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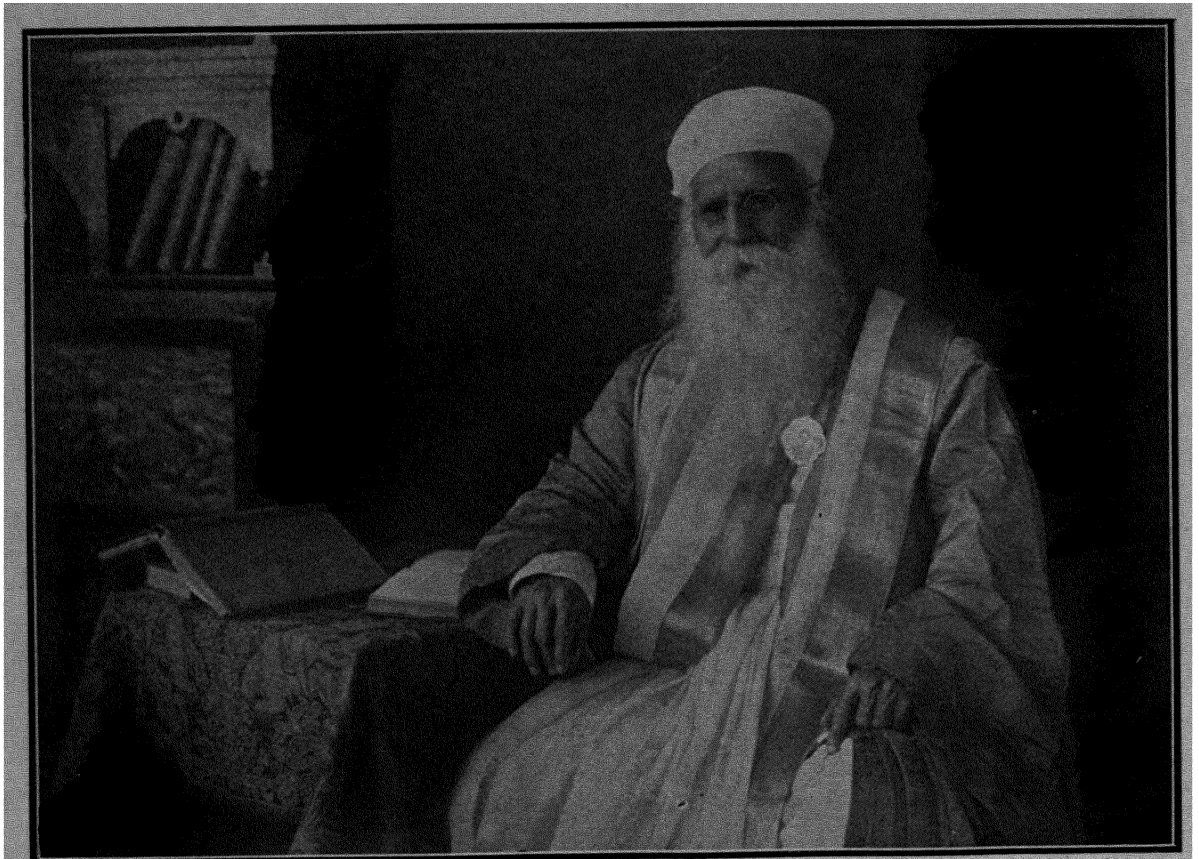
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THE

DASTUR HOSHANG MEMORIAL VOLUME



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

THE

DASTUR HOSHANG MEMORIAL VOLUME

BEING

PAPERS ON IRANIAN SUBJECTS

WRITTEN BY

VARIOUS SCHOLARS

IN HONOUR OF

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

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FOREWORD

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 It is to be regretted that owing to reasons which need not be mentioned the Volume remained unpublished for a long time and the Managing Committee of the Society take this opportunity publicly to express to the contributors their regret for the delay which has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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

23rd April 1918.

ADVANCEMENT OF RELIGION.

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

What is Advancement?

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

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

Etymology of "Religion".

Let us now see what the term "religion" means. We find that Cicero divided the word etymologically into *re* and *legere*. "to re-gather", and so defined it as "having a care or regard for the gods". Lactantius splitted up the word into *re* and *ligare*, so as to mean, "to bind or hold back". Religion thus implied, according to him, a link between mankind and the gods. Webster gives both these derivations, showing his preference for the latter. Skeat explains the derivation of the term as follows: "Allied to *religens*, fearing the gods; pious . . . . . *Religion* and *neglect* are from the same root LAG." Under the word "reck" he gives the Teutonic root *rak*, Aryan *rag*, which is a phonetic equivalent for LAG, given above, and which he takes to denote the idea of "to have a care, heed, reck". Prof. Max Müller, after discussing the two derivations, gives this verdict: "Cicero's etymology is, therefore, decidedly preferable as more in accordance with Latin idiom." [1] The word "*religio*" in Latin underwent various shades of meaning. It conveyed at first, the idea of *care, attention, rererence* and *awe*. It was then used to denote the moral sense of scruple and conscience and eventually it came to be applied exclusively to the *inward feeling of reverence* for the gods and to the *outward manifestation* of that reverence *in worship and sacrifice*. With some writers "*religio*" conveyed the same idea as the English word "faith". [2] If we turn to Sanskrit, we would seek in vain for a word which could correspond exactly to "religion" in sense. The word "*dharma*" from the root "*dhri*", to hold, conveys more the sense of law, binding us to one definite path. As Prof. Legge informs us, there seems to be no near equivalent of "religion" also in the Chinese language. Hence it would be futile to seek a definition of religion in these languages. In Arabic, according to Lane, the word "*din*" implies *obedience and*

[1] Natural Religion: p. 35. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

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

Etymological Definition of Religion in the Avesta.

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

Dogmatic Definitions of Religion.

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

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

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

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

[1] Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religions of India (1880) : p. 23.

[2] Natural Religion : p. 188.

[3] The study of Religions 171-172.

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

The Central Idea of Religion.

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

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

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

The Two-fold Aspect of Religion.

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

Ideas.

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

Acts.

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

Affinity Between Ideas and Acts.

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

Affinity Between Religion and Life.

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

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

Classification of Religions.

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

The Stage of Primitive Culture.

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

The Savage.

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

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

Fetichism, Animism etc.

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

Vocation-gods and Image-Worship.

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

Element-Worship etc.

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

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

Monotheism based on Abstract Conceptions.

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

Resume.

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

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

Zoroastrianism.

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

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

Zoroastrianism belongs to the Highest Scale of Religions.

Let us now turn to the question as to under what head in the classification of religions, the Zoroastrian religion would fall. Prof. Tiele says, "The religion of Zoroaster..... certainly belongs, in my opinion, to the ethical religions..... None of the characteristics of a spiritualistic-ethical-revelation-religion (which long phrase Prof. Tiele uses for what we call an ethical religion) are lacking here..... It is certain that, although he (Zoroaster) belongs to a legendary period and is extolled as a supernatural being, he constitutes a concrete summary, or the eponym, of a definite reformation effected by the promulgation of a new and systematic doctrine."[1] Now, if we turn to the classification of religions given by Prof. Tiele, we find that his scale of classification runs from the lowest nature-religions and ends with ethical religions. Thus he ranks Zoroastrianism among religions of the highest order.

A Monotheism based on Abstract Conceptions.

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

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

[1] Elements of the Science of Religion : Vol. I., p. 122. [2] Cf. Farvardin Yt. : §. 88.

present abstract conceptions of a significant type, and form highly ethical principles. The Gâthâs are replete with such notions. Appeals are made to these ideas, and as such they stand personified, though at the same time their abstract notion and ethical tinge is kept entirely in consonance with the context, and harmonises with the high level of thoughts expounded therein. When translated into practice, these ideas have the effect of elevating the character of man. The theoretical part thus conforms with the practical which consists in the enjoinment to act the religion in life, *i.e.*, to act in private life in accordance with the true spirit of the religion; and a complete union of religion and life is the consequence. The prophet's own view of the greatness of the religion he promulgated, is thus expressed : "The religion which is the best among existing things, which, based on purity, prospers my settlements, (and which) by means of words of righteous-thinking renders the actions pure."[1] This explains in a nutshell the bearing a religion has on the building of the character of its adherents; it teaches us how religious doctrines may best serve the practical aspect of the religion, and points out the close union that exists between religion and life. Elsewhere, the divine tenets are characterised as "best for mortals to hear"[2]; and again, "Whoso maintains his mind, O Mazda, in a better and purer (state), himself (upholds) the religion through (his) word and deed".[3] As we have said before, the mental calibre of a people formulates and gives colour to the religious sentiment, and the religion takes its form accordingly. This very notion is conveyed by the last quoted Gâthic verse. It is, in the first place, the mental calibre that enables a man to maintain the religion, and it is through action and speech in life that the religion receives its strength. Thus the three cardinal principles of good thought, good word and good deed, are brought into play for the maintenance of the religion.

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

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

the entire field of conduct by deductions from certain leading religious principles..... Zoroastrianism (is)..... characterised by the purpose to so extend the scope of religious influence as to make religion, instead of an incident in life, its controlling factor."[1]

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

Degeneracy in Religious Writings.

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

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

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1 The study of Religion : p. 114.

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

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

B. A. ENGINEER.

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[1] Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings and Religion of the Parsis : 3rd edition : p. 170.

PRIESTHOOD IN ISRAEL AND PRIESTHOOD AMONGST PARSIS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PESTONJI ARDESHIR WADIA.

A REVISED LIST OF THE KAIANIAN KINGS.

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

	Names found in the Avesta.	Names found in the Bundahishn.
1.	Kavi Kavâta.	Kai Kavât.
2.	,, Aipi-Vanghu.	,, Apîvêh.
3.	,, Usadhan.	,, Arsh.
4.	,, Arshan.	,, Vyârsh.
5.	,, Byarshan.	,, Pisân.
6.	,, Pisanangh.	,, Kâus.
7.	,, Syâvarshan.	,, Sîyâvakhsh.
8.	,, Husravangh.	,, Khûsrôb.

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

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

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

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

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

(1) Kai Kobâd
|
(2) Kai Apîveh.
|
(3) Kai Kâus — (4) Kai Arsh — (5) Kai Pisân — (6) Kai Vyarsh.
|
(7) Kai Sîâvakhsh
|
(8) Kai Khosru

(5) Kai Pisân
|
[Manus]
|
[Auzâv]
|
(9) Kai Lohrâsp
|
(10) Kai Gushtâsp.

PALANJI B. DESAI.

JAMSHID, MANJ AND NOAH.

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

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

I shall now narrate a short history of Manu. Regarding him the "Century Cyclopaedia of Names"[1] gives the following note:— "Manu, in Sanskrit, MAN, *man*, collectively, "mankind"; the Demiurge; one of a class of fourteen demiurgic beings each of whom presides over a *manvantara* internal, or period of a Manu. The first in order of these is called Swayambhu, the self-existent, identified with Brahma, who divided himself into two persons, male and female, whence was produced Viraj and from him the first Manu. This Manu Swayambhuva is a sort of secondary creator.

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

Jamshid and Manu.

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

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

[1] Vol. II., P. 483.

Brahmins and the studied degradation of the lowest class. The three first classes, though by no means equal, are yet admitted into one pale. They can partake in certain sacred rites to which particular importance is attached throughout the Code. The fourth class and the outcastes are no further considered than as they contribute to the advantage of the superior castes." [1]

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jamshid and Noah.

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

[1] *Ibid.* P. 508, 509.

1. Jamshid lived for 1000 years; Noah lived for 950 years.

2. Noah cultivated the earth; and so did Jamshid.

3. Noah was informed by God of the coming of a flood, and was advised to build an ark; Jamshid had the advice of Ahura Mazda to build a *vara*.

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

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

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

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

1 "Genesis", Chap. VI., 14, 16.
2 *Ibid.* Chap. VI., 18-21.
3 Bûndahishn, Chap. XVII., 5.
4 "Genesis". Chap. VIII., 15-17: 20

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

A. K. Vesavevala.

[1] Chap. XXXIV., 4.

THE TOWER OF BABEL.

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

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

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[1] "Genesis" XI. 4. [2] Herodotus, Bk. I.

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

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

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

[1] Atkinson's Shâh-Nâmeh (1886), p. 118.
[2] Sale's Koran, Ch. XXI., p. 245.
[3] "Genesis", XI. 4.
[4] *Ibid.*

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

A different version[1] of this story is given in another part of the Koran. It is stated that the Tower was built by Nimrod at Babel with the object of ascending to heaven for the purpose of waging a war with its inmates. This attempt was frustrated. Persisting, however, in his design, the Châldæan Emperor directed himself to be carried to the heavens in a chest borne by four monstrous birds. But this effort brought him to grief. The strength of the birds failed them on the way and Nimrod dropped down on a mountain from a gigantic height[2].

Josephus[3], the Jewish historian, says that the Tower was built with the object of affording a refuge and shelter to the people against another flood, should such a contingency ever arise again. The men of the time burned with resentment for the destruction of their fathers in the Deluge, and the Tower of Babel was an act directed for taking vengeance for that grievous wrong. Wide and level as were the plains of Babylon, devoid of all natural barriers, the inhabitants sought to build up a tower which should prevent their being scattered over the earth, and which should be able to hold them together in the event of an emergency like the one that had destroyed their predecessors some two thousand years after the creation.

There are some, however, who aver that in the structure of this Tower thereis nothing more than a plausible attempt to account for the diversity of languages as also for the dispersion of mankind on the different parts of the globe. Heeren accounts for the story relating to this Tower in the following words: "There is, perhaps, nowhere else to be found a narrative as venerable for its antiquity or so important in the history of civilization, in which we have at once preserved the traces of primeval international commerce, the first political associations and the first erection of secure and permanent dwellings."[4]

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 246.

2 *Ibid.* Ch XVI, pp 196-197.

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

4 "Antiquities", I. 4.

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

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

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

[1] Buckley: "Ancient Cities of the World", p. 13.

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

RUSTAMJI NASARVANJI MUNSHI.

EARLY EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS IN PERSIA.

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

account of his travels dated 1564. This was

ANTHONY JENKINSON

a servant of the Russia Merchants Adventurers of London. He sailed down the Volga, and in November 1561 appeared at Casbin (Qazvîn) before Shah Tahmâsp. Before entering Persia proper he halted at Schamakhi,[1] on the west of the Caspian, which was the capital of Shirwân, though now in Russian territory, and west of Baku. There he saw, he says, not far from the castle, "a nunnery of sumptuous building wherein was buried a king's daughter named Amalecka[2] Channa who slew herself with a knife for that her father, would have forced her — she professing chastity — to have married with a king of Tartary, upon which occasion the maidens of the country do resort there every year to lament her death." Evidently Jenkinson had in his thoughts the Bible verse, "It was a custom in Israel that the daughters of Israel went yearly to lament the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite four days in the year". It appears from Olearius, (p. 224 of the English translation) that another English traveller, John Cartwright[3] speaks of the country maidens visiting the tomb. But Olearius, who was at Schamakhi in 1637, and spent three months there, and saw the vault and the sepulchre of the princess, says that at the time of his visit the custom had become obsolete.

Jenkinson arrived at Casbin at an unlucky time[4]. Tahmâsp was no longer the active prince who had defeated the Uzbegs in 1528, or the generous-minded man who had sheltered Humâyûn. He

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

[2] Qu Umailah Khanim from ملك *maluk* "The beautiful lady"

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

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

had become a bigot, and he was also in great dread of the Turks with whom he had lately made a peace. It would seem, too, that he had been base enough to put to death his guest Bayâzîd, the son of Sultan Solyman, in order to conciliate the latter. The visit of Jenkinson was therefore very unwelcome to him for he was afraid it would embroil him with the Turk. So though Jenkinson brought with him a letter from Queen Elizabeth, Tahmâsp paid no regard to it, and rudely said that he had no need to have friendship with unbelievers. "So he willed me to depart, and I being glad thereof did reverence, and went my way with many of his gentlemen, and after me followed a man with a basanet (small basin) of sand, sifting all the way that had gone within the said Palace even from the Sophy's sight unto the court gate."[1] Jenkinson remained at Casbin till March 1562, but had no other interview with the Shah, though the latter so far relented as to send him a rich garment of cloth of gold. He also did not adopt the advice of his counsellors, which was to deliver up Jenkinson to the Turk.

The next traveller to be noticed is

PIETRO DELLA VALLE.

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

The next traveller is

JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER.

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

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

ed. He, too, like Chardin, had to quit France on account of his being a Protestant, and settled at Aubonne on the Lake of Geneva, where he built a tower after the model of one he had seen at Erivan. He was the most determined traveller of them all for he made six journeys into Persia and eventually when he was an old and worn out man he went off to Russia and died[1] at Smolensk in or about 1689. He himself tells us that at the age of 22 he had seen the finest parts of Europe, France, England, the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, Poland, Hungary, and Italy. His first journey was to England, when James VI (James I.) was then reigning. He served at the defence of Mantua against the Imperialists, and in a sortie, his life was only saved by the goodness of his cuirass, he having been struck twice with bullets which dented his armour. Near Glogau in Silesia he met in with the Colonel Butler[2] who afterwards took part in the assassination of Wallenstein in 1634. Tavernier speaks of having received much kindness from Butler and from his wife "who loved the French". It was in the end of 1630 that his travels to the East commenced by his journeying to Constantinople and thence to Ispahan. His second journey was in 1638. He went by Alexandretta (in Syria) and Asia Minor, and he mentions that on his way to Aleppo he saw the monastery of St. Simon Stylites, and the portion of his pillar that was still standing. This is a fact that must interest all readers of Gibbon and Tennyson. On his way to Ispahan Tavernier passed the singular rock of Yezdecast which has been an object of wonder to all who have seen it, from Tavernier and Chardin down to Lord Curzon and Mr. Crawshay-Williams. At that time it was famous for producing the best bread in Persia. Tavernier's third journey began in 1643. On this occasion he went by Mesopotamia and passed Mardin which he notes as having been the birth-place of Signora Maani Giorida, the first wife of Pietro Della Vallé. Della Vallé's second wife was also an Eastern lady being a Georgian. At Cousasar (Kotah Hisar ?) he saw a Bible in the Chaldaic language, written on vellum, and with the capital letters in blue and gold.

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

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

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

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

The next traveller in point of time is

ADAM OLEARIUS[2]

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

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

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

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

Olearius was a good scholar, and his account of Persia contains much that is interesting. Among other things, he tells of the Embassy's meeting a certain Prince or Mîrzâ Polagi whom he describes as being the son of Sultan Khusrau, the eldest son of Jahângir, and consequently, the nephew of Shah Jahân. This can be no other than the Bolakî or Dawar Bakhsh who was, for political purposes, made a mock-king by Nur-Jahân's brother, on the death of Jahângir. All the native authorities say that Bolakî was shortly afterwards put to death, but Olearius's story is very precise (see pp. 256-57 and 268). He states that Shah Jahân sent an ambassador to Persia for the express purpose of getting possession of his nephew's person. The king of Persia at that time was Shah Safî, the grandson of Âbbâs I. Neither Olearius, nor any other writer has much good to say of this king, and therefore one is glad to hear that he behaved well on this occasion, and "generously made answer that it was a breach of the laws of hospitality to deliver up a Prince who, out of assurance of his friendship had taken refuge in his kingdom". It is to be noted that Olearius's statement about Polagi, or Bolakî's presence in Persia is corroborated by Tavernier who says in his second volume that Bolakî made his escape, and long wandered in India as a faquir but eventually took refuge in Persia where he was magnificently received by Shâh Safî who granted him a pension. "He enjoys it now," adds Tavernier, "and I had an opportunity of speaking to him during my Persian travels, and I have eaten and drunken with him".[1]

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

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

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

Jean Thevenot.

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

Sir John Chardin.

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

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

Chardin, speaking of his own qualifications as a traveller, says with truth that he knew more Persian than any one of his predecessors who had written an account of the country, that he was more familiar with Ispahan than with London, though he had lived in the latter city for twenty six years, and that he spoke Persian as well as he spoke English, and almost as well as he spoke French. His second journey occupied as much time as his first, for he did not return till 1677.[1] His "Travels" occupy ten volumes, but the first deals with countries outside of Persia, and the seventh is an elaborate account of the Muhammadan religion. The second, third, ninth[2] and tenth are an account of his Travels in Persia. The fourth, fifth and sixth are a description of Persia and its people, and the eighth is a detailed description of Ispahan. It is a defect in Chardin's work that he is too detailed and prolix. The account of his troubles in Mingrelia (the ancient Colchis) in the first volume is wearisome, and the same may be said of the account of his squabbles with the Shah's Nazir about the value of his goods. The dis-

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

[2] This volume contains an elaborate account of the ruins of Persepolis.

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

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

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

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

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

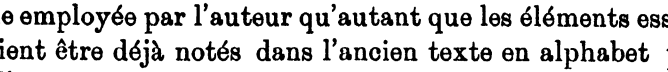
H. Beveridge.

UNE FAUSSE LECTURE DANS L' AVESTA.

La transcription de l' Avesta de l'ancien alphabet pehlvi dans l'alphabet plus compliqué avec lequel est écrit le texte conservé a donné lieu à un grand nombre de fautes de détail, on le sait. Et l'on ne peut jamais se tenir pour assuré qu'une forme transmise est bien celle employée par l'auteur qu'autant que les éléments essentiels en devaient être déjà notés dans l'ancien texte en alphabet pehlvi.

Si l'on applique ce principe aux formes de troisième personne du singulier du subjonctif actif, on voit que le choix entre 𐬯𐬀𐬰- et 𐬯𐬀𐬰𐬌𐬯- est douteux partout où le vers n'indique pas le nombre des sylla- bes. En effet une voyelle brève telle que *i* ne devait pas être notée dans l'ancienne graphie ; et la différence entre le *t* ordinaire 𐬙 et la forme spéciale 𐬚 n'était sûrement pas notée non plus.

Si donc on lit dans Yasna XI, 5 :—



il est évident que le transcripteur de l'alphabet pehlvi en alphabet avestique a mal transcrit ici :

1. Bien que les désinences primaires et les désinences secondaires soient admises, en avestique comme en sanskrit, à la 3e personne du singulier du subjonctif actif, il est peu croyable que l'auteur, juxtaposant trois subjonctifs, ait écrit 𐬯𐬀𐬰- deux fois et 𐬯𐬀𐬰𐬌𐬯- la troisième.

2. Le passage est métrique ; et, pour ramener le vers à sa longueur normale de huit syllabes, il faut lire 𐬯𐬀𐬰𐬎𐬯.

Reste à savoir pourquoi le transcripteur a écrit une fois 𐬯𐬀𐬰𐬌𐬯- et les deux autres 𐬯𐬀𐬰-. La raison est sans doute que 𐬯𐬀𐬰𐬎𐬯 se retrouvait ailleurs ; la forme se lit encore aujourd'hui du Yasna, LXV, 11, dans un passage où elle est garantie par le mètre. Et, chose remarquable, aussi bien dans Yasna XI, 5, que dans Yasna LXV, 11, des manuscrits inférieurs portent la variante 𐬯𐬀𐬰𐬎𐬯𐬌𐬯, sans doute sous l' influence de quelque autre passage (par exemple, Fr.W., 8, 1) où cette leçon était en effet justifiée. La préoccupation d'unifier le texte a dominé toute la transcription ; ici elle a

entraîné une transcription sûrement inexacte.

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

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

A. MEILLET.

(TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE.)

A FALSE READING IN THE AVESTA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A. Meillet.

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

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

Bendwa (=Illness).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VAÊPYÔ (=OFFSPRING).

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

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

Gao (= Earth, World, Country).

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

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

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

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

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

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

The other adjective of 'gãm,' *viz.*, 'rânyô-skeretîm' is a compound of 'rânya' and 'skereti,' the first part of which is from 'ran' or 'râ', which is another form of 'ram' or 'rap'=to rejoice or to please, and 'skereti' is from 'skere,' an extended form of 'kere' = 'to make, produce or cause.' Thus 'rânyô-skeretîm' means 'joy-producing or joy-giving.' The earth (gãm) is called 'joy-giving,' because it is full of things which give pleasure to man, *e.g*, its beautiful scenes, its tasteful products, and other things giving enjoyment to man's life. The application of this epithet "joy-giving" to the earth reminds us of the non-Gathic words "asô râmô-dâitîm" of Vend. 1,1 meaning 'the joy-giving land or place,' which words occur before mention is made of the different geographical divisions of the Iranian world.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(11) 'Gâus Khvâremnô' (32,8)=grabbing, or seizing, the land ;

(12) 'Vîspâis gavâ azî' (46,19) = all things of, or lying in, the vast world.

MANECKSHAW NAVROJI DASTUR.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Wordsworth sings:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BYRAMJEE HORMUSJEE.

THE SIXTEEN SANSKRIT SHLOKAS RECITED BEFORE KING JADI RANA.

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

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

– – – | – ∪ – | – ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪ ∪ | ∪ – – | ∪ – – | ∪ – –—

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

The Gujerati translation is that of one Ervad Jamshed Ervad Manekji Rustomji written in Samvat 1874. It is copied here because it gives the correct meaning of several difficult words, though it is neither accurate nor literal. The Sanskrit translation, or rather the commentary, is that of one Akâ Andhiâru. It has been transcribed by me from a Ms. written by one Dastur Jamshedji Jâmaspji Asâji Faredunji. Barring a number of clerical mistakes and a few inaccuracies and unintelligible expressions, this commentary is very important for correctly understanding the verses. An English translation of this Sanskrit redaction is appended thereto. I also add a few critical notes of my own.

I.

सूर्यं ध्यायंति ये वै हुतवहमनिलं भूमिमाकाशमाद्यं
तोयो संपंचतत्त्वं त्रिभुवनसदनं न्यासमंत्रैस्त्रिसंध्यं ।
श्री होर्मिज्दं सुरेशं बहुगुणगरिमाणं तमेवं कृपालुं
गौरा धीराः सुवीरा बहुबलनिलयास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation.—Who thrice a day think highly of (i.e., praise) the sun and the five elements (namely) fire, wind, earth, the primordial sky and water, by Nyâishna prayers, who believe in the existence of the three worlds, and who adore the very merciful Ahurmazd, the Lord of the Angels, and the Almighty due to many virtues;—those are we Parsis, noble-born, bold, valiant and very strong.

Drummond's Translation.—Who are they that thrice a day adore the sun and the elemental five (fire, ether, wind, earth and water), who exist in the three worlds, and who worship the divine Hormazd as the King of Angels, full of justice, power and mercy? They are we the fair, fearless, valiant and athletic Parsis.

Gujerati Translation.— સુર્યનું ધ્યાન ધરંચ. અગનિને માંનુચ. વાઇઉને માનુંચ. ભુમિને માનુંચ. આકાશને માનુંચ. જલને માનું. એવાં પાંચ તત્વનિ પ્રથમ માંનુ. ત્રિભૂવંને વીષે માંનુ. ન્યાસનુ મંત્ર દિવસમાંહિ ત્રિવાર સંધ્યા કરું. શ્રી હુર્મિજદ શર્વે અમશારપંદ ઇઅજદોનુ સ્વામિતિના ઘણું ગુણને માંનુ. તએાતં કૃપાનુ કરણાહર તિને માંનુ. તિણિ કરિ અમો ગોરા ઘણા ધીરા રૂડા વીર ઘણા બલવંત તેવા અમો પારસિ છૌ.

Commentary.—ये पुरुषाः न्यासमंत्रैस्त्रिसंध्याकाले त्रिभुवनसदनं त्रिभुवनगृहं सूर्यं ध्यायंति वै अथ चार्थः । न्यासमंत्रैस्त्रिसंध्यं हुतवहं अग्निदेवं तथा अनिलं वायुं तथा भूमिं पृथ्वीं आद्यं आकाशं तथा तोयः जलं संपंचतत्त्वं सम्यक्पंचतत्त्वं ये ध्यायंति । त्रिभुवनसदनं पंचतत्वस्यापि विशेषणं । श्री होर्मिज्दं श्री होर्मिज्दसंज्ञकं

सुरेशं देवेशं आहुः । किं लक्षणं श्री होर्मिज्दं बहुगुणगरिमाणं बहवो अनेके च ते गुणाश्च बहुगुणाः बहुगुणैः गरिमा गुरुत्वं यस्यासौ बहुगुणगरिमाणं चिदानंदरूपतलादनेकगुणयुक्तमित्यर्थः । तमेतं पुरोदृश्यमाणं सकलव्यापकमित्यर्थः । पुनः किं लक्षणं कृपालुं करुणायुक्तमित्यर्थः । एवं विधं श्री होर्मिज्दं ईश्वरं आहुः । ते वयं पारसीकाः । पारसीदेशे भवाः पारसीकाः । किं लक्षणाः पारसीकाः गौराः गौरवर्णाः धीराः सुवीराः सुतरां वीराः योद्धारः अतिप्रकाशितपराक्रमाः इत्यर्थः । दर्शितपराक्रमाः वीराः संभावितपराक्रमाः भटाः इति वचनात् । पुनः किं लक्षणाः बहुबलानां प्रचुरबलानां निलयाः आश्रयाः एवं विधाः ये ते वयमिति राज्ञा पृष्टे सति उक्तवंतः इति तात्पर्यं ।

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

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

II.

स्नाने ध्याने सुपाठे हुतवहहवने प्राशने प्रातरौत्रे
शास्त्रोक्तं सप्तधैनं निदधति नृवराः सर्वदा सर्वदा नः ।

नानाधूपैः सुपुष्पैर्वरफलबहुलैः पूजयंतीह धेनौ
गौरा धीराः सुवीरा बहुबलनिलयास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

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

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

Gujerati Translation.— સ્નાન કરતાં ધ્યાન ધ્રતાં રૂડું ભનતાં અગ્નિનું હવન કરતાં પરાલ કરતાં ભોજન જમતાં પેસાબ કરતાં બાહેરલી ભુમી જાતાં શાસત્રને અરથે સાતવાતની મૈાન અસત્રિનિ નરનિ તિનેભિ એ વાતની મુન. નાનાં પકારનાં ધુપ કરતાં રૂડિ ભાતનાં પુલે કરિ ઘણાં રૂડાં ફલે કરિ તિણે કરિ ગાએને પુજું છૈા. તિણે કરિ અમેા ગેારા તેવા અમેા પારસિ છૈા.

Commentary.—ये पुरुषाः स्नाने निमज्जने ध्याने परमात्मानं चिंतने यश्तपाठे स्त्रात्रादिसम्येक्पठने तथा हुतवह्–हवने वह्निप्रचुरहोमे तथा प्राशने फलादिभक्षणे तथा भक्षभोज्ये अन्नादिभोजने शास्त्रोक्तं सप्तमौन्यं सप्तप्रकारकं मौन्यं विदधति । ये नृवराः पुरुषश्रेष्ठाः सर्वदा निरंतरं सर्व वै दानं सर्ववस्तुप्रदानं निदधते । तथा ये नानापुष्पैः धूपैः नानाजाति-अगुरुल्बोबानादिधूपैः तथा सुपुष्पैः मालतीचंपकादिसमीचीनकुसुमैः तथा वरफलानां श्रेष्ठफलानां बहुलैः प्राचुर्यैः श्रेष्ठनानाफलैः इत्यर्थः । अग्निं पूजयंति ये आर्याः गुणवंतः गौराः धीराः सुवीराः; बहुबलनिलयास्ते वयं पारसीकाः । सर्वत्र प्रश्नोत्तरं ॥

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

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

III.

रम्यं वस्त्रं पवित्रं कवचगुणमयं कंचुकं नित्यमंगे
युक्तामूर्णासकुश्तीमहिमुखसमतावंधनां चैव कट्यां ।
मूर्धानं वस्त्रगुप्तं पटयुगलतले रक्षणं कुर्वतो ये
गौरा धीराः सुवीरा बहुबलनिलयास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

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

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

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

Gujerati Translation.— સુંદર સર્યું પવિત્ર વસત્ર પેહેરવું સહલેનાં શર્યું તેને સદરો કહીએ. નેત્ય અંગમહિ યુકત રિહિ છે. ઉનની કુસતિ શાંપના મૂખજેવું તેનું ગાંઠ તે કમરનિ નાભે બાંધવિ. માથાનિ વીષે ગુમ વસત્ર રાખ્યું. પાગડી હિઠલ કુલેશ રાખવી તેવા અમો પારસી છૉ.

Commentary.— रम्यं रमणीयं वस्त्रं पवित्रं कवचगुणमयं संनाहगुणरूपं कंचुकं सदरासंज्ञकं अंगवस्त्रं ये पुरुषाः नित्यं निरंतरं अंगे दधति । च परं कट्यां कटिविषये युक्तां नियमयुक्तां ऊर्णासकुस्तीं ऊर्णरचितकुस्तीं दधते । किं लक्षणां कुस्तीं मृदुमुखसमताबंधनां मृदुमुखसमतया कोमलमुखतुल्य तया बंधनं यस्याः सा तां मृदुमुखसमताबंधनां ये पुरुषाः पट्टयुगलतले द्विपटनिर्मितटोपिकामध्ये इत्यर्थः वस्त्रगुप्तं पटवेष्टितं मूर्धानं मस्तकं रक्षणं रक्षां कुर्वतः ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

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

Notes.— Instead of अहिमुख one Ms. reads मृदुमुख; and for समता, समंतां which would improve the sense but which mars the metre.— I would prefer to read पद instead of पत so that the line would be construed thus: मुर्धानं वस्त्रागुप्तं (कुर्वतो) पदयुगलतले रक्षणं कुर्वतो "who cover their head with cloth and protect the soles of their feet (with shoes)". *Aemûk dôbârishna* or moving without the shoes on, was a sin according to the Patet. Herodotus expressly refers to the fact that the Parsis always covered their heads.

IV.

यद्भांगल्ये विवाहे कथितशुभदिने सुस्वरं गीतवाद्यं
श्रीखण्डं चंदनाद्यं वपुषि युवतयो धारयन्तीह येषां ।
स्वाचाराद्ये पवित्रा बहुगुणविधयो रम्यशास्त्रार्थयुक्ताः
गौरा धीराः सुवीरा बहुबलनिलयास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

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

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

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

Gujerati Translation.— જે માંગલને વિષે વિવાહને વિષે કહેયા એવા શુભદિન તેને વિષે ગીતવજંતર આચ્છ્વ કરવું. શુખડચંદન અસત્રિ પોતાના શરીરને વિષે લગાડિને ગીતનાદ વજંત્ર કરે. આચાર પવિતર જે ધણાં ગુનનું વિધી છે. રમ્ય શાસત્રનેથેં જૂગતે છે. એવા અમો પારસી છૈા.

Commentary.— यद्मांगल्ये येषां मांगल्ये विवाहे पाणिग्रहणे कथितशुभदिने उक्तशुभदिवसे युवतयः स्त्रियः सोसवंग सवसहितं (?) यथा भवति तथा गीतवाद्यं गीतयानानि च वाद्यानि तूर्यादीनि च.....निधारयंति। तथा युवतयः वपुषि गात्रे चंदनाद्यं कर्पूरादियुक्तं श्रीषंडं चंदनादि धारयंति। च परं इह अस्मिन् प्रदेशे येषां युवतयः स्वाचाराः स्वकीया–चारनिष्ठाः विहितस्वकीयाचारपराः इत्यर्थः। यत् यस्मात् पवित्राः स्वच्छाः बहुगुणनिधयो अतिगुणवत्यः। च परं रम्यशास्त्रार्थ युक्ताः रमणीयाश्रिताः शास्त्रार्थयुक्ताश्च स्वशास्त्रविहितमार्गचारिण्यः इत्यर्थः। ते वयं पारसीकाः॥

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

Notes.— One Ms. reads सोशवं गीतवाद्यं. As it is difficult to make out what this is, I have suggested सुस्वरं. I may also sugget सुश्रवं which means "good hearings, pleasant talks".— For श्रीखंड we have also the reading श्रीषंड which is practically the same word.

V.

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

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

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

Gujerati Translation.— રૂડાં એવાં મોતા અહે મીઠી જબ્બાની બોલનાર.... અન્નનું દાન નિત્ય કરિ. કુએ વાવથી પવિત્ર પાણી ભરી લાવી. પાડા (= ખાડા) માંહિથી નહીં ભરવું. હર પ્રકારનું દાન કરિ. વસત્રનું દ્રવ્યનું દાન કરિ. તે સર્વે ગુણવંતા જાચકને આપે. તેવા અમો પારસી છૌ.

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

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

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

VI.

यादृग् हर्षो विषादः सुखमसुखमहोज्ञानमौने च यादृक्
धर्माधर्मौ च यादृग् विमलकुलक्षतौ यादृगारोग्यरोगौ ।
ऊर्ध्वाधस्तौ च यादृग् द्युतितिमिरमयौ सृष्टिसंहारकारौ
येषामुक्तौ मते द्वौ नरविधिपुरुषौ ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

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

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

Gujerati Translation.— હરષ નિ શોક, સુખ નિ અસુખ, અધિકજ્ઞાન ને થોડું-જ્ઞાન, ધરમ ને અધરમ, બુનિઆદ,ને બેબુનિઆદ, રોગ્ય ને નરોગ્ય, અજવાલું બેહેસ્ત ને અંધારૂં દોજખ. સરેષ્ટ પેદા થાએ ને સિંહાર થાઈ. નૃવિધિપુરૂષ. એવા રૂડાનિ ભૂડા બેહુ માર્ગ સમજેઆ જોઇએ. એવા અમો પારસી છૌ.

Commentary.—येषां पुरुषाणां द्रव्यादिप्राप्तौ यादृक् यादृशः हर्षः उत्साहः तथा द्रव्यादिनाशे विषादः तादृशः येषां हर्षविषादौ समौ इत्यर्थः । येषां सुखं आत्मनि आनंदः असुखं दुःखं समं । अहो आश्चर्ये । येषां कांतादि विषयेः यादृशं सुखं विषयाभावे तादृक् दुःखतुल्यमिति भावः । तथा येषां ज्ञानमौन्यं समं वा ज्ञानानि च मौन्यानि च ज्ञानमौन्यं एकवदिति भावः । ज्ञानानि प्रचुराणि मौन्यानि बहुलानि इत्यर्थः । वा यादृक् ज्ञानानि तादृक् मौन्यानि । तथा येषां धर्माधर्मौ यादृक् यादृशः धर्मः तादृशः अधर्मः तथा तेषां अधर्मकर्तृत्वं आयाति अतः नकारस्य अध्याहारः । धर्माधर्मौ यादृक् नेत्यर्थः । यादृक् धर्मः तादृक् अधर्मो नास्तीति भावः । तथा विमलकुलक्षतौ निर्मलकुलनिर्मितौ आरोग्यरोगौ स्वस्तातागदौ यादृक् यादृशम् आरोग्यं तादृशो रोगोपि पीडापीडे तुल्ये इत्यर्थः । तथा येषां ऊर्ध्वं उपरि अधः अधोभागः यादृक् ऊर्ध्वं तादृक् अधः स्वर्गभूमीभागौ तुल्यौ इति भावः । तथा द्युतितिमिरमयौ कांत्यंधकाररूपौ तुल्यौ यादृक् द्युतिस्तादृक् अंधकारमयस्तौ तुल्यौ इत्यर्थः । तथा येषां सृष्टिसंहारकारौ उत्पत्तिसंहरणकारकौ समौ यादृक् सृष्टिकारकस्तादृशैकसंहारकारकः तौ तुल्यौ इत्यर्थः । तथा येषां मते नृविधि पुरुषौ द्वौ समौ यादृक् पुरुषस्तादृक् पुरुषविधिस्तौ तुल्यौ इत्यर्थः । ते वयं पारसीकाः ।

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

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

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

VII.

गोमूत्रैर्मंत्रपूतैः शिरवदनमिताः स्त्रीपयःपानशुद्धाः
वाह्यांतस्नानयुक्तं तदनुपरिवृता मध्यदेशे च मुद्रा ।

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

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

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

Gujerati Translation.—ગાએનૂ મૂત્રમંત્રને ન્હેગતે કરે. શગલિ સરીરે લગાડિં. સત્રિ પાએ તુ સુધિ થાએ. એક ઉંધાડું સનાન ને એક ઢાંપેઉં સનાન તેએણિ કરિ પવિત્ર થાએ. સુદરેા જાતમાંહિ પિહરે. કાંઇ ખાવું ને પઢવું પુજનું કામ જપનૂ કામ તે સદરા બગર નહી થાએ. એવેા રૂડેા મારગ ધર્મનેા જાણુવેા. તેવા અમેા પારસિ છૈા.

Commentary.—मंत्रपूतैः मंत्रपवित्रैः गोमूत्रैः धेनुमूत्रै कृत्वा शरदवनं ऋतुघर्म इताः प्राप्ताः। स्त्रीपयःपानशुद्धाः दुग्धपानवत् पवित्राः भवंति यद्वा दुग्धपानं कारणीयं एवं स्त्रीणां गोमूत्रैः बाह्यंतस्नानमुक्तं तदनुपिरकृता एवंकृते पश्चात् पवित्राः। च परं मध्यदेशे कटिदेशे मुद्राकुस्तिकिबंधनं। मुद्राबाह्यं निद्रा न कुस्तीबंधनं विना निद्रा न कार्या। जपनवमनसा जपनिष्ठनूतनचित्तेन स्वादुं रमणीयं पूजादिकार्यं कुस्तीं विना न। येषां पुरुषाणां सततं सदा निरंतरं इत्थं पूतादेशः मार्गः अभिमतः मान्यः ते वयं पारसीकाः।

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

Notes.—One Ms. reads शीरवदनमितैः स्नीयते पानशुद्धैः The commentator seems to have adopted the reading शरवदनं which is not quite

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

VIII.

काष्टैः षट्मासशुष्कैरगुरुमलयजैः काष्टकर्पूरधूपैः
होमः स्यात् पंचकालं प्रतिदिनमुदितैरक्षरैर्मंत्रयुक्तैः ।
निर्वाणाग्निस्तु सूर्यावृतघनरुचिरैर्नो युगांतेपि येषां
सत्यन्यायैः कुनिष्ठा न च युवतिरतास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

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

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

Gujerati Translation.— કાષ્ઠ (= કાષ્ઠ) માસ ૬નાં સુકાં જોઇએ. ચોપાં (= ચોખાં) મરીઆગના જેવાં જોઇએ. કાષ્ઠ અગર સાથે ધૂપેં. પંચ કાલવેસે હોમ હોએ.

દિનપ્રતે અગ્નિને જોગતે મંગલને જોગતે હોય. સુર્યને વહિનને સનમુખ થાઇ ધંટ વગાડે ને કાડી ગંધ હોમે. એ જોગતે કરીને કરે. તે ધરમના શાચા ન્યાય કરી. નયનચ (?) શોવન શરપી (= સરખી) જોત બલે. તેવા અમો પારસી છૈા.

Commentary.—षट्मासशुष्कैः अगुरुमलयजैः अगुरुमलयागरैः काष्ठैः स्तुत्वा काष्ठकर्पूरधूपैः पंचकालं प्रतिदिनं होमः स्यात् । कैः स्तुत्वा मंत्रयुक्तैः उदितैः उच्चरितैः अक्षरैः । संमंत्रतः बाणागुरुकर्पूरादिभिः वह्निहोमः स्यादिति भावः । तथा वह्निसूर्यवृतघनरुचिरैः अग्नेःसूर्यवृतनिबिडछायाविषयैः युगांतेपि निर्वाणं विरामः न स्यात् । यद्वा यावत् सूर्यवह्नेस्थितिस्तावत् पर्यंतं एतद्धर्मविनाशो नास्तीत्यर्थः । तथा सत्यं न्यायैकनिष्ठाः न्यायमार्गस्थिताः नवयुवतीरताः स्त्रीकृतौ न्यायप्रवर्ताः यद्वा युवतीनां सत्यादिव्रतकारकाः इत्यर्थः । ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

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

Notes.—It is difficult to find out what texts Drummond and the Gujerati translator have followed, especially so far as the third line is concerned. The third and fourth lines are also read thus in one Ms. निर्वाणं वह्निसूर्यो वृतघनरुचिरैर्नो युगांतेपि येषां । सत्यन्यायैकनिष्ठा नवयुवतिरतास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥ In this the third line is incorrect in point both of grammar and prosody. I have tried to improve the line so as to bring it into conformity with the requirements of the metre. The fourth line given above is correct in every way, and means: 'Who are attached to their young wives with a singleness of devotion according to the laws of truth".—I have taken निर्वाणाग्नि and घनरुचिरैः as adjectives qualifying होम and काष्टैः respectively.

IX.

येषामेवांगना या ऋतुसमयदिनाः सप्तरात्रौभवेयुः
पूताः स्नाताश्च मासे प्रसवनसमयाद् देहशुद्धास्तथैव ।
रम्याचारेण गौरा नवकनकनिभा वीर्यवन्तो बलिष्ठाः
पूतात्मानोपि नित्यं विकसितवदनास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

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

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

Gujerati Translation.— જે વારે સત્રિ જ્ઞાતિ થાએ રતૂના સમય આવે તે વાર સપ્ત દિવસની રાત્રે લગિ વગલી રેહે. પુત્ર જણિ તે વારે માશ ૧ ને દન ૧૦ લગે વેગલી રહે. તે વાર પછી તે અસત્રી પોતાની દેહે શુધ કરે. તેહેવિ દેહે શુધ કરિ તેના પુતર શોભાવંત હોએ. જિમ શોવન આતશમાંહિથી કાઢે તે વાતે જ્વંત હોએ. વીરજ્વંત ધણા બલવંત હોએ. નિત્યે પોતાનો આતમા પવીત્ર રાષે. મુખ હસતૂ સોક નહી કરવો. તેવા અમો પારસી છીા.

Commentary.—येषां नृणां अंगनाः याः स्त्रियाः ऋतुसमयदिनात् ऋतुदर्शनसमारभ्य सप्तरात्रौ सप्तरजन्यां स्त्रियः पूताः पवित्राः भवेयुः। च परं प्रसूताः जनिताः पत्न्यः स्त्रियः प्रसवनसमयात् प्रसूतीसमयमारभ्य एकमासे सति देहशुद्धाः भवेयुः शरीरशुद्धाः भवेयुः। तथैव रम्याचारेण रमणीयाचारेण गौराः गौरवर्णाः नवकल-कनिभाः नूतनसुवर्णतुल्याः वीर्यवंतः कंदर्पप्रचुराः बलिष्ठाः बलयुक्ताः तथा पूतात्मानः पवित्राः। ..... नित्यं विकसितवदनाः प्रतिदिनं प्रफुल्लमुखाः हस्ताभ्यां मुखमार्जनं कुर्वाणाः इत्यर्थः। ये एतादृशास्ते वयं पारसीकाः॥

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

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

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

X.

वेश्यास्त्रिभिर्न संगः पितृषु शुचिमुखं श्राद्धमग्निश्च धेयो
नो मांसं यज्ञबाह्यं स्वपिति महिधराशय्यहो पुष्पनारी ।
वैवाह्यं लग्नशुद्धिर्न हि भवति शुचिर्भर्तृहीना पुरंध्री
येषामाचार एवं प्रतिदिनमुदितास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

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

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

Gujerati Translation.—વેશ્યા સ્ત્રિ સાથે સંગ નહિ કરવા. પ્રણેલી હોએ તે અમોને સુધિ. શ્રાધપશુને વેષે યજ્ઞ કર્વું માંશ હોમ્મું. રતુવંતી અસત્રિને ધરમાં ન રાખવિ. તેને શાંભલેઉં નહિ જોઇએ. પ્રણેલા વના શુધ નહિ થાએ. તે અસત્રિ ભરતારની શુધિ હોએ. એવા આચાર રૂડા ધરમનો દિનપ્રતે મૂદેત લગિ રાષવો (= રાખવો). તેવા અમો પારસિ છૌ.

Commentary.—येषां पुरुषाणां वेश्यास्त्रिभिः वारांगनाभिः सह संगः न भवति । च परं पितृषु मातापितृषु विषये शुचिमुखं निर्मलमुखं मातापितृसेवकाः इत्यर्थः । तथा श्राद्धं च परं अग्निः धेयः सेव्यः । च परं यज्ञबाह्यं यज्ञविना मांसं नो भक्षणीयं अन्यथा नो ग्राह्यं इत्यर्थः । प्रसूतिमती प्रसवयुक्ता स्त्री तथा पुष्पनारी रजस्वला स्त्री धराशय्यहो पृथ्वीशायिनी भवति । तथा लग्नशुद्धिः वैवाह्यं लग्नशुद्धया विवाहकर्मकरणं इत्यर्थः । तथा भर्तृहीना स्वामीरहिता पुरंध्री स्त्री शुचिः न पवित्रा न । येषां आचारे एते धर्माः प्रतिदिनं दिनं दिनं प्रति उदिताः उक्ताः ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

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

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

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

XI.

चत्वारिंशद्दिनानि प्रचरति न वधुः पाककार्ये प्रसूता
मौनाद्यस्वल्पनिद्रा जपनविधिरता स्नानसूर्यार्चनेषु ।
ध्यायंते चैव नित्यं मरुदनलधरातोयचंद्रार्कयज्ञान्
येषां वर्णे विदीनाः सततमभियतास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

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

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

Gujerati Translation.— ચિઆર દાહાડાની સાત દહાડાની રતુવંતી હોએ. દેહે પાક કીધાવન કાંઈ કારજ નહી કરિ.....મનમાં હિ મૌન રાખિને અને થોડી નીદરા કરી. મનમાંહી જપના રાખિ. સનાન કીધા વનાં સુરજ નહિ જોવેા. અગનિને વાયુને જલને ચંદ્રમાને સુર્ય નેત્ય એ થકી શરીર દુર રાખવું. એવા પારસીના રૂડા ધર્મ શરવને જાલવેઉં. તેવા અમેા પારસી છૌ.

Commentary.— येषां प्रसूता वधुः प्रसवंती स्त्री चत्वारिंशद्दिनानि ४० दिनपर्यंतं पाककार्ये पचन-क्रियायां न प्रचरति न प्रसरति । ४० दिनपर्यंतं पाकं न करोतीत्यर्थः । तथा स्नानसूर्यार्चनेषु निमज्जनसूर्यपूजादिषु मौनाद्याः मौन्ययुक्ताः स्वल्पनिद्राः अल्पनिद्राः जपनविधिरताः जपनविधियुक्ताः नित्यं निरंतरं मरुद् वायुः अनलः अग्निः धरा पृथ्वी तोयः जलं चंद्रार्कयज्ञाः चंद्रसूर्यपरमेश्वराः एतान् नित्यं निरंतरं ध्यायंते ये च पंचत्वं भजंते । येषां वर्णे जात्यां एवं अभियमाः नियमाः अवदीर्णाः उक्ताः ते वयं पारसीकाः ।

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

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

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

XII.

पानीयं व्योम चंद्रं हुतवहमनिलं भूमिमीदिक्षेमवं
श्रीद्योर्मिज्दं च दातारमचलममरं चेतसा चिन्तयन्ति।

निसं ये न्यासपाठं विदधति जयदं धर्मदं कामदं च
आहारे मौनमादौ तनुशुचिकरणे ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

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

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

Gujerati Translation.—પાંનીને આકાશને ચંદ્રમાને અગનીને વાયુને ભૂમિને [illegible]ને પ્રથમ એને માનૂં. શ્રી હોર્મિજદ દાતાને અચલ ને અમર તેને નિત્ય ચિતવું છું. તેને નિયાસ્તે કરિ ઈચ્છિતેં કરિ વંદિદાદે એવે ભણુવે કરિ આરાધુંચ. તે થકી અમોને અન્યઃ હોએ· ધર્મે કરી ગાઇને પુજુ છું. ષાતાં (=ખાતાં) બોલવું નહિ. તિણિ કરિ અનતંન પવિત્ર કવું. તેવા અમો પારસિ છૌ.

Commentary.—पानीयं जलं व्योम आकाशं चंद्रं हुतवहं वह्निं अनिलं वायुं भूमीं पृथ्वीं आदित्यं सूर्यं ये पुरुषाः ध्यायंति । च परं दातारं अभीष्टफलदं अचलं अविनाशं तथा अमरं देवरूपं एवं विधिं श्रीहोर्मिज्दं ईश्वरं चेतसा मनसा नित्यं निरंतरं चिंतयंति ध्यायंति । ये पुरुषाः जयदं जयदातारं धर्मदं कामदं मनोरथदं एवं विधिं न्यासपाठं विदधाति कुर्वंति । ये नराः आहारे भोजने च परं तनुशुचिकरणे स्नाने आदौ प्रथमं मौनं विदधाति । ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

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

Notes.—The last syllable in चिंतयंति ought to be taken as long for the purposes of the metre; similarly in the third line. The rule of prosody is given thus: सानुस्वारश्च दीर्घश्च विसर्गी च गुरुर्भवेत । वर्णः संयोगपूर्वश्च तथा पादांतगोपि वा ॥ "A short vowel becomes long when it is followed by

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

XIII.

ऊर्णामय्यां धृतायामतिफलबहुलां जाह्नवीस्नानतुल्यां
येषां नित्यं नराणां धनगुणरचितां हेमवर्णां च रम्यां ।
योगाकारां विशालां गुरुजनवचनैर्मेखलां धारयंति
शास्त्रोक्तैः श्रोणिदेशेऽहतकवचमिदं ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

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

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

Gujerati Translation.— ઉનની કુસ્તી બાંધીએચ. તેનો ગાંઠ શાપના મૂખ સરખુ પડે છે. અતિશે ઘણુ ફલ તેનૂ હોએ. ગુલ્ય સ્નાન અમોને કુસ્તી બાંધ્યાથી હોએ. નિત્ય અહમોને પાપડી નરાલા રાષે. કુસ્તી બાંધ્યાથી ધણો ગુન એનો હુઈ. કુસ્તીની શોવન શરીષી વર્ણુ છિ. જેવા સરખ સરજ તે વારની છે (?). ગુરૂને વચને કરી સાશલ માફેક નવરોત કરે તે વાર સદ્રો પેહેરે. તે ઉપરિ બાંધવી. તેવા અમો પારસી છૈા.

Commentary.— ऊर्णामय्यां ऊर्णसूत्ररचितां कुस्तीं धृतायां सत्यां येषां नराणां नित्यं निरतरं जाह्नवीस्नानतुल्यफलं अति भवति गंगास्नानतुल्यफलं भवतीत्यर्थः । किंविधां कुस्तीं घनगुणरचितां बहुसूत्रनिर्मितां पुनः किंविधां हेमवर्णां सुवर्णवर्णां पुनः किंविधां रम्यां मनोहरां तथा योगाकारां योगाकारसदृशां तथा विशालां विस्तीर्णां । कैः कृत्वा शास्त्रविहितैः गुरुजनवचनैः गुरुवाक्यैः यज्ञोपवीतवत् इति भावः । कस्मिन् श्रोणिदेशे कटिप्रदेशे इदं रुदकवचं कवचतुल्यं । "केगे (= केडे) शदरा उपर धरवुं" इति तात्पर्यं । येषां एवं ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

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

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

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

XIV.

प्रायश्चित्तं पवित्रं पशुमपि सहसा हंति चेत्पंचगव्यं
गोमूत्रं स्नानपूर्वं घनतरदिवसैः शुद्धिरेवं मनोज्ञा ।
नित्यं नित्यं गुरूणां सुवचनकरणं कल्मषक्षालनार्थं
येषामाचार एवं प्रतिदिनमुदितास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

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

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

Gujerati Translation.—પાપથકી પવિત્ર થાઇ, એવાં પ્રકારનાં પશુ બાહરનૂ. અંત્રનું સનાન તેનું કરવું. નિત્ય ગાઇનાં મૂત્રનું સ્નાન પિહેલું નિત્યં ઘણાં દિવસ જે તિણિ કરે તુ મન શુધ થાએ. ગુરૂનાં જે રૂડા વચન તે નિત્ય કરવી. તેણે કરી પાપને ફેડું. ધરમ આચાર દિન અમોને કરવું. તેવા અમો પારસી છૈા.

Commentary — पशुप्रकृतिभवे धेनुवृषभादिजाते प्रायश्चित्ते सति पंचगव्यं गोमूत्रादि पवित्रं शुद्धं संमतं मान्यं गोपशुघ्नादिपापे समुत्पन्ने गोमूत्रादिशुद्धिकरणं इत्यर्थः। गोमूत्रं स्नानपूर्वं उक्तं बहुदिनपूर्वं गोमूत्रस्नानं कर्तव्यं इत्यर्थः। च परं नित्यं नित्यं निरंतरं गुरुणां उपदेशकानां सुवचनकरणं समीचीनवचनकरणं। किमर्थं कल्मषक्षालनार्थं पातकक्षालनार्थं येषां घनतरदिवसैः बहुदिनैः एवंकृते आचारे सति मनोज्ञा सुंदरा शुद्धिः पवित्रता उक्ता। येषां आचारे एवं धर्माः उदिता उक्ताः निरंतरं ते वयं पारसीकाः॥

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

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

XV.

पूर्वाचार्यप्रबंधै र्विरचितरुचिरै र्मोक्षमार्गप्रदातैः
संस्कारैः संस्थितानां विकसितविधिना कथ्यते व्योम दार्वै।
सर्वेषां च त्रयाणां दहनवसुमतीभास्कराणां च पूजा
शुद्धे रम्या य एवं प्रगदितमहिमास्ते वयं पारसीकाः॥

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

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

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

Gujerati Translation.—પુરવના જે આચારી તેણે બાંધ્યાં. જે એવા પુરતક તેમાં સંસ્કાર રૂડા છિ. એવા મોક્ષમાર્ગ ન આપે. કવિ જે તેણે વિસ્તાસ જે કહ્યા મારગ સરવને એ માર્ગથકી સ્વર્ગ પ્રાપ્તિ થાઇ: ત્રણ પ્રકારનાં જે પાપ ની મત તેને બાલ. એવો રૂડો ધર્મ પારસીના સરવને પુષક્ષાત (?) કરિને કરવું. તેવા અમો પારસી છૈા.

Commentary.—येषां सर्वेषां पूर्वाचार्यप्रबंधैः प्राचीनाचार्यप्रबंधैर्वाक्यैः विकसितविधिना प्रकटितमार्गेण दार्वं उदारं व्योम आकाशं मोक्षमार्गप्रदाता मुक्तिमार्गदाता कथ्यते । किं लक्षणैः प्रबंधैः विरचितरुचिरैः रचनमनोज्ञैः । किं विधानां येषां संस्कारे नानाविधाने संस्थितानां । च परं दहनवसुमती वह्निपृथ्वीत्रयाणां अर्घ्यपुष्पाक्षतानां शुद्धिः रम्या मनोहरा कथिता । एवं ये प्रगदिताः प्रकाशितज्ञानाः ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

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

Notes.—संस्कारैः सांस्थितानां व्योम दार्वं कथ्यते literally means "of those who live according to the religious observances, the heaven is said to be lofty".—One Ms. reads मोक्षमार्गप्रदाता which is construed thus : दार्वं व्योम मोक्षमार्गप्रदाता कथ्यते. "lofty heaven is called the giver of the path of salvation".—In one book the second line is read thus: संस्कारैः सतां कवीनां विरचितविधिना क्रियते व्योमदृष्टिः । This is very bad metre. The meaning would be that "pious persons turn their eyes towards the sky" etc.—Instead of च त्रयाणां we have also the reading चतुराणां. We have also °दहनवसुमती अर्घ्यपुष्पाक्षतानां which, besides being metrically incorrect, is difficult to understand.—The fourth line also commences thus: पुष्पादैः संप्रदिष्टः etc.

XVI.

श्री होर्मिज्दमुखं सकलविजयकृत्पुत्रपौत्रादिवृध्यै
दाता श्री आतशोयं स भवतु भवतां पापनाशाय नित्यं ।
श्री सूर्यः स्वानुकूलो बहुतरफलदा न्यासजाप्याय पंच
हे सर्वे पारसीका असुरविजयिनो यांतु मान्यं च नित्यं ॥

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

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

Gujerati Translation.—શ્રી હોર્મિજ્દ જે મુખ તે સર્વનેં જીતનું કરણહર. પુત્રનું ધનું આપનારૂં. નીત્ય શ્રી આતસ પાપ જે તેને નાસનું કરતા હર ને માગીઇ તે આપે. સુર્યની ચંદ્રમાંની આતસની પાંણીની ભુમિની એવાં પાંચની ભકતી પ્રથમ પારસીને કરવી. અમારાં અંજમંનનિ સદા જીતવું હોએ.

સ્વત ૧૮૭૪ માગસર સુદિ ૨) ને બુધે શાકે ૧૭૪૦ રોજ શ્રી મુબારક અમેરદાદ એ દંનકે પુરતક લખેત, એરવદ જમરદે એરવદ માણેકજી રૂસ્તમજી તે પુરતેકં પારસિજ્ઞાતિયં ધર્મચે શોડસ સલોકં વર્તે સંમપુર્ન કર્તું.

Commentary.—हे सर्वे पारसीकाः भवतां·युष्माकं श्रीहोरमिज्दमुखं श्रीपरमेश्वरवक्त्रं पुत्रपौत्रादिवृध्यै पुत्रपौत्रादिवृध्यर्थं भवतु । किंविधं मुखं सदा निरंतरं विजयकृत् जयकारि । च परं सोयं आतशः वह्निदेवः भवतां पापनाशाय पातकक्षालनार्थं भवतु । च परं सानुकूलः प्रसन्नः श्रीसूर्यः भवतां न्यासजाप्याय भवतु । किंविधः सूर्यः बहुतरफलदः प्रचुरफलदः तथा दाता सर्वप्रदः । ते प्रसिद्धाः पदार्थाः पंच भूम्यादयः भवतां नित्यं मान्यं माननीयतां यांतु गच्छतु । यद्वा मान्यं कुर्वन्तु । किंविधाः पारसीकाः । असुरविजयिनः दुष्टानां जयं कुर्वाणाः ते सर्वे भवतां विजयन्तु लक्ष्मीं दधतु इत्यर्थः ।

इति पारसीकृतश्लोकाः सममर्थेन लिखिताः । लेखकः...दस्तुर जमशेदजी जामास्पजी आशाजी फरेदुनजी । अंतः नागमंडल नवसारीके लिखिताः शोडषश्लोकाः आकाऽप्यारुकृतसममर्थेन संस्कृतेन संवत १८२३ वर्षे शाके १६८९ प्रवर्तमाने दक्षणायनगने (? दक्षिणायने) श्री सूर्ये वर्षाऋतौ मासोत्तमभाद्रपदे सेधलपक्षे (? शुक्लपक्षे) षष्ठीतिथौ रविवासरे.....श्रीरश्नरोजे श्रीबेहमनमासे लिखितं समाप्तकृतं । शुभं भवतु कल्याणं अस्तु सततं सुखं

अस्तु सदा विजयः अस्तु । श्रीश्री ॥ अदृष्टभावात् मतिविभ्रमात् च यदर्थहीनं लिखितं मया अत्र तत् सर्वं आर्यैः शोधनीयं कोपं न कुर्यात् खलु लेखकस्य ॥

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

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

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

Notes.—The metre requires that होरमिज्द should be spelt as given above. Instead of पापनाशाय we have also मायनाशाय.—I have preferred to read स्वानूकूलो instead of सानुकूलो, and असुरविजयिनो instead of स्वसूरविजयिनो. Here असुर is used in its Sanskrit sense. बहुतरफलदो is also another reading.—The commentator seems to have adopted the reading बहुतरफलदो. I prefer बहुतरफलदा so that it might be applicable to the sun as well as to the five elements.

SHAPURJI KAVASJI HODIWALA.

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

"Costly thy habits as purse can buy;
Rich, not gaudy, for the apparel oft proclaims the man".—
Shakespeare.

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

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

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

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

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[1] "Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey", Vol. VI., p. 4 of the editor's preface. [2] Abân Yasht, 128. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] "Collected Writings", Vol. VI., p. 172. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 164.

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

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

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

[1] Abân Yasht, 127.
[2] "Proverbs", 25, 12.
[3] "Collected writings", Vol. VI., p. 158.
[4] "Collected Writings", Vol. VI., p. 160.
[5] Cf. "Persia, Past and Present" by Prof. Jackson, p. 211; and "Parthia" (Story of the Nations series) p. 388.

tures of the period, it continued to be put on by the stronger sex. The Hebrew ladies attached some small bells to their bracelets, and De Quincey rather humorously says that these ornaments "could be used, upon occasion, as signals of warning or invitation to a lover." [1] We find no particular description of the bracelets of Ardvi Sûra in the Abân Yasht, where she is described simply as "adorned with bracelets".[2]

"It is possible also that the Hebrew ladies adopted at one time, in exchange for the sandal, slippers that covered the entire foot, such as were once worn at Babylon, and are still to be seen on many of the principal figures on the monuments of Persepolis".[3] Such is the description of the *foot-dress* of the Hebrew lady. The Abân Yasht is somewhat silent on this subject, and simply dispenses with the foot protection with the words, 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬦𐬌𐬌𐬀 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬚𐬌𐬰-𐬨𐬁𐬰𐬀 (*zaranya paitîsh-mukhta*).[4]

We find that the use of gold and silver was very common amongst the two nations and that this has continued down to our own times. In spite of this, in the dress both of the typical Hebrew lady and of Ardvi Sûra, we find an element which carries us back to those primeval days of our old old ancestors. Ardvi Sûra puts on clothes which are prepared from the skin of a species of water otters.[5] According to De Quincey, "the simple body cloth, framed of leaves, skins, flax, wool, etc., which modesty had first introduced, for many centuries perhaps sufficed as the common attire of both sexes amongst the Hebrew Bedouins. It extended downwards to the knees and upwards to the hips, about which it was fastened. Such a dress is seen upon many of the figures in the sculptures of Persepolis".[6]

In addition to all these ornaments, the Hebrew lady has her *ankle-bells*, and *nose-rings*,—ornaments which have not entirely fallen into disuse even in modern times. The nose-ring was looked upon "as one of the most valuable presents that a young woman could receive from her lover. Amongst the Midianites, who were enriched by the caravan commerce, even men adopted this ornament; and this appears to have been the case in the family to which Job

1 "Collected Writings", Vol. VI., p. 161.
2 "Collected Writings", Vol. VI., p. 164.
3 *Ibid.*, 129.
4 Abân Yasht, 6.
5 Abân Yasht, 78.
6 "Collected Writings", Vol. VI., p. 155.

belonged. (Ch. XII., 2)".[1]

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

Presumably the dress which Ardvi Sûra is depicted to wear is an idealised picture of the dress of the typical Iranian lady of the time in which the Abân Yasht was composed, and the various elements of similarity detailed above, point out a comparison between the dress of the ladies of the two civilized races of antiquity,—the Israels and the Iranians. One cannot assert with any certainty, whether any one nation influenced the other, or whether the dress was the natural evolution from the primeval dress of Mashyâ and Mashyôi, and of Adam and Eve respectively. However that may be, this much is certain that the love of making a display of her dress and ornaments is a remarkable trait in the nature of women and hence the judgment for the pride of women forecast in the Bible:— "In that day the Lord will take away the bravery of their tinkling ornaments about their feet, and their cauls, and their round tires like the moon, the chains and the bracelets, and the mufflers, the bonnets and the ornaments of the legs and the head-bands, and the tablets and the ear-rings, the rings and the nose jewels." [3]

R. P. Umrigar.

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[1] "Collected Writings", Vol. VI., p. 159.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

[3] "Isaiah" III., 18-21.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[2] Haugs' "Essays on the Parsis" (1878) p. 227.

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

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

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

1 "Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times", Vol., II., p. 88.
2 S. B. E., Vol. IV., p. 10. 3 S. B. E., Vol. IV., Fargard II., 1—20.
4 S. B. E., Vol., IV., F. II, 22, p. 16.

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

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

It goes without saying that the ancient Iranians could never have located what is termed their paradise[3] in a place buried in snow. The conception of a paradise should necessarily carry with it thoughts of the most pleasant environments and surroundings unclouded by miseries and affliction, like what the Vendidâd acquaints us with as having descended on the first best land of Mazda's creation. The subsequent snow-fall and winters that set in the good region of the Airyana Vaejô were nothing but the direct outcome of Angra Mainyu's counter-creations. How, then, could such a sudden change in the climate of a country, once quite mild and teeming with paradisaical life, be accounted for? Let us then suppose that the site of the Airyana Vaejô, this cradle of the Iranian race, is in the far north and that that is the place where ten months of long summer and two of short winters once prevailed. This genial climate which we have supposed to have obtained in these very cold regions, undergoes, through the instrumentality of Angra Mainyu, a sudden change resulting in a ten months' winter and a two months' summer. But the second chapter of the Vendidâd gives an actual description of the real advent of ice and snow that subsequently destroyed the Airyana Vaejô, thus doing away with the necessity of justifying our hypothetical assumption of such a change.

[1] S. B. E., Vol. IV., F. II, 25, pp. 16 17. [2] S. B, E., Vol., IV, F. II, 40, p. 20.
[3] Haug's Essays, p. 227.

That such a change did take place in the climatic conditions of the regions in the far north towards the Pole, where we suggest was the place called Airyana Vaejô, is fully demonstrated by the latest geological and archæological researches. This statement or proposition which might have been deemed irrational a few decades ago does not appear as such when viewed in the light of the present advanced knowledge and the progress of scientific investigations. There is now ample evidence to show that at one time even within the Arctic Circle there existed a mild climate, and that life there was not impossible. Prof. Nicholson [1] attempts to show that the plants and vegetation of the temperate regions at the Miocene period flourished within the Arctic Circle and that the temperature was warmer than that now enjoyed by the northern hemisphere. But the language of Croll [2] is more emphatic. He says, "The Arctic regions probably upto the North Pole were not only free from ice, but were covered with a rich and luxuriant vegetation." Grant Allen says that a warm and genial climate was the characteristic of the Poles, "till a very recent period" and that its vegetation was of much the same type as is now found in the Tropics. Discussing the state of the climate of former geological periods, Sir Charles Lyell [3] says, "In the greater part of the Miocene and the preceding Eocene epochs, the fauna and flora of Central Europe were sub-tropical, and a vegetation resembling that now seen in Northern Europe extended into the Arctic regions as far as they have yet been explored, and probably reached the Pole itself." He further speaks of "a warm climate and an absence of frost between the 40th parallel of latitude and the Pole, a large ichthyosaurus having been found in lat. 77° 16″ N." [4]

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

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[1] "The Life-History of the Globe", p. 327.
[2] "Climate and Time" (1875) p. 7.
[3] "Principles of Geology" (11th ed.), Vol. I., p. 231.
[4] For further testimony of prehistoric climatology see Dr. Warren's interesting and able work, "Paradise Found: a study of the prehistoric world".

der. Mr. Tilak [1] has thus explained the reasons of this hesitation :—

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

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

Both the Vendidâd[4] and the Minoe-i-Kherad [5] place the *vara* of Yima in the Airyana Vaejô. When the inhabitants of the *vara* are known to have experienced phenomena such as are only charac-

[1] "The Arctic home in the Vedas", (1903) p. 368. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.* [4] Vend. II., 21—26. [5] Chap. LXII., 15.

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

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

Rustamji Nasarvanji Munshi.

THE GATHIC LITERATURE AND KANT.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[1] Yas. XXXI, 8 S. B. E., p. 44 (Mills).
[2] Yas. XLIII, 2, Haug's Essays. p. 155.
[3] Yas. XLIII, 5 S. B. E., p. 100 (Mills)

the common argument 'ex contingentia mundi'".[1]

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

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

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

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[1] Caird, (Kant's Critical Philosophy) Vol I. p. 113. [2] Kant by William Wallace p. 109. [3] Yasna XLIV, 3, 4, 5 S. B. E. p. 113 (Mills). [4] Yasna XXX, 4 S. B. E. p. 30 (Mills).

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

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

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

[1] Yasna XXX, 3. [2] Vide 'A modern Zoroastrian' by Samuel Laing p. 170
[3] Caird, Vol II., p. 181. [4] Caird, Vol II., p. 550.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

D. N. Pavri.

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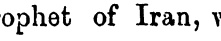
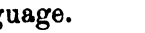
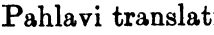
[1] Yasna XXXI, 22. [2] Kant's Theory of Ethics, translated by Abbott p. 293.
[3] Kant's Theory of Ethics by Abbott p. 360.

A GLANCE AT THE PAHLAVI COMMENTARIES.

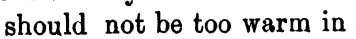
It is an oft repeated remark that the Avesta literature once possessed 21 nasks or books, embracing various subjects, theological, philosophical, astronomical, mathematical, geographical, medicinal, etc. It is useless to lament over the calamitous destruction of this rich lore by Alexander the Great,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

gratitude the Sâssânian accomplishers of the revival of the sacred writings, for it is no exaggeration to say that had it not been for the Pahlavi translators and commentators, it would have been a very heavy task for a modern student,—nay almost impracticable in some cases,—to go successfully through the labyrinth of the Scriptures of the Prophet of Iran, written as they are in an obscure language.

It is these Pahlavi translations and commentaries that assist us considerably in understanding the original Avesta texts. But one should not be too warm in extolling the decidedly meritorious work of the learned priests of the Avestic renaissance, for, as on the one hand, they have facilitated the comprehension of the unintelligible passages of the original texts, they have, on the other hand, retarded and obstructed the understanding of other passages. How the commentators claim a student's appreciation of their work, can be seen from the following few out of many examples of the beauties of the commentaries.

How cleverly given is the explanation of the people's idea about immortality referred to in Yasna IX., 4, by putting forward such a phrase as  showing clearly that the  of the Avesta implies the imperishability of one's good name on this earth, only through righteous actions! Speaking of the gloriousness of Yima; alluded to in Yasna IX., 14, the commentator uses the phrase  which means "Know that glory is duteousness", and quotes the opinion of another writer by name Rashna whose view also, though verbally different, agrees in spirit with that expressed by himself. Both connect glory with duteousness. This, of course, serves to point out the high moral standard of the age that could distinguish true sterling glory from a mere hollow sound of popular fame.

The Avesta story of Keresâspa and the poisonous dragon involves a slight inconsistency, as will be seen from the words



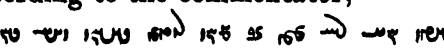
i. e., "Headlong fell *affrighted* the *manly-minded* Keresâspa". In this sentence Keresâspa is called *manly-minded*, and in the same breath we are told that he *fell back in fright* at the sudden startling of the dragon on whose back he was cooking his noon-day meal. But the Pahlavi commentaries would not pass unnoticed

this apparent inconsistency, however trifling it may be, and we have the gloss: 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬌𐬀𐬎 𐬵𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎 𐬵𐬀𐬎 𐬵𐬀𐬎 𐬵𐬀𐬎 𐬵𐬀𐬎 *i. e.*, "Know that his manly-heartedness (lit., manly-mindedness) was this that he kept his wits on the occasion", which accounts in a masterly way for the use in the Avesta of the epithet 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 coupled with the phrase 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌. Many other instances reflect very creditably on the zeal and industry of the commentators who have made all possible attempts to understand and explain the truth. At times they display a great deal of ingenuity in expounding Avesta texts. For instance, an attempt is made to explain the origin of the Avesta name *Thrita* by the gloss 𐬵𐬀𐬎 𐬵𐬀𐬎 𐬵𐬀𐬎 𐬵𐬀𐬎 𐬵𐬀𐬎 𐬵𐬀𐬎 *i. e.*, "Know that his being called *Sarît* was this that he was the *third* son. It should not, however, be supposed that the commentators were always in the habit of explaining away, by hook or by crook, any Avesta passage that they came across by the utmost stretch of their imagination and ingenuity. To do justice to them it is essential to point out that they frankly admit at times their ignorance or inability to explain things that they do not understand, as will be seen from such passages as 𐬵𐬀𐬎 *i. e.*, "There is no commentary on this word", (Yasna X., 30) and 𐬵𐬀𐬎 *i. e.*, "It is not clear", as in Vendidâd II., 19. This scholarly humility of acknowledging their inability is a remarkable trait in the character of the Pahlavi commentators, and to speak in the words of Dr. Geldner, "is of great importance for an estimate of the value of their work".

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

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

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

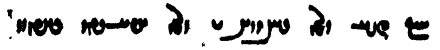


i. e., "Zarathushtra recognised Haoma, for this reason that at that time he (Zarathushtra) had been (i. e., used to be) much (in contact) with the Yazatas."

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

Behram D. Asli.

MAZDAK, THE IRANIAN SOCIALIST.

I

INTRODUCTION.

Socialism is one of the most important questions of the day in almost all the states of Europe. As a recent writer[1] on Socialism says, "There are good and true elements in socialism.... There are also bad and false elements in socialism." Socialism or communism has been tried on some practical basis several times. To students of Political Economy, the systems of St. Simon and of Fourier are well known.[2] But the trials of these systems have failed.

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

As said by Gibbon, the people of Irân were "deluded and inflamed by the fanaticism" of this socialist, "who asserted the community of women, and the equality of mankind, whilst he appropriated the richest lands and most beautiful females to the use of his sectaries".[3]

Rawlinson, referring to his communistic views, calls him a "Magian reformer", and says that he "presented the spectacle of an enthusiast who preached a doctrine of laxity and self-indulgence, not from any base or selfish motive, but simply from a conviction of its truth,"[4] and asks us to compare his case with that of "Eudoxus,[5] the predecessor of Epicurus, as reported by Aristotle".[6] At least, as far as his views about marriage are concerned, from what we read of him in the oriental authors, we are not disposed to

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1 "Socialism" by Robert Flint.

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

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

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

5 *Ibid.*, note 3

6 *Ibid.*, note 3.

exempt him from bad motives. Gibbon's views, as given above, seem to portray him in his true colours. Malcolm estimates him in his proper character when he calls him a "religious impostor".[1]

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

II.

REFERENCES TO MAZDAK IN THE PAHLAVI BOOKS.

1. **The Pahlavi Vendidad.**—The oldest Pahlavi writing, wherein Mazdak is referred to, is the Pahlavi Vendidâd.[2] In the fourth chapter of the Vendidâd,[3] it is enjoined that a poor Zoroastrian, who seeks knowledge (i. e. wants education) or who seeks a wife (i. e. wishes to be married) or who wants some material or monetary assistance, may be helped. Then follows instructions about the best time for seeking knowledge, i. e., for studies.[4] Then follows a passage which advises that the deserving poor may be helped with things wanted by them.[5] Lastly comes the passage which recommends a married life.[6] Therein it is said that a married person is better able to withstand difficulties and afflictions and to fight against evil-minded persons than one who is unmarried.[7] In the list of such evil-minded persons is mentioned the class of the impious starving heretics (*ashemaoghem anashavanem anguharestâtem*). As an instance of such an "impious starving heretic", the Pahlavi translator and commentator gives the name of Mazdak. It gives the following words as a commentary:—*Chêgûn Mazdak-î-Bâmdâdân mûnash nafshman sir vashtmûnt aeshân pavan sûg va marg dâd*",[8] i. e., "like Mazdak (son) of Bâmdâd, who, while he himself eats to satiety, gives up others to hunger and death".

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

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

2 Fargard IV., 49.

3 *Ibid.* 44.

4 *Ibid.*, 45.

5 *Ibid.*, 46.

6 *Ibid.*, 47-49.

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

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

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

2. **The Bahman Yasht: a Dream of Zoroaster.**—The Pahlavi Bahman Yasht speaks of a dream of Zoroaster wherein he saw a tree with "four branches, one golden, one of silver, one of steel, and one mixed up with iron".[1] The dream, when interpreted, indicated that the tree was the great millenium after the revelation of the religion by Zoroaster and that the four branches were the four important epochs of that millenium, when four great personages appeared and important events happened. The third branch of the tree, *viz.*, that of steel, indicated "the reign of the glorified (*anôshak-rubân*) Khûsrô, son of Kevâd (Kobâd)"[2] (A. D. 531-578), who suppressed the heresy of Mazdak. The Bahman Yasht says: "During this time, the accursed Mazdîk, son of Bâmdâd, who is opposed to the religion, comes into notice, and is to cause disturbance among those in the religion of God. And he, the glorified one, summoned Khûsrô, son of Mâhdâd, and Dâd-Auharmazd of Nishâpûr, who were high-priests of Âtarô-pâtakân, and Âtarô-frôbâg, the undeceitful (*akadbâ*), Âtarô-pâd, Âtarô-Mitrô, and Bakht-âfrîd to his presence...."[3]

According to the Persian version of this subject, "Khûsrô sent a message to the accursed Mazdak, requiring him to reply to the questions of this priestly assembly on pain of death, to which he assented, and he was asked ten religious questions, but was unable to answer one; so the king put him to death immediately".[4] As we shall see later on, Firdousi refers to this priestly assembly mentioned in the Bahman Yasht. That Khûsrô (Noshirwân) held such priestly assemblies for various purposes appears from the Epistles[5] of Mânuschehar.[6] Nishâpûhar, who is

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

[2] *Ibid.*, Chap. I., 5.

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

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

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

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

often referred to in the Pahlavi Vendidâd and the Nirangistân as a commentator, was a prominent member of these priestly assemblies of Noshirwân.[1] As Dr. West[2] says, it is possible that the above-mentioned priest Dâd-Auharmazd of Nishâpur, referred to in the Bahman Yasht as taking a part in the priestly assemblies to discuss questions with Mazdak, is the priest Nishâpur of the court of Noshirwân referred to in the Epistles.

Another Dream of Zoroaster.—The Bahman Yasht speaks of another dream of the prophet wherein he saw a tree with seven branches.[3] In the interpretation of the dream, it is said of the sixth branch, which is that of steel, that it "is the reign of King Khûsrô, son of Kêvâd, when he keeps away from this religion the accursed Mazdik, son of Bâmdâd, who remains opposed to the religion along with the heterodox".[4]

The Dream of Zoroaster as given in the Persian Zarthosht-nameh.—The Persian Zarthosht-nâmeh written by Zarthusht Behrâm in 647 Yazdagardi (A. D. 1278) also gives the second dream[5] of Zoroaster as referred to by the Bahman Yasht. It says that the sixth branch *viz.*, that of steel, refers to the time of Noshirwân in whose reign the evil-minded Mazdak appeared but failed.

The Dream of Zoroaster and the Dream of Daniel.—The dreams of Zoroaster have been pointed out as resembling the vision of Daniel,[6] who saw that "the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea and four great beasts came up from the sea".[7] One of the beasts which Daniel saw had "great iron teeth".[8] The four beasts of the Vision of Daniel were, like the four branches of the dream of Zoroaster, interpreted to mean "four kings which shall arise out of the earth".[9]

3. **The Dinkard.**—The Dinkard[10] refers to Noshirwân as one smiting apostasy. This apostasy is that of Mazdak. According to Dr. West, the reference in the Dinkard[11] to the arrival of the fiend

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

2 *Ibid.* 3 The Bahman Yasht, Chap. II., 14. 4 *Ibid.*, 21.

5 "Le Livre de Zoroastre (Zarâtusht Nâma) de Zartusht-i-Bahrâm Ben Pajdu" publié et traduit par Frédéric Rosenberg. *Vide* for the Persian text pp. 68—69; for the French translation, pp., 67—68. 6 Daniel, chap. VII.

7 *Ibid.*, Chap. VII, 2—3. 8 *Ibid.*, 7. 9 Ibid., 17.

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

11 Bk. IX., Chap. XXXII, 17; S.B.E., Vol. XXXVII., p. 257, note 4.

and his evils in the ninth century after "the coming of the religion" seems to be an allusion to the creed of Mazdak. Similarly the reference[1] to "some great triumph of the priesthood over some heresy", may be an allusion to the triumph of Noshirwân and his party of priests over Mazdak and his followers. Again when the Dinkard[2] refers to an "organisation of the religion by the glorified Khûsrôî, son of Kêvâd," the allusion is to the assembly of priests summoned by him as referred to in the Pahlavi Bahman Yasht, and described by Firdousi.

From the fact of the heretical teachings of Mazdak, apostasy in general has latterly come to be known at times as Mazdakih.[3]

III

FIRDOUSI'S VERSION.

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

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

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

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

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

The people assembled again the next morning. On seeing

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

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

3 *Vide* Dinkard Bk. VII., Chap. VII., 21; S.B.E., Vol. XLVII., p. 88.—Cf. Machiavelism from Machiavel, and Pers. *Karsivazi* کرسیوزی from Karsivaz, the wicked brother of Afrâsiâb.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Having said this, Mazdak caught hold of the hand of Noshirwân, who had gone to the meeting, with a view to ask him to accept his new teachings. Noshirwân indignantly freed his hand from the grasp of Mazdak. Kobâd asked his son why he did not accept this new faith. Noshirwân said in reply that, if the king would give him time, he would prove the falsity of Mazdak's teachings. Mazdak asked the period of time he wanted to be prepared to discuss the question. Noshirwân asked for a period of five months and he was given that time. Noshirwân then sent messages to different parts of Persia to call together learned persons who could thoroughly examine the *pros* and *cons* of the question. Among those that came there was one Hormazd from the city of Kurreh-i-Ardashir and one Meher-Âzar from the city of Istakhar. The latter had brought with him 30 other *savants*. They all consulted together and resolved upon a plan to meet the arguments of Mazdak.[1] Noshirwân then went to the court of his father and said that a day may be appointed to meet Mazdak. He proposed that,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IV.

OTHER MAHOMEDAN AUTHORS.

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

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

Tabari.—Tabari gives a separate chapter[3] on the teachings of Mazdak. According to this author he came from Nishâpur in Khorâsân. He pretended to be a prophet, but he was really not so. He taught the old religion of Persia, with this exception that he abolished marriage and ownership in property, saying[4] that "the God of the Universe has given these (women and wealth) equally to all men." This doctrine pleased most young men, the debauched and the common individuals, and many adopted it. Kobâd, in the twelfth year of whose reign Mazdak declared this new creed, sent for him and inquired about it. Kobâd was licentious and fond of women. So, he was inclined to the teachings of Mazdak who attached no importance to the sacred tie of marriage. The people with the help of the chief Dastur dethroned and imprisoned

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

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

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

4 همه جهان با يكويگر بطوا سلم وزنان راست با شد

(Munshi Nawal Kishore's Text, p. 318 ll. 2-3.)

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

Mirkhond.—Mirkhond, in his Rozatus-safa, says that Mazdak won over king Kobâd to his new creed by a stratagem. He pretended that his new faith was revealed to him by God and imposed upon the king by showing him a so-called miracle. He got a subterranean communication to be made with the vault of a fire-temple, and hid an accomplice under the ground below the vase of the Sacred Fire. Then he took the king with him to the fire-temple and offered to converse with the Sacred Fire. The man, who was hid in the ground under the fire vase, talked with him freely. The king took this to be a miracle and was converted to the new creed.[1]

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

1. Wealth and the sexes were common property.[2]
2. Intercourse with the next of kin (lit. those prohibited) was good.[3]
3. The slaughter of animals and eating their flesh was unlawful.[4] He permitted the use of eggs as food while prohibiting meat diet.

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[1] Munshi Naval Kishore's Text, Vol. I., p. 232. Silvestre de Sacy's Mémoire sur Divers Antiquitées de la Perse, pp. 354-356.

[2] اموال و فروج خلائق را بریکدیگر مباح گردانید
(Munshi Nawal Kishore's text, Vol. I., p. 232, l. 22.)

[3] جمع شدن با محارم از مستحسنات شمرد (*Ibid.*)

[4] ذبح حیوانات و اکل لحوم و دموم آنها را برخلق حرام ساخت (*Ibid.*)

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

The result of these teachings was, according to Mirkhond, this: "He drew to his faith the lowest classes of people. They committed rape on women of the highest classes. Children could not say who their fathers were and nobody was certain about the possession of his property." Mazdak, says Mirkhond, had, at one time, the audacity to demand from his royal disciple, king Kobâd, his queen. [1] The king was prepared to grant the demand, but Noshirwân saved the honour of his royal mother by requesting Mazdak with great importunities to withdraw his demand. The ministers of the king were so much displeased with his conduct that they dethroned and imprisoned him and placed his brother Jâmâsp on the throne. Kobâd being released from his prison by a stratagem of one of his sisters, regained his throne after some time with foreign assistance and had by that time given up his liking for the teachings of Mazdak. Noshirwân, on coming to the throne, killed Mazdak. Mirkhond says that various different accounts of Mazdak and his party were known during his time.

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

"Kobâdh, too, believed in him. But some of the Persians maintain that his adhesion was a compulsory one, since his reign was not safe against the mass of the followers of Mazhdak. According to others, again, this Mazhdak was a cunning sort of man, who managed to concoct this system, and to come forward with it simply because he knew that Kobâdh was charmed by a woman who was the wife of his cousin ; and that for this reason Kobâdh hastened to adopt it. Mazhdak ordered him to abstain from sacrificing cattle before the natural term of their life had come. Kobâdh said : 'Your enterprise shall not succeed until you make me master of the mother of Anûshirwân, that I may enjoy her.' Mazhdak did as he wished, and ordered her to be handed over." [2]

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

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

According to Albiruni, there was another pseudo-prophet named Almukanna, who declared himself as an incarnation of God and made obligatory "all the laws and institutes which Mazhdak had established." [1] This was about 200 years after Mazdak.

The Dabistan.—The Dabistân has a special section (section 16) [2] treating of the teachings of Mazdak. According to this work, Mazdak had written a special book on his new creed. It was known as Desnad. The author of the Dabistân quotes a number of passages from this book. His version of the tenets of Mazdakism gives a good deal more than what we read in Firdousi, Maçoudi, Tabari, Mirkhond and Alberuni. The addition contains some elements which are common to Zoroastrianism, for example, the subject of the so-called dualism.

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

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

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

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

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

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

V.

THE SOURCE OF MAZDAKISM.

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

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

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

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

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

We have seen above, in Firdousi's version of Mazdak's teaching, that he won king Kobâd to his socialistic view by some ingenious questions. The method of the Chinese moralist Mencius also was in, what Simcox calls, "the form of Socratic interrogation".[1] He is described as having the following conversation[2] with king Hway of Seang :—

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

King Hway.—"There is no difference."

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

King Hway.—"There is no difference."

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

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

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[1] Simcox: "Primitive Civilizations" Vol. II., p. 33. [2] *Ibid.*

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

nian king Kobâd and Mencius's interrogatories to the Chinese king Hway, and it appears probable that Mazdak took his teaching from the Chinese Mencius. Simcox says that "Chinese radicalism, it seems, lost some of its sweet resemblances and temperance in the course of transmission, and the communistic element in Mazdak's doctrine is a purely Persian addition." [1]

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

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

According to the above-quoted passage of the Dabistân, Mazdak, while preaching his tenets of wealth and women being common property, pretended to take "the religion of Zardusht" for his authority. It is like our modern saying of the Devil quoting the Scripture. We do not know, on what authority, the Dabistân bases its statement, when it makes Mazdak say "So taught the religion of Zardusht". But if the statement is correct, and if Mazdak rested — however wrongly — on the authority of the teachings of Zoroaster, let us see what that writing was. I think it is the passage of the Vendidâd above referred to (IV, 44). The passage speaks of a *hâmo-daêna* (co-religionist) going to another co-religionist, and asking for help. According to the Dabistân, Mazdak also speaks of a *ham-dîn* هم‌دین [2], i. e., a co-religionist sharing his wealth and wife with another *ham-dîn*. Again in the Pahlavi commentary of a passage [3] (Vend. IV, 49)

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[1] Simcox: "Primitive Civilizations," Vol. II., p. 129.

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

[3] *Vide* above p. 117.

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

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

THE LAW AND ITS REPRESENTATIVES IN PERSIA.

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

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

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

The Gulistan of Shaikh Muslihu'd dîn Sa'dî of Shîrâz. By John Platts. London, 1874.

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

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

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

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

A variety of pledges گرو *girav* is mentioned. They are the saddle-cloth نمد زین *namad-i-zîn* (Gul. I. 14, p. 26) and the clothing مرقع *murakk'a* which the Sûfîs used to pawn for wine.[2]— Bus. VII. 128, p. 339.

ز این صوفیان بین که می خورده اند
مرقع بسیکی گرو کرده اند

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

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

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

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

One of the commonest offences was theft: of money (Bus. VII. p. 327); of blankets گلیم *galîm* (Gul. II. 13, p. 52); of articles clothing بغلطاق *baghiltâk* (Bus. IV. 272)[1]; of turbans دستار *dastâr* Bus. IV. 410, p. 272); and of caskets دُرج *durj* (Gul. II. 5,). The thief used to force an entrance into the house from roof on to which he swung himself by means of a rope (Bus. V. 410, p. 271; Gul. V. 19, p. 118). Night watchmen پاسبان *pâsbân* (Bus. I. 833, p. 121; Gul. I. 17, p. 28), and عسس *'asas* the night-patrol; (Bus. II. 189, p. 503[2]) are appointed as a protection against thieves. If the thief was caught red-handed, he was sure to receive a good thrashing. He was then handed over to the judge, with his hands tied behind his neck (Bus. V. 73, p. 294). The usual punishment for thieves was that their hands were cut off. (Gul. III. 29, p. 85; II. 13, p. 52; VII. 19, p. 139.) Sometimes, but more rarely, their heels were pierced. (Gul. VII. 19, p. 139).

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

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

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

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

[2] Cf. Jacob, Das Weinhaus nebst Zubehör nach den Gaselen des Hafiz, p. 4.

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

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

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

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

کسی بندگان را بود د ستگیر
کم خورد بود ه باشد ببندی اسیر

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

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

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

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

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

The execution of punishment was in the hands of the head of the police, شحنه *shakhnah*. (Gul. VIII. 110, p. 170).[2] He had to settle more important matters than the *muhtasib*, such as matrimonial quarrels, like the Kâzi (Gul. VI. 8, p. 125), cases of assault, murder and manslaughter (Gul. VIII, 108, p. 149), and was greatly feared on account of his rigour (Gul. VIII. 110, p. 170).

The Kâzi whose turban was made of 50 yards of stuff (Bus. IV. 121, p. 262) sat on his judgment cushion مسند قضا *masnad-i-kozâ* (Gul. V. 19, p. 116), wrapped up in his طاق *tâk* (Bus. IV. 116, p. 341),[3] surrounded by the jury, and pronounced his sentence فتوی *fatwâ* (Bus. I. 265, p. 57). A written decree سجل *sijil* (Bus. I. 147, p. 45) in which were recorded the sentence and the reasons of the judge, was also handed over to the parties concerned.

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

همه کس را دندان بترشی کند گردد
مگر قاضیانرا بشیرینی
قاضی که برشوت بخورد پنج خیار
ثابت کند از بهر تو صد خربزهٔ زار

[1] On the functions of the Muhtasib, cf. Behrnauer, Journal Asiatique 1860: II. 119–190, 347, 392; 1861: I, 1-76.— Cf Goldziher, Muh. Studien I. 259, according to which the surveillance of public demonstrations of grief were within the sphere of the Muhtasib. — Cf. further: Raph du Mans, Estat de la Perse en 1660, p. 36.

[2] Cf. Jacob, Das Weinhaus nebst Zubehör nach den Gaselen des Hafiz, p. 5.

[3] طاق une robe ordinairement d'indienne, ouverte par devant; c'est à peuprès le feredje et le caftan des Turcs; quelquefois aussi ce mot désigne le turban à chaperon (*tailesân*). — Barbier de Meynard.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CARL PHILIPP.

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

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

[3] On the activity of the *muarref* as a matrimonial agent, cf. Estat de la Perse en 1660. par Raph Du Mans. p. p. Schefer (Publ. de l'école des langues orient. viv. 2e série 20) p. 38.

THE AVESTIC 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 AND THE VEDIC यजाने

The exact parallelism of the grammatical forms in two cognate languages, which is so peculiarly apt to set off the contrasting features of their phonetics, is, except in the case of the Lituanic and the Lettic, perhaps nowhere so remarkably prominent as in the Avestic, and the Vedic Sanskrit. Vedic Sanskrit, in truth, is a *contradictio in adjecto* in so far as Vedic is not Sanskrit, and Sanskrit not Vedic. संस्कृत (-उक्ति-भाषा) is, as I pointed out already in 1881 (see page XXXIII of the preface to Vol. IV of my Rigveda translation), the participle of the verb संस्कुरुते (Catap. Br. X. 5, 1, 3) taken in the sense "he construes correctly", "he speaks correct grammar". So the language of the Catapatha-Brahmana was in its time certainly "the Sanskrit" of the time being, though, later on, it has been superseded by a more modern form, supposed to be more regular and more grammatical. People might, therefore, have spoken of a "sanskriti" or of a "samskâra", although this has not been the case. It is clear likewise that the term प्राकृत (-उक्ति-भाषा) has nothing at all to do with "sanskrita". प्राकृत is necessarily derived from प्राकृतयः (common people), adj. प्राकृत (प्राकृत पुरुष; प्राकृत भाषा, language of the vulgar.)

Though the term "sanskrita" applied to a particular form of speech is not found in Pânini (only संस्कृतम अन्नम etc.), we see that the verb itself was used evidently long before his time. We might translate संस्कृत as "settled". Vedic Sanskrit is, therefore, an incorrect expression. Pânini uses only भाषा. A correct *learned* denomination would be मानवी भाषा as मानव is the oldest, most genuine, ethnic denomination for the Indians of the Vedic times. But for the want of a specific term, equally short, significant and comprehensive, the word संस्कृत used perhaps now and then in a less rigorous acceptation may pass unchallenged.

As a previous knowledge of phonetic laws permits us to construe beforehand the grammatical forms, whether we know only

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

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

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

जाजम अद्य जजाने इम । जिजाहीहा जिजायिषि ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

यजानि	यजाने
यजः	यजस्व

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

यजतु यजतां
यजाव यजावहाइ

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

A. Ludwig.

DANTE E FIRDAUSI.

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

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

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

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

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(TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE.)

DANTE AND FIRDAUSI.

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

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

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

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

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THE LAST KABISEH.

A good deal of controversy is raging in the Parsi Community for over a century and a half as to the different year commencements of the Zoroastrians living in Persia after the Mahomedan conquest and of those that came down to India to escape from the Mahomedan persecution with the object of preserving their religion. As far as the tradition goes, the band of the fugitives to India had brought with them the calendar they had been observing in their motherland during the last days of their Empire, and this calendar they followed with peace and content during their residence in India for nearly eleven centuries, until a number of persons from amongst them discontinued the old reckoning on the advice and persuasion of a learned Dastur named Jâmâsp and a Behedin named Jamshed. These people arrived [1] from Persia in the years 1090 and 1105 of the Yezdezardi era, [2] and, observing a month's difference in the calendar of the Iranian Zoroastrians and the Indian Parsis, induced a number of their Indian co-religionists to adopt the Calendar in vogue at the time amongst the Persian Zoroastrians. It was at this period, after eleven centuries of residence in India, that the Indian Zoroastrians divided themselves into the Kadmi and the Shahanshâi sects, the former commencing their year exactly one month in advance of the latter. [3] After

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

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

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

this schism a very acrimonious controversy seems to have been carried on by learned men and Dasturs [1] on both sides, some books were published by them and the Mahomedan learned men in Persia were written to and consulted on the subject.[2] The Shahanshâi Dasturs, in explanation of this difference, urged that the ancestors of the Zoroastrian fugitives to India had, before leaving their motherland, accomplished a month's *Kabiseh*, that was already due, in the mountains of Khurâsân, where a number of pious Zoroastrians had already retreated a little before the Mahomedan invasion of their country.[3] It is said that in their mountainous homes those pious Zoroastrians had regulated their religious year by marking the last intercalation as enjoined by their religion, which their other co-religionists living in Persia proper or in large towns could not accomplish on account of the disturbed condition of their country.[4] Again, owing to the hardships, troubles and inabilities which the fugitives to India had to put up with even in their adopted country, they could not get any opportunity of accomplishing future intercalations that had become due, after the one they had added before leaving Persia, and hence their year has been one of 365 days only since their arrival in India. It was on this account that a month's difference was observed by Dastur Jâmâsp and by the Behdin Jamshed on their coming to India from Persia. On the other hand, the Kadmi Dastur Mullan Feroz maintained that no *Kabiseh* was enjoined in their religion, and none were practised for religious purposes in Persia during the Persian Empire, but that it was only for political and revenue purposes that the incomplete year of 365 days was intercalated after certain intervals, and that the Shahanshâi assertions were groundless.

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

[1] Dastur Mullan Feroz on the Kadmi side and Dasturs Aspandiarji Kamdinji and Edulji Sanjana of the Shahanshâis.

[2] *Vide* Mobad Dossabhoy Sorabji Munshi's "જરથોસ્તી દીનમાં કબીસાની રીવાયતની કીતાબ" on the Shahanshâi side and "કેસાસે બરને રીવાયત" on the Kadmi side in which their replies are published.

[3] *Vide* Dastur Aspandiarji Kamdinji's કદીમ તારીખ પારસીઓની કબર ઉપરને કબીસાની કીફીયત, p. 19.

[4] *Vide* p. 19 of Dastur Aspandiarji's book mentioned before.

With the present knowledge of the Avesta and Pahlavi works amongst the Parsis the Kadmi Dastur's contention is no longer taken to be a fact in any way worthy of serious consideration, and the Kadmi savant, the venerable Mr. K. R. Cama, has now definitely satisfied the intelligent portion of both the Kadmi and the Shahanshâi sects, that a system of intercalating the incomplete year of 365 days, followed by the ancient Persians, was not only in vogue, but that it was a religious enjoinment on the Zoroastrians, which was scrupulously observed by them in the days of their Empire. But, notwithstanding the correctness of the Shahanshâi Dastur's view as to the necessity and observance of intercalation for religious purposes, their assertion that the last *Kabiseh* was made by their ancestors in the mountains of Khurâsân, before leaving their motherland, has neither been proved nor supported by any historical or documentary evidence, direct or indirect, either from the writings of Zoroastrian, or any other alien author or authors, or from any available authentic dates of events after the fall of their empire. It is true that many of the Mahomedan writers of Persia have recorded that the Persian nation used to intercalate their year of 365 days by adding one whole month every 120 years, as enjoined by their religion, during the days of their empire,—a practice given up by them after the fall of their last King Yezdezard bin Shahriâr in 651 A.D. But none of these writers, so far as their works are now known, refer to the last *Kabiseh* as having been accomplished by the Zoroastrians during or after the reign of their last King Yezdezard and, as stated above, the Shahanshâi Dasturs in India who have taken part in this controversy have not been able to prove the accomplishment of this last *Kabiseh* by their ancestors in the mountains of Khurâsân, during or after the last days of their empire. However, Mr. K. R. Cama, a Kadmi by birth, has pointed out in his learned treatise, "Yezedezardi Târikh", that the date [1] of consecration of the firetemple at Navsari proves that there was a month's difference between the Indian and Persian Zoroastrians at least three centuries before the Indian Zoroastrians divided them-

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

selves into two sects.

So far this is the only recorded date of the Indian Zoroastrians that supports, according to Mr. Cama's views the Shahanshâis' claim about the month's difference having existed long before the arrival of Dastur Jâmâsp into India. However, as Shamsh-ul-Olma Ervad J.J. Modi points out, the year of the date of this firetemple is given in Dastur Shâpurji Mânekji Sanjânâ's poem "*Kisseh-i Atash Varharâm kedar Sheher-i Naosâri Nao sakhte*" as 785 of the Yezdezardi era. In an original rough manuscript of this *Kisseh* in the possession of Mr. Sorabji Muncherji Desâi, the Hindu and the Yezdezardi years given are Samvat 1472 and 785 respectively. In the "*Parsi Prakâsh*" Vol. I., p.s., note 2, the year given is 1475 Samvat, and the same year is given on the margin of a fair copy of the above *kisseh*, in the Dastur Meherji Rana Library[1] "સંવત ૧૪૭૫ રોજ ૨૯ મો માહા ૬ હો અશાદ શુદ ૫ ને બુધે સને ૭૮૪ હીજરી (?)" Mr. Modi himself wants to take this year as 885 Yezdezardi, because, as he shows from the *Revayets*, Changâ Shâ who is said to have taken the lead in the removal of the firetemple from Bansda must have flourished between 1440 and 1520 A. D., and the fire must have been brought from Bansda to Naosari sometime between 1511 and 1520 A. D.

So far, then, we have three different years in which that great event in the history of the Indian Parsis must have happened. However, on calculation we find that in all these three different years, 785[2], 788[3] and 885[4] of the Yezdezardi era, the *Rôj Mâh* given along with the Hindoo *Tithi* and the month were actually the Shahanshâi *Rôj Mâh*, one month behind those of the Kadmis as calculated from the first day of the Yezdezardi era.

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

[2] This is perhaps the source of Mr. Cama's date.

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

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

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

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

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

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[1] *Vide* his book "કબીસાની કસર" p. 149. શરાવણ શુદ ૯ ને બાર શુક્ર સને ૭૭૨ રોજ ૨ જો અહમન, માહ ૪ થો તીર.

[2] *Vide* "The Indian Calendar" by Messrs. Robert Sewell and Sankar Balkrishna Dixit. pp. 26-29.

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

From the writings of Alberuni [1], which are now available to the Parsi community through the English translation of Dr. Sachau, it will be seen that in the time of the Arabic author, *i.e.*, in 1000 A.D., the different Zoroastrian communities still lingering for existence in Persia proper and the surrounding districts of Sogdiana, Khurâsân and Khvârizmia had a difference in their calendar, the Zoroastrians of Khurasân and Khvârizmia being a month behind those living in Persia proper, and references supporting this view from Alberuni's writings, as I have elsewhere shown, [2] can be taken to support the Shahanshâi tradition about the last intercalation having been accomplished by their ancestors in the mountains of Khurâsân before they left for India. In this last intercalation, as alleged, very probably, their co-religionists, living in the towns and cities of Persia, could not participate on account of the disturbed condition of their country, and hence the difference of a month in the calendars of the two portions of the followers of the ancient faith, observed by the Persian Dastur Jâmâsp, as stated above, in the seventeenth century. It was perhaps on this account that, as now seen from Alberuni's references about the Khvârizmian and Khurâsânian festivals, this difference was in

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

[2] *Vide* my articles on "The Ancient Iranian Calendar as described by Alberuni"—with notes and comments, published in the "Zartoshti" Vol. IV. Nos. 2-4, 1907 A. D.

existence in the tenth century A. D., long before which time the fugitives from Khurâsân are supposed to have taken shelter under the Indian skies.

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

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

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

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

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

As we have observed above, when the fifteenth day of the fourth month coincided with the middle of summer, that is 31st July or 1st August, the eleventh day of the tenth month should have fallen on 24th or 25th January which is nearly the middle of winter, although the actual middle day of winter would be 31st January,[2] and, therefore, Alberuni does not say that it *coincided* with the middle of winter as in the case of the fifteenth day of the fourth month which, he says, *coincided with the middle of Summer*. This definite phraseology of the author greatly helps us in fixing the Zoroastrian *Roj Mâh* with the Christian dates.

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

But when we remember that the first day Hormazd of the first month Farvardin of the Persians coincided with the Vernal Equinox in Alberuni's time, as stated by him,[3] the inevitable conclusion is that there was a difference of exactly one month between the Zoroastrians living in Persia proper and those residing in Khvârizmia.

Again, Alberuni, referring to the first day of the sixth month Shahrivar of the Persians, says:—*In our time the people of Khurâsân have made it the beginning of autumn.*"[4] If the first day of the 6th month were to commence with the autumn *i.e.*, the 16th or 17th of September (O.S.), according to Alberuni,[5] the begining of the year would fall on the 19th or 20th of April. Thus we find that the Zoroastrians of Khurâsân as well as of Khvârizem, provinces both situated to the North and South of each other, commenced their year a month later than their co-religionists of Persia proper in Alberuni's time.

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[1] Alberuni, p. 224. [2] The winter solstice day being then on the 17th December (O. S.): See Alberuni p. 238. [3] *Vide* Ch. IX., p. 207.
[4] See Alberuni, p. 207.—The Italics are mine. [5] Alberuni, p. 266.

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

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

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

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

concurrently on the identical Christian dates with a month's difference, till, again, the addition of the five Gâthâ days at the end of the Aspandârmad Mâh by the Khvârizmian and and the Khurâsânians increased the difference from 30 to 35 days. Alberuni's information about this difference of five days between the Persians and the Khvârizmians and Khurâsânians being due to the system of the former adding the five Gâthâ days at the end of the Âbân Mâh since the time of the last intercalation, is borne out by other independent testimony of various dates from 505 A. D. to 977 A. D. discussed and calculated by Dr. M. B. Davar M. A., PH. D. in his Gujerati monograph, "Which is the first month of the Zoroastrian calendar?" Beginning with the earliest date in 505 A. D. supplied by Mr. M. P. Kharegat on the authority of the Indian Astronomer and Astrologer Vahrâmihr[1], and ending with the date in 977 A. D. obtained from the German works of Ideler, Dr. Davar has confirmed not only our author's statement regarding the position of the five Gâthâ days at the end of the Âbân Mâh but also similar statements of the Mahomedan historians like Maçoudi and others who have mentioned this Persian practice of putting the five Gâthâ days at the end of the eighth month Âbân.

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

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

their Empire.

As Alberuni [1] tells us, in his time there were two groups of Zoroastrians living in Sogdiana and Khvârizem and Khurâsân, who adhered to their original practice of putting the five Gâthâ days at the end of their last month Aspandârmad, even after the time when the Persians adopted the system of putting them at the end of the month which they had last intercalated.[2] Hence it may safely be concluded that the pious Zoroastrians that came to India must have formed a part of the Khvârizmian and Khurâsânian group, observing the exact calendar they were following in their motherland where the Gâthâ days were added after the last month Aspandârmad. This view has also the direct support of the tradition recorded in the earliest account of this band of refugees to India preserved in the "*Kisseh-i-Sanjân*", wherein it is distinctly stated that these Indian immigrants were a portion of the pious people[3] who had taken shelter in the mountains of Khurâsân, just before or soon after the Mahomedan conquest of Persia, simply for the preservation of their religion and that, when these Zoroastrians built their first Fire-temple on the Indian soil they had sent for, from Khurâsân, the *âlât* (*i.e.*, religious requisites such as the *varesa*, *barsam* etc.), and that with these materials there came to India a further batch of pious Zoroastrians from the same place to help their co-religionists in the work.[4]

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

[1] Alberuni, p. 221.

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

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

[3] Alberuni terms them "Magians". See p. 56.

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

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

Mr. Cama's first quotation is,[1] "તા૦ ૮ મી જહજ મહીનાની સને ૩૫, હીજરી ને ચાર બુધને દીને ઈરાની લોકોનો નોરોજ હતો." Now Mr. Cama has shown from calculation that the eighth day of the Mahomedan month Zil-hijja of the 35th year Hijri fell on 11th June (N. S.) and 8th June (O.S.) 656 A. D., the day of the week being Wednesday, and the Naoroz or the first day of the Farvardin Mâh of the Persians of their 25th year of the Yezdezardi era fell on 13th June (N. S.) and 10th June (O.S.) 656 A. D., from which Mr. Cama concludes that "the fourth Gahmbâr of the persians has been referred to in that date by the Mahomedan writer as Naoroz, because the days preceding and following the Naoroz are considered as auspicious as the Naoroz day". Here it may be remarked that this was the fifth Gahmbâr which fell on the Mahomedan date cited by Mr. Cama. The Mahomedans count their days from sunset to sunset and the Persians from sunrise to sunrise. Hence the sunset of 11th June (N. S.) and 8th June (O. S.) 656 commenced on the 8th day of the Mahomedan twelfth month Zil-hijja, and lasted upto the sunset of 12th June (N. S.) and 9th June (O. S.), the sunrise of which began on the 5th Gahmbâr of the Persians and termed "Naoroz" as is also commonly done by us in India on account of this confusion. Thus in the 24th year of Yezdezard the five Gâthâ days were added after the Aspandârmad Mâh and before the Farvardin month.

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

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

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

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

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

This date has been examined, as stated before, by Mr. Cama in his "*Yezdezardi Târikh*" and he has shewn that on that Hindu *tithi* the given Parsee Roj Mâh cannot fall, and probably, therefore, there is some mistake in the date in its present form. He, however, suggests that owing to the carelessness of later copyists who may have transcribed this date from some older manuscripts, the *Mâh* may have been written for the *Roj* and the *Roj* for the *Mâh*. He, therefore, takes the fourth month Tir mentioned in the date as the thirteenth day Tir of the second month and by calculation he arrives at the 13th Sud of the (*adhîk*) Shravan of the Samvat year 772. But, as this is four days later than the ninth day of the Hindu month given side by side, he rejects the whole date as incorrect. The second alternative reading he takes as Samvat year 992, when the given *Roj Mâh* tally with the given Hindoo *Tithi* and month, in the Yezdezardi year 305. But such a result is also arrived at by Dr. Davar in the Yezdezardi year 219, by taking the Saneh 772 as Shâke 772.[2] No doubt both the above alternative readings of the Hindu year given in the date are plausible, because they help us to keep intact the Hindu *tithi* and

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[1] *Vide* English Translation, p. 221.

[2] *Vide* Appendix to his Gujerati monograph, "The first day of the Parsi Calendar".

month and the Parsi *Roj Mâh*. But the Parsi *Roj Mâh* thus arrived at turn out to be the Kadmi *Roj Mâh* in the above conjectural years, although the date is ostensibly cited to prove the Shahanshâi claim of a month's *Kabiseh*. Besides, these years throw back the time of the arrival of the Parsis in India two centuries later than the Kisseh-i-Sanjan tradition. There is no doubt that that date in its present form is not correct, but the elements of any alternative reading, owing to careless copying only, need not be fundamentally destructive to the claim in support of which it is tendered. The date must not be supposed to have been manufactured or recently inserted in its place by some artful or clever brains to support the Shahanshâi claim. In that case it could not have disclosed the incorrectness in some parts as it now does. The date seems to have been honestly, though rather carelessly, copied from some older records, either by Dastur Aspandiarji or some of his previous informants. And now when we are in a position to see that there was a difference of one month between the Persian (Kadmi) and the Khurâsânian (Shahanshâi) calendar, long before the 369th year of the Yezdezardi era, in which year the Zoroastrians of Khvârizmia are described by Alberuni to have been in such a condition that they could not have undertaken any religious or social reform, in conflict with the major portion of their co-religionists the Persians, [1] we are tempted to consider whether the above date could not be found to be the date of those who separated from the Khvârizmian Zoroastrians and came down to India in the early days of the fall of the Persian Empire.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[1] *Vide* Indian Calendar, pp. 18-20.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DHUNJEEBHOY NAOROSJI COORLAWALLA.

GAJASTAK ABALISH.

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

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

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

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

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

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

not regarded as sinners and ignorant persons?"

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

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

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

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

MINOCHEHR DASTUR JAMASPJI JAMASP ASA.

ANCIENT CEREMONIES: ADDITIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS MADE IN THEM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Haoma-Zairi — the Green Haoma Plant.

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

Another Use of the Haoma : Household Medicine.

According the Avesta, this plant possesses some effective properties. Therefore, it was used also for the purposes of household medicine, in addition to its use in ceremonies. We are told of Iranian ladies deriving benefits from its use, just as the officiating priests did.[1] We also find the expression of a wish that the mortar for pounding the plant may be used widely in houses and streets, cities and countries.[2] From this it appears that the haoma plant was used as a medicinal shrub. Dr. Atchison says that the people of Afghanistan and Baluchistan even now use a shrub which they call *Hûm*, for medicinal purposes.

The Haoma shrub grows abundantly on the mountain ranges and valleys of the Albûrz. Its noble properties became manifest for the first time to *Haoma Frâshmi* and hence its name, *Haoma Zâiri*, from its discoverer, Haoma. The first to use it and to promulgate its use was this same celebrity.[3]

The Avestic Haoma and The Vedic Saoma.

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

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[1] Yasna I, 15. [2] Visperad XII, 5. [3] Mihir Yt., 90.

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

Havana : The Mortar for Pounding the Haoma.

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

Varesa-Haomo-Angharezana : The Sieve for Straining the Juice of the Haoma.

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

[1] Visperad, I, 2.

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

Evidence Afforded by the Existing Ceremonial.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We find two historical instances of the Barsam. Herodotus

[1] Visperad XI, 1.

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

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

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

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

The Dais of the Mobad and of the Brahmin.

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

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

BUNDLE.

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

That the Barsam was obtained from a particular tree is directly proved from a passage in the Vendidâd. In anwer to a question of Zarathushtra addressed to Ahura Mazda as to how the good creation should be praised, he is advised to cut off the Barsam from a "beautiful, living and strong tree" in the act of reciting certain prayers.[2] Although, at present, the use of the Barsam got out of the twigs of a tree has ceased, yet we find even in comparatively recent works a description of the ceremony, in which the Barsam is to be cut from the tree. It is stated in those books that the leaves and knots of as many slender twigs as are required

[1] Yasna LVII, 6.

[2] Fargard XIX, 18.

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

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

Evidence Afforded by Extant Ceremonies.

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

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

Twigs Used in Ceremonies by Mobads and by Brahmins.

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

[1] Sec. 105.

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

Aiviaonghan : The Dais and the Tying Material.

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

The Tying Material.

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

[1] Yasna LVII, 6.

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

Aiviaonghan and the Waist-Girdle called the Kushti : A Comparison.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HADHANAEPATA: THE ROOT OF THE POMEGRANATE TREE AND FUEL.

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

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

EVIDENCE AFFORDED BY THE EXTANT CEREMONIAL.

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

[1] Fargard XVIII, 3.

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

The Sweet-Scented Fuel.

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

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

[1] Farg. XVIII, 71.

[2] Farg. XIV, 2-4.

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

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

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

EVIDENCE AFFORDED BY THE EXTANT CEREMONIAL.

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

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

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

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

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

[1] Yas. XXXIV, 11. [2] Yas. XXXIII, 8.

press pure and excellent ideal food: " *Yô nâ franghuharena Haurvatbya Ashem staoiti*", *i.e.*, "Whoso praises *Ashem* whilst taking food and drink."[1] Just as here these words are used to represent the best food, so in this same Nask pounded haoma is given an importance as the type of another kind of holy food. There an *Ashem* recited after partaking of the haoma food is held of great value.[2]

These two examples lend great support to the Zoroastrian practice of saying grace before and after meals in thanksgiving to Ahura Mazda. Besides, we find in the Zamyâd Yasht that as the angels contending against hunger and thirst, and the *Daevas* presiding over the distresses consequent thereon, the names of Khordâd and Amerdâd are given.[3]

The learned scholar Ervad Sheriarji Bharucha has given a weighty explanation regarding the *darun*. According to him, it was, at first, a holy liquid like the juice of the haoma. For we find in the Vendidâd " *Haomahe, hutahe, dadhâite usefritinâm vâ myazdanâm, i.e.*, " The pounded haoma or *aostofarîd* gives the *Myazda*."[4] The literal translation of this is found in the Patet Pashimâni thus: " *Hôm, darun, Aostofarîd, myazdân, nehâdeh*".[5] The Avestan words *haoma huta* have been translated as *hôm darun* in the Pazend sentence. In the

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[1] Sec. 6. [2] Sec. 9. [3] Sec. 96. [4] Farg. XVIII, 12.

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

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

Gaush-Hudhao : Goshudo.

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

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

becomes clear from the modern ritual.

EVIDENCE AFFORDED BY THE EXTANT CEREMONIAL.

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

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

ANIMAL SACRIFICE : THE CHANGES AND IMPROVEMENTS MADE IN IT.

The ancient Iranians used to offer innocent creatures as a sacrifice to the Yazads. The *gâush-hudhâo*, *i. e.*, ghee, and the *gâm jiviâm*, *i. e.*, milk, and the other implements now in vogue in the *yajashne* ceremonial are only an improvement on the cruel practice of sacrificing four-footed animals. As a consequence of this improvement, it was found necessary later on, and especially in the Sâssânian times,to change the root meaning of the names of certain ceremonial implements and other proper nouns, whilst the names themselves were retained. Principal amongst these are the *yasna*, *zaothra*, *myazda*, *goshudo*, *jivâm*, etc.

THE YASNA : OFFERING.

The Avestic Yasna corresponds with the Vedic *Yagna* which is the name of the sacrificial ceremony which was in vogue among the Brahmins. We find in the Avesta and the Vedas a description of many such *Yagnas*. There is, for instance, the *Ashwamegha yagna*,

the name for the horse sacrifice which was common amongst the Brahmins. In a similar way, the ancient Iranians used to offer horses, bulls and goats as a sacrifice to the Yazads.[1] The representative of the Avestic *Yasna* in the Pahlavi and modern Persian is *Yajishn*. Its root meaning is that of *worship*, yet, later on, the original name being retained, an improvement is made in this respect that it is used in the good sense of adoring and praising. It may be noted that to represent the idea of adoring and praising we have in the Pahlavi and modern Persian the word *setâishn* from the Avestic root *stu*, as well as the word *niyâyishn* from the same root as Yasna with the prefix *ni* superadded, and we have also the word *zbâyishn* from the root *zbe*.

Zaothra: Ceremonial Implements.

The Avestic *zaothra* corresponds with the Sanskrit *hotra*. Its root meaning is that of sacrifice, and it is frequently found used in the Avesta in connection with the ceremony for sacrificing animals.[2] The original name being retained, its meaning has been changed at a later stage, and the word now signifies the innocent ceremonial implements and holy offerings, like ghee, milk, food, water etc. Especially in the *Yajishna* ceremony, the holy water prepared from the juice obtained by pounding, squeezing and straining the haoma with the *hadhânaepata* to which juice some milk is added, is called by the special appellation of *Zor* or *Zaothra*. This beverage *Zor* is held in great importance especially in the Pahlavi books. It is found collected in the first pot on the *âlât-gâh* to the right of the Zaotar.

Myazda: Green and Dry Fruit.

Philologists translate the Avestic *myazda* as flesh-meat, and we find in the Vendidâd the sentence "*myazdem.....gaomantem madhumantem*" which means "the *myazda* of flesh and liquor".[3] In the Yasna this noun is used in the sense of a holy offering for the *darun*, the *goshudo*, the *haoma*, and the *para-haoma*. Although we find in the Avesta the word *bara* for fruit, yet the original meaning of *myazda* has been changed to denote the innocent offering of green and dry fruits, such as we find used in the *Afringân* and *bâj* ceremonies.

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[1] *Vide* Aban Yt. [2] Tishtar Yt. 56, etc.
[3] Farg. VIII, 22.

Goshudo : Ghee.

The Avestic *gâush-hudhâo* means literally "cattle of the good creation". Harlez and other scholars interpret it as the "flesh of the cow." Under the belief that the word denotes flesh-meat there has originated the custom of preparing minced meat balls which are placed as an offering in the *bâj* ceremony, in place of the *goshudo*. Although this gives an idea of the old, old times when the custom of offering animal sacrifices was prevalent, we now find only ghee used in modern ceremonies. We do, indeed, find the word *raoghna* in the Avesta, corresponding with the Pahlavi and modern Persian *roghan*, to denote ghee, yet the word *goshudo* is now interpreted to mean ghee, which is all that is now used where *goshudo* is mentioned in the old books.

Jivam : Milk.

The literal meaning of the Avestic *gâm jiviâm* is "live cattle". Prof. Harlez and other translators have interpreted it as "fresh cut meat". *Jivâm* comes from the root *ji*, to live, and it is an adjective used as a noun. Although we find the word *payangh* in the Avesta corresponding with the Sanskrit *payas* to denote the milk of an animal, yet the word *jivâm* is now interpreted to mean milk as a precious object of nutrition for life.

The Rashnu Yasht and the Brahmanic Yagna Ceremonial: A Comparison.

In the Avesta different objects are named as fit offerings to different Yazads. The sacrifice offered to Âbân and Drvâsp consisted of animals and cattle ; to Haoma was offered a specific portion of an animal ; a similar offering was made to Fire and Water ; and to Tishtar and Behrâm was offered a small, fine animal. Just as offerings of animals were made to some angels, so to others corn preparations were dedicated. In the Yasht literature we find a description of the delicious corn preparations offered to the Yazads Rashnu, Vayu, Âdar and Âbân. Although nowadays no particular offerings are made to particular Yazads, the recital of the *Satûm* in the presence of flesh and corn dishes, now in vogue, recalls to us the ancient practice of offering flesh and corn dishes to the Yazads.

A description is found in the Rashnu Yasht of the special offerings of corn preparations made to Rashnu. We are given there the names of four distinct objects, *varô-uzdâtem*, *perenâm-*

vighzhârayeintîm, raoghnyâm-varanghem and *âzuitîm urvarâm*. A good deal of difference of opinion exists among scholars regarding the meaning of these terms. Prof. Darmesteter considers the term *varô varanghem* to mean "an ordeal". Dr. Haug says that adorations to Rashnu were made in accompaniment with fruit and ghee placed before the fire. I believe that these terms are the names of the particular objects which the ancient Irânians used to offer to the Yazads, and they correspond to the objects sacrificed to the Daevas in the *yagna* ceremonials of the Brahmins. They are the dainty dishes called *dudhpâk*, *puri*, *vadân*, *bâkrâ* and *shrifal*, which were poured into the fire at the end of the Yagna ceremony. We have the following passage in point in the Rasnu Yasht :

Aetat tê jasânî avanghê azem yô Ahurô Mazdâo
Avi imat varô uzdâtem avi âtaremcha baresmacha
Avi perenâm-vighzhârayêintîm avi raoghnyâm varanghem
Âzuitîmcha urvaranâm.

i. e., "I who am Ahura Mazda will come to thee for assistance towards (the offering of) the *vadi* seasoned with an effervescing substance, towards the fire and the Barsam, towards the overflowing *dudhpâk*, towards the *vadân* fried in oil, and towards the *shrifal* of trees."

PERENA-VIGHZHARAYA — DUDHPAK (PURI).

On examining the etymology of the term *perena-vighzhâraya* we find that it is the name of a delicacy prepared out of milk. The root of the Avesta *ghzhâraya* is *ghzhar* or *khshar*, equivalent to the Sanskrit *kshar*, to flow or to curdle, and from that root we derive the modern Persian *shîr*, milk. The Avesta *ghzhâraya*, then, must mean, " made of milk", or " a preparation from milk". Again, from the Persian word *shîr* we have the Gujerati *khîr* which is the name given to a preparation from milk which is not sweetened with sugar. Anyhow, *ghzhâraya* appears to be the name of some delicacy, and that is clearly proved from the Vendidâd. The name is there found in the midst of a list of objects for dedication to the fire, and it is there explained as *kharetha*, " eatable", or rather, as " *khâsta kharetha*", " a delicious eatable".[1] We

[1] *Vide* Vendidad, XIX, 40: *Khasta Kharethao frabaroish perenam vighzharayeintim*, i. e., "Thou shalt carry the delicious dainty of plenty of *dudhpak*".

find with the name we are discussing, the adjective *perena*. If we take it as a noun, we may interpret it as *puranpoli* or *puranyân* or *puri*, all names of delicious eatables, and *perena-vighzhâraya* would then mean *puri dudhpâk* or something like it. We find *perena* named in the Vendidâd as one of the delicious eatables to be dedicated to the fire, and the now prevailing custom of making offerings of delicious eatables to the fire and water amongst Parsis, lends support to my humble attempt to interpret the Avesta phrase as I do. The dedications to fire and water are technically called by the names of *fulâru* and *patli* respectively.

RAOGHNYA VARANGHA — VADAN FRIED IN OIL.

Another object of dedication is *raoghnya varangha*. *Varangha* may be compared to the *vadân* of the Brahmins. *Vadân* is an eatable prepared from the flour of certain kinds of grain and fried in oil. As the eatable has to be fried, we have in the Avesta the term *raoghnya*, equivalent to the Pahlavi and Persian *raoghan*, one of whose meanings is "oil". That is why I suggest that *raoghnya varangha* denotes "*vadân* fried in oil".

We find an enjoinment to prepare *vadân* during the Gahmbârs in the same way as the eatable was, of old, dedicated to the Yazad Rashnu. We have in the *Afringân-i-Gahmbâr* the phrase *garemô varanghem dasti antare Mazdâ yasnâish*, which suggests that the faithful should partake of hot *vadân* after they are consecrated. Although, at first sight, it appears to be a new thing to count such an article of food as an object of dedication, yet we are as ignorant of the antiquity of the custom which is now in vogue amongst us, as we are about the significance of the phrases. During the Farvardegân days, it is a common practice to prepare cakes of rice flour in oil, and to place them together with other eatables before the reciter of the *Satûm* prayer.

VARANGHA UZDATEM — SEASONED VADI.

The name of the third offering is *varô* which is the same as *varangha*. The former is neuter, the latter masculine. We have the *vadân* and *vadi* as names of two different delicacies among Hindus. *Vadi* is a preparation made of the flour of gram seasoned with pepper and the like, in various shapes, resembling the pawns of chess. It is common to season the preparation, before it is fried, with some effervescing substance, and we have in the Avesta the

term *uzdâta* coupled with *varô* to give expression to a similar practice of seasoning the preparation. *Varô uzdâtem*, then, would signify *vadi* seasoned with an effervescing substance.

AZUITI URVARA — THE URVAR OF A TREE.

The name of the fourth offering is *âzuitîm urvaranâm*. The former of these two words denotes fat and the like, but its use here with the noun *urvarâ* shows that it is something pertaining to trees. I compare it with the *shrifal* used in the *Yagna* ceremonial of Brahmins. The Brahmins cast *shrifal* into the fire at the end of the *Yagna* ceremony, and this act is called *purnâhuti*. Parallel to this term in the Rashnu Yasht is the term *âzuiti*. The two terms are quite alike. The only difference lies in the additional prefix *purna* in the former word, which points to the completion of the ceremony. But that prefix is not coupled with the Avesta word, because the offering does not come at the end of the ceremony, as in the Hindu custom. In the Yasna ceremony the last offering is that made to water, and it consists of the strained juice of the *haoma* and *hadhânaepata* mixed with milk. I suggest, therefore, that the meaning of *âzuiti urvarâ* is "fruit of trees" or dry fruit.

There is a difference in the use made by Mobads and by Brahmins of the things dedicated in the *Yasna* and *Yagna* ceremonials. Whereas the Brahmins cast most of them in the fire, the Mobads use them as holy food to be partaken of after consecration. For there is the strongest prohibition against burning in the fire anything but dry wood and fuel of sweet scent.

THE NUMBER OF MOBADS: THEIR RANK: CHANGES IN THEM.

At present only two Mobads perform the Yasna ceremony. But internal evidence from the Avesta shows that formerly there were eight priests who officiated in the ceremony. They had different functions, and each one did his work according to his rank.

The titles of the eight Mobads and their functions were as under :—

1. The *zaotar* was the head officiating priest.
2. The *hâvanân* was in charge of the *haoma* ceremonial.
3. The *âtarevakhsha* kept the fire burning.
4. The *fraberetar* had to bring in and take away ceremonial implements.
5. The *âberetar* brought in and carried away the *zôr*, *i. e.*,

the water prepared ceremoniously.

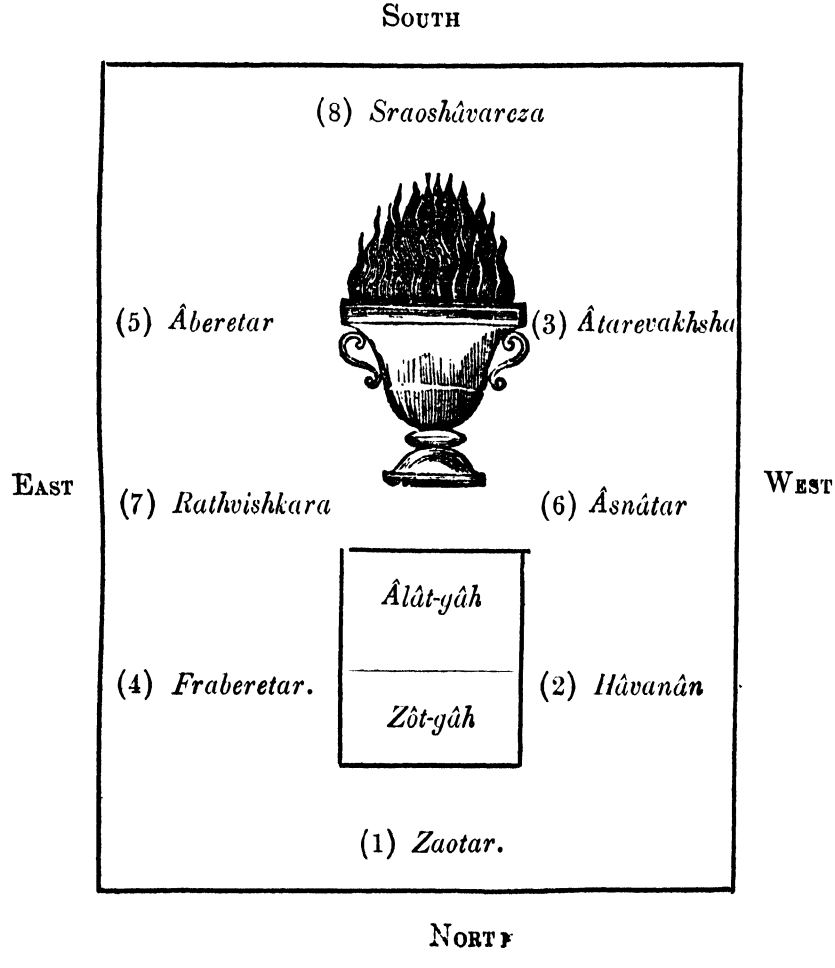
6. The *âsnâtar* washed and cleansed the ceremonial implements.

7. The *rathwishkara* arranged and placed the ceremonial implements in proper order.

8. The *sraoshâvareza* was the chastiser who corrected mistakes.

THE SEATS OF MOBADS.

Different seats were assigned to these eight Mobads, according to their rank, and they used to be in their proper seats which were arranged thus:—



The Need of the Presence of Eight Mobads.

The necessity for eight officiating priests is evidenced from the third chapter of the Vîsperad. There the head officiating priest, the *zaotar*, takes, as it were, the roll-call of his seven assistant Mobads. In modern times, with the exception of the *âtarevakhsha* there is no one present, and hence, in the course of the ceremonial, he leaves his seat and assuming different positions, one after another, he answers, "I am here". For instance, the *zaotar* says, "*hâvanânem âstâya*", *i. e.*, "Is the *hâvanân* here?" The *âtarevakhsha* immediately appears at the place marked (2) above, and says, "*azem visâi,*', *i.e.*, "I am here". It is clear from this that the other positions are meant to be occupied by other officiating priests. But in their absence, in modern ceremonies, it is the *âtarevakhsha* who jumps about from one place to another and answers the roll-call for himself and his six absent confrères.

Different Texts to be Recited by the Different Priests.

Eight Mobads were elected for the ceremony, and different texts were fixed for their recital. The seven parts of Yasna LVIII in the Vîsperad have to be recited by the seven assistants of the *zaotar*. But they are not present in modern ceremonies. Hence the *âtarevakhsha* alone recites them all. His own portion he recites from his proper place, (3) in the above table, and the other portions he recites severally from the other six positions for his absent confrères. This shows that the other six seats are meant for the other six officials of the ceremony, and that the texts recited from those positions by the *âtarevakhsha* were meant to be recited by them severally. The *zaotar* sits quiet after reciting in Yasna LVIII abovenamed, the passage from *tat shôidhish* upto *charekeremahi*, and then the *âtarevakhsha* recites the seven portions of the rest of the chapter from different places, for himself and the absent officials, as given in the following table, where the figures show the order in which the texts are recited:

(3) *Shraoshâvareza : Ilê châ.....thrâzhdûm.*

(6) *Âberetar : Haurvafshvô..... Ameretatâo.*

(7) *Âtarevakhsha : Haurvâm... avâchi.*

(4) *Rathvishkara : Thrâzhdûm .. thrâzhdûm.*

(5) *Âsnâtar : Pairi.....dademahi.*

(2) *Fraberetar: Haithyô.....cha-rekeremahi.* (1) *Hâvanân: Hê ptâ.....stâish.*

Similarly in the Vîsperad ceremony, the text *vanghu ... hvarshtô* in Yasna LIX is recited by the *âtarevakhsha* from the place assigned to the *fraberetar* by whom the text is to be recited. In the same *Hâ* the *âtarevakhsha* recites from the *hâvanân's* place to the right of the *zaotar*, the text *yênghê ...vantâ*. Again, thereafter, the *âtarevakhsha* recites from the place of the *fraberetar* the text *yênghê ... yazamaidê* as a substitute for the absent official. In the same *Hâ* for the *sraoshâvareza* the *âtarevakhsha* recites an *Ashem Vohû* from the position assigned to the former, a text which the *sraoshâvareza* ought to recite. We find in the Avesta many other passages of this kind, where the different Mobads have to recite certain texts severally from their own individual posts, but which texts are in modern ceremonies all recited for them by the *âtarevakhsha* who changes his seat during the recital of the several texts.

Rank of Mobads According to Qualifications.

The *zaotar* and his associate, the *âtarevakhsha* are often found speaking of their functions in ceremonies. A certain portion of the sublime text of the *ahunavar* is used for this purpose. The first of the three parts of the *ahunavar* is considered the seed of all texts for recital, and numerous texts sing of the excellences of this first part. Undoubtedly this part has an excellence which deserves all weight and consideration. At every moment we find the *zaotar* and the *âtarevakhsha* speaking of their respective functions and singing the excellence of this text. It is as follows:—

1. *Yathâ ahu vairyô zaotâ frâ mê mrûtê.*
2. *Yathâ ahu vairyô yô zaotâ frâ mê mrûtê.*
3. *Athâ ratush ashâtchit hacha frâ ashava vîdhvâo mraotû.*

Of these three sentences, the first speaks of the appointment of the head officiating priest, and invariably, the *zaotar* alone recites it. The second sentence which contains the relative pronoun is recited to speak of some particular official and of his functions. The pronoun is not used to point out with any gestures the official referred to, but it is used with the title of the official. We have an example of such titular designations, thus described in the Avesta. They are: *yô zaotâ; yô âtarevakhshô, yô fraberetô* and *yô sraoshâvarezô*. Thus we find what particular functionary is intended to

be spoken of. The second sentence above cited is recited both by the *zaotar* and the *âtarevakhsha*, but when it is recited by the latter, he does it in speaking of the *zaotar* and his functions, and when recited by the *zaotar* it is done to designate other officials and their functions. The third sentence with the *athâ ratush* is recited to denote the acceptance of their particular functions by the different officials. We shall try to understand the meaning of these sentences by examining them separately.

The *zaotar* first tells the *âtarevakhsha* to appoint a head of the ceremonial in these words: "*Yathâ ahu vairyô zaotâ frâ mê mrûtê*", *i. e.*, "Let me be declared the *zaotar* (for the recital of) the *Yathâ ahu vairyô*". Upon this, the *âtarevakhsha*, pronouncing not his own, but the *zaotar's* high dignity says: "*Yathâ ahu vairyô yô zaotâ frâ mê mrutê*," *i. e.*, "Let he who is the *zaotar* declare the *Yathâ ahu vairyô* to me. Now the *zaotar* taking charge of his post says: "*Athâ ratush ashâtchit hacha frâ ashava vidhvâo mraotû*", *i.e.*, "The pious learned *zaotar* declares *athâ ratush ashâtchit hacha*.

We find in the third chapter of the Vîsperad a passage where the *âtarevakhsha* takes the name of the *zaotar* and directly declares his authority, and in reply to this, the *zaotar* accepts the post with the titles. The only difference is this that, there instead of the *ahunavar*, the text referred to is that of the *staota yasna*, which is the name given to the collective group of the *yathâ*, *ashem* and *yênghê hâtâm* texts. The *âtarevakhsha* says: "*tum nô âthraom zaotastê*", *i. e.*, "O priest, thou art our *zaotar*." The *zaotar* says: "*Azem aeta zaota visâi staotanâm frasraothremcha, framarethremcha, frajâthremcha frâyêshtimcha*", *i. e.*, "As a *zaotar* I accept the hearing, remembrance, recital and offering of the *Staota Yasna*."

EVIDENCE AS TO THE POSITION OF MOBADS FROM THE RITUAL.

The ceremony of preparing and straining the haoma juice gives us a real idea about the appointment of a head officiating priest for the Yasna and other important ceremonies. In that ceremonial, when the officiating priest, having completed the ceremony, is sitting on the *zôt-gâh*, another Mobad enters the *Yajishna-gâh*, and declaring his candidature for the post of *zaotar*, says: "*Yathâ ahu vairyô zaotâ frâ mê mrûtê*", and immediately rising from the *zôt-gâh*, the other official makes room for him. Now the *zaotar* who is installed in his place recites the text "*Athâ ratush ashâtchit*

hacha frâ ashavâ vidhvâo mraotû", and with the word *shyaothnanâm* of the second of the two *ahunavars* he recites thereafter, he takes his seat and proceeds with the ceremony as head priest. Here we see the *zaotar* recognised as head for denoting the excellence of the ritual. The *âtarevakhsha*, too, has some position and dignity, and so the *zaotar* says: "*Yathâ ahu vairyô zaotâ frâ mê mrûtê*", *i. e.*, "Let the *âtarevakhsha* declare the *yathâ ahu vairyô* to me." The *âtarevakhsha* accepting this task, says: "*Athâ ratush ashâtchit hacha frâ ashavâ vidhvâo mraotû.*"

These two examples illustrate the position of the *zaotar* and the *âtarevakhsha*. Here when the *zaotar* asks the *âtarevakhsha* to describe the excellence of any particular ritual, the latter does it immediately, as he is present, there and then; and so likewise does the *zaotar* at the request of the *âtarevakhsha*. The principle is well observed with reference to these two functionaries, because they are both present in person. But it is not so observed in other cases. In the same way as the *zaotar* asks the *âtarevakhsha* to carry out his functions, he calls on the other officials of the ceremony to do theirs. These are the *fraberetar* and the *sraoshâvareza*. In their absence it is the *âtarevakhsha* who, in modern ceremonials, does their task. This is to be seen in the Vîsperad, in the recital of Yasna LXV; where the call to the *fraberetar* and the *sraoshâvareza* is answered by the *âtarevakhsha*.

We shall close our theme here. We notice from what we have seen in this essay, the antiquity of our ritual, and also the changes and improvements made therein with the change of time, place and circumstances. These changes and improvements are due mostly to the Sâssânian regime. The Zoroastrian religion has passed through many ups and downs since its first promulgation. It has seen many changes of Empires. A few improvements have been made in the ceremonies during the ascendancy of the Empire, and with the downfall of the Empire it has suffered from many evil influences.

KHURSHEDJI ERACHJI PAVRI.

A RECIPE FOR CONTENTMENT.

The following interesting extract from a Pahlavi treatise may be allowed to speak for itself :—

TRANSLITERATION.

Dârûk-i Khûrsandîh pavan mandavam-î chârîk lâ bâkht yekvîmûnêt va zakich-î chârîk darmân âsânîh denâ jahêt. Dârûkî yehvûnêt hanâ diram sang. Mînashnîk âmîkhtan dâneshnîkîhâ shanâkhtan khûrsandîh dâng-i sang. Amat denâ lâ vabidunam mâ vabidunam dângi. Min lidenâ yôm vad fartâk shapîr shâyêt yehevuntan dâng-i sang. Al at min denâ salîtar shâyêt bûtan dâng-i sang. Pavan denâ i mat yekvîmûnêt khûrsand bûtan li âsântar dâng-i sang. Va amat khûrsand lâ yehevûnam pavan kâr lâ shapîr li dushkhvârtar dâng-i sang.

Denâ dârûkîhâ baên hâvan-i shakîpâyîh kartan pavan hâvan dastak-î niyâîshnîh kûstan va pavan parnikân-î bîtvarîh vîkhtan va kolâ yôm avîr bâmdât II kapchak pavan kapchak-î afastân yazdân val pûmâ remîtûntan va mayâich-î shâyêt kartan. Min âkher khûrtan âkher avîgûmânihâ khûrsand yehevûntan mâ pavan tan va rûbân avîr sûtîmandtar.

TRANSLATION.

The medicine for contentment is not created as one of the curative drugs, yet the comfort produced by the curative drugs arises from it. It is the medicine of the weight of one *diram*. Take one-sixth[1] part of 'the mindful mixture, with its wise recognition, of contentment;'[2] one-sixth part of 'if I do not do this (my allotted task in this world), what shall I do?';[3] one-sixth part of 'one should be good from to-day till to-morrow';[4] one-sixth part of 'one should not become worse than this' (the present condition); one-sixth part of 'I am more comfortable on being contented with what has reached me (my present lot)';[5] one-sixth part of 'I am ill at ease when I am not contented, which is detrimental to my work'.[6]

Put these drugs in the mortar of patience, pound them with the pestle of prayer, sift them with a silken sieve, and every day,

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[1] *dâng*: one-sixth part of anything; a grain.
[2] *i. e.*, of the knowledge of contentment.
[3] *i. e.*, of industry and perseverance.
[4] *i. e.*, of continual progress.
[5] *i. e.*, of the comfort of contentment.
[6] *i. e.*, of the discomfort of discontent.

just at day-break, put two spoonfuls of them in the mouth with the spoon of prayer to the Sacred Beings, add a little water and then swallow (the mixture). Afterwards be contented without entertaining any doubt because it is more advantageous to both the body and the soul.

BAMANJI NASARVANJI DHABHAR.

ZRAVANA AKARANA — BOUNDLESS TIME.

In the Sâssânian period there were various beliefs current in Irân regarding the nature and manifestations of the Supreme Being, and other important questions relating to religion. Owing to the doctrine of the two Principles, whose actions were represented in later Zoroastrianism as essentially hostile in every respect, some of the thinkers of those times sought to subordinate this pronounced Dualism to some Being higher than the two Principles, which were represented to have emanated from *Zravâna Akarana*, or "Boundless Time."

In the later Avesta are found the following expressions:— "We praise *Zravâna Akarana* (Boundless Time.) We praise *Zravâna Daregho Khadhâta* (the self manifesting Time of the long period)."

Anquetil Du Perron, according to the teaching of the Dasturs, in ignorance of the grammatical inflections, as Dr. Haug points out, translated the words "*Zravâne Akarne*" (occurring in Vendidâd XIX. 9,) as if they were in the Nominative case, when in reality they are in the Locative, and the passage was rendered as if *Zravâna Akarana* had created Spenta Mainyu. The correct translation of the words is, however, as follows:—'Spenta Mainyu (Ormazd) made (the *Ahuna Vairya*) in Boundless Time."

In Yasna XIX., the question is asked:—"Which was the word, O Ahura Mazda, that Thou spakest, before the heavens, before the water, before the earth, before the animals, bef
fire, before the pure man, before the *Daevas*, bef
Universe?" and Ahura Mazda answered:—"
Ahuna Vairya that I spoke before the Heave
before the earth &c." Yasna XIX. contains
Ahuna Vairya, a text looked upon as the *Ver*
of Ahura Mazda, before he formed the Univ
be understood by the sentence in the Vendid
made (spake) the *Ahuna Vairya* "*in Bou*
uttered before the creation of the Universe,

Universe marks the commencement of Time, as we understand Time. There was nothing but Eternal Duration before the Universe was called into being.

We read in the *Dinkart*: "It is said in the good religion that that which rejoins its source by its progression, is Time: and that which leads from the lowest to the highest is the Path of Wisdom. As to Time, it is said, that it is in accord with the force of the motion proceeding from the Primal Source, and it moves in regular succession. The first work of the Creative Power of the Universe began with Time, and the end of such work pertains to the completion of the Limited Time of celestial Revolution. The end of Time is in the completion of planetary motion. All have to regenerate themselves by their own efforts in (reaching) Boundless Time. At the period of the Renovation, those that are in communion with the Deity will not have to journey again.

"The Dasturs assert that Time was originally Unlimited, but subsequently it came to have a limit. When this limit is reached, it will again act in Boundlessness. This is explained by saying that when the planetary bodies reach the end of their course, Time becomes lost in Limitlessness, and after the course of the planets is completed, there is again an effort to bring about a limit in Boundlessness. The Creative Power, it is said, is Unlimited in His wondrous Wisdom and by His abiding Force, He exists Eternally in Boundless Duration." [1]

This passage is a most important one, and contains singularly suggestive and correct ideas. In the *Gâthâ ahûnavaiti*, Zarathushtra prays:—"Teach Thou me, O Mazda Ahura! from what the world first arose" (Yas. XXVIII, 11). In the Ormazd Yasht, 26, the answer to this question is given: "From my knowledge and my Wisdom the world first arose, and so will the world be to the end."

That the world had a beginning, and will have an end, and that it was brought into being, and is maintained by the Power and Wisdom of Ahura Mazda, is very clearly expressed in the Avesta. But how can the world come to an end, except by the withdrawal of the Power that gave it birth? This indrawing

[1] Rendered into English from the Gujerati translation of Dastur Peshotan Sanjana: "Dinkart", Vol. VI, p. 379.

of the Divine Power, dissolves the manifested world, all the principles and elements of which, having lost their polarity, subside into quiescence; cyclic Time ceases, and everything rests in *Limitlessness* — that mysterious state, of which a very faint notion is conveyed by the much misunderstood words *Zravâna Akarana*.

In the Avesta, *Zravâna* is viewed in two different aspects: first as *Zravâna Akarana* or Boundless Time, and secondly as *Zravâna Daregho Khadhâta*, or, the self emanating Time of the long period. According to the passage in the Dinkart, "Limited Time" which would more properly be called a cycle, an Age, or a Yuga, is the period during which a certain planetary revolution continues. The beginning and end of Time is no other than the commencement and the cessation of a planetary course. "Time", it is said, " was originally unlimited, but subsequently it came to have a limit", and when the end of that limit is reached, "it again acts in Limitlessness, and again there is an effort to bring about a limit." This statement in the Dinkart is a general outline of the law of successive cycles by which one Universe after another is called into being, completes its course, is dissolved, and after a period of rest, another Universe comes into existence. A universe lives during a *Zravâna Daregho Khadhâta*. It has its beginning *in*, and disappears *into Zravâna Akarana*. Unlimited Time, as also limitless Space are the aspects of the One Eternal, invisible, yet Omnipresent Divine Life, which is without beginning or end. This Divine Life is periodical in its regular manifestations, and in the period of rest between two such cyclic Manifestations, the conflict of duality is at an end. During these long periods of quiescence, subject and object, positive and negative, I, and Thou, are one. Universal life reigns supreme and Unbounded. Time in such a state *is not*. Limited cyclic Time has ceased to be. It is merged in Unlimitedness. There is, in such a state, no limited self-conscious existence to cognize Time. The sequences of events and phenomena, which help to produce the consciousness of Time, have ceased.

The One Infinite and Divine Essence exists eternally and is the All. It puts forth its manifestations — the Universes — in regular succession, with intervals of repose. As there is day and night, waking and sleeping, life and death, flow and ebb, so is it with the great cosmic manifestations. The Law of Periodicity is

Universal. It is the Law of the very existence of the Divine Essence. Every period of activity is followed by an equal period of rest. There are major and minor periods of activity and of repose, and arrested manifestation re-begins its course — at the point where it had left off — in a new Universe. The One Eternal imperishable Spiritual Substance which underlies all manifestations and dissolutions, has been spoken of indifferently as either Space, Time, Matter, or Motion, but in reality it is incomprehensible in its essence. When the term *Zravâna Akarana* is discussed, some of our students become nervous, lest the *Zervanite* doctrine be found to have some basis of truth in it. It is true that in the later Avesta where the term occurs in a few places, "*Zravâna Akarana*" is not given any prominence; nevertheless, the words suggest a most profound idea, which has occupied the minds of the thoughtful in all ages.

Arising from the One Infinite Essence, which cannot be described, Ahura Mazda, marking out in Infinite Space the range of his activity, evolves a Universe, all the currents and energies in which proceed from His life. He pervades the whole of the Universe, and remains the God thereof. The Universe, however vast it may be, is limited in extent, and cannot fill the whole of Infinity, otherwise there would be two Infinities, which would be an absurdity. Ahura Mazda is *in relation* with the Universe and does not represent the Absolute in which there is *no relation*. Ahura Mazda may be looked upon as the personal God of the Universe, and this idea will satisfy the large majority, but those who carry their thoughts to their logical consequences, will ask the question — where is Ahura Mazda when the Universe has ceased to exist, and there is only the One Absolute All? At the end of a cosmic Cycle, the consciousness of the Lord thereof, is expanded and becomes one with the All. Matter,— so called — losing its qualities, vanishes, while all experience gathered up as memory, remains as potential modification in the expanded consciousness of the once Ahura, who will again become manifest, after a period of cosmic rest. Let each thoughtful student seeking knowledge, answer the question for himself, keeping an open mind, refraining from speaking prejudiciously of profound religious philosophies, which carry him beyond his preconceived notions.

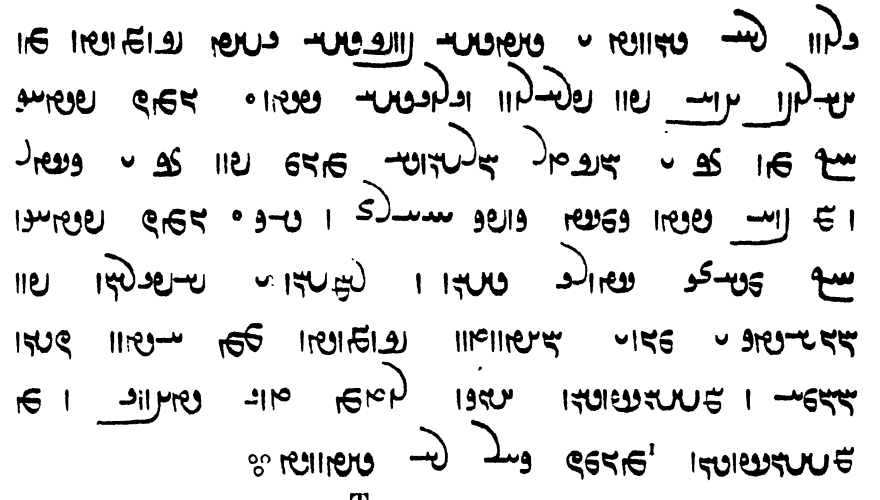
It is said in the above-quoted passage from the *Dinkart* that "That which leads from the lowest to the highest is the Path of Wisdom, and all have to regenerate themselves *by their own efforts*, in reaching Boundless Duration (*Zravâna Akarana*), and at the time of the Renovation those that are in communion with the Deity will not have to journey again. "True Mazdean philosophy, does not hold out hopes to any one of the bestowal of special gifts. The "Path of Wisdom" excludes all narrow dogmatism and requires a receptive and tolerant mind that is ready to seek for knowledge wherever it may be found. The Path of Wisdom leads to an understanding of the laws of God, as they work on the higher planes, whether such laws be expounded in any particular religious book or not. Every man has, by personal effort, to win his upward progress towards spirituality, and nature gives the human Ego not only one, but numerous opportunities to further his development. It has been very characteristically said that "those who at the time of the Renovation are in communion with the Deity will not have to journey again". But what of those who unfortunately are not in such communion at the time? Evidently it seems to be suggested that such unprogressed ones will again have to journey through another cycle of Time, to gain that which they failed to obtain during the previous cycle.

At the beginning of cosmic evolution, the Universe lies concealed in the Divine thought, which has relation with the unaccomplished energies and activities of the past manifestation, and especially with the unfinished efforts of human Egos. *Causality* is as Infinite as *Time* and *Space*, and these three are different aspects of the Unlimited all-consciousness. Many minds are puzled with the unending relations of all things and existences. To such, Ralph Waldo Emerson, speaking of "Time", very ingeniously says: "It will not be dissected, nor unravelled, nor shown. *This* refers to *that*, and *that* to the *next*, and the *next* to the *third*, and everything *refers*. Thou must seek to know the cause, in another mood. Thou must feel it, and love it, thou must behold it, in a spirit as grand as that by which it exists, ere thou canst know the Law."

N. D. KHANDALVALA.

ON THE SYMBOLISM OF THE DARUN.

ખાતાવહીમાં આવક ખર્ચ બાબતની વિગતો સ્પષ્ટ લખવામાં આવતી નથી. ઘણી વખત ખર્ચ કરનાર પોતાની પાસેથી પૈસા ખર્ચે છે અને પછી તે પૈસા ટ્રસ્ટ ફંડમાંથી પાછા લઈ લે છે. આવી રીતે ખર્ચ કરવાથી ટ્રસ્ટીઓને ખબર પડતી નથી કે ખર્ચ કોણે કર્યો



TRANSLATION.

It is evident that the *darun*[1] is like the earth such as was shown to Zartosht by Hormazd. Zartosht asked Hormazd, "What is this?" Hormazd replied, "This is the *darun* which ought to be offered for the protection of your body." Its circumference is like that of the world, its border round about is like Mount Alborz which destroys the shaking of the earth.[2] The middle of the *darun* resembles the movement of men, cattle, sheep and vegetation. The *goshudo*[3] in the midst of the *darun* is like the *Chekât-Dâitîh*[4] which is in the middle of the earth and the *farsast*[5] is the union of the Lord Hormazd, and it is laid separate from the *darun* for this reason that Hormazd is unlimited and supreme and is like the water of the ocean. This water (representing Hormazd) should be full because the ocean is full of water. If not full, it will not do, and it will not represent His crown and throne.

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[1] ꝺ-ꝺꝺ in the MSS.

[2] The *darun* is "a pancake marked on one side, before frying, with nine superficial cuts (in three rows of three each) made...while repeating the words *humat, hukht, huvarsht* thrice, one word to each of the nine cuts".—Haug's Essays, p. 396. Dr. Haug has confounded the *darun* with the *farsast* in his Essays, p. 396. In fact, a *farsast* is a *darun* (sacred cake) not marked with cuts.

[3] Cf. Bundahishn, Ch. VIII, §§ 1-4.

[4] Avesta, *gâush-hudhâo*, clarified butter (ghee), a small quantity of which is placed on the *darun* during the ceremony.

[5] A mountain in the middle of the world: cf. Bundahishn, Ch. XII §7.

[6] A *farsast* is a *darun* (sacred cake) not marked with cuts: *Vide* note (2) above.

The odoriferous herb (the basil) is like a forest near the ocean and represents the spiritual crown. Other eatables, *i.e.*, things put on the *darun* are for the ceremonial of, and liberal offerings to, the angels and for the propitiation of the pious and reverential man. The three-fold *aesam* and *bôi* (sandal-wood and frankincense) represent *humata* (good thoughts), *hukhta* (good words) and *hvarshta* (good deeds), by practising which, the souls of the righteous have gone to the best existence (paradise). For every person (who participates in the *myazda* ceremony), there should be two-fold *urvarâm* in the *Urvarâm-gâh* (place for the *Urvarâm*).[1] He who takes the *Vâj* (*i. e.*, he who consecrates the *darun*) should offer him (the person participating in the *myazda*) the *châshni* (tasting) of the *darun* from the *Urvarâm*.[2] He who puts *Urvarâm* in the *myazda* (sacrificial repast) should not have, that day, the slightest fear of the *margarjân* sin (sin worthy of death).

The *châshni* (tasting) of the *darun* is a great meritorious deed and participation in a *myazda* (sacrificial repast) of the pious co-religionists is also a meritorious deed. When one wishes to consecrate *darun*, the place for the *darun* ceremony should be washed and (then) made use of. The place where one wishes to consecrate the *darun*, if it is pure, should be made use of and it (the *darun*) should be placed on a stand. The striking of the demons and fiends and the worship, propitiation and invocation of the angels is on account of the proper ceremonial formulas (*nirang*), and the power, great strength and exaltation of the spiritual (angels) arise from the protection of the creatures of Hormazd. This is also evident that every day, after sunset, the demons and fiends come out of hell to this earth like hair on the mane of a horse to harass the creatures of Hormazd. When they come as far as Mount Alborz, the spirit of the *darun* goes out to meet all these demons and fiends, annihilates them and such havoc is made among them that they fall down like hail and are witheld from coming to the earth and injuring

[1] Pahlavi: *Saprâm*; P.  . This *asparam* represents the vegetable kingdom, otherwise known as *Urvarâm*. A pomegranate or a date is essential, now-a-days, for the representation of the vegetable kingdom in the *darun* ceremony.

[2] Cf. the legend about Zarathushtra, who, on finishing the *darun* ceremony, offered the pomegranate (*Urvarâm*) to Asfandyar, son of Gushtasp, who, on tasting it, became invulnerable.

the creatures of Hormazd. Had it not been for the spirit of the *darun* all the demons and fiends would have made the creatures of Hormazd imperceptible and powerless. This is, therefore, owing to the power of the *darun* which is consecrated lawfully and completely and with proper religious formulas by a pious man. It is also evident that whoever consecrates an eatable thing, however little in quantity, in the name of (a person) however insignificant, the least meritorious deed (done by him in this case) is of 550 (stirs). This is also evident that a *myazda* for the great God and for the joy of the good symbolises the spiritual (repast), in as much as Hormazd sits therein with the archangels, as nothing proceeds from the archangels alone.

KAIKHUSRO DASTUR JAMASPJI JAMASP ASA.

MACARONICS AND BILINGUAL VERSES IN PERSIAN.

Macaronic verses, properly so called, are verses in which, along with Latin, words of other languages are introduced with Latin inflections. But the name has also been applied to verses which are merely a mixture of Latin and English, and by a further extension of meaning, to verses, mostly humorous, in which there is a mixture of any two languages.

In Persian poetry, even of the serious order, there are frequently to be met with lines that are purely Arabic, as such admixture of the two languages is not considered a defect. Occasionally Persian poets indulge in a species of poetical composition called the ملمّع in which Persian and Arabic verses alternate. When, however, a language other than the Arabic is used along with the Persian, the medley is generally humorous. Specimens of such verses are occasionally to be found in the Persian poetry of India.

Amir Khusro, however, was the inventor of another description of bilingual verses in which the words could be read as Persian as well as Arabic, and at times Hindi, and in each case they could make sense. As this species of composition, styled by Amir Khusro himself as ذو رويتين ("the owner of two faces)," and by some rhetoricians as متضمن اللغتين ("comprehending two languages") is one of the most difficult, the ideas expressed are, as may be expected, wanting in beauty and perspicuity. In fact, but for the art employed the verses might, not unjustifiably, be classed as '*Nonsense Verses*'.

The following is a specimen of Amir Khusro's art:

بهای خانه داري با بهاکن هوا داری و ناداني رهاکن

If read as Persian, the lines mean: "Settle with Bahâ (a person so named) the cost of house-keeping. Give up affection and folly."

The lines as *pronounced*[1] are also Arabic, in which they make a different sense. Thus:—

بهاي = My Bahâ.
خان داری = Was dishonest in my house.
بابهاکن = Be at the door of that house.
بوادارې = He came down to my house.
و ناد انی = And he called out to me.
رهاکن = Be at the back (of the house).

In the following specimen of Amir Khusro, the verses when spoken, can be taken either as Persian or Hindi:—

اي ندیم بهاي جان کسي ہمہ سو لیک دور جاي بسی

If taken as Persian, the lines mean:—

"O companion of Bahâi, in every direction, (is) some one's soul but the places (are) very far off."

To understand what the lines mean in Hindi, it would be better to transcribe them in Nâgari characters first:—

अए नदीमे बहाए जाने कसे।
हमसु, लेक दूर जाय बसे॥[2]

The verses mean:—

"He strives with us to go away floating in this river, but he goes and lives afar."

In both the above specimens the meaning, it will be observed, is bordering on nonsense.

There is, however, another variety of composition, called ملحق in which not the whole line but only a part can be read in two languages, and then the sense can be made elegant and witty, as in this further specimen from the same poet:—

دی روز برفتم بکنار جوئي دیدم بلب آب زن ہندوئي
گفتم صنما بهاي مویت چہ برد فریاد برآورد کہ دُر دُر موئي

"Yesterday I went to the river bank, and saw close to the water a Hindu woman. I said, 'O idol, what is the price of thy hair?' She exclaimed, 'Every hair a pearl's worth!'."

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[1] Not as *written* because there is a slight differenc of spelling.

[2] It should be noted that Persian writers of India make a distinction between the two sounds of ی *viz.*, *e* and *i*, which those of Persia do not.

If the words underlined are read as Hindi दूर दूर मूए, they mean,“ Be off, be off, thou villain!”

Here is another specimen from an unknown writer:—

گفتم که درین خانه مامون تو باشم گفتاکه درین خانه بلا ئیست ممانی

“I said, ‘I want to live in this protected house of yours’; she replied, ‘In this house there is a curse, do not stay’.”

If the underlined words are read as Hindi the sense is:—

“I said: ‘I want to live in the house of your maternal uncle’. She replied, ‘In this house there is a curse, namely, the aunt’.”

A combination of Persian with English has not, to my knowledge, been attempted before. The following lines, of the ملمع type, are presented as an essay in this new direction. If interpreted as Persian altogether the lines suggest a state of things not to be found outside ‘Alice in Wonderland’. It is only when the underlined words are taken as English words that the ordinary meaning is made clear. In the translation appended, the first column gives the former meaning, and the second the latter.

1. تاجری از قم باندن شد روان ماند در آن شهر او چندین زمان
2. چون زبان اپل آلچا یاد کرد پیش یاری زان زبان فریاد کرد
3. گفت کینجا مور را گفتار ہست اسپ چابک بر سر ہر کار ہست
4. گاو بر ہر طرف می باشد چران ملک می بخشد بچمام مردمان
5. رگ بدینجا بین که گونا گون بود نی عجب کز تن جدا بی خون بود
6. قوت مردم میل ہست و شیر ہم لیک باشد ماست خوردن بس دژم
7. می گساران را بود با بار کار پیل بسیار افگند نارنج خوار
8. جامۂ ہر شخص باشد پر ز سیم شیر دلان در مکان دارنه بیم
9. لنگ باید ہر نفس باشد روان گاہ گفتن تنگ می گردد جہان
10. عاقلان را گوش بر سر من بود وزن ده کس کمتر از یک تن بود
11. فصل تابستان سمر می زن کنند می فروشان خمر را در تن کنند
12. تیرزن قابل شود بربط زند چار مرجان را بیوسه پرورد
13. کاردان طباخ بین بالین پزد بارہا پی در ثره زاری دمد
14. گابن اینجا به لما در گلشن است زن چو خامش گشت آن گه دم زن است

15. دین مردم می بود محتاج زر — صرف کن کس نیست جز دریا مگر
16. پاس داران را بود بر جای بار — باربر را موتراشی گشت کار
17. فارس اینجا می توان دیدن عیان — روم هم پیداست اندر هر مکان
18. درد پیچش را مفید است آب دل — ماهیان را کار باشد بآب و گل
19. می فروش ار رم کند ساکن بود — مرد پر سن غالبا خائن بود
20. رند چون بر نار باشد حاجب است — طول اگر دارد دروگر واجب است
21. در مشقت مرد شد بی کام و جست — عاقبت کم فرط می آید بدست
22. درس نم بر نف بود اطفال را — لک بود قسمت همایون فال را
23. در وغا باید دم شمشیر کین — با همه حقار باید اسپ و زین
24. از دهان توپ زاید بوم و پیل — خوش بود سر بر زبان در قال و قیل
25. چون که نغمه سنگ گردد آن زمان — ورد دلخوش بر می آید از دهان
26. هم گر از بزم طرب خیزد سرود — بی گمان مرمر شود آن گاه رود
27. هر طبیبی کو ترا بخشد شفا — روت کوبد تا کزان سازد دوا
28. بست بیند مرد خیاطت اگر — شرط کرده کف نماید در نظر
29. گر بتو شخصی بگوید سینه پیچ — آن سوال از میوهٔ دان بیش هیچ
30. هم مدار از کارد اندر دست باک — نیست آن جز رقعه در زیر خاک
31. نیم پخته گوشت گر اندر دن است — غم مخور هر چیز بهر خوردن است
32. چون بگور اندر سپرید پست شد — می توان گفتن کمان در دست شد
33. گر بخواهم یار را دعوت کنم — لازم است آن گه سخن گفتن دو کم
34. لاف کان خیزد ز فن خرم دلیست — با کسی گفتن نشاید سی و بیست
35. باده شد انگور چون که گشت مست — تیغ را صیقل نکردی مست رست
36. کاربین در کار زار آید بکار — چون که شد نون شمس گردد تابدار
37. پولرا گر در بسیست است استوار — نردبان بی رنگ نی آید بکار

38. شهسواري بين كه در سركس بود عاشقانرا ذوق هستي بس بود

39. گر بخواهي بيشتر زين داستان يار ما كوكا بقو گويد عيان

TRANSLATION.

1. A merchant went from Kûm to London and in that city he stayed for some time.

2. When he learnt the language of the people of that place he complained about that tongue to a friend.

3. Said he: Here the ant is endowed with speech, and the active horse is at the head of affairs!

4. The cow grazes in every direction, and bestows property on all men.

5. See, the veins here are of diverse colours, and, no wonder, they are separate from the body, and devoid of blood.

6. The food of men is skewers and also milk, but the drinking of whey is very difficult.

7. Wine-drinkers have to do with loads, and the orange-eater overthrows many elephants.

8. Every man has his garment full of silver. Lion-hearted men feel afraid in the house.

9. The lame man must be moving about every moment! At the time of speaking, the world becomes narrow, (*i. e.*, one feels miserable.)

3. Said he: Here the Moor is endowed with speech, and the active horse is in the front of every car.

4. The cow grazes on every turf, and gives milk to all men.

5. See, the rugs here are of diverse colours, and, no wonder, they are separate from the body, and devoid of blood.

6. The food of men is meal, and also milk, but the eating of a mast is very difficult.

7. Wine drinkers have to do with the bar, and the orange-eater throws away many peels.

8. Every man has his garments full of seams. Lion-hearted men have beams in their houses.

9. The lung must be in motion at every breath; at the time of speaking, it is the tongue that jumps about.

10. Wise men have on the head ears (weighing) one maund! The weight of ten persons is less than that of a single individual!

11. In the hot season thirty women engage in gossip, and vintners make wine in their bodies!

12. When the archer becomes expert, he plays on the harp, and he nourishes four coral pieces with a kiss.

13. The expert cuisinier cooks pillows, and the fat often grows in a kitchen-garden.

14. Here the rosebush is an ugly sight in the parterre. When a woman becomes silent, she boasts.

15. The peoples' Religion is in need of money, and no one does spending except the sea.

16. Those who keep vigils gain admittance everywhere. The work of porters has become that of hair-cutting.

17. One can plainly see Fars (even) here, and Rome also is visible in every house.

18. The water of the heart is a specific for the gripes. Fishes have need of water and clay.

19. The wine seller is stationary (even) if he takes to flight. A man full of years is generally dishonest.

20. When the profligate is

10. Wise men listen to sermons. The weight of ten persons is less than a ton.

11. They make summer season of the hot days. Vintners make wine in tuns.

12. When the archer becomes expert he hits the butt. The 'Charmer' nourishes life with a kiss.

13. The expert cuisinier cooks beans with the lean (of meat). Peas often grow in kitchen-gardens.

14. Here the rosebush in the parterre displays buds. When a woman becomes silent, she is a dumb woman.

15. The dean of the people is in need of money. None but the sea can make surf.

16. Those who hold a pass can gain admittance everywhere. The occupation of barbers is that of hair-cutting.

17. A farce can be easily witnessed here; also in every building is to be seen a room.

18. Dill-water is a specific for the gripes. Fishes have need of water and gills.

19. If the wine seller makes rum he is stationary. A man full of sins is generally dishonest.

20. When the rind is on the

in hell-fire he is a curtain-keeper. It is but proper that a carpenter should possess length.

21. In trouble the man became listless and he jumped up. In the end, abundance is less obtainable.

22. Children are taught 'Moisture on Heat'. A lac (of rupees) falls to the lot of the fortunate.

23. In battle is needed the edge of the sword of vengeance ; all the people present should have with them horse and saddle.

24. From the mouth of the cannon are born the owl and the elephant. In discussion it is pleasant to have the head on the tongue !

25. When a tune becomes petrified, a charming rose issues from the mouth at that time.

26. Also when music is struck up in a festive assembly, the river, no doubt, becomes marble at the time.

27. Every physician, who cures thee, pounds thy face to make medicine thereof.

28. If the tailor sees thee bound, he makes terms, and shows his palm.

29. If a person say to thee, 'Twist thy breast', know it to be nothing more than a query about a fruit.

pomegrante it serves the purpose of a curtain-keeper. It is but proper that a carpenter should possess tools.

21. When in trouble a man should be calm and just ; ultimately he will attain comfort.

22. The learning of numbers is tough for children. Luck is the lot of the fortunate.

23. In battle is needed the edge of a keen sword ; all the Hussars should be possessed of horse and saddle.

24. From the mouth of the cannon spring the boom and the peal. In discussion it is nice to have " Sir " on the tongue.

25. At the time that a tune is sung, charming words issue from the mouth.

26. Also when music is struck up in a festive assembly, no doubt a murmur at the time would be rude.

27. Every physician, who cures thee, pounds a root to make medicine thereof.

28. If the tailor sees thy bust, he makes a shirt, and shows the cuffs.

29. If a person say to thee, " Seen a peach ? " know it to be nothing more than a query about a fruit.

30. Also, thou needest not be afraid of a knife in the hand—it is nothing but a piece of paper under the dust.

31. If half-cooked meat is in the vat, do not grieve, as everything serves for food.

32. When a commander is laid low in the grave, it may be said that he passed off bow-in-hand.

33. When I want to invite a friend, it is essential for me to say two words less.

34. Boasting which springs from Science is merry-heartedness. One should never say to another, "thirty and two".

35. Grapes, when they become intoxicated, become wine; if the sword is not polished by thee, the intoxicated one escapes.

36. The inspector of works is of use in the battle. When the Sun becomes fish, it becomes hot.

37. If the bridge has many doors it is firm. A ladder without paint is of no use.

38. Look at the bold horseman who has some one in the head. The joy of existence is sufficient for lovers.

30. Also, thou needest not be afraid of a card under dust; it is nothing but a piece of paper beneath the dust.

31. If half-cooked meat is underdone do not grieve, for every kind of cheese serves for food.

32. When a commander is laid low in the grave, it may be said that the commander has become dust.

33. When I want to invite a friend, it would be proper for me to make use of the words, "Do come."

34. Laugh which arises from fun is merry-heartedness. One should never say to another "See, O beast!"

35. Grapes become wine when they become must.[1] If you polish not the sword it must rust.

36. The carbine is of use in the battle. When it is noon, the sun becomes hot.

37. The bridge has many girders, and is firm. A ladder without wrungs is of no use.

38. Lo, bold horsemanship is in the circus. A buss is the joy of existence to lovers.

[1] Wine or juice pressed from the grape but not fermented.

39. If you want more of this account, our friend Kuka will give it to you in plain words.

MEHRJIBHAI NOSHERWANJI KUKA.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CRITIQUE AND INTERPRETATION OF THE AVESTA TEXTS.

I

Vend. I,3 = Sp.I, 9-10: WESTERGAARD and GELDNER read 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌

strange. Therefore, SPIEGEL considered 𐬀𐬌𐬎 and 𐬀𐬌𐬨 to be *accusativi pluralis* and accepted the reading 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬎, in conformity with the preceding words. This accusative of relation is not rare in the younger Avesta; Cf. SPIEGEL, Altbaktr. Gram. § 252, Vergl. Gram. der altérân Sprachen § 309. I shall compare as a parallel passage Vd. III, 110 = Westerg. Geldn. III, 32, 𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨 𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎. BARTHOLOMÆ (AltWb) p. 1657 takes 𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎 as locative singular. This accusative of relation occurs sometimes also in Old Persian in such passages as Bh. I, 28: *Kambujiya nâma Kuraush putra*; II, 29: *Dâdarshish nâma Arminiya*. I see with SPIEGEL, GAEDICKE (Der Accusativ in Veda 19, Anm. 2, 216–218) and W. FOY[1], in *nâma* not an adverb, but an accusative of relation. In Greek the accusative *onoma* is applied in like manner. SPEIJER (Sanskrit Syntax, Leyden, 1886) says with reference to this at p. 42: The accusative of the subst. नाम (name) is used as a particle in the sense of "namely", sometimes also it answers to the Greek *onoma*, "of name". Nala I, आसीद्राजा नलो नाम. With Lucian (Timon I, 2) the supreme god Zeus is called *psychros ten orgen*, literally: cold as to wrath, i.e., phlegmatic.

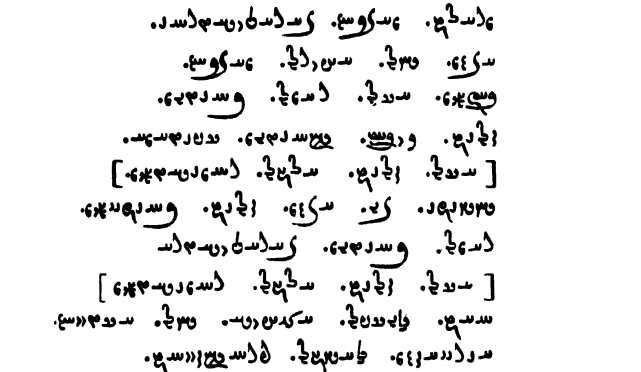
I am inclined to prefer the reading 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬎, not only having regard to the rules of syntax, but also on account of the metre. For if we read the passage thus, and insert a little above, the word 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬨, we have a strophe of four lines composed in the common octosyllabic metre of the younger Avesta.

𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎. 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬎 𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨 𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎.
𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬨 𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬨 𐬀𐬌𐬎.
𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬨 𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎. 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬎.
𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬨 𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎. 𐬀𐬌𐬎 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬨 𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎. 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬎.

I am firmly convinced that the first Fargard of the Vendidâd contains likewise metrical pieces from the Irânian myth of the creation, as Fargard II, a chapter of mythical Irânian history, has many

[1] Cf. Indogerman. Forschungen 12, 172–178. W. FOY disputes the correctness of L. W. GRAY'S opinion who in his article (*Ibid.* 11, 307–313) endeavoured to prove that in the Indo-German construction: proper name+AI. *nâma*, Av. *nâma*, A.-P. *nâmâ*, Gr *onoma* etc., the last word stood originally as an apposition to the first and that therefore it was not at all necessary to conceive it as an accusative of construction. FOY observes rightly that it is another question whether our accusative of relation (historically existing in various languages), originated pre-historically from an appositional position. The literature quoted by GRAY for the purpose is completed by FOY. BARTHOLOMÆ (Alt. Wb. p. 1064) is of opinion that this question is not yet solved.

passages where the original form may be often restored without great difficulty. K. GELDNER (Ueber die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta, Tübingen, 1877) and W. GEIGER (Handbuch der Avestasprache, Erlangen 1879) have successfully endeavoured to do so. Rather difficult indeed is the restoration of the metre in Fargard I, where the beginning is most likely incomplete. I will nevertheless try to bring the traditional words into metrical form, although conscious of the precariousness. I restore the beginning of this Fargard as follows:



As to the insertion of 𐬞𐬀𐬱𐬀 I refer to Vend. II, 11-13 (Spieg.) = II, 4 (Westerg., Geldn.) where 𐬞𐬀𐬱𐬀 stands in the apodosis of the hypothesis beginning with 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬱𐬀, and as to the inserted 𐬌𐬀𐬎 I refer to Yt. X, 93, where we find 𐬌𐬀𐬎 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀. The defective tradition of the text makes it of course difficult to judge whether we may presume with probability the usual strophes of four lines or of five lines as W. GEIGER[1] tried to construct in Vend. II, 21-22 Westerg. Geldn. = II, 42-52 (Spieg.), where we are informed of the interview of Ahura Mazda with Yima and where is announced the dreadful winter about to befall the earth. The text, as it is, is divided into four strophes of five lines, but GELDNER already has, with good reason, supposed that the words 𐬨𐬁𐬎𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬀 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎 are of later addition. If these are omitted, we have here likewise as in Vd. II, 3 following (W. G.) strophes of four lines. At any rate, it is evident that in the younger Avesta the metre of eight syllables is the prevailing, if not the only one; and precisely

[1] Cf. GEIGER, Handbuch etc. p. 70.

[2] GELDNER, über die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta, p. 74.

in this metre, not in any of the Gâthâs, R. WESTPHAL[1] recognises the most ancient of Indo-German metres. But GELDNER goes still further; he conjectures a division into strophes likewise in the metrical pieces of the younger Avesta as in the Vedas. He distinguishes accordingly *Gâyatrî*, *Anushtubh* and *Pankti* strophes, also a combination of *Gâyatrî* with *Mahâ Pankti* strophes. Although I agree with this on the whole, I would rather advise, as I already did before,[2] not to look too exclusively to India, but likewise to consider the relations with the West, for it cannot be denied that Irân has been influenced from Babylon and Syria. The Syrian spiritual songs, which are acknowledged to be imitations of more ancient and perhaps very ancient models, show also the division into strophes. I now know very well that neither the number of the verses nor the number of syllables in every individual verse agrees with the metrical divisions in the A'vesta, but the merely syllable-counting metre of the Avesta has, as far as I know, its counterpart only in the Syrian metre and the metrical rules here employed are easily to be severed into diareses and synæreses. This was the mode of proceeding applied by the Syrians.

II.

Vend. I, 34 (Spieg.)=I, 10 (Westerg. Geldn):—WESTERGAARD, GELDNER, BARTHOLOMÆ and JAMASP read 𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬥, whilst SPIEGEL, JUSTI, DARMESTETER and ANTIA give 𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌. The word 𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 occurs thrice in the Mss. of this Fargard in compounds, viz. *sughdhô-shayanem*, *vehrkânô-shayanem* (Vd. I, 5, 12 Westerg. Geldn.=I, 14, 42 Spieg.) and in *duzhakô-shayanem*. It seems that the Pahlavi translator had the reading 𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌 before him in this passage, as we can conjecture from his translating the word here differently from the two other passages. While in the two first cases he renders the word by *mânashna* as in *sûlîk-mânashna* and *Gôrgân-mânashna*, he translates it in the last case by quite a different word 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬌 (N.P. سایه skr. छाया, shadow) *sâyêh* or *sâyak*, which has no connection whatever with *shayanem*, as JAMASP says in his edition of the Vendidâd I, p. 15,

[1] R. WESTPHAL, zur vergleichenden Metrik der indogermanischen Volker Zeitschrift für vergleich. Sprachforschung 1860, pp. 437-458.

[2] E. WILHELM, Zur Metrik des Avesta. Extrait des Actes du X^e Congrès international des Orientalistes, Session de Genève 1894. Section I bis (Linguistique et Langues aryennes), pp. 47-53.

note. I am of opinion that 𐬞𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬨𐬀 is here the correct reading. Whether it may be brought together etymologically with N.P. سایه as the Pahlavi translator thinks, is questionable, but neither can I agree with the derivation of the word which JAMASP gives, who says: "I am inclined to suppose that the word here must originally have been 𐬞𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬨𐬀 (root षै or षी to wane, to decline : hence meaning, a shade or shadow)". I ask, how is it possible that Ahura Mazda who creates only good things is to create "Vaêkereta of the evil shadows", be it that the mountains there give evil shadows or that the shadow of the trees is of bad influence to the human body by occasioning fever? (*Vide* DARMESTETER, Zend-Avesta II, p. 10, note 22). By 𐬎𐬌𐬰𐬎𐬭 we have to understand the "hedgehog", which, according to DARMESTETER, is meant by 𐬎𐬌𐬰𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬨𐬀 in Vendidâd XIII, 2. On account of its pricks it used to be called facetiously 𐬎𐬌𐬰𐬎𐬭. Cf. HUEBSCHMANN, *Armenische Grammatik* I, 142, 495 ; BARTHOLOMÆ Air Wb., p. 755: *dush*+*aka*, having evil or bad pricks (?). Popular language has perhaps tried to express by this denomination a certain contrast to the name "*vangâpara*" in the religious code, because the first part of the compound was imagined to be the adjective *vangha*, good . Also JAMASP, Vend. II, Glossarial Index, says: "*vanghâpara*, comp. of *vangha*, good and *para*, wings;— of good wings." Therefore men who use the name 𐬎𐬌𐬰𐬎𐬭 are called bad men (Vend. XIII, 3 Spieg.=XIII, 2., West. Geld: 𐬎𐬌𐬰𐬎𐬭 . . . . 𐬱𐬀𐬨𐬀). In the same Fargard (4-9 Sp.=2-4. W.G.) the hedge-hog is called a creation of Spenta Mainyu and a high punishment is decreed on any one killing it. It is the best known and from an anatomical point of view perhaps the most characteristic of the Insectivora. For it extirpates not only noxious insects as the evil fly etc., but even reptiles, as frogs, toads, and even venomous snakes do him no harm. It is indeed quite comprehensible, that in a country suffering much by the molestation of insects, the hedge-hog was early fostered and valued. I do not doubt, therefore, that in our passage we must understand by 𐬞𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬨𐬀 . 𐬎𐬌𐬰𐬎𐬭 . 𐬎𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬴𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀, a country — it is not certain which —

[1] Cf. HUEBSCHMANN, Persische Studien, Strassburg 1895. p. 72, No. 687. P. HORN, Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung Bd. 33, 437 says: Aufeiner lautangleichung an das zweite beruht das erste *z* in npers. *zûze*, gabrî *jujîk*, phlv. *zûzak*, aw. *duzaka*-(schimpfname des igels wol mit volksetymologischer anknüpfung an *dush*,-*duz* "schlecht, übel"), statt *ducaka* "Stecher", vgl. nps. *dôxten* "durchbohren" *dôzene* "nadel".

where the hedge-hog was at home and perhaps even held as a domestic pet. Therefore, referring here to an *animal* it is very conveniently said 𐬱𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀 which is derived from *sî*, to lie, for the hedge-hog lies in its hiding-place, while in the two other passages of this Fargard we find the equally fitting term 𐬱𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬯 (from *shi*, to dwell), because it is the question of a country inhabited by *men*, by Sogdians and Hyrcanians. If we see even now in Europe after two thousand years of civilization, in spite of the knowledge of nature being propagated by the best writings accessible to every one, that an animal so useful as the hedge-hog is wantonly persecuted and killed, we must the more praise those ancient times and the wisdom of the precepts of the Vendidâd for recommending the protection of this animal. DARMESTETER says (Zend-Avesta II, p. 194; S. B. E. Vend., 2nd. ed., p. 156, note): "The hedge-hog, according to the Bund. XIX, 28, is created in opposition to the ant that carries off grain, as it says that the hedge-hog, every time that it voids urine into an ant's nest, will destroy a thousand ants (Bund. XIX, 28; cf. Sad-dar 57). When the Arabs conquered Seistân, the inhabitants submitted on the condition that hedge-hogs should not be killed nor hunted for, as they got rid of the vipers which swarm in that country. Every house had its hedge-hog (YAQOUT, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 303). Plutarch (*Quæstiones Conviviales* IV, 5, 2) counts the hedge-hog amongst the animals sacred to the Magi."

III.

Vend. I, 49 (Spieg.)=I, 13 (Geldn.) Most of the Mss. with translation have 𐬱𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥𐬀 which is accepted by SPIEGEL, WESTERGAARD, ANTIA, and JAMASP (I, 14); only F gives 𐬱𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥𐬀 but all the Vendidâd-sâdes give 𐬱𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥𐬀, which GELDNER has. Vend. V, 87 (Spieg.)=V, 28 (Geldn.,) the Mss. with translation give 𐬱𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥𐬀 which SPIEGEL prefers; the Vendidâd-sâdes again give 𐬱𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥𐬀, which GELDNER, ANTIA and JAMASP adopt; but, WESTERGAARD reads 𐬱𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥𐬀.— Vend. XIV, 40 (Spieg.)=XIV, 9 (Westerg., Geldn.,) the Mss. with translation have 𐬱𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥𐬀 with the exception of A, where we find 𐬱𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥𐬀, which WESTERGAARD and ANTIA have in their text, but the Vendidâd-sâdes have again 𐬱𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥𐬀. This is approved by GELDNER and JAMASP, while SPIEGEL prefers 𐬱𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥𐬀. KANGA in his dictionary reads Vd. XIV, 9 𐬱𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥𐬀, I,14 and V, 18 𐬱𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥𐬀. From all this, it fol-

lows that the readings 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀 and 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀 which GELDNER has adopted in the quoted passages, are preferable. They are likewise confirmed by the Yashts. Also K. E. KANGA (Grammar of the Avesta language, p. 137) and JACKSON (Avesta Grammar, p. 108) give only the ordinal 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀, while SPIEGEL (Vergleich Gramm. I. alter. Sprachen, p. 310) gives both forms 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀 and 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀 as equally well founded.

IV.

Vend. I, 72 SPIEGEL reads 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬁 and likewise does GELDNER (I, 18). WESTERGAARD (I, 19) reads 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬁 and says in a note that it is a correction. Also ANTIA and JAMASP read 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬁. All the Mss. have 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬁; so has even K 9; only JP 1, P 10, J6 have 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀. In the gloss to this passage we find a quotation that by mistake came to be inserted also into the text of several Vendidâd-sâdes. K 9 justly omits it, and so do GELDNER and JAMASP. SPIEGEL gives it as follows: 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬁. 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬁𐬐𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬐𐬀. 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬁. 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬁. Here the two best Mss. have 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀, an unimportant one 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀, another equally unimportant one 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀, but the Vendidâd-sâdes have 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬁, the last word varying in the Mss. between 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀 and 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬁.

This word occurs again in Yasna LVI, 11, 6 (Spieg.)=LVII, 29 (WESTERG. GELDN.) There the old Ms. has 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀, but others 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬁 or 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀 and K 4 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬁. In a fourth passage, Yt. X, 104 GELDNER reads with most Mss. 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀 which is so corrected pr. m. in K 15 from 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬁; two Mss. have 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬁, P 13 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬁. Likewise, GELDNER has in Yt. VIII, 32 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬀 with J10, whereas most Mss. have 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬁𐬭𐬀, K 12 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬀 and K15 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬀. Accordingly the readings 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬁 and 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀 seem to be the best confirmed, but so is also 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀. Something may be said in favour of each of these three readings. In favour of 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀 we have (1) the Old Persian *Hindush* as Darius writes, and the Greek *India*; (2) the Neo-Persian هند (coll. هیانه and هندو) کهند وستان (3) the Ind. सिन्धु. In favour of 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀 we have the Hebrew הִדּוּ (from הִנְדּוּ), which can only have originated from this form.[1] It occurs

[1] Among the Aramean words from the Targumim quoted by DALMAN, Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch 1901, with the Avestic 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬁 agree the words הִנְדּוּאָה, הִנְדּוּאָה, Indian, הִנְדִּיָא, Est. II, 8, 33, הִנְדִּיָה, India, but analogous to the Pahlavi words 𐭤𐭭𐭣𐭥𐭪, *hendúk*, 𐭤𐭭𐭣𐭥𐭪𐭪𐭠𐭭𐭥 *hendúkâno*, we have

in the Old Testament: Esth. I, 1; VIII, 9. As to 𐎢𐎭𐎴𐎼, the reading is not only recommended by the authority of the Mss., but also by the circumstance that often in the Avesta before a nasal + consonant we find t for d. It is not without interest to know these cases, as in the following words: Yt. VIII 23· 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬀 (GELD.), but J10 has 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬀, K15 corrects 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬀 into 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬀, Yt V, 95 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬀 for 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬀, Yt. V, 130 GELDNER reads 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬀, J10 has 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬀. Vend. VI, 1—4. GELDNER, ANTIA, and JAMASP read 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬀, SPIEGEL gives 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬀 Yasna XXIII, 2 (Spieg.)=XXIII, 1 (Geldn.) SPIEGEL and GELDNER read 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬀. Also Vend. II, 17 (GELDN.)=II,30(Spieg.) the Mss. vary between 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬀 and 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬀 and 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬀. More examples are given by BARTHOLOMÆ (Air.Wb. p. 1814, s.v. *hindav*, *hendav*-). The change between t and d in Avesta and in other languages has been copiously treated by me in my article: Contribution à l'interprétation de l'Avesta pp. 591-96 in the Review: Le Muséon III. pp. 574-600 and in the CAMA Memorial Volume, Bombay, 1900, pp. 43-44.

For these reasons I believe that OLSHAUSEN (1829) and, later on, SPIEGEL and GELDNER (Vend. I, 18) were right in adopting in their texts the well founded reading 𐎢𐎭𐎴𐎼. The Syrians likewise write *hendu*. But I am very far from believing these forms so variable with regard to their vowels to be mere grammatical fictions. They are certainly as old as our manuscripts, the oldest of which dates from 1323 A.C. I am of opinion that they had their origin in the dialectical conditions under which they were written, and in this circumstance lies to a certain degree their right of existence. The Vendidâd-sâdes written in India have for example 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬀, where the Ms. K9 written in Persia has 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬀 like the Mss. with translation. May it not be that forms like 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬀 (Yas. LVII, 29) might have arisen in a similar way as to-day in Bombay the vowel which in the Parsee prayers is pronounced as *u* by the Shahanshâis and as *ee* by the Kadmis? (Cf. Dosabhai Framji KARAKA, History of the Parsis, Vol. I, p. 116.) As the spelling varies in the Mss. in details and is not always fixed, so the pronunciation likewise used to vary. The same is the case even to-day in the Irânian dialects. With regard to

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the Aramean words הִנְדְּוָקָאָה, הִנְדְּוָקָא, Koh. 2, 5, הִנְדְּוִיקִי, Jonathan Targumim Genes. 1, 10, 10.) הִנְדְּוָקִי Est. II, 1, 14: Indian and India.

the Ossetian, SJÖGREN says in his Ossetic Grammar, p. 18: "In the pronunciation of the vowels the Ossetes and especially the Tagaures are very inconstant: *a* and ä vary continually and the same word is often pronounced differently even by one and the same person, now with an *a* and then with an *ae*. The Digorians often use the vowel *e* for the Tagauric *i*." A similar observation with regard to the change between *a* and ä is made by OSCAR MANN in his Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen, Ergebnisse einer von1901 bis 1903 in Persien ausgeführten Forschungsreise, die Mundart der MUKRI-KURDEN, Part I, 1906, p. XLI:— "The pronunciation of the short vowel *a* is exceedingly variable. The same individual in the same word of the same sentence speaks now a pure *a* and now an ä approaching to *e*, and on a third occasion comes perhaps to pronounce the syllable in question between both."

V.

Vend. II, 41 (Spieg.)=II, 19 (Westerg. Geldn.): the Mss. vary between the two synonymous words 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌 and 𐬵𐬀𐬌. The Pahlavi version gives us a hint at the correct reading. For there we read 𐭲𐭩𐭭 = Av. 𐬵𐬀𐬎 Sans. वम, N.P. بام, which habitually stands for the root 𐬵𐬀𐬎 and its derivations, while the root 𐬵𐬀𐬌 and its derivations used to be translated with 𐭲𐭩𐭭𐭥𐭲𐭩, 𐭲𐭩𐭭𐭩𐭲 = خوا مشن, خوا ش, cf. the Pahlvi translation of Yasna XXXIV, 5; XLVII, 8; L, 2, 18; LII, 1. Here SPIEGEL and other editors of the Avesta text have justly preferred the reading 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌.

VI.

Vend. III, 27 (Spieg.)=III, 8 (Westerg. Geldn.); III, 40(Spieg.)= III, 12 (W. G.); III, 123 Spieg.=III, 36 (Westerg. Geldn.); VIII, 38 (Spieg.)=VIII, 14(Westerg. Geldn.): We read in SPIEGEL'S edition in the abovenamed passages a kind of formula phrase occurring four times as follows: 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌. WESTERGAARD has in III, 8, 12; VIII, 14: 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌, but in III, 36 · 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 in which place also a Ms. written by Dastur Dârâb Pâhlan in 1072 Yazdezardi, *i.e.*, 1703 A. D., and consulted by Er. E. K. Antia for his Vendidâd edition, reads so. ANTIA and JAMASP give in these four passages the same text as WESTERGAARD. GELDNER reads in all four passages equally, 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌. Whether one reads 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 or 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 is not of much importance. These are merely questions of

euphony, orthœpie and orthography. But one may well ask whether forms like 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌, 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌 which must be conceived in Vend. III, 12, and VIII, 14 as *nominativi pluralis*, and in III,8, 36 as *accusativi pluralis*, deserve to be adopted into the text. For the properly constructed current forms occurring, *e.g.*, in Vend. VI, 1 and elsewhere in the Avesta are 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌. A. Meillet has recently discussed this question in the Journal Asiatique (Mai-Juin 1908: *Une fausse lecture de l' Avesta*, pp. 520–521). I agree entirely with his deductions. It might be argued that the forms in question are constructed analogously to the flexion of the demonstrative pronouns, but this is, as Meillet justly thinks, an arbitrary supposition. He believes these forms to be erroneous and endeavours to prove from the ancient Pahlvi letters, that the form 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌 owes its existence to a very early confusion of two very similar letters. I believe that he has succeeded in proving this. But I should like to point out here, that the so greatly differing, and sometimes such strange readings of the Avesta Mss. are due, not only to the ignorance and carelessness of the copyists, but often also to their incorrect hearing. This has been already proved by R. Roth[1] for the Veda Mss. We must suppose, that like these, also the Avesta Mss., were written down as they were dictated.

Jena, October 1908.

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[1] Cf. Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft, XXV, pp. 229—231. A. Weber: Indische Studien, X. 128—135. H. Zimmer: Altindisches Leben, Berlin 1879, p. 210. A. Ludwig, Rigveda III, 70—99. Max Müller, Vorlesungen über den Ursprung und die Entwickelung der Religion. Strassburg 1880, pp. 183—191. ZDMG. Bd. 48. ZVgls. 26, 45.

ASTVAT ERETA.

Among the theological names of Zarathushtra's three future sons, the second, UKHSHYAT-NEMAH, admits no doubt as to its meaning which is that of "The Increaser of prayer (or worship)". The Pahlavi translation of the name of the first one, UKHSHYAT-ERETA, confirms the supposition that the first part of this name *Ukhshyat* has the same signification as in the second name. The Pahlavi text gives *Vakhshînîtâr-î-âharâyih*, "The increaser of Righteousness", *ereta* in UKHSHYAT-ERETA being an Irânian equivalent of the Sanskrit *rita*, and identical with the Avestan *Asha* or *Arta*.[1]

It is not likely that *ereta*, in the third name ASTVAT-ERETA should have another meaning than in the first one. Accordingly, M. Bartholomæ translates: "Der das leibhaftige Recht ist". But the three names being evidently fashioned after the same scheme, one expects in the first half, *astvat*, of the third name a verbal form analogous to *ukhshyat* and not the well known adjective *astvant*, "corporeal", which is supposed also in the Avestan explanation of the name ASTVAT-ERETA in the Farvardin Yasht, § 129. One is tempted, indeed, to connect this *astvat* with *staomi* and to translate "praiser of Righteousness", or in a causative sense, "The one that causes Righteousness to be praised". I am aware that the initial *a* ought in that case to be long. But that objection could not be said to be necessarily fatal to the etymology I have suggested. Thus the three expected saviours should be called respectively:

The Increaser of Righteousness,
The Increaser of Prayer,
and The Praiser of Righteousness.

NATHAN SÖDERBLOM.

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[1] See my book, "*La vie future*" *d'après le Mazdéisme*, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, *Bibl. d'Etudes* IX, p. 252 f., and Chr. Bartholomæ, *Zum Altiranischen Wörterbuch*, p. 10 ff.

VERMIN AND HOLINESS.

Mahavira endured gnats with patience, although they tormented his body. According to the Acharanga Sutra, 8, his disciples, the Jaina monks, were not allowed to kill crawling animals that ate their flesh and blood, or even to rub the wound made by them. Although vermin destroy the body, the monk must not change his position. In the Majjhima-Nikaya 12, Buddha says that dirt and filth clung to his body for years during his ascetic period before falling away. It is not asceticism but mercy that makes the Bodhisattva shake off the fleas before jumping in the fire, in order to prepare meat for the hungry. Amongst modern Sannyasins, the Saivas are renowned for tolerating dirt and vermin. The great Farid ad din Attar' in the excuse of the second bird makes a pious Sufi regard fleas and flies that disturb him day and night as sent by the divine friend.

In the Græco-Roman world, the Cynics were the foremost representatives of holy filth. But the asceticism of the Middle Age in Europe surpassed them. The monks of the murdered Thomas à Becket in the cathedral of Canterbury, marvelled at the sight of the vermin swarming on the haircloth, which " was boiling over with them, like water in a simmering caldron". They did not know that he was such a Saint. St. Francis, according to the *Speculum Perfectionis*, " was no enemy of these insects, but he carried them on himself and considered it an honour to have those heavenly pearls in his dress". Suso, in his autobiography, tells how terribly he was tortured by insects, wriggling like a worm night and day. But he tied his hands to prevent himself from trying to get rid of them in his sleep. Cardinal Bellarmine showed his patience in letting vermin bite. But his argument was very different from any Indian *ahimsa* or from the belief in Transmigration. We shall have heaven as a reward for our sufferings, but these poor beings are restricted to the joys of this life.

These few instances of the revolting but significant chapter on

vermin and holiness may illustrate the *khrafstra*-killing holiness of the Avesta (Vendidâd XIV, etc.)

NATHAN SÖDERBLOM.

THEOPOMPUS AND THE AVESTAN AGES OF THE WORLD.

Plutarch, writing in the first century after Christ, quotes Theopompus, the historian of Philip of Macedon, from about 300 B. C., concerning the " Magian " conception of the history of the world :

Θεόπομπος δὲ φησὶ κατὰ τοὺς μάχους ἀνὰ μέρος τρισχίλια ἔτη τὸν μὲν κρατεῖν τὸν δὲ κρατεῖσθαι τῶν θεῶν, ἄλλα δὲ τρισχίλια μάχεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ ἀναλύειν τὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸν ἕτερον· τέλος δὰ πολείπεσθαι τὸν "Αιδην, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους εὐδαίμονας ἔσεσθαι, μήτε τροφῆς δεομένους μήτε σκιὰν ποιοῦντας, τὸν δὲ ταῦτα μηχανησάμενον θεόν ἠρεμεῖν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι χρόνον καλῶς μὲν οὐ πολὺν τῷ θεῷ, ὥσπερ δ' ἀνθρώπῳ κοιμωμένῳ μέτριον.

The idea attributed by Theopompus to the Magians may be rendered in this way:—

" 1. One of those gods reigned and the other was under his dominion during three thousand years. 2. During another three thousand years they battle and fight and destroy each other's works. 3. At the end, Hades (=Angra Mainyu, originally, probably, a god of the lower regions) succumbs, and men shall be happy, needing no food and throwing no shadow.—The god who has brought about these things (=the defeat of Angra Mainyu and the happy state of mankind) keeps still and reposes himself during a period not very great for the god, as (it would be) moderate for a sleeping man."

The last words are bad Greek, and must have been corrupted in some way. But no one of the various conjectures, made in order to correct them, seems very satisfactory. As to the repose of Ahura Mazda after the consummation of the destiny of the world, such an idea is not necessarily inconsistent with the opposition of the *Shîkand Gûmânîk Vijâr* to the Jewish doctrine of a rest of the Creator after the Creation. But we know nothing of a divine repose after the *Frashôkereti*. Has Theopompus confounded Ahura Mazda with Keresâspa sleeping on the plain of Peshyansâi, or with Saoshyant, yet lingering in the Prophet's holy seed in the lake Kansava, or with Yima preserved in his *vara* from the great winter ?[1]

It is quite conceivable that some misunderstanding was per-

[1] Then one would read *καλῶς μὲν οὖν πολύν* instead of *καλῶς μὲν οὐ πολύν* : " a rather considerable time, but moderate for a god as well as for a man who is sleeping".

petrated by Theopompus or by Plutarch in quoting him. But as far as I can see, the context excludes the introduction of a *third* god, after the two superhuman rivals spoken of.

In an able treatise on *La Religion des Perses*, published in the *Revue biblique* in 1904, Father Lagrange ingeniously suggests that the god, " *qui a combiné cela* " (μηχανησάμενον), means Yima, who has taken a rest in his *vara*. But there is no question of rest or repose in the Iranian legend of Yima. And no attentive reader of this passage can understand τὸν δὲ ταῦτα μηχανησάμενον θεόν otherwise than as meaning one of the two gods τὸν μέν . . . τὸν δὲ . . . τῶν θεῶν mentioned above.

M. Lagrange who, by the way, evidently takes Bernardaki's reading ἄλλως instead of καλῶς for the text, understands the first part of Plutarch's quotation from Theopompus in a way contrary to the Zarathushtrian doctrine of the history of the world. He understands ἀνὰ μέρος in the beginning of the quotation as indicating *two* periods, one with Ahura Mazda as ruler, another with Angra Mainyu as ruler, and translates : " Théopompe dit que, selon les Mages, l'un des deut tour â tour domine et l'autre est vaincu pendant trois mille ans; pendant trois autres mille ans on lutte et ou se fait la guerre . . . . . " It is possible to translate ἀνὰ μέρος in that way, which should indicate (1) 3000 years of Ahura Mazda's government, (2) 3000 years of Angra Mainyu's government, (3) 3000 years of fight, before the defeat of Hades (Angra Mainyu) and the happiness of mankind. But, as the phrase runs, it is more natural to apply the two " turns " to the two different trimillenniums mentioned. Ἀνὰ μέρος belongs to both the following statements. The first " turn " of the two gods' relation is indicated by τὸν μὲν κρατεῖν τὸν δὲ κρατεῖσθαι: one of the two gods was ruling and the other (Angra Mainyu) was under his dominion during three thousand years.[1] The second " turn" comes in with μάχεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν: they fight in another 3000 years.

According to the well-known scheme of the Bûndahishn, another trimillennium is added to those two, the epoch beginning with Zara-

[1] M. Lagrange, *La Religion des Perses, Revue biblique*, 1904, p. 35, note 3, writes: " Söderblom (*La Vie Future*, p. 244) a fait un véritable contresens ou négligeant cette période contenue dans les mots ἀνὰ μέρος." I hope, he will find now, that I have not neglected his second period, but that the more natural interpretation of ἀνὰ μέρος which excludes it, seems not to have occurred to him.

thushtra and designated as the triumph of God. It corresponds to Theopompus' words: τέλος δ'ἀπολείπεσθαι τὸν Αιδην, etc. With Theopompus it is not an epoch but an end. A Greek writer, as well as a modern writer, would rather understand the actual age as a fight between the Good and the Evil one, than as the triumph of God. But the passage shows us that the three last periods of the four, mentioned in the Bûndahishn, were generally accepted as a Mazdayasnian doctrine already about 300 B. C. An extant Avesta fragment quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidâd II, 20 runs: "How long time lasted the holy spiritual creation, *mainyava stish ashaoni*"? Thus the complete Sâsânian Avesta knew also the first one of the four great ages of the universe.

Theopompus' statement agrees with the general view of the other records about Mazdayasnian chronolgy. Only the final rest of the god remains a puzzle.[1]

UPSALA. NATHAN SÖDERBLOM.

[1] For further discussion, see my article on "*Ages of the World, Zoroastrian*", in Hastings' "*Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*", Vol. I.

ARDAE VIRAF AND HIS TRANCE.

In an age of reason people expect to have a rational explanation for every phenomenon that occurs in this world. Psychology and kindred sciences which try to explain and assign a reason for all the supramundane phenomena which occur at the present time in different parts of the world, as they have occurred again and again in the past, are however, still in their infancy. Still, as regards particular kinds of phenomena there is a strong consensus of opinion that they are genuine, and that they cannot be explained on the supposition of the action of any of the five senses. But when they come to assign a reason for the same as to how they occur, there is a difference of opinion, and two theories have been put forward as to their possible solution. One is that they are the result of the working of the hitherto unmanifested powers of the soul, or, as Myers has termed them, the subliminal consciousness of man. (See "The Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death.") It is there stated that our work-a-day consciousness is only a part of the larger consciousness that generally lies hidden below the threshold, as it were, but which at times spontaneously manifests itself above it, and at others has been artificially made to so rise up. The other theory is that these phenomena are due to the spirits of the dead or of "other intelligences" which are said to inhabit the universe.

It is not necessary to enter in detail into these two theories, but it will be enough to say that the phenomena of telepathy or thought transference and hypnotism have been almost unanimously vouched for as genuine. "These two subjects, Telepathy and Hypnotism", says Mr. Edward T. Bennett, a former Assistant Secretary to the Society for Psychical Research, in his "Twenty Years of Psychical Research", "have been rescued from the outside wilderness, and brought within the circle of scientific investigation as real and legitimate branches of enquiry." He goes on to say that "a result of this will be that the rising generation of literary nd scientific students will grow up in the mental attitude towards

Telepathy and Hypnotism that they are problems to be faced, not superstitions or myths to be ignored."

For the purpose of the present paper we have to deal in the main with hypnotism, and we shall therefore try to understand it from that epoch-making work of Myers, already quoted above. Hypnotism proper is a state in which the "Subject" or hypnotised person is insensible to pain, and is not able to make any voluntary use of any part of his body. This state is brought about by means of suggestion on the part of the hypnotiser. And, as Myers explains, suggestion from without resolves itself into suggestion from within. That is, unless there is some telepathic or supernormal influence at work between hypnotiser and patient, the hypnotiser can do nothing merely by his word of command. He thus defines suggestion as "successful appeal to the subliminal self".

But, although the nervous system, on the one hand, is in this state unfit for its usual work and renders the hypnotised person incapable of pain, yet, on the other hand, it is quite as active and vigorous as ever,—quite as capable of transmitting and feeling pain—although capable also of inhibiting it altogether. The hypnotic subject is, as he says, above pain instead of below it.

It will be seen that Mr. Myers thus opens a wider question, namely of the possibility in this state of a greater display of the subliminal consciousness of the self—of the subliminal processes of thought. While the ordinary or the supraliminal consciousness is deprived of its activities, room is opened for the development of higher powers inherent in the soul, that is, of telepathy, talæsthesia, and ecstasy. It is in states of trance or ecstasy that the soul is said to have knowledge of things distant or things hidden, can foretell the future and read the past as an open book. It is true that in some cases the body in the trance state is said to be "invaded" by another personality, and then whatever in that state is said or written is ascribed to the influence of that personality.

But in this connection it must be remembered that it is by no means true that every body who enters into the hypnotic state has thereby been suddenly turned into an angel, and that whatever is written or uttered by him in that state or thereafter is to be

taken as gospel truth, or that it represents the true state of affairs.

The human mind is generally very prone to the miraculous, and it is necessary that in investigations of this kind, the greatest care is taken at every step, especially to guard against fraud or deception. How very necessary this is for the untutored mind, will be evident from the following weighty words of Myers. "I propose to indicate in Appendices (923 A and B) some of the work which the Society for Psychical Research has done in exposing and guarding against fraud and credulity ; and I further refer my readers to a forthcoming book by my friend and colleague, Mr Podmore, in which the imposture which has dogged so called "Modern Spiritualism" from its inception will be exposed with a distinctness which needs must be salutary." And a perusal of that book styled "Modern Spiritualism : a History and a Criticism" in two volumes will go a great way in convincing the reader of the truth of the above remarks by Myers.

But even where there is no evidence or possibility or even necessity for fraud or deception, there is still the same necessity to be on one's guard against a possible source of error, which, if admitted, will vitiate the whole proceedings and render the result worthless in the eyes of thinking men. That error consists in a belief that whatever is received in that state comes from without and from sources other than one's own mind or that of the hypnotiser, whereas, as a matter of fact, it is in most cases a reproduction, in a more or less amplified form, of whatever has been read, heard or seen by the recipient. It is said that whatever has thus been received by the mind, even when it has not taken up a definite place in the normal consciousness, but has been forgotten, is always stored and hidden in one or other of the different strata of consciousness, till such time as on occasions of stress or under certain unusual circumstances, as the hypnotic state, it has been heaved up again, and becomes once again the acknowledged property of the waking consciousness.

It will thus be seen that every information which has been once received by the soul, has its use either now or in the near or distant future, in this or in the other life, and it shows the necessity of acquiring knowledge from every possible source, side by side with the development of one's own moral nature. This is

expressly enjoined in the Zoroastrian religion. Mere "dry piety", as the Persians would call it, is not of much avail.

Viraf and his Trance.

We now come to the subject proper of our paper. It is stated in Chapter I. of the Vîrâf Nâmâh that the Zoroastrians of that period were very shaky in the matter of their religious beliefs, and that it was therefore deemed necessary to bring them round to their former faith by means of a miracle, if possible. A preliminary council of some thousands of Zoroastrian priests from all parts of Irân was called in the fire-temple of Âdar Frôbâg, and they finally selected from among them Ardâe Vîrâf to take up that responsible task. That task consisted in exploring the spiritual regions in order to find out whether their popular beliefs were justified by what he saw there. Vîrâf, after performing certain ceremonies, and having taken a draught of wine and *mang* (a kind of intoxicating drink), fell into a trance, and remained in that state for seven days and nights, apparently as one dead. In that state, his soul traversed the spiritual regions. This trance seems to have been induced by self-suggestion from himself, and accelerated by the drink of wine and *mang*. Instances of such self-induced hypnotic state have been recorded by Mr. Myers in Chapter V. of his famous work. " Who could have thought", says he, " that a healthy under-graduate could by an effort of mind throw his whole body into a state of cataleptic rigidity, so that he could rest with his heels on one chair and head on another, and remain suspended in that condition ? or that other healthy young persons could close their own eyes so that they were unable to open them, and the like ? "

So far, then, even as regards Vîrâf, we have been on safe ground, on ground that falls legitimately within the sphere of scientific investigation. But when we come to the result we are thoroughly disappointed.

Viraf and His Experiences in the Spiritual World.

We have already alluded to a possible source of error that enters into such psychic phenomena. We have referred to the law of suggestion operating and vitiating the whole proceedings and thus rendering any attempt at finding out the truth, abortive. This is so in many cases, and it is therefore necessary that indivi-

dual cases must be judged on their own merit. Many of the trance utterances that proceed from the subliminal consciousness, or that purport to come from discarnate spirits, have, on analysis, been found to be a mere reflex, in a more or less amplified state, of the previous knowledge on the part of the recipients. The writings of Swedenborg, for instance, have been quoted as having been vitiated by his own pre-conceived ideas and fancies in favour of particular doctrines. As Myers has put it, " the spiritual meaning which Swedenborg draws from every word of the Old Testament by his doctrine of correspondences is not only a futile fancy, but a tissue of gross and demonstrable errors. And yet, on the face of it, was not all this error more amply accredited than any of the utterances of possession or the recollection of ecstasy which I shall be able to cite from modern sensitives?..." Mr. Podmore also in his "Modern Spiritualism" gives a whole list of such writings with extracts from them, and shows how they, purporting to represent things as they obtain in the spiritual world, are merely a reproduction of the prevalent ideas on the subject. We shall not refer here to the writings produced before a gaping multitude by means of fraud or deception, as we are not concerned with them here.

On the seventh day Vîrâf's soul is said to have re-entered his body, and Vîrâf himself stood up as if nothing had happened, showing no signs of worry or fatigue. One peculiarity about his trance is its long duration of seven days There has been perhaps no other instance recorded of a trance lasting for such a long time. Was it not possible for Vîrâf to have seen what he saw in much less time? The experiences recorded in the book are not of such a character as would require such a long period. This is the initial difficulty. But the difficulty may perhaps be explained away on the supposition that the people had to be impressed with the idea that his soul had actually to pass through so many material heavens and hells. It may be that the people of those days were beginning to lose their faith in such material heaven and hell, rewards and punishments, and to think that they should be rather of a subjective than an objective nature, and that it was the object of the learned Dasturs to prop up their waning faith in the popular ideas about heaven, hell, resurrection etc. (See Chap. V). If this surmise be correct, then the matter assumes quite a different aspect

altogether, and the whole affair then might appear as a kind of a pious fraud perpetrated with an object in view, and that, a good one. But we cannot merely on this ground throw the whole case away. We have seen that trance cases are genuine; and if Vîrâf passed into that state in the presence of a whole multitude, as related in the Vîrâf-Nâmâh, we have no reason to doubt that statement, unless we consider that all the observers were made dupes of a daring fraud.

When the seven days' trance was over, Vîrâf called an amenuensis by his side, who took down in writing, in the presence of all, his experiences of the other world. Here again appears another difficulty of a kind, but which can be explained away. Generally, trance utterances are made or automatically written while that state lasts. But Vîrâf's experiences were dictated after the trance in his waking state by his conscious self. This indicates a higher stage of development, where one is able to remember in the waking state his experiences in the trance, unlike others who, on waking, recollect nothing of what had happened in the other state. This has to be explained. It is an acknowledged fact that suggestions made during the hypnotic state by the hypnotiser have been faithfully carried out by the hypnotised in the waking state. For instance, if it is suggested to the hypnotised that on a particular date he should open a particular room, sit in a chair and read a given book, he will do all that in the same sequence at the appointed time and place without fail. Working upon this peculiarity of the hypnotic state, we might say that just as Vîrâf had by means of self-suggestion produced on himself the hypnotic state, so also he had further suggested that he should on waking recollect all that had happened during that state. If Vîrâf was able to do that, it pre-supposes a high order of development.

But unfortunately, as said above, when we look to the result of all this, we are thoroughly disappointed. No new laws, no new mysteries have been brought to light and explained, as prevailing in the spiritual world, nothing to which we can give a moment's consideration, except a re-iteration of the oft-quoted saying that as you sow, so shall you reap. It is not necessary to enter in detail into his experiences. They are, for the most part an account of rewards and punishments after death of an objective rather than of a subjective

kind. And the one gratifying feature of these experiences is that these rewards and punishments are generally in due proportion to good or evil deeds, and mostly of a corresponding nature. For instance, a wicked woman was seen with her tongue hanging out from her neck, instead of from the mouth, because she was while on earth in the habit of quarrelling with, and otherwise ill-treating her husband. A wicked man was nourished with human flesh mixed with blood, hair and other impurities, as he was in the habit of throwing human hair and other impure things in the midst of fire and water.

Among his other experiences may be mentioned the famous Chinvat Bridge, which according to popular belief the souls of the pious dead have to cross before entering heaven, but which the wicked ones are unable to cross and consequently they fall into the hell below. The souls of the former were heard repeating the famous Gâthic text *Ushtâ Ahmâi Yahmâi Ushtâ Kahmâichît*, meaning " Happiness to him from whom happiness is unto all ": while those of the latter were heard uttering in despair the *Kâm Nemôi Zâm* asking as if in bewilderment, "to what lands" shall they turn. Vîrâf also saw the *Kerdâr* of a pious soul in the form of a beautiful maiden who, as she said, was made more beautiful by his good thoughts, words and deeds as also that of a wicked one in the form of an ugly looking woman. He further saw the golden scale in the hands of Rashnu the Just, in which the good and evil deeds of the dead were weighed ; also the three stages of heaven and the fourth, the Garothmân Behesht — the *Garo-Demâna* of the Gâthâs— the abode of Ahura Mazda. Not unlike the furniture of Swedenborg's heaven were to be seen in Vîrâf 's heaven, golden chairs, rich carpets, beautiful cushions etc., for the souls of the pious to rest in perfect happiness and in light, whereas, on the other hand, the darkness in hell was so dense and thick that it could even be grasped by the hand, and the unfortunate inmates though so close to one another, could not see each other's faces. They, moreover, felt so lonely that a day appeared to them as if nine thousand years had passed,— the period after which resurrection of the dead is supposed to take place. Ahriman, the supposed author of all the mischief in this world, while we alone are to blame for it on account of our ignorance or want of knowledge, was also seen gloating over

the fall of man and his miseries in hell.

It may be granted that in publishing these experiences the central idea was to convey a moral, but it is none the less true that they were given out in such a garb as would strengthen the popular belief in material heaven and hell, and in rewards and punishments of an objective rather than of a subjective nature.

Before being allowed to return to the earth, Vîrâf was allowed a sight of Ahura Mazda who appeared to him not in the form of a person but as an orb of light. And as if to remind us of Zarathustra's allegorical mention of the " tongue of His mouth", we are told that a voice was heard issuing from that light, and commanding him to tell the people of the world that there was "Only one Path — the Path of Righteousness, and that all the other paths were false". It also told him to exhort the people to remain firm in the Zoroastrian faith.

We have come to the end of our paper, and here we naturally ask the question whether Vîrâf 's soul really exploited the spiritual regions, or was it that he simply entered into a real hypnotic state, and there the matter ended, and what followed was simply a reproduction of his own ideas on certain matters of religious faith ? Judging from the result, I am inclined to believe that the latter was the case. No new laws of nature have been brought to light, and no new mysteries have been solved. Looked at from this point of view, the result is a huge failure ; though, if we can transport ourselves to those far off times, and bring ourselves in unison with their hopes and fears, and the urgency of their needs and wants, we can safely say that it was a grand success, and must have brought many of the wavering souls back to their faith in the Zoroastrian religion. All honour, then, to those concerned, for bringing about this happy result.

Sorabji Naoroji Kanga.

ZOROASTRIANISM IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN SCIENCE.

It is often urged that religion and science are two conflicting things, one requiring blind belief, whereas the other, reasoning and logic. A true religion, however, should in no way be opposed to the established principles of Science, but on the contrary, should be a complete embodiment of scientific principles, in the form of religious precepts, intelligible as far as possible to the great masses of the people. Such a religion would at once be acceptable to the philosophic brain of a Mill or a Tolstoy or to the scientific turn of mind of a Kelvin or a Huxley. At the same time, it would not fail to bring the greatest good to the greatest masses of the people, by initiating them into practising, perhaps unconsciously, the great hygienic principles of modern science. It is the object of this essay to discuss, to what extent the religious philosophy, explained and propagated by Zoroaster, in its purest and most beneficial form, can approximate to our ideal of truly scientific theology.

When we examine the Zoroastrian Scriptures, we find in them important hygienic and sanitary principles laid down as religious precepts in a very early period of the evolution of modern civilization, — principles which were absolutely unknown even to the scientists of the first half of the nineteenth century. We find in them, for example, a severe condemnation of the pollution of rivers and flowing streams, which is going on even at present, in the most civilized parts of Europe and America, and which, according to the report of the River Pollution Commission of England, is the cause of very frequent outbreaks of epidemic diseases and immense human sufferings. We find in that very early part of history, when people knew next to nothing of hygiene, Zoroastrian tenets vigorously impressing upon the mind of people, the supreme necessity of keeping flowing waters free from any sort of contamination. We cannot properly realise the full significance of this precept, till we remember that in a civilized country like England, it was so late as 1876, that the River Pollution Act became law. We

find in the Vendidâd, a severe condemnation of people who would pollute flowing waters and in the Ardvisur Nyâish, we find Ahura Mazda, the Omniscient Creator, depicted as saying that the flowing waters were for the *prosperity* of cities and countries.

But what strikes us most is the full knowledge and firm grasp, in those days, of the famous "Germ theory of diseases" which is so clearly expressed in the Vendidâd, but which was not even well understood by the leading medical men of the nineteenth century. In the Avesta we find Ahura Mazda, the Creator, distinctly saying that the pollution of rivers gives rise to the development and *multiplication* of poisonous *germs* and thereby to the spread of diseases. (Vendidâd VII, 26.) Now the modern "Germ theory" says that micro-organisms of infectious diseases, possessing independent existence and having the power of enormously multiplying themselves under favourable conditions, are given off from all diseased and dead bodies. These germs get introduced into healthy bodies by direct contact or by some other means. On this point, we find most stringent precepts in the Zoroastrian Sanitary Code. When a Zoroastrian touches a dead body, he is strictly enjoined not to mix with society, until he goes through what is popularly known as the "*Rîman Barashnum*" ceremony, which is nothing but a sort of disinfection. Till he gets disinfected by the above ceremony, he cannot come in direct contact with a flowing stream, nor with any trees or agricultural farms. (Vendidâd VIII, 104-107). All this was done simply to secure perfect cleanliness, because, as Dr. George Reid points out, "Filth, in its broad sense — foul air, foul water and foul surroundings — is the chief essential to their (germs') existence, and cleanliness is the weapon to be used against them. Although, to the naked eye, the actual organism of the disease is not visible, the conditions upon which its growth and development depend, are; and it is to these, that our attention must be directed in order to successfully prevent the ravages of the invisible foe. Given a perfect state of cleanliness, in the broad sense of the term, most diseases of the contagious class would become things of the past."

That the Zoroastrians tried to secure this perfect state of cleanliness is likewise apparent, when we find that the adherents of

the religion were forbidden to come in contact, after touching a dead body and before getting themselves disinfected, with things of certain materials, *e.g.*, wood, cotton, etc. We are struck with amazement, when we find that the materials so forbidden in the Vendidâd to be touched are precisely those which are recognised by modern scientists as not impervious to these infectious germs. Iron and compact stones are not forbidden materials, and now we know that these materials are almost impervious to, or are such as can easily get rid of, infectious germs.

It will now be quite evident from the above, that it was on this ground that the Zoroastrians are forbidden to place their dead bodies on beds of any material except iron or stone. We also now understand why the follower of Zoroaster has to keep fire burning in his house, within a few feet from the place where the dead body is lying, till it is removed to the resting-place. The idea is evidently to burn up the infectious germs emanating from the dead body. We now find sanitary authorities recommending this practice during the outbreak of an infectious disease. All the precautionary measures, all the preventive means, so strongly recommended at present by our modern scientists, were set down as religious precepts in Zoroastrian writings, hundreds of years before the germ theory was expounded in Europe.

When we turn from this to another important branch of science, *viz.*, Astronomy, we find most of the great religious systems of the world distinctly at war with science. Scientists have established, beyond doubt, the fact that the form of the earth is an oblate spheroid and not flat, and Galileo has triumphantly conformed the heliocentric theory, with its rotating and revolving earth. It is very much gratifying to note in this connection, that Zoroastrian Scriptures do neither speak of a "flat" world, nor anything that would clash with the heliocentric theory. On the contrary, we meet with distinct suggestions about the globular form and rotation of the earth. In Vendidâd XIX. 4, we find the earth styled as "this broad, *round* and vast earth"; and in the Gâthâs it is spoken of as "this rotating earth" (Yasna XLVI, 19). Truly was it said by a European scholar that the Parsee had no reason to tremble for his faith, if a Galileo invented the telescope or a Newton discovered the law of gravity.

Nor do we find the Zoroastrians ignorant of Geology, a science which is in the process of being developed at present. We find in Vendidâd II, 22–24, a short description of the famous Glacial Epoch, which took place in the Pleistocene Period of the evolution of the earth, when, according to the latest discoveries, man appeared for the first time on it. We find a brief but very interesting description of large masses of glacial ice "creeping downwards from high mountains to the valleys of the River Ardvisur". We also read there how the sub-tropical animals were driven southwards by the Arctic conditions of the climate and how their place was taken by cold-loving forms. We have here to remember that till only fifty years ago, geologists believed in the "Noah's flood" theory, and it was only the latest discoveries which clearly established the "Glacial Drift" theory, an account of which is so concisely but clearly given in Vendidâd II.

From all this, it is quite clear that the Zoroastrians had attained a very extraordinary level of intellectual and scientific accomplishment in a most remote period of history. As regards their scientific knowledge and many-fold activities, Prof. Jackson of the Columbia University, says : "The records of antiquity imply that the Zoroastrian books, by their encyclopædic character, stood for many sides of life. Some of the original '*Nasks*' of the Avesta are reported to have been wholly scientific in their contents, and the Greeks even speak of books, purported to be by Zoroaster, on physics, the stars, and precious stones."

Now let us compare the Zoroastrian solution of the problem of the Origin of Evil, with that put forward by science. This question is, beyond doubt, a very thorny one. Here, more than in any other case, the gap between Science and most of the great religions is difficult to be bridged up. The solution, offered by Zoroaster, though in striking conformity with the teaching of modern science, differs from it in one important item ; and in that important item, I shall endeavour to show, in what follows, that the Zoroastrian idea affords a better solution.

The chief question is about the Source of Evil. To what power can we ascribe the daily human sufferings ? Whatfor is imperfection, with its miseries, pains and agonies found in Creation ? Is God, the supremely Omnipotent Being, directly responsible for this

imperfection, this flaw in the universe? Three distinct theories have been put forward for the solution of this complex question, and to trace the origin of Evil.

The first is the Manichean theory of an independent, uncreated Evil Power like God Himself. It is Dualism pure and simple, and leads to immense mischief. We cannot be sure who will ultimately prevail. The theory was strenuously opposed by the Zoroastrian rulers of Persia, and Mâni himself was killed by the order of a Sassanian king.

The second theory, known as the "Evolution theory of Evil," is the accepted belief of our modern scientists. The theory, at the very outset, assumes that our life is a training and a preparation for something higher in future. It says that man, as he exists at present, is imperfect, and that human sufferings are simply dispensations of the Divine Will, for the development and perfection of man, that God is gradually evolving harmony and concord out of chaos and confusion, that nature is incomplete, and evil is merely the result of this imperfection, that right adjustment will gradually be brought about by evolution, and when that will finally be attained, there will be an end of Evil. But, till then, there will be a necessary and inevitable polarity of good and evil, worked by the Supreme Being Himself. Here lies the main difference between Science and Zoroastrianism.

The idea of polarity of good and evil is the first and the fundamental principle of Zoroaster; but nowhere, in his writings, does he regard, as Science does, God responsible for evil. He could not reconcile to his mind the Supreme Omnipotence of God with the imperfection of the universe. Zoroaster never believed that though God was Omnipotent, He could not produce perfection; or that God was the most Beneficent and yet He purposely created imperfection, and hence Evil with its associated miseries, cruelties, injustice and sufferings due to pestilence, earthquakes, floods, famines and innumerable other evils, over which man has no control. That our minds are not perfect, that human nature is not infallible, and that, as a natural consequence, we often succumb to evil temptations in our way, and then be victims to tremendous human sufferings, are all due to the fact that God did not create perfection, but preferred for us a slow process of evolution, extend-

ing over immensely long periods of time, and passing through plague, famine, slaughter, ruin, wreck, misery and endless sufferings. If He did this, knowing perfectly well that He could have attained the same object, both material and spiritual, without all this severity, then how shall we be able to reconcile it with His Supreme Benevolence?

If, on the other hand, the creation of an absolutely perfect man and an absolutely perfect world, without the existence of evil, was not possible, then He is no longer Omnipotent. In short, if God could not create perfection, He is not Omnipotent. If He could, but did not, then surely He is not supremely Beneficent.

Thus we see how the evolution theory of science falls flat. It says that a most Beneficent God has planned an immensely grand scheme, "the very mainspring of which is cruelty in every conceivable form". "It makes us believe", says a European scholar, "that a Being of omnipotent power, of infinite wisdom and pure benevolence has put together a machine, so full of mal-adjustments, that, every now and again, it makes the world a charnel-house, life a burden to untold millions, and death at once a horror and a release." This theory, in its consequences, is as mischievous as the Manichean theory, for, as Mr. Samuel Lang observes : "The fact remains, and it is difficult to over-estimate the amount of evil which has resulted in the world from this confusion of moral sentiments, which has made good men do devils' work in the belief that it has Divine sanction."

When we turn from Science to Zoroastrianism for the solution of this problem, we find Zoroaster speaking on this subject in his first speech which is preserved in the Gâthâs, the most sacred portion of the Zoroastrian literature. It should be said here that the Gâthâs are a sort of relic of Zoroaster's many writings. They are fragmentary in character and incomplete in substance. Often do we find, to our disappointment, a subject abruptly broken off at the end of a stanza, and a new topic opened in the next one. The inevitable inference is that some lines are missing. Thanks to the fanaticism of the Mahomedan conquerors of ancient Persia and their relentless opposition to any form of science and philosophy other than that of Mahomed, we find to-day most of the writings of Zoroaster destroyed partially, and in some cases totally. Of

these partially destroyed works, the Gâthâs, the purest and the most sublime work, partially of Zoroaster himself, have been handed over to posterity in a fragmentary form. It is in these Gâthâs that we find Zoroaster's famous speech, explaining the origin of Evil.

In this memorable speech, Zoroaster speaks of the existence of the First Cause, whom he generally calls "Ahura Mazda", the Omniscient Creator. He then explains the creation of "*Anghêush Mainyû*", *i. e.*, two Spirits of the World, whom he calls "Spenta Mainyu" and "Angra Mainyu". (Yasna XLV, 2). Now we find, in Yasna LVII., the angel Sraosha worshipping first the Supreme Being and the Archangels, and then these two Spirits. This shows that the position of *both* these Spirits was at one time very high and supreme. If now we turn to another important book, the "Bûndahishn", we find there the keynote of subsequent events. We find there (Chs. I—II) the Supreme Being creating all the "Fravashis" of the whole creation and then granting them free-will which of course entailed full responsibility. This free-will asserted itself in antagonism to the Supreme Being and one of the two first-created Spirits revolted. For the first time in the heavens discord reigned. A very striking resemblance will now be seen between Zoroaster's Angra Mainyu and Milton's Satan. Both are grand, majestic, and powerful, but not omnipotent. Angra Mainyu, who was once worshipped by the Angel Sraosha, but who is now opposed by him, as we learn from Sraosh Yasht §12, now began to work against Spenta Mainyu and thus became the chief destructive power and the main source of evil (Y. XXX. 5). Hence we find Zoroaster speaking of these two Spirits as agreeing "neither in purpose, nor in policy; neither in ideas nor in methods; neither in words nor in deeds; neither in conscience nor in souls" (Y. XLV. 2).

We now find the Supreme Being bitterly opposed to Angra Mainyu and hence to all forms of evil. Zoroaster's God is the very incarnation of benevolence, righteousness, mercy and sympathy. We again see that Spenta Mainyu, the faithful of the first-created Spirits, falls in the background, and the Creator throws his whole influence in favour of righteousness as against the evil of Angra Mainyu, and finally establishes the law, as we learn from the Gâthâs, that "the souls of the righteous shall be

entitled to happy immortality, whereas those of evil, severe punishments." (Y. XLV. 7).

There is not a single line either in the Gâthâs or in other writings of the Avesta, where the existence of evil is justified. On the contrary, its existence is deplored, and everywhere it is attributed to Angra Mainyu. Angra Mainyu himself is strongly denounced as a traitor and the author of all evil on the earth, in the Gâthâs and in other writings. It will now be quite clear, that it is on this account, that in later writings, we find the Supreme Being Himself depicted as in constant conflict with Angra Mainyu, and Spenta Mainyu placed in a secondary position, and, therefore, we often find no distinct mention of Spenta Mainyu in many of the later writings. It is the ignorance of this important fact, and the misconception of this theory, that led some critics to charge Zoroastrianism with Dualism.

Thus Zoroaster solves the problem of the Origin of Evil by attributing it to Angra Mainyu, a powerful Spirit who, by some inscrutable chances, revolted and whose existence God cannot put an end to, because of the free-will. If God directly intervenes, the free-will is of no use, and the natural consequence is that no longer any responsibility would lie on any being. We are, however, assured that evil is a temporary and vanishing cause, that ultimately good will prevail over evil, and that the fight between the two opposite polarities, Spenta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu, will result in the final triumph of right over wrong, of good over evil. We are further assured that finally, all the sinners will be won back to love, liberty and allegiance. In the meantime, every person is strongly enjoined, in the words of Mr. Samuel Lang, "To keep by his efforts in this life, the balance of polarities, somewhat more on the side of good, both in his own individual existence and in that of the aggregate units, of which he is one, which is called society or humanity."

In conclusion, we see that Zoroaster's idea about the two opposite polarities is a truly Scientific notion, and is the accepted belief of modern scientists. It will also be quite clear that he and his followers possessed a most marvellous knowledge of Science, when the world was in a semi-civilized condition, and when European Science was an unknown thing. It should also not be

forgotten that it was the philosophical and scientific writings of the Zoroastrians of old, which for hundreds of years after them, moulded the minds of many eminent Scholars and Divines. According to the Greek historians, Aristotle and Plato, Socrates and Pythagoras, Theopompus and Hermippus and many first-rate classical scholars, had carefully studied the scientific and philosophical writings of the Zoroastrians. In the writings of these scholars, we find many instances of ideas drawn from the writings of the great Bactrian Sage and of his followers.

As regards the Zoroastrian religion, it requires no blind belief, as it is founded on the sound bed-rock of reasoning, logic and science. The precepts of this religion are nothing but fundamental scientific principles, that can be practised upon by men of any creed or profession, with advantage and without any difficulty. Indeed Zoroastrianism, as Mr. Samuel Lang justly observes, "in its fundamental ideas and essential Spirit, approximates wonderfully to those of the most advanced modern thought, and gives the outline of a creed which goes further than any other, to meet the practical wants of the present day, and to reconcile the conflict between Faith and Science."

K. SANJANA.

IS ZOROASTRIANISM PREACHED TO ALL MANKIND OR TO ONE PARTICUAR RACE ?

This is an interesting question which has lately engrossed the minds of the Parsi community. The late Ervad Tahmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria has collected in a Gujerati pamphlet, evidences, both direct and indirect, from Zoroastrian writings to prove that the religion of Zoroaster enjoins the admission of *all men* into its fold. In this short monograph I shall content myself with the citation of only a few select, authentic and authoritative passages bearing on the subject from the Avesta, Pahlavi-Pâzend and Persian sacred Zoroastrian recitals, as well as from the Shâh-nâmeh and the last Persian Revâyet of 1778.

(1)

YASNA XXX, 11.

Zoroaster preaches in his first sermon :

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[1] is a synonym of . (Compare the phrases and . Also compare and where appears as the synonym of). I derive the word from Rt. as a transposition of Avesta , Sk, , from which Sanskrit (verse, metre) is derived.

[2] for , imperative second person plural from the root =Sk. to learn.

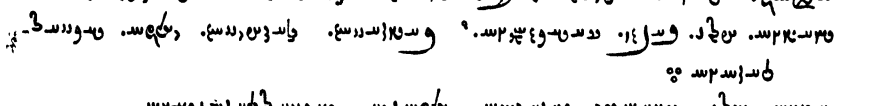
[3] = + + ; literally, good (way of) going, good conduct, morality, from the root , to go. Compare Gujerati સારી ચાલ, સુનીતિ ; Pahlavi , Persian خوب روش etc.

[4] = + + : literally, not going, conduct which must not be followed; bad conduct, immorality. Compare Sk. अनीति.

[5] Suffering, torment, from the root akin to to wound. Also compare Pahlavi , Persian سزا suffering.

𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬎𐬀𐬌

of Zoroaster, the prophet, while appointing his apostles and successors in matters of the religion preached by him, enjoins thus :—

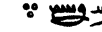


"The best wish of Zarathushtra, the descendant of Spitama, is made heard (*i. e.*, announced as follows) :—If (or when) Ahura Mazda should bestow upon him (Zarathushtra) (in reward) for his righteousness the gifts, *viz.*, a blissful life for all eternity (*i. e.*, heaven after his death), Gushtâsp, the Kayânian, Frashaoshtra, and any descendant (or successor) of Zarathushtra himself, and (from time to time) the Saoshyants (the holy benefactors of the world, the propagators of religion, *i. e.*, the Zoroastrian priests), who may be well versed in the Right Ways, namely, the Religion which Hormazd has given (*i. e.*, sent to mankind), shall give instructions about thoughts, words, and deeds, so as to make one faithful as regards the worship, praises, and propitiation of Hormazd ; (they shall give instructions) to him (*i. e.*., to any person) who may wish to learn and remove the doubts (of his mind) as regards the sayings and actions of the Good Religion."

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[1] , Pahlavi  , the state of blissful life. This word is equivalent to ; Pahlavi ; Persian بهشت

[2] . I take the root as akin to  ,  doubt, and the root as the desiderative of to learn; the reduplicative syllable being dropped and  transposed to  .

[3]  is equivalent to  rejoicing, propitiation.

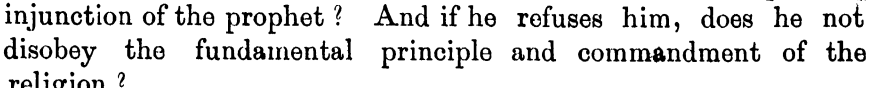
[4]  . Abverb; present participle, accusative singular of the root  akin to  ,  , etc.

[5] . Nominative plural of knower, one who knows: Nominative singular , accusative singular  .

Here proselytism and conversion are distinctly enjoined as a duty on the leaders of religion at all times. Every true disciple of Zarathushtra is bound to obey this injunction, especially the priests of the religion, whose duty it is to initiate men into the religion. Now if an alien should apply to a priest for admission into the religion, can the priest refuse him, in face of this positive injunction of the prophet? And if he refuses him, does he not disobey the fundamental principle and commandment of the religion?

(4)

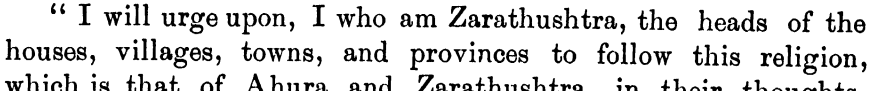
YASNA VIII, 7.



"I will urge upon, I who am Zarathushtra, the heads of the houses, villages, towns, and provinces to follow this religion, which is that of Ahura and Zarathushtra, in their thoughts, words, and deeds."

(5)

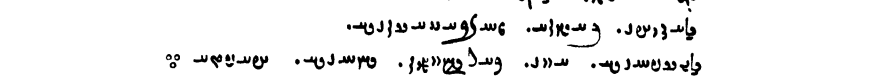
FRAVARDIN YASHT, § 94.



"Hereafter shall widely reach the good Mazda-worshipping religion to all regions (of the world) which are seven."

(6)

VENDIDAD XIX, 26.



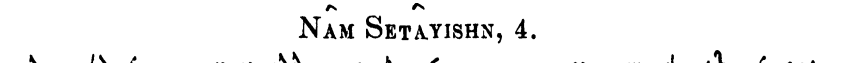
"Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Thou All-Knowing Ahura Mazda! Shall I make a virtuous man my follower? Shall I make a virtuous woman my follower? Shall I make the wicked demon-worshipping men of sinful life my followers?'.....

Ahura Mazda answered:—'Thou shouldst, O holy Zarathushtra'".

Here Zoroaster is enjoined by God to preach his religion to *all men and women*, virtuous or wicked, of a pure religion or a base religion, without any distinction of caste, creed, descent, race, or nationality.

(7)

NÂM SETAYISHN, 4.

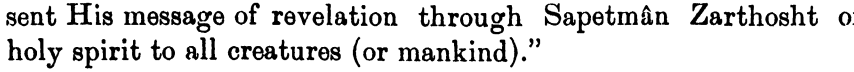


"I bow to the Omniscient, much forbearing God who has sent His message of revelation through Sapetmân Zarthosht of holy spirit to all creatures (or mankind)."

The belief here expressed is that the Zoroastrian religion was sent by God for *all mankind*, and not for any particular tribe or race.

(8)

KALMA-I-DIN.



"The good, right and proper religion which God, has sent to *mankind*, is only that which Zarthosht has brought."

In this confession of faith every person at the time of being invested with Sudra and Kusti is made by the initiating priest to acknowledge that the religion which he or she embraces is sent by God for *all mankind*. In the face of this recital and acknowledgment would it not be absolutely wrong to deny the right of every man of the world to embrace the religion of Zarathushtra; and when a person applies to a Zoroastrian priest to admit him into his religion, how can he refuse him? Surely, if he does, it would be dereliction of duty on his part.

(9)

THE SHÂH NÂMEH.

In the Shâh-nâmeh of Firdousi we find the following couplets describing the propagation of Zoroaster's religion in all countries of the world.

همان بزرگ از همه کشوران
پزشکان دانا و گنداوران
همه سوي شاة زمين آمدند

بپستند کُستی بہ دین آمدند
رہ بُتپرستی پراگندہ شد
و یزدان پرستی پراگندہ شد
پراز نور ایزد بشد دخمہا
وز آلودگی پاک شد تخمہا

" Mighty chiefs *of all countries*, physicians, wise men, and warriors, all came to the king of the world (Gushtâsp), and girded themselves with Kusti (*i.e.*, were invested with Sudrâ and Kusti), and accepted the religion. The path of idolatry was forsaken and its place was filled by the worship of God. There were erected Towers of Silence which received the full heavenly light of the sun, and the seeds of pollution and contamination were cleared out."

(10)

THE REVAYET OF SEVENTY EIGHT QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS, § 13.

پرسش سیزدہم اینکہ در اینجانب بہدینان ہندوستان اکثر پسران و دختران ہندوانرا بغلامی و کنیزی خرید نمودہ درکار و خدمت خانکی خود نگاہ میدارند و آنہارا اوستا آموختہ کستی و سدرہ بائین دین زرتشتی بمیان آنہا بستہ از دست آنہا درون گہنبار وغیرہ طیار کنانیدہ می یزند و ہم خوردنی و آب ہم موبدان و بہدینان ہند از دست آنہا میخورند و ہرگاہ کہ آنہا ودیعت حیات می سپارند موبدان و بہدینان مزکور لاشہ آنہارا در دخمہ نمیگزارند و میگویند کہ آنہا بچہ دروند پستند استخوان بہدین و اینہا یکجا شود خوب نیست چون در زندگی آنہا ہم کارہای دین از دست آنہا میکردند و بعد مردن در دخمہ گزاشتن را منع می کنند لہذا التماس اینست کہ لاشہ در دخمہ گزاشتن شاید یانہ اینمعنی را واضح کردہ مرقوم فرمایند ۰.

پاسخ سیزدہم آنکہ در باب پسران و دختران جد دین خرید نمودن موبدان و بہدینان را باید کہ اول نگاہ بدین و آئین و جان و مال خود کردن کہ ہیچ نقصان نمیرسد ثواب عظیم است کہ فرزندان جد دین خرید نمودہ باوشان اوستا یاد دہد و در دین وہ مازدیسنان در آورد اما این معنی بسیار ناپسندیدہ و بعید نزد اہل مردمان دین بہی است کہ موبدان و بہدینان ہند در زندگی بدست ہمان پسران مزکورہ خوردنی میخورند و وقتی کہ ایشان ودیعت حیات نمودہ برحمت خدا میروند بر لاشہ ہای ایشان مسکین بیچارہ سخن ناسزا می گویند و بحث بیجا می کنند کہ این فرزندان زادہ جد دین است نباید کہ لاشہ آنہا و بہدینان در دخمہ یکجا کردن خوب نیست این سخن ناسزا بی بہرہ از کرفہ دین زرانشت و جادہ حقست و برین معنی ہرکس کہ حرکت کند و لاشہ آنرا بدخمہ نمی سپارد آنکس در دین مرکورزانست و پیش مہر و سروش رو سیاہ بلکہ موبدان و بہدینان را میباید کہ بفرزندان مزکورہ حرست زیادہ تر نگاہ دارند و لاشہ آن وردہ را بقاعدہ دین بہی بدخمہ گزارند کہ

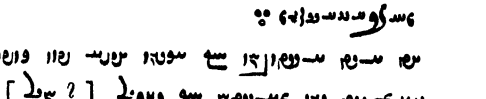
باعث خشنودی اورمزد و امشاسفندان بوده باشد ثانیا اینجانب بزبان بلاغت بنسیان دستور زاده دستور کاووس خلف جنت مکانی دستور رستم مسموع شد که بعضی دستوران و موبدان و بهدینان در اکثر ولایت مانع و مزاحم بستند و بندوبست نمودند که پسران مزکوره را اوستا یاد نمی دهند و در دین وه مازدیسنان نمی آرند اینمعنی بعید از

عقل و غریب از نقل است عزیزان من سلامت در سیوم پرکرد جددیوداد [1] دادار جهان استهوندان اشو بحضرت زراتشت اسفنتمان انوشهروان فرموده است که جمیع مردمانرا بدین بهی بشاهراه هدایت نموده از مستفیض خود مفخر و مباهی سازند و دویم اینکه در زمان بشیدر ماه و بشدر بامی و سیوشانس جمیع جد دینانرا در دین بهی می آرند پس ازین حجت و برهان در دین بهی واجب و لازم است که پسران مزکوره را در دین بهی آوردن کرفه عظیم و ثواب مستقیم پس آنکسانیکه از ینمعنی مانع و متعرض بستند گویا که در دین جد دینان امداد مینمایند و ازمبداء و معادیم خبر ندارند و بشاهراه ضلالت و بطالت میرونه آنهارا بهدین گفتن در دین محال است برگاه بهدین باشد دین بهی را زیاده کند

QUESTION 13TH: "Here the Behdîns of Hindustân having purchased mostly sons and daughters of Hindus as slaves and slave-girls, keep them in their own service and household work, and having taught Avesta to them, and having invested them with the Sudrâ and Kusti according to the rules of the Zoroastrian religion, employ them to prepare the *Daruns* of Gahambâr and other holy festivals to consecrate those things; and also all priests and laymen of India eat and drink food and water touched by them. But when they die, the said priests and laymen do not allow their corpses to be placed into the Towers of Silence. They say that these were born of non-Zoroastrian parents, and, therefore, it would not be well that the bones of Behdîns (*i. e.*, born Zoroastrians) should mingle with theirs. Since they allow the performance of all the works of religion by them in their life-time, but after their death prevent them from being consigned to the Towers of Silence, it is requested to know from you whether it is allowable or not to place

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[1] These Avesta and Pahlavi sentences are written on the margin of one of the most authentic manuscripts containing this Revâyet.



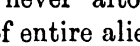
their corpses into the Towers of Silence? Kindly write this subject clearly."

ANSWER 13TH: "In the matter of purchasing sons and daughters of people of other religions it is necessary for priests and laymen at first to take care of their own religion and custom and of the safety of their own lives and properties, so that (by doing it) no harm[1] should befall them. It is a deed of great merit to purchase children of other religions, and having taught them the Avesta, to admit them into the fold of the good religion of Mazda-worshippers. But this is very much to be disliked and is very strange to the minds of the people of the good religion that the priests and laymen of India eat food touched by the hands of the above-said children in their lives, and at the time when they depart from life and obtain the grace of God, they utter very unworthy words about the remains of these poor, helpless persons, and import an element of perversity which is out of place, (saying) that these were the children born of aliens, and, therefore, it is not fit that their corpses and those of the Behdîns (born Zoroastrians) should mingle together in the Towers of Silence;—and to do so is not good. These unworthy utterances are depriving them of the profit of a meritorious deed of the religion of Zarthosht and of the path of Truth. He who interferes in this matter and does not allow their corpses to be consigned to the Towers of Silence, that person is "*margarzân*" (a great criminal) according to religion, and he shall be disgraced before Meher and Sarosh (while giving account of his deeds after death in the heavenly tribunal). Rather it is the duty of priests and laymen that they should give more respect to the above-said children and consign their corpses to the Towers of Silence according to the rule of the Religion, so that it may be a cause of pleasing Hormazd and the Amshâspands (archangels). Secondly, we have heard here from the mouth of the accomplished Dastur-born Dastur Kâus, the son of Dastur Rustam, a denizen of heaven, that in most of the towns some of the high priests, and

[1] This caution seems to have been given in those days on account of the jealousy and consequent riots, tumults, and disorders prevalent among different nationalities of India owing to the almost anarchical state of our country at the time. By the grace of God, at present, the powerful protection of the British Government being predominant in the whole empire, there is no reason for us to entertain the fear of any harm.

priests and laymen forbid (this act) and give much trouble (in this matter); and that they have passed resolutions that the above-said children must not be taught the Avesta, and must not be brought into the good Mâzdayasni religion. This course is far from (the path of) wisdom and strange to knowledge. Most respected Sirs, (may God keep you safe), in the third chapter of the Vendidâd, God, the Holy Creator of corporeal beings, has commanded to Lord Zarathushtra, the descendant of Spitama, of the immortal soul, that it is the duty of all to show the path of the good religion to all mankind and to make them honoured and respected by its profits. Again, (it is our belief) that in the times of Hoshedar Mâh, Hoshedar Bâmi, and Saoshânç, all men of other religions will be brought into the Good Religion. Therefore, according to this argument and proof, it is inculcated on us in the Good Religion that to convert the above-said children into our Good Religion is an act of great and permanent merit; and, therefore, those who become objectors in this matter, help, as it were, to increase the religion of aliens. They have no knowledge of the essence of things (they are ignorant) and they go on the path of fault and error. It is impossible according to the religion, to call them Behdîns. Whoso is a real Behdîn, he will further the Good Religion."

This quotation from the last Revâyet of 1778 is important in as much as it shows that from the time of Spitâma Zarathushtra down to the last century, the practice of converting aliens into the Zoroastrian religion was never altogether discontinued. For if there were no conversions of entire aliens made then, there could have been no necessity for the Parsees of those days to ask a question to, and receive a reply from, the Dasturs of Irân regarding the disposal of the last remains of converts to Zoroastrianism in the common Towers of Silence, which was objected to by some ignorant Parsees of India through a misconceived repugnance against mingling the bones of the proselytised with those of born Parsees.

Again, if the Zoroastrian religion claims to be a revelation from the Supreme Being, it cannot be reserved only for a particular tribe or race, for, according to the "Patet Pashemâni", all sorts of men —  — are under the special protection

of Hormazd Himself [1], and, therefore, any and every human being on the face of the earth is entitled to embrace His (Hormazd's) Religion which He has sent through His chosen prophet Zarathushtra.

Moreover, the Mâzdayasnian religion is said in the Vendidâd, X, 18-19, to be Purification itself, and that Purification is stated there to be open for *any man of the world*— 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬌

THE PERSIAN DANTE.

For the last hundred years the study of the "sources" of Dante's *Divina Commedia* has been a favourite subject of research and discussion both with Dantologists and with students of comparative literature. The investigations of Cancellieri at the beginning of the last century, followed by those of writers like Mustafia, Corazzini, Kopitsch, Labitte, Ozanam, and, in our own times, by many distinguished scholars, have been ably and succinctly summed up in a small and scholarly volume by Prof. Marcus Dods published in 1903 ("Forerunners of Dante", Edinburgh, Clark). The author has gone wide afield and ransacked literatures, Eastern and Western, ancient and modern, for analogues of Dante's Vision and his survey ranges from the Babylonian Gilgamesh and the Egyptian Setne down to the Irish Tundal and the English Thurcill. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that in this extensive survey not even an allusion is to be found to what is, at least in my estimation, one of the most striking and interesting of oriental apocalyptic compositions, bearing an unmistakable likeness to the immortal Vision of the great Florentine poet. This fact must be my excuse for presenting an essay upon a subject which is not altogether a novelty and which may be found treated with considerable fulness by some English writers, even though in works not very accessible to the general public.

The short Pahlavi religious tractate known as the Artâ Vîrâf Nâmak, or Book of Artâ Vîrâf [1] has for centuries been a favourite work with all classes of the Parsi community. It was sometimes read before large assemblies, with the effect thus described by its learned editor, DASTUR HOSHANGJI:— "It speaks volumes both for the effective style of the Artâ Vîrâf Nâmak and for the implicit faith which the Parsis placed in what was written therein, that a few years ago, when the book used to be read before them, overpowered by consciousness of guilt,

[1] As we might say, "Saint Vîraf".

the punishment for which was so terrifically described, they, but especially the gentler sex, used to weep. It was a most affecting spectacle to witness the awakening conscience exhibiting itself in trickling tears." This popularity of the Vision is shown by the fact that, besides the original Pahlavi text, which exists in two or three considerably divergent recensions, translations exist into both Sanskrit and Gujerâti, besides several Persian versions, both in prose and poetry. These poetical versions are quite modern and were composed respectively in A. D. 1530-31, 1532-33 and 1679. One of these Persian verse translations was evidently known to the celebrated English scholar, Thomas Hyde, whose famous work "*Veterum Persarum Religionis Historia*" first appeared in 1700. (See Prof. E. G. Browne's "Literary History of Persia", Vol. I., p. 43). The work itself was first made known to Western readers in 1816, however imperfectly, by J. A. Pope's English translation from one of the Persian versions published in 1816. The first edition, however, of the original text and the first reliable and scholarly translation was that prepared by Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji Asa, and most elaborately edited with notes, translation and introduction by Drs. Martin Haug and E. W. West in 1872. A French translation by M. Barthélemy appeared in 1887; and a new edition of the Pahlavi text by a native scholar, Dastur Kaikhosru Jamaspji was published at Bombay in 1902.

From the appearance of Pope's version, it has been a commonplace of writers on Persian literature that the story of Artâ Vîrâf presents striking points of similarity with the Vision of Dante recorded in the *Divina Commedia*. The subject of the present essay is, therefore, nothing new, and is merely an attempt to offer, in a somewhat recast form, what may be found with little difficulty in various preceding writers. Before any attempt to determine what historical relationship, if any, exists between the Persian and the Italian Visions, it will be necessary to say a word as to the date of the former. In the very careful introductory essay prefixed to his edition, Haug comes to the conclusion that the author, whoever he may have been, must have lived after the time of the celebrated Zoroastrian theologian Âdarbâd Mâhraspand, the Minister of Shâpûr II. (A. D. 309-379), but before the downfall of the Sâssânian dynasty in the seventh century, for the book

undoubtedly belongs to Sâssânian times.[1] Thus its composition might fall in the fifth or sixth century A. D.

This date is of some importance, as the early Irish Vision literature which appears to have played so important a part among the sources of Dante's great poem, belongs to a considerably later period. Thus the Vision of Adamnan, which in so many points resembles the *Divina Commedia* that it has been thought that Dante must have used it, though ascribed to the famous ninth Abbot of Iona who died A. D. 704, is believed by Dr. Whitley Stokes to be at least three centuries later than his time. The other Irish legends of the kind, such as the Vision of Fursey, the legend of Owain Miles and the Vision of Tundal are all much later.[2]

The principal early Christian writing of the kind is the Ascension of the Prophet Isaiah, which has been preserved in an Ethiopic Version in Abyssinia and which is very probably of a more ancient date. Spiegel, the great Avestan scholar,[3] believed the Artâ Vîrâf Nâmak to be dependent on the *Ascensio*. Haug argues strongly in favour of the complete independence of the two works, even though a certain number of coincidences can be discovered between them. He comes to the same conclusion with regard to the remarkable Jewish production entitled "The history of Rabbi Joshua ben Levi", which professes to describe a journey through Heaven and Hell undertaken by the said Rabbi in the third century of our era. A more striking analogy is that of the Hebrew Revelation of Moses, first translated by Dr. Gaster in 1903 (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society), which seems anterior to R. ben Levi. Dr. Gaster considers all these Hebrew Visions as pre-Christian in date. If this be true, they would assuredly be anterior to the Artâ Vîrâf Nâmak by some centuries. But this view is very doubtful.

Apocalyptic literature of this kind, however, has been so common for centuries from even pre-Christian times, that it is very hazardous to deny the possibility of some influence of ideas and even of diction percolating from one literature to another. To

[1] E. W. West, however, is not altogether satisfied on this point and thinks that it contains no certain indication of time when written.—"Grundriss der Ir. Phil." II, II, 57.

[2] See Miss Eleonor Hull's "Text Book of Irish Literature", Part I, pp. 137-140, Dublin, Gill, 1906.

[3] "Trad. Lit. der P". II. 121.

us it is of little importance whether or not the anoymous writer of the Artâ Vîrâf Nâmak was influenced, however distantly, by the early Christian and Jewish Visions above referred to, or, even by the still earlier echoes from the Greek and Latin literatures; but it is of interest to determine its priority of date to the Irish Legends, and to speculate whether it might possibly have exercised at least a remote influence either upon them or upon the Italian poet of the thirteenth century.

The general course of the Artâ Vîrâf Nâmak,— the trance and vision of the Zoroastrian seer and his visit under the guidance of the Spirits Srôsh and Âtaro,— over the Chinvat Bridge, to the World beyond the Tomb; first to the four Heavens, thence by command of Aûharmazd through the horrors of the " Inferno ", finally back to the Divine throne in Garotmân,— is too well known to my readers for any need to recapitulate the contents here.

Some remarks of a general nature, however, naturally occur to the reader, and will rightly lead up to a closer comparison between the Irânian and the Italian Visions.

It will be observed, in the first place, how very large a proportion of Artâ Vîrâf's vision, no less than 83 out of the total 101 chapters, is devoted to the description of the *Inferno*, whilst the description of Heaven occupies only nine chapters. On the other hand, in the vision of Heaven, as compared with that of Hell, there is a certain orderly arrangement observable, whilst an entire want of order prevails in the long role of the various crimes and their punishments in the infernal regions:—literally, " *Ubi nullus ordo sed sempiternus horror inhabitat*".[1] It will be interesting, therefore, in order to give some idea of this Persian Hell to summarise under one or two heads its chief characteristics (after Haug and West).

Some *sins and crimes* punished in this hell may be said to be against the natural order to be condemned by all religious systems. Among these occur: murder (at least of a Zoroastrian); adultery; unnatural crime; infanticide; disobedience and undutifulness of wives and children; neglect of children; poisoning; sorcery; use of false weights and measures; breach of promise; all

[1] Job, X. 22.

kinds of falsehood, perjury, slander and calumny ; dishonest appropriation of wealth ; taking bribes ; defrauding labourers of their wages; mal-administration and fraud ; misappropriation of religious property ; cruelty on the part of rulers ; avarice ; illiberality and egotism ; envy; apostasy and heresy ; rebellion. The analogy between this list of sins and those condemned in Dante's *Inferno* must strike every reader.

Then there are sins strictly against the special precepts of the Zoroastrian religion. These specially concern the various ceremonial impurities of the Mazdean law, in many respects recalling those of the Jewish law ; also neglect or pollution of the sacred elements, fire and water; the ill-treatment of cattle, sheep, dogs, and other useful animals; destruction of bridges; disregard of the poor and of travellers ; talking whilst eating ; using public warm baths; useless lamentation and weeping; beautifying the face and wearing false hair ; walking without shoes ; and, of course, idolatry and unbelief in the true religion of Aûharzmazd.

With reference to the various *chastisements* so graphically detailed, two remarks may be made. One is that in a considerable number of cases there is an evident attempt to indicate a *lex talionis*, in other words, 'to make the punishment fit the crime'. For example, liars and slanderers have their tongues cut out or gnawed by serpents; those who cheated in weights and measures are continually measuring out dust and ashes ; those who ill treated cattle are trampled under their feet ; the unjust judge is obliged to slay his own child ; adulterous women have their bodies gnawed by noxious animals; the woman who gave no milk to her child is punished in her breasts, etc. A second remark is that some of the extremely cruel and almost grotesque tortures described by Artâ Vîrâf are in all probability not the offspring of the writer's imagination, but reproduce actual tortures inflicted in ancient Persia, and even, to a large extent, practised there in modern times. Such are the hanging head downwards, cutting out the tongue, putting out the eyes, the breaking and tearing of limbs, being torn by dogs, roasting alive, plunging in mud and filth, etc.

It is a curious fact that all the sufferers in Artâ Vîrâf's Hell are anonymous, with the single exception of the lazy man, whose name seems to have been *Davânos* and who is punished like Dives,

the rich man in the Gospel, solely because of his laziness, since when "he was in the world, he never did any good work". Yet whilst his whole body was being gnawed by *khrafstras*, his right foot alone was untouched, "for that he once with this right foot cast a bunch of grass before a ploughing ox", so that his solitary good deed went not unrewarded.

The first obvious contrast between the two works is that whilst the *Divina Commedia* is one of the greatest poems, replete with all the wealth of the sublime and beautiful in poetic thought and diction, the book of Artâ Vîrâf is written in prose, and that generally of the baldest and most monotonous character.

The second obvious difference is in the order of the respective visions. Dante visits first Hell, then Purgatory, lastly Heaven. Artâ Vîrâf's first visit is to Heaven and the souls of the just, afterwards to Hell and its torments. As we shall see, there is no Purgatory so-called in the Mazdean system.

Again, the various inhabitants of Dante's *Inferno* and *Paradiso*, the degrees of sanctity and kind of crime for which there are respectively allocated their places of reward or punishment, are arranged in the strictly philosophical and carefully considered order and plan. The punishments of the wicked in the Artâ Vîrâf Nâmak, as we have just seen, appear in no particular order, and at least as regards Hell, "there is nowhere any system or plan preceptible", in the words of Haug.

A fourth very striking difference between the two visions is the anonymity already referred to of the Persian *Inferno*. In Heaven this is somewhat different, as the Fravashis of a few eminent individuals are met with, though even here the anonymous treatment, on the whole, prevails.

It is perhaps unnecessary to call attention to the absolute difference of the motive, if I may be allowed the expression, of the two Visions. In the Persian one, as we have seen, the journey to the world beyond is undertaken deliberately by the seer as an envoy from, and on behalf of, the whole religious community. Dante's great journey to the same world is essentially the experience of an individual soul. And though, as a matter of fact, these experiences are really recorded for the guidance and benefit of all his fellowmen, particularly of his countrymen, yet the poet's art records the

whole vision as a personal history leading to the poet's own individual regeneration. Yet this difference is really only one of the *mise-en-scène* of the two compositions.

A further, not unimportant, difference is to be found in this that Dante is supposed to visit the World of Spirits in his actual living body, so that it is noted by the spirits as a marvel that his body casts a shadow. On the other hand, Artâ Vîrâf's soul leaves his body whilst in the trance induced by *mang*, and thus disembodied makes the journey through Heaven and Hell. Here we have a striking analogy with the legend of Er, the son of Armenius, the Pamphylian, in Plato's *Republic* (lib. X. Chap. XIII.), whose soul similarly leaves his body on the funeral pyre and goes forth to view the Spirit World, but eventually (like that of Artâ Vîrâf) returns to his body still lying on the pyre. (*Ibid.* Chap. XVI.)

A last difference to be recorded is that the author of the Artâ Vîrâf Nâmak, in spite of the general use of the first person in his narration, is absolutely unknown, and even his date is exceedingly doubtful. The author of the *Divina Commedia* is one of the most famous and best known characters of history.

We may now turn to the more interesting task of collecting the points of resemblance and analogy which occur in the two works so strangely different in style and character, and yet so strikingly akin in many essential features. In this task I shall largely follow the suggestive essay of the distinguished Parsi scholar, Ervad Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1892.

Both Artâ Vîrâf and Dante have the guidance of two celestial beings in their wonderful journeys. In the case of Dante, the poet Vergil, and afterwards Beatrice, accompany and direct him through the spirit world. With Artâ Vîrâf it is the archangel *Srôsh* (the Avestic Sraosha, the spirit of obedience, *i.e.*, to the Divine law) and the Genius of Fire, Âtaro, who together act as guides through the realms of Heaven and Hell. As they enter Hell, Artâ Vîrâf remarks: "Srôsh the Pious and Âtaro the angel *took hold of my hand* and I went thence onwards unhurt. In that manner I beheld cold and heat, drought and stench, to such a degree as I never saw nor heard of in the world. And when I went

further, I also saw the greedy jaws of Hell, like the most frightful pit, descending in a very narrow and fearful place; in darkness so gloomy that it is necessary to hold by the hand; and in such stench that every one into whose nostrils that air ascends, will struggle and stagger and fall; and on account of such close confinement no man's existence is endurable."— Artâ Vîrâf Nâmak, XVIII, 1-9.

With this passage Modi well compares Dante's statement at the entrance to the gate of Hell :

" E poichè *la sua mano alla mia pose*,
" Con lieto volto, ond' io mi confortai,
" Mi mise dentro alle segrete cose.
" Quivi sospiri, pianti ed alti guai
" Risonavan per l' aer senza stelle,
" Perch' io al cominciar ne lagrimai.
* * * * *
" Facevano un tumulto, il qual s' aggira
" Sempre in *quell' aria senza tempo tinta*."— Inf. III. 19-29.[1]

Immediately after the words just quoted from the Artâ Vîrâf Nâmak, the narration continues :—

" I came to a place and I saw a great river which was gloomy as dreadful Hell; on which river were many souls and *fravashis*; and some of them were not able to cross, and some crossed only with great difficulty, and some crossed easily, and I asked thus, ' What river is this ? and who are these people who stand so distressed ? ' Srôsh the Pious and Âtaro the angel said : ' This river is the many tears which men shed from the eyes, for the departed. They shed those tears unlawfully, and they swell this river. Those who are not able to cross over are those for whom, after their departure, much lamentation and weeping were made; and those (who cross) more easily, are those for whom less was made. Speak forth to the world thus : ' When ye are in the world make no lamentation and weeping unlawfully, for so much harm and difficulty may come

[1] And after that he had laid his hand on mine
With joyful mien, at which I took comfort,
He led me in among the hidden mysteries.;
Here sighs, lamentations and loud cries of woe
Resounded through the starless air, whereat at first I wept.....
They made a tumult for ever whirling on,

to the souls of your departed.' "—A. V. N. XVI, 2-12.[1]

Here I should like to point out two remarkable analogies: In the *Inferno*, almost immediately after the lines just quoted above, the poet with his guide arrives at the banks of the great river Acheron, crowded with unfortunate souls waiting for the coming of Charon's boat, (Inf. III. 70 s. q.) whilst in Canto XIV, the fourfold river of Hell is described.

" Ciascuna parte, fuor che l'oro, è rotta
" D' una fessura che lagrime goccia,
" Le quali accolte foran quella grotta."—Inf. XIV. 112, 114.[2]

Though perhaps it may be doubted whether these *lagrime* really represent human tears.

The crossing of a river as the means of entrance into the Spirit World, is, of course, a commonplace of literature. We find it in Homer and Vergil, from whom Dante has borrowed his four infernal rivers, Acheron, Styx, Phlegethon, and Cocytus. It is also a commonplace of Irânian eschatology, as in the Avestic description of the adventures of the soul after death, which have been borrowed wholesale in the Qorân. In the old Irish vision literature also, we come across rivers in the nether world.

There is this difference between the Irânian and the Western rivers, that whereas these latter are crossed by boat, or some other means of conveyance, the Irânian river is spanned by the celebrated Chînvat bridge, broad and easy to the just, narrow and difficult, if not impossible, to the wicked.

It will be remembered that, after passing through the portals of Hell, Dante first meets with a number of unfortunate souls in the vestibule of the infernal regions, whom he describes with great bitterness of contempt as those

" Che visser senza infamia e senza lodo.
" Misciate sono a quel cattivo coro

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[1] *Evil Effects of Weeping for the Dead.*—A gentleman, who heard my paper on this subject read before the Manchester Dante Society, afterwards wrote me: "On returning home from the funeral of my father, in the County Kerry, 30 years ago, my brother and I, by common impulse, feeling our loneliness, burst out crying; but my uncle reproved us, saying that *our crying was hindering my father's soul from going to heaven*". A curious parallelism of belief in Ireland and Iran!

[2] Each part, except the gold, is rent with a fissure that *drips tears*, which, when collected, force a passage through that cavern.

" Degli angeli che non furon ribelli
" Nè fur fedeli a Dio, ma per se foro.
" Cacciarli i Ciel per non esser men belli :
" Nè lo profundo inferno gli riceve."—Inf. III. 36–41.[1]

It is characteristic of Dante that he treats these indifferent souls, who were neither good nor bad, with a fierce bitterness :—

" A Dio spiacenti ed ai nemici sui".—*Ibid.* 63.[2]

Correspondingly, Artâ Vîrâf, immediately after passing the great river, says :—

"I came to a place and saw the souls of several people who remained in the same position. And I asked the victorious Srôsh the Pious and Âtaro, the angel, 'Who are they? and why remain they here?' Srôsh the Pious and Âtaro the angel said: 'They call this place Hamîstagân, and these souls remain in this place till the Resurrection; and they are the souls of those men whose good works and sins are equal,.....for every one whose good works are three scruples more than his sins, goes to Heaven; they whose sin is in excess, go to Hell; they in whom both are equal remain among these Hamîstagân till the Resurrection. Their punishment is cold or heat from the revolution of the atmosphere, and they have no other adversity!"—A. V. N., Chap. VI.

This doctrine of the Hamîstagân is curiously like the Irish conception of limbo in the Vision of Adamnan (*Fis Adamnain*) as the place " at the hither side of the lightless land for those whose good and evil have been equal". Many writers, including Mr. Modi, see in the Hamîstagân the analogue of the Christian Purgatory. This is, however, scarcely tenable. It is true that, as in the Christian Purgatory, the sufferings of these souls will eventually come to an end, but there is no idea of purgation by suffering, as in Dante's *Purgatorio*. The Pahlavi name is a plural of the adjective *hamîstak*, meaning 'ever stationary', and is no doubt derived from the idea of a balance, in which the two scales are exactly balanced, and so stationary. These spirits, therefore, in both the

[1] Who lived without infamy and without praise. They are mingled with that caitiff choir of the angels who were not rebellious nor were faithful to God, but were for themselves. Heaven drove them forth that its beauty should not be impaired nor does Hell receive them.

[2] Displeasing to God and to His enemies.

Irânian and the Irish vision, would seem more akin to those neutrals : "Che visser senza infamia e senza lodo." [1]

Among the punishments, often ghastly and disgusting, depicted by both the Persian and Italian writers, Mr. Modi has pointed out several which are identical.

(I) *The gnawing of human skulls and brains.*—In Artâ Vîrâf this horrible punishment is inflicted on fraudulent traders who use false weights and measures (LXXX), upon the dishonest rich who have stolen the property of others (XVI), and upon the unjust judge (XCI). We are at once reminded of the dreadful picture of Count Ugolino and Archbishop Ruggieri :—

" E come il pan per fame si manduca,
" Così il sopran li donti all' altro pose
" Là, 've il cervel s'aggiunge colla nuca."—Inf. XXXII. 127-129.[2]

(II). *Suspension head downwards.*—In Artâ Vîrâf, dishonest judges and traders, those who unlawfully slaughter cattle, and men and women guilty of sexual immorality, are suspended head downwards in Hell and otherwise tortured at the same time. (LXIX, LXXIV, LXXIX, LXXX, LXXXVIII.). In the *Inferno* similar suspension head downwards is inflicted upon Simoniacs and upon traitors. (XIX, and XXXIV.)

(III.) *Tearing and flaying.*—Artâ Vîrâf saw the souls of the wicked torn, seized and worried "as a dog a bone" by the *Khrafstras* or noxious creatures (XVIII). In the *Inferno*, Cerberus, " fiera crudele e diversa", not only barks over the unfortunate gluttons in the third circle, but :—

"Graffia gli spiriti, scuoia [*al.* ingoia], ed isquatra".-Inf. VI. 13.[3]

(IV.) *Crushing beneath metal.*—The hypocrites in the eighth circle of Dante are crushed beneath cowls of heavy lead.

" O in eterno faticoso manto !"—Inf. 23. 67.

The faithless wife in Artâ Vîrâf Nâmak is similarly crushed beneath an iron coating, (*Pôst-i âsînîn*) (LXXXV, 2.)

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[1] Who lived without infamy and without praise.

[2] Just in the way that bread is devoured from hunger, so the uppermost one fastened his teeth on the other, at the place where the brain joins the nape.

[3] Claws the spirits, seizes them in his mouth [or flays them] and rends them limb from limb.

(v.) *Serpents.*—The second *bolgia* of Dante in which robbers are punished, is that which is full of serpents :—

" E vidivi entro terribile stipa
" Di serpenti, e di si diversa mena,
" Che la memoria il sangue ancor mi scipa.
* * * *
" Con serpi le man dietro avean legate :
" Quelle ficcavan per le ren la coda
" E il capo, ed eran dinanzi aggroppate.
" Ed ecco ad un, ch'era da nostra proda,
" S'avvento un serpente, che il trafisse
" La dove il colle alle spalle s'annoda."—Inf. XXIV, 82, 99. [1]

Punishment by snakes and serpents is fairly frequent in Artâ Vîrâf. Compare :—" I saw the soul of a man through the fundament of which soul a snake, as it were like a beam, went in and came forth out of the mouth and many other snakes ever seized all his limbs". (XIX. 1-3.) A wicked ruler is flogged with darting serpents (XXVIII). Snakes and scorpions and other noxious creatures, (*Khrafstras*) gnaw men and women who neglect or contaminate the sacred elements of fire and water (XXXVII). Those who have defrauded or misappropiated the things belonging to God and to religion are ever stung and gnawed by serpents (LVI.), and like punishment is meted out to slanderers, (LXVI.), lustful men (LXXI.), liars (XC.), etc.

(vi.) As a general description, Modi well quotes the following parallel passages from the Persian and the Italian seers :—

" In that manner I beheld cold and heat, drought and stench, to such a degree as I never saw nor heard of in the world. And when I went further, I also saw the greedy jaws of Hell, like a most frightful pit, descending in a very narrow and fearful place ; in darkness so gloomy that it is necessary to hold by the hand, and in such stench that every one into whose nostrils that air ascends, will struggle and stagger and fall, and on account of such

[1] And I saw within it a fearful swarm of serpents, and of such variety of species that the recollection of them even now makes my blood run cold.....They had their hands bound behind with serpents ; these through their loins thrust their tail and head and in front were twisted up in knots. And lo ! upon one who was on one side darted a serpent that transfixed him there where the neck is knotted to the shoulders.

close confinement no man's existence is endurable. Everywhere even the lesser *Khrafstras* stand up mountain high and they so tear and seize and worry the souls of the wicked as a dog a bone." —A. V. N. XVIII.

And this of Dante :

" Io sono al terzo cerchio della piova
" Eterna, maledetta, fredda e greve :
" Regola e qualità mai non l'è nuova.
" Grandine grossa, e acqua tinta e neve
" Per l'aer tenebroso si riversa :
" Pute la terra che questo riceve.
" Cerbero, fiera crudele e diversa,
" Con tre gole caninamente latra
" Sopra la gente che quivi è sommersa.
" Gli occhi ha vermigli, la barba unta ed atra,
" E il ventre largo, e unghiate le mani ;
" Graffia gli spirti etc."—Inf. VI, 7-13[1]

The employment of the *forces of nature*—cold, rain, snow, wind, heat etc., is so common in each vision as not to need special quotation.

But perhaps the most striking feature in the *Inferno* of each vision is the position assigned to the Evil Spirit, the Arch-Enemy of God and the dominant ruler of Hell. The climax of Dante's *Inferno* is the vast figure of Lucifer frozen in the lowest depths of nether Hell at the apex of the inverted cone in which it is formed. In the Artâ Vîrâf Nâmak, Aharman (Angro Mainyush) (or *Ganrâk Minôi*) is similarly found in the darkest hell, which apparently is fixed in the very centre of the earth. Here the Evil Spirit ridicules and mocks the unfortunate sinners. And just as after beholding the horrors of Lucifer, Vergil leads Dante at once out to the Southern Hemisphere and the serener atmosphere of purgatory, so Srôsh and Âtaro took hold of Artâ Vîrâf's hand at the same juncture and led him forth "from that dark, terrible, fearful place",

[1] I am in the third circle of the rain, eternal cursed, cold and heavy ; measure and quality in it is ever unchanging. Thick hail and black water and snow come teaming down through the murky air: stinketh the earth that this receives. Cerberus, monster fierce and terrible, with triple throat, barks dog-like over the people who are plunged therein.....He claws the spirits, flays them [or seizes them in his mouth] and rends them limb from limb.

back to the eternal light of the presence of Aûharmazd.

In the descriptions of Heaven there are also some points of resemblance between the two works. It is true that Dante's *Paradiso* contains ten heavens, whilst the Heaven of Artâ Vîrâf is fourfold. Dante's first eight heavens are called respectively after the seven planets of the ancients,—the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn,—and the Fixed Stars; after which come the Crystalline Heaven, and finally the Empyrean containing the throne of the Trinity. Artâ Vîrâf's three first heavens are those of the Stars, the Moon and the Sun; whilst the fourth and last is the all glorious Garôtmân, wherein is the throne of Aûharmazd. Brilliant light and glory are the characteristics of the Heavens of both the Persian and the Italian seers, and adorn the blessed souls who inhabit them. Both Dante and Artâ Vîrâf behold in their respective Paradises the soul of the first progenitor of the human race,—Adam in the case of Dante, Gayômard in the case of Artâ Vîrâf. Other analogies will no doubt occur to readers.

That the vision of Artâ Vîrâf was in point of date anterior by some centuries to Dante, and even apparently to the composition of the earliest Irish Vision Poems, is, we may take it, beyond doubt. Dare we suppose that any influence can be traced from the Persian Vision to that of the Italian poet, such as may almost certainly be attributed to the Irish poems of the same kind?

I need not here enter into the question so ably discussed by Dr. Gaster in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1893) as to the indebtedness of the Artâ Vîrâf legend to older Hebrew Vision literature of the same kind. That the central idea of describing the secrets of the Other World under the allegorical form of a journey undertaken by a living man, guided by supernatural beings through the realms beyond the tomb, and even no inconsiderable part of the details of the description, may have been borrowed by a Persian writer from some Jewish original, is by no means unlikely, especially when we remember that most characteristic tendency of the Irânian mind, towards the adaptation and assimilation of outside theories and ideas, which has been so marked through the whole course of its history.

Nevertheless W. Bousset writes: "Es scheint mir der Beweis erbracht, dass wir in der eranischen Religion die Heimat

jener bunten Phantasien und jener ekstatischen Mystik zu suchen haben."—Archiv fur Religionswissenschaft.—IV, p. 169.[1]

Even the Artâ Vîrâf Nâmak may derive from some more ancient Irânian original now lost. To me the greater elaborateness and the grotesque exaggerations of description in the Hebrew visions, as compared with the relative sobriety of the Artâ Vîrâf Nâmak are in favour of the originality of the latter.

And the fact remains as true to-day as when Haug asserted it that the Vision of Artâ Vîrâf, in its minutest details, is essentially Zoroastrian in thought and diction, and certain passages, such as the adventures immediately after death of the just and the wicked soul, and possibly, the strange story of the rich man *Davânos*, are clearly derived from an Avestic origin.

We have no means of knowing whether the story of Artâ Vîrâf ever became known in mediæval Europe. But I for one have a strong belief in a much more extensive 'percolation' of ideas, stories, legends and other intellectual wares from Eastern to Western nations in both ancient and mediæval times than is commonly admitted or at least recognised.[2] We cannot forget the extraordinary activity of commercial intercourse between the Italian trading republics and the great civilised nations of the East, precisely during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Italian traders visited Eastern lands, bringing back with them undoubtedly not only material merchandise, but also "travellers' tales", among which may not impossibly have been included some such legends as the one I have been describing. Dante was a man who absorbed every possible kind of knowledge and information from every source and person with which he came in contact. It is never safe, therefore, to deny that the Florentine poet may have come to a knowledge of almost any kind of religious or philosophical speculation existing before his time. If I were asked to point out what particular features in the *Divina Commedia* appear most reminiscent of the Persian Vision, and, therefore, may possibly be a distant echo of the Artâ Vîrâf Nâmak I should be inclined to

[1] It seems to me it is proved that it is in the Iranian religion we have to seek for the home of these motley fantasies and this ecstatic mysticism.

[2] Bousset (*loc. cit.*) thinks that these Iranian ideas may have been diffused by means of Mithraism, so widely extended through the West.

point to the gruesome and often grotesque *penalties* described in the *Inferno*, which seem, as has been remarked, to have had their origin in the sight of actual barbaric tortures inflicted in an ancient Persian court. Perhaps I might venture to add the prevailing idea of *celestial light* as a leading feature of the *Paradiso*, just as we know it to be not only in the heaven of Artâ Vîrâf, but also in the celestial scheme of the Mazdean religion.

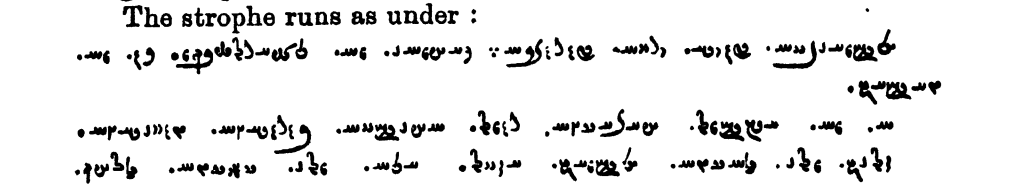
L. C. Casartelli.

YASNA HÂ XXIX. 1.

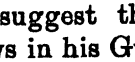
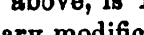
The Gatha Society proposes, as one of its main functions, to elucidate the Holy Gathas, and that being the case, the interpretation of a strophe out of the self-same Gathas might perhaps be said to be a proper contribution to the literary undertaking of a society as this, which also bears the name of the same sacred texts. This paper, we hope, would, none the less, be regarded as a fit tribute to to the memory of one who spent his life in the study and interpretation of the religious lore of his race.

The Gathic passages have been variously interpreted by different savants; but so far as the strophe, which we propose to consider on this occasion, is concerned, there is no great difference of opinion in the up-to-date translations which, to our mind, seem still inaccurate. This passage is Yasna Hâ XXIX. 1, and we propose to determine its correct meaning with accuracy, so far as it is possible on general philological considerations.

The strophe runs as under :



The Text.

The text admits of no great variations. Several variants are, as usual, to be found for different words, but they are immaterial, or mere capricious ones. However, one word requires attention. Dr. Geldner, following fifteen of the MSS. collated by him, admits in his laborious text the form  . Prof. Westergaard and Dr. Spiegel suggest the form  , which Ervad K. E. Kanga follows in his Gujarati text but which is not to be found in any of the MSS. collated by Geldner. The form adopted in the text, given above, is L_{13}'s () or K_1's () with a slight necessary modification.

Metre.

From the stand-point of metre, which is one of three lines of sixteen syllables each with a cæsura after the seventh syllable, the first line, to be quite regular, requires the word 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀 to be pronounced as one syllable. The reason is not far to seek. The general termination for the sixth case (genitive) singular is 𐬎𐬀, but instead of that, probably because of the weak case, only 𐬎 is attached to the crude form 𐬌𐬀𐬵 and so the vowel-sound being elided, 𐬎 coalesces with 𐬌𐬀𐬵 into one syllable 𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬵, 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬎 or 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀. The form 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬴 is the phonetic variant of 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬴 and so 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬴 is to be pronounced as one syllable, 𐬌𐬀𐬵 being here an equivalent of the monosyllabic 𐬌𐬀. In the second line, to let the cæsura fall after a finished word, the dissyllabic 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬎 is adopted in the text above in place of the trisyllabic 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬎 followed by Geldner and others, which unnecessarily leaves the first part of eight, instead of seven, syllables. For a like reason, the three-syllabic 𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎 is followed in lieu of the four-syllabic 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎 to be found in Geldner, who having felt, in the second part of this line, the obvious necessity, probably left undetected in the first part, of reducing one syllable, observes in a foot-note that "Acc. to the metre 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎 should be restored." He thus favours the omission of the prefixial 𐬎 and the retention of the intermediary 𐬎. 𐬎𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀, as a changed form of the original 𐬎𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎, 𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬎, 𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎 (𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬎), is dissyllabic. The third line is a regular one.

Explanation of words.

We shall now examine how far the text, corrected as above from the stand-point of metre, harmonizes with or mars the requirements of grammar. The second line requires close study inasmuch as it purports to consist of words which do not necessarily convey a bad notion as they have been hitherto understood to do. We shall take up the necessary words only.

Khshmaibyâ,— 2nd per. pro. $^{4}/_{2}$, *bya* being the general termination for $^{4}/_{2}$. Cf. Y. XLVI. 15 [dual, regarding Haechataspians and Spitamides as two distinct families; however, see *vé* in the pl.], Y. LIII. 5 (dual, referring to marriageable couples). Cf. also *yûshmaibyâ* in Y. XXXII. 9, where it applies to Mazda and Asha in the dual sense. Most of the translators think it to be a pl. of honour

applied to Ahura, or as a pl. form referring to Ahura and the archangels.[1] In its dual sense, the pronoun applies to the two Spirits (*mainyû*), Spenta and Angra, who formed the creations.[2] Generally, an appeal is made by an inferior in rank to his immediate superior. In Y. I, where in a certain order occurs a list headed by Ahura, *Géuṣ Urvan* is immediately preceded by *Géuṣ Tashan*, in other words, the *Soul of the Universe* follows the *Moulders of the Universe*, who are Spenta and Angra.[3] In Y. LVII 2, the order given is Ahura, Amesha Spentas and the Two-Protectors and Moulders, where it stops, but so far, this order is the same as the one given in Y. I 1-2. We might also compare the term *thwarôzhdûm* of the present strophe to the similar terms *thwôrĕstâra* and *thwĕrĕsatô* employed in the sense of 'moulding' with reference to Spenta and Angra.[4] Besides, in the succeeding strophe (§ 2), *Géuṣ Tashâ* is depicted to refer, in his turn, to Ashâ the appeal made in the first strophe. This almost proves to the hilt that the party addressed to in § 1 — in the dual number, or, at least, in a higher number than the singular — is the one who conveys onward the appeal in § 2, *i. e.*, *Géuṣ-Tashâ*, who, according to Y. I. 2, stand one rank higher than *Géuṣ Urvan*.

Gĕrĕzdâ, impf. $^{3}/_{1}$ âtm.; rt. *gĕrĕz* (Sk. *grij*), "to emit a sound.' Looking to the context, it need not necessarily be interpreted as 'complained' or 'lamented'. The idea of 'appealing' is not distantly connected therewith; cf. *gĕrĕzé* in Y. XXXII. 9: "O Mazdâ and Asha! unto you-two I *appeal* with the utterance of my spirit;" also cf. Y. XLVI 2: "I *beseech* unto Thee, O Ahura!, look to it." Again cf. Y. L. 9: "as a man-of-good-wisdom, I may be an aspirant and a *beseecher*."

Kahmâi (Sk. *Kasmai*), inter. pro., not mas. $^{4}/_{1}$ but neuter $^{4}/_{1}$: whatfor. The reply to this query is given in § 6. l. 3., *viz.*, *fshuyantaechâ vâstryâichâ*: 'for progress and industry.'

Thwarôzhdûm is an Aorist form.

Tashat, future imperfect $^{3}/_{1}$ from rt. 𐬛𐬀𐬱.

Aeshmô, rt. *ish* (sk. *ish*), 'to strive', 'endeavour': gunated form

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[1] It is not quite correct to speak of the Archangels in relation to the Gathas. The Avestic term *Amesha Spenta*, whereby are ordinarily meant the Archangels, is absent in the Gathas.

[2] Y. LVII 17; Yt. XIII (Farvardin) 76.

[3] Y. LVII 2. [4] Y. LVII 2; XLII 2.

aesh + *ma*, a suffix: 'striving', 'endeavouring'. The word likewise stands as the name of an adverse spirit, an opponent of Sraosha, as a demon of wrath, though the root-meaning is that of 'wish'. In Y. XLVIII. 7, the word is modified by the prefixial '*ni*', meaning thereby 'low desires'. The context requires us to interpret the word in a good sense.

Hazaschâ, *hazô* ($^1/_1$ of *h*-stem) + *châ*, 'and'; cf. Sk. *sahas*, which is employed in the Vedas in the good sense of 'power', 'strength'. Also cf. Sk. *sahasâvat* (Ved.) 'powerful', 'mighty'. It is indeed difficult for one to understand why the Vedic sense of the word should not be followed. All languages abound in cases where a derogatory sense comes to be attached to words originally conveying a good idea. Cf. the English words 'despot' and 'knave'. Also cf. Av. *du*, 'to speak', used in the Gathas in the good sense[1], whereas in the later Avesta, the same root is restricted to the speaking of the evil creatures.[2] Similarly, in the later Avesta, the word *hazangh* stands in a derogatory sense, as, in Zamyât Yasht (§ 80), it signifies the strength of the daeva[3]. In interpreting words in the Gathas, the Vedic meanings of the corresponding Sanskrit words stand us in good stead inasmuch as, in point of time, the Vedas occupy the same position with respect to what may be termed Sanskrit literature as the Gathas do in relation to the Avestan literature. Let us further see in what light the same word is used in the Gathas. In Y. XLIII. 4, *hazé* (strength) of the Good Mind is spoken of; likewise, in Y. XXXIII. 12 'powerful strength(*hazô*)' is sought for. Thus, out of the only three contexts in the Gathas, where the word *hazô* is used, the two, *sine dubio*, admit of a good sense and as the corresponding word *sahas* is also to be met with in the Vedic literature employed likewise in a good sense, we are justified, *a fortiori*, in interpreting the word in this context as well, in a favourable light, as 'strength' and not as 'plunder', 'spoliation' etc.

Rĕmô, $^1/_1$ of *a*-stem; rt. *ram* (Ved. *ram*), 'to tranquilize', 'to calm'. The same root conveys also the notion of 'to please' or 'to rejoice'. The only other Gathic context, Y. XLVIII. 7, has

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[1] Y. XXIX 5 (*dvaidi*); LIII 1 (*dabĕn*); XXXII 1, 13 (*dâta*, 'envoy,)'

[2] *Adavata*, *davata*: Vend. XIX 1, 6, 8, 44, 45 etc., 𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌 Yt. XIX 47.

[3] Also cf. Vend. IV 1; Y. XII 2.

the form *paiti-rĕmĕm*, 'counter-wish,' 'contra-wish.' Usually, the word is interpreted in the sense of 'strife', 'cruelty' and so on. But the Vedic sense of the word does not admit of that interpretation. Strange enough, this notion of 'tranquilizing' is handed down even to the Yasht literature. In Farvardin Yasht (§ 95), where Mithra is spoken of as tranquilizing the risings, the word *râma-yeiti*, from the same root *ram*, is used.[1]

Âhishyâ[2]. Strictly-speaking, the form ought to be *âhishyô* in $^1/_1$,[3] as the five words used by its side all stand in that case and number. We would take the analogy of *âhita* in *anâhita*. *Âhita* and *âhisha*[4] are similar in form. *Âhita* is made up of *a*, 'not' + *â* + rt. *hi*, 'to bind, + *ta*, i. e., not-bound, contaminated. *Âhisha* is likewise to be explained as made up of *a*, not + *â* + rt. *hich* (Lt. *sic*care; Fr. *séch*er), to become dry + *ha*, a suffix[5], meaning thereby 'non-drying', *i. e.*, 'fertility.'

Dĕrĕṣchâ, $^1/_1$ of *z*-stem;[6] rt. *dĕrĕz* (Sk. *drih*), 'to make strong'; also 'to increase,' 'to prosper'. The word is not used elsewhere in the Gathas in the substantive form.[7]

Tĕviṣchâ, $^1/_1$ of *sh*-stem (rt. *tu*, 'to be efficient'); cf. Vedic *tavas*, 'powerful,' 'efficacious', 'energetic'. Also cf. Ved. *tavisha*, in the same sense. Let us examine the use of the word elsewhere in the Gathas. In Y. XXXIII. 12 (*Ârmaiti tĕvîṣîm dasvâ*) it means 'strength' 'efficiency'.[8] The word is used seven times in the Gathas and out of that in as many as six places, it is used only in the good sense. There could be no reason, therefore, to attach to the word when it is used in the seventh context, *viz.*, the present one, any other meaning but that so consistently attached thereto in the Gathas.

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[1] Also cf. 'pacifies Mithraic mind' in Meher Yt. § 109. See Khordâd Yt. § 9.

[2] Dramesteter interprets the word to mean 'prey'; Justi 'drought'; Mills 'desolation'; Spiegel 'impure'.

[3] Dr. Mills in his 'Five Zarathushtrian Gathas', 1894 observes on p. 411 "I would prefer a nominal form in the adverbial instr."

[4] *Âhishya* is but a derived form from *Ahisha*.

[5] For *hisha* from rt. *hich*, cf. *hasha*, 'a friend' from rt. *hach* 'to follow'.

[6] cf. *hvarĕz* nom. sing. *hvarĕs*.

[7] For the verbal sense cf. Y. XLIV 15: XLVIII 7; XLIX. 2. The Sanskrit word '*drih*' conveys the notion of 'increase' and 'prosperity.'

[8] So also in Y. XXXIV 11, XLIII 1, XLV 10, XLVIII 6 and LI 7.

Vâstâ, $^{1}/_{1}$ of *r*-stem; rt. *vangh* (Sk. *vas*), 'to fix', ' to regulate' ; regulator.

Sâstâ, Aorist $^{3}/_{3}$ parasm. or $^{3}/_{1}$ âtm.; rt. *sangh* (Sk. *sas*), 'to show', 'to teach.'

TRANSLATION.

Unto-you (two) Geush-Urvan appealed (thus): 'Whatfor (have) you-created me? who shall-chisel me?' (who may-be)[3] to-me (full of) endeavour, strength, tranquility, fertility, prosperity and-efficiency. There is no regulator for-me but Thee [3](that) may thus teach[3] me the good industry.

K. E. PUNEGAR.

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[1] The replies to these two inquiries are to be found in § 6. Ahura is depicted there to say that on the score of purity no *ahu* or *ratu* was known to him and that the universe (Geush-Urvan) was produced for 'progress' and 'industry.'

[2] cf. closely *ke mâ* (*tashat*) and *â-mâ*. This shows that the first interrogative phrase has a relative clause following it. Had the six adjectives in line 2 conveyed bad ideas, instead of *â-mâ*, the text would have had *yat-mâ* ('since to me').

[3] Alternative, 'so you-teach me'.

A FEW IDIOSYNCRASIES OF THE AVESTAN GRAMMAR.

The following monograph is the result of the inquisitiveness to dissect Avestan words with a view to learn in detail the literary anatomy thereof. When many instances of words presenting a certain common trait of grammatical idiosyncrasy could be culled out, they go, *a posteriori*, to formulate a distinct rule of grammar, rather than be regarded as exceptions. For our purposes, we shall rather adopt an *a priori* method to facilitate the elucidation, substantiating the statements with examples, which do not however claim to be exhaustive in number.

I. Addition of 𐬬 to the Root.

A redundant 𐬬[1] will be found added to the root without altering its meaning. The inflected form of the root thus arrived at is generally conjugated as the first class of roots. In several instances, such inflected forms of roots have been already detected, but, instead of being recognised as inflected, they have been regarded as distinct roots.

1. The root 𐬯𐬀𐬎, 'to increase', is of the third class: cf. 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌 (Vd. IV. 48). The inflected form of it is 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬬, which also means 'to increase', and it is conjugated according to the first class of roots; *e. g.*, 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬬𐬌 (Y. XLVI. 13), 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬬𐬎𐬌 (Y. XLIV. 10) etc.

2. √ 𐬎𐬀, 'to give'; *e. g.*, 𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 (Y. XXVIII. 8), 𐬎𐬀𐬌 (Y. XI. 18). I. F.[2] 𐬎𐬬, 'to give' (1st cl.); *e. g.*, 𐬎𐬬𐬎𐬌 (Y. XXXIII. 2), 𐬎𐬀𐬌 (Y. LI. 6).

3. √ 𐬎𐬬, 'to give' etc. (3rd cl.); *e. g.*, 𐬎𐬬𐬎𐬌 (redup. weak + 𐬌) (Y. XXXIV. 1). I. F. 𐬎𐬬, 𐬎𐬭 (1st cl.); *e. g.*, 𐬎𐬭𐬎𐬌 (Yt. XIX. 11), 𐬎𐬭𐬌 (Vd. XVIII. 29; Yt. V. 19, 23, etc.), 𐬎𐬌 (Y. XXIX. 9), 𐬎𐬬𐬎𐬌 (Y. XLVI. 15) (See II. 8; p. 283), etc. The examples given here as being of the 1st cl.

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[1] Changeable to 𐬭 or 𐬹.

[2] I. F. = Inflected form.

might possibly be objected to on the ground that 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀 or 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 is the reduplicated form of the √ 𐬌𐬎 which is of the 3rd cl. But in the conjugated forms, we generally find the weak base of the reduplication employed. However, the nominal form 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀 (Y. X. 9), *sine dubio*, points to the fact that 𐬵 is an inflected root to which the substantive suffix 𐬌𐬀 is directly added; cf. 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬁𐬀 from the √ 𐬌𐬎𐬁 etc. The infinitive form 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 equally requires 𐬵 to be an inflected root.

4. √ 𐬌𐬎𐬴, 'to be *crude*, *cruel*, hard' (2nd cl.); *e. g.*, 𐬌𐬎𐬴𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬴𐬀 pres. part. (Yt. XXII. 17, 35). I. F. 𐬌𐬎𐬴𐬵 (1st cl.); *e. g.*, 𐬌𐬎𐬴𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬴𐬵𐬌𐬀 (Y. LI. 13).

5. √ 𐬌𐬎𐬱, 'to think' (4th cl.); *e. g.*, 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬀 (Yt. X. 71, 105, 139). I. F. 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬱; cf. 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬵 + 𐬵 + 𐬌𐬎𐬵𐬱 = 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬱[1], the first 𐬴 whereof could be explained by the inflexional 𐬵 only; 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬱𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 (Y. XLIV. 8) seems to us made up of 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬱 with the infinitive suffix 𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 attached to it.[2]

6. √ 𐬌𐬎𐬷 (Sk. स्वप्), 'to sleep'; *e. g.*, 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬷𐬀 past part. (Vd. XVIII. 46). I. F. 𐬌𐬎𐬷𐬵, 𐬌𐬎𐬷𐬵 (1st cl.); *e. g.*, 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬷𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬎𐬎 (Vd. IV. 45), 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬷𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬎𐬎 (Y. LVII. 16; Yt. X. 103).[3]

7. √ 𐬌𐬎𐬵, 'to go' (4th cl.); *e. g.*, 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 (Yt. XV. 53). I. F. 𐬌𐬎𐬵𐬵; *e. g.*, 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 (Yt. XVII. 55).

8. √ 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬹, 'to flow'; *e. g.*, 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬹𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 (Yt. VIII. 31). I. F. 𐬌𐬎𐬹𐬵; *e. g.*, 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬹𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 (Yt. VIII. 31).

9. √ 𐬌𐬎𐬵, 'to follow'; *e. g*, 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 (Y. XXXIV. 2). I. F. 𐬌𐬎𐬵𐬵, 𐬌𐬎𐬵; cf. the nominal form 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 (Y. LXII. 9), which is possible from the I. F. only, as the substantive suffix 𐬌𐬀 is applied to the root.

10. √ 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎, 'to bathe' (10th cl.); *e. g.*, 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 (Vd. XIX. 22). I. F. 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬵; *e. g.*, 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎 (Vd. VII. 14, 15, etc.).

11. √ 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵, 'to see'; cf. 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌. I. F. 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬵, 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵; cf.

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[1] When two dentals come together and if the second of the two be 𐬴 or 𐬹, the first dental is changed into 𐬴 or 𐬹; *e. g.*, 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬵 + 𐬵 + 𐬌𐬎𐬵 = 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬱.

[2] After the root a redundant 𐬌 is inserted: *q. v.* IV. 3; p. 283.

[3] This word is usually explained as an instance of compound verbs. It may better be explained as above, as otherwise with 𐬌𐬎𐬵 which is a root of the 3rd class, the compound root here employed would be said to stand in the second class, With the transposition of 𐬌 and 𐬀.

where is added to the I. F. ; *e. g.*, (Y. XLIV. 5).

12. √, , , 'to deceive' (10th cl.); *e. g.*, (Y. XLIII. 6). I. F. ; cf. where the infinitive suffix is added to the I. F. .[1]

13. √, 'to *thrive*'; *e. g.*, (Yt. XIII. 146). I. F. ; *e. g.*, imperative 2/3 âtm. from √ (Y. XXXIV. 7; LVIII. 5).

14. √, 'to dig'; *e. g.*, (Vd. XVII. 5, 7). I. F. , ; *e. g.*, (Vd. II. 32).

15. √, 'to hold'; *e. g.*, (Y. XI. 17). I. F. ; *e. g.*, (Visp. XVII. 1; XXI. 1; Y. LXII. 11).

16. √, 'to become'; *e. g.*, (Y. XXXIII. 10). I. F. ; cf. infinitive .[1]

II. Addition of › to the Root.

In a few instances › appears to have been added without any definite reason to the gunated form of the root.

1. √, 'to protect'; *e. g.*, (Y. XIX. 10). I. F. ; *e. g.*, (Y. LVII. 16; Yt. X. 103).

2 √, 'to repel'; *e. g.*, (Yt. VIII. 8, 39). I. F. ; *e. g.*, (Y. XXVIII. 6).

3. √, 'to fill'; *e. g.*, (Vd. IV. 17). I. F. ; cf. where the abstract suffix is added to the root[2] with an (see IV. 2 below).

4. √, 'to put faith in' *e. g.*, (Y. XXXI. 3). I. F. , ,[3]; *e. g.*, (Y. XXXI. 2). Cf. , (Y. XXX. 11).

5. √, 'to live'; *e. g.*, (Y. XXXIX 1). I. F. ; cf. .

6. √, 'to deceive'; *e. g.*, (Y. XLIII. 6). I. F. ; *e. g.*, (Y. XXXI. 17), (Y. XXX. 6).

7. √, 'to know'; *e. g.*, (Y. XXVIII. 10; XXXIV. 7, etc.). I. F. ; *e. g.*, (Y. XXIX 3; XXXI. 5; XLIV. 3). This is not an infinitive form as is hitherto explained, but a Pres. âtm. 1/1 with › added to the root. For

[1] See p. 281 note 1. [2] Cf. . [3] With the elision of .

phonetic purposes, 𐬬 is inserted between 𐬫 and 𐬭; cf. 𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬹, 𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬯.

8. √𐬯𐬎, 'to give' *e. g.*, 𐬯𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬌𐬭 (Y. XXXIV. 1). I. F. 𐬯𐬎 (cf. I. 3 above; p. 280), 𐬯𐬎𐬹; *e. g.*, 𐬀𐬯𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬌𐬭 (Y. XLVI. 15). (for further explanation, see the preceding word).

III. Insertion of 𐬭 in the body of the root.

In the Avesta a few pairs of roots may be named differing from each other by an internal 𐬭, without materially affecting their significations.

1. √𐬴𐬌, 'to seek' etc.; *e. g.*, 𐬀𐬴𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬭 (Y. XXXIII. 6); and √𐬴𐬌𐬭𐬎, 'to seek' etc.; *e. g.*, 𐬀𐬴𐬌𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬌𐬭 (Y. XXXII. 3). Cf. 𐬀𐬴𐬌𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬌𐬭 (Y. XXXIII. 4).

2. √𐬌𐬎, 'to wish, desire'; *e. g.*, 𐬌𐬎𐬌 (Y. L. 1); and √𐬌𐬭𐬎, 'to wish, desire'; *e. g.*, 𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬌𐬭 (Y. LIII. 6).

3. √𐬌𐬎, 'to endeavour'; *e. g.*, 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬯 (Y. XXVIII. 4; XLIII. 9); and √𐬌𐬭𐬎, 𐬌𐬭𐬎, 𐬌𐬭𐬎; *e. g.*, 𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬎 (Y. XLIII. 16).

4. √𐬴𐬎, 'to rise'; *e. g.*, 𐬀𐬴𐬎𐬌 (Vd. XXI. 5, 9, 13, 17); and √𐬴𐬭𐬎, 'to rise'; *e. g.*, 𐬵𐬌𐬴𐬌𐬭𐬎𐬌 (Yt. VIII. 5, 42).

5. √𐬎, 'to go'; *e. g.*, 𐬎𐬌𐬯 (Y. XLVI. 16); and √𐬭𐬎, 'to go'; *e. g.*, 𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬭 (Yt. X. 95).

6. 𐬵𐬌𐬎, 'to grow'; *e. g.*, 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬌𐬭𐬵𐬌𐬎 (Y. XLIV. 3); and √𐬵𐬌𐬭𐬎, 'to grow'; *e. g.*, 𐬵𐬌𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬌𐬭 (Y. XXXI. 6).[1]

IV. Insertion of a redundant letter after the root.

Before the abstract and infinitive suffixes, which are attached directly to the root, a redundant letter is sometimes found inserted.

1. √𐬎𐬌𐬵. Inflected form = 𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬎, from which the abst. noun is 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬯 (Y. XXXIV. 1), where before 𐬵𐬌𐬭 an 𐬭 is inserted.

2. √𐬎𐬌𐬵. Inflected form = 𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬎, from which comes the abstract noun 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬯 (Y. XXXIII. 14) with an 𐬭 inserted before 𐬵𐬌𐬭.

3. √𐬌𐬭𐬵. Inflected form = 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬭𐬵, from which is formed the

[1] As an instance of a root not employed in the verbal form but such as could be ascertained from its nominal form, may be named √𐬴𐬎, 'to revere'; *e. g.*, 𐬀𐬯𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬴𐬎 (Y. XLVI. 9) and √𐬴𐬭𐬎, 𐬯𐬭𐬎 employed in the nominal form 𐬯𐬌𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬎.

infinitive 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 (Y. XLIV. 8) where 𐬎𐬎 is preceded by an 𐬌.

4. √ 𐬎𐬀𐬌, 'to hear' forms its abstract noun 𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬌(𐬌) (Y. XXXIII. 4; XLIV. 13) with a 𐬌 before 𐬎𐬌.

5. √ 𐬵𐬀𐬉 'to love'. Infinitive form = 𐬵𐬀𐬉𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬎𐬎 (Y. LXXI. 13) with an 𐬌 before the inf. termination.

6. √ 𐬯𐬁𐬱, 'to carry'. Inf. form = 𐬯𐬁𐬱𐬌𐬎𐬎 (Vd. II. 24) with an 𐬌 added after the root.

7. √ 𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬉𐬀, 'to destroy'. Inf. form = 𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬉𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬎𐬎. (Y. XLVI. 11) with an 𐬌 inserted.

8. 𐬯𐬁𐬉, 'to do'. Inf. form = 𐬯𐬁𐬉𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬎𐬎. (Y. XXXIII. 6; XLIII. 11) with 𐬌𐬎𐬎 added.

V. Syntactic Peculiarities.

The Zamyât Yasht, section 81 runs as follows:

𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎. 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎. 𐬯𐬁𐬉𐬌. 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎. 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎. 𐬯𐬁𐬉𐬌. 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎. 𐬵𐬀

A MITHRAS LITURGY

(Translated from the text of A Dieterich: Leipzig: Trübner 1903.)

Be propitious to me, Providence and Fate, as I write these first traditional mysteries. But to my child alone grant Immortality, for he is an initiant worthy of our power, that power which the great God, Helios Mithras bade that I should receive from his archangel, that I alone an eagle, might soar to Heaven and all things see.

This is the prayer of invocation:—

First origin of my origin, first beginning of my beginning, first spirit of the spirit which is in me, God-given fire for the mixing of what is mixed in me, type of the fire in me, type of the water in me, earth-substance, type of my earth-substance, complete body of me, the man (or woman), cunningly moulded by a glorious arm and an imperishable right hand in a lightless world illumined by the Ray, in a soul-less world infused with a Soul. If it seemed good to you, hand me over, me held by immortal birth, to the nature which lies beneath me, that after the necessity which circumvents me and presses on me sore, I may see the immortal Beginning with the immortal spirit, with the immortal water, with the dry land and the air; that I may be born again in spirit, that I may be dedicated and that the holy spirit may breathe in me, that I may marvel at the holy fire, that I may behold the abyss of sunrise, that dire flood, and that the life-breathing encompassing air may bear me, since I shall behold to-day with immortal eyes, I, mortal born from a mortal womb, bettered by a mighty power and by the imperishable right hand with deathless spirit the deathless Aeon and the Master of the crowns of fire, I, made holy by holy purification, since beneath me the power of men's souls stands as nothing. And this I shall take on myself again after the bitter and toilsome necessity which encompasses and presses sore upon me, I, (man or woman), according to the decree of God which changeth not. For I cannot reach being mortal born the heights where the immortal lamp burns with golden flames. Stand still then, imperishable nature, and let me free at once to escape from the necessity which heeds no prayer and presses sore. I am the son.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE INITIANT.

Draw breath from the rays, breathing them in three

times as powerfully as possible. Then thou wilt perceive thyself made light and striding upwards. Thou wilt imagine thyself suspended in air. Thou wilt hear no voice of man or beast, but neither wilt thou see any mortal thing of earth at that hour, but thou wilt see every immortal thing. For thou shalt see the divine arrangement of that day and hour, the gods of day going up to heaven and others descending; and the path of the gods which you see will appear through the Disk, my father. Similarly the Flute will be visible, the origin of the wind that doeth service. For thou shalt see as it were a flute hanging on the Disk, unending in the regions towards the west, as it were an east wind. If the other points to the region of the east, in that direction the vision will turn. Thou shalt see the gods gazing at thee and moving toward thee. Lay then the finger of silence on thy mouth and say, "*Silence Silence Silence*", the sign of the living imperishable God. "*Protect me, Silence.*" Then pipe a long piping, then whistle and speak, and then shalt thou see how favourably the gods look upon thee, and move toward thee no longer, but proceed to their individual order in the scheme.

When thou seest the upper world pure and solitary with neither God nor angel moving therein, wait to hear the crack of a great thunder overwhelm thee. Say again "*Silence, Silence*".

PRAYER.

I am a star, your fellow wanderer, shining from the deep.

When thou hast said this, the disk will at once unfold.

After thou hast prayed this second prayer, "*Silence*", and the rest, pipe twice and whistle twice, and at once thou shalt see stars coming from the sun's disk, five rayed, very many, filling the whole air. Say then again, "*Silence, Silence*", and when the Disk has opened thou wilt see an immeasurable circle, and fiery doors, shut. Then close thy eyes and repeat this following prayer:—

THIRD PRAYER.

Hear me, hear me, (man or woman), Lord who hast barred with thy breath the fiery portals of heaven, Twy-bodied, Fire-wielder, Light-creator, Fire-breathing, Fire-bold, Ghostly Light, Joy of Fire, Fair Radiance, Lord of Radiance, Fire-bodied, Radiance-giving, Fire-sowing, Fire-dispensing, Life-radiance, Fire-whirling, Radiance-moving, Lightning-dispenser, Fame of

Radiance, Radiance-increaser, Star-conqueror. Open unto me so that (on account of bitter ineluctable necessity that urges me sore) I may call upon those names that never took upon themselves human shape nor have been clearly fashioned by human speech or voice, the immortal, living precious names EEÔ, IÔÔ etc.

Say all this with fire and spirit, finishing the first, then beginning the second, till thou hast said to the end the seven undying gods of the world. When thou hast said this, thou wilt hear thunder and noise in the surrounding air, and thou wilt feel thyself shaken. Say then again "*Silence*" (Prayer.) Then open thine eyes and thou wilt see the doors open and the world of the gods that is within the doors, so that thy spirit will run together and ascend with joy and pleasure at the sight.

Then stand and draw in a great breath of the divine. And when thy soul is at rest again, say:

Come hither, Lord, archandara photaza periphotaza buthix etimenmerophorathenerieprothriphorathi.

When thou hast said this the rays will turn towards thee, and thou wilt be in the midst among them. When thou hast done this, thou wilt see a god rather young, beautiful, with fiery hair, in a white chiton with a clamys of purple, crowned with flame. At once greet him with the Fire-greeting :

Lord, of great power and might, Helios, Lord of Sky and Earth, God of gods, mighty is thy Breath, mighty thy power. Lord, if it seem good to thee, herald me to the greatest God who engendered thee and made thee, that, a mortal, I, son of the woman...born of the mortal womb of ..and of the spermatic ichor and to-day born again by thee, I, called to immortality from among so many myriads in this hour in accordance with the will of the God supremely good strive and desire to worship thee as a mortal may.

When thou hast done this, he will come to the Pole and thou wilt see him striding round as one on a journey.

But do thou gaze upon him and give forth a long bellow as though with a horn, with the whole power of thy breath, torturing thy side, and kiss thy amulets and say first of all towards the right "*Protect me, Prosêmuri*". And when thou hast said this, thou wilt see the doors opened and seven maidens coming from the Deep in linen robes, having the faces of snakes. They are called the Fate-Goddesses of heaven, holding golden sceptres. When thou seest this, greet them thus:

Greeting ye seven Fate Goddesses of heaven, holy and good maidens, re-

vered ones sharing in the communion of Minimirrophor, most holy guardians of the four Pillars, Hail the first Chrepsenthaēs, Hail the second Menescheēs, Hail the third Mechran, Hail the fourth Ararmachēs, Hail the fifth Echommiē, Hail the sixth Tichnondaes, Hail the seventh Erourombries.

Then come seven more gods forward having the faces of black bulls, with linen girdles and seven diadems of gold. These are they who are called the Lords of the Pole of heaven, whom thou must greet in similar wise, each by their own name,— Hail guardians of the Axis, sacred and strong young men, who under one command turn the circling hub of the wheel of heaven and send down thunder and lightning and shocks of earthquake and thunderbolt against the tribes of the impious, but upon me, who am pure and God-fearing, health and integrity of body and strength of hearing and sight, and a peaceful soul in the good hours of this present day, O my Lords, O gods of great power. Hail the first Aieronthi, Hail the second Mercheimeros, Hail the third Achrichiour, Hail the fourth Mesargiltô, Hail the fifth Chichrôalithô, Hail the sixth Ermichthathôps, Hail the seventh Eorasichê.

When they take their places here and there in the order, look into the air and thou shalt see lightnings descending and the light glowing and the earth shaken, and the overmighty God descending, having a countenance all light, young with golden hair, robed in white linen, crowned with gold, his legs clad with a white clothing, holding in his hand the golden shoulder of a bullock. This shoulder is the great Bear that moves the heaven and turns it back, wandering hour by hour up and down. Then wilt thou see lightning springing from his eyes and stars darting from his body. Then do thou bellow a long bellowing, till thou canst do no more, torturing thy belly, that thou mayst move together thy five senses, kissing thy amulets again, and saying

Mokrimopherimophererizōn over me, abide with me in my soul, forget me not, for Euthophœnthropioth bids thee.

And with a long bellow look the god in the face and greet him thus:—

Hail, Lord Master of water, Hail Lord Founder of earth, Hail Lord of spirit. Lord, born anew I depart in that I am exalted, and in that I am exalted I die. Born in the birth that engenders life, freed from death I go on the way thou hast created, ordained and made a Sacrament.

JAMES ELROY FLECKER.

GREEK AND LATIN ALLUSIONS TO THE RELIGION OF XERXES.

INTRODUCTION.

The subject of the religion of the ancient Persian Kings, and the question whether the line of the Achæmenidæ were true Zoroastrians is a matter that has received considerable attention among Irânian scholars, as will be clear from a glance at the partial bibliography given by Jackson in *The Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 21, p. 161, note. A general summary of the topic in its various bearings has been given by the same writer in his chapter on the religion of the Achæmenians in Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, vol. 2, pp. 687–693. The Avesta itself makes no mention of the Achæmenidæ. The sources of information on the topic are therefore the Old Persian inscriptions, certain non-Irânian inscriptions, allusions in the Pahlavi literature and in Firdausi's *Shâh Nâmah*, the Old Testament, and other oriental sources, as well as a considerable body of references in the Greek and Roman classics. It is from the classical side that I have taken an interest in this theme, and since there are several passages in Greek and Roman classical writers that throw light on the religious beliefs and practices of Xerxes, I have thought it worth while to review these passages briefly, with the idea of presenting for others the opportunity of judging whether the statements that they contain, viewed alone by themselves, will warrant us in placing this Persian monarch among the followers of Zoroaster. In collecting my material, I have received help from my friend and teacher, Professor Jackson, who had gathered a number of references bearing on the religion of Xerxes while making his researches into the general question of the religion of the Achæmenidæ. I would add as a foreword that I purpose merely to give an objective treatment of the material found in these classical writers, whatever its value may or may not be. No synthetic treatment either by comparison with data taken

from inscriptions or from the Avesta, is attempted, with the exception of a few references given in passing.

DIVISION OF THE SUBJECT.

In treating this question my aim has been to determine whether the conduct of Xerxes, so far as we know it, was in keeping with the well-known tenets and practices of Zoroastrianism, and under this general head I have sought to draw inferences from the following particular considerations: his treatment of the elements, earth, fire, and water; his adherence to the Magi and their priestly sway; his attitude towards other religions; and the identification or non-identification, with Avestan deities, of certain gods whom classical writers mention as worshipped by Xerxes.

XERXES'S TREATMENT OF THE ELEMENTS.

(*a*) Fire.— The first point for consideration is Xerxes's treatment of the elements, fire, earth and water. We shall discuss these in the order mentioned. The fact that fire was used by the Persians to destroy the temples and cities of the Athenians and their allies during the Græco-Persian War is proved by the testimony of many writers. The most complete and interesting description of Xerxes's victorious march on Athens is given by Herodotus (*History*, 8.32 seq.) and that account is supplemented and supported by statements of Plutarch, Pausanias, Nepos, Justin and Quintus Curtius Rufus. We learn, for example, from Plutarch (*Themis*, 1) that the family chapel of Themistocles at Phyla in Attica, was burnt by the Persians under Xerxes. The oracle and sanctuary of Apollo, at Abæ in Phocis, was also destroyed by fire (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 10, 35, 2), and the torch was successively set to the cities and temples of the Haliartians (*Ibid.* 9, 32, 5), to Hyampolis, (*Ibid.* 10, 35, 6) and other Phocian towns (Plutarch, *Themis.* 9; Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.* 3, 10, 9; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 10, 33, 8), together with their sanctuaries, to Thespiæ, Platææ, and at last to hated Athens and its shrines. (Justinus, *Hist.* 2, 12; Nepos, *Themis.* 4). Even sacred Delphi was assailed, but was saved by a thunderstorm which frightened away the attacking party. (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 10, 7, 1; Plutarch, *Numa*, 9; Justinus, *Hist.* 2, 12).

Burning by Xerxes of the Greek Temples in Hellas.—It may not be amiss to quote from the account of Herodotus as given

in his *History* (8, 32-38, 50): "The barbarians (Persians) overran the whole land of Phocis..... and delivered both the cities and the temples to the flames. They destroyed the city of Drymos by fire and also the following places: Charadra, Erochos, Tethronion, Amphikaia, Neon, Pedieis, Triteis, Elateia, Hyampolis, Parapotamioi, and Abæ. At the last-named place there was a temple of Apollo, rich and furnished with treasuries and votive offerings in profusion, and the seat of an oracle was there at that time as well as now. This temple they plundered and burnt;..... and they set fire to Panopeus and Daulis and Aiolis"..... and Delphi was attacked..... and Attica was laid waste with fire... " and he (Xerxes) burnt Thespiæ and Platææ because he was informed by the Thebans that these cities were not taking the part of the Medes."

Burning of the Greek Temples in Asia Minor.—In Asia Minor, among those Greeks who refused submission to Persia, there was likewise a similar record of destruction, for, as we learn from Strabo (*Geog.* 14, 1, 5; cf. Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.* 7, 5, 28), all the temples there were burnt with the single exception of the famous seat of worship at Ephesus, the gigantic fane of Diana. Thus a fiery vengeance was wreaked upon the allied Ionians and Athenians, who at the beginning of the Ionic revolt had set fire to Sardis, its temples, and its sacred groves. (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7.8; 7.11.)

Sacred Fire at Delphi Goes Out.—But this use of fire by Xerxes as a means of destruction can hardly be called a desecration of the sacred element, for the temples and houses were built of stone and of wood which are products of earth. The mingling of one pure element with another pure element, or of fire and its natural affinity, wood, was in a technical sense no real act of desecration. Besides, the ascendancy of fire over the power of the Greek divinities was thus typified and proved. And yet it is important and interesting to note that Delphi, where the sacred fire of Apollo was ever kept burning, was attacked by a division of the Persian army, and, according to the statement of one ancient author (Plutarch, *Numa*, 9,) the sacred flame was, on that occasion, allowed to go out. One cannot help wondering what would have been the Persian king's attitude toward the ever-blazing hearth-

stone of the Italic goddess Vesta, had he come in contact with the Roman nation.

Use of Fire-Arrows by Xerxes.—Furthermore we know that the Persians did not hesitate to use fire as a weapon of offence, for we are told by Herodotus (*Hist.* 8.52) that when the remnant of the Athenians who had tarried in Athens barricaded themselves on the acropolis and built a wooden palisade across the entrance, "the Persians put tow around their arrows, lighted it, and then shot them against the palisade".

(*b*) Earth: Burial.—On the treatment of earth by the Persian monarch we have several references. His demand from the Greeks of earth and water (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7.32; Polybius, *Hist.* 9.38; Plutarch, *Themis.* 6), is hardly significant from a religious point of view, being merely typical of the surrender by the Greek to the Persian of the sovereignty over land and sea. More significant is his attitude toward burial. Herodotus (*Hist.* 1.140) tells us that the Persians in their own day buried (*gî kruptousi*) their dead, but "the body of a Persian man", he says, "is not buried until it has been torn by a bird or a dog; (the Magians, I know for a certainty, have this practice for they do it openly.) However that may be, the Persians cover the body with wax and then bury it in the earth." It is worthy of notice that the direct pollution of the earth by the corpse was thus avoided by the covering of wax about the body. There are two passages, however, in which Herodotus gives accounts of burials that were authorized and sanctioned by Xerxes. In one case, the burial of Artachaies, a favorite general and a member of the Achæmenian family, who died as the result of sickness; in another, the burial of the dead at Thermopylæ. Of the former incident he writes (*Hist.* 7.117); "Xerxes considered his loss a great misfortune, and carried him forth and buried (*thâpsî*) him with great honor, and the whole army joined in throwing up a mound for him." Of the latter incident he says (*Hist.* 8.24): "For all those of his army who were lying dead at Thermopylæ (there were as many as twenty thousand in all) with the exception of about one thousand whom he left (unburied), he dug trenches and buried, laying over them leaves and heaping earth upon them, so that they might not be seen by the men of the fleet." Here the leaves perhaps served,

as did the wax, to prevent actual contact between the earth and the dead body, and we must remember that in time of war many a religious tenet doubtless had to receive a more liberal interpretation.

Disposal of the Dead by Dogs.—Apropos of this general point regarding burial, it was a fact according to Herodotus (*Hist.* 7.187), that multitudes of Indian dogs (*kunôn Indikôn*) accompanied the host that invaded Greece, but whether their presence in the army had anything to do with the Magian method of disposing of the dead according to Zoroastrian custom, or whether they were used as draught-animals, can hardly be definitely determined.

Burial Alive of Nine Children.—Most important, if it have any religious bearing, which is denied by Rapp (*Zeitschrift der Morgendlandische Gesellschaft* 20.83-84), is the following statement of Herodotus (*Hist.* 7, 114) relative to a certain action of Xerxes in Greece: "and having heard that the place was called 'nine roads' they buried there alive nine boys and girls of the inhabitants. Burying alive is a Persian custom, as I have learned that even Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, when she had grown old, buried fourteen children of the Persians, of distinguished parentage (*eontôn epiphaneôn ândrôn*), to propitiate (*kâtâchâritzesthâi*) on behalf of herself the god who is said to be under the earth (*tô upo gîn legomenô einâi theô*)". The "god below the earth" is perhaps Ahriman; and it may be argued that we have in this act an allusion to demon-worship, like the human sacrifices in India to Kâlî or Durgâ.

Invoking the Curse of Ahriman.—As a support to this latter conjecture as to Ahriman, we have the story told by Plutarch (*Themis.* 28) that when Themistocles as an exile from Athens, came for asylum to the Persian court, the king,—either Xerxes or Artaxerxes (there is some doubt which of the two is intended: see below)—rejoicing that one who had been Persia's bitterest foe had now come to him, "spoke as though this were the greatest possible piece of good fortune, and, in his prayers begged *Arimanios* (Ahriman) to make his enemies ever continue to banish their ablest men." He is said to have offered a sacrifice to the gods and to have drunk wine at once, and during the night in his sound-

est sleep he thrice called out: "I have got Themistocles the Athenian". But regarding the identity of this Persian monarch who received Themistocles, the ancient historians themselves were divided. Some, like Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, and Heraclides said that it was Xerxes (Plutarch, *Themis.* 27), but others, including Thucydides, and Charon of Lampsacus maintained that it was Artaxerxes, his son (Thucydides, *Hist.* 1.137; Nepos, *Themis.* 9; Plutarch, *Themis.* 27). Still, whether it be the father, or the son, it is clear that *Arimanios* or the Avestan Ahriman, was a being with whose function this royal Persian family was familiar, and whom they did not hesitate to refer to when invoking a curse.

(*c*) WATER: THE HELLESPONT LASHED.— Very curious is Xerxes's treatment of the third element, water. In Herodotus (*Hist.* 7. 35) we read the following account of his action when a storm had destroyed his first bridge-of-boats over the Hellespont: "When Xerxes heard it, being incensed at the Hellespont, he gave command that three hundred blows should be applied with the lash and that a pair of shackles should be lowered into the sea. And I have recently heard that he also sent branders to brand the Hellespont. And he ordered the beaters, moreover, to say brutal and arrogant things: 'O bitter water, thy master inflicts this punishment upon thee, because thou didst dishonor him, though thou hadst suffered nothing unworthy at his hands. And King Xerxes will cross thee whether thou art willing or not. And no one of men will justly offer sacrifice to thee, on the ground that thou art a stream muddy and briny.' He bade them punish the sea by such means and he bade them to cut off the heads of those who had supervised the bridging of the Hellespont."

ATONEMENT FOR THE INSULT TO THE HELLESPONT.— Quite in contrast to this scene is the picture which the Greek historian draws when the army was about to cross the bridge after its restoration. Describing this event Herodotus (*Hist.* 7.54) says: "During one day, then, they were making preparations to cross over, and on the next day they waited for the sun, desiring to see him rise, and in the meantime offered all kinds of incense upon the bridges and strewed the way with branches of myrtle. Then, as the sun was rising, Xerxes poured a libation from a golden cup into the sea, and prayed to the sun that no accident might befall

him such as should cause him to cease from subduing Europe until he had come to its farthest limits. After having thus prayed he threw the cup into the Hellespont, and with it a golden mixing-bowl and a Persian sword which they call *âkinâkîs*; but whether he cast them into the sea as an offering dedicated to the sun, or whether he had repented of his scourging of the Hellespont and desired to present a gift to the sea as amends for that, I cannot certainly say."

Lashing of the Hellespont Inexcusable.—Viewed from the distance of the twentieth century, the scourging of the sea seems like the act of a petulant child, and the Persian ruler's claim to sovereignty over the ocean recalls a similar claim which the servants of Canute, the Danish King of England, made for their master. But if Xerxes had any real religious veneration for this one of the elements, it is difficult to see how he could have been led to such an act of sacrilege. Even the claim that the Hellespont was salt and therefore not the element of pure water, could hardly serve as an excuse, inasmuch as the Avestan *Vouru Kasha* and *Chaechasta* are usually identified with the Caspian Sea and Lake Urumiah respectively, both of which are extremely saline. (Cf. Jackson: *Persia, Past and Present*, pp. 70, 71).

Zoroastrian Features in the Worship of Xerxes.—It should be noted here that the worship of the sun, to whom, by the way, Xerxes also offered a libation before the battle of Thermopylæ (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7.223), is genuinely Mazdean and Zoroastrian, while the perfume and myrtle strewed by the Magi recall the *hadhânaepata* and *urvarâ* of the Avesta. Nor is it without interest that perfume and myrtle were put to a similar use in Susa, when the Persians of that city first received word from Xerxes of the destruction of Athens. This we know from Herodotus (*Hist.* 8.99) who says: "The first message which came to Susa, announcing that Xerxes had Athens in his possession, so greatly rejoiced the Persians who had been left behind, that they strewed all the roads with myrtle boughs and offered incense perpetually, and continued in sacrifices and feasting."

Summary of Xerxes's Treatment of the Elements.—It would seem therefore, in consideration of all the facts, that Xerxes's treatment of water would tend to prove that he was not a strict

Zoroastrian. The evidence, however, with regard to his treatment of earth reveals a more orthodox care, especially in the burial of the dead, who, as we have seen, were probably covered with wax or leaves to prevent actual contact with, and hence pollution of, the soil. In the case of fire he did not scruple to use it as a weapon of offence and a medium of revenge. On the whole, in his treatment of the elements, he seems to have been under the influence of policy or momentary impulse rather than to have been guided by any deep-seated religious convictions or laws.

XERXES'S ADHERENCE TO THE MAGI.

Xerxes an Adherent of the Magi.—There is no doubt at all that Xerxes was an adherent of the Magi, for there are numerous references to these priests in the classical accounts of the Grecian expedition. For example, the Magi conducted sacrifices for him at Ilion (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7. 43), on the coast of Thessaly (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7. 191), and at the river Strymon where a horse-sacrifice took place (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7. 113). They were consulted by the King also to explain the meaning of an eclipse (Herodotus *Hist.* 7. 37), and it was perhaps at their instigation that the Greek temples were fired, as the Roman orator Cicero (*De Leg.* 2. 10. 26) believed. We are also told that the Persian king to whom Themistocles came, if it indeed were Xerxes, had that famous Athenian instructed in the arts of the Magi. (Plutarch, *Themis.* 29).

Significance of Xerxes's Adherence to the Magi.—Still it is by no means certain that a Magian was necessarily a Zoroastrian, and yet, since the question is here being treated from the standpoint of classical references only, it should be noted and emphasized that the Greeks and Romans, either because of tradition, or for some other reason, believed Zoroaster to be a Magian, and even the founder of the sect of the Magi and of the Magic art. The *pros* and *cons* of the question have been fully discussed by Professor Jackson, in his book *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, (pp. 6, 138, 141, and appendix 5), and need not be repeated here, since only the classical view is sought.

In support of this view, however, it may be pointed out that according to Herodotus (*Hist.* 1,140), the Magi had their dead torn by a bird or by a dog, which is a Zoroastrian custom, and

there may be some slight significance in the fact that the Roman writer Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 30. 2. 8) calls one of the prominent Magi of Xerxes's time the "second Zoroaster" (*alium Zoroastren*). If we consider only the classical evidence adduced on this point we are inevitably led to the conclusion that Xerxes, by the mere fact of his association with the Magi, made open acknowledgment of at least a formal adherence to the religion of Zoroaster.

XERXES'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS OTHER RELIGIONS.

XERXES TOLERANT OF THE HEBREW RELIGION.— I realise that any argument based on the question of religious tolerance can have but slight weight, and yet I cannot but feel that if Xerxes were *in spirit* a true Zoroastrian we ought to find him tolerant of the religions of other nations. Classical writers give us glimpses of him in his relation to the religious systems of the Jews and of the Greeks. From Josephus, the Jewish historian of the first century A.D., who wrote in Greek the annals of his own people, we have the following passage (*Antiq.* 11.5.1): "Upon the death of Darius, Xerxes, his son, took the kingdom; and, as he inherited his father's kingdom, he inherited also his piety towards God and honour of Him; for he followed his father's example in all matters relating to divine worship and he was exceedingly friendly to the Jews." The historian then goes on to say that Xerxes sent Esdras, the priest, to Jerusalem with powers plenipotentiary and with money sufficient for completing the building of Jehovah's temple, which had been begun and continued during the reigns of Cyrus and Darius Hystaspis. And in his letters patent to the Jewish priest, the Persian king orders sacrifice to be made for himself and the royal family to the god of the Hebrews at Jerusalem, and provides money for the purpose. The letter, according to Josephus, reads: "I have written to the treasurers of Syria and Phœnicia that they take care of those affairs that Esdras, the priest and reader of the laws of God, is sent about, and, that God (*to theion*) may not be at all angry with me or with my children, I grant all that is necessary for sacrifices to God according to the law, as far as a hundred *cori* (1500 bushels) of wheat." This generous attitude, which accords also with the positions taken by Cyrus and Darius according to the Bible (*Ezra*, 1-6), is surely more than tolerance, but it should be noted that the parallel account as given in the

Bible, (*Ezra*, 7.11) ascribes both the particular action and the letter, not to Xerxes, but to Artaxerxes. I would also add here that I do not forget that Ahasuerus, the Persian King mentioned in the book of *Esther* in the Bible, is commonly identified with Xerxes, but I omit the discussion of inferences that may be drawn from the tale of his persecution of the Jews, because the book of *Esther* is outside of the sphere of classical references to which this paper is confined.

Xerxes Intolerant of the Greek Religion.—Quite in contrast to Xerxes's liberal attitude towards the Jewish religion is his intolerant and almost fanatical treatment of the temples of the Greeks. At Jerusalem he had built up the Temple of Jehovah, following out the policy of his father Darius and of Cyrus the Great; but in the land of the Hellenes he destroyed to their foundations the habitations of the gods by fire. To this, as was said above, many writers testify, and it will be remembered that all the temples and shrines in Asia Minor, except that of Diana at Ephesus, and, on the mainland of Hellas, the oracles of Abæ and of Delphi, the cities and sanctuaries of Phocis, of Platææ, Thespiæ and Athens were successively burned to the ground by the soldiers of the Persian invading army.

Traditional Reason Assigned for the Destruction of the Greek Temples.—The Roman orator Cicero gives the explanation which was currently employed in his day to account for this wanton destruction. In his book *De Legibus* (2.10.26), he writes: "I think there ought to be shrines in cities and I do not agree with the Magi of the Persians, at whose instigation Xerxes is said to have set on fire the temples of Greece, because they shut up within walls the gods for whom all things ought to be open and free, and whose temple and dwelling is the entire world."

By way of comment it may be said that Cicero evidently accepted the current view, given by Herodotus (*Hist.* 1.131), that the Persians had no temples. That they had no temples in the strict Greek sense of the term, is doubtless true, but there must have been buildings of some sort in which the sacred fire was kept burning. The *Shâh Nâmah* and other works that give traditional accounts of Zoroaster mention how the prophet established throughout Irân many *pyræa* for the sacred fires (Jackson: *Zoro-*

aster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, pp. 80.98), and several scholars, like Ker Porter, Justi and Jackson, would identify as such a fire-temple the stone building of Achæmenian architecture which stands among the ruins of Persepolis and which the natives to-day call *Ka'bah-i-Zardusht*, or the "Shrine of Zoroaster". A similar, but ruined, structure at Cyrus's capital, Pasargadæ, is also regarded as one of these *pyræa*. (cf. Jackson: *Persia, Past and Present*, pp. 302; 281).

If, however, Cicero is correct in attributing such a sentiment to the Magi, it must be acknowledged that Xerxes held very un-Magian religious views when he authorised the reconstruction of the temple at Jerusalem.

Xerxes Claimed as an Adherent of the Jewish Religion.—A different explanation of this war of Xerxes against the gods of Greece may be given, if there is claimed for this Persian monarch a decided leaning towards Judaistic religious belief. For it may be said that in destroying the Greek temples, Xerxes was but carrying out the divine injunction against idolators as given in *Deuteronomy* (7. 5): "But thus shall ye deal with them: ye shall destroy their altars and break down their images, and cut down their groves and burn their graven images with fire." But in this connection it must not be overlooked that although Xerxes carried out pretty consistently the command to destroy the altars, he was not enough of an iconoclast, or perhaps too much of a dilettante in art to sacrifice the graven images. For we have it recorded of him that he carried to Persia two cult-statues of Greek divinities. One of these images was that of Brauronian Artemis which he carried off from Attica (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 8. 46. 3); the other was the bronze Apollo which he plundered from the famous oracle of that god at Branchidæ near Miletus (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 8. 46. 3; 1. 16. 3.). As proof, too, that it was probably love of art or of trophies that led to the carrying off of these statues, we know that he also removed from Athens the famous sculptured group of the two tyrannicides, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, which was afterwards sent back by Alexander the Great (Pliny, *N. H.* 34. 8. 70; Arrian, *Anab.* 3. 16. 8; cf. Valerius Maximus, *Mem.* 2. 10. Ex. 1; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1. 8. 5), and besides, a bronze "Water-Carrier", which Themistocles had caused to be made, and which, when in exile, he saw again in Sardis adorning

the temple of the Mother of the Gods in that famous city. (Plutarch, *Themis*, 31.)

Again, in contradistinction to Xerxes's treatment of the temples of the Greeks, stands the testimony of Herodotus to the effect that he paid worship to the divinities of the Greeks. According to that historian (*Hist.* 7.43), Xerxes, when on the way to Greece, went up into the citadel of Priam at Ilion, and sacrificed there "a thousand kine to Athene of Ilion, and the Magi poured oblations to the 'heroes' (*toisi hirôsi*)". On another occasion when the advance of the fleet was delayed by wind and storms, the Magi sacrificed to the wind, to Thetis and to the Nereids, for favoring breezes (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7.191). Here, however, there is a question whether Xerxes was really sacrificing to Greek gods, or whether Herodotus is not rather attempting to describe Persian deities by the names of their supposed Greek counterparts. This question will be more fully discussed below.

Nothing Proved by Tolerance or Intolerance.—It would seem that an impartial judge would have to decide that Xerxes in his tolerance or intolerance of the religions of other nations was guided by policy rather than by interested religious fervor. In the matter of the temple at Jerusalem it is at least probable that he was influenced by the original decree of Cyrus relative to the restoration of that building (*Ezra*, 1. 1-4), a decree which he perhaps felt obliged to carry out because of "the law of Medes and Persians that changeth not". In the matter of the Greek temples, it must be borne in mind that he was but the agent of a national feeling of revenge—revenge for the interference of the Athenians in the Ionic revolt. His father Darius had long planned vengeance, but had been prevented by death from carrying out his plans. Under the influence of such a national feeling, Xerxes's own personal views of tolerance or intolerance might have to give way. Perhaps it is not going too far to say that his conduct was subject to no regulation save that of his own royal pleasure, for it should never be forgotten that kings are a law unto themselves, and must not be judged by the same standard as individuals. Especially was this true of the Persian Kings, for the student of history will recall how Cambyses was informed by the priests that they "had found a law to the effect that the King of the Persians might do whatso-

ever he desired" (Herodotus, *Hist.* 3. 31). We conclude that the evidence to be drawn from this point is entirely negative. It cannot be said that Xerxes was not a Zoroastrian, merely because he showed himself intolerant of the Greek religion but tolerant of the Jewish faith.

GREEK GODS AND AVESTAN DEITIES.

Worship of Greek Gods by Xerxes.—Now, as has been already mentioned, there are several passages in which Herodotus appears actually to ascribe to Xerxes the worship of Greek deities, and the thought naturally arises whether he was really worshipping Greek gods, or Persian gods to whom Herodotus has given the names of their supposed Greek counterparts. I confess I am inclined to adopt the former view — that Xerxes really did pay homage to Grecian deities, just as he similarly offered sacrifice, according to Josephus, to the Hebrew Jehovah at Jerusalem, and, as we learn from other sources, (Jackson: Religion of Achæmenian Kings, *Journal of American Oriental Society*, vol 21, p. 178), the Achæmenian kings often did in the case of the gods of conquered nations. The references are as follows:—

Recognition of Zeus.— At the head of the great army as it marched out of the Greek city of Sardis, came a thousand horsemen and a thousand footmen ; then came ten sacred horses and behind these the sacred chariot of Zeus. Herodotus (*Hist.* 7.40) gives the following account: " Behind these ten horses, the sacred chariot of Zeus was appointed to go, which was drawn by eight white horses, and behind the horses followed a charioteer on foot, holding the reins, for no human creature mounts upon the seat of that chariot. Then behind this came Xerxes himself in a chariot drawn by Nesaian horses."

If this Zeus whom Herodotus is describing were a Persian deity, he may perhaps be identified with Ahura Mazda, but it seems more likely that it was a Greek god to whom Xerxes thus paid court, perhaps as a matter of policy in order to entrench himself and his cause more strongly in the affections of his Ionic allies. Confirmation of such a view seems to be found in the later history of this chariot and horses, for after crossing into Greece, they were left in the charge of Macedonian allies (Herodotus, *Hist.* 8. 115); and when Xerxes, on his flight from Hellas, demanded the return

of his horses, he was told that they had been stolen. It is hardly likely that the Magi would have permitted a chariot and horses, sacred to Ahura Mazda, or to any other Persian deity, to be consigned in trust to Hellenic care. Such at least is my view, though others may hold a different opinion.

Sacrifice to Athene.—For a second and more convincing instance of the worship of Greek gods by Xerxes, we must refer to the statement concerning his sacrifices on the site of ancient Troy (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7. 43). "When Xerxes arrived at this river (the Scamander)", says the historian, "he went up into the citadel of Priam, being desirous of seeing it. And having seen and found out about everything, he sacrificed a thousand kine to Athene of Ilion (*tî Athenâiî tî Iliadi*) and the Magi poured oblations to the 'heroes' (*toisi hîrôsi.*)"

Here, it is true, the offering of a thousand kine recalls the sacrifice of King Vîshtâspa in the Avestan Yashts, but it is difficult to indentify with any Avestan deity the Athene of Ilion, who might be *Anâhitâ*, or possibly *Ashî Vaṇuhî*, for it will be remembered, Vîshtâspa and the other heroes of Zoroastrianism sacrificed to the latter the thousand kine. The "heroes" are perhaps the *fravashis*, or guardian genii of the land, to whom Cyrus also offered oblations. On the other hand, if Herodotus had meant by Athene of Ilion a Persian goddess, whose Greek counterpart he was naming, he would probably have prefixed to her name the adjective "Persian", as a later Greek writer, Pausanias, did, who refers to "the temple of the Persian Artemis" (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 7. 6. 6). The qualifying phrase "of Ilion" localises and makes distinctly Greek this goddess. Similar localisations of one and the same Greek deity are seen in the well-known appellatives, Delian Apollo, and Apollo of Delphi, Zeus of Dodona, and Olympian Zeus, the Argive Hera, and Athene of Lemnos. If this hypothesis be correct, the "heroes" would be, not the *fravashis*, but the Manes of the Greek and Trojan warriors who fought and perished on the plains of Troy during the famous siege of that city, and who would naturally by Xerxes's day have become the object of local worship. The tomb of Achilles, it will be recalled, stood in the Troad, where it was visited by Alexander the Great.

Worship of the Wind and of Thetis.—Another sacrifice

made by Xerxes was in connection with the advance of his fleet. While off the coast of Thessaly, a storm of wind arose, destroying several hundred ships, and delaying further progress. The king had the Magi offer sacrifice and prayers for calmer weather. Herodotus describes the incident with his customary detail (Hdt. 7. 191): "Finally the Magi, after offering victims and *singing to the wind with shouts* (*kaî katœidontes boîsi ohi Magoi tô anemô*) and in addition to these things, sacrificing both to Thetis and to the Nereids, caused it (the wind) to cease on the fourth day, or it went down of its own accord for some other reason. But they sacrificed to Thetis, because they had heard from the Ionians that she had been taken from this place by Peleus, and that the whole shore of Sepia belonged to her and the rest of the Nereids." The "singing with shouts" was probably the chanting of the Magi, and there can be little doubt that the sacrifice to the Wind is genuinely Mazdean and also Zoroastrian, if we are to distinguish between the two. But it is no less certain that sacrifices to the wind were as genuinely Greek, and although it may be said that in Thetis and the Nereids we are to recognize the goddess of the heavenly stream, Anâhitâ and the waters (*apô-ahurânîš*), the daughters of Ahura (cf. Yas. 38.3; 68. 10), it seems much more probable to regard this act of worship as a concession to local divinities like the sacrifice to Athene of Ilion.

Athenians Ordered to Worship in Their Own Manner.—Yet again, we see Xerxes's attitude toward Greek divinities reflected in a certain action of his after he had destroyed the Acropolis of Athens (Hdt. 8.54). "For", says the historian, "on the next day, Xerxes, after sending a herald, called together the exiles of the Athenians who were accompanying him, and bade them go up to the Acropolis and sacrifice victims after their own manner; (*tropô tô spheterô thusâi ta hira*) perhaps he had seen some vision of a dream which caused him to give this command, or perchance he had a scruple in his mind because he had set fire to the temple (on the Acropolis). The Athenian exiles did accordingly what was commanded them."

Although Herodotus's ascription of remorse to Xerxes must be taken *cum grano salis*, this act of the Persian king is at least indicative of the fact that he countenanced the Greek religion.

Mardonios Consults Greek Oracles.—As is the master, so is the servant, and as Xerxes did not disdain to recognize Greek divinities, neither did his general, Mardonios, for we read that after the retreat of the King, Mardonios, who succeeded to the command of the Persian forces in Greece, sent to all the oracles of Hellas, desiring doubtless to find out what would be the outcome of the war (Hdt. 8.133), and before the battle of Platææ, Herodotus states (9.37), he consulted a Greek diviner, Hegesistratos the Eleian, to see whether the omens were favorable for fighting.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

We may now proceed to draw deductions, so far as that may be possible. It seems reasonable, from what has been said in the preceding paragraphs to come to the conclusion that Xerxes, in his attitude towards the religions of other nations, was tolerant or intolerant according to the policy of the moment, for he stooped at times to worship other gods than those of Persia; but when he was prompted by a spirit of revenge, which was fomented perhaps by a feeling of national hatred, as in the case of the Athenians and their allies, he ruthlessly destroyed the temples of the gods.

In his treatment of the elements, while he seemed to have some regard for the orthodox Zoroastrian observances in regard to earth, he had little if any concern for fire, and he sacrilegiously lashed and abused water as he would a disobedient slave, and the burial alive of the nine children, with which he is charged by Herodotus, also militates against the theory that he was a good Zoroastrian.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that certain facts related of Xerxes such as invoking the curse of *Arimanios* (Ahriman), if Xerxes — and not his son Artaxerxes — *really* was the King to whom Plutarch refers, his adherence to the Magi, their chanting worship, their myrtle and perfume, and the worship of the sun at sunrise, are indications of a probable outward observance of Zoroastrian tenets and practices.

To reconcile these seeming contradictions we may conclude that Xerxes had perhaps acknowledged Zoroastrianism as the state religion of Persia, just as Constantine the Great acknowledged Christianity as the state religion of the Roman Empire; but just as

Constantine was probably not truly at heart and in practice a real Christian, so Xerxes was not in spirit and action a real Zoroastrian, but fell away from the teachings of the Avesta when policy, the necessities of war, or the whim of the moment prompted him so to do. His conduct, on the whole, harmonises with the principles that "the king can do no wrong", and that "the King of the Persians may do whatsoever he desires". His general character would also seem to confirm such an estimate, for though he was generous to a fault in his treatment of Pythios, to whom he gave a large sum of money, (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7. 29) and showed himself very forgiving in the case of those Spartans who voluntarily offered themselves to atone by death the killing of Persian ambassadors in Sparta (Herodotus, *Hist*, 7. 136), his acts of wanton and revolting cruelty, such as the beheading of the engineers (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7. 35) who constructed the bridge across the Hellespont, the cutting in two of the body of the son of Pythios (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7. 39) and the decapitation and impaling of the dead body of Leonidas (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7. 238), were hardly the deeds of a true Zoroastrian, nor can a king who, as Justin says (*Hist.* 3. 1), was "once the terror of the nations round him", and the record of whose latter years is an uninterrupted course of debauchery and licentiousness (Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 5. 7), be said to have earnestly followed the teachings of him who made the rule of life "good thoughts, good words and good deeds".

G. Payn Quackenbos.

THE PERSIAN ORIGIN OF THE MAGI.

AS INDICATED BY PATRISTIC LITERATURE.

Nothing better illustrates the closer bonds of sympathy, the more cordial and intimate relations which are happily coming to exist between the Orient and the Occident, than the scholarly life of the late Dastur Hoshang Jamasp, with its tale of valuable exchange of comment, criticism, and point of view with his famous fellow workers, Dr. Martin Haug and Dr. Edward W. West. The open-minded manner in which the wise Dastur turned his face toward Europe, seeking further light himself, although bringing it with him, may be not unworthily parallelled, perhaps, by a journey made nearly two thousand years ago by the so-called Magi, or the Wise Men of the East.

In the course of an article entitled 'The Magi, according to the Christian Fathers, with special reference to their Persian origin', written for the Indo-Iranian Department of the School of Philosophy of Columbia University in 1904, but not accessible in print, the writer undertook an investigation of the existing writings of the Greek and Roman Church Fathers; (edition of Migne, Paris, 1844-1880, 382 vols.) a remarkable uniformity was found to prevail among nearly all the writers with regard to the provenience, or original country, of the three Magi. The few passages relating to Egypt, Chaldea, and other countries, as I have shown in the course of the above article, are all vague and uncertain in character and therefore far from convincing. A few passages likewise which relate to the Magi deal with topics other than the country of the Wise Men, for example with the special significance of the symbolic gifts, with the character of the star that guided them to the birthplace of Christ, etc.; passages of this sort have no special value or appropriateness for this Hoshang Memorial Volume, and I have included, therefore, only the passages which refer in some way to the country of Persia.

An interesting narrative from a comparative standpoint is

that of Arator, fl. 540 A. D. (cf. Migne, Vol. 68, §47): 'The Magi were to the Persians what the *gymnosophistae* were to the Indians, the Chaldeans to the Assyrians, and the Etruscan soothsayers to the Romans, as Strabo says, adding "Such were Moses and his successors"'.

The following poetical extract from M. Aurelius Clemens Prudentius, (vol.59, §380) who flourished in the first half of the fifth century, says that the Magi were Persians:

'*En Persici ex orbis sinu,*
Sol unde sumit januam,
Cernunt periti interpretes
Regale vexillum magi.'

The following words of M. Aurelius Cassiodorus, 468-568 A. D., (vol 69, § 66), seem to indicate that the Magi were a priestly caste among the Persians, a fact also to be supported by the writings of Herodotus, (Book. I, § 101), if we are to understand the Medes and Persians to be akin: 'Since the Magi were accustomed to devote their time to the worship of the most powerful gods of the Persians, their vanity came to increase so much that they professed not only to predict the movement of the stars by observation, but also by certain evil arts to know everything, and to be able to do everything.'

In commenting on the following words of Isaiah, 18, 7, which read in the Authorized Version: 'In that time shall a present be brought to the Lord of Hosts of a people scattered and peeled, and from a people terrible from their beginning hitherto; a nation meeted out and trodden under foot, whose land the rivers have spoiled, to the Place of the name of the Lord of Hosts, the Mount Zion.' Isidorus (about 600 A. D.) (vol. 83, § 367) says in comment: 'These words the prophet says about a most hardy tribe of the Persians, who at that time were incomparably more powerful than any other people; the Magi coming from this people gave Christ gifts.'

A rather confused account of the same people is the following from the Venerabilis Hildebertus, writing early in the twelfth century (vol. 120, §§ 121-126): '"All shall come from Saba offering Gold and frankincense and announcing their praise to the Lord" (Isaiah, 60, 6). The Magi were not

necromancers nor enchanters, as some say, but prophets of the Chaldeans, prophesying from separate signs (*de singulis philosophantes*) who taught what was predicted by the signs, as well as from ordinary occurrences, knowing what would happen in the future. They are said also to be descended from Balaam (see Deuteronomy 3, 4), and successors to his doctrines. They came from the land of the Persians where the Saba river is, from which the region is named.'

The reader will notice that this last writer states that the Magi were Chaldeans, and that they came from Persia. This fact, it seems, to me, shows clearly that the Magi were really not a nation, but a tribe or caste within a nation. The Persian location given to the name Saba is somewhat remarkable. Saba is generally, I think, identified with Sheba, and the historic Queen of Sheba is usually thought to have come from the region of Arabia.

Another reference to Saba, or Sheba, is made by Photius, (820- 891 A. D.,) (vol. 101, p. 1147), in these words: 'Why did the Magi come from the East and Persia, and not from some other region and nation, to the birth-place of the Master? First, I think, because they fulfilled the prophecy which said : "The kings of Arabia and Saba shall offer gifts (Isaiah LX, 6)", and then because God, our God, whose temple was at Jerusalem, inspired the Persians to worship the king of Israel.'

Throughout many of the works of the Christian Fathers there occur very many scattered and isolated sentences, or even phrases, merely saying that the Magi were Persians or that they came from Persia, and stating nothing further about them. An oft-recurring and typical phrase is "Magi apud Persas, or Magi Persae sunt, Magi vero ex Perside". Still others are "Magi eruditiores apud Persas, Magi ex Perside, Magi Persorum", etc. The different authors in whose writings such phrases are often found are Clemens,Constantine, Origen, Cyrillus, Nicephorus, Callistus, Theophylactus, Glucas, etc. Attention is called to these writers merely to show that by far the majority of the Fathers state that the Magi came from Persia. Quantity of authority, so to speak, is greatly on the Persian side of the scale.

An ecclesiastical calendar, the Menologium Basilianum, (Migne, vol. 117), of the end of the tenth century, says that the

Magi were Persians and experienced astronomers.

In the Georgius Codinus (vol. 157), the statement is made twice that the Magi were kings of the Persians. Another writer who states that the Magi were a kind of clan, or tribe, among the Persians, is Nicephorus Callistus (vol. 147, § 472): 'For the Persians worship fire as a god, and they call Magi those who include the elements among the gods.'

Pascatius Radbertus, who died toward the end of the ninth century, (vol. 120 §§121-126) cites a line of Juvencus, which is not indexed in the Migne edition of the latter's writings, which reads as follows: *Tumque jubet Persas extendere gressus.*

But even all these do not exhaust the references to Persia. The following notes of D. Hugonus Menardus, 1585-1644, (vol. 76, §§1468-70), a Benedictine monk, are very interesting:

'Suidas of the eleventh century, as Gregorius records, writes that the Magi are *philosophous kai philotheous* among the Persians. Hesehius interprets *Magus* as meaning *theologian*. Saint Epiphanius in his Exposition of the Catholic Faith, says that these Magi, who worshipped the infant Christ, were descended from the sons of Cettura; since gold, frankincense, and myrrh were obtainable in Magodia, a district of Arabia, they offered these gifts to the infant Christ'.

Diodorus Tharsensis writes toward the close of the fourth century that they were Persians and were taught by the Chaldeans concerning a star which would announce the birth of a Saviour of all mankind, according to the ancient prophecy of Balaam.

An isolated sentence in Rabanus, says concerning the Magi: 'This tribe of divination is said to have been brought from Persia.'

As will by this time have been noticed from the foregoing pages, the references to the Magi are always to Magi up to the time of Christ. But of course there was no reason why the tribe should have gone out of existence all at once at the time of the rise of Christianity; and it need not surprise us, therefore, when we find in several writers the statement that this tribe resided in Persia as late as the reigns of Chosroes and Sapor, which of course was natural under the Sassanians who were Zoroastrians.

For example, Nicephorus Callistus who died in 1350 A. D., (vol. 145, p. 639) says that Magi in Persia during the reign of

Sapor I (240-271 A. D.) helped the Jews to raze Christian churches to the ground. 'The Magi roamed through Persia and slew bishops and priests.'

This same subject is further elaborated by M. Aurelius Cassiodorus, 468-568 A. D. (vol. 69, p. 626), as follows: 'Then, as time went on, the Christians began to grow in numbers, and to have churches, priests, etc. But this fact perturbed the Magi in no small degree, for these Magi are known to have been instructed with the care of the Persian Religion, by inheritance from very early times. For this reason they accused Simeon, then archbishop of the regal states of Seleucis and Ctesiphon in Persia, in the presence of King Sapor calculating that he was a friend of the Roman Emperor, and would reveal to him, therefore, the affairs of the Persians. Sapor believed these slanders (*derogationibus*), and at first burdened the Christians with great tribute. Later on he menaces ministers and officers of God with the sword, and overthrows churches. Even the Magi as well, assisted by the Jews, destroyed sacred churches with great rejoicing.'

One more reference to the later history of the Magi in Persia, is by the Historian Georgius Pisida writing toward 600 A. D., (vol. 92, p. 1303), in his work entitled 'Concerning the murder of Chosroes, last King of the Persians', in these words: 'Where now is the madness of the ever lying Medes (or Magi)?'

Summing up, then, we may say in conclusion that, although several of the Christian Fathers state that the Magi came from Egypt, Chaldea, Saba, or other countries, the number of these writers is very markedly less than those that name Persia as the country of the Wise Men. In this matter the evidence to be found in the classical writers of Greece and Rome is almost always that, Persia was their home. All the subsidiary information we can glean as to the manners and customs of these three famous travellers, tends also to indicate that they came from Persia. So that although we do not possess positive proof, we at least have historical evidence of good quality and of fairly large amount to warrant us in believing that the land of Zoroaster both nourished and inspired long ago three seekers of light, the three never-to-be-forgotten Wise Men of the East.

JUSTIN HARTLEY MOORE.

BUDDHIST PARALLELS TO HUMATA-HUKHTA-HUVARSHTA.

"His thought is quiet, quiet are his word and deed, when he has obtained freedom by true knowledge, when he has thus become a quiet man."

Commenting on this verse of the PALI DHAMMAPADA, Max Müller proceeds to show that "this very natural threefold division, thought, word and deed, the *trividha-dvâra*, or the three doors of the Buddhists, was not peculiar to the Buddhists or unknown to the Brâhmans", and somewhat lukewarmly adds that "similar expressions have been shown to exist in the Zend-Avesta". (S. B. E., X, 28.)—(The reference to Hardy's Manual will be found at page 513 of the second edition. Max Müller's p. 494 refers probably to the first ed.)

That good thought, word and deed are of the essence of Zarathushtrianism is a commonplace of comparative religion, and the Parsis rightly glory in this tenet of paramount ethical importance. What I would call attention to is that it is possible to exaggerate the value of this doctrine as an ethical asset peculiar to the Parsis and confined more or less to the doctrines of the Avesta alone. On the contrary, it is inculcated with almost equal insistence in the younger Vedic literature and the Brâhman scriptures and the Buddhist writings. (A. Weber: *Indische Streifen* I, 209. Brunnhofer: *Urgeschichte der Arier* I, 192 *seq.* Tiele: *Geschichte der Religion im Alterthum* II, 330).

It seems to me that the frequency with which this triad is alluded to, and the wealth of variety of manner in which it is emphasised in the Buddhist sacred books, deserves to be better studied by those who are misleading the Parsis that their Avestaic *humata hukhta huvarshta* is a spiritual monopoly all their own.[1]

I will only premise that the citations here produced are but a fraction of what can be produced and that they were ticked off in a fresh hurried re-reading of a few Pali and Sanskrit Buddhistic

[1] *Vide* Koppen: Religion des Buddha: 1,445.

works. I have quoted the setting and the context at certain length so as not to deprive the originals by truncation of their rugged unconventional attractions. It would be easy to compose quite a charming little anthology of Buddhism merely by stringing together those passages which are instinct with the spirit of thought, speech and act that are good.*

Him I call indeed a Brahman who does not offend by body, word or thought, and is controlled on all these three points.—

DHAMMAPADA ; 391.

Even if he commit a sinful deed by his body or in word or in thought he is incapable of concealing it; for to conceal is said to be impossible for one that has seen the state of Nirvâna. This excellent jewel is found in the Assembly, by this truth may there be salvation.—SUTTANIPATA, CHULAVAGGA : 11.

He who is not opposed to any one in word, thought or deed, who after having understood the Dharma perfectly longs for the state of Nirvâna,—such a one will wander rightly in the world.—

SUTTANIPATA, SAMMAPARIBBAJANIYASUTTA : 7.

And in which way is it, Siha, that one speaking truly could say of me : "The Samana Gotama denies action ; he teaches the doctrine of non-action; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples?" I teach, Siha, the not-doing of such actions as are unrighteous either by deed or by word or by thought ; I teach the not-bringing about of the manifold conditions of heart which are evil and not good. In this way, Siha, one speaking truly could say of me "The Samana Gotama denies action"..... I teach Siha, the doing of such actions as are righteous by word or by thought.—

VINAYA PITAKA MAHAVAGGA : VI, 31, 6.

I deem, Siha, unrighteous actions contemptible whether they

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* I have limited my references to a few Buddhist works with which I am more or less familiar; but that the Jaina Scriptures also inculcate the same principle is equally remarkable. See Jacobi's *Jaina Sutras*: 1, XXVI and p. 260: "Henceforth the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira was houseless, circumspect in his walking, circumspect in his speaking, circumspect in his begging, circumspect in his accepting anything, in the carrying of his outfit and drinking vessel; circumspect in his thoughts, circumspect in his words, circumspect in his acts: guarding his thoughts, guarding his words, guarding his acts.. . . .

For the doctrine of the three Guptis, as they are called by the Jainas, see S. B. E. XLV, 50, 130, 160, 98 and 107.

be performed by deed or by word or by thought; I proclaim the doctrine of the contemptibleness of falling into the manifold conditions of the heart which are evil and not good.—MAHAVAGGA: VI, 31, 7.

I teach, Siha, that all the conditions of heart which are evil and not good, unrighteous actions by deed, by word and by thought must be burnt away.—MAHAVAGGA: VI, 31, 8.

And what is it that gives rise to legal questions of offence? There are six origins of offence that give rise to legal questions of offence. There is an offence that originates in deed, but not in word nor in thought (and so on till all the possible combinations are exhausted with mathematical precision after the approved Buddhist method).—CHULLAVAGGA: IV, 14, 6.

A Bhikshu who warns another should, Upali, when he is about to do so consider thus: "Am I pure in the conduct of my body, pure therein without a flaw, without a fleck? Is this quality found in me or is it not?" If, Upali, the Bhikshu is not so, there will be some who will say to him: "Come, now, let your reverence continue still to train yourself in matters relating to the body"—thus will they say. (The same exhortation is repeated separately with reference to speech and mind.)—CHULLAVAGGA: IX, 5, 1.

And was not Shariputra the Elder, O king, the best man in the whole ten thousand world systems, the Teacher of the world, himself alone excepted? And he who through endless ages had heaped up merit and had been re-born in a Brahman family, relinquished all the delights of the pleasures of senses, and gave up boundless wealth, to enter the Order according to the teaching of the Conqueror, and having restrained his actions, words and thoughts, by these thirteen vows became in this life of such exalted virtue that he was the one who, after the Master, set rolling on the royal chariot-wheel of the Kingdom of Righteousness in the religion of Gotama, the Blessed One.—MILINDA PINHA: end of Ch. IX.

Through the merits of good theories virtuous men who understand noble knowledge go to heavenly worlds from their self-restraint as regards body, speech and thought.—BUDDHACHARITA: XVI, 25.

But all they who do good with their body, who do good with their voice, who do good with their mind, they love themselves.

And although they should say thus : " We do not love ourselves", nevertheless they do love themselves. And why do I say so? Because, whatever a man would do to one whom he loved, that they do to themselves. Therefore they love themselves.—SAMYUTTA-NIKAYA : iii, 1, 4.

Suppose, O Monks, one does evil with his body, does evil with his voice, does evil with his mind.....—ANGUTTARA-NIKAYA : iii 35.

Permit me, Lord, give me absolution from all my faults committed in deed or word or thought.—PORTION OF BUDDHIST CONFESSION.

So it appears, O Monks, that ye are distressed at, ashamed of, and loathe the idea of life in heavenly beauty, heavenly happiness, heavenly glory ; that ye are distressed at, ashamed of and loathe the idea of heavenly power. But much more, O Monks, should ye be distressed at, ashamed of and loathe doing evil with the body . . . with the voice . . . with the mind.— ANGUTTARA-NIKAYA : iii, 18.

As everything he did in thought, speech and action was purified by his love, most of the animals given to wickedness were like his pupils and friends. — JATAKAMALA : VI, 3.

But the lack of mercy is to men the cause of the greatest disturbance, as it corrupts the action of their minds and words and bodies no less with respect to their families than to strangers.— JATAKAMALA : XXVI, 40.

All that we are is the result of what we have thought. It is founded on our thoughts ; it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with a pure thought, happiness follows him, like a shadow that never leaves him.—DHAMMAPADA : 2.

From thought, I say, proceeds deed ; after having thought, a man puts into effect a noble speech or act.—ANGUTTARA-NIKAYA : Vol. iii, 415.

In deed was I well-behaved, so in words, so in thoughts ; all thirst is finally quenched : extinguished I am ; all put out.— UTTARA'S SONG : THERIGATHA.

Those who weary of the three perfections (pradhâna) and their accompaniment, become hermits and (take up) cool dwelling places, their bodies, speech and minds all well controlled, knowing the proper way to comport themselves ; — they are truly Bhikshus.— BUDDHIST SUTRAS FROM THE TIBETAN INDIAN ANTIQUARY, 1883, p. 308.

Steadily observing the tenfold way of virtuous action in body, speech and thought, and turning away from spirituous liquors, you will feel a sincere joy in this virtuous life.—THE SUHRILLEKHA, the epistle of Nâgarjuna to king Udayana, (Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1886).

Since then you must die in this manner (in uncertainty as to your fate) take the lamp of the Three merits to give you light, for alone you must enter their endless darkness which is untouched by sun or moon.

Commentary: The three kinds of merits are those of body, speech and thought.—SUHRILLEKHA : p. 21.

A monk kills a wild goose and is reprimanded with a sermon ending in " A Brother ought to hold himself in control in deed, word and thought."—JATAKA : No. 276.

Le Buddha a enonce comment du corps, de la bouche, et des pensees decoulent les trois sortes de Karmans.—Huber's French translation of the Chinese version of KUMARJIVA'S SUTRALAMKARA from the original Sanskrit of ASHVAGHOSHA.

Tinimani bhikkhave moneyyani. Katamani tini?

Kayamoneyyam vachimoneyyam manomoneyyam.—

ITIVUTTAKA 64, quoted by Minayeff in his *Recherches sur le Buddhisme* [b. g.]; see also his next note from the ABHIDHARMA-KOSHAVYAKHYA.

त्रिविधम् का यिकं कर्म वचसाच चतुर्विधम् ।
मनसा त्रिप्रकारेण तत्सर्वं देशया म्यहम् ॥
कायकृतं वाचकृतं मनसा च विचिन्तितम् ।
कृतं दशविधं कर्म तत्सर्वं देशयाम्यहम् ॥

CIKSHASAMUCCAYA, p. 163.

It is not possible, O Monks, it is without a foundation that one with good thoughts, words and deeds should have a fortune undesirable, joyless and cheerless.—ANGUTTARA-NIKAYA : EKA-NIPATA : 20.

Les trois occupations sont celles ducorps (kaya-karma), de la bouche (vag-karma), et de la pensee (citta-karma).—CHAVANNES : *Voyages des pelerins Bouddhistes* : p. 171.

Samanna-phala Sutta, etc. translated by Rhys Davids in his " Dialogues of the Buddha", pp. 57-8, 72, 103, 202, 221, 269, 279.

Seydel notes this "astonishing similarity" and refers to Lalita Vistara, Chap. 5, and to the Chinese Sutra of the 42 Articles.—

SEYDEL : *Evangelium von Jesu in seinem verhalt nissen zu Buddhasage und Buddha-Lehre:* pp. 202, 213.

And I know that those beings possest of good conduct in body, speech and mind, not upbraiding the elect ones, but right believers, incurring the karma of right belief, rise again, upon the dissolution of the body after death — some in the world of weal and paradise, and some among the human ; while those beings possest of bad conduct in body, speech and mind, upbraiders of the elect ones, false believers, incurring the karma of false belief, do rise again, upon the dissolution of the body after death, either in the realm of ghosts or in the wombs of brutes, or in the damnation, woe and perdition of hell.

" O soul, through thoughtlessness thou didst not right in body, speech and mind. Verily, O soul, they shall do to thee according to thy thoughtlessness. Moreover, this wickedness was not done by mother or father, brother or sister, friends or companions, relatives or kinsfolk ; neither by philosophers, Brahmins or spirits : by thee the wickedness was done, and thou alone shalt feel its consequences."— MAJJHIMA NIKAYA : 130.

RANGOON. G. K. NARIMAN.

THE PARTHIANS.

(TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF PROF. DR. EUGENE WILHELM.)

1. THE NAME.

We find a perfectly trustworthy reference to the Parthians, as Olshausen [1] rightly says, in the Inscriptions of Darius. There the word *Parthava* is in most cases employed to designate the country; but the same name is also given to its inhabitants and it is highly probable that in Bh. II, 92, this word has to be taken as designating the Parthians, the inhabitants of the country of Parthia. This double signification of the term becomes still more evident from the non-Aryan translation. In NR. 17 of this version, *Parthava* is, according to Oppert's reading, rendered by *Parçuva*; in Bh. II, 3, however, by *Parçuvap*, *p* being the sign of the plural, and in Bh. II. 69, 71, 75, 78 by *Parçuvas* which form has mostly a sign prefixed before geographical names; whilst finally there is one instance in which it is rendered by *Parçuvaspe*, the suffix *pe* again expressing the plural. Thus it will be seen that *Parçuvas* is not the exact equivalent of *Parthava* but rather of a form like *parthwa* or *perethwa* in the Avesta. The Assyrio-Babylonian version has, according to Von Bezold, mostly the form *Pa-ar-tu-ú*, and in one instance also *Par-tu-ú* (NR. 12). The Greeks more or less adopted the Persian form. Herodotus, however, employs the shorter form *Parthoi* (Parthians), just as the Romans called them *Parthi*. As to how Ctesias has written the name, we cannot conclude with certainty from the extant fragments of his work. On p. 14 of C. Müller's edition of these fragments (Diod. II, 2), we find the form *Parthnaiōn*; on p. 42 (Diod. II, 34), however, *Parthsys*, while on p. 47 of the extracts of Photius there occurs the form *Parthiōy*. Strabo again writes *Parthyatoi* as also *Parthoi* (XI, 524), while Ptolemaeus has *Parthai*. However, all these differences of form found in foreign writings need not trouble us; for we may well regard them as variations of the Iranian form *Parthava* to which we have to stick.

[1] Cf. Olshausen's Abhandlung in den Sitzungsberichten der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften 1877: *Parthava* und *Pahlav*, *Mâda* und *Mâh*.

Oppert was, to my knowledge, the first to speak on the etymology of the word *parthava* (Inscr. of the Achæmenides, p. 29 of the separate edition). He traces it to the Avestan *perethu*, Greek *plâtys* (broad, spacious) whose equivalent in Old Persian must have been *parthu*. The meaning which he assigns to *parthava* is "fort, hero, prince". I am, however, unable to see how he can arrive at this meaning. The Indian *Pârthiva* (warrior, prince, king) is derived from the Sans. *prithivî* (breadth, earth). But neither the word nor its meaning can be traced to the Iranian language. Olshausen suggests the root *pareth* (to fight), from which *Parethu* (the fighter) might be derived. Spiegel (Iran. Alterthumsk. III, 746 seq.) is of opinion that *parthava* signifies "emigrants" or "transmigrators". I still doubt if this is the meaning of the word (cf. Z. D. M. G., Bd. 42, S. 96, where I have discussed the word *perethwa*; also Lagarde, Lexikographie, p. 57, Ges. Abh. p. 221). I am of opinion that *Parthava* is, according to its form, nothing but the patronymic of a word *Parthu* which I take to be a proper noun, and which might be compared to the Sans. *prithu*, although in Indian literature *Pârthava* occurs (RV. 468, 8).

The non-Aryan form *Parçuvas* suggests various other words which closely approach the form *Parthava* and differ only in this that they have *ç* instead of *th*. Olshausen who has treated these words, in the first place calls attention to the *Parsvas* who are mentioned in the Assyrian Inscriptions and whom one might be inclined to take as the ancestors of the *Parthavas*. However, he does not omit to point out the grounds on which this assumption might be rejected; for the Parsuas that are mentioned in the Assyrian Inscriptions are not to be looked for in the regions inhabited by the Parthavas, but farther north towards Atropatene, as Schrader has shown (Keilinschr. u. Geschichtsforschung, p. 168 seq.) It is not necessary to discuss in this place the question with regard to the place of residence of the Parsuas which Olshausen already started and answered in the negative, viz. whether the Parsuas are identical with the Persians who are mentioned in the Cuneiform Inscriptions under the name of Pârsas; for it is evident that this is not the case. But the close resemblance of the Indian *parçu* to *Parthva* and *Pârsa* and the non-Aryan forms, *Parçuvas* and *Parsua* deserves our notice. In RV. 626, 46 *parçu* is used as the name of a man. In the trans-

lation of the term *prîthu-parçavas* in RV. 599, 1, Ludwig wishes to abandon the ordinary interpretation " carrying broad crooked swords ", " broad-hatcheted ", and to render it by " Parthians and Persians ". (cf. Commentary on the Translation of RV. II, p. 547.) According to Pân. V, 3, 117 the words *pârçavah* in the singular, *pârçavau* in the dual and *parçavah* in the plural, are taken as the name of a warrior tribe— the last of the three forms suggesting the singular *parçu*. With it must be connected also the word *pâraçava* which is the name of a people in the south-west of Madhyadeça and also of a mixed caste of Brahmin sons and Sudra women. Lassen has spoken of a certain *Parthia* (in Ptol. VI, 18, 4 and 5) situated in the country of the Paropanisads, and he believes the place to be identical with the modern Persch. Also Parsiana = Nadgil on the Alingar should be noted (Lassen l. l. p. 136). Hence it follows that the names like *parçavas*, *pâraçava*, *Parthsia* resembling *Pârsa* occur also in the east of Iran and even beyond that region; nor is it improbable that in different parts of Iran, tribes or subdivisions of tribes had the same, or at least, almost identical names.

2. The Country.

The boundaries of ancient Parthia are not very accurately defined, especially towards the west. From the Cuneiform Inscriptions, Bh. II, 92 and seq., where the Parthians are mentioned together with the Varkânas or Hyrcanians, it may be inferred that they might have been the neighbours of the latter. Herodotus mentions them in various passages of his work as being united with other peoples, but united only for the object of refusing to pay taxes (as in III, 93) or as belonging to the same division of the army (as in VII, 66). From this, of course, it cannot be inferred that their boundary was adjoining that of the peoples together with whom they are mentioned. Of the greatest importance is the remark that the river Aches flowed through the territory of the Parthians. Since that is the river Etrek, as Lassen has shown, it is evident that at least a portion of their territory must have been situated to the east of the Caspian Sea. Arrian says in Anab. III, 20, 2 that Alexander had reached Ragha, when Darius in his flight had arrived at *Pylai tōn Kaspiōn*, the Caspian Gates, which were a day's journey distant from Ragha. In the same work (Anab. III, 30, 4) we read: *aûtòs thè ōs epi Parthyaious êge kai kè men prōtē pròs tais Kaspiais pylais*

estratopedeuse. From this passage, I think, we may safely infer that the Caspian Gates belonged to Parthia, and probably formed its western boundary. According to Arrian (Parth. 8.), the Parthians emigrated from Scythia under Sesostris into their later home. In the passages of the Anabasis where Arrian speaks of the Parthians, he evidently refers only to that tribe which Darius calls Parthava; and I think that also in the latter passage he speaks of that particular tribe which he regards as having emigrated from Scythia. Whether he is justified in this, or whether he is mixing up things, I am no longer in a position to decide; nor am I able to make out whether Arrian is looking for the original home of the Parthians in Scythia with a view to represent them as Turanians.

However that may be, this much is certain that some writers distinguish this tribe of Parthava from the Parthians. Curtius who calls this Parthian tribe by the name of *Parthieni*, writes (IV, 12, 17): "Parthienorum deinde gens incolentium terras, quas nunc Parthi Scythia profecti tenent, claudebant agmen." According to Isidor of Charax, there is a province of Parthyene on the other side of the Caspian Sea which seems to form a much smaller territory than the ancient Parthava possessed. This is the country of Dehistân extending upto the boundaries of Margiana, between Jâjerm, Kabûcân and Meshhed. According to a passage of Isidor where the text is unfortunately somewhat corrupted, there lay in this district Parthaunisa, where stood the royal graves. The meaning of this name can be no other than "settlement of the Parthians". The old Persian form *parthava-nisâya* would correspond to an Avestan form like *parthao-nisâya* (cf. *rao-ratha*). *Nisa*, that is, *nisâya*, N. P. نسا simply denotes "settlement", and hence it occurs also before different parts of Iran. It is in this Parthyaia that Strabo says of Arsaces: *pheugonta thé tēn auxēsin tōn peri Diothoton apostēsai tēn Parthyaian*, whence it follows that the boundaries of the Parthian empire were in the east, in the vicinity of Bactria.

3. Origin.

It is very difficult to say anything with certainty about the origin of the Parthians. Still after the discussions of the last few years, especially after the statements of Droysen,[1] Alfred A. Gutschmid,[2]

[1] *Geschichte des Hellenismus*. Gotha 1877, III, 2 358 seq.

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

Lassen[1] and Spiegel[2] on the subject, it will not be out of place to re-examine the question.

According to Arrian's statement (Parth. 3) to which we have referred above, the Parthians emigrated to Iran from Scythia at the time of King Sesostris of Egypt. From this it would follow that the Parthians were of Scythian and not of Iranian origin ; and this would be true even of those Parthians whom we meet with as early as the time of Darius and who under the name of " Parthia " inhabited his empire. Now the first question which arises here is whether this statement is meant to imply that the Parthians, being Scythians, were of a different origin from the Iranians, or whether they originally belonged to the Turanian tribes which we find in the north of Iran. The opinion that these Turanian tribes had settled down in antiquity in the north of Iran, has of late become very doubtful. For now it is generally assumed that also the nomadic tribes in the north of Iran originally belonged to the Iranian peoples and that only in the second century B. C., the Turanians had crossed the Jaxartes and taken permanent possession of the steppes in the north of Iran. Hence it might well be that

[1] *Zur Geschichte der Griechischen und Indoskythischen Könige.* Bonn 1838 *und Indische Alterthumskunde* II, 277 seq, 352 seq, 811 seq, (1. Ausg.).

[2] Erânische Alterthumskunde, 3 Bde. Leipzig 1871-78.

The oldest works of more recent writers on Parthian History are:—I. Foy Vaillant, Arsacidarum imperium (Paris 1728.8°), L. Du Four De Longuerue, Annales Arsacidarum. (Strassburg 1732.4°). G. E. T. Guilhem De Sainte Croix Memoire sur le gouvernement des Parthes (Mem, de l' Acad. des Inscr. L, 48 seq. 755 seq.) Die Münzen erläntern geschichtlich die Werke von E. Q. Visconti Iconographie Grecque III. p. 58 seq; V. Bartholomæi, Recherches sur la numismatique Arsacide (Mem. de la soc. d'archéol. II, p. 1 seq.); A. de Longperier Memoires sur la chronologie et l' iconographie des rois Parthes Arsacides (Paris. 1853, 4°); E. Drouin, Onomastique Arsacide, essais d'explication des noms des, rois Parthes (Revue Numism. 13. p. 360-88. 1895). Important are also the coin-Catalogues: Le C^te^ Prokesch-Osten, Les monnaies de rois Parthes (Paris 1874-75, 4°) and Percy Gardner, The Parthian Coinage (London 1877, 4°). Compare I. Lindsay, Ueber parthische Numismatik. Besides, in more recent times the following works on the history of the Parthians have been published: Schneiderwirth, Die Parther oder Das neupersische Reich unter den Arsaciden, Heiligenstadt, 1874; G, Rawlinson, The Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy, or Geography, History, etc., of Parthia, London 1873, Demselben, Parthia in the "Story of Nations," London 1893; and Ferdin. Justi, Geschichte Irans von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Ausgang der Sâsâniden in "Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie ", II, 480 seq. 1897.

the Parthians notwithstanding their immigration from Scythia had always belonged to the Iranian stock. Besides, it may also be asked whether great importance is to be attached to Arrian's statement about the original immigration of the Parthians and whether he does not follow a groundless tradition based on the fact that Arsaces really migrated with the Parnians into Parthyaia and there founded a dynasty. At the time of this event the Turanian tribes might have already crossed the Jaxartes and settled near the boundaries of Iran. Hence it is quite possible that the Parnians who had helped Arsaces to establish his power, belonged to the Turanian stock. As to Arsaces himself, there are two opinions about him. While Strabo goes so far as to call him simply *anēr Skythys* a Scythian man, (a Scythian), yet he does not omit to mention that others considered him to be a Bactrian. From these uncertain data various inferences may be drawn. Either first, Arsaces was a Turanian just as the Parnians with whose help he established himself in Parthyaia ; or secondly, Arsaces was an Iranian, but was helped by the Turanians ; or thirdly, Arsaces was a Turanian while the Parnians were a tribe of nomadic Iranians ; or finally, Arsaces as well as the Parnians were Iranians. Of all these four possibilities the first seems to me to be the most probable one. As for the rest, there is no doubt that at least the royal family very soon adapted itself as closely as possible to the language, manners and customs of the Iranians, while on the other hand, the Parnians must have been allowed to settle down in the vicinity of the king, partly with a view to reward them for their past services, and partly with a view to gain them as faithful allies for the future. If so, a similar relation must have existed between Arsaces and the Parnians as we find it in our days between the Cadjar dynasty and the Afshar tribe.

4. The Pahlav.

It would, indeed, be very desirable to know how long the name " Parthian " was used in Iran and the adjoining districts. Undoubtedly, throughout the rule of the Achæmenides " Parthava " was used as the name of an Iranian tribe, and has most likely survived them. But if Greek authors in subsequent centuries constantly speak of " Parthian ", they follow, I presume, an older custom rather than a firmly established tradition. In Oriental writings the latter name ceases to appear from that time onwards, except in the works of Armenian

authors who, I am inclined to think, have taken it from the Greeks. Besides, we have absolutely no key to the confusion prevailing among the historians of the West. To call the new Iranian empire Parthian is as admissible as to call the empires of the older dynasties Median and Persian. However, we do not know at all whether in this new empire, the tribe of the Parthians had gained such a prominent position as in former times the Medians and the Persians had done. It rather seems that the Parthians were considered as strangers, that is, a foreign dynasty or even as a foreign tribe that had usurped the power over Iran and had only gradually coalesced with the inhabitants of the country. Unfortunately, the information about this dynasty which we receive from our native writers is as scanty as that about the name of the Parthians, and the few data which they give, they seem to have drawn from foreign sources. The dynasty is called Ashkanian, a name which is identical with the name Arsacid. This name is perfectly intelligible, if we know that the founder was Arsaces. But whatever opinion one may hold as to the origin of the Arsacids, this much, I think, is certain that their founder Arsaces was not a descendant of the royal family of the Achæmenides ; but it is easily understood that in the later period the dynasty sought to establish such a connection. According to the words of Synkellos (I, 539 ed. Bonn.) the name Arsaces seems to have been used to establish a relationship with Artaxerxes II. who, as Ctesias maintains, had this name before his accession to the throne. The later Oriental writers pass over this relationship in silence and try to connect the house of the Arsacids with the rulers of the mythical times by representing them as the descendants of Kai Arish, the Kava Arshan of the Avesta, that is, of the second son (or grandson) of Kai Kôbâd. According to them, the line of the first-born son ends with Kai Khosrav ; his successor is Lohrâsp who is curiously enough represented as the descendant of Kai Pishin, the third son of Kai Kôbâd, evidently with a view to reserve Kai Arish for the later Arsacids.

As regards the question which now engages our attention, Armenian writers mention one thing which is highly important and is not to be overlooked. It is true that they are not contemporary writers ; however, they stand one step nearer the Parthians than our other authorities ; for most of them lived under the Sassanides, whereas more recent Iranian writers lived in later periods, and, at most,

used works which would take us back to the time of the Sassanides. In the first place it must be remarked that it is wrong to assume that the Parthians and the Pahlavs are identical. Moses of Khorni, in several passages, mentions the Parthians and the Pahlavs side by side, so in II, 71 and 72, and especially in C. 90 where he clearly separates them as two entirely different peoples or as different branches of the same family. About the Pahlavs, Moses says (II, 28) that King Arshavir had three sons, Antashes, Kâren and Suren, and a daughter Goshm whom he had married to his Aspahapet (commander-in-chief). According to the proposal of Abgar it was settled that the eldest son Artashes and his descendants should be the rulers, and that the other two sons should assume the title " Pahlav" with the right of succession, in case the elder line were to die out. The same was to hold good also in the case of the descendants of the sister whose husband was to bear the title " Aspahapet Pahlav". Also in C. 91 he clearly distinguishes Parthia — the empire, from Pahlav, — a district of the empire. In the same manner Koriun distinguishes the Pahlavs from the Parthians (p. 95 of the French Translation).

According to Moses of Khorni, the Parthians themselves are to be traced back to Arshak who descended from Abraham and Qetûra. It was Arshak who founded their dynasty and ruled in Bahl, that is, in Bactria, in the land of the Kushan. Agathangelos, too, mentions the Kushans as the friends and kinsmen of the Parthians (p. 28), as also Faustus of Byzanz (V., 37). Elisaeus (p. 21) considers these Kushans as Huns, hence they were non-Aryans. The Armenian writers (Mos. Khor. II, 72) are of opinion that the main branch of the family, which calls itself Vehsajan Pahlav, remained in the east of Iran and resided at Balkh, the capital of the province of Pahlav. It is this their original home which, according to Moses II, 74, Ardashîr Bâbegân promised to restore to the Arsacids ; that is, Pahlav, their fatherland, Bahl, the capital, and the entire country of Kushan. Certainly, Zenobius does not intend to insinuate anything differing from this by using the word Partav.

Very much different are the data which Mohammadan writers supply from sources which reach back to the time of the Sassanides and the majority of which have already been collected by Olshausen. While the Armenian authors most definitely place the province of Pahlav in the east, and mention Balkh as its capital, the Mohammadan

authors maintain that the country of Fahla lies in the west of Iran. Thus the matter is stated by Fihreshte (p. 13) who based his statement on Abdallah ibn al-Muqaffa who was so admirably versed in these matters, and who comprised under the name of Fahla the territories of Ispâhân, Rai, Hamadân, Mâh-Nehâvand and Âdarbaijân. Less acceptable is another statement (Olshausen, p. 20) according to which the country of Fahla extended still farther towards the west while it excluded Rai and Ispâhân. But it may be that this latter restriction refers to a later period of the Parthian empire.

Now the question is how to combine these apparently contradictory statements. I am of opinion that they have nothing unintelligible in them, if we take the peculiar stand point of every individual author into consideration. We are used to look at the Parthian empire as one commonwealth, united under and ruled by one single dynasty which was in no way inferior to the older dynasty of the Achæmenides and to which the different tribes of Iran bore the same relation as to the King of Kings at an earlier period; and thus also the Romans and the Greeks seem to have taken a view of the matter. However, quite different is the view of the Oriental writers, as it was stated principally by Hamzâ of Ispâhân and others. They allow the Arsacids only a certain degree of priority over the rest of the tribal kings, and call the period of the Arsacids the time of the tribal kings, in opposition to that of the Sassanides who formed one compact dynasty. And as a matter of fact a good reason may be adduced for this opinion of the Oriental writers. It is true that the coins of the Parthian Kings which are preserved to us, show that the Arsacids as well as the Achæmenides claimed to be the kings of kings ; but there are also coins found in Bactria, whose bearers set up the same claim. Along with many strange names we find on them genuine Parthian ones like Arsaces and Vonones which, however, are not identical with those that we knew hitherto by these names. Indeed, another series of Bactrian coins which must be of the time after the extinction of the Greek Kings from Azes onward bear unknown names; but, as Sallet rightly observes, they may be Parthian as well as Scythian. These documents force us to the conclusion that at the time of the Arsacids there existed two rival empires, both of which pretended to possess the supreme power in the state. The Greeks and the Romans as well as the writers who draw their materials from the

accounts of the Sassanide period, speak only of the western branch of the Arsacids, whereas the Armenian writers speak only of the eastern branch. The latter do not seem to have given up their claim to Iran even under the Sassanides, and hence the frequent wars of the Sassanides with the Kushans who are distinctly reckoned among the Huns by Elisaeus, as I have remarked above. From all this it seems to me to follow with no small degree of certainty that the Armenian writers trace the origin of the families which they call Pahlav to the east of Iran, that is, to Balkh, and that they assume the original home of their family which was non-Iranian to lie in this territory. The opinion of the later Mohammadans differs from this ; but their accounts date back to the earliest times of the Sassanide period.

5.— Pahlavi.

This name is first found in the writings of the Armenians in the form *Pahlavik*, and is unquestionably related to the noun Pahlav or Pahlau which is a district in Eastern Iran, as we have seen above. *Pahlavik* should, therefore, signify "one belonging to that province". We find, however, that the Armenian writers use the word in a more restricted sense, meaning Arsacid, one belonging to the royal house of the Arsacids. Thus Moses (II 80) calls Tiridates a Pahlavik. Again in III, 34 mention is made of a Pahlavik Alanaozan, a kinsman of Arshak, the Arsacid king of Armenia. Again, in III, 51 we read that Catholicus Isaac was honoured, because he belonged to the illustrious family of the Pahlavik and descended from the family of Suren Pahlav. In the same sense the word is found in Faustus IV, 32 and IV, 38.

In a far wider sense these words are employed by Firdausi, the oldest writer to whom we can have recourse. The word پهلوی which he uses, we must trace back to پهلو which still occurs often first in the sense of "royal castle", "capital city", and secondly in that of "hero". In the former sense, it occurs in Sh. (ed. Turner Macan) 237, 14 = Vull. 325, 5 :

چو زال سپهبد ز پهلو برفت
دما دم سپه روی بنهاد تفت

Also in Sh. 298, 12 = V. 410, 8 ; Sh. 402, 7 = V. 558, 13. That in the above-mentioned passages the word پهلو occurs in the sense of "capital" has been conclusively shown by Rückert in "Zeitschrift

der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft " Bd. X, 242 and seq. In the sense of " hero " the word occurs very often, as for instance, in Sh. 169, 1 = V. 232,4:

رمیدند ازان پهلو نامور
دلاور بیامد بنزدیک در

Compare also Sh. 170, 8 = V. 238, 18 ; Sh. 173, 2 = V. 237, 9 ; Sh. 174, 10 = V. 239, 3 ; Sh. 577, 15 = V. 809, 5. Hence پهلو would signify : " descending from heroes ", " heroic". Firdausi uses this word very often also to denote various things. We find it employed Sh. 708, 7 = V. 994, 7 to denote " region " district :

زچینی و شکنی و از هندوي
ز سقلاب و هري و از پهلوی

We often meet with the expression جامهٔ پهلوی "heroic garment", as for instance, in Sh. 217, 6 = V. 297, 6 ; Sh. 478, 15 = V. 668, 6 ; Sh. 772, 16 = V. 1093, 13 ; in the same sense also بر پهلوی as for instance, Sh. 543, I, from below = V. 759, 10. The " heroic horse " is called in Sh. 1142, 3 = V. 1606, 19 پهلوی بارگی. Several times the word is used to denote the religion of the ancient heroes as in Sh. 1070, II, from below = V. 1503, 16 پهلوی کیش and 1248, 1 = V. 1756, 3 دین پهلوی. But mostly the term پهلوی is used for " language " or " writing " ; by the phrase خط و پهلوی both " language " and " writing " are meant. Compare for this Sh. 22, 10 = V. 28, 9 ; Sh. 552, 1 = V. 772, 1 ; Sh. 636, 5 = V. 891, 13; Sh. 910, 6 = V. 1283, 10 ; Sh. ed. Turn. Mac. 1386, 13; in the sense of " writing " alone it is used in Sh. ed. Turn. Mac. 1397, 12 ; 1561, 7 in the same way in the different passages where Pahlavi letters (پهلوی نامه) are spoken of. پهلوانی differs in no way from پهلوی. Thus both words are used as equivalents in Sh. 1750, 11.13. Compare ابر پهلوانی in 2041, 6, from below (Khosrav II's time) where the language is meant ; further سخن پهلوانی 1766, 5 from below دفتر پهلوانی 1766, 4 from below and زبان پهلوانی Sh. 89, 11 = V. 51, 9; 39, 8 from below = V. 52, 5 ; 432, 9 = V. 602, 5 ; compare 921, 6 = V. 1283, 10 ; Sh. 2134, 13. According to the statement of Firdausi, Pahlavî or Pahlavânî was spoken in the ancient heroic period, as for instance, by Shiyâvakhsh and also later on under the Sassanides. It is evident that it was the old language as it was spoken before the invasion of Islam ; no other difference is known to Firdausi. This language must come pretty near the modern Persian, as Olshausen has pointed out. Whether

we should take this Pahlavi as it was spoken and written, for the language which we find employed in the writings of the Parsis in the translation of their old texts, and which, as is well known, is mixed with Semitic elements, does not appear to me so clear as is usually supposed. Certain it is that the Pahlavi words cited by Firdausi are all Indo-Germanic, as the following list will show.

In Sh. 22, 10 (Turner Macan)=V. 28, 9 we read the Pahlavi numeral بیور and the royal name بیورسپ both the constituents of which are traceable to the Avestan words 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀 "ten thousand" and 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 "horse". In Sh. 39, 11=V. 51, 9 Firdausi explains the Pahlavi word اروند which is nothing else than the word 𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀 "swift, strong" so often used in the Avesta, by the Arabic word دجلة which is the name of the river Tigris. In Sh. 39, 3 from below=V. 52, 5 we have گنگ دز هرخت the name of a place. These Pahlavi words Firdausi renders by the Arabic بیت المقدس, Beit-ul-muqaddas "the sacred house". To an older form 𐬵𐬀𐬑𐬭𐬎𐬀 occurring in the Minôkhrat, Spiegel refers in his Parsi Grammar p. 138, 169. In the first part of this name we recognise 𐬵𐬀𐬙 occurring in the two passages of the Avesta (Yt. V, 54 and 57) and often in the Bûndahishn. It must be identical with the Kañdizh of the Minôkhrat and the Gangdiz of the Shâhnâmah and must be sought in the north of Iran where also the Chinese locate a kingdom known to them as Khañkiu. The word دز is certainly to be derived from the Avestan root 𐬛𐬌 "to heap up", "to throw up"=Skr. *dih* "to lead". In old Persian the noun form *didâ* "fortress" shows the root as does دز *arx* (...*castle*), in modern Persian. Finally it is quite evident that هرخت =𐬵𐬌 is nothing else than the Avestan word 𐬵𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬐𐬀 "good word". Moreover in Sh. 910, 6=V. 1283, 10 the city کندز which is a later form of the name and which, I presume, must be taken as identical with Kañdizh, is mentioned as identical with the city of Baikand in the vicinity of Bokhârâ Finally let me call attention to a Pahlavi gloss to the combat of Rustam with Kak, an episode which is not taken from Firdausi; in this gloss the Pahlavi word کنگ is explained by the Arabic حصن *locus munitus* (a fortified place).

The terms پهلوی and پارسی I have found only once occurring together as designations of two languages, namely, Sh. 2029, 10 where the watchman of Khosrav II is commanded that he should allow

people to speak with the Shâh either in Pahlavi or in Pârsi :

اگر پارسی گوید ار پهلوی

Indeed this passage seems to show that at that time both the languages were indiscriminately spoken at the Persian court. Thus in Sh. 1798, 7, Firdausi makes mention of a letter written by the hand of Khosrav I in the Pârsi language. But there is no statement in any of the Persian writers from which it can be inferred that Pahlavi was anything else than an Iranian language.

RASTAMJI EDULJI DASTOOR PESHOTAN SANJANA.

SOME REMARKS ON GRAPHIC AND OTHER CORRUPTIONS IN PERSIAN LEXICOGRAPHY.

We commonly find creeping about in all languages some corruptions of graphology and others of a like nature. But such corruptions are more common in Mahomedan countries where the consonantal Arabic alphabet is adopted with all the difficulties of an unvocalising writing,— difficulties which are augmented by the similarity of different letters of the alphabet which are marked and distinguished only by diacritical points. It is a common thing to find a careless or a hasty copyist placing these points quite wrongly, with the result that the whole word is disfigured and corrupted. I propose to notice here a few mistakes of that kind which are found in authoritative works of great merit and repute.

In the well-known "*Lexicon Persico-Latinum*" by Vullers, Vol. II, p. 273 [b], we find a sentence or *lemma* which is copied bodily from the rich and celebrated Persian dictionary "*Burhân i Qâti'*", without critically noticing the contents. It runs thus :

سَرْدابَه نام جزیرة ایست از جزایر اندلس

Literally translated, it means, "Serdâbeh is also the name of an island of the islands of Andalos (*i.e.* Spain)". In the above Persian sentence the word سردابه (*Serdâbeh*) is, undoubtedly, a mistake and corruption for the word سردانیه, *i. e.*, Sardânia, Sardinia, Sardegna, Sardaigne. We have to substitute for the former word the name of the great island of Sardinia, for the impossible nonsense سردابه (*Serdâbeh*), in order to get at the real meaning of the sentence. The mistake is made by mixing up the letter ن (*n*) which forms part of the correct word with the letter ب (*b*)— these two letters being written alike, and distinguished only by different diacritical points, and by dropping the letter ی (*y*) before ه (*h*).

Similarly, the great geographical dictionary of Yâqût "*Mo'jam al buldân*" 4, 57 has an impossible blunder which is copied verbatim in the "*Marâṣid al Iṭṭilâ'*" II, 392, 2. It states that

قَرْشَفَة موضع ببلاد الروم, *i. e.*, "Qarshafa is a locality in the lands of the Rûm." The word قرشفة (*Qarshafa*) stands for قرشقة (*Qorshiqa*—Corsica). The mistake is due to confounding the letter ف (*f*) with ق (*q*), and to wrong vocalisation. This is shown by me in my contribution "*Analecta Italo-Arabica*" to the Memorial Amari (now in the press at Palermo).

Then, again, we have in Vullers I, 101[a] اسوار "(3) nomen urbis in regione سعيد Aegypti" and "(4) nomen montis, e cujus parte australi Nilus fluvius oritur." Here the word اسوار (*Aswâr*) ought to be changed into اسوان (*Oswân* or *Aswân*) which is the only correct word, and also the word سعيد (*Sa'îd*) stands for صعيد (*Ṣa'îd*) *i. e.*, Upper Egypt. In the word *Oswân* the letter ر (*r*) is mixed up with ن (*n*), and in the word *Ṣa'îd* the letter س (*s*) is mistaken for ص (*ṣ*).

In Vullers' Lexicon 111, 0[b] اَفْرَنْجَه "(3) Nomen oppidi in peninsula Arabiae عرب نام زمينى در بلاد" ought rather to be read نام زمينى در بلاد عرب and translated: "Name of a country in the lands of the West." The proper word is غرب *Gharb*—west, not عرب *'Arab*, 'Arabs'. But Vullers seems blindly and wrongly to follow the Burhân-i-Qâti' and the Shams-al-Lughât, both which works have read the letter ع (*'a*) instead of the letter غ (*gh*).

In Vullers' Lexicon, II, 1146 and 1147, the pronunciation *Mukhtill* مُخْتِل is wrong for *mukhtall* مُخْتَل.

Ibidem 1278*a* ناسقاد has wrongly become a proper name "nomen loci aut districtus" in the Ferheng i Shu'ûrî and is blindly adopted as such by Vullers, cf. already Teufel in Z. D. M. G. 38, 247: نيسقاد = ناسقاد.

Corruptions of this type are very common in technical terms of all sciences borrowed from foreign languages, which are so often dressed in a corrupted form. I shall give a few instances of botanical names which have been thus marred. The Greek *ampelîtis* is wrongly transcribed as اسالیطوس instead of انبالیطوس. The word اسامیس which stands for *anthemis* should be corrected and written انثامیس. The word سالیون (!), which designates *selinon* ought to be transcribed as سالغون (!). The two forms اسقلطس and اسقلطس derived from the Greek *asphaltos* have to be corrected into اسفلطس. Numerous other examples of this type could be cited.

I have noted down an immense number of corrections of this kind, during the course of the last 25 years, in my interleaved copy of Vullers' *Lexicon Persico-Latinum* for a future standard Persian dictionary. Such striking mistakes and blunders ought now to cease, and they must be cast off as useless ballast instead of being repeated *in infinitum*, and thus marring the grace of the richest, most abundant and fine Persian language.

C. F. Seybold.

THE PAHLAVI 𐭯𐭣𐭫𐭥𐭩 OR 𐭯𐭣𐭥.

In Volume 21 of the German Journal "Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes", pp. 7-10, I made an attempt to ascertain the proper and original sense of the Pahlavi 𐭯𐭣𐭫𐭥𐭩 or 𐭯𐭣𐭥, and, for that purpose, I cited there all the text which I could lay hold on at the time, in which the word was found. Since then, I have come across several other instances of its use, the communication of which is, in my opinion, not superfluous, on account of the peculiarity and rarity of the term. I give below the several passages with their reading and translation, to which I have added also a few critical notes.

1. *Dênkart*, Vol II.

In Vol. II. of the *Dênkart*, published by Dastur Peshotan Sanjana at Bombay we have the following sentence at p. 87, ll. 4-6 :

𐭯𐭣𐭫𐭥𐭩 𐭱𐭠𐭲𐭠𐭩 𐭯𐭣𐭫𐭥𐭩 𐭥 𐭯𐭣𐭫𐭥𐭩 𐭲𐭥𐭩𐭥 𐭥𐭲𐭠𐭥 𐭥𐭲𐭠𐭥 𐭥 𐭲𐭠𐭥𐭲𐭠𐭥 𐭥 𐭯𐭣𐭫𐭥𐭩 𐭲𐭥𐭩𐭥 𐭥𐭲𐭠𐭥 𐭥 𐭲𐭠𐭥𐭲𐭠𐭥 𐭥 𐭯𐭣𐭫𐭥𐭩 𐭱𐭠𐭲𐭠𐭩 𐭯𐭣𐭫𐭥𐭩

Bombay [1901] we read :

[illegible] 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬱 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬱 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬱

tivus apocopatus" : 𐭯𐭠𐭲 [𐭫] 𐭯𐭠𐭲𐭩𐭧𐭠𐭣𐭫 : *pâtixšâh* [*nê*] *kart*; cf. *Freiman*: Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. 20, p. 264, footnote.

5. *Mâtîkân i hazâr Dâtastân* p. 54.

In the same work at p. 54 ll. 4-5 we have the following :

𐭪 𐭯𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭫 𐭲𐭩 𐭯𐭠𐭲 𐭯𐭠𐭣𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭠𐭩 𐭠𐭥𐭲 𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭠𐭩 𐭩𐭫 𐭠𐭥𐭲 𐭩𐭫 𐭠𐭥𐭲

ka farrox[v1] *apâk mihryôn*[2] *patmân kart, ku 'ôzinam vahmân'*.— "If *F.* has made the agreement with *M.*, viz., 'We shall hurt such and such (deprive such and such of his property)'."

I have put 𐭯𐭠𐭲 instead of 𐭯𐭠𐭲𐭩 of the manuscript. On the tenth line of the same page the first sentence is repeated, and there we find the correct writing 𐭯𐭠𐭲.

The ideogram (or the mask) 𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭫 of 𐭠𐭲𐭭 *ôzîtan* (cf. Bartholomae, Zum altiran. Wörterbuch, 241) has not been noticed by me anywhere else in Pahlavi literature. But the Farhangs make mention of it, especially that of C. Salemann, published at St. Petersburg. *Vide* p. 80, l. 15 *seq.* with the footnote *f*. Here we find the "*uzvârišn*" [3] 𐭫𐭩𐭧𐭫, the correctness of which is confirmed by the writing 𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭫 of the text given above with the same 𐭫, *în*. Mostly, the copists of the Farhangs have written 𐭠𐭲𐭭 instead of 𐭠𐭫𐭧𐭫, confounding the verb 𐭠𐭲𐭭 *ôzîtan*, 'to hurt', with the verb 𐭠𐭲𐭫 *ôzatan*, 'to kill', the '*uzvârišn*' of 𐭯𐭠𐭲𐭩𐭫𐭠𐭲; cf., the Farhang of Petersburg, p. 81, ll. 13-16.

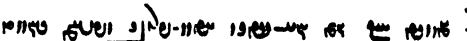
The custom, observed in other law-books, e. g., the *Corpus Juris*, to illustrate a case of law by giving fixed names to the agents of the case, is found adopted several times in the text of the *Mâtîkân i hazâr Dâtastân*, e. g., p. 6, ll. 2-3 :

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[1] Pers. فرخ *farrux*. The editor of the text reads (p. XII) *falân*, *i.e.* فلان *fulân*, 'such a one'. This word, an Arabic (!) one, would be understood as the ideogram of 𐭯𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩. But, in fact, the mask of the word is 𐭩𐭩. *Falân* is found quoted at first in very recent Pazand texts, *e.g.*, Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, XXXII. p. 217 ff. in the autographed text, p. 13, l. 1, and p. 17, l. 1 (written 𐬐𐬁𐬎, *fâu*).— For the *o* of *farrox*[v] cf. Bartholomae, Zum altiran. Wörterbuch, p. 47. In the Turfan texts, the word is written f r v x = *far(r)ox*. The Pazand writing is 𐬐𐬁𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎, *farox* and also 𐬐𐬁𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎, *frâx*[v].

[2] The editor reads *matvin*, p. XII. I do not understand his reading.

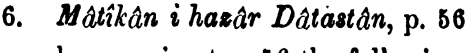
[3] For the meaning and etymology of the word 𐭫𐭩𐭧𐭲𐭭𐭫 *uzvârishn*, settled by the Turfan texts, cf. Bartholomae, Zum altiran. Wörterbuch, p. 36.



i. e., ka pêšêmâr gôwêt ku 'ên x"âstak âturfanbag x"êš bât u hach âturfarnbag ô mihryôn u hach mihryôn ô man mat'.—"If the plaintiff says: 'This property has been A.'s own, and it is gone from A. to M., and from M. to me'."—The same proper names are repeated on every occasion.—Cf. p. 57, ll. 15, *seq.*; p. 59, l. 2; p. 58, ll. 4 seq., and so forth.

6. *Mâtîkân i hazâr Dâtastân*, p. 56.

In this work we have again at p. 56 the following:



Ka gôwêt ku 'm pa ên x"âstak vahmân mart pâsvân kart'.—"If he says: 'By this money, such and such a man is made a protege by me'."

The word  occurs frequently in this book; also  *pâsvânîh* and , *kampâsvân*. is the passive counterpart of *pâspân*, the sense of which is protector, Pers. *pâsbân*. Cf. nos. 7 and 8 below.

7. *Mâtîkân i hazâr Dâtastân*, p. 56.

At page 56, ll. 15-16 we have the following sentence:



Ka mart-ê apâk mart-ê patmân kunêt ku 'man pâsvânîh i vahmân râd x"âstak and ô tô daham.'—"If a man makes the agreement with a man, viz: 'As to me, on account of such and such a man's protection, I give such a sum to thee'."

As to the word  , see above no. 6.

8. *Mâtîkân-i hazâr Dâtastân*, p. 57.

At page 57, ll. 1-2 of the work we read:



Ka gôwêt ku 'hampâsvân..... ka.....pa ên x"âstak vahmân mart pâsvân hêm.

I cannot venture to give a translation of this text, on account of the mutilation of the words in the manuscript.—Cf. the editor's "Corrigenda and addenda", p. 11.  is to be corrected into  or  .—Cf. line 8 of the same page.

STRASSBURG, CHR. BARTHOLOMAE.