of the ceremony, before a great assembly the Shah, according to the custom, takes some sips of coffee and several times draws in the smoke of the *nargileh*.⁵ Some of these usages, as for instance, the ceremonial partaking of coffee and the bestowing of new coins, have, as we see, some analogy in antiquity. **There** might certainly be added to the description of Polak some details of certain interest to our question: thus, for instance, Wilson states that in Tabriz at the Court of the Shahzadeh, a tray with seven pieces of **fruit** is brought on the Nouruz to denote the beginning of the New Year.¹ Certain supplementary information might be gathered from the existing

2 Th. Hyde, *Velcrum Fersarum et Parthorum et Medorum religionis historia*, editio secunda, Oxoni, 1760, 236 foll., based his information both on the Farhangs and on Arab authors who were accessible to him, as, for instance, Qazwini.

3 J. Morier, *A journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor*, London, 1812, 205 foll.; W. Ouseley, *Travels in various countries of the East, more particularly Persia*, vol. I, London, 1819, 224 foll., 111, London, 1823, 337 foll.; R. Ker-Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, ancient Babylonia, etc.*, during the years 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1820, I, London, 1821, 316 foll. (the description of the Nouruz by Ker-Porter was translated into Russian in the "Sanktpetersburgskiya Vedomosti" for 1834, 18 and 19. Miscellanea.) The article by P. Melnikov, On the Persian festivals in the times of the Sasanians ("Literaturnaia Gazeta, 1840, 103, 2361-2371) is a compilation from the works by the ancient travellers and from translations of Arab authors,

4 J. E. Polak, *Persian, das Land und seine Bewohner*, I, 1865, X II, 367—389. In the well-known work by L. Dubeux, *La Perse*, Paris, 1843, 461-462, there is very little said about the Nouruz.

5 cf. *narjil* (the shell of the cocoa-nut) in the ceremonial described above.

I . G. Wilson, *Persian life and customs*, 2nd edition, Edinburgh-London., 1895, p. 246.

descriptions of the festival of the New Year in the private life of Persians.² We learn, that on the eve of the New Year in most families the so-called "haft sin," "seven sins," is prepared, which consists of a large tray, on which seven substances necessary, according to popular beliefs, for the household, are laid out, the names of which all begin with the letter "S"—a direct analogy with the ritual table in Sasanian Persia. Further, we are informed about the existence of the belief, that all the actions, which one performs on the Nourūz-day, one will have to perform the whole year—a parallel to the information, that the Sasanian kings avoided holding council on the Nourūz. As a parallel to the falcon, which was considered necessary in the days of yore, we may point out, that there is in contemporary Persia a bird of its own, consecrated especially to the Nouruz, "murghi-nouruzi," the sea-gull. I omit discussing other very interesting customs which are not connected with our text*.

Leaving, for the sake of further comments on our text, the limits of the Persian nationality, we shall confine ourselves to a few examples of those tribal groups, which have some time been under the cultural influence of Persia, but have long ago adopted some other culture. Owing to large quantities of materials collected, we are in a position to take, as such examples the assets and several groups of the Kartvel people.¹ Leaving alone a series of accounts about the celebration of the

2 See, for instance, with reference to seven kinds of fruit on a tray—the newspaper "Kavkaz," 1859, 19 April, H 30, 155 especially; the magazine "Illustratsiya," 1863, March 7th, N 260, 147; the newspaper "Obzor," 1880, March 14th, N 446; Wilson, 245. With reference to the fear to undertake something—Ella Sykes, *Persian Folklore, Folk-lore*, X II, 1901, 276. About the sea-gull, as a New-Year's-bird—E. G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, London, 1893, 256, and soon. Of the two more recent articles on the Nouruz in Persia, one—H. Wohlbold, *Neujahr in Persien*, in the "Aus alien Welttheilen, 1894, does not furnish anything new, and the other—La fête du Nourouz en Perse, in the "Tradition", 1901, n, 73, proved to be inaccessible for me. In the Russian literature district descriptions are to be found in sufficient quantity; cf. also, for instance "Sbornik materialov dlia izucheniya miestnostei i piemen Kavkaza," V, part I, 153-154 (Government of Baku), or X X V I I, part I I, 199-201 (Government of Erivan), or "Sbornik materialov po etnografu," published by the Dashkov Ethnographical Museum, fasc. I I I, 112 (the Aderbeijan tartars),

V. F. Miller, *Ossctian Studies*, I I. investigation, Moscow, 1882, 264f, A. S. Khakhanov, *The celebration of the New Year among the Georgians*, "Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie", I I I, 1889, 27.40; D. Margiani, *The Svanets (some features of folk-lore)*, "Sbornik materialov dlia izucheniya miestnostei i piemen Kavkaza", X, part I I, 69-87; V. Lominadze, *The welcoming of the New Year among the Georgians*, *ibid.*, X I I I, part I I, 3-8; T. Mamaladev, *Popular customs and beliefs of the Surians: the New Year, Kalanda*, *ibid.* X V I I, part I I, 15-36; M. Kordzakhia, *The welcoming and the celebrating of the New Year among the Mingrelians*, *ibid.* X X X I I, part I I I, 153-155. cf. the analogous celebration of the Nouruz among the Iranian highlanders of Western Turkestan in the work by count A. A. Bobrinsky—*The Highlanders of the country up the Pendj*, Moscow, 1908, 97-98.

New Year *fa* old days at **the** Court of the georgian kings, when, **for inst-**ance, according to custom, the master of the hunt used to present to **the king** a fast falcon in a cage,—we find even in contemporary customs some curious parallels to the accounts of Kisrawl. All the investigators of those customs point out unanimously, that the principal moments of the festival are: the making ready of New Year's sacrifice consisting of pastries or cakes and other foodstuffs and the congratulation performed by the Head of **the** house or by a specially appointed congratulator. On the eve are prepared the ritual loves of bread and the other paraphernalia of the tray or dish, which is used in laying out the New Year's sacrifice. On the day of **the** New Year, before the dawn, the master of the house or specially appointed man and woman, or else even all male members, go out of the house, and having gone round it three times they knock at the door. To the question : who is there and what does he bring ? follows the answer: I bring luck and happiness. When the congratulator or the congratulators are admitted, he or they, amongst other ceremonies, scatter in the room seeds of corn and distribute amongst those present branches brought in **bunch**, and fortune is told by the crackling of those branches when thrown in the hearth. The New Year's sacrifice comprises different objects : the principal being loaves of bread or cakes of different forms, consecrated to different persons, domestic animals and even inanimate objects in the house; after that other things are placed on the tray each having **its** assigned place on the same. A very important role is that of the congratulator, "the tracer of the path of luck," who is elected by the whole village, or otherwise specially engaged by the master of the house; that man must be good, gentle, of good morals and—what is the essential point,—'his foot must be lucky', that is to say, he must bring luck; when entering the house he, as well as the host, scatters seeds of corn. **There** exists also a belief, that the first guest brings luck or misfortune, and **that** the day of the New Year is the day when one's fate is being decided. Those examples have, we think, connection with what is described in **the** in the text by Kisrawl.

We can see from the above, that the Arab versions about the customs at the Court of the Sasanian kings are explained by some of the phenomena of the contemporary life of the Christian population of the Caucasus and, in their turn, explain the latter.



Chapter V.

Nouruz Customs.

After the description of the New Year's congratulation, Kisrawl gives some short information with regard to two customs observed on the day of Nourūz. The first was, that maidens used to take surreptitiously some water for the King from under a water-mill or from cisterns, carried in iron or silzer jars; on the neck of these jars necklaces consisting of a golden thread with precious stones were put. According to the other custom, if the Nourūz fell on a Saturday, the king bestowed on the Head of the Žewish community¹ a gift of four thousand dirhams.

In the foregoing explanations of the text we have already referred to those fragmentary reports which are available with reference to customs similar as to their contents, but different as to their time. The two customs mentioned by Kisrawi quite accidentally side by side afford the possibility of a curious comparison.

The explanation does not offer any difficulties: it results from the very nature of the Nourūz, especially so, if the act of celebration referred to is connected not with the first, but with the sixth day, which is dedicated to the patron-spirit of the waters. There is no mention with regard to the destination of that water; very probably, it was used for the ritual which was known, as the "spilling of water"^{1,8}; Arab legends about the origin of that rite are quoted in the same Kitab al-mahasin wa-al-addad, possibly from the words of Kisrawi himself, just after the text quoted by us;⁸ most probably, that water was used for the baking of the ritual cakes. Any comments are superfluous, seeing that the meaning of the custom itself is obvious. Besides, we may make use of that information, related for the first time by Kisrawl, in order to establish a historical

1 See, Birani, 16, 4-7, translation 19 and Liber Mafatih al-olum, editit G. Van Vlotet, Lugduni Batavorum, 1895, 34, 13-35,4.

2 Biruni, 218, 202-203.

3 It is interesting to compare with those legends, probably of Arab origin, a local Persian legend about the beginning of that custom, as communicated by Ibn-al-Faqih (BSA, V, 265, 10-17), which brings back the origin of the custom to times comparatively recent-the period of the rule of the Sasanian King Kiruz (the Vth century). A Chinese source considers a similar custom, which existed in Sogdiana, a passtime-Chavannes, o.c.135 and father Iakinth, A collection of narratives about the peoples who inhabited Central Asia in ancient times (*in Russian*) III, St. Petersburg, 1851, 239.

foundation for some contemporary customs. We know,¹ that Shi'ah Musalmans are accustomed to a jar of water from a spring, for luck In the New Year and touch their heads seven times with the *bosom* which is used in the water-mill for sweeping the grindstones; or else, they go before dawn to the water-mill and, having passed seven times under the mill-race, they take a jar of water from the mill and use the same for making the dough for festive bread. Furthermore, that custom exists also among the Caucasian Christians, viz., some of the tribes of the Kartvel people²: there is a custom to go on New Year's morning to fetch water with a jar and that in complete silence, without speaking on the way with anybody.

Thus, some contemporary customs of the Shi'ah Musalmans, as well as Caucasian Christians find a historical foundation in ancient Iranian beliefs.

The mention of the second custom is accompanied in Kisrawl's narration by the significant words: "and no other reason for that was known, but, that it is a custom, which has been kept and which is obligatory, like the poll-tax." These words, fully coinciding with our notions about a cultural survival, indicate that the custom referred to did not find any explanation in the existing conditions.³ Without undertaking complicated excursions into a domain foreign to our subject, we might point out some comparisons which could be made on the basis of recent researches.⁴ We know, that the Hebrew festival of the spring,

1 A. K. What must every Musulman (Shiah) of Derbent perform in order to pass happily the whole year, "Izvestiya Kavkazskago Otdela Imp. Kusskago Geograficheskago Obschestva," I, Tiflis, 1872-1873, 20-23; the newspaper "Obzor," the article quoted above.

2 Khakhanov, the art. quoted, p. 40; Margiani, the art. quoted, p. 84.

3 Baron V. R. Rosen drew our attention to the fact, that the piece of information under discussion had been translated by Goldziher in the magaz. "Jeschurun," Deutsche Abtheilung, VIII, 1871, 77 (later reprinted almost in the same form in the, "Revue des Etudes Juives," VIII, 1884, 121-122), where the text is considered to mean, that the Head of the Jewish community did not receive, but, on the contrary, had to pay the money. Further comes a reservation to the effect that a grammatically correct rendering of the text would make incomprehensible the following words about the payment of that sum being as obligatory, as the poll-tax. That interpretation was also incorporated, in the article by Lazarus, Die Haupter der Vertriebenen, Brui's Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Litteratur, X, Frankfurt 1890, 136, ann. 2, in a more developed sense—"Saturday" is interpreted as the sixth day of the festival—"The Great Nouruz".

4 B. Meissner, Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Purimfestes, ZDMG, B. 50, 1896, 266-302 (cf. ZDMG, B. 55, 1901, 388-391); E. Stave, Ueber den Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum, Haarlem, 1898, 137-143; W. Erbt, Die Purimsage in der Bibel, Berlin, 1900; J. Scheffelowitz, Arisches im Alten Testament, I, Königsberg, 1901; Cheyne-Black, Encyclopaedia Biblica, vol. II, London, 1901, Esther, Th. N(oldeke) and vol. III, London, 1902, Purim, C. H. J(ohns), J. G. F(azer) and T. K. C(heyne). In all these essays anterior investigations are also taken into consideration, as de*Lagarde's, on one band, an, Zimmern's and Jepsen's on the other.

i.e., Purton, according to the tradition communicated in the Book of Esther, is in some manner connected with the king's conferring of the above favour on the Head of the Jewish community.¹ A certain historical foundation for the beginning of that usage could be found in the history of ancient Persia.² Of the whole Sasanian period the fourth and fifth centuries have to be considered as the most propitious for the Jewish community, when, according to historical evidence, the same was patronised by the Jewish wives of Sasanian kings.³ According to (he opinion of Darmesteter, the syncretism and synchronism in the exposition of Persia's ancient history (the mixing up of historical persons of the most ancient period with national mythological heroes) by the Arab and Persian historians could be attributed to the Sasanian period. The foundation for such syncretism in the official chronicles might have been, according to the above-mentioned scholar, a purely outward comparison between the marriage of the Persian king and Esther and the matrimony of Yezdegird 1st with the daughter of the Jewish "exilarch," who later became the mother of Bahrām-Gōr. During that epoch old customs might have been revived with particular force.* The fact, that during the Sasanian period the bestowal referred to only took place, when the day of Nourāz fell on a Saturday, might find an explanation in the circumstance, that the original meaning of the custom had been forgotten and the tradition of it was preserved only in the case of the outward coincidence. Finally, let it be pointed out, that in the Hebrew tradition, in the tenth and last chapter of the Book of Esther, there is told, in between the version about the celebration of the Purim being obligatory

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- 1 The celebration of it is being brought back by Zimmern and Jensen to a Babylonian myth; despite the scepticism of some investigators, in the article by Noldeke in which the whole of the question is summarized (p. 1404-j405) the connection with that myth is duly recognized and it is found possible to connect the festival itself with the Babylonian Zagmuk, the hope being expressed, that further discoveries might throw more light on that obscure question.
 - 2 We think, that this opinion may be held even when reducing to the utmost the presence of historical elements in the Book of Esther. That, for instance, is the opinion of Noldeke, p. 1402, who thinks, that a few historical facts could not well change the general character of fiction of the Book of Esther. Besides, he considers the possibility of such facts being discovered "a thing scarcely probable." Both Erbt (*e.g.* 38,59) and Schefelowitz (*e.g.* 18,61) are more prone to admit the presence of historical elements.
 - 3 J. Darmesteter, *Texts pehlvis relatifs au judaïsme*, *Revue des Etudes Juives*, XIX, 1889, 41-57; *id.*, *La reine Shasyan Dokht*, *Actes du VIII-ème congrès international des orientalistes*, III, Leide, 1893, 191-199; L. H. Gray, *The Jews in pahlavi literature*, *Actes du XIV-ème congrès international des orientalistes*, I, Paris, 1905, 190-193. cf. Marquart, *o. c.* 53,

and the conclusion, which speaks about the story being incorporated in Persian historical books, that the Persian king had imposed a tax; we think—in favour of the Jewish community.¹ Therefore, the expression "poll-tax" in our text—might be understood literally, i. e., that the king ordered the sum to be paid, not out of the Treasury, but as a poll-tax imposed on the people.²

We see, thus, that a custom, which had already lost its meaning in Sasanian Persia, might have a foundation in still more remote antiquity.



1 It is necessary to point out that that particular passage of the text of the Book of Esther, in spite of different explanations, is recognized to be a fragment which cannot be understood from the context. cf., for instance, E. Bertheau, *Die Bücher Esra, Nehemia und Ester*, Leipzig, 1862, 352-353 (whose opinion is shared up to the present day by Wellhausen, *Gottingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1902, 143) and Erbt, 33.

2 In different times that tax might have been paid up differently: in cash, in kind, in average. It is important in our case, that the text, if correctly translated, has a definite meaning, in spite of Goldziher's opinion; the word "gizyah," poll-tax, as used by a Musalman author had not to be applied necessarily to Jews, but may have as well in view the fire-worshippers, subjects of the Sasanian king, With reference to "gizyah" during the Sasanian-period, cf. Christensen, 56,

Chapter VI.

Other Similar Customs.

The last custom mentioned by Kisrawl, as observed on the Nouffiz, is the erection, twenty-five days before the beginning of the festival, [around the palace-courtyard of pillars built of bricks and sowing on same of various kinds of corn, twelve in number; the harvest was gathered, as pointed out in that instance by Kisrawi, on the sixth day of festival with songs, music and games, and the pillars were broken down on the Rūz-i-Mihr,³ i. e., on the sixteenth day of the month; according to the growth of each kind, conclusions were drawn as to the crop of the coming year; chief attention was paid to the crop of barley. A short mention of that custom is also found in the work by Birūnī (217, 18-20; 202)—the origins of which he refers to the epoch of Jamshid; he explains it in the same way, as Kisrawi; the number of kinds of corn is given by him, as seven; he mentions particularly the crop of barley.

That custom, as well as the two foregoing customs, do not find any explanation in the divine ritual; according to its character, it belongs to a widely spread class of usages, which connect agriculture with the season of the year. The custom of "spilling water," observed on the Nouruz, which is not mentioned by Kisrawi, but which is described in detail by Birūnī, belongs by its nature to the same group.¹ As far as the outward forms are concerned in which in that instance the belief was moulded, we have here, without any doubt, a specimen of the so-called "Gardens of Adonis."

The cult of Adonis, the god of the dying and reviving nature, which was still celebrated in Greece in the 5th century B. C., had its

2 Mihr, Mithra, the Spirit of Light, was connected with the celebration of the Nouruz. Biruni (217, 10-11; 202) says, that on the morning of the day of the Great Nouruz some 'silent being' appears on the mountain Bushanj (or on a mountain near Bushanj, Chronology, 422) with a bunch of fragrant grasses, is seen during one hour and disappears until the next year, cf. therewith the appearance and the sojourn of Mithra on the Mount Hira—F, Windischmann, *Mithra, Ein Beitrag zur Wythengeschichte des Orients* Leipzig, 1857 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, I, No. 1) 52-53, 62. cf. for analogies with the custom under discussion the general notes in RHR, XLVI, 1902, 244 and H. Schurtz, *Volkerkunde*, Leipzig-Wien, 1903, 117-118. Amongst the different explanations of the origins of that custom, as given by Biruni, one is quite suitable for our instance—namely, that that day is sacred to the Spirit of the waters Haruda (218, 7; 203), i.e., Khurdad, Haur-Vttat the name of the sixth day of the month is quoted by him quite correctly—Khwdad,

expression in a particular kind of festivities, called Adonia. " A special feature of those festivities were the so-called "Gardens of Adonis." Those were baskets or vessels filled with earth, in which seeds of different plants were sown—wheat, barley, fennel, lettuce. In eight days' time those plants, when placed on the roof of the house, grew ripe and were then thrown, together with figures of Adonis made especially for the purpose, into water, into the sea or into springs. Researches on the analogy between Adonis and Tammūz and conclusions drawn with regard to certain other cults, as, for instance, the cults of Osiris and Disnysius, have considerably widened the domain of the spread of that custom in the ancient world. The relations by Kisrawl and Birunī introduce the Gardens of Adonis, in the wider sense of the term, on the soil of Sasanian Persia. There are certainly some differences as far as details are concerned. The period of growth is established by our text to be thirty days, a month, whilst in the gardens in Athens they used to grow up in eight days ; a difference obviously created by local conditions. Further, in one instance, the vessels or baskets with the plants were thrown into the water, in the other instance, only the seeds were gathered and scattered around, whilst the pillars were broken down after the festival had passed. It is evident, that, owing to the existence of the custom of spilling and sprinkling water, the throwing into water proved to be superfluous, and thus, the custom of sowing corn on clay-pillars was connected only with the material attributes of the second of the two inseparable patron-Spirits of the sixth and seventh days of the month—Murdad-Amereta.¹ Finally, in the songs and games, which accompanied the gathering and the scattering of corn, an analogy might be found with the ceremonies and songs which took place during the Adonia and similar solemnities.²

2 Rasul Rochette, *Memoire sur les jardins d'Adonis*, *Revue Archeologique*, VIII annee, I, Paris, 1851, 106 foll.; F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, 251-260, *Tammuz-Adonis* (from ZDMG, XLII); W. H. Roscher, *Lexicon der griechischen und romischen Mythologie*, I, Leipzig, 1884-1890, 65-77 J Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyclopadie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, I, Stuttgart, 1894, 385-395; J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*. Studies in the history of oriental religion, London, 1906. In Russian-A. N. Veselovskiy, *Hetairism, fraternising and compaternity in the bathing rite*, "Zurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosviescheniya," 1894, No. 2, part 291, pp 290 foll.

S It is interesting to note that according to a custom referred to antiquity, Persians used to sow on plates barley, wheat, lentils and gardeners, which they threw according to custom, into the street on the thirteenth, i.e., the last day of the holiday. Among the contemporary Persian peasants the time for sowing of different kinds of corn is also established on the Nouruz (Polak, 169, 389). For the Georgian custom of throwing corn into the house, see Khakhanov, 39.

2 With reference to the custom of "bemoaning Adonis" in the Musalman period, see relations by Ibn-al-Asir in A. Kroner's *Studien zur vergleichenden Culturgeschichte aus arabischen Quellen*, SBWA, phil.-hist. Classe, 120, Wien, 1890, VIII Abhandlung 84, or W. Robertson-Smith, *Pit Religion der Semiten*, Freiburg, 1899, 317,

We have to add a few words to the above considerations. The influence of the cult of that Semitic divinity on the celebration by the Shl'ah-Musalmans of the day of commemoration of the death of Hussein had been pointed out by Liebrecht in his sketch on Adonis-Tammūz.³ Later on Eerdmans,⁴ without quoting Liebrecht's work, when examining the question of the origins of the ceremonies of the 10th of Muharrem has brought the same back to the cult of Tammūz. Besides a series of special considerations, taken chiefly from the outward forms of the cult, it has been pointed out, that the origins of the celebration do not belong to Persia proper, but to Mesopotamia, to Baghdad, and that there cannot be found any explanation for the commemorative celebration of Hussein's day in the ancient Persian religion. Owing to the information given by Kisrawl and Blruni it becomes possible to compare those ceremonies with the Sasanian Nourūz. In that way one is able to trace in both holidays the presence of common elements of the celebration of the spring,¹ whereby the ancient Persian notion of the New Year is incorporated by means of the Musalman holiday into the new calendar system. Therefore, it is possible to say, that the two chief contemporary Persian holidays—Nouruz and Rūz-i-Qatl, which originated in Islam quite differently, have some features in common in their calendar character.



3 o. c. 254 foll.

4 B. D. Eerdmans, *Der Ursprung der Zeremonien des Hoseinfestes*, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, IX, Weimar, 1894, 280-307.

1 The antiquity of those elements of the celebration on the Iranian soil is proved by a Chinese description, belonging to the VIIth century, of the ceremony of searching for the body of the son of the Supreme Spirit in ancient Sogdiana (Chavannes, 133 note), which already by Girard de Rialle (*Memoire sur l'Asie Centrale* 2-me edition, Paris, 1875, 42-44; in his description, based on the translation by Abel-Remusat, the people "jettent de l'herbe et parcourent les champs en cherchant les os du fils de Dieu") were put in connection with the Adonia. Most probably are also those songs of the Sogdian fire-worshippers, which were sung by them in commemoration of the unfortunate death of Siyavush (Narshakhi, text-14, 21—15, 12; 21,7—22,1, translation—25; 33. cf. Van Vloten, *Les drapeaux* etc., 107-108) connected with that ceremony.

Chapter VII,

Conclusion.

The description of the celebration of the Nourūz is concluded by Kisrawi by the enumeration of the songs, which were sung during the festival and by a recitation about the well-known minstrel of King Khosrow Parvīz—Pahlabad, in the Arabic form Fahlabad. Nourūz, being the principal popular holiday was bound to give an outlet to the sacred artistic tendencies. Probably quite accidentally, yet most typically for ancient Persia, does Kisrawi conclude his relation by the description of a singer and his songs. Not without reason is the Persian music widely famed throughout the whole Musalman world; not without reason are in our text the Persian minstrel-singers compared with Arab poet-declainers; not, in fine, without reason are called by the name of Nourūz many musical melodies in Persian.²

Kisrawi names amongst the songs—"The Song of Address," probably a congratulatory song for the king's spring-songs,³ which are necessary from the very character of the festival; songs in which according to our text, were described "Sons of Giants," i. e., heroes' songs; songs about rains or the constellations, which call forth rain i. e., songs about natural phenomena so important for agriculture which it was most appropriate to remember on the first day of the spring; * finally—āfrīn, khusrawān, madarastani, fahlabad. Browne¹ seems to have considered those last names, as names of singers, for which, we think, there is no necessity with the exception of Fahlabad. Afrīn from the meaning of the word, might have been songs of praise or blessing for the person to whom they were addressed, Khusrawān, i. e., "kingly," through the composition of which, Fahlabad became particularly famous, were widely spread throughout the Musalman East in medieval times.² Madarastani according

2 Vullers, *Lexicon persico-latinum*, t. II, 1357. In contemporary Persia, youngsters called "nouruziha" give congratulatory songs before the doors of the houses on the occasion of the New Year—Chodzko, 867.

3 Probably similar to the one quoted by Ahmed bey Agaieff, *Les croyances mazdeennes dans la religion chute*, Transactions of the IXth international congress of orientologists, II, London, 1893, 514.

4 cf. Kremer, *Studien etc.* 81.

1 E. S. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, London, 1902, 18,

2 H. Zotenberg, *Tha'alibi*, 698 and Al-Makkari, *Analectes sur l'histoire et la litterature des arabes d'Espagne*, publies par Dozy, Dugat, Krehl et Wright, II, Leyde, 1858-61, 516.

to a note by Van Vloten in his edition of the text,» might he read Midarvastani and derived from the city of Mftdarvastan, near Khulvan.⁴

The legendary personality of the minstrel Fahlabad or that of Barbad met with in other sources has already served as a subject for detailed investigations by Browne.⁵ We are in a position to point out, besides the materials collected by him, certain data given by Thaalibi.⁶ The accounts of Kisrawl does not give us in that instance anything new and only serves to prove the wide expansion of that legend

All that information is classed by Kisrawl, without any accurate designation, into the pre-Musalman period of the independent existence of the Persian realm. Only, when concluding by the mention of Fahlabad and the days of Kisra Eberwiz, he gives a certain chronological definition. We do not mean to say by it that the Nourtız has been described by him in those forms, in which it was celebrated at that particular time—the ritual of the celebration by its nature had an importance not dependent on transitory causes. Yet, that mention might serve as an indication as to the time of the composition of the sources used by Kisrawl for his description. To those later times of the flourishing of the Sasanian realm belongs the composition of historical registers, a reflection of which might be seen in the above discussed accounts.



3 363, note o.

4 For other persian melodies-Zotenberg, 696-697.

5 Primarily in the article 'The sources of Dawlatshah, with some remarks on the materials available for a literary history of Persia and an Excursus on Barbad and Rudagi, JRAS, 1899, 54-69;' further, Literary History, 14-19, together with bibliographical notes on the relations of eastern authors about Fahlabad, 14, note s.

6 Zotenberg, 694-6981702-705.

7 Noldeke, XV foll,

Notes On Parsi History

In

Arabic Works.

BY

G. K. Nariman.

NOTES

ON

PARSI HISTORY IN ARABIC WORKS.

I.

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NOTE:—Printing and publishing have become almost prohibitive on account of the War and the Second Part of my *Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature* cannot be brought out immediately. These notes on which the Second Part is based will further establish the value of Arabic histories and itineraries of travellers as a source of unbiased record of early Persian civilisation.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF SOME ARABIC WRITERS.

The lives of the authors I rely on are not devoid of interest. The best biographical notices of them in any modern language are by Brockelmann who has drawn *inter alia* upon Ibn Khallikan and Haji Khalfa. The former is a delightful though prolix writer some of whose anecdotes in connection with the lives of the heroes he describes have been recently put together in English under the title of *A Boswell of Baghdad*,

Moqaddasi.

" The last and at the same time the most important Geographer of this period is Abu Abdallah al Maqdisi (al Muqaddasi). Of his life all that we know is that which is embodied in his own works. He was born in Jerusalem and travelled over the better part of the countries of Islam, He does not seem to have visited only Sindh, and Seistan as well as Spain. During his travels he endeavoured not only to make use of all the literary sources available to him, but he tried to study radically the aspects of life since he was engaged in various callings. Moreover in addition to his manifold experiences he made use of the researches of his predecessors. He has consequently succeeded in producing a highly picturesque and substantial delineation of the countries of Islam. His style is no doubt not free from a certain artificiality and bombast, but he nowhere sacrifices his matters to his manner. He wrote his book in 985 A. D., and brought out three years later, after a second journey, a new and enlarged edition."

Ibn Rosteh.

Abu Ali Omar ibn Rosteh wrote about 903 in Ispahan under the title of *al alaḡ an nafisa* an encyclopaedia the 7th volume of which treats of geography. It forms also the 7th volume of the Arab Geographers edited by de Goeje. The book begins with a section on the wonders of the heavens. He shows that the earth has the shape of a ball and stands in the centre of the celestial spheres. Then he describes the movements of the heavens, the volume and the distance of the stars and he does not come to geography proper till he has dilated in general upon the size of the earth. His geography begins with Mecca and Medina, then follows a description of the oceans, the rivers, and the climates, and lastly an exhaustive delineation of Iran and neighbouring countries.

Beladhori.

Al Beladhori was a Persian by birth and lived as a companion at the court of the Khalifs Al Mutawakkil and Al Mustain. Al Muatazz entrusted to him the education of his son. He died in 892 in consequence of an excessive dose of anacardia or *beladhur*.

He was the author of 1. *Kitab futuh al buldan*. The larger edition of this work which he seems to have left incomplete and which has now perished seems to have been used by Ibn Khallikan. 2. *Kitab ansab al ashraf* which was a great historical and genealogical work of which there exist now only two volumes. 3. *Radd ala shuubiya*. 4. None of his translations from Persian into Arabic books is extant. They included a metrical Arabic rendering entitled *Ahd Ardeshir* which is also mentioned in the *Fihrist*.

Hamadani,

Abu Bekr Ishaq al Faqih al Hamadani was born in the Persian city of Hamadan, and composed his work *Kkab al Buldan* (edited by de Goeje) in the year 902. The book starts with the constitution of the earth and the oceans, goes on to compare the Chinese and the Indians, describes Arabia, Egypt, the Maghreb, Barbary, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, the Byzantine empire and Iraq, especially the cities of Kufa and Basra while Baghdad is not once mentioned. Among Hamdani's sources is **Jahiz**.

Ibn Rhordadbeh.

Obaidallah ibn Abdallah ibn Ehordadbeh was descended from a Persian family. His grandfather first embraced Islam. His **father was the governor of Tabaristan (Tabari vol 3, page 104 et seq.)**. He **himself was brought up in Baghdad and enjoyed there in music and literature**

the instruction of Ishaq al Mausili (A. D. 849). Later on he was appointed postmaster of Jabal or ancient Medea and wrote between 844 and 848 in Samarra, as a high postal official, his book called *Kitab al Masalik wal mamalik* (edited by de Goeje) which is an official book of routes with exact information regarding the stations, post relays and the taxation of each province. Masudi (vol. 8, page 88-100) has embodied a discourse of his on the origin of music the art of singing and rhythm which he held in the presence of the Khalif Muatamid.

Al Kisrawi.

Musa ibn Isa al Kisrawi was the compiler of the *Khodaynama* which was used by Jahiz and Hamza Ispahani, and he was also probably the author of the compilation which was the basis of the Greek recension of the Romance of *Sindbad* (See Rosen, Vost, Zamyatki, 1895, pp. 153-91.)

Yakut.

Yaqut was born in 1179 of Greek parents and on Greek soil. As a boy he fell into captivity and was brought up as a slave by a merchant in Baghdad. His master gave him a careful education and while he was yet young sent him out on journeys for trade purposes. When in 1194 he returned from his third voyage he fell out with his master. After being dismissed by him he supported himself as a copyist and studied under the grammarian Okbari. A few years later he was reconciled to his former master and went in 1199 for the fourth time out on a journey. He returned the following year and found that his master had died and now he made himself independent as a book-seller. In the succeeding years he developed a fruitful career as an author. In 1213, however, he started again on a voyage first to Tabriz, then to Mausil, Syria and Egypt. In 1215 he started from Damascus for the East. When he arrived the next year at Nisabur he bought himself a Turkish slave girl, whom he had presently to sell because of want of money. He was consoled for this loss by the rich treasure of books which he found at his disposal in the libraries of Merv. There in 1218 he planned on a large scale a geographical dictionary. After a stay of twelve years he went again to Khwarizm. While he was visiting Balkh he got the information that the Tartars had over-run Bukhara and Samargand, and he fled, leaving his possessions, to Khorasan. In 1220 he came to Ibril and soon after proceeded to Mausil where he supported himself as a transcriber. The Vizir Sbaibani of Halab to whom he had complained of his poverty facilitated his journey thither, But he

soon returned to Mausil and devoted himself to his geographical dictionary which he completed in the rough in 1220. In 1227 he travelled again to Alexandria; and on his return began in 1228 to make a fair transcript of his work. Meanwhile in 1229 he was surprised by death in an inn near Halab.

His great work is the *Muqjam al Boldan* (edited by Wustenfeld). The greater portion of it has been translated into French by Barbier de Meynard under the title of *Dictionaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse et des contrées adjacentes, extrait du Mo'djem el-bouldan de Jaqout et complète à l'aide de documents arabes et persans*.

Ibn Maskawaihi.

Ibn Maskawaihi, properly speaking Mushkuya from Persian *mushh* or musk (Noeldeke, *Pert. Stud.* 1406), was the chancellor and confidant of Sultan Adudaddaula ibn Buya. He was a philologist, philosopher and physician, who died at an advanced age in 1030. Among his books are: — 1. *Kitab Tajarib al uman*, which is a general history down to the times of this Adudaddaula in the year 982. The Sixth Part has been edited by de Goeje (*Fragm. hist. Ar.*). 2. *Kitab adab al Arab wal Furs*, which is a practical treatise on philosophy in six parts. One part of the book represents the *Jawidan khirad* which, according to Jahiz, was translated from Pahlwi into Arabic by Hasan ibn Sahl, the brother of the well known Vazir Fazl ibn Sahl; it was translated into Persian from the Arabic version in the reign of Akbar. 3. *Kitab Tahzib al akhlaq wa Tasir al arak*. 4. *Kitab al Fauz al asghar*. 5. An argument that death is not to be feared.

Ibn Qotaiba.

As the first representative of the eclectic school in Arabic we here mention a person whose importance extends far beyond the province of philology, but whom we assign a place here because he himself desired that his philological productions should be regarded as the kernel of his literary works.

Ibn Qotaiba was born in 828 at Baghdad and according to some at Kufa. His father was from Merv, hence he himself bore the name of Merwezi and was consequently of Iranian lineage. He made very extensive studies not only in philology but also in the science of tradition. For a time he occupied the position of Qazi in Dinawar in the province of Jabal, whence his *nisbah* of Ad-Dinaweri. Later on he lived in Baghdad as a teacher and died there in 889.

His writings purported to serve the demands mainly of the highly respectable and influential class of secretary or *kuttab*, the predecessor of the later *munshi*, who for the practice of his calling needed an education entailing the acquisition of certain accomplishments and a knowledge of history. Besides, with his two books he participated in the theological controversies of his time in which he endeavoured to defend the Koran and the tradition against the attacks of sceptics learned in philosophy,

Of Ibn Qotaiba's works we possess the following :—

1. His principal production, *Uyun al akhbar*, consists of ten books devoted to government, war, the nobility, character, science and eloquence, asceticism, friendship, prayer, food and women, interweaving his discourses with quotations from tradition, examples from history and from ancient Arabic poetry. For a fascinating investigation of this book we are indebted to Baron Rosen (bull. de l'Ac. des sciences de St. Petersbourg XXVI. 1. 62 ff, Melanges Asiat, de St. Petersbourg VIII. 1880 p. 777). It has been edited by Brockelmann.

2. *Kitab al maarif* or a Hand-book of history, edited by Wustenfeld, is to be regarded as a supplement to his *Uyun al akhbar*. It begins with the creation, and it has to be observed that Ibn Qotaiba cites the necessary passages from the Bible in a literal Arabic translation, and deals with the creation of man and his fall through sin. Next follows the history of the patriarchs according to the Bible and Arabian legends. He goes on to name those Arabs who renounced paganism before Muhammad. To this is joined an extensive section on the genealogy of Arab tribes, a biography of the prophet, of his relations and companions, and finally of the khalifs down to his own times. The next section enumerates illustrious persons in the history of Islam. The concluding chapter is a chronicle of the south Arabian dynasty before Islam and of the kings of Persia.

*2. *Kitab ash-sharab* otherwise called *Kitab al ashriba wakhtilaf an-nas tha* and *Kitab ikhtilaf al ularna fima gahullu min al ashriba tea yahrummu wa hujjat kid farik nin hum* (Haji Khalfa. 5, 432.). Excerpts from it are, to be found in the Iqd vol. 3, p. 409.

3. *Kitab eshshiar* otherwise titled *kitab ash-shiar wash shuara* which is to be distinguished from

4. which is a book on poets about the title of which we are not certain.

5. *Tabaqat ash-shuara*,

6, *Kitab Maani ash-shiar* is an independent work in 12 books whose titles are noted by the Fihrist.

7, *Kitab adab al katib*, which is of the nature of an etymological lexicon,

8, *Kitab al anwa*,

9, *Kitab at teswiya bayan al Arab wal Ajam*, which is probably the same as *Kitab tafsil al Arab*, out of which a rejoinder against the Shuubrya has been incorporated with the *Iqd* (vol. 2, pages 85-90), See also Bertmi's *Chronology*, p. 238.

10, *Kitab mukhtalif al Jiadis* which is the same book as *Shark al dhadih an nabawiya*; it evidences considerable dexterity in the art of **tax*** tual interpretation and is interesting because of the parallels cited from the Old and New Testaments,

11. *Kitab mushkil al Qoran* which deals with the Interpretation of the Qoran.

12. *Kitab al masail wal jawabat* which is mostly taken from traditions.

Kitab al Imama was-siyasa has been erroneously fathered upon Ibn Qotaiba; it has been partly translated by Gayangos in his History of the Muhammadan dynasty in Spain based on Makkari (vol. 1. appendix E; vol. 2, app. A).

Ibn Qotaiba displays his knowledge of the Bible in a larger work which is unknown to us and in which he refers to Muhammud the passages of Messianic significance according to Christian exegetics.

Yakubi.

Yakub, ibn Jafar ibn Wahb ibn Wadhih was a great-grandson of Wadhih the well known manumitted slave of Maosur, who notwithstanding his near connection with the House of Abbas and his high position as governor first of Armenia and Azarbayjan and then of Egypt was a Shia in secret, a predilection for which he paid the penalty of death in asmachas after the engagement at Takhhk he facilitated the escape of Idris the Aliide to Maghreb. This Shia propensity continued hereditary in his family, and found in his grandson a representative of letters. This latter lived till .873 in Armenia and with the Tahirides in Khorasam From there he proceeded to India and further on to Egypt and the Maghreb and composed there in 891 his book on Geography.. The year of his death is **not known**.

His *Kttah ul Boldan* is edited by de Goeje. The book is preponderatingly of a geographical nature, but economical geography has also been taken into account in detail, particularly statistics regarding taxation. Much pains have been bestowed upon the description of big cities. His second book which is a historical production is edited by Houtsma, who notices it as follows:—

Although it is called a History of the Abbasides it is properly speaking a compendium of a history of the world in two books, the first of which comprises the pre-Moslem times and the second the history of Mohammad and his successors. The introduction has been lost, and the beginning of the manuscript has dropped into the middle of the history of Adam. One after another are recounted the history of the Israelites that of the Messiah and the apostles; then come the Syrians, the Indians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Persians, the Northern nations, the Chinese, the Egyptians, the Berbers, the Abyssinians, the Nubians, the Himyarites, the kingdom of the Ghassan and of Hira; and then the ancient history of Arabia is treated in brief.

The second which is somewhat a shorter volume handles the history of Islam down to the year 872. The work is interesting not only because it is the solitary Shia historical work of an early age, but highly important despite its brevity inasmuch as it rests on sound ancient sources and has preserved for us much valuable information. (On Yakubi's History of the Abbasides, see the Transaction of the 3rd International Congress of Orientalists.) M. Klamroth has noticed extracts from the apostolic literature in Yakubi. He has also translated the excerpts from Greek writers in Yakubi, ZDMG 41,415 445.

Jdhis.

Extraordinarily versatile and yet essentially aiming more at entertainment than instruction was the writer Amar ibn Bahr al Jahiz, the goggle-eyed. He lived in Basra and was subject to the various mental activities of that city. He took an especially zealous part in the Mutazilite movement in Moslem theology. He even founded a sect of his own which was called after him the Jahiziya. As an author he was mainly engaged on the province of A dab, philology in a wider sense, although he seems to have employed himself also on special grammatical studies. We have no right to place him among the students of natural history because his *Book of Beasts* is like the *Book of Plants* of Dinawari, almost wholly concerned with philological and historical interests. For the entire manner of his authorship most characteristic is a dictum.

attributed to Masudi, according to which Jahiz is represented as complaining that the works which he published over his own name appealed but little to the general public; if he wanted to secure popularity for any of his books he had to bring it out under the name of some ancient authorities and then could safely count on a large demand. He stood in intimate relationship with the Vazir of Wathiq and just escaped the fate of the latter when he was put to death by Al-Mutawakkil. It is related that the same Khalif invited him to Baghdad for the instruction of his sons but was compelled when he saw his repulsive ugliness to send him away with a rich present. He died in 869 A. D. Among his important works are—1. *Kitab al bay an watabyin* 2. *Kitab al hay wan*, 3. *Kitab al tnahasin wal azdad*. 4. *Kitab akldaq al maluk*. 5. *Kitab al tambik al mulufc wal mahayid*. 6. *Kitab al bukhla*. 7. *Kitab sihr al bayaru* 8. *Kitab fadhail al Atrak*, on the excellences of the Turks, 9. *Kitab-assalwat al kharif bi munasarat ar JRabih wal kharif*, competition between Spring and Autumn. 10. *Bab al irafa waz zajr wal firasa ala tnazhab al Furs*, which is to be compared with the *Uyun al akhbar* book 2, chapter 11 of Ibn Qutaiba. 11. *Al mukhtar min kalam abi utkman al Jahiz*, which is a kind of miscellany of philosophical reflections. 12. The Hundred Dicta of Ali published at the close of his life by his pupil Zahir and brought out with a Persian translation and commentary by Abdur-rashid.



II..

BROCKELMANN'S VIEWS ON IRANIAN INFLUENCE ON MOSLEM LITERATURE,

"The Umayyad domination was thoroughly national, Arabian, and was to a certain extent democratic. It fell after it had been undermined on account of tribal conflicts at the impact of *Persianism* which was till then ignorantly suppressed but which now owing to Abbasside agitation pose to a renewed self-consciousness. It was consequently essential to the new dynasty to lean upon the two nations to an equal extent as far as possible, and to keep them both divided one from the other. The Persian succeeded presently in acquiring at the Court of Baghdad considerable influence; and the Persian house of the Barmecides asserted itself nearly for half a century in the possession of the highest offices of state.

Naturally Persian influence soon began to be felt in literature. A proper modern Persian literature no doubt was developed two centuries later when Iran gradually attained to political independence. But at first Arabic remained the only written language which was employed also by the Persians. Thus the elegance and refinement of Persian poetry penetrated and more and more threw into the shade the Beduin poetry. The literature of entertainment by means of translation from Persian introduced a plenitude of fresh material. But not less momentous was the Persian influence on the various provinces of science which were developing to an unanticipated luxuriance. Philology was fundamentally a creation of the Arabs and yet some of its most important representatives were of Iranian descent.

The writing of history was indebted to the model furnished by the Pahlavi annalists. But it was most especially the sciences of theology and jurisprudence in which the Persians from pupils presently became the masters of the Arabs. The culture of the secular sciences on the other hand lay preponderatingly in the hands of the Aramians, who acquainted the Arabs with a knowledge of Hellenistic culture. Accordingly henceforward in the case of each writer we shall in the first place examine the question of his nationality. (P. 71.)

" The art of the proper annalist made itself felt comparatively at a late stage in Arabic literature. The information regarding the earliest history of Arabia is deficient in precision and cannot make the least claim to

historic veracity. We *must* presume that the ancient Arabs were totally lacking in this sense of history. Goldziher conjectures, therefore, with justice that the idea of writing history came to the Arabs only from Persian culture. This surmise gains in probability when we consider that the Pahlavi books of kings as a matter of fact were at a very early period translated into Arabic. It is probable that closer investigation will demonstrate likewise the dependence of Arabic historical writings on Pahlavi literature even in respect of style." (P. 134.)

" The art of writing history in Arabic as we saw above received in its nascent development important impulse from the side of Persia. In the past classical times Arabic literature was beholden for a new and important branch of it likewise to the Iranian mind. It was the biography of individual rulers composed in pompous style, ornate with rhyming endings and bristling with literary conceits. These works which were mostly composed in the life-time of their heroes are naturally conceived in a laudatory vein and consequently are to be used only with caution in critical research, but they delineate from personal experience especially the internal condition of the minor states which sprang up over the decay of the khalifat and supplement for us the reports of comprehensive histories. The first production of the kind arose on the soil of Iran,—a biography of the Turkish Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. (P. 313).

ARABIC LITERATURE AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION.

General.

Of all the sources of our information on ancient Persia the most prolific is Arabic literature. And the reason is not far to seek. It is simply this: the major portion of those who used the written Arabic language were Persians. Most of them had adopted Islam out of various motives. Religious conviction was rarely one of them. Generally it was the pride of legs attaching to the state religion which attracted them to Islam. A few however, cultivated Arab letters and employed the tongue of their rulers while still professing Zoroastrianism. Previous writers have dilated upon this important factor in the civilization of the Iranians. But I think it would be hard to produce a more cogent testimony to the force and influence of Iranian authors than that adduced by Haji Khosro. This is particularly applicable to the Abbasside period. With the pecking of the empire into the hands of the defenders of the Abbassid propaganda, the Persians, and the foundation of Baghdad, there commenced as is shown

by Huart, a definite Iranisation (istiajam) of the Arab state. The battle of the Zab was in a manner a revenge for that of Qadisiyya. The toleration accorded to the doctrines and worship of the Zorastrians under the Khalifat is illustrated by the trial of Afshin as Afshin (see my *Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature*, p. 135). With their ancient culture the Zoroastrians brought into Islam a disposition to doubt and a life of general liberality often degenerating into gross licence of free thought. Many like Muti ibn Iyas sang of love and wine. Poetry now became distinguished by a lighter touch and peculiar elegance. The best known of Iyas's verses relate to his laments on his separation from the daughter of a Persian Dihkan.

History social and political.

As a rule all Arabic histories include a special book or chapter devoted to pre-Moslem Iran. They draw the material from indigenous sources. Many of them like Hamza Isfani and Al Balkhi consulted Zoroastrian priests and Zoroastrian records. The *Khvday Nama* is cited repeatedly by Jahiz. It was the original of the *Shahnama*.

Al-Balkhi devotes a whole chapter, the nth, to the kings of Persia and their celebrated deeds down to the time of Muhammad. A certain Mazdian, says Al Balkhi, read to me the past history of Sajastan. The wealth of Iranian material in Arabic is represented not only by mythological personages like Firedun, Isfandiyar, Hoshang and Irach, by Jamshed and Kaikaos but also by historical individuals like Ardeshar Babek, Windadthurmuz, Mazdak, Mah daughter of Shahpur, Maziya ibn Quaren, Zadan Farrukh, Shahr Baraz, Shah Parzand daughter of Firoz, Bahilbad the famous minstrel. These evince the writer's interest in Zoroastrian Iran. He refers to the *Masmoghan* and alludes four times to Zardusht. Ibn Khurdadbeh presumes a knowledge of Persian in his readers and he twice cites Persian verse one of the quotations being generally considered as the beginning of Persian poetry. The other couplet is among the oldest poetical vestiges of old Iran. At least twice we come across Zardusht in Ibn Khurdadbeh who has something to say regarding Gayomard, Behram Gaur, Raushan daughter of Dara, Salam the translator, Firoz king of the Sogadians, the descendents of Kaus, and of course Kisra Parvez. Long indeed is the roll of illustrious personages of Iran past whom the great Masudi passes in review before our eyes. Numerous Ardeshars, Isfandiyar, Afridun; various Behrams, Khusraws, Shapurs, Kaikaos, Kaikabads, Hurmaz and Harmanan and Yazdgards, besides sects like the Khurramiya, the Javedactiya Pahlvaniya are perpetuated in his pages.

Religion

A large portion of chapter XII in Al-Balkhi treats of the religion of the Mazdians. The *herbad* of the Mazdians in the province of Fars informs me, says Al-Balkhi, that in one of their books the duration of the world is divided into four parts. Many of the Mazdians according to him believed in the last judgment and resurrection. Al-Balkhi refers to a sermon of Zoroaster. I have heard, says Al-Balkhi, the Mazdians say that there will arise some one of their religion who will restore for them their empire. The same author is our authority for this ; "Tradition of Ali son of Abu Talib says that on speaking of the seven sleepers he said,—the Mazdians are a people of the Book they have a Prophet," Further down he tells us that the Mazdians recognise the prophetic character of Jamshed, Kayomarth, Faridun and Zoroaster whose book is the Avesta. He alludes to the destruction of the fire-temples, the slaughter of the Mobeds and the burning of their books. In one place he gives us the curious information that the spring of Zemzem is so called because the Mazdians pronounced over it their Zenzema or prayer. He is one of the very few authors who refers to the Mazdians settled in the Roman territory.

Architecture and Archaeology.

We should indeed suffer from loss of accurate knowledge relating to the origin of the wonderful ruins which cover Iran if the Arabic writers had left us no notices of them. Near Bihistun there is a wonderful figure, says Moqaddasi, which it is said represents the horse of Kisra. Moqaddasi describes the marvellous vestiges of the times of the Kisra similar to the Kasrshirin and also the palace of Khusraw. He mentions an inscription in the city of Sapur on a black stone and in the *Parti language*. One farsakh from Naubanjan there stood the statue of King Sapur with the crown on. Near the city of Sapur he noticed on a hill carved figures of all the emperors and famous Marzabans of Persia. In one place with genuine admiration he exclaims "I do not know of any spectacle more wonderful than the place of Shirin." Ibn Rosteh explains the Persian technical terms of *astan* and *tasuj* by their Arabic equivalents. Incidentally, the accuracy of Ibn Rosteh's observations on ancient Iran may be measured by the truth of his remarks touching India in which he noted the practice of early marriages which according to him the Indian people defended on the score that it was a better usage than adultery. Ibn Rosteh notices a citadel which history or legends attributed to Kaykaus. Ibn Rosteh refers us to a building created by

Ardeshar Ibn Babak. He remarks on a *burj* of one of the ancient Persian kings and notices the large city of Daskara and the palace in it built by the Kisra as also the canal constructed by the same ruler. He explains that the city of Nimrah or Haf-way, owes its designation to the fact that it is situated half way from Madayn to the great fire-temple of Shiz. Ibn Rosteh speaks of a canal excavated by the Kisra and constructed with solid stone. According to him, Shabdez is one farsakh from Karmansha and represents a palace cut out of the rock with figures of birds, etc. In the centre of the hall stood the figure of a male clad in full armour and in front of him was the representation of a woman believed to perpetuate the features of Shirin. He further describes a building constructed by the Kisra with marble floor and a canal flowing round it. He depicts for us the palace of Kisra known as the *Aiwan*. The ancient castles which arrest the attention of Hamadani, another important author are those of Behram Gaur, Shabdez, of Shirin and the *Aiwan* of Kisra. He refers also to the gate of Kubad and the throne of Shiruya.

Patet in Arabic history. Fire Temples.

"Once upon a time", says Al-Balkhl "I entered the fire-temple of Khuz (Ahwaz) which is an important place in Persia proper and of great antiquity. I asked the priests there regarding the Creator as described in their book. They brought forward a book which they alleged was the *Avesta*, the scripture which was brought to them by Zoroaster. They read to me in the original language and explained to me the meaning in Persian". This Arab author actually transmits to us a portion of the Parsi scriptures which is identified by Huart, his French editor and translator with the *Patet*. The Zoroastrian priest recited to the Arab philosopher a part of his profession of faith :

Bigumaiv-am ba-hasti Hormuz va amshaspandan biguman-am nstahhiz,

Al Balkhi proceeds to explain the phrases with philological accuracy.

Ibn Rosteh notices the fire-temple built by Bahman son of Isfandiyar. He describes the city in which Kurda were settled by the Kisra and in which there was a large fire-temple to which repaired people from the farthest corners of the country. Even in Yakubi's times there were already ruins of fire-temples in and around Kazwin. Hamadani enumerates the sacred fires of Aiaf-Jushnash, Azaf Khurrah of Jamshed and the fire of Khusraw. The famous temple of Shiz twice calls his attention. The sanctuary of Shiz is as a matter of course noticed by Ibn Khordadteh. Ibn Khordadoeh takes

three occasions to mention the pyerium of Shiz and does not pass over the sacred fire of Jushnasp. Strange indeed it would have been if we had missed the sacred edifice at Shiz in Masudi.

I will give further on the small chapter on Fire Temples in Shah-rastani. This author is of prime importance in another connection—the offshoots and schisms in primitive Zoroastrianism.



III.

Geography and Topography.

In a brief but highly interesting preface to his geography Yakubi speaks of the ardent desire which inspired him in early youth to acquaint himself with the history of different countries. Whenever he met a person in his travels he enquired of him about his native place and country and the situation of his home. He put questions regarding the inhabitants whether they were Arabs or non-Arabs, about their water-supply, their modes of dress, their religious beliefs and literature. He tested the information thus acquired by making investigations, race by race, and consequently propounding queries, as he himself says, 'in season and out of season, to the peoples of the orient and the Occident. He made careful notes of the successive conquests of the Iranian and other peoples by Islam, studied the capital cities, their rulers, the amount of their revenues and their exports, all which information he incorporated in his book. He proceeds to say that he has gleaned information touching each country, province, district, city, and village relating to Arab tribes and Persian communities, about distances separating various lands and their capitals, the dates of their conquest and everything of note concerning mountains, seas, and rivers, and the climatic conditions of the countries he traversed. A bare mention of some of the most important localities of ancient Iran touched upon by Ibn Khurdadbeh enables one to gauge the depth of his interest in the past of his mother-country. He describes the Castle of the Magians, stops at the White Palace or *Kasral Abiyad*, notices the Dez Shir or the Lion Palace, does not omit Kasar-i-Shiran, and mentions twice the old imperial stables, the gate of Anoshirwan, the Nawbahar of Balkh, the country of the Pahlviyans,

Society and Custom.

Moqaddasi refers to the extreme partiality of the Iranians to endogamy. In Daylam he says he saw a man taking away a girl threatening her with a sword. Being questioned about it he replied, "She has married into a stranger family and to slay a person on account of such a deed is justifiable among us". Moqaddasi notices the kind of pilgrimage held at a remarkable spot in Iran on the day of Tir in the month of Tir. He explains that one of the languages of Persia is called Dari "because it is the one in which were indited the royal despatches", and further observes that the term is derived from Dar which means gate, that is to say, it was the idiom appropriate to the Forte. His knowledge of Iranian,

mythology is evidenced in several places. He believes that the castle of Kangdez was built by Tahmuras and gives the derivation of the name of the city of Shahjan. Ibn Rosteh remarks on the medicinal properties of the water of a spring if utilized in the Persian month of Tîr. He also describes a peculiar tree called Khushsayeh which he explains in Arabic as meaning *pleasant shade*. Like most Arabic writers he quotes from "*books of the Persians*", with reference, for instance, to the dimensions of the city of Ispahan. He touches on the perfection of the calendar entitled *Zich-shah* prepared for Yazdagar ibn Shahryar, the last monarch of the house of Sasan. The inhabitants of Ispahan in his time were found to be a mixed populace by Yakubi. He adds, however, that the Persian element preponderated and that the latter belonged to the noble class of *Dehkans who are pure in blood*". According to Yakubi the kings of Tabaristan have always been styled *Ispabeds*. It is a country teaming with inaccessible fastnesses: the people are noble, scions of kings; they are a handsome race and Yakubi has a curious theory to account for the comely lineaments of the Tabaristanis. It seems the last Yazdagard had to leave behind him a large number of charming hand-maids to whom is due the beauty of the people of the county. Of all Iranian authors employing the Arabic tongue, Yakubi was most familiar with Persian and explains for instance such terms as *Dezbad* as the castle of air. He notes that the people of Merv are composed of Persian nobility derived from the Dehkan class but that there are also settled in the city Arabs of the sept of Azd and Tamim. He notes that the Naobahar was the residence of the Barmecides. In Bukhara he found an extensive mixed population of Persians and Arabs. To Yakubi we owe the valuable information that in all the cities of Khurasan there were Arabs of the tribes of Mazar and Rabiya with the exception of Ushrushna; whose people objected to the intermarriages with the Arabs till the appearance of a man of the tribe of Bani Shaiban who overcame the opposition. The same author has **not** omitted to mention the racial peculiarities of the Turks including their nomadic habits and their lack of house or castle.

Haji Khalifa on Iranians.

Haji Khalifa was a Turk. He is an excellent authority on Arabic bibliography. He wrote in Arabic. His *Kashf-uz-mnun* contains an enormous alphabetical catalogue of all the Arabic, Persian and Turkish books known to exist in his day. He died in 1658 and is **referred to by every modern writer on Arabic literature**. Several authorities, among them Justl and Brown, allude approvingly, but; no one has translated in

its entirety, the following passage. I should be surprised if Bombay public libraries own Haji Khalifa,

The major portion of the science of Islam is from Persia. And this extraordinary circumstance is owing to the fact that the learned men in the Muslim countries who cultivated the legal and other sciences were all Persians with a few exceptions; for in the Islamic countries in the beginning there was no science and no art. The Arabs were ignorant of the science of education and administration ; at first all their sciences were confined to the reading and exegesis of the Holy Book and it was not till the time of Rashid that they found themselves in need of commentaries, and juristic literature, with its chain of authorities. Then was felt the necessity of a study of rules of syntax, and the masters of the grammatical art were Sibwaihi, al Farsi and Zajjaj,—all of them Persians. Similarly the science of tradition is due to the Persians or those who made Persian their own tongue. All the originators of the science of *figeh* were Persians. The greater number of metaphysicians and scholiasts were Persians. The Arabs were occupied only as a ruling community and though they became masters of the territory of Persia they did not become masters of their sciences. (*Haji Khalfa*, Vol I, 97.)

IV

Sasanian and Post-Sasanian Period

It is generally but erroneously held that the sources of Parsi history have been wellnigh destroyed especially by the Arabs and that there is nothing which the most diligent investigation can discover regarding their history, especially the history of their religion and their political existence after the fall of the Sasanians. This book is an essay towards combating this popular fallacy and indicating some of the mines of data which have remained unexplored. I have taken for my text the little book of Prof. Inostranzev because it strikes me as the most powerful argument in favour of the thesis which I endeavour to establish. It has to be observed, however, that the sources with which the Russian scholar deals—Arabic constitute one class of the main-spring of our information. There are other literatures which promise to rival in importance and bulk the materials embodied in Arabic works.

Generally speaking the principal sources of the history—in its most comprehensive sense of the Sasanian and post-Sasanian period—are Byzantine writers, Syriac and Armenian chroniclers, Arabic annalists, Pahlavi tracts, Chinese historians and modern Persian authors who reflect directly or obliquely the mental mould of Sasanian writers. The Byzantine or western writers have been adequately appraised, for instance, by Krumbacher and Bury.

The importance of Syriac literature has been recognised by Brown, the best because the most sympathetic exponent of Iranism. Besides Bar Hebraeus (1286 A. D.) who wrote both in Syriac and Arabic we have sound data in Joshua Stylites (507 A. D.) who describes the times of the Sasanian kings Peroz and Kavadh edited and translated by W. Right Cambridge (1882) and the fragments incorporated with Gebhard and Hernack *Text en Und Untersuchungen*; and other Syriac works mostly of ecclesiastical character have preserved for us a vast amount of information on Sasanian Persia.

The importance of Syriac literature is typified by Auszuge of Hoffmann which has been found nearly indispensable by all writers on the inner circumstances especially the condition of Christianity with relation to the state religion of Sasanian Persia, Hoffmann selects some 15 Zoroastrians who have been immortalized as martyrs to Christianity under the reigns of Sapur II, Yezdgard I, Behram V, Yeztigerd II, Palash **Khushraw**

A'nošharāwan and Khoshraw Perwez. The martyrs are sometimes described under their Zoroastrian and sometimes their Christian names,—Turbrain, Behram Hormizd, Pir Gushnasp, Dadu, Narsai, Peroz; Tahm-Yazdegerd, Yizd Panah, Georges. These little biographies supply most interesting data on the domestic life of the Sasanian nobles and clergy; and quite as pregnant of solid information as the lives themselves are the learned excursions on subjects connected with them like the fires of Adhar Parwa and Adhār Gushnasp.

The Armenian writers have bequeathed to us a number of chronicles that are dependent on ecclesiastical literature but are of value as regards the internal affairs of Sasanian Persia. Moses Chorenatsi comes down to Yazdgar II. Sebos brings his narrative down to Muslim times. Johannes Catholicus (patriarch) wrote a history of Armenia reaching the 10th century. Patkanean brought out in St. Peterzberg in (1883) in Russian a history of the Sasanian dynasty from Armenian sources (*Journal Asiatique* vi. 7).

The Chinese books are still more or less a *terra incognita*. The value of ancient Chinese literature with reference to the history of Buddhism has now been well established. It supplements in many ways our information relating to the history of that religion derived from Indian sources. It stands often as a corrective to Sanskrit and Pali texts. For, as Professor Sylvain Levi has shown the Chinese were very faithful translators. A systematic survey of Chinese books is bound to throw considerable light on the obscure period and supply the lacunae in Sasanian history. To take one instance. "The Chinese annals have preserved a very faithful account " says Blochet one of our most erudite authorities, "of the events before and after the fall of the Sasanians". The Russian scholar and traveller Khanikoff was one of the earliest to point to the following in a Chinese source;

After Yazdegar had ascended the throne he was killed by the Arabs. His son Peroz asked the Chinese emperor for help but Ka-Tsong excused himself on the score of the length of the journey". The same authority brings the following to light from another Chinese book:

"Yazdegar did not reign. He was pursued by a powerful chief and fled to the Tokharians. On the way the Tajiks, (Arabs) attacked and killed him. His son Peroz fled to the country of the Tokharians to avoid the danger. He sent ambassadors to the emperor imploring his assistance but Ka-Tsong being unable to send him succour on account of the length of the route excused himself."

Pauthier long ago made accesible to us the following detailed account of the destruction of the Sasanian empire :—

" In the beginning of the year 661 the Tashi invaded Persia. The son of Heaven (the Chinese emperor) despatched a messenger to the Si-yu (the country to the west of Persia) with a view to parcel the land into provinces and districts and the city of Tsiling was to be the capital of the central government of Persia. The king who ruled there and who had paid homage to the emperor received from him the office of commander-in-chief. In 670-73 he came to Court where he was given the title and the function of general to guard the frontiers. After his death his son Nini-ase took oath of fidelity to the emperor. In 679 an imperial edict called upon general Fri-Hing-Kien, to bring with him some troops to his country. Having arrived at the country of the An-se (the Parthians), Hing-Kien, on account of the distance and the fatigue of the journey returned. Ni-ni-sse had recourse to the hospitability of the Tokharlans. In the beginning of the year 707 he returned to court and received the title of general-in-chief of the left wing.....His kingdom was destroyed".

These various texts enlighten us on the relations between Persia and China. It seems that after the invasion of Persia and its final overthrow by the Arabs the emperor of China gave the sovereignty of a country situated near Tokharistan to the descendants of Yezdegard but that the Arabs expelled Ni-ni-sse from there and that for the son of Yezdegerd III whom the Chinese annals call Piruz III was built a temple to his religion at Si-ngan-fu in 677 where the Persian prince died in the city." (p. 187 of Blochet.)

An earnest of the treasures lying in obscurity in Chinese records is furnished by the references brought to light by the studies in Chinese Nestorianism by Chavannes. The Zoroastrians or the Magians are there mentioned with their Bre and their peculiar white head gear. There attempt is made to reproduce mobed in Chinese symols, there is allusion to Fire-temples at China at the request of Piroz III the last Sasanian claimant to the throne of Persia. We have Chinese testimony to the existence of the Mazdian cult in the first century of the Christian era on the territory now known as the province of Kan-Son. There are no grounds to disbelieve the flourishing condition of Zoroastrianism in China at least between 639 and 645. In 677 at S-nan-fu a temple was built which the Chinese annals describe as a fire-temple.

The most valuable service in this respect of unearthing Persian past from the records of China belongs to Professor Chavannes and Maquart.

Modern Persian,

Modern Persian literature has been too much despised as a prime source of Parsi literary activity. It does not doubtless stand directly for secular Zoroastrian literature, but the researches of Ethe Zuckovski, Browne and Blochet have established its cardinal merit as a secondary source which reflects the spirit and represents the mode in which the Pahlavi books were cast,—Pahlavi which served as a model and exemplar to Persians of Moslem times. It is now a common place of the literary history of Iran that it was the Persian Musalmans who cultivated both Persian and Arabic literature. It would have been a psychological impossibility for them to have obliterated all memory of Zoroastrian Iran. On the contrary there is abundant material to demonstrate that the spirit of Zoroastrian secular literature permeated the compositions of all but a few of the writers who use either the Arabic or the Persian tongue as a vehicle for their thought. The Moslem writers sang the glory of Kai-Khusraw, the renown of Faridun the justice of Anawshirwan. The Haft-Paykar or Bahramnama has many episodes with a historical basis or which, at least, repose on genuine ancient tradition as can be judged by a comparison with the Arabic chronicle of Tabari whom Nizami names as one of his sources. There is little doubt that the romance of Wis-O-Ramin by Fakharuddin Asaad of Gurgan was based on a Pahlavi original. Similarly it would require strong argument to disprove the tradition that Unsuri based his *Wamik and Adhra* in a versified form on a Pahlavi prose foundation. The *Kabus Nama* embalms Iranian material of pre-Zoroastrian days like anecdotes or Anushirwan and his minister; repartees of Buzurjumahar; anecdotes of Gushtasp; of Shahrbanu and Hussain; worldly wisdom and social maxims peculiar to Zoroastrian Iranians. The *Karnama* of Sanai reminds us of the Pahlavi *Karnama* of Ardasher. The poet Khakani professes to be so versed in Zoroastrianism that he is prepared if called upon to explain the principles of the Avesta and to tell "what is Zend, what is Pazend" and why Zend and Pazand are so called*. Only an exclusive chapter can do justice to those Iranis who had only a thin veneer of Islam or such as used the Arabic tongue while still professing their father's faith. Mahyar Al Daylami was born and brought up in the Zoroastrian religion and was persuaded to enter the Islamic faith by a brother poet Sharif Ar Razi in 1003. His example "shows us how considerable a hold Zoroastrianism still had in the

Caspian Provinces, how readily it was tolerated, and how fully its representatives were permitted to share in the science and culture of which Arabic was the medium of expression". Quite a respectable number of writers glory in the surname of Al-Majusi or the Magian,

Even Musalman Persian writers ascribe the beginning of Persian poetry to Behram Gor (A. D. 420-438). The Lubabalbab of Muhammad Awfi cites what purports to be ballads of Barbad or Bahladad the Court minstrel of Khusraw Parvez (590-627). This poet who like Buzurgmiher, though no doubt a historical personage, has his personality wrapped in legend merits the most careful study of all interested in the origin of the Persian poetry. How far the Iranian genius of Zoroastrian Persia operates in later Moslem literature is easy to see from more titles of books mentioned or quoted by Daulat Shah in his Tadhkiratu-sh-shuara, They comprise unadulterated Iranian themes like Behram wa Gulandam, Jam-epjam; Jamaspnama; Dastan Gul wa Nawruz; Dasturnama Rawsh-nay Nama, by Nasir Khusrawi; Sawgandnama by Nizam-ul-muik; Gersh-asptnama; Gu wa chugan; Nasihat nama, by Nizam-ul-mulk; Afrin nama; Risalab-jalaliya, dar tafsir-i-Nawruz. The history of Tabaristan by Ibn Isfandiyar in its present Persian form is based on Arabic foundation composed by Yazdadi in the time of Kabus Washmgir (976-1012). The Arabic book was found by the Persian redactor in the library of a king of untainted Zoroastrian appellation Rustam Ibn Shahyar. Besides direct translations from Pahlavi of which Vissoramin and Wamik and Adhra are instances we know of several poems which were composed in various dialects of Persia which are known as the Pahlaviwyat, The Marzban nama was originally written in the dialect of Tabaristan. Not only books, but their authors long preserved Zoroastrian titles and that during the Moslem period,

A Note on Pahlavi and Arabic Sources

of

Persian History.

BY

G. K. Nariman.

A NOTE ON PAHLAVI AND ARABIC SOURCES OF PERSIAN HISTORY.

The reviewer of the *Pioneer* (June 16, 1918) who noticed my *Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature* published last year made the following observation :

"A reference is made in the preface to the industry and erudition of Inostranzev in disinterring two Arabic books in which are interwoven verbal translations of celebrated Pahlavi texts, but we have searched the book in vain for definite information about both of these Arabic books, and we believe that not only it is the case that there is no extant Pahlavi text of which there is an Arabic translation, but that there is little foundation for the theory that anything like what is generally understood by a verbal translation was ever made from Pahlavi into Arabic".

This paper is intended to demonstrate the ample warrant I had for the statement made in the preface and to invite attention of scholars to a fascinating branch of Perso-Arabic studies, the importance of which was indicated by Professor Browne in a pioneer chapter of his *Literary History of Persia* (chapter XIV).

It has been a life-long study with me to show that the emigration of the ancestors of the Parsis from Persia into India some thirteen hundred years ago, or whenever it took place, was not occasioned simply by religious persecution on part of early Islam. There are several links in the chain of evidence which I have from time to time placed before the public (See Murzban, *History of the Parsis in India* (I, IX 155), Moulton, *Treasures of the Magi* (p. 123), *My Religion of the Iranian Peoples* (p. 185), and the series of articles on *Parsis and Early Islam* in the literary columns of the *Bombay Chronicle*). One of these links relates to the Arabic literature concerning Parsis and the preeminent role enjoyed in it by authors who were either recent converts from Mazdaism to Islam or were sons of such or, as I have found in no less than fifty cases, men still publicly professing the Parsi faith.

The identification of the names of born Zoroastrians who have distinguished themselves as scientists and scholars becomes difficult owing to the change of name effected on the conversion to Islam, That Islam has no repugnance for specific Zoroastrian proper names can be seen from the fact of a large number of Persians retaining their original name after their

conversion with the addition of a significant Musalman epithet. Some times the Parsi name is kept without addition or modification. The few names of this nature which I give below represent a minute percentage of the large number who distinguished themselves under the Khalifate, At times, however, the original Zoroastrian name is omitted in which case it is difficult to ascertain whether the author in question was a born Musalman or a convert in latter life. A parallel case is furnished by the names of Zoroastrian converts to Christianity. Here, however, we notice that the original Zoroastrian name is less frequently retained and the convert is much oftener known by his newly adopted Christian appellation. But the latter is generally an artificial formation and is easily distinguished from a Christian name. There were for instance several Christian Hormazds one of whom was Bishop of Susa. Rabban Hormazd is well known. So is St. Hormisdas, the Pope (514 A.D.). Piran Gushnasp who originally belonged to the distinguished Iranian family of Mihran is known as the Christian martyr Gregory under Khusrau I. Mihran Gushnasp similarly was martyred as George under Khusrau Parvez in 615. In Islam, Aban-Gushnasp son of Warid was known as Abu Mansur al Munajjim after his adoption of Islam.

Yazdan Gushnasp the geometrician who died in 1049 and who was a contemporary of al-Biruni is an example of writers about whom we are uncertain whether they died as Moslems or Zoroastrians. The remark holds good of Adhn son of Bundadh who was known as friend of Othman the father of the General Abu Muslim. Tabari mentions a Abu Jafar Zaratusht. Again Hormazd son of Bahaman and father of Adar Hormuzd is a riddle. Clearer is Abdul Rehman ibn Hormuzd who was distinguished as a Qoran reader in Alexandria in the eight century. Muhammad son of Hormazd from Seistan was a partisan of the Saffarides. Tabari mentions one Musa ibn Hormazd. Another Muhammad son of Hormazd from Tabiristan (829-921) was an exegete and an exponent of Shafi law. A Hormazd is noted as the author of books on necromancy and occult sciences. (Fihrist 309, 20). Several persons bearing the name of I raj are known to have been converts. One who was the hereditary governor of Lar and a descendant of Gurgin Milad became Musalman under Omar I (717). The term Herbad like the term Mobed, though a title, appears sometimes to have been used as a proper name. Tabari has one Ibn al Herbad, Ibn al Athir refers to Anoshirwan son of Mihochir and a daughter of Mahmud of Ghazna. He was Amir or Governor of Georgia (1029-1042). There was a Shar-fuddin Anoshirwan son of Khalid of Kashan who was an author and Wazir of a Saljuk prince who dies in

Moeshad in 1030. It would be interesting to know more of another Anoshirwan who was a poet of Baghdad and who was blind and was notorious as the "Satan of Iraq". (Yakut 1, 187). There was a Parvez who according to Tabari quarrelled with a brother of his who was *Masmogan* and went over to the Court of the Khalif Mansur (754-755) and distinguished himself in the campaign against the Rawandis; but we are left no definite information whether he was eventually persuaded by the Khalif to embrace Islam or not. A number of ArdesHIRs have distinguished themselves in Islam. The ancestors of the well known author Abul Kasim Obaidullak (Fihrist, 131, 7) was ArdesHIR bin Babak. Then there were Hussam ud Dowla ArdesHIR son of Saifud Dowla and Nafis Abul Fatah Muhammad son of ArdesHIR Abul Husain ArdesHIR son of Mansur from a village near Merv was noted as a famous preacher of Baghdad who flourished about 843 according to Ibn al Athir. I may mention in passing that these mixed names are most common amongst the princes of the dynasties in Tabaristan which were semi-dependent even during the Sasanian period and which seem to have continued the Zoroastrin domination down to the thirteenth century. Another favourite Iranian name which the Musalmans did not discourage is Lohrasp. The historian Zahiruddin mentions numerous princes who bore this name. One was Lohrasp son of Afrasiab (died 1358). There was a Lohrasp son of Hussain. There were several Lohrasps of Georgia and Armenia. Ibn Adarbad on his entry into Islam came to be known as Muhammad ibn al Laith, the preacher. He was the son of Firoze bin Shahin and was noted as an enemy of the Harmecides. (Fihrist 120 29). Al Beruni (200, 14) mentions another Adarbad who was a Mobed of Baghdad. Azadshihir was doubtless a Musalman being the son of the Gaznawi Ibrahim (1058-1099). The same Gaznawi prince had another son who was called Azad Mihr. Babuyeh was a common Iranian name retained by converts to Islam. One person of that name was a secretary of Badhan the Persian governor of Yaman in the beginning of the 7th century. Ali Ibn al Husain bin Musa known as Ibn Babuya was a writer of Shia jurisprudence who died in 991 (Fihrist 196, 5). This Bazan embraced Islam according to the concurrent testimony of Tabari, Beladhori and Masudi. Another Bazan son of Farrukh had for his grandson Yazid, doubtless a convert, who was a mathematician in the time of Khalif Mutawakkil (847-861). Bukhtagan is known in Parsi literature as the father of the celebrated saga Buzurg Mihr. One person bearing that name is conspicuous in Arabic literature. His name was Said ibn al Bokhtagan (Fihrist 123, 19). Burzuyeh was the ancestor of the famous traditionalist of Bokhara Abu Abdulla Muhammad (died 370). He became a Musalman at Bokhara

according to Yakut. Ahmed Barzu of Isphahan who was a noted grammarian (died 965).

The historian Maskewih, who is himself suspected to have been a Zoroastrian, speaks of a Khalid Darius of Baghdad. A Majd-ud din Dara was an Isphahbed of Mazandaran in the 12th century. Dad is a pure Persian name. Kashid son of Dad was one of the early commentators of the Qoran (Fibrst 23, 29).

The name Faramurz is very much in evidence in early Musalman history though it does not seem to be common during the later epoch. Zahirud-din Faramurz reigned at Isphahan from 1041. One Faramurz son of Shirzad was a contemporary of Prince Shahryar (1073-1109) and we should not be surprised if he was still a professing Zoroastrian. Adudud din Faramurz was the builder of a sacred edifice at Mashed (1121). There are several Faramurz in the past Sasanian dynasties. One Faramurz son of Musht Firoz was Khatib or preacher of Baghdad (1145). A Haji Faramurz was a governor of Darbend about 1300. Mula Muhammad bin Faramurz is better known as Mulla Khusrau. He was an Hanafi judicial authority (died 1340). The Zoroastrian name Farrukh was borne by a scholar of note under Khalif Mamun. Yakut mentions Mahamud son of Farrukh son of Rezbah (2, 6, 16). A famous Farrukh was the mathematician Omar ibn Farrukha (Fihrist 245, 5). We do not know whether Farrukh Dad father of Mihnidad Gushnasp mentioned by the Ibn Khallikan (4,85) died a Zoroastrian or not. We also are unaware about the religious faith of the Persian astronomer of Baghdad called Farrukh who died in 977. A Farrukh Yazdan from Merv is mentioned by Beladkori. He was the father of Shaila after whom the Euphrates canal is called Nahr Sahila. Further research may throw some light on Mulla Shapur mentioned by Pertshe. An inscription of 1243 mentions a Shirwan Shah son of Kershasp. A son of the Khalif Mutawakkil (847, 861) was given the Persian name of Jahishyar. Sultan Kaikobad of Delhi (1287-1290) named his son Gayomard. The name Khosrau figures more frequently among Iranian converts to Islam than Christianity. We have Khosrau Firoze son of Ruknud Dawleh. Then there are Khosrau Firoz Abul Mihrwan, Abu AH Kaikhosrau Mansur, Khosrau bin Forize bin Jalalud Dewla, Ghizasuddin Kai Khosrau, Khosrauhoo son of Muhammad Khan, ash-Shahid or the martyr. Khosrau ibn Majusi was an authority on astrolabs. The name Jamshed was obviously held in high favour and it has not lost anything of its popularity as yet in Musalman countries. Abdulla son of Jamshed mentioned by Yakut died at Nishapur in 938. Ali bin Jamshed died in 950. Muhammed son of Jamshed

was a Shafi authority (996). A Jamshed is mentioned as a son of Shah Mirza king of Kashmir in 1349. Jamshed son of Kobad was a ruler of a portion of Persia from 1384 to 1405. Ghiasuddin Jamshed was an astronomer of Kashmir who died in Samarkand in 1613. Names formed from Izad or Yazdan were peculiar favourites with Zoroastrian converts to Christianity; but several Musalmans notabilities also adopted them. Yazdan son of Rustam of Tabiristan was the grandfather of a well known grammarian who was a pupil of the celebrated Kasai in the beginning of the ninth century. (Fihrist 60, 10). Most positive information is supplied regarding a Yazdan son of Suwaid of Merv father of Muhammad who embraced Islam and became the wazir of Mamum and died in 844 distinguishing himself in the literary accomplishments of the day. (Fihrist 124, 3). Another Yazdan obviously a convert or a convert's son was the father of Abi Saleh Abdulla Mohamed the Wazir of the Khalif Mustain (Fihrist 124, 4, 167, 3). Another Yazdan was a Hanafi authority. Still another was a Hanbali who died at the age of 78 in 974. One Ibn Yazdan from Ahwaz was a Qoran reader who died in 1054. Further investigation is necessary to prove the religion of Yazdgerd son of Mahabundad of the royal race who was an author under the Khalif Moatadid 892-903 (Fihrist 128, 12). A Fakhar ud Dowla Kershasp was a Musalman prince. Among the seven notable families of ancient Persian the Karen was not the least. One Karen son of Adul Mulk Shahriyar adopted Islam in 854 and reigned as prince of Tabiristan from 837 to 867 (Al Beruni, 47).

Aby Ishaq ibn Mahan was ordinarily ibn Bahman, of a noble family In Arajan, and court musician to Harun Rashid; he died in Baghdad in 804 He (Fihrist 149, 11) leaves us undecided as to the time of his conversion.

A Mahan was traslator under Khalif Mamum (813-833) probably a professing Parsi.

Zadan Farrukh son of Piri, father of Mardanshah was a Zoroastrian financier under whose guidance the Persian register of taxes and tributes was translated into Arabic by order of the Khalif Abdul Malik in the year 697. Another Zadan Farrukh was grandfather of Fazl ibn Sahl, vazir of Khalif Mamum (813-833 A.D.) Zardusht son of Adarkhwar was known as a Muslim under the name of Ahmed al Mutawakili after Khalif,

Mutavakkil under whose patronage he abjured the faith of his fathers. (Yakut III, 185, 19).

This short catalogue of Zoroastrian converts to Islam or their descendants who distinguished themselves as princes, poets or authors may be indefinitely augmented from standard works on Arabic biographical literature like these of Ibn Khallikan, Haji Khalfa, an-Nadhim, Brockelmann and last but not least Justi.

There is a vast number of admiring reference in Arabic literature to the civilisation of Zoroastrian Persia, and these by professed Moslems. I have indicated a few of them already. Two at least are of capital importance and merit repetition. The first is a passage where jahiz describes the excellences of the Parsi writings. The second perpetuates the spirit of enlightened Moslem tolerance typified by Masudi who controverts the ignorant assaults on Zoroastrianism by his own co-religionists. Since my book was out I have chanced upon a number of further allusions to specific Zoroastrian matters where there is an absence or prejudice on part of the authors. They are brief, but such as they are, they provide valuable auxiliary material for unbiased researches. These fresh passages which I have not noticed in any of my predecessors Baron Rosen, Browne, Inostranzen, Huart or Goldziher are in the Kitab al Haywan of Jahiz, Book IV p. 157; Book V p. 2, p. 41, p. 44, p. 52; Book VI p. 162.

Now coming to direct literal translation from Pehlvi into Arabic, there are actually at least two large such passages in an Arabic work the discovery of which we owe to Inostranzen and partly to Brockelmann. A third also indicated by Inostranzen is not taken over from an avowed Arabic translation from Pehlvi but embodied the description of a specific Zoroastrian institution, the Nawroz under the Sasanians. It is a passage embodied in the Kitab-al-Mahasin wal Azdad. It is a charming description of the celebration of the Nawroz festival at the Sasanian Court. It is so detailed, vivid and obviously taken from life that it could possibly have been written at a time subsequent to the extinction of the Sasanian domination. And who could have drawn it up in Arabic? It bears on the face of it the marks of a translation from a Pehlvi original, the most important of which is that its authorship is attributed to Kisrayi. The name of the author is guarantee that he was an Iranian. The passage occurs at pp. 359-364. It so bristles with Zoroastrian expression

that a translation of it from the Arabic into any modern language would be almost an impossible task for a scholar whose studies were confined to classical Arabic. Knowledge of the Avesta technicalities is essential to its understanding. Now if I may digress, how was it possible for this specifically Zoroastrian document to have found a place in a book which a popular fallacy asks us to fancy was meant only for the Musalman reading public? The fact is that it was not intended for Musalmans alone, that the latter studied and read with avidity the literature, and a few of them even the scriptures of the Zoroastrians and that among the readers for whom this species of books were prepared such a vast number were recent converts that the specific Zoroastrian terms did not stand in the way of their fully understanding the purport of the author. Further Kisrawi was the editor of one of the translations of the *Klioday Namek* which had been used by Jahiz and Isphani and to whom also is attributed the text as the basis of the Greek recension of the Romance of Sinbad (Brockelmann I, 517).

Of the two passages, however, about whose provenance there is no question, one relates to the art of war as practised by the Sasanians and bears the most unmistakable marks of a translation. The second is connected with old Iranian anthropology, some of the popular beliefs in omens. Both the passages occur in the Arabic book called *Uyun al Akhbar* the author of which is Ibn Qutayba who himself states that he has borrowed them from a book called *Kitab al Ain*, the original Pehlvi of which went under the name of *Ain Nameh* and which was rendered into Arabic by Ibn Mukaffa.

Ibn Qutayba.

It may be interesting briefly to note something about this Ibn Qutayba and his *Uyun al Akhbar*. Ibn Qutayba belonged to the eclectic school of *leterati* whose importance extended far beyond the province of philology. He regarded his philological work as the core of his literary productions. His full name is Abu Muhammad Abdallah ibn Muslim ibn Qutayba. He was born in 828 at Baghdad and according to others at Kufa. His father belonged to Merv and so he is also called *Mervezi* and was consequently an Iranian by descent. He made very extensive studies not only in philology, but also in the science of tradition. For a time he occupied the post of a Kazi in Dinawer. Later on he lived in Baghdad and died in 889 or 890. His contributions to Arabic literature were

mainly devoted to the requisite literary equipment of the important class of secretaries or Kuttabs who were the predecessors of our moderns *munshis*. But he also took part in the theological disputations of his time in one of which he endeavours to defend the Qoran and the tradition against the attacks of those sceptics who had a purely philosophical training. Of his works the most important than remain to us are:

(i) His *Uyun al Akhbar*, which is in ten books and treats of sovereignty, war, nobility, character, science and oratory, asceticism, friendship, prayer, food and women supported by citations from proverbs and traditional examples from history and old Arabic poets.

(ii) *Kitab Maarif*, a handbook of history. The book begins with the creation and Ibn Qutayba gives literal translations of passages from the Bible.

(iii) *Kitab as shiar wash Shuara*.

(iv) *Adab-al-Katib*.

(v) *Kitab tafdhil al Arab*. The very interesting book on Imáma was *Siyasa* is also ascribed to him (Brockelmann I, 120-122).

The *Uyun al Akhbar* is being edited by Brockelmann from two manuscripts. One from the Madresa Library at Constantinople which is complete and the other from the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Science at Petrograd, which however contains only the first two books. The importance of this work had been indicated by Baron Rosen so early as 1880 in the *Melanges Asiatique* volume VIII, pp. 745-749, where the *Ain Nameh* is described at pp. 755-777.

The Ain Nameh.

In the Persian literature of the Sasanian period the first place was occupied by historical compositions, the principal of which was the celebrated *Khoday Nameh* which has come down to us as the *Shahnameh*. (Noeldeke *Geschichte* p. XV). It contained ancient Persian traditional history. Its Arabic versions have been the source of many of the Arabic historians (Brockelmann, *History of Arabic Literature*, volume 1 p. 134). Hence the high value of the passages which have been incorporated from

it into Arabic works. They are of all the greater moment since the Pehlvi literature that has come down to us is mostly of a religious character a few tracts dealing with semi-religious and fewer still with non-religious subjects which have little historical importance.

But the *Koday Nameh* was not the only original historical work in Pehlvi. Along with the other works enumerated as belonging to the province of history and translated into Arabic there is a book of uncommon interest called the *Ain Niameh*. It figures among the works translated from Pehlvi into Arabic by Ibn al Mukaffa in the *Fihrist* of an-Nadhim (i, 118, 27; i, 395, 11-12). The *Khoday Nameh* as translated into Arabic bore the title of *Kitab-al-Siyar* or the book of Biographies. It was a publication of an official character. The *Ain Nameh* is generally referred to in Arabic literature as the *Kitab-ul-Ain*. As translated into Arabic it would be the *Book of institutes* appertaining to administrative organization. While the *Khoday Nameh* has attracted considerable, though not yet sufficient, interest the *Ain Nameh* has not been a-third so fortunate and has scarcely been mentioned by any scholar using the English language. Yet it has highly important bearing on Sasanian Persia. The first notice of the *Ain Nameh* was taken by Baron Rosen. This Russian scholar may be said to be the founder of that branch of Oriental learning which is of supreme interest to the Parsis and of not secondary concern to the Musalmans. Browne has testified to its greater value for the investigation of Iranian civilisation than Avesta or Sanskrit. Rosen showed the importance of Arabic literature with reference to the political and social history of Zoroastrian Persia. The masterly dissertation which he contributed to the memorial volume dedicated to the centenary of the Paris University on the *Question of the Arabic Translations of the Khoday Nameh* if fully done into English would convince those hesitating to endorse Browne's verdict, so novel and yet so boldly true. Zotenberg in his edition and translation of *Thaalab* makes a slight reference to the book (pp. 14-15). The notes by Inostranzev in his paper on the *Materials from Arabic sources for the culture history of Sasanian Persia*. I regret I cannot produce having very unfortunately mislaid the exceedingly interesting essay. Marquart in his *Eran Shahr* (p. 48 footnote) makes a passing reference to Ibn Khordadbeh whom he believes to* have drawn upon the *Ain Nameh* as well as the *Gah Nameh* and a third book which contained the portrait of the Sasanian rulers.

Masudi on the Ain Nameh.

Our chief original source, however, for a knowledge of the contents of the Pehlvi Ain Nameh is Masudi (Kitab-at Tanbih Wal Ishraf, 104, 9 ; translation by Carra de Vaux, p. 149).....The passage alone justifies a close study of Arabic literature for the purposes of due appraisalment of Iranian civil administration, Masudi says:

"The Persians have book called the Kohan Nameh in which are mentioned all the offices of the Sasanian monarchy, six hundred in number, classed according to the degree of honour attached to each. This book formed a part of the *Ain Nameh*. The meaning of Ain Nameh is Book of Regulations. It is a volume of several thousand pages and we cannot find a complete copy anywhere except with the Mobed and other personages invested with certain authority. The Mobed of the Persians at the time of writing this history, that is in the year 345, for the country of Jabal, Iraq and other Persian provinces is Ammad son of Ashawahisht. Before him these countries had for their Mobed Isfandiyar son of Adarbad son of Ammad who was put to death by Radhi at Baghdad in 329".

The manuscripts of the Arabic text of Kitab-al-Tanbih copied by scribes to whom the name was outlandish have naturally corrupted Ashawahisht and we owe its restoration to Darmesteter. The name supplies weighty evidence and turns for us Masudi's report into authentic history. For Adarbad son of Anmid was the last editor of the Dinkerd. He is mentioned in the list of the principal Mobeds occurring in the Bundahism (31, II Ed. Nest). A son of Ashawahisht son of Fresh Srosh occurs in the same list. He might be the successor of Isfandiyar. (See Justi, Mobed Amad, *Namenbmh*, 14).

Persia the Model.

The *Ain Nameh* or rather the *Gah Nameh* which formed a part of it corresponds in a manner with the Roman *Notitia dignitatum*. The Moghul emperors of India attempted as far as they could to create a royal environment which should approach,—they never hoped to surpass it,—the grandeur of the Sasanian Court. The Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazal may not have had for its model the Ain Nameh; but there is little doubt that the title of the Persian book was suggested by Pehlvi or Iranian literary tradition. In fact there was a Kitab-ul-Ain in later Moslem period. It was, the first Arabic lexicon, by Khatil ibn Ahmed, inventor of Arabic prosody

Nicholson Literary History of the Arabs p. 343. I may incidentally observe that Mediaeval India was so far subject to Iranian influences that in the arts of daily life which were not unknown to its hoary civilisation, the Persian terms borrowed from Persia seem to have been preferred to indigenous expressions which must have existed. For instance in the system of book-keeping and accounts such as was current in the Moghul times and is still in vogue among the Hindustani merchants, we notice purely Iranian words; the journal or day book kept by our merchants and called *roz-nameh* and the system of *tarij* were probably not native to India but were adapted being in daily use in Persia as we see from the *Mafatihul Ulum* (p. 54). From time to time Musalman writers drew up lists of such words as were indispensable in Arabic having been naturalised from Persian. The Arabic, though it has a vast vocabulary, was deficient in those practical terms which were necessary in the administration of an empire. Khwarezmi in his *mafateh ul uam* has given a list of such terms (p. 118).

Proof of translation-from Pehlvi into Arabic,

Now the proofs of Pehlvi works being rendered into Arabic are self evident. The Arabic writers avow them. Authorities like an-Nadhfm prepared elaborate lists of Pehlvi books and of translators who made them accessible to the Arabic reading public. Manun's bureau of translations is a historical sign post. But incontrovertible evidence of translation is in the translations themselves. That evidence lies in the mistakes of the translators. When a passage as an Arabic work makes no sense, when secondly we find that the author states that in it he is quoting from a well known work and thirdly when we know as the author knew it that the passage is a translation ; then we instinctively feel that there might be something amiss with the translation ; and further, when we correct the mistake the passage which made no sense reads aright. The process confirms us beyond doubt that we have been dealing not with an original text but a translation. This is exactly what has happened with a longish citation from the *Ain Nameh* in the *Uyun al Akhbar*. It remains only to be added that the mistakes in the translation could be detected only by a scholar at home at once in Arabic and Pehlvi.

Mistake as evidence of translation.

In describing the superstitious conceptions of the Persians regarding, omens the *Kita-bal-Ain* dilates upon two classes or objects, one good: and another evil, which produce their respective consequences if met with by

a person. For instance, it is a good omen to meet with a pack animal carrying food, straw or cowdung. It is on the other hand, we read with amazement, an evil omen, to come across a beast of burden loaded with drink, fire-wood or *dog*. It is the last word which is indisputable confirmation of our knowledge that the passage is a translation. For from the general sense it is evident that we have to deal with a mistake in the text, it not being quite feasible that a mule or donkey should be loaded with a dog, dead or alive, especially among the Zoroastrian Persians to whom it was a sacred animal. If we consider the articles which occur in the opposing list, food, drink, straw, and wood, it is quite natural to assume that behind the word which is translated into Arabic as *dog*, there must in the original Pehlvi, have stood something wholly alien. The word for dog in Arabic occurring here is *kalb*. The word is so clear that a conjectural emendation, at times called for by an ambiguity of letters, is here totally unnecessary. We are, therefore, driven to the natural conclusion that the Arabic word used in the translation does not represent the original word in the Pehlvi, but is an erroneous rendering. If we now translate back the Arabic *Kalb* into its Pehlvi equivalent we find the key to the solution. *Kalb* or dog in Arabic is *sag* in Pehlvi or Persian. Now we have to look for another Persian word which resembles *sag* in appearance, but has a meaning which suits our context. This word is obviously *sang* and it means stone. The fact is that *sag* and *sang* were written in Pehlvi so similarly that the translator was easily led into the mistake. Hence it is clear that the translator read the original Pehlvi *sag* (dog) when he should have read and translated *sang* (stone). Our hypothesis that it is a mistranslation turns into unqualified certainty when we meet with an exactly parallel case. In the 8th chapter of the XX Vandidad the Pehlvi translator commits the same mistake. Commenting on the passage Darmesteter says :

"Loriginal du manuscrit avait sang "pierre" ecrit comme sag "chien", que le copiste, pour montrer son entente du huzvareh, a bravement transcrit Kalba" (Le Zend Avesta II, 120, note 13.)

The error will easily be understood when we take into consideration the well known peculiar nature of the Pehlvi language in which a certain number of words were written in one way and pronounced in another. For an analogy in our modern English we may mention such instances as lb. which we pronounce as pound and the symbol which we write

as d, but pronounce as pence. The interesting part of it is that this bewildering characteristic of the Pehlvi language was first made known to scholars in Europe from an independent non-Parsi source, as is well known, by the famous Arabic Fihrist.* I may add that another Arabic writer remarks upon this ambiguity of the Pehlvi language, viz., Hamza Ispahani. He adduces, it seems to me very rightly, and to my knowledge for the first and only time, the ambiguous nature of the Pehlvi alphabet and figures as one of the causes of the confusion in the authentic historical writings especially the chronology of ancient Persia.²

Lastly a passage (p. 166-7) bearing upon the national game of the ancient Persians, polo, in the Uyun al Akhbar is also a translation.²

About the game of polo being, so to say, a national institution of old Iran, where it had its origin there is absolute agreement among scholars (see J. J. Modi, Education among the Ancient Iranians and the Game of Ball Bat). The rules of the game are described in the Uyun but there is an important reference to it in another Arabic work which replete with Iranian material drawn, directly from Pehlvi works. There it occurs in connection with the gifts exchanged by the sovereigns of Iran and Rum—I mean the Mahasin wal azdad (pp. 369-371) ascribed to Jahiz in which we found also the description of the Nowroz.⁴

There are a very few of the Pehlvi passages directly and admittedly adapted by Arabic writers who acknowledge their sources. They lie taken over in translations so faithful in general to the original that the exceptional errors prove at once their trustworthiness and the admiration in which Pehlvi literature was held by Moslem authors employing the Arabic tongue.

1. Etudes des grammaire Pehlvi by Blochet, p. p. 10. 11.

2. Huma's Tarikh Muluk al-ardh, p. 67.

3. Sasenskie Etyudi, Inostranzev p. 66.

4. (P. 31).

Parsis And Early Islam.

BY

G. K. Nariman.

Parais and Early Islam.

I.

THE MYTH OF RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

Pursie in the Eye of Islam.

In estimating the forces of the alleged persecution by the¹ conquering Arabs which are believed to have driven the Parsis from house and home in Persia into India it is necessary to survey the position which the Zoroastrians occupied in the estimation of primitive Islam. Broadly speaking Islam divides mankind into three classes; first come those who believe in the Qoran and all that the Book stands for; secondly those who are variously designated idolatars, polytheists or in plainer Anglo-Saxon "those who join gods with God" and thirdly the intermediate group of communities known as Ahl Kitab or 'People of the Book, a term shortly to be explained. Now whatever the position the Parsis occupied in the later developed scheme of Moslem theology and state policy there is adequate proof that in Muhammad's eye and in the opinion of his early successors the Zoroastrians were entitled to rank as Ahl Kitab because they were neither adherents of the Qoran nor professing idolatars. In the Prophet's time and in the Moslem literature, sacred and profane, for several centuries subsequently the Parsis were known by their classical appellation of Magians or Majus. The term Parsi, Zoroastrian or Mazdayasrian does not occur in the Qoran, though the first two terms are to be met with in posterior Islamic authorities. The term Magian occurs only once in the Qoran. There a differentiation is enunciated between the three classes of men noted above, viz., the faithful on the one hand, and the idolatars and the intermediate sects or Ahl Kitab on the other. The reference is at chapter 22, verse 17 of the Qoran. It is translated as follows :

" As to those who believe as; well as the Jews and the Sabians and the Christians and the Magians and those who join other gods with God, of a truth, God shall decide between them on the Day of Ressurrections'.

This makes it obvious that in the mind of the Prophet the Magians stood on the same footing as the Jews and the Christians. *Par parenthese* the Sabians, a very interesting ancient community of which we have recently heard in Mesopotamia after its conquest by the British may be left out of account for the present. The Parsis consequently stood higher than those who "joined other gods with God" or than all the peoples, tribes and sects who were denounced without disguise as idolators.

The Parsis "Protected Religious Body."

In course of time this category of Ahl Kitab which had special prerogatives became synonymous with Zimmis or "protected races" although all Zimmis were by no means Ahl Kitab. The Zimmis were neither Musalmans nor idolators and in Muhammad's time principally the Jews and the Christians and, of course, the Parsis, as may be undoubtedly demonstrated, were so styled. An Ahl Kitab is a community which believed to be in possession of a divine Book such as the Jews and the Christians, who possess the Old and the New Testament. And as is well known a Moslem does not altogether repudiate the Bible. Originally the Magians were also regarded as the inheritors of a similar revelation. The Moslem theological view is that every one of the Ahl Kitab persuaded, the Jews, Christians and Parsis, once were revealed each a Scripture, but that the latter was abrogated by the subsequent divine revelation vouchsafed to Muhammad and published by him to the world. As regards the Parsis, therefore, their claim to be Ahl Kitab was certainly recognised in early Islam. It dates from the times preceding the great Shiah secession. It was only in later ages that the Parsi claim to be an Ahl Kitab came to be disputed. Among other privileges in the first place they were entitled to "free public worship against payment of a poll tax." It will be convenient to follow accepted authorities and I shall go behind them to the original sources for the purposes of necessary amplification. Goldziher here is our acknowledged guide and he has the distinction of being one of the first scholars who have laboured to examine Moslem culture in the light of Zoroastrian Iran. In early Islam violation of an alliance of a community belonging to the Ahl Kitab is held as a heinous perfidy. In the ancient instructions to Moslem generals setting out on expeditions of conquest as well as for administrative purposes a due warning is generally given to the effect that the subject Ahl Kitab must not be disturbed in their public

worship but must be treated with humanity." No amount of emphasis laid on these injunctions touching the religion of the subject races can be too extravagant. But while we have satisfactory writings of this position of a "favoured nation," as we may style it, accorded to the Parsis in early Islam we possess fortunately still additional historical documents handed down to us by Musalman writers which confirm in practical life the principles laid down by the Prophet and his entourage and immediate successors.

Historian Baladhori.

One of the most important of our sources is Baladhori. Some years ago when this weighty author was still not generally accessible and edited only in Arabic I called attention to his record. Now, however, his invaluable *Futuh-ul-Buldan* lies open to study in an English translation. We have a number of other recognised authorities who substantiate and independently corroborate the statements of Baladhori. Priority, however, is due to Baladhori on two accounts. In the first place he is one of the most ancient of our sources and secondly being a Persian by descent he is expected to have had first hand knowledge. He lived as an honoured companion at the court of the Khalifs Mutawakkil and Mustain, and died in 892 in consequence of an overdose of anacaidia which is called *baladthur* and hence his surname of Baladhori.

We may digress for a moment to dwell on two silent features with regard to Baladhori. Although an Iranian who, we have reason to believe, was brought up in Iranian atmosphere, he was a violent opponent of that to us vital literary body in Islam called the *Shuubya*, who were the most powerful protagonists of Iranian culture in general and adversaries of things Arabian in particular, including at times the Arabian religion. A large portion of their literature has most unfortunately perished beyond recall but what we do possess of it in fragments incorporated by posterior writers is of inestimable worth inasmuch as in it, are recorded the spirit, sometimes even the pure Zoroastrian spirit, of ancient Iran. Another point about Baladhori of interest connected with the first is that he was an able Pahlavi scholar and one of those to whom the secular literary treasures of the Zoroastrians strongly appealed. He was the translator into Arabic from Pahlavi of the *Book of Aradishir*, which was most probably the *Karaname* which is extant in the Pahlavi original and has been edited and translated both in Europe and India.

The Bahrain Parsia.

Baladhori's *Futuh-ul-Buldan* describes the conquest of early Islam including that of Persia. His account of the subjugation of Hajar of Bahrain calls for particular notice because here the principle of tolerance or rather the principle of the negation of intolerance and persecution was enunciated and enforced by the early Muslims. The land of Bahrain formed a part of the Persian Empire. In time of the Prophet the Arabs who had settled there as well the country as a whole was governed in the name of the Sasanian monarch by Mundhir ibn Sawa. According to Baladhori in the beginning of the eighth year of the Hijira the Prophet despatched two delegates to Bahrain giving its people the choice, not between the sword and Islam, but between embracing Islam and paying a tax. We do not quite understand¹ the administrative relations between Sawa and another functionary on behalf of the Persian Emperor who had the official Persian designation of *Marzban* or provincial governor. But we are told the Prophet had to send a letter to Sibokht, the Marzban of Hajar inviting him to Islam. The Arabs of the neighbourhood and a few Persians adopted Islam. Mark the early date at which peaceful acceptance of Islam had already commenced. European authors have advanced various reasons why the Zoroastrians adopted Islam in large numbers without any threat of persecution. The one most cogent of these, which stands beyond doubt, is the historical fact of the growing intolerance on the part of the latter day priesthood of Iran. The earliest martyrs to Christianity were born Zoroastrians. and the Sasanian state religion of Persia, a little prior to Arab invasion, had to struggle with powerful heresies and schisms in its own Church. As regards Bahrain, the bulk of the population, however, including Magians, Jews and Christians, made terms with the Prophet's deputy and the following agreement was drawn up between the inhabitants of Bahrain representing the three religions of Zoroaster, Moses and Christ, on the one hand and the representatives of Muhammad on the other:—

"In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful, these are the terms agreed upon between Ala ibn Al Hadrami and the people of Bahrain, It is agreed that they will save us, the Muslims, the trouble of work and divide with us the dates and whoever of them fails to keep this, may the curse of Allah, the Angels, and the world altogether fall upon him." As regards the poll-tax Ala assessed it at one dinar on each adult.

More important, however, is the letter which the Prophet himself is believed to have despatched to the people of Bahrain, especially addressing the Zoroastrians. This is the text:—

"Greetings. If ye observe your prayer, give *Zakat*, remain loyal to Allah and his Prophet, pay the tithe of the dates and half the tithe of the grain and do not bring up your children as Magians, then ye will be treated according to the terms agreed upon when ye become Muslims, with the exception of the fire-temple which is to be delivered to Allah and his Prophet. If, however, ye refuse then tax will be incumbent upon you." AU that the document shows—and there are many of the same purport—is that nothing whatever was demanded from the Zoroastrians except the payment of a tax. And we shall see that this tax was not altogether an oppressive imposition. It was, on the contrary, in lieu of certain valuable privileges which were denied to the Muslims. But to follow Baladhori. The Magians and Jews refused Islam and preferred the payment of the poll-tax. The tax was obviously accepted because soon after this convention with the people of Bahrain, and especially the Magians, a certain notorious section which was perpetually criticising the Prophet's actions went about decrying the latter stating that "the Prophet pretended that he would accept poll-tax from none outside the People of the Book, but here he is receiving from the Magians of Hajar who are not a People of the Book." It was on this occasion and in relation to the position of the Parsis in Islam that a special Quranic announcement was made:

"Oh ye that have believed take heed to yourselves. He who erreth shall not hurt you when ye have the guidance." (Koran 5, 104). It is a fascinating study to investigate how one after the other a succession of learned Moslem exegetes have commented upon this and kindred passages in the Quran of vital moment to Parsis. The enquiry would considerably add to the knowledge of the Parsis regarding the legal status their ancestors occupied in the first scheme of Islamic polity. The principal scholars who have expounded the passages and the *Hadth* authorities here are of prime value. On the whole the Sunni tradition is unfavourable to the Parsi claims. The Shias accord them full recognition. The authoritative dicta of the Commentators Baidawī, Zamakhshari and Jalalain (the famous Commentary by the brothers of Jalal) and the traditions of Bukhari need the scrutiny from a Parsi standpoint which has long been devoted

to it by Christian divines to elucidate Qoranic utterances on the position of Christianity in Islam.

Turning now to another authority also recounted by Baladhori, we have another message from Muhammad to the Zoroastrians of Hajar, its bearing on the treatment of Parsi women being evident:—

"The Prophet wrote to the Magians of Hajar, inviting them to Islam and providing that if they are converted they will have the rights we have and be under the obligations we are under, but those who refuse Islam will have to pay the tax and we will not eat what they slaughter nor marry their women."

We do not possess the text of the various covenants, pacts, and treaties entered into between the Moslem invaders and the Persian satraps or Marzbans; or rather they have yet to be disinterred from Arabic histories and early literary monuments of Islam. Before proceeding to the soil of Persia proper it remains to notice the assessment of one dinar or its equivalent in clothes levied on every adult Magian in Yemen.

Next as to Najran, Baladhori's traditional account may be cited *in extenso*: — *

"There came to the Prophet the military chief and the civil chief, delegated by the people of Najran in al-Yaman, and asked for terms which they made on behalf of the people of Najran, agreeing to offer two thousand robes—one thousand in Safar and one thousand in Rajab—each one of which should have the value of one ounce (*aukiyah*), the ounce weighing 49 dirhams. In case the price of the robe delivered should be more than one ounce, the surplus would be taken into consideration; and if it were less, the deficiency should be made up. And whatever weapons, horses, camels or goods they offered, should be accepted instead of the robes, if they were the same value. Another condition was made that they provide board and lodging for the Prophet's messengers for a month or less, and not detain them for more than a month. Still another condition was that in case of war in al-Yaman, they are bound to offer as loan thirty coats of mail, thirty mares and thirty camels, and whatever of those animals perish, the messengers (of the Prophet) guarantee to make up for them. To this effect, the Prophet gave them Allah's covenant and his promise. *Another condition was that they be not allured to change their religion or the rink they hold in it*, nor they should be called Upon for military service or made to pay the tithe. The prophet made it a condition on them that they neither take nor give usury."

Before we enter on the soil of Iran proper to enquire into the various agreements made especially with representatives of the Zoroastrians by the victorious Arabs, we will reproduce an epistle which the Prophet is related to have addressed to the Yamaoites and which is as under:

"Whosoever repeats our prayer, turns his face to the *Kiblah* as we do, and eats what we slaughter, such a one is a Moslem and has the security of Allah and the security of his Prophet. But whosoever refuses to do so, tax is binding upon him."

Lastly we have further proof that the Magian religion was tolerated as seen in the following document whose unabridged contents speak for themselves:

"When the news of the rise of the Prophet and the success of the righteous cause reached the people of al-Yaman, they sent their envoys and the Prophet gave them a written statement confirming them in the possession of whatever property, lands, and buried treasures were included in their terms when they became Moslems. Thus they accepted Islam; and the Prophet sent them his messengers and *amils* to acquaint them with the laws of Islam and its institutes, and to receive their *sada-hak* and the poll-tax of those among them who still held to Christianity, Judaism or Magianism."

So far the Zoroastrians inhabiting parts of Arabia or the Persian Gulf could freely profess their faith—it was even interdicted to tempt them into conversion—in return for the payment of tax which exempted them from military duty incumbent upon the Moslem.



UNCOERCED SURRENDER TO ISLAM

Now leaving the territory of Arabia proper where the Persians had settled long before the birth of Muhammad, it would be as important as fascinating a pursuit to follow the generals of the Khaliff Omar in their onward march into successive provinces of Persia. Its examination would involve a history of the conquest of Iran as a whole. We will only look into the episodes relating to the bearing on the religious question as between the conquerors and the conquered. Setting aside for a moment as exaggerated the large numbers of Persians given by Arab authorities as voluntarily embracing Islam, we are perplexed to account for the detailed narrative of those conversions. If the resolve of the orthodox Zoroastrian religion was as adamant as it has been made out and if the religious hatred of the Arabs expressed itself in tyrannical outbreaks about the time of the Parsi exodus from Persia it should lie on Parsi seekers after truth to bring to light adequate evidence of these religious excesses. On the other hand it seems it would be impossible to rebut the evidence from Moslem sources which goes to establish unresisting conversions arguing the negation of ardour to hold to the ancient faith "dearer than life." Have we any authority to say that when Baladhori gives the names of eminent Persians as accepting Islam soon after the battle of Jalula, fought after the sack of Madain when the last fugitive Sasanian Emperor had not yet come to his tragic end, Baladhori and his sources are indulging in furious romancing? Says Baladhori:—

"Those who embraced Islam were among others Busbuhra, the *dih-kaix* of Falaly and Nahrain; Bistan son of Narsi the *dihkan* of Babil; the *dthkan* of Al; Fairuz the *dihkan* of Nahr al Malik. Umar did not interfere with them but left their lands in their own hands and annulled the poll-tax they paid."

The only commentary necessary on this is the position occupied by the *dikkans* who are mentioned always with respect regarding their high position in society and even under Musalman Government by our sources

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The battle of Kadisiyah needs no introduction. It is the one **where** the Imperial Persian domination was finally shattered and this is **what** we shall have to demonstrate as fallacious if we are to attach credence to the legend of religious persecution; —

"In the battle of Kadisiyah Rustam led 4,000 men called Jund (army) Shahanshah, who asked for peace provided they be allowed to settle wherever they wanted, be confederates with whomever they wanted, and receive soldier's stipends. Their request having been granted, they united in a confederacy with Zuhrah ibn-Hawiyah Sadi of the banu-Tamim. Sa'd (ibn-abi-Wakkas) allowed them to settle where they chose, and assigned 1,000,000 dirhams for stipends. Their chief (nakib) was one of them called Dailam; hence the name of the place Hamra Dailam. Later Ziyad (ibn Abihi) followed the orders of Muawiyah, sent some of them to Syria where they are called al-Furs (Persians) others to al-Basrah where they were combined with the Asawirah (Persian cavalry)."

According to Madaini 4,000 men from Dailam who had fought on the side of the Persians under their general Rustam at Kadisiyah, when they saw their leaders killed and the Persians defeated in a body; adopted Islam. "They witnessed the conquest of Madain under Sa'd as well as the conquest of Julula; after which they returned to Kufah where they settled with the Moslems,"

If there is any one name more intimately connected than others with the annihilation of the Persians power it is that of Nihawand and it is most significant to notice certain sequels to this, one of the decisive battles of the world :—

"After the defeat of the Persian army and the victory of the Moslems, Hudhaifah, who was at that time the leader, laid siege to Nihawand, whose inhabitants made sorties but were defeated. One day Simak ibn Ubaid al Absi chased a Persian who was accompanied by eight horsemen. Simak killed all eight, as each of them in turn turned against him. Seeing that he was left alone, the man chased yielded and laid down his arms, Simak took him a prisoner; but as he spoke Persian, Simak called someone who understood him and translated what he said, which was, 'I shall go to your leader that I may make terms with him on this land, pay him poll-tax, and give thee for taking me as prisoner whatever thou requestest. To thee I owe a great deal because thou

didst spare my life." Simak asked "What is thy name?" and he replied "Dinar." Simak led him to Hudhaifah who made terms with him, stipulating that the kharaj and poll-tax be paid, and that the safety of the possessions, walls and dwellings of the inhabitants of his city, Nihawand, be guaranteed. Nihawand was thereafter called Mah Dinar. Dinar often came after that to Simak, offering him presents and showing his loyalty."

Persian Recalcitrance.

An outstanding item in the Arab chronicles and one of frequent occurrence is the statement that the Persians went back upon their agreements in consequence of which the Arabs had to use more violent methods of suppression.

Sequel to a Treaty.

An example is furnished by Ham. This is the brief record of the breach of a pact and a subsequent treaty made between the Arabs and the Persian inhabitants of Hamadhan:—

"The people of Hamadhan acted treacherously and violated the * covenant, on account of which al-Ala fought against them until they surrendered. The terms he made with them stipulated that on the one hand they should pay kharaj on their land and tax on their person and deliver to him 100,000 dirhams for the Moslems; and that on the other hand he should not interfere with their possessions, inviolable rights and children."

The conquest of Ispahan was achieved after the conclusion of a treaty which is referred to as under:—

"Abdallah ibn Budail conquered Jai which capitulated after a fight, agreeing to pay kharaj and poll-tax, provided the population be guaranteed the safety of their lives and all possessions with the exception of the arms in their hands."

Jai was a suburb of Ispahan.

We have to resort to long citations but it is thought preferable to give as far as possible in English the *ipsissima verba* of our documents. It would be much easier to consolidate these records into an almost unassailable statement, but rather than work up these records into a special heading undertaken as if to exonerate early Islam, it would be

held constant with a spirit of historic enquiry to lay before the earnest student the sources in their unabridged entirety. A study of the conquest of Ispahan merits a scrutiny of the following:—

"Umar sent ibn Budail al Khuzai to Isbahan whose satrap (marzuban) was an aged man called al-Fudusafan. Ibn-Budail besieged the city and wrote to the people inciting them to forsake him. Seeing the lukewarmness of his men, al-Fadusafan chose thirty archers, in whose courage and obedience he confided, and fled away from the city towards Karman with a view to joining Yazdajird. As soon as Abdallah knew of it he sent after him a heavy detachment of cavalry. As the Persian reached a high place, he looked behind and said to Abdallah, "Take heed for thyself, no arrow of ours misses its mark. If thou charge we shoot; and if thou fight a duel, we will fight." A duel followed in the course of which the Persian gave Abdallah a blow (with the sword) which falling on the pommel of his saddle broke it and cut the breast girth of the horse. The Persian then said to Abdallah, "I hate to kill thee because I see thou art wise and brave. Wouldst thou let me go back with thee that I may arrange terms with thee and pay tax for my townsmen, of whom those who stay will be considered *dhimmis* and those who flee will not be interfered with? The city I will turn over to thee." Ibn Budail returned with him and took Jai and the Persian fulfilled his promise, saying, "I saw that ye, people of Isbahan are mean and disunited. Ye therefore deserve what I did with you."

safety of Sanctuaries granted.

It cannot be denied that the payment of the poll-tax implied a certain degree of humiliation. Some of the later Moslem doctors have gone to the extent of laying it down that the humiliation must be brought home to the tax-payer and the devices which they considered necessary in this behalf lend great support to the theory of fanaticism. How far, however, that theory was put into practice has to be proved and again those polemicar views can never be attributed either to the nascent period of Islam or to its early promulgators. It is evident that some of the nobles of Ispahan considered the payment of the poll-tax a degradation to which they preferred the acceptance of Islam.

"To the nobility of Isbahan belonged various strongholds in Jafrabad in the district of ath-Thaimarah Kubra in Bihjawsan and in the fort

of Marabto. When Jai was reduced these nobles offered homage, agreeing to pay the kharaj; and because they disdained to pay poll-tax, they became Moslems."

Armenia was in the possession of the Persians until the appearance of Islam and about that time the Persian influence was gradually crumbling. To the conquest of Armenia much space has been accorded by our sources. Of vital moment for our study is the text of the treaty made with the inhabitants of Dabil in Armenia. These inhabitants were as throughout India a heterogeneous populace harbouring Christians, and Jews as well as Magians. It will require something more than a categorical denial to explain away this important covenant in which safety to place of worship has been expressly stipulated:—

"In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful. This is a treaty of Habib ibn Maslamah with the Christians, Magians and Jews of Dabil, including those present and absent. I have granted you safety for your lives, possessions, churches, places of worship, and city wall. Thus ye are safe and we are bound to fulfil our covenant, so long as ye fulfil yours and pay poll-tax and kharaj. Thereunto Allah is witness; and it suffices to have him for witness. Signed by Habib ibn Maslamah,"

III.

SOME AUTHORITIES.

As far as possible I have gone to the Arabic sources. But the glamour of Western names that have built on them still counts for much. It may be therefore, not superfluous to cite some of the recognised authorities. They at least stand for rigid impartiality except in such a case as that of Noeldeke who sees little that is good and commendable in the great Sasanian Empire which crumbled at the first impact with organised Islam, and Ferdinand Justi whose pre-possession for things Iranian lead him at times to the opposite extreme. The great desideratum is a thorough investigation of the wealth of material at our command from the angle of Zoroastrian vision. Matters of supreme importance to the Magians are too often skipped over with passing animadversions and remarks of tantalising brevity by writers who have studied the genesis and history of Islam either as an end in themselves or as a field of interaction between Muhammad's faith and Christianity. Thus all that we got from Muir is compressed in the following, though it is convincing on the question of the treatment of the Parsis by early apostles of Islam:—

"One after another, Ears, Kerman, Mokran, Sejestan, Khorasan and Azerbaijan, were conquered. But the people would ever and anon rise again in rebellion; and it was long before the invaders could subside into a settled life, or feel secure away from the protection of garrisoned entrenchments. The privileges enjoyed by professors of the faith were so great that the adherents of Zoroastrian worship were not long able to resist the attraction; by degrees the Persian races came over, in name at least, to the dominant creed, and in the end all opposition ceased. The notices of Zoroastrian families, and of fire-temples destroyed in after reigns, show indeed that in many quarters the conversion was slow and partial. But after the fall of the Court, the political and social inducements to bow before Islam were, for the most part, irresistible. The polished Persian formed a new element in Moslem society."

Browne has shown much practical sympathy with Islam and is the soul of the Persia Society, But nowhere has he disparaged Zoroastrians, He says;-

"In Tabaristan, protected by forests and fens, and separated by a wall of mountains from the great central plateau of Persia the Ispahbads or military governors of the Sasanian kings, maintained an independent rule until about A. D. 760. More difficult to trace than the territorial conquest of the Sasanian dominions is the gradual victory of the religion of Muhamad over that of Zoroaster. It is often supposed that the choice offered by the warriors of Islam was between the Quran and the sword. This, however, is not the fact, for Magians, as well as Christians and Jews, were permitted to retain their religion, being merely compelled to pay a *jizya* or poll-tax; a perfectly just arrangement, inasmuch as non-Muslim subjects of the Caliphs were necessarily exempt both from military service and from the alms (*Sadaqat*) obligatory on the Prophet's followers. Thus in Baladhuri's *History of the Muslim Conquests* (*Kitabu-futuhi-buldan*) we read that when Yemen submitted to the Prophet he sent agents to instruct them in the laws and observances of Islam, and to collect the alms of such as adopted it and the poll-tax from such as continued in the Christian, Jewish or Magian religions. Similarly in the case of 'Umman he ordered Aby Zayd to Take arms from the Muslims and the poll-tax from the Magians.' (p. 77). In Bahrayn the Persian marzuban and some of his fellow-countrymen embraced Islam, but others continued in the faith of Zoroaster paying a poll-tax of one dinar for every adult person. 'The Magians and Jews' we read (page 79) "were averse to Islam, and preferred to pay the poll-tax and the hypocrites amongst the Arabs said Muhamad pretended that the poll-tax should be accepted only from the People of the Book, and now he hath accepted it from the Magians of Haiar, who are not of the People of the Book; whereupon was revealed the verse 'O ye who believe: look to yourselves; he who errs can do you no hurt when ye are guided unto God in your return altogether and He will make plain unto you that which yehnew not.'"

Miss Menant needs no introduction. This is her considered view:

"The results of the conquest were neither so rapid nor so complete as is generally supposed. The choice between the Quran and the sword was not strictly imposed on the population. The Zoroastrians shared the same fate as the Christians, and the Jews, and were allowed to profess their religion on condition of paying the *jizya*—a just arrangement, on the whole, as the non-Muslim subjects of the Khalifs were exempt from military service and the alms (*sadaqat*) obligatory on the Prophet's

followers. The old aristocracy and landed proprietors (dihquans) were (able to preserve power, money and property by embracing Islam and serving the conquerors, who could not dispense with their administrative talents."

Van Vloten probed Arabic texts with an eye to discover the condition of non-Moslems under Moslem domination. Like most of his other colleagues, however, his gaze was fixed on Christians and Jews. The Magians were with him a secondary consideration. He states:

"At Merv, Merv-rud, Sarakhs Tolls, Heart and in Kohistan the *Marzbans* of the Sasanian Empire had been enjoying an independent position. Balkh was governed by an *Ispabedh*. The majority of local sovereigns accepted Arab domination without much resistance. We see them embracing Islam, like the *Dehkan* of Irak, and living in peace under the new masters. With a few exceptions they became confidants of the Amirs and friends of Arabs of distinction. They maintained government troops against the Turks of Transoxians. They gave the best reception to Arab chieftains whom they received in their palaces and of whose favour they assured themselves by rich presents on the New Year (Nouruz) Day and on the national Feast of Mihirjan."

The Legendary Tradition.

Briefly epitomised the legendary tradition of the Parsis resting on one single document, the *Kisseh-Sanjan*, and referring to the alleged persecution is this.

The Parsi Sasanian Empire falls before the Arab invasion in 651 and their last king dies most probably through the treachery of one of his own vassals the *Marzban* or chieftain of Merv. The Parsis then abandon their houses and gardens and palaces for the sake of their religion and seek refuge in Kohistan where they settle for a century. Here again they become "anxious for their religion" and proceeded to the town of Hormuz in 751 and live for fifteen years. However, they are soon annoyed again by *Darvands* and they leave for India. The term *Darvand* is of especial significance. Tradition would have it they were Arabs. The common acknowledged fact is that to an orthodox Parsi even of to-day every one who is not Zoroastrian is a *Darvatt*. There is nothing to contradict the highly probable suggestion that these *Darmnds* were not Arabs but Persians who had voluntarily adopted Islam and who naturally in the proverbial teal of fresh converts employed every means to see that they no

longer remained isolated but that their relatives also entered the new religious fold and eliminated the stigma of apostacy. This point is of vital importance in seeking for the causes of the rapid conversion of Persia to Islam. If as is highly likely the bulk of the Parsis went over to Islam not at the point of the Arab's sword but because of the undoubted persecution of Zoroastrians on part of converts to Islam, the charge of intolerance against the Arabs falls to the ground. A superficial acquaintance with the present day condition of Parsis in Persia will convince any unbiased inquirer of the probability of this assumption. How many Zoroastrians even to this day abandon the faith of their fathers and accept Islam or the more seductive teachings of Bihaism on purely domestic reasons, to avenge a wrong, or to spite an adversary or to gain a wordly advantage. And when we shall study in detail the comforts and luxuries, titles and honours which were offered to and accepted by Zoroastrian chieftains from the Khalifs especially those of the house of Abbas—the probability will be crystallized into irresistible certainty that inducements of preserving ancestral power and authority more than even real persecution at the hands of their quandom religious brethren were the root causes of the Islamization of Zoroastrian Persia. The auxiliary part played in this curious phenomenon by the intolerant Parsi clergy whose yoke the populace was no longer prepared to bear cannot be eliminated from the purview of any fair inquiry into the causes of the Parsi immigration into India.

The Parsis, then, being harassed by the *Datvands* in Hormuz set sail for India, and the tradition would have it that they landed at Diu in Kathiawar in 766. Here they resided for nineteen years and once more moved on in 785 to Sanjan where at the suggestion of Miss Menant a column commemorating the event of the Parsi exodus is being erected.

ONE OF THE CAUSES OF PARSI IMMIGRATION INTO INDIA.

No authority not working on second-hand sources has supported the verdict of Parsi tradition that the ruin of their religion was brought about by the Arabs, whatever their opinion regarding the material prosperity of pre-Moslem Iran. In this connection the statement of Paul Horn cannot be too highly appreciated. So far as I know he is the **one acknowledged authority who points his finger at the people who did**

persecute the Parsis in Persia ; their own former co-believers. He is perfectly explicit on the point. His learning is surpassed only by his lucidity and uncommon fairness. He concludes:

"With force at first the Zoroastrians were not proselytised. Rather were they accounted on a level with Jews and Christians, who, as the Koran lays down, were the recipients of a scripture and therefore by the payment of a poll-tax could continue in their religion. *It was only in later times that Zoroastrians were declared unhearable. Finally under the intolerable oppression of their own people who persecuted them with the real fanaticism of fresh converts, they emigrated to India,*"

The Parsis therefore are in India not because their ancestors fled from savage Arabs for the "sake of their religion dearer than life" but because they were pursued with cruel bigotry, years after the first occupation of Persia by the Arabs, on part of those Zoroastrians, who were constantly growing into a larger majority and who had more or less voluntarily renounced the faith of their fathers to embrace Islam, the creed of the rulers,

IV.

SCHISMS IN ZOROASTRIANISM.

The assumption that the Parsis had to leave Persia because they were not permitted to practice and profess their religion on other than unbearable conditions does not take count of certain elementary statistical facts. The Persian empire or the territory under the nominal suzerainty of the Sasanians was inhabited by millions. The invading Arabs could only be counted by the thousand. Unless the populace were prepared, with however ill a grace, to accept Islam, it was impossible for the latter to have spread with the rapidity it did. The supposition again entails another assumption: that there was unity of religion in pre-Moslem Persia. This is advanced in the teeth of historical facts. The nominal religion of the empire was the religion of Zoroaster. It was also the State religion. Not only was there the young and powerful Christianity politically opposed to, and morally combating with fatal firmness, the decadent State and Church of the Sasanians, but there were mutually hostile schisms and sects among Zoroastrians of which few Parsis have knowledge and about which we authoritatively learn from Arabic writers like Shahrastani and Ibn Hazm. Each sect was actuated by a spirit of pious intolerance and breathed sanctimonious odium against the others. In their many invasions, it is futile to pretend, all the Arabs were inspired by the thought of propagation of Islam. There must be many who were bent on sheer plunder. But to bear ill-will to one's neighbours and to make his present life miserable because of his opinions on future existence was alien to the old Arab character. Ibn Kutaiba enumerates Zoroastrian families which bore non-Zoroasterian names and were peacefully settled among Arabs in Arabia. They observed Zoroastrianism without let or hindrance. It was the Persian who would not pay the Jiziya and who could not fight the Arab, who accepted Islam and having done so, strove to draw perforce all his kin to his new fold. Not only were there numerous sects of Zoroastrianism under the demoralised house of Sasan divided against itself, but we learn from our sources that fresh heresies were constantly springing up in the bosom of the mother church, after the State which upheld the creed had collapsed. It is most interesting to note that a couple of these heresies among Zoroastrians arose during the Khalifat and—most important to

note in one instance when a heretic from amongst the Zoroastrians founded a new faith radically opposed to the faith of the majority of Zoroastrians some of the Mobeds complained to the Khalif against the sins of one of their own wicked brethren and prayed for his condign chastisement! This fact demonstrates in the first place that Iran was far from religiously united at the time of and long after the Arab inundation and secondly that the Khalifs if they had been minded to annihilate Zoroastrianism would not have entertained petitions of the Mobeds as they did and suppressed Zoroastrian schismatics. The fact was that the Arabs found Persia far from one in its religious mind. To some of the minor and trodden factions the Arabs might well appear deliverers.

Some Causes of Indignation,

If the Arabs had endeavoured forcibly to impose Islam upon the millions of Iran they were not embarking on a feasible undertaking. Dozy may be out of date and some of his dicta may be hasty but he did not write for Moslem or Tarsi readers and his verdict is entitled to consideration :

"In Persia the progress of Islamism had been closely parallel to that which it had made in Spain. It had received into its fold a large number of proselytes, *hut it had not stifled other religions, for the ancient cult of Magianism flourished side by side with it.* The Guebers were very numerous; they were devoted heart and soul to their religion; and they stubbornly rejected every other faith. The immolation of all these brave men merely because they chose to seek salvation in their own way was unthinkable. Such an act would not only have been barbarous, in the extreme but very dangerous, for it might have provoked a universal insurrection. Partly actuated by humanity and partly by policy the Moslems accordingly ignored the law, and, having admitted the principle of toleration, *they allowed the Guebers to practise their religious rites publicly, and every town or village had its altar.* The Government even protected the Guebers against the Moslem clergy, and bastinadoed imams and muezzins who had attempted to turn fire-temples into mosques."

And here is a reason why the true Moslems were indignant and had recourse to force at times:

"But if the Government was tolerant towards the avowed adherents of the ancient religion, who as peaceable citizens, caused no disorder in the State, it did not and could not spare the *sham* Moslems, who after their so-called conversion were still pagans at heart and endeavoured

secretly to transform Islamism by engrafting thereon their own doctrines. *In Persia as in Spain apparent conversions due to wordly interests had been numerous, and the insincere Moslems were for the most part restless and ambitious men.* Rebuffed by the Arab aristocracy, everywhere very exclusive, they dreamed of a revived Persian nationality and empire. Against such agitators as these the Government took measures of the utmost rigour; to restrain and punish them the Khalif Mahdī even set up an inquisitorial tribunal which continued to exist up to the end of the reign of Harun al-Rashid."

India; No Cruel Exile.

If we take into consideration the intercommunication between India and Persia and the constant intercourse commercial and otherwise between the two countries the picture with which the Parsi exodus is sought to be invested, would be shorn of much of its horrors. It is to be feared that those seeking for light on the genesis and subsequent fate of the Parsi diaspora are groping in the dark because they will not avail themselves of help from three sets of little tapped sources. The Armenian historians and Syriac ecclesiastical literature are a mine of information. The Chinese annals render important assistance to the same end. But relatively the most accessible archives of reliable information are Arabic historians. Let us cast a glance mainly at one of them, Tabari, and test the value of his record for the investigation of the condition of parts of Persia at the time of the hostile appearance of the Arabs. It must be premised that in those days the central power of the Sasanians was fast waning and that most of the provinces of Persia were more or less independently ruled by a Marzban who owed nominal allegiance to the Sasanian monarch. Several of these independent satraps hastened to make separate treaties with the Arabs and their principalities thus secured survived for centuries, till they were gradually absorbed into the dominions of the Khalif without much resistance and in many cases by willing acceptance of Islam at the invitation of the Moslem ruler. Take the provinces of Baluchistan and Makran. These were every way Iranian territory and so was to a lesser degree the neighbouring tract of Sindh. The upholder of the persecution legend who concedes the existence of large Parsi settlements in Sindh during and after the Sasanian sway would be scarcely conscious of the damaging force of his admission. For the mediaeval writers meant geographically a vast deal more than the Sindh of our day stands for. Thana was included in Sindh and so was, if I am not mistaken, Bharuch. Evidently Sindh corresponded rather with the whole

Bombay Presidency than its northern third. If you are prepared to grant Parsi colonies in Sindh dating from Sasanian times and if you stretch the boundaries of Sindh to Thana, there does not seem to be left much of a substance in the claim for Sanjan as the first Parsi settlement on the western coast. According to Tabari the kings of Turan, modern Kelat, and Makran had already surrendered themselves to Ardesher Babeghan. According to Ibn Khordadbeh, the Shahs of Makran and Turan were among those whose titles were re-bestowed upon them after his conquests by the same Ardesher, the founder of the house of Sasan. Historically the fact may not be correct, not because Tabari and Ibn Khordadbeh were prejudiced writers, but because their sources, ultimately mostly Persian, may have relied more upon tradition than history. But the inscriptions of Pai-Kuli in Persia, support their statement and confirm the close link between Persia and India. Additional corroboration of the intimate touch in question is derived from Pliny and the Chinese writer Huan-Thsiang. But I will for the present only follow Tabari who assures us that Shapur II built cities not only in Sagistan, but actually in Sindh. Tradition, if not history, credits the then Indian King, who is called Daibul, with having ceded to the Persian King Makran and the adjacent portions of Sindh. Again King Piroz is related by the same authority to have founded two cities in India proper—called Ram Piroz and Roshen Piroz. And here Tabari is supported by another historian Hamza. Further, it is stated not in the extravagant imaginative narrative of the Shah Nameh, but in the terse, staid and perfectly prosaic history of Tabari that Khushru Nawshirwan restored to his empire—mark that the author does not speak of a conquest, but a restitution—the countries of Sindh, Bost, Arachosia, Zabulistan, Tokharistan, Dardistan and Kabulistan.

Kabvtlistan.

Next there are a few undoubtedly romantic anecdotes, for instance the one which would have us believe that the power of Khosroo II was extended beyond the Indian borders. Thus Ibn al Faqih says:—

"In the neighbourhood of Kirmanshahan lies Bukan where all the sovereigns of the earth used to assemble, including the Faghfur or the King of China, the Khaakan or the King of Turks, Dihr or the King of the Indians and the Kaiser of Rum as well as Khosru Parwez"

Tabari records that when the Arabs occupied Madayn, the capital of the Sasantans, they- ptured by plunder not only the coat of mail belong-

ing to Khasru Parwez, but also the cuirass and the sword of Heraclius, of the Khakan and of the Indian King Dihr as well as of Behram Chobin and Siyawakhsh who had been killed at Madayn by Rustam in the civil war and also the arms of the Arab King Norn in. From this we conclude that these provinces were acquired by Khosru in a victorious incursion into India. The name Dihr is no doubt not genuine and borrowed from the historical king of Sindh whom Muhammad Kasim fought and defeated in 711. Moreover, we read of a king whose real name must be Shri Harshah of Sindh in whose time a Persian army pushed into Sindh. The king fell in the battle, but the Persians contended themselves with devastating a portion of the country and returned, the throne of Sindh being once more occupied by a Hindu king, the son of the slain ruler. He was himself overthrown in 641 by a Brahmin, which leads us to conclude that the occupation of the Persians took place in the reign of Khosru Parwez. But there is the powerful irrefutable evidence of coins discovered in North-West India with Indian and Pahlavi legends, the correct significance of which has not yet been appreciated. They decidedly prove that this territory belonged to the King or Kings of Persia at a certain period. The most important of the coins in question bears the legend *Khosru Shahanshah*. On the obverse are the impressions of the Sun god of Multan and the year corresponding to the Christian date 627 on the reverse. The Parsis were, therefore, settled in or about our North-West Frontier Provinces in the Seventh Century.

As we saw above the Persians had penetrated into India far beyond the province of Sindh and the only question remains exactly what territory was covered by the province so named at the time. Here we have a most important indication in the Arab geographer Ibn Khordadbeh who enumerates the districts comprised in the province of Sindh and it is most remarkable that among the many names which we have here to identify occur those of Sborasht, which was obviously Shurashtra or modern Kathiawar and Gujarat, and Dahanaj which we have no difficulty in establishing as to-day's Dahanu. Accordingly, if we avail ourselves of the invaluable itinerary of Ibn Khordadbeh, a writer of credit, of whose grandfather renounced the religion of Iran, but not his ancestral name, the province of Sindh extends at least as far as, probably beyond, to-day's Dahanu. And it is not denied that Parsis lived in their thousands as Sanawis in Sindh long before the date they are supposed to have first set foot on the western coast.

V.

PERSIAN ADAPTABILITY.

We have seen some of the treaties made between the Arabs and the Persians in which religious freedom was guaranteed to the latter in lieu of a payment of a light jizea,—a payment which entitled the payer to exemption from military service. It is instructive to follow the movements of the Arab hordes and consider the various pacts made with the Persian chieftains. A typical instance of the Persian behaviour in general in respect of the Arab menace is furnished by the Governor of Ahwaz. The keen intellect which penetrates through the gloom of distressing circumstances the presence of mind of a quick witted nation, and a lively appreciation for the good things of the world as against the great store that is set up by things spiritual in other countries, the same practical ideals which decline to subordinate a doubtful future to a tangible present, and above all the absence of that spirit of martyrdom which places religious tenets superior to other considerations,—these traits are found in the Persian representative who ruled Ahwaz at the time of the Arab advent in the seventh century, Ahwaz is the province so named by the Arabs to represent old Persian Khuzislan. The Persian ruler at the time was a man whose name has been immortalized in Arab annals as Hormuzan. No writer of authority and credit but mentions Hormuzan without, however, making any comment on the facility with which he continued to adapt himself to the varying circumstances of his eventful life.

Some Authorities,

these notes on the relations between the Arabs and Persians in the early seventh century have been published with the main object of proving that at the time the Parsis are believed to have emigrated from Persia there was no compelling force which obliged them to quit their homes on the ground that it was impossible for them to continue in their religion there. Every statement of importance made here has its sanc

tion in recognized authority and it is hoped to mention the sources in detail in a set monograph. As an example, however, of the wealth of material that lies at our elbow in investigating the early conditions of Persia, it may be indicated that the life and history, or at least allusion to the remarkable career of Hormuzan are scattered over a number of volumes, the most important of which are these:—

In our Syriac and Arabic sources the Persian Governor is known as Hormazdan and is distinctly described as belonging to the seven princely families of Fars and that his mother was from Mihrjan Katak, a town in Khuzistan (Tabari I, 2,538). According to Yakut the place was situated elsewhere (IV, 69S). According to the Syriac authorities he commanded the right wing at the celebrated battle of Kadisiya and defended Shuster against the Arabs (Gudis Syriac Chronicle, 42; Balazori, 374; again Tabari volume I, 2,249; Fahrist 1,013; Hamzah, 153; All Baruni, 29; Ibn Athir II, 354; Abul Feda I, 240.) Ibn Kotaiba (page 93) informs us that he was assassinated by a son of the Khalif Omar. For further mention of him a reference may be made to Balazori, 380; Yakut I, 949; Tabari I, 7,295, Yakut II, 583; and Ibn Arthir III, 58, Abu Farajpage 177.

Hormuzan Prince converted, to Islam.

Hormuzan was the hereditary governor of the province. He was one of those tributary princes who had the right to wear a crown. He belonged to one of the seven princely families which were looked upon as the equal of the royal house of the Shahanshah. The only difference was that the crowns of the princes were smaller in size than those of the Khoshroes, Hormuzan had taken part at the request of his overlord in the battle of Kadisiya under the command of General Rustum and had returned to his dominions after the Persian defeat. His territory extended to and included some of the lands of topical importance to-day. The Arabs under Otba founded the city of Basra in the 17th year of the Hijira. The authorities differ as to the general under whom Basra and the province of which it was the capital was secured for the Arabs. The province of Ahwaz was surrounded by small cities like Misan where the Arabs had already settled. After his return from Kadisiya Hormuzan made incursions into the newly established Moslem territories and waged an unsuccessful war. Otba informed the Khalif Omar of his movements and the latter wrote to Sad son of Abniwakaas to send rein.

fócements to Otba. Sad accordingly sent a detachment Otba' on Wa part likewise despatched some troops from the army of Basra. These two armies effected a junction and encamped near Dast Maisan and marched down to Ahwaz. Hormuzan at that time was in a town called Naht-Tirà. All along the frontier of Ahwaz the Arab tribes were in possession and these were hostile to Hormuzan on questions not of religion but of certain lands and villages on the border. Surprising as it may appear it was these Arabs to whom Hormuzan appealed for succour when the Musalman Arabs were threatening invasion but they declined and made common cause with the invaders. The strategic disposition of the Arab troops led Hormuzan to believe on the day of the battle that he was faced with the entire Moslem forces whereas only a portion was confronting him and when the remainder arrived Hormuzan took to flight. A large number of Persians was killed and taken prisoners. Hormuzan escaped with his followers and took up quarters in the town of Suk Ahwaz which was well fortified and which was situated on a branch of the Tigris called the Lesser Tigris or Dujail. Hormuzan strengthened the bridge communicating between the two waters. The Musalmans eventually captured enormous booty, fifth of which was sent to Khalif Omar along with the news of the triumph. A deputation composed of the notables of Basra was likewise sent to Medina.

Subsequently Hormuzan, having fortified himself in Suk Ahwaz issued from the fortress and offered battle to the Musalmans. The latter allowed him the choice to cross the river himself or that they would pass the bridge if he so chose. Hormuzan selected the latter course. Consequently the Arabs crossed the Dujail and in the action which took place which was more sanguinary than any that had taken place at Basra or in the whole of Ahwaz, Hormuzan was again put to flight, a number of his followers being slain. Hormuzan escaped into another city in Ahwaz, Ram Hormuz. The Musalmans captured Suk Ahwaz and set out in pursuit of Hormuzan. At the same time the Khalif issued an order to Sad at Kufa to despatch fresh reinforcements. Four cities still remained in the hands of Hormuzan namely, Ram Hormuz, Shuster, Sus and Jund Shapur, the renowned city of Greco-Persian learning. However, the most important town, Suk Ahwaz had already fallen into the hands of the Musalmans. When Hormuzan saw that the hostile forces were converging on the cities he made overtures for peace and proposed that he should be left in possession of Ahwaz. The Musalmans referred the matter to the Khalif who however directed that a peace should be

concluded stipulating that the Musalmans should retain the cities they had already acquired leaving to Hormuzan those which he possessed. A peace was concluded in these terms. Hormuzan remained at Ram Hormuz and the Moslem leader at Suk Ahwaz. So far the whole struggle is an unmixed political affair and has nothing of religion in it. Hormuzan is neither called upon to nor does he accept Islam.

The cities beyond Ahwaz were still in the possession of the Persians and their fugitive sovereign the ill-starred Yezdgerd was in Ray. When the Arab general had accomplished the conquest of Ahwaz he addressed a letter to the Khalif Omar asking his permission to set out on an expedition into the interior of Persia proper. As against the reckless statement that a few thousand Arabs fell upon Persia like an avalanche overturning at one fell sweep the great empire and changed in a day the religious faith of millions, it is necessary to take note of the reply sent by the Khalif to his vicegerent's request: "Do not take this province" directed the Khalif, "Be content with Ahwaz." The armies ought not to be taken too far distant from me into territories from where it cannot be possible to communicate with me and where I may not be able to reach them succour. "Lay down the limits of the Moslem Kingdom at Basra in Ahwaz and on the other side at Hoi wan." Thus the Khalif forbade the Moslem troops to transgress the boundary beyond Hoi wan-Ahwaz. But the Persian general was smarting under an Arab peace and he soon broke it, paying for his rashness by the forfeiture of his faith. He renounced his religion and saved his life.

Yezdgerd exhorts to fight for Religion,

On receiving the news of the occurrences in Ahwaz and in the province of Persia proper and of the invasion of his territory by the Moslem army at Bahrain which compelled the retreat of the troops in the latter, the Emperor Yezdgerd addressed a letter to the inhabitants of the city of Ray in the following terms:—

"You have had such little concern for your religion and you have permitted the Arabs to take such advantage that after occupying Iraq, Swas and Madain, and taking possession of our country and of our property they have now attacked Ahwaz. Nor have you lent assistance to its Governor Hormuzan so that he has been compelled to abandon half of his territory and they have invaded the province of Persia, your own

country. And this circumstance has not moved you. The Moslems have been able to effect their retreat in safety. Now join your efforts with those of Hormuzan in order that he may be able to defend Ahwaz. Send him troops so that he may start the campaign once more to regain the portion of his lost territory."

The fallen monarch appealed also to Hormuzan informing him that he had recommended to Shahrik and to the people of the province of Fars to render him assistance. The latter in fact advised Hormuzan of their intention to help him and stimulated him for a fresh encounter with the Arabs. Now Khalif Omar on his part learning of the activities of Hormuzan and that he now violated peace arranged for the despatch of a corps of troops from Basra under the command of Abu Sabr against Hormuzan, directed him to overrun the whole of Ahwaz and to expel Hormuzan from the country for leading unprovoked an attack against the Moslems. The Khalif also despatched another epistle to Saad, son of Abywakkas, ordering him to despatch from Iraq a detachment to Ahwaz which should join the army at Basra against Hormuzan. Saad accordingly sent out some troops from Kuffa. The third communication addressed by the Khalif in this campaign was to Abu Sabr himself appointing him commander-in-chief of both the armies of Kurfa and Basra and entrusting him with the direction of the operations in Ahwaz. Abu Sabr penetrated Ahwaz and pitched his camp under the walls of the town of Ram-Hormuz. Hormuzan wrote to Shahrik for succour and he sent him a detachment and himself proceeded to Shuster which was better fortified than Ram-Hormuz. When, however, Hormuzan saw that the Moslem army outnumbered the Persians he abandoned the fortress of Ram-Hormuz and betook himself to Shuster, joining the army of the province of Persia proper. Upon this Abu Sabr immediately took possession of Ram-Hormuz and leaving there a small garrison marched on to Shuster. He informed the Khalif of the reinforcements received by the enemy and on his part asked for more troops for himself. Omar directed Abu Musa at Ashari to proceed in person with the whole body of troops in Basra to the aid of Abu Sabr. "The supreme command" wrote the Khalif in the letter which he addressed him, "should remain with Abu Sabr who was the more capable general." Thus the army of Abu Musa joining that of Abu Sabr now encamped under the walls of Shuster and besieged the town for six months. Twenty-four separate engagements took place in which, according to all historians,

the fortune of the campaign was irconstant, favouring now one side now the other, while the carnage was immense. We learn of details, how for example from certain omens the flagging zeal of the Moslems was revived. One night a citizen of Shuster came out to have an interview with the Moslem commander and asked for safety of his life which, if granted, he promised to show a path whereby the fortress might be captured. Tabari here briefly describes the treachery of a Persian, but Dinawari has some highly interesting details which, however, are immaterial to our purpose which is mainly to establish that religion played a secondary role in the struggle between Arab and Persian in years of early Islam. In brief the fortress fell. Hormuzan thereupon receded further and took up a position in the interior citadel which was believed impregnable. With a mixture of prudential foresight and a show of intrepidity Hormuzan now told the Arab chieftain that his citadel which was built by King Shapur was invincible and that he had with him ten thousand crack archers each furnished with a hundred bows and a thousand arrows, not one of which missed its mark and that even if the Moslem had ten lakhs of men, which they certainly had not, they would not be able to make him surrender his position and he terminated his message with the words, "you will not be able to seize this citadel except on certain conditions." These conditions were subsequently communicated. Hormuzan was agreeable to abandon the castle provided his own fate was to be decided not by the Moslem General on the spot but by Khalif Omar himself to whom he should be sent at Medina. Abu Sabr agreed and the capitulation was signed. Hormuzan came down from the castle and Abu Sabr immediately advised the Khalif of the event and the Khalif demanded that the Persian chieftain should be sent up to him without delay.

Prince in brocade and a simple Khalif.

The entry of Hormuzan into Medina is described circumstantially and the picture of the Persian chieftain arrayed in his gorgeous royal attire and his meeting with the Khalif who was lying asleep in his humble garments in the mosque is reproduced by successive historians and copied by modern compilers as a contrast of the wealth and vanity of the Persian as against the poverty and the moral substantiality of the advancing Arab nation.

Subtle Persian intellect.

By order of the Khalif Hormuzan was stripped of his gold and brocade which he was made to change for ordinary clothes. The conver-

sation between Hormuzan and Omar was carried on through an interpreter whose mother-tongue was Arabic and who, we are informed, had picked up some Persian at Basra. Incidentally, we may note that although in later times the entire tract in question, which is also now of immense topical interest, became bilingual, in the seventh century about which we are dealing the preponderating tongue was Persian and we find amusing instances of the errors of interpreters one of which was of a grave character leading to a war between the Persians and the Arabs before the rise of Islam. All throughout the interview Hormuzan displayed his superior culture and developed mother-wit as against the rough irascible simplicity of Omer. When called upon by the Khalif to speak Hormuzan asked whether the Khalif would like him to speak the language of the dead or the language of the living. "I should like you to speak the language of the living" said Omar. "I will then say," quickly replied Hormuzan, "that you have just assured me of my life and have relieved me of the fear of death." "How can that be?" exclaimed the astonished Omer. "Because in asking me to speak the language of the living you have given me life." Omar thereupon stated that he could not see his way to leave alive a person who had slain a faithful follower like Al Bera, a pious adherent whose prayer was believed by the Mohammedans to be always fruitful and who was consequently invariably taken on their campaigns by the Moslem generals. When after a deal of conversation Hormuzan discovered that Omer was bent upon retribution for Bera he asked the Khalif for a drink of water. The water was fetched and the Persian chieftain turning to the Khalif said, "Then you promise not to slay me before I have drunk this water." "I do," replied the guileless Omer. The crafty Persian immediately dashed the cup to the floor and triumphantly exclaimed "Now you cannot kill me." "How?" demanded the puzzled Khalif. "Well you promised that you will not slay me before I should have drunk of this water and this water I will never now drink because it has gone down into the earth." One of the remarkable children of the desert, Ans, son of Malik, who had carried the Persian in captivity to Medina, added his unsophisticated support "He is right, oh Commander of the Faithful." Omar was furious at this verbal quibble and declared his determination to put Hormuzan to death, Hormuzan saw that the game was up and he made a last serious effort to save his life, "And is there nothing that will save me my life?" asked the Persian. "Yes there is" said Omar and called upon him to repeat the Moslem profession of faith. Hormuzan said it with Omar and became a convert to Islam. Omar was satisfied. Omar restored his property and commanded his name to be entered in the regis-

ter of annual grants at a crore of dirhams. Thus was Ahwaz secured to the Arabs, though not yet entirely to the new faith which they professed. The Persian prince Hormuzan became a Musalman and his subsequent history, however fascinating in itself, is not germane to our purpose. His wealth, his subtle intellect, his repartees are a theme of frequent mention and comment in our sources both primary and secondary.

Conversion begets no exultation.

In the portly historical tomes of Ibn Athîr, in the voluminous song book of Aghani, in the smaller chronicles of Masudi and Dinawari and in a score of comparatively early writers who have pillaged them without acknowledgment the portrayal of Hormmzan rests on the possession of immense wealth, a luxurious mode of life, dazzling mansions and rich equipment. His keen intellect is admired. His resourcefulness is suggested. Nowhere is there a hint of the infamy of an apostate Hormuzan probably thought as little of his religious belief as do his biographers. The conception of religion being dearer than life is not illustrated in the life-history of many rulers of Iran of the seventh century.

VI.

FURTHER EVIDENCE OF ISLAM'S IMPARTIALITY.

The Gujastak Abalish.

We now come to the least three books which the Pafsis possess and which prove that their community was held in sufficient respect by the Musalmans to be invited by the rulers to their court to discuss on a footing of perfect equality with the exponents of Islam and other religions the tenets of their own faith and to prove if possible the superiority of the latter in a dialectical discussion. The full title of the first book is "Madagani Gujastak Abalish" or "The Account of the accursed Abalish". It is a small tract in Pahlavi. A good amount of the commentary literature on the Parsi sacred texts is still preserved in Pahlavi but there is also much of very secular nature in the same language. The antique value of these writings may be appreciated from the circumstance that they are measured not in books or chapters but in words like the Christian Testaments. The Abalish book contains 1,200 words which purport to describe a religious discussion between a heretic who is called a- Zindfk, whose name was so far as we can read the ambiguous Pahlavi script, Abalish and Adar Farabag son of Farrukhzad in the presence of the Khalif Mamun about the year 825 A. D. Unfortunately we know nothing more of this Abalish. We are better posted as regards Adar Farabag who is described as the leader of the religion who began the compilation of the well-known Pahlavi book of *Dinkard*. His replies to the seven questions about which he had doubts propounded by the heretic are declared to have given satisfaction not only to the Khalifa but also to his court. The Pahlavi book was translated so early as 1887 into French by Adrian Bartheleme.

The Ulema-i-Islam,

The second book is of greater importance because it is of a much earlier date. It is called the Ulema-i-Islam from the first two words with which the treatise commences. It is written in very ancient Persian.

The book was known to the French scholar who visited India and first made known the Parsi scriptures to Europe, Anquetil Duperron. He states that the book in his time was already a very rare one and was generally regarded as extremely old and that there were many Parsi priests who dated it from the time of the Khalif Ali before whom a religious conference was held of which the tract was believed to embody the results. Accordingly the book is as ancient as 660 A. D. Sir William Ousley was also at considerable pains to procure a copy of it because of the high value claimed for it by the Parsi priesthood. "It is considered extremely valuable and ancient." He, however fixed the date of the book at the 12th century. Thus the traditional date as given by Anquetil and Ousley's date differ by six centuries. The great French scholar Blochet has studied the text with his unsurpassed critical acumen and he comes to the conclusion that Anquetil was more correct in his estimate. In the first place the language of the tract carries with it a seal of antiquity more remote than the language of the *Shahname* of Firdaivsi. It has still fewer Arabic words and it has closer affinity to the older Pahlavi language with which it is more alike in Syntax than the *Shahname*. The book is most likely a close translation or almost a transcription of Pahlavi. It will not be in place to go into the philological details which demonstrate the antiquity of the book. Suffice it to say that its syntactical construction is absolutely Pahlavi. The text was published in 1829 by Mohl. Unfortunately the project of publishing the ancient Persian documents relating to Zoroaster in the Paris Library was early given up. For many of these early Persian tracts, If not all, are by no means later fabrications of Parsi priests. They are based on a solid and continuous tradition and are in many points in the opinion of most competent authorities likely to throw greater light on the Avesta text than the obscure Pahlavi scholia, Dr. Wilson published as an appendix to his "Parsi-Religion" our tract under the title of "Views of the Parsi Religion from the Ullma Islam." In the eye of the Reverend gentleman the book was ridiculous and stupid nor did its real merit strike the other English scholar William Jones who seems to have regarded it as unworthy of serious study. Wilson's translations breathes the spirit of sectarian Christian intolerance of his day. He omits the final portion of the book altogether and he plays fast and loose with the text neglecting passages the great obscurity of which was no excuse for their suppression by the translator. He has the insight to admit in **the** book "there is considerable light thrown on the 22nd chapter of the

Pars! book of the Vandidad," although in reality the comparison is baseless. As a matter of fact one portion of this ancient Persian document harmonises with a section of the *Bundesh*, In both are to be found **the** same theory of the division of time into milleniums, the spiritual condition of the world, the origin of the material existence of creation and **the** creation of the first man. Moreover, the necessity of death is reasoned on the same principles both in the *Ullma-i-Islam* and in the well-known first chapter of the Pahlavi book of the *Bahman Yasht*, but while the resemblances between the contents of the *Ullmā-i-Islām* and the sacred scripture of the Parsis are apparent, it is the divergencies which ought to claim the attention of Parsi scholars. They are of prime **moment for** a history of Parsi schisms and heresies which were a contributory cause, of the downfall of the Persian Empire,

VII.

ISLAM'S SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE.

X.

The Ulama-i-Islam.

The theology of this remarkable book diverges from that of the Avesta, It is clearly an exponent of one of the popular systems under the Sasanians according to which the prime origin of all things is Time. We know that this doctrine which the modern Parsis might characterise as heretical was the official state creed under Yezdegard Second (438-457) which is to say a period much anterior to that of the composition of all our Pahlavi commentaries. The doctrine had a vast number of adherents and it occupies an important place in the religious history of Persia. In some respects it was more vital than the better known heresies of Mani and Mazdak. For we find an echo of this Zervanite tenet in the *Dinhard* which is an orthodox book and which was composed subsequent to the Arabian invasion. The entire Mazdian literature regards the planets as evil creatures belonging to the sphere of action of the maleficent principle and the *Ulama-i-Islam* is the only work which differs from the doctrine. These and other deviations from the orthodox dogma of the Avesta far from established that the *Ulama-i-Islam* is a fantastic fabrication of modern times. Even if the work was only apocryphal the author under any circumstances would be a Parsi. These religious discussions between the Parsis and the Moslems which took place under the first Khalifs who were undoubtedly much less fanatic than they are popularly supposed, could not have taken place in the midst of the persecutions which annihilated Iran and compelled the Parsis to seek for more clement rulers in Gujarat. If a later Parsi priest endeavouring to palm off his superior faith as proved in the presence of no less a person than the Khalif Ali, forged a book of this character he should certainly have been careful to eliminate what passed for heinous errors during the Pahlavi age when no books were compiled or composed which did not conform to the accepted doctrine of the pdesti. Moreover

the **fact that** the Parsis have jealously preserved the book cannot be wholly attributed to the ignorance of their clergy. They knew its serious divagations, but they could not resolve upon a neglect or intentional destruction of a work of antiquity which, so far as the language was concerned was, more remote than that of the semicanonical writings in Pahlavi. A careful study of all the circumstances of the history of the text of the book brings us to the conclusion that it belongs to the age when Zoroastrianism was the official religion of Iran, where the Mazdian creed had never attained the solid unity divested of schemes which was procured by the accident of exile in India. For here the Parsis lived for centuries as a closed, clannish, compact body. On the other hand in the *Ulama-i-Islam* we find representatives of different sectarian views all claiming to be Zoroastrian and some of them mutually contradictory. The religion of the Sasanian Empire was not one and universal even when its various adherents professed homage to Zoroaster. And here lies the supreme merit of this old Persian text which enables us to have a distinct vision of the religious diversity which has hardly been suspected and which most satisfactorily explains the collapse of the nominal state religion on its impact with Islam. The *Ulama-i-Islam* therefore has an importance all its own; it is the sole surviving text book of a powerful Zoroastrian heresy. On our investigation, however, its theological contents have little bearing. But it is arresting in its vital importance as a genuine product of Sasanian times bearing witness to the tolerance and broadmindedness of the fourth Khalif. It is only necessary to add that the virtues of impartiality and tolerance ascribed by implication to Ali here are not on the part of the Shias whose excessive veneration of this Khalif sometimes proceeded to the length of positive apotheosis but on part of Parsis who, we are expected to believe, had their religion already ruined by Orflar the Second Khalif.

Historical Conferences.

It may fairly be retorted, however, that the two exceptions, one Pahlavi and one Persian, the *Gujaslak Abalish* and the *Ulama-i-Islam*, standing for free and untrammelled expressions of religious opinions proved the rule of religious oppression. One may reasonably rejoin that in the first place the two books leave on the reader's mind no doubt whatever that they belong to a strange theological atmosphere and are the result of extraordinary circumstances of religious liberty. We are tempted to assume that they represent a class of literature which has perished. For if these two conferences ended in a victory for the Zoroastrian principles there

must have been others where the issue could not have been equally happy and of which consequently no record was preserved by the Parsi priests, If any note at all was kept of them. If on the other hand we turn to the "hostile" witnesses of Islam we find their statements in remarkable harmony with that of Parsi evidence just produced. Several Arab and Persian historians make mention of historical sessions of religious discussions, Masudi, for instance, mentions one such. An author of the eleventh century recounting one of these congresses describes how a Zandik paid by his head for his folly and vanity. Khalif Mamun was noted for a love of what sometimes degenerated into heated rambling harangues under his own presidency. Suyuti vividly describes some of these sessions. We shall revert to them in another connection. The hope of arriving at religious verity by way of unrestrained debates from the earliest rulers of Islam and it was as much a passionate longing for truth as a love for learning which induced the second prince of the house of Abbas to get translated into Arabic foreign works some of which were doubtless of a religious character. As a matter of fact dispassionate religious conversations have their origin and sanction in the Kuran itself :

"Dispute not against those who have received scriptures, unless in the mildest manner."

Note here firstly the reference to *Kitabis*, such as undoubtedly the Parsis were, and secondly that it reflects the prime spirit of Islam in as much as this commandment is considered by some exegetes to be one of the "abrogated" passages. And commentators have not been wanting in later ages who laid down that the privilege and latitude concerned only those who were in alliance with the Moslems !

A Parsi Scholar on Islamic Appreciations,

The third book testifying to the original spirit of Islam of tolerance towards the protected communities is a remarkable compilation by a distinguished Parsi scholar who in his day gathered together the views of Musalman authorities favourable to Zoroastrianism. He called his book *Taqviat Din-i- Mazdayasna*. It was published in 1851 by Sorabji Jamsetji Jijibhai. How the book was received by the Parsis of his day one is curious to know. The spirit of the times is no doubt reflected in contemporary press, But that its appearance was marked by no unusual feeling in the Parsi community is explained by the circumstance that the

majority of thinking Parsis have long been leaning towards the view that there may be something other than unqualified persecution in Persia which brought about their settlement in India. My acknowledgments are due to the lady, Gulbai Petit for calling my attention to it.

The book edited by this daring and distinguished Parsi author belonging to the premier Parsi family incorporates two documents of most uncommon importance. They are no less than charters of absolute protection and liberty of conscience and the freedom of religious practices granted, one by the Prophet and the other by the Fourth Khalif, who is called here Hazrat Ali. The recipient of the charter on behalf of the Zoroastrian community of Persia was no less a personage than Mehdi Farrukh, a brother of the first convert from Zoroastrianism to Islam, namely, Salman-i-Farsi. The religious position of the times as here depicted requires to be carefully comprehended. Apart altogether from the genuineness of the document, and as I have said before competent authorities are not inclined to regard it as such, the existence even of a forged charter is most significant. It altogether demolishes the persecution theory. If this magna charta issued by the prophet himself to the Parsi community was genuine then all talk about intolerance on the part of the Arabs and Islam is a disingenuous afterthought. On the other hand if it is a fabrication, such as unfortunately it appears to be, it embodies a tradition which must have rested on concrete facts. For it is obvious that had there been no tolerance granted to the Parsis the drawing up of an imaginary charter of this description would not only cover the forgers with ridicule, but it would be a direct invitation to justifiable punishment for those who had the audacity to palm off upon the later Musalman authorities a spurious record which must have offended by its sacrilegious impudence. The document purports to be a grant of religious liberty to the Parsi community by the Prophet himself conferred on the representative who was himself a brother of one of his earliest and most favourite of adherents, Salman-i-Farsi. It appears that this Salman-i-Farsi, the first historical Parsi follower of Islam, was high priest whom the Parsi tradition still designates as Dastur Dinyar. Here we have one brother of a priestly Parsi family going over voluntarily to Islam and becoming so to say, the right-hand man of the Prophet, and the other brother preserving his Zoroastrianism and becoming the recipient of a grant which ensures him, his community, and their posterity complete religious freedom. The biographer of this most noteworthy convert Salman-i-Farsi is Ibn Ishak, the **earliest, his-**

torian who has written on the life of the Prophet. The account given in our Arabic sources takes an autobiographical shape and naturally what is of most interest to us, the life of Salṃan-i-Farsi before his adoption of Islam, has been largely omitted. But there are sufficient indications to support the Parsi tradition that the convert belonged to a notable family of superior hierarchs. At the end of the book edited by Sorabji Jamsetji appears a convincing postscript. It asks the doubtful reader to compare the printed Arabic text of the charter with the original which will be shown to the inquirer by Ardeshir Dadabhai, the clerk in charge of the Bombay Parsi Punchayet. It would appear, however, that this document as well as the other charter granted by Ali were not in the possession of the Punchayat, but were the private property of the clerk in question. It would be most interesting to know if the said grants are still open to inspection.



Religion under the Achaemenides.

From the German of Dr. Tiele.

BY

G. K. Nariman.

RELIGION UNDER THE ACHÆMENIDES. THE PROBLEM.

[From the German of Dr. Tiele by G. K. N.]

After we have studied the religion of the Avesta so far as is possible with the help of the slender residuum of the ancient texts we are confronted with the problem whether this religion was the prevailing one, and whether the sacred scriptures were universally acknowledged, under the Persian Empire. This problem resolves itself into two others, viz., was this the religion of the Medo-Persians and the other Iranians under the domination of the Achscmenides, and, was it also the religion professed by the kings of this dynasty and consequently was the State religion as well as the popular creed ?

It is self-evident that the problem is solved the moment we assume as proved that the Avesta even the most ancient section of it, the Gathas, were composed long after the fall of the last Achsemenide. In that case the religion under this dynasty in Iran was one which resembled in a certain measure the Avestaic which was a reform on its predecessor. The former could not then have stood on the same plane with the latter with reference to developement and its intrinsic value from the standpoint of ethics and religion. But in the first place we have demonstrated that the hypothesis of the later date of the Avestaic books rests on a weak foundation and even if it is assumed we have to reckon with the fact of the Persian tradition which speaks of sacred books of enormous compass, a part of which was burnt by Alexander and part sent to Greece. This tradition is not suspected even by the advocates of this hypothesis and it is confirmed by the undeniable fact that Greek writers like Theopompus and Hermippus studied the sources and that whatever they have reported of them does not vary in the main from the Avesta doctrine. Thus there was a body of sacred writings which was preserved in two authentic copies officially recognised, in other words a canon the fragmentary relic of Which composed independently at a later period is represented by our

Avesla. And where there is a cancn there is no longer nature religion but a religion more or less purely ethical founded a nomistic faith or what you will which rests itself upon a particular revelation. But from this it does not follow that the Avestaic religion was universally adopted under the Persian Empire and was the religion recognised by the Achaemenides.

Universally adopted and professed by all the Iranians it certainly was not. Not all Iranians, not even all the subjects of the Achaemenides belonging to their own nation, were Mazdayasnians. This is sufficiently shown by the Avesta itself. The faithful has to avoid so far as possible contact with Daeva worshippers; it was advisable even where they were in a majority where they had the power in their own hands, rather to abandon good fields and pastures and to Seek an asylum in a territory where the faith prevailed than to expose themselves to the influence of such contaminating surroundings. All contact however with the unbelievers could not be done away with. When it is related of the Jahi that she yields herself equally to the Mazdayasnian and Daevayasnian, or when the physician is obliged to try his art in the first place upon a devotee of the Daevas, it is evident that both lived side by side in the same social union, and that Deva worship was no altogether extirpated. And we can easily add to these other examples. We can therefore concede so far to Eugene Wilhelm that in Iran no unity of religion prevailed. No greater unity, I hasten to add—than there was in Israel before the exile. I even go a step further than him. He is of opinion that many passages in the Avesta which have been up to now referred to unbelievers must be understood in the sense, from the standpoint of the Avesta writers, of heretical Mazdayasnians. This is especially applicable to the Ashemaoghas of whom it is said *inter alia* that they profess indeed the true doctrine in their thought and word but they do not give expression to it in their acts. This is also applicable to heretical priests. In another place there is the mention of those who recognise no master temporal or spiritual and yet prattle about faith. Thus there were various sects in Iran even among the Mazdayasnians and the Avesta represented only one of them. I am there at one with him though it is possible to hold the view that the passages in question could be construed in a different sense. But when by a long jump he springs to the conclusion that the Achaemenides must have belonged to Mazdayasnian sect which must have been different from that which possessed its holy writ in the Avesta in as much they could never have tolerated such a rise of the ecclesiastical power as is taught

here, I cannot follow him in this *sulto mortak*. For all events this must first be proved or rendered probable. That the Achaemenides never speak in their inscriptions at any place of a priest or a Zarathushtra as a mediator; that in the reliefs on their palaces they are represented as themselves sacrificing at the altar without priestly assistance, that they make no mention of Anghra Mainyu, this can scarcely pass muster for a proof. It is highly possible that the inhabitants of West and South Iran had another form of dualism than the Eastern territories but it is simply a piece of romancing to say that the religion of the Persians proper was star-worship.

Franz Oumont relying on the argumentation of Wilhelm goes a step further. The religion of the Achaemenides according to him was purely naturalistic and the Avesta, whenever it was written, was unknown to them, at least it was no standard of creed for them to go by but that it was in vogue only in the East and North of Iran. The ground on which he bases his theory is this. For a long time the mysteries of Mithra which spread from Western Asia to Europe were regarded as a corrupt form of Zarathushtrianism. This must be reversed. The Mithra of the mysteries is at bottom because in the cult of the mysteries Babylonian and other foreign elements have been adopted genuinely ancient Iranian and consequently Persian Mazdayasanian especially of the Achaemenides; the Mithra of the Avesta on the contrary is a younger God entirely modified under the influence of the ethical reform who was not known in Persia and greater Media, at least who was not worshipped there.

In order to prove his assertion he seeks to show that what we know of the religion of the Achaemenides coincides exactly with the doctrines of the mysteries of Mithra and mainly just there where this doctrine deviates from the Avesta. Both know only Ahura Mazda with the gods. Both assign Mithra the first place with the divinity and connect him with Anahita the mother of the gods, both are silent as regards the Ameshas Spentas and Anghra Mainyu excepting there where the mysteries do the latter religious homage. This is in harmony with what we find in Herodotus and Strabo upon the Persian religion. According to them this religion is just as much naturalistic as the religion of the mysteries, the god of the heavens is the consort of the mother earth (as if he was not so in the Avesta); fire, water, earth, moon, stars, and wind are the principal objects of adoration and they are preceded by no personifica-

Hons of abstractions as is the case in the ethical religion of the Avesta. There is the same divergence in the cultus. The Avesta is only acquainted with the Haoma sacrifice (just the younger Avesta not the Gathas,) Haoma is not mentioned by Herodotus or Strabo and he was equally unknown in the mysteries of Mithra. The Achaemenides as well as the Mazdayasnian kings of Pontus and Armenia interred their dead, the Avesta most uncompromisingly forbids burial and Herodotus tells us that only the Magians did not practice burial. He knows nothing about the explanation that only the dry bones were preserved and is of opinion that that this was a practice initiated not before the Parthians.

This leads him to a double result of which we may accept the one without concurring in the other. The first result is this : the Mithra mysteries spread to the west from Asia Minor. But they did not take their rise there and the new elements which they assimilated in Cappadocia are unimportant. When they were introduced here they had already been an organized cult with a solid tradition. This must have taken place under the rule of the Achaemenides because the inhabitants of Hiero—Caesarea maintain that their temple of Diana Persica was consecrated by Cyrus and Berossus recounts the foundation of a temple to Anahita in Sardes by Artaxerxes. At any rate it was there before the invasion of Alexander and subsequently the Persian rulers of Asia Minor did all they could to prove that they were the genuine descendants of the Achaemenides. Even the semi-Hellenic Antiochus of Kommagena built a temple for Zeus-Oromazes, Apollo-Mithra and Heracles-Artagnes (Verethraghna) whom he worshipped according to the manner of his fathers and whose priests he appointed like the Persians. The mysteries came to Asia Minor from Babylonia. Towards the close of the ancient Persian Empire the Magians had not only been settled there but took precedence of the Chaldaeans. Thus Mithra had become a Mesopotamian god for the Romans and Greeks. In brief, Persian Mazdaism united to Chaldaean astrolatry engendered Mithriacism. The mysteries of Mithra therefore in the Roman Empire are the right descendants of Mazdaism as it was practiced in Babylonia under the Achaemenides. Even when we agree with this presentment, and it is correct in the main, still that does not prove that the religion of the Achaemenides in Persia was the same as the Mithra mysteries with reference to the Chaldaean astrolatry.

The second conclusion at which Cumont arrives and which according to my view does not fully coincide with the first runs as follows. Mith

riacism is not as was assumed up to now generally a corrupt form of Avestaic Zarathushtrianism. It developed along side of it and independently of it. Both are two parallel variations of the primitive religion of the Iranian tribes and the excidental Mazdaism has remained more true to antiquity than the Sassanide religion with the Avesta. It is of a more primitive character and naturalistic. The Avesta is therefore not the prototype pure of Mithriacism, however much of Mithriaciam, however much of the relics of the ancient creed which preceded the Zarathushtrian reformation it contained and by a comparison of both we might possibly arrive at a knowledge of the pristine naturalistic religion of the Iranians,

I must dispute this view. I must observe just here that the Mithra of the Avesta who is intimately connected with Ahura like the Vedic Mithra with the great Asura Varuna is neither more ethical nor less naturalistic than the latter. Already when the Indo-Aryans and the Perso-Aryans had not yet separated and worshipped Mithra equally reverently, this god must have had the ethical significance which was preserved to him after the separation of the Septs and which in later times enabled Mazdaism to assign him such a high rank although he had been a Daevas. If therefore the west Iranians under the Achaemenides were not converted to Zarathushtrianism still their Mithra could not be pure nature god unless they had apostatised from the faith of their fathers. Further let us not forget that the oldest Achaemenides of the younger line make mention of only Ahura Mazda and neither of Mithra nor Anahita. That is done as we shall see first by Artaxerxes II and we know from Berossus that he introduced some innovations into the religion. To infer from this that a naturalistic Mithra worship was the religion of his predecessors and the oldest religion in Iran is not justifiable. I do not therefore say that the Mithra of the mysteries was a corrupt form of the Mithra of the Avesta, this latter must have been unknown in Babel—but if he was a pure nature god then he must have been so beyond the confines of Iran, and by means of the degeneration of the Iranian god who could not have been a nature god because the Aryan god had not been so.

So much in passing. We must now ascertain what the Greeks have to report on the Iranian religion in general then what can be ascertained with some probability of the religion of the oldest line of the Achaemenids

and finally what we can establish by means of their own inscriptions and the reports of the classical authors touching the religion of the younger line of the Achaemenides.

The religion of the Iranians in general according to Herodotus and Greek Writers.

In a few chapters of his first book (131-240) Herodotus has given a relatively exhaustive description of the religion of Persia, that is to say, of the religion prevailing in the Persian Empire to which much value is justly attached but which of late we are too much inclined to accept without criticism and to adduce it as evidence against the native authorities. It is highly questionable whether he was acquainted with the Medo-Persian religion of his knowledge excepting what he could have himself seen of it in Asia Minor and which was no pure Mazdaism. And what he gives us from hearsay he has not always correctly understood. That he regards Mithra as a goddess which in later times the Arabs and the Assyrians borrowed from the Persians and whom he makes identical with the Urania of the Greeks, the Mylitta of the Assyrians and the Alippa of the Arabs—from which it is clear that he confounded the god with Anahita—is such a gross blunder as to shake our faith in his accuracy. It is all the more curious that he calls a Mithradates as a contemporary of Astyages. And Mithra is a god venerated from of old by the Indians and Iranians. He was to the Persians a national god and for that reason intimately connected with Ahura in the Avesta, a procedure as we saw which must have been pre-Zarathushtrian. He does not make matters clearer when he recounts that the Persians made sacrifices on the summit of the highest mountain to Zeus (Dia), and that this was the name which they gave to the whole circumference of the vault of heaven. Here there are as many mistakes as there are words. The Persians were too practical a nation to offer sacrifices on the top of the highest of mountains; this procedure they had left to their mythical paradhatas Haoshyangha and Yima. Perhaps Herodotus heard of it without grasping its sense. They may have called the heavens in metaphorical language the garment of their God as they were for the Jews the throue of Yahve but they prayed to the heavens as little as did the latter. Was he unaware of the name Oromazes which had been already known to the Greeks or is he deliberately silent over it as he often is in respect of the names of foreign divinities. At all events he had no

conception of the essence of this God. And must we now on the basis of this absurd communication be compelled to assume that the religion in the ancient Persian Empire was still pure nature worship? If we had not fortunately heard from the mouth of the Achaemenides themselves, from Darius, that they worshipped Ahuramazda, the creator of the heaven and earth, we would certainly be referred to the authority of Herodotus for the circumstance that the entire Mazda worship was foreign to them. When Herodotus further says that only Gods whose worship had descended to the Persians from ancient times were the nature gods sun, moon, earth, fire, water and wind he had heard correctly although it is not entirely correct, because the Zarathushtrianism had assimilated these old objects of worship but then he could not have understood it in its literal sense, because in another passage he speaks of royal and ancestral gods. Herodotus as well as the Achæmenides are silent as regards the Amesha Spentas, the Fravashis, and the Haoma-worship. But already Aeschylus must have heard something about the sacred drinks. For when he invokes in his "Persians" the shade of Daruis—be it the Urvan or the Fravashi and Atossa attempts to bring him back to life again by means of a potion, this draft is no blood as among the Greeks but a mixture of milk, honey, wine and pure water that is just a compound of the Haoma-drink, which was offered to the laity excepting only that the Greek poet saw in the intoxicated beverage a kind of wine. As regards the Amesha Spentas, whom as we saw, Plutarch knew tolerably well, we shall come back to them later on. But from the superficial communications on part of a certain writer regarding the idea of god among the Persians who committed such a gross error regarding the basis of the doctrine and regarding one of the most important Yazatas, to conclude that the Mazdaism of the Achaemenides has been pure nature worship is not warranted.

In the said chapter Herodotus does not mention the belief of the Persians touching the resurrection, although a reference to this dogma has been thought to lurk in another passage (3,62). It is positive that Theopompus who is quoted *inter alia* by Diogenes Laertius and Plutarch knew of it.

Again what Herodotus says about the cultus of the Persians is a mixture of poetry and truth. The difference between the Persian and the Greek cultus struck him or his authority (Hecataeus?) and he labours diligently to give prominence to it. He is right that the Per-

sians were not fond of representing their gods anthropomorphically because the images which they had and the symbolic representation of the supreme godhead or his Fravashi at Persepolis are of outlandish origin. But that they regarded the usage of temples and altars as madness as Herodotus reports is a silly exaggeration. The reliefs at Persepolis portray the kings as standing before a fire-altar whether it was of ashes as the old altar to Jupiter at Olympia or of earth or of unhewn rock. Temples like those of the Greeks the Persians certainly had not, but they had as we shall see, houses of god probably tenements for the eternal fire. And the goddess whom Herodotus calls Mitra had her temple and idols not only in Asia Minor and Armenia but also in Ekbatana. The description which he gives of the Persian sacrifice is so replete with contradictions that he himself could have no clear conception of it. To the differences existing between the sacrifices of the Greeks and the sacrifices of the Persians belong the circumstance that the latter employed no garlands and kindled no fire, and in the same breath he proceeds to say that the sacrificer crowned his turban with myrtle and sacrificial beast was slaughtered cooked, and the Magus without whom the sacred operations could not be performed sang a theogeny. Properly speaking they worshipped no gods other than the heavenly bodies, the elements, and the entire circumference of the heavens, but of which there could scarcely be any theogeny. He does not seem to have known that they possessed form of old sacrificial dogmas and chants and these not merely at Zarathushtrians. But again he is no doubt well instructed when he describes how the pieces of the sacrificed animal were deposited on tender leaves and after a time of waiting were taken away and used by the sacrificers as they liked the table for the gods who after being satiated with the repast left over the material portion for mankind and from which (a circumstance which Herodotus does not mention) the priests must have had their share. The tender plant was the Kusha grass of the Indians called the Barhish, originally the Baresman twigs which the Persians were wont to spread out. Again this also is right that individuals did not pray for themselves only but for all Persians and their king. It is one of the offerings which along with the Haoma and sacrifice is mentioned several times in Avesta and sacred to extremely old gods who had been transformed into Yazatas, a species of sacrifice at which naturally beasts were slaughtered by the thousand in honour of the ruler of the world or Ahura Mazda,

The Greek historian is much better up to his task when he portrays for us the peculiar customs and usages of the Persians and here his report exactly coincides with the native sources and also with the accounts of other classical writers. Thus for instance he speaks of their chastity, their love of truth, their leniency in the punishment of transgressions, and their gentle treatment of slaves which rendered the murder of a father or mother among them an impossibility; and of their solicitude not to make impure in any way the rivers which they worshipped by preference. All this has its parallels in the Avesta. Noteworthy also is the fact which Herodotus also observes that they may not even mention that which they are not allowed to do which reminds us directly of the great value attached by the Avesta along side of good thoughts and deeds to good words.

Naturally the attention of the ancients was drawn by the peculiar method of disposing of the dead practiced by the Iranians. The apprehension of becoming polluted by a dead body went so far that Darius I would have not ride through a gate over which there lay a dead body. Herodotus relates that the body of no Persian was buried before it was devoured by birds or dogs. But they would have nothing of this openly and tried to dessemble. Only Magians practiced it openly and only after the decomposition had set in the remains were embalmed in wax and buried. According to Strabo however the Magians practiced no interment at all, and probably he is in the right. He also relates that for this purpose the Magians kept a peculiarly noble race of dogs and Cicero has the same thing to say about the Hyrkanians. We are naturally referred to the tombs of the Achsomenides to witness the fact that either the Avesta did not exist or it had no binding power upon the ancient Persians. We shall come to this question later on remarking only in passing that the Avesta permitted of the collection and preservation of the bones and the Avesta complains that in several countries which otherwise adhered to Mazda the methods of burial and cremation was still pursued.

Again Herodotus is inexact when he tells us that the Magians distinguished themselves not only from the Egyptian priests but from all mankind by killing every animal with the only exception of dogs and men and exulted in the destruction of numbers of ants, gnats and other flying and creeping creatures for they could have killed no Ahurian animal excepting only such as served for sacrifice and food. For the rest however

the exception in favour of dogs and the mention of ants and gnats is purely Avestic. At the same time it constitutes a proof that the practice which was a result of a belief was not unknown to the Greek author, a belief which however he does not mention, in Ahriman and his evil creatures and the dualism of the Persians,

The autochthonous sources give us no explanation regarding the Magians barring that in the inscriptions of Darius Hystaspis mention is made of Gumata the Magush which establishes the existence of such a caste in Medo-persia. All that it is possible for us to learn concerning the Magians must be derived from Western sources. Herodotus classes them as a Median tribe, regarded as an exclusive community like the Brahmins and comparable to the tribe of the Levites. They were not all priests but possessed the exclusive right to priestly dignity since in Media and Persia no religious operations, excepting naturally the domestic rites, could be performed without them. They figure as the interpreters of dreams before Astyages. In another place Herodotus describes them as endeavouring to avert a storm by means of incantations. Still they were never placed by the Greeks and Romans, not even by the Hellenistic and Byzantine writers, on a par with sooth-sayers and wizards. The magic of Zoroaster (the prophet) of Oromazes is the worship of the gods and the Persian Magus is the Latin Sacerdos. It is said, though it is extremely doubtful, that the kings had to be received in their order and that they already as Crown Princes were instructed by them which, however, is quite possible. Equally suspicious it is whether under the ancient Persian Empire the Magians were divided into various classes, the higher of which subjected themselves to severe abstinence. This does not sound Zarathushtrian at all but they may have been a relic of the pre-Zarathushtrian Magi. According to Xenophone, Cyrus the Great brought the priesthood and the cult of the Magians from the Medes to the Persians, which has a solid historical basis though it need not be altogether correct as laid down in this form. The Persians must have had their priests prior to Cyrus unless they were also called Magians among them and subsequent to Cyrus there is the frequent mention of Persian Magians. They could be easily of Median extraction and they had settled in Persia for several generations. Here we are groping in the dark. This only is certain that Pasargadae, the holy place founded by Cyrus and where he lies buried, was the seat of the cult of the Magians who anointed the Persian kings there and enjoyed especial privileges. They were undeniably paid high reverence in

the ancient Persian Empire and wielded enormous influence but the kings did not allow themselves to be wholly swayed by them and did not scruple at times to have a number of them executed together whenever they had incurred their displeasure. Their golden days however commenced only with the Parthian domination and under the Sassnides they were over-powerful in the state.

To draw conclusions from what we have heard of the religion of the Medo-Persian from the ancients of the religion of the East Iranians they did not know much—it cannot be denied that in the main it is in accord with the doctrine, religious and moral, which we know from the Avesta. If we cannot infer from it that this Avesta was recognised under the Achremenides as sacred scripture still what the Greeks report presupposes the doctrine and a cult which are most closely related to the Avestaic. The points of difference can be explained partly as obvious errors of the writers, especially Herodotus, partly from the fact that among the Mazdayasnian priests there could have been no strict uniformity in ideas and institutions and that the Avesta was applied without limitations to the priests but was known to the people at large only in a fragmentary fashion. All the observances to which the Magians—and even not all Magians—considered themselves bound could not have been observed in their minutae by the laity as is the custom of the laity of all religions.

The religion of the Elder line of the Achcemenides.

Over the religion of the Elder line of the Achcemenides the religion of Cyrus the Great and his son Kambyzes the opinion of the learned is much divided. With as great positiveness some scholars regard them as Zarathushtrian Mazdayasnians (among them no lesser scholars than Eduard Myer and Noeldeke) as others call them polytheists, especially daeva worshippers. The difficulty lies in the scantiness of the data. The Greeks do not give us any direct information upon the religion to which the Achaemenides belonged. We must derive what we want to know indirectly from their relations with the religions of the non-Iranian peoples whom they subjected to their sovereignty. It is not probable that they had inscriptions incised in Media or Persia; at any rate such have not yet been discovered. Persepolis where most of the inscriptions of the younger Achaemenides are found was perhaps not yet founded, at least it was not used as royal residence which the king's favourite

seats were at Susa or Babel, and as for Cyrus he was almost always in the field with his army. Possibly they lived between whiles in Pāsargadae where, according to the concurrent evidence of the ancients, Cyrus lies buried and his tomb was more than once visited by Aristobulus at the command of Alexander the Great. Now there has been discovered at Murghab, which is looked upon as the site of Magian city, is not without importance. Otherwise we must assume that the Magians—latterly, as we know to a certainty the real Medo-Persian Zoroastrian priests—were under his rule quite the opposite, namely, the grimest opponents of Mazdaism and also of non-Iranian and Scythian descent and that Cyrus was Aryan but a Elamite, no king of Persia but only that of Anzan or Anshan and Elamite territory. These fatuous caprices of a science which replace historical criticism by phantasy deserve no serious refutation. In the so-called annals of Nabunaid the last Chaldian king of Babel, which have been composed not by his command, at least not by writers who are favourable to him, Cyrus is often called King of Anshan then again King of Persia and as such a small vassal of Astyages (Ishtuvegu) which undoubtedly is not meant in a deprecatory sense but probably indicates that he was liable to a tribute to the Median despots only for a small section of his empire. He was the second of his name to rule over this empire but a descendant of Hakhmanish from whom Darius also traces his origin, for Darius expressly proclaims himself an Aryan, son of an Aryan, Persian son of a Persian. Although probably he resided ordinarily at Susa, Cyrus was as little of an Elamite as his grand nephew who loved to reside there.

It is stated that his attitude with reference to the religion of the Babylonians and the other subject nations to which a cylinder of his own discovered in Babel testifies characterizes him as a polytheist, as the adorer not of an ethical god like Ahura Mazda but of nature deities. But probably he did not compose the text of the inscription himself for it is a question if he understood the language at all. It is quite possible that he could not read at least this Babylonian cuneiform script. He was however too astute a sovereign not to keep himself informed of what was proclaimed in his name to his people, Undoubtedly he knew the contents of the decree. And he concedes that the Babylonian priesthood represented him as called upon by Marduk to be the liberator of their people and to be universal monarch; he was made a worshipper of this God, an elect, who was taken by him in hand and graciously conducted along his

triumphal march to the holy city of that God. Could, we are asked, a pious Zarathushtrian, a Mazdayasnian, tolerate this ? Then he allows the local gods of Shumer and Akkad whom Nabunaid had caused to be conveyed from E-Shagila into Babel, by his own order, which naturally means to win the good opinion of the Babylonian priests to be restored to their proper sanctuaries. Therein he gives expression to the hope that the gods re-enshrined in honour in their dwellings might daily pray to Bel and Nabu on his behalf to ensure a long life and that they may intercede on his behalf with the two and call down the blessings of Marduk upon himself and his son Kambyzes. It is clearly evident that Cyrus saw in the great god of Babel the high lord of heavens and creator but in the local deities, whose rights to their peculiar sanctuaries he recognises, only recognises, only subordinate beings whose mediation he values and whom he revered but did not pray to, just as the Avestic Mazdayasnians treated along with Ahura Mazda his Yazatas, just as the Persian Mazdayasnians treated the family Bagas and local gods descended from their fathers, and just as the Roman Catholic treats his saints in the light of mediators to whom reverence is due but not worship. Of Marduk alone it is said that he dreaded him as his God. According to the doctrine of the Babylonian priests with Marduk was connected the god of Borsippa his son and first mediator the god who lends their scepters to kings. But for the Mazdayasnian of the Avesta Mithra stood in a similar position to the great Ahura and the Achremenides without belying their Mazdayasnian faith had no misgivings about it. We need not assume the exclusiveness of Sasanians among the Achaemenides especially among the elder ones. Even as a Zarathushtrian believer, Cyrus could take no exception to the works here put in his mouth, nor did he feel his conscience burdened by them. We possess no direct proof that that was so. But his conduct and his decree in favour of Babel do not speak against it. Political wisdom demanded of him to respect the religion of the nation, the distinguished priesthood of which greeted in him the liberator from the odious domination of a king who had offended against the god of gods and had consequently brought down upon the land all manner of mishap. Perhaps he saw in Marduk not much else than his own exalted god under an alien name and with a foreign though honoured rites. It is possible that the learned of Babylon placed this idea themselves before him. It is a well-known fact that in the gods of their neighbours people recognise none but their own god only in different names. At any rate the attitude adopted by the clergy of Babylon towards their new domination was that which described in the happy expression "ecclesiastical diplomacy".

If the priests of Babel saw in the victorious conqueror the emancipator from the yoke under which they sighed namely, the rule of a king who respected not their God, the people oppressed and banished into exile greeted in him a saviour who delivered them from slavery. If he did not falsify these hopes, if he—as is certain according to my view gave orders that they might be sent back home with their Gods and shrines then this was a piece of enlightened policy, a breach with the policy of the ancient Assyrians and Chaldeans. Just as the writer of the Babylonian tables represents him as the called, the chosen, and the guided of Marduk, so the Hebrew prophet says the same of him as the invoked and favourite of Yahve, which seems to me to be inconceivable if he had not been aware that this prince though he did not know Yahve before the latter called him was no idolator as was the oppressor of his peoples.

Kambyses has left behind no Persian or Babylonian inscriptions, at least none of them has come down to us but Egyptian inscriptions give evidence of him and Herodotus has much to say regarding him. It is probable that during the life-time of his father he was invested with the subordinate kingship of Babel and he must have pursued there the same policy as Cyrus. He seems to have taken an active part in the cult of Nabu. What is recorded of him respecting his expedition to and sojourn in Egypt places before us a great enigma which capable of solution in several widely divergent ways. It is said that at first he treated Psammenites with great clemency but that finally he killed him as he was threatened with the danger of a rebellion. He is said to have burnt the body of Amasis out of sheer revenge which furnishes Herodotus with an occasion to observe that this was a heinous sin in the eyes of the Egyptians as well as the Persians since the latter held fire to be a God and would permit of no human body to be consigned to flames. He is also reported to have sent an expedition to the oracle of Amure in the oasis with the commission to burn down the temple there. Then returning from an unsuccessful inroad into Aethiopia and finding Memphis in festive joy over the consecration of an apis, he is said to have regarded this as joyous celebrations over his fall and in a wicked mood to have delivered such a blow to the sacred bull that it died of it the following day. Finally he was not ashamed to mock at the idols of the gods Ptah in Memphis and set fire to them. This is the portrait which Herodotus, naturally on the authority of his Egyptian informer, paints us of Kambyses; a desecraior of the holy and an iconoclast who

in his blind fury not only wounded the subject nation in their most cherished ideals but disregarded the religious convictions of his own people. If true the last would prevent us from seeing in all these deeds of violence the fanatic zeal of a pious Mazdayasnian against the superstitions of the Egyptians. But we have every reason to doubt it. Even the killing of the apis is not altogether certain. In the official texts of Memphis and Sais, Kambyzes is depicted like Cyrus in Babel, viz., as a true and humble worshipper of Egyptian divinities. We have even a genuine stele from his reign which represents him kneeling before an apis. In the inscriptions appertaining to it he is called the giver of life and he is likewise adorned with the titles of Egyptian kings and it has been added that the burial of the apis was prepared by his Majesty. Had he used violence against the ever-reviving Ptah then the object of this inscription would be the atonement of the sacrilege. The leading clergy—and they were at this time at Sais and Memphis, especially at the first place found it to their interest to be in the good graces of the ruling power and to turn his favour to the advantage of their temple and cult. In truth Kambyzes was still less a worshipper of Ptah or Keit or any other Egyptian divinity. Besides the rage of the ecclesiastics and the hatred of the people have depicted the features of this conqueror in such dark colours that we cannot presume that he was never able to withhold his scorn for the fetishism of the Egyptians which was scarcely concealed behind symbols. He was from all we know of him a passionate man who allowed himself to be controlled by his moods and who when he was so inclined did not allow considerations of foresight and politics to stand in his way. He was even regarded as a lunatic but there is no evidence for this at all. That he did not shrink from deeds of violence is proved by the assassination of his brother whom he did not trust. At any rate however what is reported of him tends to render it probable that he, if not a believer in the sense of the Avesta was yet a Mazdayasnian; and all that the Egyptian priests loved to speak of him in public documents or to put into his mouth is equally nothing against the assumption of his being a Mazdayasnian.

The religion, of the younger line of the Achæmenides,

In all the inscriptions left behind by the younger line of the Achæmenides the theology is not essentially different. The same confession which Darius Hystaspis and Xerxes constantly repeat is found literally reproduced at the top of an inscription of Artaxerxes Ochus (Artakh-

shathra Vahuka). And quite naturally because it stood concrete and had grown into an inalterable formula. The only difference is that the last mentioned prince mentions by name the god Mithra and his father the god Mithra and Anahita, that is to say, they do not, as did their forefathers, merely mention the gods in general terms. "The great god" so runs this repeated confession "is Atiramazda who created this earth, who created the heaven, who created good fortune for mankind" and they add that this self-same God had created each of them king, "a king, a ruler over many." In the inscription on his tomb Darius I says "when Auramazda saw this world in confusion"—by which he refers to the confusion in which the empire found itself 'during the latter years of Kambyzes and the insurrections which he himself at the commencement of his reign had to suppress—"he put reliance in me and made me king-by the grace of Auramazda I reduced it all to tranquillity". He invokes this God in his bewilderment and God descends to his help. All that he did in any way, he performed according to the will of Auramazda, and therefore, he did more than the kings who preceded him. And this help from Auramazda he owed to the circumstance that he was no quarrel-monger, no liar, or despot and that he ruled according to law. To this God he directs his prayer that he may protect him, his house, and his country, and this is his last exhortation to his subjects: "O, men do not hold the commands of Auramazda as horrid (properly: stin-king). Do not abandon the righteous path and be not contumacious".

Quite in the same spirit Xerxes speaks in the much less exhaustive inscriptions from him. He too declares that he has brought about nothing that is not owing to the will of Auramazda and invokes his protection upon the buildings erected by himself and his father in Persepolis.

We should be doing violence to the clear sense of these texts did we see a nature god in this deity Auramazda. Expressions and ideas which we encounter here belong exclusively to an ethical religion. The new Susian or Elamite translator, who probably knew that the Persian princes resident in Susa, followed a religion other than that of his own countrymen, added after the name Uramashta, as Auramazda was called in his language, "the god of the Aryans, that is to say, the national god of the ruling nation and the royal line".

At any rate the Achemenides speak also of other divinities. That they call Auramazda "the greatest of the gods" is no argument against their relative monotheism because it only indicates that he was to them the

greatest of all gods without reference to the fact whether they worshipped these latter or not. In the Exodus the same thing is said of Yahve and more than once he is styled "god of the gods". What is more important however is that we again and again meet in the inscriptions with expressions like these: "Auramazda with the clan gods", or "with the other gods that there are" or "with the other gods", or simply "with the gods" whose protection the kings equally invoke and whom consequently they revered. And both Artaxerxes II and III demand protection, the one from the god Mithra, the other from both the deities Mithra and Anahita, although they concede precedence to Auramazda as the superior. And we could not expect otherwise of Zarathushtrian Mazdayasnians. For even the Avesta, particularly the younger Avesta, places alongside of Ahura a large number of Yazatas, although he is exalted above them all and although it no less contains invocation and hymns directed to them in his glorification. We need hardly remember that just this Mithra and Anahita belong to the foremost of these Yazatas and that to both of them an important Yasht each is dedicated. We have already spoken of the duality Mithra-Ahura. The most rigid Atharvan could not have declared the Achemenides heretics, certainly not on the ground of their inscriptions.

It is true that they do not denominate themselves either Mazdayasnians or Zarathushtrians as we find it in the Profession of Faith. But it is impossible to expect complete theological confession in documents of this nature. No one disputes that Ashoka at least during the latter part of his reign was a Buddhist and that in earlier times he seems to have joined the Jainas yet he never calls himself a Jaina or a Buddha. Even the highly orthodox Sasanians describe themselves on their coins and inscriptions as Mazdayasnians but never with an additional qualification as Ahurian or Zarathushtrian as required by the Profession of Faith. But it was not necessary for the Achemenides so to call themselves. They clearly indicate that they were so and that in the spirit of the Zarathushtrian religion. The doctrine of Auramazda, the creator of heaven and earth, of men, and his blessings; the creator whose will must in everything be respected and followed; the creator who has bestowed sovereignty upon the kings and who assist them in their struggles against the enemies of the empire and the rebels, pure liars that they are; who defends the princes and the country against the miscreants and against demons like Haina, Dushiyara and Druga:—this doctrine is

not different in its essentials from the Zarathushtrian such as we know it from the Avesta. The strong aversion to falsehood and treachery from with Darius derives all wickedness and especially all resistance to authority and all uprisings and his exhortation to always keep to the righteous path are characteristic of the Avesta and Zarathushtrianism. "Be severe to lies. Punish so severely the man who is a liar," this is what is said in the great Behishtan inscription. And those who have only read the fourth fargard of the Vendidad or the Mihir Yasht know the severity with which the Avesta proceeds against all mendacity, deceit and treachery.

Of greater importance to the question, in how far the Mazda worship of the Achmmeniries of the younger line is in harmony with the prescriptions and usages of orthodox Zarathushtrianism, is the account given by Darius I of the Magian who had smuggled himself up the throne in place of the murdered Bardrya, brother of Kambyzes, and who was surprised and slain by Darius with the auxiliaries of the heads of the other noble families of Persia. It is a pity that the information is at once brief and obscure. After describing the slaying of the usurper the king continues thus: "Then I made (restored) the Ayadanas which had been destroyed by Gaumata Magush." What follows is of value from the standpoint of history. It is in parts extremely obscure. But one may leave aside since it has no bearing on religion.

Under any circumstances the Ayadanas which Gaumata had laid in ruins and Darius rebuilt were a kind of temple in as much as both the other texts, the Semitic and the new Susian, reproduce this term by "God houses" which latter ordinarily signifies temples. And now not only Herodotus and Xenophon but also Strabo, later by so many centuries, testifies to the fact that the Persians know no temples but only holy places; and Clemens of Alexandria refers to the testimony of Dinon the father of Klitarch the physician of Alexander that the Persians celebrated their offerings under open skies and used no images. Nor does the Avesta mention any. Pausanias in the second century of our era is the first to speak of Persian temples; and that they were in existence under the Sassanides and also under the later Arsacides for the Zarathushtrian cult is undoubted. Now how to solve this contradiction? I am of opinion that Dieulafoy has given the right answer. We have already observed that the pure fire-worship, that is to say, the preservation

and the keeping in purity and reverence the most sacred of all fires, the fire of Verethrajna and the Daityo-gatu, a worship which was committed purely to the care of the priests, the Atharvans, must be differentiated from the fire-worship of kings as it is sculptured on the reliefs at Persepolis and as it was celebrated on the altars which the princes themselves carried along with them in their campaigns and expeditions but above all from the sacrifice proper at which animals were offered up for the gods as food. This latter took place under the free sky and to this purpose were utilized elevated spots called fireplaces (Atesh Gah) which we encounter to this day at Nakash-I-Rustem and other places in Iran where no eternal fire was kept but only an occasional fire was kindled to prepare the sacrificial meat. He shows that that eternal fire which not only must not be extinguished but which had to be kept immaculate from all pollution so that even the priest himself was not allowed to go near it unless he had taken all the precautions not to contaminate it either by his breath or his touch, could not be kept in open air in the inclement and rainy climate of Persia but necessitated a closed and covered sanctuary. All the prescriptions of the Avesta regarding this holiest of all flame presuppose such an enclosed space although such an one is nowhere mentioned. This habitat of the holy fire accessible to priests alone is meant by the Ayadana mentioned above. Dieulafoy even believes to have discovered at Susa the remnant of such a building dating from the time of Artaxerxes Memon. We need not therefore reject the report of the ancients touching the omission of temples among the Persians especially as a structure like the one we are speaking of was neither a temple, because there were no images of gods, nor sanctuary in the eyes of the Greeks, and in all probability they had never seen one, nay never heard of one.

Meanwhile the question remains outstanding as to what impelled the Magian Gaumata to demolish the Ayadana to the Persians, although according to the positively correct information of Herodotus he was partial to the temples. Dieulafoy bases a complicated hypothesis on this which has not the least of inherent probability and which does not explain Gaumata's act. The Magians were the protagonists of the ancient worship and of dualism who worshipped Spenta Mainyu as well as Anghra Mainyu and who did not identify the former with Auramazda but who felt repugnance for the fireworship as ordained in the Avesta and as practised by the Persians. It was therefore that the Ayadanas were a thorn in

the flesh to him. But It is preposterous to seek for any religious occasion for the proceeding of the political usurper, had every reason to conceal the fact that he was a Magian. He was playing the role of Kambyses' brother who was a Persian so that Gaumata could not rage either as a priest against a cult heretical in his eyes or as a Mede against the Persian nationality without betraying himself. And Darius expressly says that he restored to its former state every thing in Persia Media and other countries. We are unable to know the real facts in the matter on account of a portion of the text being both obscure and corrupt. That however the measures adopted by the pseudo Bardiya pursued a purely political object and were mainly directed against the legitimate successor of Kambyses, in other words against his nearest relations who could be expected to assert their claim to the throne must be regarded as undoubted. This too is the meaning of the perfectly clear words with which Darius closes the description of his restoration: "I strove according to the will of Auramazda so that Gaumata the Mugush could not take away this our house" and accordingly the assassination of the Magians which followed the fall of the impostor were not sanctioned by religious hatred but were only as an act of vengeance for an attempt on the part of them naturally with their support undertaken to put an end to the whole line of the Hakhamanish in the name of the youngest of the Achaemenides and perhaps to restore the Median hegemony. For it is not improbable that this was a secret object and Herodotus also reports that this pseudo Smerdis excluded the Persians from the favours like freedom from disabilities and military service which he bestowed upon the Inhabitants of other provinces. Be that as it may, notwithstanding the annual commemorative celebrations of the Magophonia the Magians remained the privileged class of priests even in Persia and their name remains to this day the most honoured in the Zarathushtrian hierarchy. Only so long as the Achsemenids sat on the throne they were once for all deprived of all ambition to participate in political power,

Considerable stress has been laid on the circumstance that the Achaemenides make no mention of Anghra Mainyu in their inscriptions. This has been conjoined with the report of Herodotus with reference to a sacrifice offered by a king of Persia to a subterraneous deity and to the fact that a reference to Areimainios occurs only once on the monuments of the mysteries of Mithraism, Naturally this can be true only of Darius because the stone monuments or columns and inscriptions on tombs in a word the mere

texts of his successors cannot be taken into account here. As a matter of fact as Darius speaks of Haina, Dusiya and Drauga he could also have mentioned Anghra Mainyu. But an *argumentum silentio* does not signify much unless we are able to demonstrate that the silence does not rest on accident. And this we cannot demonstrate here. In fact the last word has not yet been uttered on the sharply outlined dualism of Ahura Mazda—Anghra Mainyu of the younger Avesta. Even in the latter his occurrences are by no means general and for the most part consist of evidently the most recent portions or prose interpolations between the metrical texts which are easily detected as such. Perhaps he had not yet found his way into Persia at the time of Darius and for Persia Anghra Mainyu was still what he originally was,—the underground God of death. We by no means assert that to the Persians of those days the Avesta as we possess it to-day was already known and that doctrine embodied in it was a law unto them but are rather inclined to assume the opposite. What stands established according to our view is this; the Achsemenides were not only Mazdayasnians but were Zarathushtrians. Whoever speaks of Auramazda as they do can be no other than such. With regard to the other *argumentum silentio* that they do not mention the Amesha Spentas, it is divested of all its force in the presence of a remarkable fact and that fact is this. At the very latest towards the year 400 B. C. in other words, under the reign of the Achsemenides, the Cappadocians possessed a calendar in which addition to the Creator and the Farvashis there occur the names of the six Amshaspands and a few of the lesser Yazatas. The order in which they occur is other than the one we ordinarily find in the Avesta and the names have been obviously corrupted from an original Persian form and not from the Avesta. They must therefore have received them without a doubt from the Medo—Persians. And we can hardly assume that they could not have learnt without the Persians could have remained unknown to the Persians and their kings.

The religion of the younger line of the Achsemenides according to the foreign sources.

To sum up the results of our investigation of the inscriptions of the Achsemenides we see that whatever conclusion we may arrive with reference to the religion of the first two sovereigns of this house the princes of the younger branch of this dynasty could not have been adherents of nature worship nor adorers of nature gods but that their god, the

Creator of the heaven and earth of man and his fortune, was the same ethical god who is delineated in the Avesta as the god revealed to Zarathushtra. The Bagas whom they worshipped along with him, without ever putting him on a level of equality with the great god Raga Vazaraka occupied with reference to him no position other than that of the Yazatas in the younger Avesta. Even their national god Mithra could no more have remained for them a pure nature god before he, probably in Babylon, became a deity of a mystical naturalism, because the Veda testifies that he was no longer so to their East Aryan ancestors. He was not forgotten though Darius and Xerxes do not mention him because he occurs in proper names in the time of Cyrus and also in Media. But his worship must have been thrown into the back ground till under the last Achæmenides, in a form modified probably under Babylonian influence, he was revived in orthodox Zarathushtrianism. Now the question is whether the non-Persian sources in so far as relate to the information regarding the religion of Darius I and his successors are in unison with these results or whether they confirm or shake them.

If we in the first place take into consideration the relation in which they stood to the religions of the people whom they subjected to their sovereignty or with whom they waged wars these relations seem of very little consequence. Under Darius Hystaspis his generals Datis and Artaphernes destroyed all the sanctuaries in Naxos. But to the Delians, who had already abandoned their island in terror, Datis sent a herald with the message that at the express command of the king their country was to be spared because two deities Apollo and Artemis had been born there. But the contradiction becomes invalid when we consider that Naxos had to be chastized for resistance to their domination the Persians could never tolerate, and, that Darius saw in Apollo and Artemis either the Sun and the Moon, which were objects of worship likewise to the Zarathushtrian Mazdayasnian, or Mithra and Anahita whose supposed native place he was accordingly bound to respect. This reverence for Apollo is evidenced also by the story of Herodotus that Datis by means of a dream caused a search to be made by his whole fleet for a standing statue of the god studded with gold which was secured as a prize and as it was discovered in a Phœnician vessel it was brought to Delos with the order that it should be restored to the Theban Delion in Tanagra. This was of course not done by the Delians so that 20 years later the Thebans had to take possession of it

themselves. Hence it would appear inexplicable that his son Xerxes sent a contingent to Delphi to destroy the local temple, which destruction according to Plutarch actually took place but which, according to Herodotus, was intercepted by a miracle. Herodotus says that thereafter he coveted the treasures of the temples of Delphi of which he had heard such accounts. It may be that this was his motive since Xerxes was avaricious. Even from the principal sanctuary of Babylon he carried away the golden image of the god and a large quantity of treasure. But Babel had to be punished on account of the insurrection under Shamsherib and was made a terrible example of for other satraps. But as against the oracle of Delphi the Persians had no grounds for special discontent. We may however assume that Herodotus was better informed than Plutarch and that the demolition of the spoliation of the temples if it actually was designed by Xerxes, a circumstance which is not free from suspicion, was in fact somehow or other not carried into effect, which must have appeared to the pious Greeks a veritable miracle. Xerxes avoided the temple of the terrible Zeus Laphystios at Alos in Achia, a god who was revered with human sacrifices and conciliated by the house of the descendants of Athamas but the Akropolis with all its sanctuaries he laid in ruins. The Persians were especially furious against the Athenians because they had participated in the burning of Sardes. We are told that Darius himself had given instructions to one of his servants to remind him at every one of his meals: "My Lord remember the Athenians" and must have passionately prayed to avenge himself on them. Xerxes however seems to have repented of his deed of violence; at least he permitted the Athenian exiles who accompanied him to perform a sacrifice after their own manner.

According to an inscription discovered a few years ago at Deirmenjik in Asia Minor, in the vicinity of the ancient Magnesia, which contains a decree of Darius to the Greek Gadatas, his satrap or an officer of lower rank, some people have imagined that the king was a polytheist. But nothing of the sort is discoverable in the text. After extolling Gadatas on account of his solicitude for the plantation of foreign gardens Darius threatens him with his disfavour should be continued to disregard his respect for the Greek gods. For Gadatas had imposed taxes on the sacred gardeners of Apollo and besides compelled them to plant trees in profane plots. And Darius calls to mind the attention which his ancestors had bestowed upon this god who, it would appear, had

once on a time delivered an oracle in favour of the Persians. Here lies nothing but political sagacity. The servitors of a god who was well disposed towards the Persians must be treated with deference and must not be injured in their rights. Moreover this god was Apollo for whom the Persians evinced particular reverence because of his similarity to Mithra or his significance as Sun-god. That he in an edict addressed to a Greek calls him a *theos*, a god, is but natural since that was the only possible translation into Greek of the Persian term *Baga*. Even if we regarded the ancestors of Darius as non-Mazdayasnians, for which in reality we have no grounds, still although a Mazdayasnian without repudiating his belief he could for political consideration cherish the same sentiment towards this god as those of his ancestors to whom he refers.

In Egypt Kambyzes had uncompromisingly spoilt the cause of the Persians. Darius began to treat the Egyptians with a policy of reconciliation presenting, as is related, the temple Memphis with a new apsis. But that was of no avail. Northern Egypt kept itself quiet because it had nothing much to gain, but in the delta the people still bemoaned the fall of Saites and still saw visions of the restoration of a native dynasty. In the restoration which broke out the religion was not without blame. It originated in Buto and was fanned by the priests and the oracle of the place. Did they treat the aboriginal cults of the South and of Memphis with considerateness? Certain it is that Xerxes, as he hastened after the death of his father to suppress the rebellion, allowed all other temples to remain in possession of their incomes but deprived Buto of all privileges and possessions. This he was never forgiven. When in the year 466 B. C. he was murdered by his son Darius the Egyptians saw in the crime divine chastisement. It is well-known that the Persians followed the same policy, with reference to the Jews. The misgivings of Sisines, the Persian satrap of Syrian Babylonia, touching the building of a temple could not urge Darius to prohibit it. On the contrary he undertook himself the cost of the structure and attached sufficient importance to it to have every day animals slaughtered in sacrifice for himself and his house in Jerusalem and to direct that the necessary victims should likewise be delivered to the priests. In this we discover no repudiation of his belief in Mazdayasnianism. The Persian kings were acquainted by personal contact with the religion of the Jews who had settled in large numbers in their vicinity and of whom there were always **a few favoured ones who as officials had access to the royal Court and consequently they knew well that Jahve, although he was worshipped by**

rites other than those of Auramazda, was no Dæva but the great god of heaven and like him although under a different name, the Creator of Heaven and Earth. Again in the daily offerings for the king and his house, celebrated by the clergy of a subject race there lay the overt recognition of Persian sovereignty which was of immense value.

We cannot here plunge into the question of the credibility of the reports of the return of the exiles under Ezra and the two missions of Nehemia which are recorded in the books named after them. The trenchant criticisms of Koster, whose results have been adopted by various scholars of repute but which have been opposed by a specialist like Wellhausen and a historian like Eduard Meyer, are even to me subject to grave doubts. This problem however is of secondary interest for the history of the Achæmenides. Suffice it to remind the student that Artaxerxes I in creating Nehemia a representative with plenary powers in Judeah and in appointing him Governor of the province acted entirely in the spirit of his predecessor. And that precisely the Jews who diverged so considerably in religious matters from their neighbours and whose creed was in greater accord with Mazdaism than with any other religion of the Persian Empire belonged to the most favoured subjects of the king of kings speaks much more for than against the Zarathushtrian religion of the Achæmenides.

It results from the above that the Achæmenides of the younger branch permitted themselves to be swayed, now by their sympathy for a god whom they conceived to be akin to theirs now by superstitious fear of a violent deity, but as a rule by political considerations. The leading principle of their politics was—at least with the more sagacious of them—the same which Cyrus had already employed, tolerance to foreign cults. Whenever they deviated from this rule it was because they considered it necessary to impose punishment or to exact vengeance. They do not seem to have thought of propagating their religion not even among the subdued Elamites, Babylonians, West Asiatics and Egyptians much less among the Hellenes. Auramazda was the god of the Aryans to whom they remained true. And they found it only natural that other nations should behave similarly with respect to their own divinities, It was only when these gods incited their worshippers to rebellion against his authority that both were simultaneously punished.

It sounds more suspicious when it is related of Xerxes that he offered sacrifices to alien gods* I do not reckon it among the foreign practices

attributed to him that he when he resolved to cross the Hellespont commanded fireworks to be let off on the bridge, to strew with myrrh the way that he prayed to the sun pouring libation to the god from a gold cup which together with a Persian sword he afterwards cast into the sea; nor that his Magians offered white steeds to Strymon; nor that these Magians sacrificed to the winds and even to Thetys and the Nereides after a violent storm in which a considerable portion of the fleet was sunk; because sacrifices of horses as well as reverence to the Sun-god, to the Wind-god Vayu, and the genii of water, do not run counter to the Zarathushtrian creed. The occurrence of the Greek names of the deities is due to Herodotus. To him alone is due the assertion that the Persians performed the last mentioned sacrifice because it happens that the Ionians related to him the classical tale of the rape of Thetys by Peteus at this spot. That Darius commanded three hundred talents worth of incense to be burnt on the altar of Delos is explained by his reverence for the Sun-god. It however seems to be a purely Greek rite which Xerxes performed on his arrival at Pergamus of Priam. There he sacrificed a thousand oxen to Athenaia Elias and his magians offered libations in honour of the heroes. This sounds highly romantic, though it may be possible with reference even to the gods. One must consider the circumstance that he was on the point of waging a war with the Hellenes and that Priam was the enemy of their ancestors. It is not surprising that he held a certain amount of sympathy for him, possibly regarded him as an ancestor of his own line. For both with reference to language and descent the Phrygians and the kinsmen of their tribes stood nearer to the Persians than the Greeks. In Priam's tribe—goddess Xerxes could see one of his own deities, Anahita Uperetat, the female Uazata of victory. At any rate this somewhat peculiar circumstance stands by itself and is besides not explicable.

Moreover the cruelties which have so often been ascribed to Xerxes do not speak against him as a Zarathushtrian. They were always punishments, and just as, for instance, the Avesta is severe on heretics and infidels or against those who commit unatoneable sins, the Persian sovereigns were inexorable against the most unpardonable of all crimes, rebellion and transgression of their commands, "the laws of the Medes and Persians." Even to the Mazdayasnian the royal authority was sacred and divine and he believed that it must be supported with all his power. Still among the deeds of violence attributed to Xerxes there is one which sins against the prescriptions of Zarathushtra according to the Avesta.

Before crossing over the Strymon he is reported to have buried alive a number of sons and daughters of the place at a spot called the New Way. He is further alleged to have similarly treated his consort Amestris as she grew old with ten children. It is certainly not justifiable to conclude, as does Herodotus from these imbecile acts of ruthlessness, that the Persians were in the habit of burying human beings alive. The question however still remains: how to reconcile such a human sacrifice devoted to the wrath of a subterranean deity with the law of Zoroaster which is so strongly against the worship of the Dævas and the interment of the dead? For we must yet leave it undecided whether the Achaemenides and the Persians of their times with the exception of the magians only, deposited their bones in their tombs after they had been picked clean by the birds of prey or whether in this respect deviating from the law of the Avesta they buried the embalmed corpse. Three things only here are possible: in the first place either Herodotus was ill-informed and gave to precipitate a credence to scandalous stories about the enemies of his nation; or the Persians and consequently also the Achaemenides had beside their Mazdaism preserved the cult of Anghra Mainyush as a god of death and sought to appease him; or—and this is the most probable—they have, as has occurred among the adherents of a higher religion, out of superstition and to arrive at a particular object, for Amestris to be young again for Xerxes to cross over the river without danger, taken recourse to a barbarous usage from anterior ages without considering how far thereby they diverged from the religion which they openly professed to believe in.

Without a doubt the Achaemenides and their subjects, just like the Medes and their princes before them, when they adopted the Mezdayasnian religion—and this is the Zarathushtrian for there is no other Mazdayasnian religion—they retained many an old institution, before all domestic and tribal cults. Such relics we find in all higher religions Islam, Judaism, and Christianity not excluded. And in the younger Avesta we have seen how the elder deities, are transformed into Yazatas who help to multiply the satellites of Auramazda. Herodotus and Xenophon describe the chariot of Zeus and of Helios and the ten holy steeds while others speak of the chargers of Helios distinguished by their beauty. These chariots, one of them white and gold, the other pure white both of them decorated with garlands and yoked to eight or four animals belong to Auramazda and Mithra. The drivers went alone side of them. No one sat in the first. It was the chariot of the unseen god. The second was occupied by the

king himself as the vicegerent of Mithra on earth. The kings carried these chariots even on their campaigns in which they must have been sometimes lost. But that neither the pomp nor the symbolism nor the worship of the light-god alongside of the great god of heaven is against the younger Zarathushtrianism is proved by the Avesta itself which ascribes to Ahura as well as Mithra chariot drawn by four horses.

In brief when we put together what the Achaemenides themselves say about their religion and the reports of the Greek about it; when we see the monarchs on the walls of their Palaces sculptured it may be in a posture of prayer, standing before the holy fire over which hovers the Fravashi of Auramazda or their own, or it may be combating with Ahrimanic beasts when we hear the Greeks unanimously celebrating the Persians on account of their anxious care for purity in every respect, their disgust for all that is unseemly (Anasha,) their express chastity, their love of truth, all of them the fruits of Zarathushtrian doctrine—then we cannot but regard them as Zarathushtrian Mazdayasnians. They deserve this name more than many of the Byzantine Coesars merited the name of Christian. The forms of the religion may have differed in many respects from the Avesta; in principles or their faith is at one with it. If it is compounded of naturalistic ingredients the Avesta is not less so; but it was assuredly no more pure naturalism as is indicated by the very commencement of their inscriptions. In their passions, from political motives or from superstitious fear, they did now and then diverge from the principles of their religion but here most Christian and Apostolic majesties have done the same.

It is certain that Artaxerxes II, Mnemon, did not deviate from it when he placed an *apadana* under the protection of Auramazda, Anahita, and Mithra, in Susa and Ekbatana imploring the protection of these divinities for himself and his work. And both these are prominent Yazatas in the Avesta. Now if we bring this circumstance in conjunction with the account of Berossos that the same Artaxerxes was the first to build temples to Anaitis or Aphrodite in Babel, Susa and Ekbatana and to spread her cult father into Persia, Baktria and as far as Damascus and Sardis then she appears to us in another light. It gives rise to the conjecture that this Achæmenide prince offered his devotion not only to the God Mithra, who was of old Aryan origin and who was adopted in Zarathushtrianism and to the Iranian Yazata of the fructuous waters, but he introduced the new form of her worship which had arisen

in Babel by the amalgamation of the Iranian with the Chaldaean cult and out of which arose the Mithra mysteries so closely connected with the worship of Anahita. The good Artaxerxes, a peace-loving man, seems to have been won over to this new worship and to have built sanctuaries- to Anahita, first in Babel, if we are to credit Berossos and then in Susa and Ekabatana. I do not think that he dared do it in Persepolis and it deserves to be remarked that his successor in his Persepolitan inscriptions mentions only Mithra. We see that the Atharvans although they adopted the goddess, as is evident from the description of her person in the *Aban-yasht*, in the new form yet they took care that her cult was kept free from the excrescences obtaining in other places.

Artaxerxes III Ochus (*Vahuka*) appears in a sharp contrast to his predecessor and name-sake and to have been a passionate fanatic. In Egypt at any rate he quartered himself not only with plunder, fire and murder but seems to have taken special pleasure to annoy the natives of the land in objects held in greatest sanctity by them. In the temple of Path in Memphis he brought a mule as an object of worship. At a feast he provided for his friends the flesh of the *apis*. No wonder that the Egyptians likened to him Set-Typhon and nicknamed him the mule. Bagoas his viceroy continued his policy of sacrilege. Here we have not only the vengeance of a tyrant provoked but we have clear evidence of a deep scorn for the religion of the Egyptians.

The last of the Achæmenides, Darius III, Kodomanos must have been too much occupied in his struggle with the greatest military genius of antiquity to have cumbered himself much with tilings and interests religious. At all events we possess no information on the subject. The Parsi tradition ever speaks with great bitterness of Alexander to whom it charges with the destruction of the sacred documents of the Mazdayasnian religion. If an authentic copy of these documents was actually deposited in Persepolis it must have perished in the flames kindled by the conqueror in the intoxication of his festive jubilations. He is credited with having taken back with himself to Greece another copy which was kept in safe custody elsewhere (in *Pasargadae*?) so that the destruction of the former was not intentional. It is certain that Greek authors like Theopompus and Hermippos must have drawn upon native sources. It is possible that the volume of the documents is exaggerated by the tradition, still there was a rich literature to speak of. We cannot assume that none of it should have remained in Persia. But the region.

fell into deeper ruins until it was restored to honour by the Arsacides in whose Parthian tribal lands Zarathushtrianism seems to have continued without interruption. It became the State religion in the Persian empire through the instrumentality of the Sasanids who radically reformed and organized it. But the history of this renaissance does not belong to our research.

CONCLUSION.

The preceding investigations have brought us to the conclusion that there is only one Mazdaism, the Zarathushtrian; that therefore even there where the name of the reformer is not mentioned as in the inscriptions of the Achæmenides, the doctrine which *the latter* professed was no other than that which has been represented in the other, undoubtedly the oldest documents, as the one revealed to Zarathushtra and preached for the first time by him. That a naturalistic Mazda worship preceded Zarathushtrianism and that the latter was only a reform of the former is an assumption which does not commend itself to us as well grounded. It is possible and even not improbable that the Mazadayasnian—Zarathushtrian reformation originated in a gradual separation between the adorers of the Ahuras and Daevas in which the Ahura worship also remained naturalistic at least but partly ethical; but then with the announcement of the great Ahura Mazda the latter was elevated by Zarathushtra to the position of a genuinely ethical religion,—apart from the consideration whether Zarathushtra is the name of a person or a community. *It was then that* this severance between Ahuras and Daevas became absolute. There was to be a decided choice and unconditional abjuration of the Daevas. From this time forward the question seems to have been only to which of the two was due the greater respect—a question which still is echoed in the Vedas and is there answered finally in the opposite sense. Perhaps a vestige of this early period exhibits itself in the close union between Ahura and Mithra which is parallel to the internal unification of the Vedic Mithra with Varuna, the Asura par excellence. The Mazdaism where we still encounter him, however modified he may have been and mixed with howsoever originally foreign elements is consequently derived in the last instance from the ethico-religious, reform which bears the name of Zarathushtra.

This does not preclude that it was not throughout uniform. We have learnt to know it in three shapes. First in that which is represented

by the Gathas and the fragments composed in the Gatha dialect,—a shape which appears to us to be the oldest and the purest and which it is extremely probable took rise in a country other than that in which originated the writings of the younger Avesta. The doctrine which had finally crystallized at this earliest epoch on the basis of the preachings of the reformer, after it had already suffered sundry modifications, we are best able to study in the Mazdayasnian Confession of Faith. The faithful there professes himself to be a worshipper of Mazda to be an adherent of Zarathushtra and an enemy of the Daevas, and on the other hand an Ahuratkaesha which naturally is not to be interpreted as the follower of the law of Ahura Mazda inasmuch as it was already included in the worshipper of Mazda but only generally as "Ahura worshipper" as contra-distinguished from an adorer of the Daevas. It makes mention of no divine beings except the Amesha Spentas and particularly one of them, Spenta Armaiti, alongside of Ahura Mazda. The rest of the confession embodies only the abjuration of the Daevas and a vow of fidelity to the Zarathushtrian tradition.

The form of Mazda worship which the younger Avesta teaches us rests on the same foundation but the theology of the Gathas bordering on a monotheism is greatly weakened by an accession to the number of beings to whom homage is due who to some extent have been adopted from the deities of an earlier polytheism, and by the introduction of dualism in the sphere of the supreme Godhead.

Besides a new element was brought into the cult, the worship of Homa. For the rest the bases of the old confession were so far left unaltered when Ahura Mazda was adored before all and the opposition to the Daevas grew more vehement; only Zarathushtra came to be not only revered but well-nigh defied.

The two forms of Mazdaism above mentioned are the creation of sages and priests. They are ideals and theories to which we do know how far practice corresponded. But they to a certain measure must have prevailed probably in different regions. The religion of the Persians and Medes under the Achsemenides exhibits us Mazdaism in practical life. In its essentials the doctrine is the same as in the other forms, at the very least the principles are entirely identical; but their application to actual practice is conditioned by all manner of circumstances,—the continuation of older usages, institutions, cults, superstitious ideas, and by human passions.

Thus we have three descriptions of Zarathushtrism near akin to each other sprung from the same root still different. They are differentiated from one another before all in two respects; in the general names for the higher powers and in the designation of the priesthood. This noteworthy difference has up to now been not considered or is paid too little attention to. The higher powers of the Gathic period are apart from the souls, the Fravashis, and similar existences, exclusively the Amesha Spentas among whom Ahura Mazda is the foremost, being the creator or father of the rest. In actuality he is the only God, the only Ahura, the Daevas are assigned the region of darkness. The terms Baga and Yazata as applied to gods are not unknown to the Gatha writers but they are no longer in ordinary use among them as general designation for the heavenly beings. As regard the priesthood, they know neither the Atharvans nor the Magians, unless we find in the Magavans, the possessors of Maga, the prototype of the later Magush. They speak of a Zaoatar, of a Mathran, a prophet possessing a certain supernatural power. These are names well-known from earlier times but themselves they call Saoshyants or saviour-prophets.

That variety of Mazda worship the sources of which are embodied in the younger Avesta has made of the Amesha Spentas a class of superior gods and has subordinated to them the lesser powers of heaven which are balled by an old name of a more or less neutral character, namely, Yazatas, that is to say, beings whom men revere and sacrifice to but who are not exactly gods. The authors of the younger Avesta are acquainted with the name Bagha; but it only occurs in compounds as the designation of a diety. In very late fragments especially in the Yashts which betray Persian Influence. They never employ the term Magush for a priest; wherever it occurs it connotes something else. Their priests are exclusively denominated Atharvans or fire-priests and in an appendix to a Gathic writing, the Yasna of the Seven Chapters, it is said that they "came from afar." Zarathushtra or Zarathushtroterna is a title which is sometimes accorded to ecclesiastics possibly among all Zarathushtrians but it was never used as an appellation.

Finally we come to the Medo-Persian variety. Here the gods are Baghas and this name with the epithet Vazraka is even applied to Ahramazda. As the name of a particular god, Bagha occurs likewise in the Veda and has been consequently an old designation. The priests are Magians and the latter term probably reached the Persians with the new

creed from the Medes but it was in common use positively among the Achsemenides.

This divergence in the names of the deities and priests refers to a difference in the religious order. Thus the three varieties are in reality three sects of Zarathushtrian Mazdaism, of varying antiquity and originally different as regards the regions where they prevailed. That the last named variety sprang from Medo-Persia is established. There is every reason for surmising that the younger Avesta variety is to be sought in the Eastern, more particularly in the South-eastern parts of Iran. A variety of Zarathushtrism which allowed such a prominent place to Homaworship could not have originated far from the Harakhvaiti, the replica of the Indian Sarasvati. Moreover the term Atharvan, to designate a priest which was unknown or at least unutilized in the rest of Iran, and the name of existences to whom worship was accorded, namely, the Yazatas, (Sanskrit Yajata), point to relationship with India or at least incline us to think of Iranian tribes in the vicinity of the Indus.

For the most ancient variety therefore, the Gathic variety, there remains only the North, possibly the North-west of Iran, where we saw ourselves compelled before this, on other grounds, to look for the origin of the Mazdayasnian reformation.

Lastly the three varieties prevail simultaneously. The Atharvans who came from afar propagated their doctrine and their cult in territories where till then the dominant religious tone was that of the Gathas. In the age of Strabo no difference was made between the Magians And Atharvans but the first named held the field; even to-day the mobed is equivalent to Magupat the chief of the Magians, the highest ecclesiastical divinity. Long prior to this the Atharvans appear to have composed, or at least remodelled, some Yashts according to the Persian tastes. To the Gathas as the most ancient documents of the creed the highest sanctity is always accorded but even the younger writings attained to religious sanction and the collected fragments are the common holy writ for all.

THE ZARATHUSHTRIAN RELIGION ACCORDING TO THE YOUNGER AVESTA.

[From the German of Dr. Tiele by G. K. N.]

[It is highly improbable that finality shall ever be reached in our investigation of the Gathas. They bristle with problems and passages, like the sister scripture of the Vedas, whose elucidation supported by the deepest learning must remain probabilities at the highest. The younger or post-Gathic Avesta on the other hand is susceptible of much surer interpretation. And the certainty tends to intensify our interest. One prominent feature of the younger Avesta is its composite nature. Chronologically its component pieces stand decades perhaps centuries apart. But there is a number of self-contained wholes which have been invested with a specious appearance of unity by successive generations of redactors. This needs to be emphasised in view of the ignorant demand for treating the entire body of the Avesta as if it was the work of one author and saw the light in a single generation.

It is hoped that the following chapters by an acknowledged authority will appeal to those Parsis who while yielding to none in their veneration for the word of Zoroaster, decline to reduce it to the level of the views of theologians who endeavoured to reconcile a past unintelligible to them, to the exigencies of their present and who pretending to write in the Avesta speech constantly offended against its grammar.

In my translation of Dr. Tiele's views I have italicised the passages which have acquired quite a topical interest at the present. They may not contain much that is. absolutely new to Parsi scholars, but must interest the educated many who are not above accepting the results of the mere human science of philology and who honestly seek light in Asha.]

G. K. N.

By the Younger Avesta we mean the texts which have been handed down to us written in the Avesta language but which are not composed in the dialect of the Gathas and by consequence we mean not only the Vendidadj the Visparad and the non-Gathic chapter of the **Vasna** which belongs to the ritual, but also the Yashts, the Khordah-Avesta and the residue of the fragments of lost Nasks. We call it the "younger" because the Gathic texts obviously compose their basis, although the doctrine laid down in them deviates in many respects from the former.

GENERAL REMARKS.

The younger texts written in the Gathic dialect¹ testify to modifications in the doctrine of the Gathas but in the main principles they are true to the pristine revelation. A few mythological ideas have been joined on, stray usages which belonged to the older nature-worship like the veneration paid to water have been reintroduced as in no way conflicting with the spirit of Zarathushtrianism, and the general basic ideas have been developed; but these principles remain, tolerably unretrenched; in vogue, the doctrine is sober, the cultus, so far as we can judge/simple. The pronounced ethical character of the Mazda religion is not repudiated.

The younger Avesta carries us into altogether another world of thought. The essentials of the doctrine here too are the same. Of that which the Gathas preached nothing is rescinded, rather tolerably new matter is infused. Ahura Mazda is not less venerated than before and the remark applies equally to the personified conceptions which in the Gathas are denominated his children or creatures. Ordinarily they are limited to six and are called Amesha Spentas and these six are placed at the head of the divine world. But under them who have been strongly hypostatized and have become almost personal deities now stand an array of Yazatas, novel Zarathushtrian conceptions, the elder nature gods like the Sun and Moon, nay, even ancient Aryan Daevas of whom several in India pertained to the class of Devas like Mithra, Tishtrya, and various more. In the ancient doctrine, this had already taken place as witness Aramati and the adoration of fire and water which at least in the younger Gathic period was in the process of germination. But then in that period, people sought to invest whatever was retained of nature or popular religion preferably with a mysterious or at least an ethical significance. Now that no longer occurs because the ethical forms only a thin veneer and is occasionally totally discarded. As against the creator of all that is good, stands an obstinate opponent as the captain of the Daevas and Drujās, who is in his own realm uncontrolled ruler and though less powerful than the former, is capable of polluting and damning all the good creatures, while his final subjection shall take place only at the close of the world-period. Usages and regulations are introduced which even in the other prose texts are not once hinted at and the Haoma sacrifices have become most important just as among the Indian adorers of the Devas; with which process it is wholly in agreement that Haoma has now occupied a place of honour

among the Zarathushtrian Yazatas.' These are Only the first points of difference which strike the eye, but they are sufficient to exhibit that the Mazdayasnian religion has now entered upon a new period. Can we not prove here a dismal corruption in place of evolution? *Is there not a retrogressive step from an almost monotheistic to a polytheistic creed, to almost idolatry? Probably the older prophets would have considered it so.* Even now those who held fast to the traditional doctrine and Institutions found very suspicious these innovations brought in by "the Atharvans who come from afar"¹ and they felt that many would object to the re-adjustment. This is evidenced by the exertions made to demonstrate that the cultus of the gods metamorphosed into Zarathushtrian Yazatas was original and sanctioned equally by Zarathushtra and Ahura Mazda; it was perceived that a justification had become necessary. But though the orthodox adorers of Mazda were in the right and though they objected to what they saw take place—they equally saw that what took place was inevitable. New exalted religious ideas, purified austere idealistic cults, can be preserved in purity and veneration in circumscribed circles among sages and thinkers of higher culture, but those are incapable of further dissemination without losing some thing of their original purity and uniformity. The many, those of mediocre development, are no doubt disposed to assimilate a new gospel, but not at the cost of much that has been holy and endearing for centuries to their ancestors and such people see themselves constrained, when they adopt a new doctrine to the older beliefs a place in the new religious system or the new cultus. This was necessary in our case. Had the Zarathushtrian Mazda worship grown into a powerful religion out of a theosophical school or a narrow sect which seized hold of a popular life and was in a position to inspire the nations, amidst which it flourished to fulfil a world mission, then it could have taken this way. As it is, if it has forfeited its original simplicity and rigidity, it has on the other hand acquired influence over the people's hearts, preserved from perishing its national memories and traditions, and saved at least a portion of its national epic for posterity. No one can say with certainty where this new form of Zarathushtrianism took its rise. The language in which these documents are written, is not the old Persian and is probably also

(1) Yasna 4a, 6. It is the hymn which is attached as an appendix to the Yasna Seven of the Chapters and though written in the Gathic dialect exhibits a totally different spirit and is of much younger origin than the fragment of which it is an appendix, and is full of preposterous mythology. It is not as Darmesteter states "Dahste dialectevulgaire."

hot that of the Aryan Medes. It is identical with that of the Gathas—or rather a dialect, only a little different from it, probably the same speech at a later period, possibly simply an idiom belonging to another locality. There are grounds for supposing that the Gathic was spoken in North Iran and the other dialect more in the East, specially in the South-East. The important part which the latria of Haoma plays in these writings points to the territories marching on the confines of India, namely, the basin of the Harakhvaiti. The political and economical relations which are presumed in these books are in harmony with the stage of civilization which we can expect there. Whether all of them were composed there—written at least in their present form they were much later—is another question. It is very possible that some of them have originated with priestly schools which established themselves in West Iran, although it remains curious that the Magians, the authoritative priests of Medo-Persia are not mentioned even in this portion of the Avesta. The Yashts, for instance, appear for the most part to have been composed in Persia or Media and if they are not in the language of the country, they are at least in that tongue which was hallowed by the cultus. But the origin of the modifications in question which the Zarathushtrian doctrine experienced must be, it seems, sought for in Eastern Iran. These are not arbitrary assumptions but hypothesis which possess high degree of probability. Up-to-now data are wanting to heighten them into historic certainty.

We are not better instructed as to the time when these changes occurred, This much is certain: they took place before the break-up of the Achaemenide hegemony and probably must have commenced long before. The most ancient records of the Greeks indicate, that the system which we find in the younger Avesta was completed before they obtained knowledge of it, and it is certain that all the alterations were not introduced all of a sudden. I reckon the Haoma service as one of the earliest of the new elements. Of the others, many very likely were received in the West, in Media and Persia proper; e. g., the worship of Mithra, the warrior god whose name occurs from very remote times in Media, and who must have been a favourite with the martial Medes and Persians; meanwhile here too we must rest content only with a certain degree of probability.

The books and fragments of which the younger Avesta consists are not all of them of uniform antiquity, and are moreover worked upon again and interpolated. The latest sections of the Vendidad are the Chapters 3 to 18. It is however undoubtedly more ancient than the artificial complex ritual

of **the** Yasna and Visparad which were embodied in **the older Staota-Yasnya**. The Yashts which have been incorporated in this ritual like the great Hom-Yasht arose, one might guess, earlier than the bulk of the Yashts as we possess it to-day, although this latter contains extremely old fragments which perhaps belong to the pre-Zarathushtrian national literature. Again a few of these Yashts, like the second and the third, are much later than most of them. Nevertheless it would not be possible to depict the continuous development of the religion of which the younger Avesta bears witness. We must take it as a whole without making an endeavour to draw a sharp dividing line between the older and younger. Only in cases of a number of peculiarities where the difference is palpable, we shall indicate the divergence.

It must also be considered that this whole chapter contains the history of the religion in a much less quantity than the preceding one. Rather it contains the description of a religious and ritualistic system of religion and ethics, which were probably nowhere completely followed excepting a small circle of ecclesiastics and theologians. It is their ideal which is represented by these documents. When we put together in subsequest chapters all that is known to us of the Iranian religion at the time of the Achaemenides, we shall be able to demonstrate how far people had diverged from the prescription of the Atharvans. *It was only under the Sassanides that the Avesta, after it had been completed, several times redacted, and brought into harmony with the requirements of an absolute monarchy, came to be looked upon universally as a divine revelation and recognised by the State as the supreme Law,*

AHURA MAZDA IN THE YOUNGER AVESTA.

Ahura Mazda whose name is regularly written in this sequence and as two separate words, holds also in the Younger Avesta his place at the head of all the Yazatas, as the spirits of heaven are now called. He takes precedence in all the litanies and glorifications and the first day of the month is sacred to him. Even when probably towards the close of **the** Achaemenide rule, he was invited with Mithra into a dyad and the latter in a measure placed on an equality with him he is called the lord of the world, while Mithra is merely a lord of the country or the kingdom, Zarathushtra too is now a sort of subordinate king with whom Ahura must divide his sovereignty over mankind. If homage is done **to** him, as

the greatest of the Yazatas, he having subordinate to himself all the divine or spiritual Yazatas, as a direct consequence of it, Zarathushtra is venerated with no less exalted epithets as the chief of the mundane Yazatas. Zarathushtra, therefore, is the Governor of the terrestrial economy—a natural sequence of the doctrine long since in existence, which made him the medium who first received the revelation at the beginning of creation from Ahura Mazda, and imparted it to mankind. And that he remains even now, the Deity encouraging him more and more to ask questions and being ever inclined to reply to the repeated interrogatories. Hence in theory Mazda remains the Supreme Being, but with the extensions which some cults, as that of the Haoma and later that of Mithra and of Anahita acquired, his adoration would appear in a measure to be thrown into the background.

Ahura Mazda retains his position as the creator of all things and he is now to all appearance as completely identified with Geush Tashan as before he was with Spenta Mainyu. It has been sought to trace Semitic influence in the order in which the several creations of Ahura Mazda are enumerated. In fact in one of the Yashts they are traced to six at least in so far as the material is concerned, the sequence being the heavens, water, earth, plants, the steer, from whom animals, and Gaya Marethan, from whom men have originated (at least according to the later doctrine). The Zoroastrian author naturally adds next the world of rectitude or Asha. This series at all events coincides with the Babylonian account of creation, though only as regards the last three with reference to the Hebrew genesis. But the Mazdayasnians possess no fixed system. They have rather attempted to be as complete as possible in the glorification of Mazda's pure creation. In the long hymn devoted to the creator in the 19th chapter of the Vendidad, earth and water lead the way followed by the holy tree and the sea Vourukasha in the midst of which this tree stands; then come the highest heaven, the boundless light and various paradises; and next, among other celestial and mythical beings like the fish Kara from which all the fish-kingdom has sprung, the Gathas enumerated as a special creation and the seven continents; strangely enough neither beast nor man nor the two protoplasms even being at all mentioned,

But before all, before heaven or earth or anything else was called into being, Mazda created the sacred prayer Ahuna Vairya which accordingly is instinct with such miraculous potency,—a potency which it lends to him who recites it honestly.

There are several different elements discernible in the conception of Ahura Mazda as presented by the younger Avesta popular and mythological, then poetical, imaginative and theological speculations. The last may be surmised to be of the latest origin, though we cannot be quite certain about it. That delineation is popular—and it is in any way old, being found already in the Gathas—which represents the Deity as being in the Garonmana heaven. There the spirits of heaven occupy thrones of gold around him, Nairyō Sangha the spirit of fire is near him, and as the pious dead approach, Vohumano leaving his seat goes out to receive them. It is the imagery of poetry which depicts Ahura Mazda as also Mithra, Rashnu and Spenta Armaiti clad with the heavens as with a garment bespangled with stars which is woven out of an immaterial substance and the ends of which are invisible; a use of figurative language which perhaps gave occasion to Herodotus' incorrect information that the Persians adored the vault of heaven as God himself. On the other hand that presentment is sheer theology, according to which he is the creator in boundless time, is infallible in reason and infallible in omniscience, that is, ever watchful and vigilant and as contrasted with the abhorred Daevas drunk with Soma. And in the beginning of the Yasna the entire doctrine about the Supreme is summarised as follows: "I invoke and speak to the creator Ahura Mazda, the brilliant one, full of glory, the greatest, the best, the most beautiful, the strongest, the most intelligent, the one with charming person, the head of the righteous, the much knowing, the everlasting, dispenser of choice gifts, who has fashioned us, and nourishes us, and who is the most beneficent of spirits." As one can see, a remarkably pure ethical conception for those times and among these people. For, that there is no question of a younger dogma sprung under the influence of accidental speculation, but that it is uniform and arisen from the floruit of the ancient Persian empire, is evident from the fact that not only later Greek writers like Dio Chrysostom or Plutarch, but also Xenophon knew this God of the Persians, and all describe him as the creator of good things, the supporter and regent of the world, just the God of whom the Achaemenide inscriptions likewise teach us.

But poetical loftiness and ethical sublimity are not understood by all. He who expects to find the purest Zarathushtrian tenets concerning God in the sacrificial hymn named after, and especially sacred to, Ahura Mazda, will find himself deceived. Here we meet principally with a string of honorific epithets which are applied to the creator and put together in

the conviction expressed at the commencement of the hymn, that in these names reside a miraculous power and that he who knows this, is a master of irresistible puissance against all the genii of the kingdom of darkness. And obviously petty triviality answer to the prevailing tendency: more hands than one are clearly discernible in this Yasht. The original author who could still write very well in the language of the Avesta contented himself probably with fine well-known epithets-protector and creator (*Payushcha Datacha*) supporter and knower (*Thratacha Zhnatacha*) and the most beneficent spirit (*Mainyu Spenishta*), but another who could not write correctly the sacred language suggested some 20 more which he evidently could not collect together without a degree of straining. A third still less experienced in the language, though a diligent interpolator, managed to heap together some 54.—a deplorable circumstance witnessing the fact that the true spirit had vanished.

Yet comparatively speaking this was but harmless theological pastime. It is much worse when in the Yashts, the authority of Ahura Mazda is employed to vindicate the introduction of a few old Iranian gods as good Zarathushtrian Yazatas and to recommend their service as orthodox, for Ahura Mazda himself was drawn down to the plane of humanity, so far as to represent him along with Zarathushtra as the first to make sacrifices in Airyanem Vaejo, the primitive land of the Aryan, to such pre-Zarathushtrian beings.

THE PRIESTHOOD IN AVESTA,

(From the German of Dr, Tiele.)

The Avesta probably because it is a work belonging to the priesthood teaches us little concerning the spiritual hierarchy, its ranks, and its rites except only that like its brothers of all times and zones it laid claim to the first position in State and Society and vindicated its exclusive right to perform sacred operations. The sacerdotal chiefs called themselves not Magians as the priesthood is denominated according to the reports of the Greeks and the inscriptions of the Achaemenides but Atharvans or Fire-priests, an old name which has fallen into disuse among the Indians but which could not have been unknown to them since it survives in the mythical Head-priest after whom is designated the Atharvaveda. But whether these Fire-priests were all born ecclesiastics, a so-called tribe like that of the magians and of the later Parsi Priesthood, or whether the laity also after receiving instructions could receive the order, this is not indicated by the sacred texts. Yet there is such a clear and regular difference between the clerics and the lay, that we might assume the former. The Avesta teaches us equally nothing whether within the hierarchy there obtained gradations which were differentiated by a greater or less amount of asceticism such as is ascribed to the Magians; at any rate the Avesta priests felt an evident repugnance to all asceticism. But several times we have the mention of *the* or of *a* Zarathushtrotema or the most Zarathushtrian, superlative of Zarathushtra, whom every one of the faithful bears witness to in his profession of faith. This must indicate a higher ecclesiastical grade but it might equally point to simply an Atharvan as distinguished from a layman. The few priestly classes still in existence and mentioned in the Avesta includes Herbad or Aethrapaiti, the master of the doctrine, the instructing priest. The way in which he is spoken of does not admit of our thinking of him as belonging to the lowest rank which he in our days occupies. He was the bearer of tradition and for the greatest part of the day, the Aethrya or disciple had to take lessons from him "in order to increase in knowledge and holiness, till he knows all the words which have been said by the earlier Aethrapaitis,"

Out of a couple of passages it has been sought **to infer that by** the side of Atharvans who led a settled life, there also existed a nomadic priesthood mendicant dervishes who were designated "the Atharvans who came from far," who were companions of the same tribe, partly foreigners, but lawfully organised or at least in possession of sufficiency of knowledge. It is true that traditional interpretation regards these men as priestly, but it is not the less true also that the words have not yet been elucidated with sufficient certainty. We would do better not to build too much upon them. The expressions are obscure and the subject is much the same.

From one passage which has already been cited it has been attempted to conclude that the doctrine was to be kept a secret. But in the first place this passage stands by itself, and lends but a slender support for such a momentous conclusion. In the second place what is spoken of is "this manthra" a particular one and not the doctrine as a whole, and finally this would contradict the prevailing idea of the Avesta which permits the truth announced by Ahura Mazda not only to Zarathushtra, but also to Vishtaspa and Frashaoshtra to be revealed equally to all, and which demands from the genuinely pious man that not only he think, speak, and act righteously, but also that he be of good doctrine which is the basis of the former commandment. The only thing that we can assume is that what served especially to guide future priests was treated as a sort of an official secret, for we shall presently see how zealous the spiritual lords were about the exercise of their priestly functions. Varieties of priestly functions the Avesta does know. It knows of a division of the functions at the sacrifice among eight priests of whom the first in rank was the Zaothar, the reciting priest, the Hotar of the Indians. The others are his assistants:—the Havanan expresses the Haoma, the Atharevakhsha maintains the fire and washes three sides of the altar, the Frabaratar washes the fourth side and brings to the Zaothar the sacrificial materials, the Asnatore washes and filters the Haoma, the Rathwishkare mixes it with milk, the Aberet bears the water, and the Sraoshavarez finally superintends the entire operation like the Brahmins in India. It has already excited attention that not only the names of the High-priests in India and Iran are identical, but also that his assistants although they bear different names in these two different nations, mostly perform the same functions. Oldenberg points to two important differences, firstly that the chanter is wanting among the Iranians, who however is not mentioned in the oldest Vedic lists, and secondly that the sacred number *J* of the

Indians is number 8 among the Iranians. This leads him to the result which seems to me to be highly probable that in the oldest times the Hotar-Zaotar, the invoker, the priest who said the prayers alone conducted the entire sacrificial service, which was probably very little developed and that the augmentation of the personnel first by two and then by 7 and 8 officiating priests among both nations took place independently after each had gone its own separate way. This applies also to the differences which we shall notice in the Soma-Haoma. When since the end 9th century of our era, the Iranians found themselves compelled to reduce the 8 officers to two, the Zot and the Raspi, of whom the latter took upon himself all the duties of the six helpers and replied to the Zot, this was a sign of decay, but also an unconscious return to the earlier simpler conditions.

Encroachment upon their privileges, the Atharvans did not tolerate. It was natural in enumerating the ranks, they placed theirs foremost, although this could not have answered to the actual facts. The Brahmins did likewise and this was harmless self-satisfaction. But he who came forward as priest without adequate preparation merited mutilation or beheading, or both, penalties which as a rule could not have been executed. It was an abomination for the people to see a person with the Paitidana, the prayer veil, before the mouth, in the hand the Khrafstraghna, the instrument where with to kill Ahrimanic creatures, or the sacred branch, the Astra of Sraoshavarez, to see him greeted as priest by the fatuous multitude, although they knew that he was not "girdled with the doctrine," that he slept through his nights and did not think of the offerings or of reciting the holy texts or of learning or teaching them, as became a true priest. Such an one did not deserve the name of priest. But worse still is he who brought up in a false doctrine long delays to put on the sacred girdle, to chant the Gathas, and to bring the sacrifice, he is worthy of a severe punishment the nature of which has escaped our knowledge. It is certain however, that no one would have anything of the blessings of such a priest. When such an one is conducted to a sacrifice, his utterance does not go beyond his lips; two of his utterances do not go beyond the tongue, three are nothing, but when four are pronounced, they turn themselves into a curse. To entrust such a heretic with Haoma and Myazda is tantamount to a hostile act committed against Mazdayasnian villages.

Not less stringent is the Avesta against Magicians and Wizards and Zandas and Yatus which last are not only evil genii connected with the

Pairikas, but also human beings. Some would find these Yatus and Zandas, the priests of Ahriman, a descriptive of devil-worshippers like the modern Yezidis. Nothing could be less probable. Amongst them there were, it may be priests of the old popular religion, Daevayasnans; but the idea does not cover them only. They are the free adepts of magic who pretended to a possession of supernatural powers, and to the exercise of potency over the spiritual world, so that at least the common people met them with greater confidence, hence their most formidable rivalry to the orthodox priests. This is not the place to attack the important but difficult problem of the relation subsisting between magic and religion. But that the latter in the course of its development has borrowed much from the former, or as I would rather say, has involuntarily assimilated much of it, is demonstrated by the history and analysis of all religions especially those of antiquity. They have always fought with magic, without ever being able to destroy it. For a religion like that of Zarathushtra, one of the causes of its repugnance to it was undoubtedly the circumstance, that magic was mostly connected with obscene* and wicked practices.

In a certain sense physicians were the co-adjutors of the priests. Probably at first they practised the medical art themselves. But in Western Asia, Egypt and also in Greece, people had long left behind, this primitive condition and since Iran stood in active intercourse with the rest of the world, the old state of affairs here too did no longer hold good. The priests therefore sought to subject the art and the exponents of it to certain limitations. A physician or a surgeon could not practice his art on one of the faithfuls, until he had treated successful three of the unbelievers, *experimentum in cor pore vili*. His fees were to be paid in accordance with the requisition and means of the patient. He had to be satisfied in case of an Atharvan with his blessings, a practice which was ridiculed by none at the time. Only it is surprising to us, that an Atharvan had to consult a physician, although he himself was the master of the sacred world, the Manthra Spenta, which had in it the potency, the strongest of all to cure these evils. The kings had not much faith in them, however, for we know that Darius had Egyptian physicians and Artaxerxes Mnemon had a renowned Greek doctor. The Atharvans could not tolerate this. A patient had in the first place to make an attempt to get a cure from a native medicine-man, if he would not be publicly punished.

If the Manthra Spenta is the best curative means, it is, as has been evident more than once from the myths, the mightiest weapon in battle against all the powers of darkness and devilry. Against this power of the world, neither lie, nor calumny, neither heresy, nor dissension can stand. The Ahunavairya prayer surpasses all the holy texts. Although as we saw it is only a fragment of a lost Gatha, it is the equivalent when recited completely in all its parts of a hundred Gathas uttered in accordance with the prescribed method. Even when recited fragmentarily, it is ten times as valuable as a whole Gatha. He who repeats to himself only a portion of this prayer, recites it half aloud and chants it at a sacrifice, is enabled to cross three times the Chinvat bridge. If every one would know and use it, death itself would cease. A little less, but always with great emphasis, the virtue of other prayers especially, the Airyema ishyo is glorified. If they are, as we shall presently see, exalted above the Gathas, still very high value is conceded to the latter. Not only must they be learned with solicitude and love, taught, studied, repeated and recited at sacrifices, this goes without saying when we are treating of the oldest doctrines of the Zarathushtrian creed, which made the first call to reform, but they were considered as powerful helpers and protectors, were personified as divine beings, to whom the pious dedicated his person, and his body, bones and life spirit, intelligent soul, and Fravashi, in a word everything. As the kernal of the Staota yesnya, and not essentially different from it. They are Ratu Khshathrao sovereigns of holy times and masters, the pre-eminent in the cult, the spiritual aliment for the soul and food of divine recompense. From this to the dogma that they are creations of the first world and would finally be co-sharers in bringing about the renovation of the world, there is but one step. And what is here laid down with reference to the ancient texts came in course of time to be extended with no less extravagance to the younger writings. Then arises a formalism and idolatry of the letter, such as we find for instance in the schools of the Atharvaveda, and which grew in proportion as the right understanding of the ancient documents declined. How little they were comprehended, is evidenced, for instance, by the commentary to these sacred prayers referred to above, which explains nothing and merely embodies theological trivialities. It is only in solitary places, that we are pleasingly touched by expressions such as that a prayer has its efficacy only when it is said with the inner conviction. But such utterances are scarce.

Meanwhile the dogma of the divinity of the sacred scriptures lent its great authority to the Atharvans. They alone knew them. They and none but they were the masters of the creative, demon-annihilating word; they only were the interpreters of the divine revelation whose glory was their own.

PARSI SCHOLARSHIP.

Need of the Cama Spirit.

Parsi Scholarship, which has now undoubtedly reached a stage which the West cannot afford to despise, was given both its vigorous impetus and subsequent courageous support by the late Mr. K. R. Cama. These Parsi investigations have so far pursued a course which, with scarcely any exception, has sought more after the glorification of our ancestors than the discovery of the actual. There was a high civilization among the ancient Persians, much that was worthy of imitation and more which distinguished them from contemporary nationalities. They, nevertheless, had their shortcomings, grave as they appeared to the alien nations of their time, and serious as they may yet appear to eyes accustomed to examine facts without the medium of glasses provided by pre-conceived or traditional hypothesis. It is not a fact that our ancestors were not themselves cognizant of their grave deficiencies. There are amongst us still personalities of the sacerdotal class who have the requisite courage to unfold a page of our past which redounds to little credit to us as a community of intellectual enlightenment,

I do not know how many instances will suffice to convince the astonished reader of this generation, but it seems to me that if a Sheriarji Bharucha had been or a Meherjibhai Madan were now asked to set out a telling example, they would probably enumerate the obstacles that were placed by the orthodox in the way of publication and translation of the Vendidad into the vernacular or English. So painfully conscious were they of the irreconcilable nature of the tenets embodied in this religious work with our modern notions of hygiene, civilization, and moral law that most strenuous attempts were made, and special representations were drawn up and deputations despatched from Surat to Bombay by turns to beseech, request, intimidate and cajole the heads of the community so that **the** hidden lore of Zoroaster may not see the **light of day and the Vendidad** remain a sealed book.

We have advanced much beyond that stage of tremulous barbarism. However, the requisite frame of mind totally purged of pre-possession and prepared to discuss without agitation the probability of the truth, for example, of Anquetil's account when he boasts of having entered the Holy of Holies in the Fire-Temple of the Parsis at Surat; or to contemplate with equanimity the suggestion that the ancestors of the Parsis may have first landed in India, not entirely owing persecution and "for the sake of religion dearer than life."—this unfortunately, has not been vouchsafed to us. Nevertheless, I feel incumbent on me to state my own sentiments on this aspect of Parsi research with unequivocal candour. I would much rather have vehement controversies rage round capital problems than that there should be a sullen or apathetic silence over them. Violent differences and controversies, however disagreeable they may be, are a symptom of vitality and life—indifference or lazy acquiescence in dogmata or the *ipse dixit* of the ancients is a premonitory symptom of approaching dissolution. Perfect harmony, absolute reconciliation, unreserved unanimity are to be found only in the grave. And I would prefer to see lively polemics, even mordant and passionate, to tranquillity which is a synonym of cessation of intellectual functions and a discontinuance of interest in subjects which do not immediately guarantee a heavy dividend. That, however, scholarship and business are not incompatible was demonstrated by Mr. Cama. Himself the manager of cotton mills he consecrated his treasure to hard philological studies and correspondence with his peers in the West*. He valued and advocated liberal payment for original research.

There are two counts in the indictment framed against the Parsi students of our day by a public that would shirk its responsibility of supporting them. We are perpetually pointed to the action of the West and told that despite the learning of two generations Parsis have produced no Harlez or Mills, Bartholomae or Geldner. And, secondly, it is laid to their charge that Parsi savants are not prepared to part with their knowledge except on extravagant terms. I will take the second count first. I believe it has been most aptly answered by a famous scholar in another field. Professor Rhys Davis, the acknowledged doyen of Buddhist scholarship amongst the English-speaking nations, in inviting scholars to co-operate with him in the edition of his Pali Text Society's books lamented twenty years ago, in effect, that whereas no man in affluent circumstances and in the full possession of his mental faculties would think of calling any physician to examine his sick child without his fee, or consult a lawyer on his last will and testament without promising him due remunera-

tion or asking an architect to draw up a plan for the mansion he contemplated to build without the offer of due emoluments, there were people, fortunately far fewer in Europe than in India, who though rolling, in wealth considered it civil extortion and an advantage taken of their good nature if a scholar approached them with the request that the learned fraternity be adequately rewarded for a piece of conscientiously accomplished research.

In some mysterious way men who would like the Avesta expounded, Sasanian history unfolded, the Musalman period of Parsi domination elucidated, the Pahlavi texts scientifically translated the ritual and observances explained in the light of comparative religions; who would have monographs on the condition of Parsis in pre-British India, on the historical relations between Persia and India, on the real causes of the disappearance of sacred books; who would be interested in vivid picture of life in Zoroastrian Persia, episodes in the Shahname commented upon in view of our modern beliefs; who would in a word love to behold the old Parsis live again, hesitate to take the only measure which will ensure success—liberal appreciation of the maxim that the labourer is worthy of his hire and that an intellectual labourer should be no exception to the rule.

It gives me very great pleasure too, to refute the first accusation. It would be an affectation to pretend that I am not fairly acquainted with the results of the researches in Zoroastrianism in the West, and I hope my Parsi friends have kept me in touch with their activities likewise. It strikes me that latterly the young Parsi scholars have fully sustained the reputation of the Parsis in matters intellectual generally. For the ordinary students the texts published, the translations placed before the public, the annotations and commentaries and the prize essays are a sufficient testimony to the energy displayed by our young students. But as a specific example of first class research, I think I can do worse than lay my finger on the brief paper contributed to the latest journal of the *Iranian Association* by a scholar with whom I fear I have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance. It is my humble opinion that the paper contributed to the conjectural emendations in some of our Pazend texts by Mr. Khurshedji Erachji Pavri entitles him to rank among the foremost Avesta exegetes of our day. Speaking from memory, I find it hard to recollect a like piece of original research by any scholar within the last five years. The Parsi public may rest assured that the ingenious critical

suggestions made by Mr. Pavri only if they had emanated from a Westerner would have earned him what is known as "European reputation." And I repeat I can indulge conscientiously in whole-hearted appreciation of the erudition of this scholar—and the like of him I expect we have struggling in obscurity sacrificing studies to a wrangle with a landlord—because not knowing them I have neither to fear to lose or to hope to gain anything from them. I submit to the community that with workers of this calibre, and I rest content with mentioning only one who is not a solitary exception, we should not despair of prosecuting our studies and throwing light on our past with our own independent efforts.

I should, however, regret it if these observations were construed to imply that we have done with co-operation, or rather positive guidance and teaching from European and American scholars. Nevertheless, it seems patent that with the training that we have acquired at their hands we are now in a position to stand by ourselves and to start attacking problems which the last generation dreaded to approach except with a heavy lean on Western shoulders. Moreover, I fear that our uncritical reliance on Western teachers and confreres and helpless dependence on them has operated prejudicially to the interests of research. I think it was about twenty years ago that a remuneration which was considered handsome at the time, but which I fear would be held scarcely adequate now, was offered to an authority of renown to write a life of Zoroaster. That undertaking has not yet been achieved. I for one should not be astonished or scandalized if the scholar has made up his mind to take up the task when its turn comes in a series of graded engagements—graded according to expected emoluments. There is no doubt that during these twenty years a Parsi scholar would have provided a sufficiently critical life of the Prophet—only, in certain eyes it would have lacked the imprimatur of authority. It would have been a production of a non-European a circumstance sufficient to discount it in the estimation of gentlemen whose commercial instincts have probably made them suspicious of the indigenous products.

Meanwhile, despite the great war which has considerably hindered, but has not altogether arrested, the progress of science in America, we have begun to receive works which were prepared in the duration. Speaking of the life of Zoroaster there has recently reached India work from one who is held an authority which demands our attention. I have already stated that the day has gone by when Parsis used to go into hysterics

If it was suggested that monogamy was not prescribed in the Zoroastrian Scriptures or that their ancestors were not originators or possessors in monopoly of certain virtues. But while on the one hand it is fair that we should examine with tolerance the stories and suggestions that are placed before us regarding the absence of toleration by early Islam, that while we scrutinize with the cold eye of placid scholarship suggestions touching the primitive method of our disposal of the dead, it lies on us to carefully investigate not only the extant Avesta but the entire body of our semi-sacred literature to see if we may not rebut allegations like the one which Dr. Hopkins makes in the book in question. I may premise that I am as a result of my own studies quite prepared to be told that religious persecution originated with Persia, because much as we should like to believe the contrary, it remains a fact which is not belied by the acts—whatever their professions—of our generation, that despite the pristine teachings of the prophet the Parsi clergy were an intolerant tribe. It is possible that gentlemen who have a fine appreciation of the fluctuations in the share market will consider my estimate as extravagant or possibly extortionate, but it is my honest conviction that the scholar who refutes, not with the fervour of odium theologicum and indignant gestures, but with the dry light of reason and profundity of scholarship the following obiter dictum of Dr. Hopkins, deserves a remuneration more substantial than the aggregate amount that has, for instance, been deservedly handed over to two generations of Dasturs for the preparation of an unfinished section of the Dinkard. Hopkins says:—

" In his (Zoroaster's) devotion to the Spirit he adores. In his assurance that this Spirit will lead him to victory, in his exultation over fallen foes, in his appeal to the sword and grim determination to extirpate unbelievers, he is a Mahomed of the Aryans, certainly the most heroic religious figure on the Aryan stage."

G. K. N.

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