

SELECTIONS OF ZÂD-SPARAM,  
BROTHER OF THE DASTÛR OF PÂRS AND KIRMÂN,  
A.D. 881  
PART I, CHAPTERS I-XI.

(PARAPHRASE OF BUNDAHIS, I-XVII.)

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OBSERVATIONS.

1-5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are:--Av. for Avesta. Bund. for Bundahis, as translated in this volume. B. Yt. for Bahman Yast, as translated in this volume. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of, the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Mkh. for Mainyô-i-khard, ed. West. Pers. for Persian. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Yast, ed. Westergaard.

7. The MS. mentioned in the notes is K3. (written probably A.D. 1572), No. 35 in the University Library at Kopenhagen.

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SELECTIONS

OF

ZÂD-SPARAM.

THEY call these memoranda and writings the Selections (kîdakîhâ) of Zâd-sparam, son of Yûdân-Yim.

CHAPTER I.

0. In propitiation of the creator Aûharmazd and all the angels--who are the whole of the heavenly and earthly sacred beings (yazdân)--are the sayings of Herbad Zâd-sparam, son of Yûdân-Yim, who is of the south[1], about the meeting of the beneficent spirit and the evil spirit.

1. It is in scripture thus declared, that light was above and darkness below, and between those two was open space. 2. Aûharmazd was in the light, and Aharman in the darkness[2]; Aûharmazd was aware of the existence of Aharman and of his coming for strife; Aharman was not aware of the existence of light and of Aûharmazd[3]. 3. It happened to Aharman, in the gloom and darkness, that

[1. Zâd-sparam appears to have been dastûr of Sîrkân, about thirty parasangs south of Kirmân, and one of the most southern districts in Persia (see Ouseley's Oriental Geography, pp. 138, 139, 141, 143-145).

2. See Bund. I, 2-4.

3. Or 'of the light of Aûharmazd' (compare Bund. I, 8, 9).]

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he was walking humbly (frô-tanû) on the borders, and meditating other things he came up to the top, and a ray of light was seen by him; and because of its antagonistic nature to him he strove that he might reach it, so that it might also be within his absolute power. 4. And as he came forth to the boundary, accompanied by certain others[1], Aûharmazd came forth to the struggle for keeping Aharman away from His territory; and He did it through pure words, confounding witchcraft, and cast him back to the gloom.

5. For protection from the fiend (drûg,) the spirits rushed in, the spirits of the sky, water, earth, plants, animals, mankind, and fire He had appointed, and they maintained it (the protection) three thousand years. 6. Aharman, also, ever collected means in the gloom; and at the end of the three thousand years he, came back to the boundary, blustered (patîstâd), and exclaimed thus: 'I will smite thee, I will smite the creatures which thou thinkest have produced fame for thee--thee who art the beneficent spirit--I will destroy everything about them.'

7. Aûharmazd answered thus: 'Thou art not a doer of everything, O fiend[2]!'

8. And, again, Aharman retorted thus: 'I will seduce all material life into disaffection to thee and affection to myself[3].'

9. Aûharmazd perceived, through the spirit of wisdom, thus: 'Even the blustering of Aharman is capable of performance, if I do not allow disunion

[1. Reading pavan katârânö ham-tanû, but the phrase is somewhat doubtful, and rather inconsistent with Bund. I, 10.

2. Bund. I, 0.

3. Bund. I, 14.]

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(lâ barînînam) during a period of struggle.' 10. And he demanded of him a period for friendship[1], for it was seen by him that Aharman does not rely upon the intervention of any vigorous ones, and the existence of a period is obtaining the benefit of the mutual friendship and just arrangement of both; and he formed it into three periods, each period being three millenniums. 11. Aharman relied upon it, and Aûharmazd perceived that, though it is not possible to have Aharman sent down, ever when he wants he goes back to his own requisite, which is darkness; and from the poison which is much diffused endless strife arises[2].

12. And after the period was appointed by him, he brought forward the Ahûnavar formula[3]; and in his Ahûnavar these[4] kinds of benefit were shown:--13. The first is that, of all things, that is proper which is something declared as the will of Aûharmazd; so that, whereas that is proper which is declared the will of Aûharmazd, where anything exists which is not within the will of Aûharmazd, it is created injurious from the beginning, a sin of a distinct nature. 14. The second is this, that whoever shall do that which is the will of Aûharmazd, his reward and recompense are his own; and of him who shall not do that which is the will of Aûharmazd, the punishment at the bridge,[5] owing thereto

[1. Bund. I, 17, 18.

2. Or 'the poison of the serpent, which is much diffused, becomes endless strife.'

3. Bund. I, 21.

4. The word ân, 'those,' however, is probably a miswriting of the cipher for 'three.'

5. The Kînvad or Kînvar bridge (see Bund. XII, 7).]

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is his own; which is shown from this[1] formula; and the reward of doers of good works, the punishment of sinners, and the tales of heaven and hell are from it. 15. Thirdly, it is shown that the sovereignty of Aûharmazd increases that which is for the poor, and adversity is removed; by which it is shown that there are treasures for the needy one, and treasures are to be his friends; as the intelligent creations are to the unintelligent, so also are the treasures of a wealthy person to a needy one, treasures liberally given which are his own. 16. And the creatures of the trained hand of Aûharmazd are contending and angry (ârdîk), one with the other, as the renovation of the universe must occur through these three things. 17. That is, first, true religiousness in one self, and reliance upon a man's original hold on the truly glad tidings (nav-barhâm), that Aûharmazd is all goodness without vileness, and his will is a will altogether excellent; and Aharman is all vileness without goodness. 18. Secondly, hope of the reward and recompense of good works, serious fear of the bridge and the punishment of crime, strenuous perseverance in good works, and abstaining from sin. 19. Thirdly, the existence of the mutual assistance of the creatures, or along with and owing to mutual assistance, their collective warfare; it is the triumph of warfare over the enemy which is one's own renovation[2].

[1. The MS. has hûman, 'well-meditating,' instead of denman, 'this;' but the two words are much alike in Pahlavi writing.

2. This commentary on the Ahûnavar, or Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula, is rather clumsily interpolated by Zâd-sparam, and is

much more elaborate than the usual Pahlavi translation and explanation of this formula, which may be translated as follows:--  
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'As is the will of the living spirit (as is the will of Aûharmazd) so should be the pastor (so excellent should he be) owing to whatsoever are the duties and good works of righteousness (the duties and good works should be as excellent as the will of Aûharmazd). Whose is the gift of good thought (that is, the reward and recompense good thought gives, it gives also unto him) which among living spirits is the work of Aûharmazd (that is, they would do that which Aûharmazd requires); there are some who say it is thus: Whose gift is through good thought (that is, the reward and recompense which they will give to good thought, they would give also unto him); Atarô-pâd son of Zaratûst said that by the gift of good thought, when among living spirits, they comprehend the doing of deeds. The sovereignty is for Aûharmazd (that is, the sovereignty which is his, Aûharmazd has kept with advantage). who gives necessaries [or comfort, or clothing] to the poor (that is, they would make intercession for them).'

Additional phrases are sometimes inserted, and some words altered, but the above is the usual form of this commentary.]

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20. By this formula he (Aharman) was confounded, and he fell back to the gloom[1]; and Aûharmazd produced the creatures bodily for the world; first, the sky; the second, water; the third, earth; the fourth, plants; the fifth, animals; the sixth, mankind [2]. 21. Fire was in all, diffused originally through the six substances, of which it was as much the confiner of each single substance in which it was established, it is said, as an eyelid when they lay one down upon the other.

22. Three thousand years the creatures were possessed of bodies and not walking on their navels; and the sun, moon, and stars stood still. 23. In the mischievous incursion, at the end of the period, Aûharmazd observed thus: 'What advantage is there from the creation of a creature, although thirstless, which is unmoving or mischievous?'

[1. Bund. I, 22.

2. Bund. I, 28.]

{p. 160} 24. And in aid of the celestial sphere he produced the creature Time (zôrvan)[1]; and Time is unrestricted, so that he made the creatures of Aûharmazd moving, distinct from the motion of Aharman's creatures, for the shedders of perfume (bôidâdân) were standing one opposite to the other while emitting it. 25. And, observantly of the end, he brought forward to Aharman a means out of himself, the property of darkness, with which the extreme limits (vîrûnakö) of Time were connected by him, an envelope (pôstô) of the black-pated and ash-coloured kind. 26. And in bringing it forward he spoke thus: 'Through their weapons the co-operation of the serpent (azö) dies away, and this which is thine, indeed thy own daughter, dies through religion; and if at the end of nine thousand years, as it is said and written, is a time of upheaval (madam kardanö), she is upheaved, not ended.'

27. At the same time Aharman came from accompanying Time out to the front, out to the star station; the connection of the sky with the star station was open, which showed, since it hung down into empty space, the strong communication of the lights and glooms, the place of strife in which is the pursuit of both. 28. And having darkness with himself he brought it into the sky, and left the sky so to gloom that the internal deficiency in the sky extends as much as one-third[2] over the star station.

[1. This is the Av. zrvâna akarana, 'boundless time or antiquity,' of Vend. XIX, 33, 44. He is a personification of duration and age, and is here distinctly stated to be a creature of Aûharmazd. This throws some doubt upon the statements of Armenian writers, who assert that the two spirits sprang from Zrvâna.

2. Compare Bund. III, 11.]

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## CHAPTER II.

On the coming in of Aharman to the creatures it is thus declared in revelation, that in the month Fravardîn and the day Aûharmazd, at noon[1], he came forth to the frontier of the sky. 2. The sky sees him and, on account of his nature, fears as much as a sheep trembles at a wolf; and Aharman came on, scorching and burning into it. 3. Then he came to the water which was arranged below the earth[2], and darkness without an eyelid was brought on by him; and he came on, through the middle

of the earth, as a snake all-leaping comes on out of a hole; and he stayed within the whole earth. 4. The passage where he came on is his own, the way to hell, through which the demons make the wicked run.

5. Afterwards, he came to a tree, such as was of a single root, the height of which was several feet, and it was without branches and without bark, juicy and sweet; and to keep the strength of. all kinds of trees in its race, it was in the vicinity of the-middle of the earth; and at the self-same time it became quite withered[3].

6. Afterwards, he came to the ox, the sole-created[4], as it stood as high as Gâyôpard on the

[1. Bund. III, 12.

2. Bund. III, 13.

3. Bund. III, 14, 16.

4. The primeval ox, or first-created representative of animals, as Gâyôpard was of mankind; from which two representatives all mankind and animals are said to have been afterwards developed. There seems to have been some doubt as to the sex of this mythological ox; here it is distinctly stated to have been a female, but from Bund. X, 1, 2, XIV, 3, it would appear to have been a male, and this seems to be admitted by Dâd-sparam himself, in Chap. IX, 7.]

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bank of the water of Dâitih[1] in the middle of the earth; and its distance from Gâyôpard being as much as its own height, it was also distant from the bank of the water of Dâitih by the same measure; and it was a female, white and brilliant as the moon. 7. As the adversary came upon it Aûharmazd gave it a narcotic, which is also called 'bang,' to eat, and to rub the 'bang' before the eye[2], so that the annoyance from the assault of crimes may be less; it became lean and ill, and fell upon its right breast[3] trembling.

8. Before the advance to Gâyôpard, who was then about one-third the height of Zaratûst, and was brilliant as the sun; Aûharmazd forms, from the sweat[4] on the man, a figure of fifteen years, radiant and tall, and sends it on to Gâyôpard; and, he also brings his sweat[5] on to him as long as one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô[6] is being recited. 9. When he issued from the sweat, and raised his eyes, he saw. the world when it was dark as night[7]; on the whole earth were the snake, the scorpion, the lizard (vazak), and noxious creatures of many kinds; and so the other kinds of quadrupeds stood among the

[1. The Dâitîk river (see Bund. XX, 13).

2. This is a misunderstanding of the corresponding phrase in Bund. III, 18. The narcotic here mentioned is usually prepared from the hemp plant, and is well known in India and the neighbouring countries.

3. See Bund. IV, i.

4. The word which, as it stands in the MS., looks like hômanâe, is here taken as a transposition of min khvâe, in accordance with Bund. III, 19; but it may be a variant of anumâe, 'embryo,' in which case the translation should be, 'forms an embryo into the shape of a man of fifteen years.'

5. Or it may be 'sleep,' both here and in § 9.

6. See Bund. I, 21.

7. Bund. III, 20.]

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reptiles; every approach of the whole earth was as though not as much as a needle's point remained, in which there was no rush of noxious creatures. 10. There were the coming of a planetary star into planetary conjunction, and the moon and planets at sixes and sevens[1]; many dark forms with the face and curls of Az-i Dahâk suffered punishment in company with certain non-Iranians; and he was amazed at calling the wicked out from the righteous.

11. Lastly, he (Aharman) came up to the fire, and mingled darkness and smoke with it[2].

### CHAPTER III.

1. And Gôsûrvan, as she was herself the soul of the primeval ox, when the ox passed away, came out from the ox, even as the soul from the body of the dead, and kept up the clamour of a cry to Aûharmazd in such fashion as that of an army, a thousand strong, when they cry out together[3]. 2. And Aûharmazd, in order to be much more able to keep watch over the mingled creatures than in front of Gâyômard, went from the earth up to the sky. 3. And Gôsûrvan continually went after him crying, and she kept up the cry thus: 'With whom may the guardianship over the creatures be left by thee?'

### CHAPTER IV.

1. This was the highest predominance of Aharman, for he came on, with all the strength which he

[1. Literally, 'in fours and fives.'

2. Bund. III, 24.

3 Bund. IV, 2.]

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had, for the disfigurement of the creatures; and he took as much as one-third of the base of the sky[1], in a downward direction, into a confined and captive state, so that it was all dark and apart from the light, for it was itself, at the coming of the adversary, his enemy among the struggles for creation. 2. And this is opposing the renovation of the universe, for the greatest of all the other means of the fiend, when he has come in, are of like origin and strength this day, in the sleep[2] of the renovation, as on that when the enemy, who is fettered on coming in, is kept back.

3. Amid all this struggling were mingled the instigations of Aharman, crying thus: 'My victory has come completely, for the sky is split and disfigured by me with gloom and darkness, and taken by me as a stronghold; water is disfigured by me, and the earth, injured by darkness, is pierced by me; vegetation is withered by me, the ox is put to death by me, Gâyômard is made ill by me, and opposed to those revolving[3] are the glooms and planets arranged by me; no one has remained for me to take and pervert in combat except Aûharmazd, and of the earth there is only one man, who is alone, what is he able to do?'

4. And he sends Astô-vidâd[4] upon him with the thousand decrepitudes (aûzvârânö) and diseases

[1. Compare Bund. III, 11. The involved style of Zâd-sparam is particularly conspicuous in this chapter.

2. The word seems to be khvâpîsnö.

3. Meaning probably the zodiacal signs, but the word is doubtful, being spelt vardîsnânö instead of vardîsnânö. A very small alteration would change it into varôîsnânö, 'believers,' but there were no earthly believers at the time alluded to.

4. See Bund. III, 21, and XXVIII, 35.]

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which are his own, sicknesses of various kinds, so that they may make him ill and cause death. 5. Gâyômard was not secured by them, and the reason was because it was a decree of appointing Time (zôrvânö) in the beginning of the coming in of Aharman, that: 'Up to thirty winters I appoint Gâyômard unto brilliance and preservation of life.' 6. And his manifestation in the celestial sphere was through the forgiveness of criminals and instigators of confusion by his good works, and for that reason no opportunity was obtained by them during the extent of thirty years.

7. For in the beginning it was so appointed that the star Jupiter (Aûharmazd) was life towards the creatures, not through its own nature, but on account of its being within the control (band) of the luminaries[1]; and Saturn (Kêvân) was death towards the creatures. 8. Both were in their supremacy (bâlist)[2] at the beginning of the creatures,

[1. These luminaries are the fixed stars, especially the signs of the zodiac, to whose protection the good creation is committed (see Bund. II, 0-4); whereas Jupiter and all other planets are supposed to be, by nature, disturbers of the creation, being

employed by Aharman for that purpose (see Mkh. VIII, 17-21, XII, 7-10, XXIV, 8, XXXIII, 5).

2. The most obvious meaning of bâlîst is 'greatest altitude,' and this is quite applicable to Jupiter when it attains its highest northern declination on entering Cancer, but it is not applicable to Saturn in Libra, when it has only its mean altitude. At the vernal equinox, however, which was the time of the beginning mentioned in the text, when Aharman invaded the creation (see Chap. II, 1), Libra is in opposition to the sun, and Saturn in Libra would be at its nearest approach to the earth, and would, therefore, attain its maximum brightness; while Jupiter in Cancer would be at its greatest altitude and shining with four-fifths of its maximum brightness. Both planets, therefore, were near their most conspicuous position (which would seem to be the meaning of bâlîst {footnote p.166} here), and might each be supposed to be exercising its maximum astrological influence, so that the presumed deadly power of Saturn would be neutralised by the supposed reviving influence of Jupiter.]

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as Jupiter was in Cancer on rising, that which is also called Gîvân ('living')[1], for it is the place in which life is bestowed upon it; and Saturn was in Libra, in the great subterranean, so that its own venom and deadliness became more evident and more dominant thereby. 9. And it was when both shall not be supreme that Gâyômard was to complete his own life, which is the thirty years[2] Saturn came not again to supremacy, that is, to Libra. 10. And at the time when Saturn came into Libra, Jupiter was in Capricornus[3], on account of whose own lowness[4], and the victory of Saturn over Jupiter, Gâyômard suffered through those very defects which came and are to continue advancing, the continuance of that disfigurement which Aharman can bring upon the creatures of Aûharmazd.

[1. This reading suits the context best, but the name can also be read Snahan, and in many other ways. It may possibly be the tenth lunar mansion, whose name is read Nahn in Bund. II, 3, by Pâzand writers, and which corresponds to the latter part of Cancer.

2. Saturn revolves round the sun in about 29 years and 167 days, so it cannot return into opposition to the sun (or to its maximum brightness), at or near the vernal equinox, in less than thirty years.

3. That is, while Saturn performs one revolution round the sun, Jupiter performs two and a half, which is very nearly correct, as Jupiter revolves round the sun in about 11 years and 315 days. Therefore, when the supposed deadly influence of Saturn has returned to its maximum, the supposed reviving influence of Jupiter is at its minimum, owing to the small altitude of Capricornus, and no longer counterbalances the destructive power of Saturn.

4. There seems to be no other reasonable translation, but the MS. has lâ instead of râi, and niskasp instead of nisîv.]

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## CHAPTER V.

When in like manner, and equally oppressively, as his (Aûharmazd's) creatures were disfigured, then through that same deterioration his own great glory was exhibited; for as he came within the sky[1] he maintains the spirit of the sky, like an intrepid warrior who has put on metal armour[2]; and the sky in its fortress[3] spoke these hasty, deceitful words to Aharman, thus: 'Now when thou shalt have come in I will not let thee back;' and it obstructed him until Aûharmazd prepared another rampart, that is stronger, around the sky, which is called 'righteous understanding' (ashôk âkâsîh). 2. And he arranged the guardian spirits[4] of the righteous who are warriors around that rampart, mounted on horses and spear in hand, in such manner as the hair on the head; and they acquired the appearance of prison guards who watch a prison from outside, and would not surrender the outer boundaries to an enemy descended from the inside.

3. Immediately, Aharman endeavours that he may go back to his own complete darkness, but he found no passage; and he recapitulated, with seeming misgiving, his fears of the worthiness which is to arise at the appearance of the renovation of the universe at the end of the nine thousand years.

4. As it is said in the Gâthas, thus[5]: 'So also

[1. See Chap. III, 2.

2. Compare Bund. VI, 2.

3. Or 'zodiacal signs,' for bûrgö means both.

4. Bund. VI, 3, 4.

5. This quotation from the Gâthas is from the Pahlavi Yas. XXX, 4, and agrees with the Pahlavi text, given in Dastûr {footnote p. 168} Jâmâspji's old MS. of the Yasna in Bombay, very nearly as closely as Spiegel's edition does. It appears, therefore, that Dâd-sparam used the same Pahlavi translation of the Yasna as the Parsis do at the present day.]

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both those spirits have approached together unto that which was the first creation--that is, both spirits have come to the body of Gâyômard. Whatever is in life is so through this purpose of Aûharmazd, that is: So that I may keep it alive; whatever is in lifelessness is so through this purpose[1] of the evil spirit, that is: So that I may utterly destroy it; and whatever is thus, is so until the last in the world, so that they (both spirits) come also on to the rest of mankind. And on account of the utter depravity of the wicked their destruction is fully seen, and so is the perfect meditation of him who is righteous, the hope of the eternity of Aûharmazd.'

5. And this was the first contest[2], that of the sky with Aharman.

#### CHAPTER VI.

1. And as he (Aharman) came secondly to the water, together with him rushed in, on the horse Cancer, he who is the most watery Tîstar; the equally watery one, that is called Avrak[3], gave forth a cloud and went down in the day; that is

[1. The MS. here omits the words 'through this purpose,' by mistake.

2. The word ârdîk, which Dâd-sparam uses instead of the kharah, 'conflict,' of Bund. V, 6, VI, 1, &c., may be connected with Pers. ârd, 'anger.'

3. The ninth lunar mansion (see Bund. II, 3, VII, 1).]

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declared as the movement of the first-comers of the creatures. 2. Cancer became a zodiacal constellation (akhtar); it is the fourth constellation of the zodiac for this reason, because the month Tîr is the fourth month of the year[1].

3. And as Tîstar begged for assistance, Vohûman and Hôm are therefore co-operating with him in command, Bûrg of the waters and the water in mutual aid, and the righteous guardian spirits in keeping the peace. 4. He was converted into three forms, which are the form of a man, the form of a bull, and the form of a horse; and each form was distinguished in brilliance for ten nights, and lets its rain fall on the night for the destruction of noxious creatures. 5. The drops became each separately like a great bowl in which water is drawn; and as to that on which they are driven, they kill all the noxious creatures except the reptiles[2], who entered into the muddiness of the earth.

6. Afterwards, the wind spirit, in the form of a man, became manifest on the earth; radiant and tall he had a kind of wooden boot (mûkvô-aê-i dârnô) on his feet; and as when the life shall stir the body, the body is advancing with like vigour, so that spirit of the wind stirs forth the inner nature of the atmospheric wind, the wind pertaining to the whole earth is forth, and the water in its grasp- is flung out from it to the sides of the earth, and its wide-formed ocean arose therefrom.

7. It (the ocean) keeps one-third of this earth

[1. Bund. VII, 2-6 is paraphrased in §§ 2-6.

2. Reading neksûnd barâ min khasandakânô instead of the MS. barâ nasûnd min khasandakânô.

3. Compare Bund. XIII, 1, 2.]

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and among its contents are a thousand sources and fountains, such as are called lakes (var); a thousand water-fountains, whose water is from the ocean, come up from the lakes and are poured forth into it. 8. And the size of some of all the lakes

and all the fountains of water is as much as a fast rider on an Arab horse, who continually compasses and canters around them, will attain in forty days, which is 1900[1], long leagues (parasang-i akarîk), each league being at least 20,000 feet.

9. And after the noxious creatures died[2], and the poison therefrom was mixed up in the earth, in order to utterly destroy that poison Tîstar went down into the ocean; and Apâôsh, the demon, hastened to meet him, and at the alarm of the first contest Tîstar was in terror (pard). 10. And he applied unto Aûharmazd, who brought such power unto Tîstar as arises through propitiation and praise and invoking by name[3], and they call forth such power unto Tîstar as that of ten vigorous horses, ten vigorous camels, ten vigorous bulls, ten mountains when hurled, and ten single-stream rivers when together. 11. And without alarm he drove out Apâôsh, the demon, and kept him away from the sources of the ocean.

12. And with a cup and measuring bowl, which possessed the diligence even of a guardian spirit (fravâhar), he seized many more handfuls of water,

[1. Bund. XIII, 2 has 1700, but as neither number is a multiple of forty in round numbers, it is probable that both are wrong, and that we ought to read 1600.

2. Bund. VII, 7-4 is paraphrased in §§ 9-14.

3. The Av. aokhtô-nâmana yasna of Tîstar Yt. II, 23; 24.]

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and made it rain down[1] much more prodigiously, for destruction, drops as large as men's heads and bulls' heads, great and small. 13. And in that cloud and rain were the chastisement and beating which Tîstar and the fire Vâzist inflicted on the opposition of Apâôsh; the all-deciding (vispô-vikîr) fire Vâzist struck down with a club of fire, all-deciding among the malevolent (kêbarânô).

14. Ten days and nights there was rain, and its darting[2] was the shooting of the noxious creatures; afterwards, the wind drove it to the shore of the wide-formed ocean, and it is portioned out into three, and three seas arose from it; they are called the Pûîtîk, the Kamîrîd, and the Gehân-bûn[3]. 15. Of these the Pûîtîk itself is salt water, in which is a flow and ebb[4]; and the control of its flow and ebb is connected with the moon, and by its continual rotation, in coming up and going down, that of the moon is manifested. 16. The wide-formed ocean stands forth on the south side as to (pavan) Albûrz[5], and the Pûîtîk stands contiguous to it, and amidst it is the gulf (var) of Satavês, whose connection is with Satavês, which is the southern quarter. 17. In the activity of the sea, and in the increase and decrease of the moon, whose circuit is the whole of Iran, are the flow and ebb; of the

[1. Or perhaps 'made the cloud rain,' if madam vâranînîd stands for avar vâranînîd.

2. Reading partâv instead of the MS. patûtâv, 'powerful fury.'

3. This is a variant of the Sahî-bûn or Gâhi-bûn of Bund. XIII, 7, 15; the other two names differ but little from those given in Bund. XIII. In the MS. Pûîtîk occurs once, and Puîtîk twice.

4. Compare §§ 15-18 with Bund. XIII, 8-14.

5. Compare Bund. XIII, 1.]

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curving tails in front of the moon two issue forth, and have an abode in Satavês; one is the up-drag and one the down-drag; through the up-drag occurs the flood, and through the down-drag occurs the ebb[1]. 18. And Satavês itself is a gulf (var) and side arm of the wide-formed ocean, for it drives back the impurity and turbidness which come from the salt sea, when they are continually going into the wide-formed ocean, with a mighty high wind[2], while that which is clear through purity goes into the Arêdvisûr sources of the wide-formed ocean. 19. Besides these four[3] there are the small seas[4].

20. And, afterwards, there were made to flow from Albûrz, out of its northern border, two rivers[5], which were the Arvand [6]--that is, the Diglît, and the flow



[1. This, is even a more mechanical theory of the tides than that detailed in Bund. XIII, 13,. Whether the 'curving tails' (gagak dunbak) are the 'horns' of the crescent moon is uncertain.

2. By an accidental transposition of letters the MS. has âtarô, fire,' instead of vâtô, 'wind.'

3. The ocean and three principal seas.

4. Said to be twenty-three in number in Bund. XIII, 6.

5. Bund. VII, 15, 16, XX, 1.

6. This appears to be a later identification of the Arag, Arang, or Arêng river of Bund. XX with the Tigris, under its name Arvand, which is also found in the Bahman Yast (III, 21, 38) and the Âfrîn of the Seven Ameshaspends (§ 9). The Bundahis (XX, 8) seems to connect the Arag (Araxes?) with the Oxus and Nile, and describes the Diglat or Tigris as a distinct river (Bund. XX, 12). This difference is one of the indications of the Bundahis having been so old a book in the time of Zâd-sparam that he sometimes misunderstood its meaning, which could hardly have been the case if it had been written by one of his contemporaries. As the Persian empire has several times included part of Egypt, the Nile must have then been well known to the Persians as the great western river of their world. The last time they had possession of part of Egypt was, for about half a century, in the reigns of Khusrô {footnote p. 173} Nôshirvân, Aûharmazd IV, and Khusrô Parvîz; but since the early part of the seventh century the Tigris has practically been their extreme western limit; hence the change of the old Arag or Arang into the very similarly written Arvand, a name of the Tigris.]

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of that river was to those of the setting sun (val frôd-yehevundânö)--and the Vêh[1] was the river of the first-comers to the sun; formed as two horns they went on to the ocean. 21. After them eighteen[2] great rivers came out from the same Albûrz; and these twenty rivers, whose source is in Albûrz, go down into the earth, and arrive in Khvanîras.

22. Afterwards, two fountains of the sea are opened out for the earth[3], which are called the Kêkast[4]--a lake which has no cold wind, and on whose shore rests the triumphant fire Gûsnasp[5] and, secondly, the Sôvar[6] which casts on its shores all turbidness, and keeps its own salt lake clear and pure, for it is like the semblance of an eye which casts out to its edges every ache and every impurity; and on account of its depth it is not reached to the bottom, for it goes into the ocean; and in its vicinity rests the beneficial fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô[7].

23. And this was the second contest, which was with the water.

#### CHAPTER VII.

1. And as he (Aharman) came thirdly to the earth, which arrayed the whole earth against him--

[1. See Bund. XX, 9.

2 Bund. XX, 2, 7.

3. Bund. VII, 14.

4. Bund. XXII, 2.

5. Written Gûsasp in Bund. XVII. 7, and Gûsnâsp in B. Yt. III, 30, 40, while the older form Visnâsp occurs in B.Yt. III, 10.

6. The Sôvbar of Bund. VII, 14, XII, 24, XXII, 3.

7. Bund. XVII, 8.]

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since there was an animation of the earth through the shattering--Albûrz grew up[1], which is the boundary of the earth, and

the other[2] mountains, which are amid the circuit of the earth, come up 2244 in number[3]. 2. And by them the earth was bound together and arranged, and on them was the sprouting and growth of plants, wherefrom was the nourishment of cattle, and therefrom was the great advantage of assistance to men.

3. Even so it is declared that before the coming of the destroyer to the creatures, for a thousand years the substance of mountains was created in the earth--especially as antagonism came on the earth, and settled on it with injury--and it came up over the earth just like a tree whose branch has grown at the top, and its root at the bottom. 4. The root of the mountains is passed on from one to the other, and is arranged in connection with them, and through it is produced the path and passage of water from below to above, so that the water may flow in it in such manner as blood in the veins, from all parts of the body to the heart, the latent vigour which they possess. 5. And, moreover, in six hundred years[4], at first, all the mountains apart from Albûrz were completed. 6. Albûrz was growing during eight hundred years[5]; in two hundred years it grew up to

[1. Bund. VIII, 1-4 is paraphrased in §§ 1-4.

2. The MS. has âvânö, 'waters,' instead of avârîk, other,' which alters the meaning into, 'which is the boundary of the waters of the earth, and the mountains,' &c.

3. Bund. XII, 2.

4. Bund. VIII, 5, and XII, 1, have 'eighteen years.' As both numbers are written in ciphers it would be easy for either to be corrupted into the other.

5. Bund. XII, 1.]

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the star station, in two hundred years up to the moon station, two hundred years up to the sun station, and two hundred years up to the sky. 7. After Albûrz the Aparsên mountain[1] is the greatest, as it is also called the Avar-rôyisn[2] (up-growth) mountain, whose beginning is in Sagastân and its end unto Pârs and to Kînistân[3].

8. This, too, is declared, that after the great rain in the beginning of the creation[4], and the wind's sweeping away the water to the ocean, the earth is in seven portions[5], a little above it, as the compact earth, after the rain, is torn up by the noise and wind in various places. 9. One portion, moreover, as much as one-half the whole earth, is in the middle, and in each of the six portions around is as much as Sagastân; moreover, as much as Sagastân is the measure of what is called a keshvar ('region') for the reason that one was defined from the other by a kêsh ('furrow'). 10. The middle one is Khvanîras, of which Pârs is the centre, and those six regions are like a coronet (avîsar) around it. 11. One part of the wide-formed ocean wound around it, among those six regions; the sea and forest seized upon the south side, and a lofty mountain grew up on the north, so that they might become separate, one from the other, and imperceptible.

12. This is the third contest, about the earth.

[1. The Apârsên of Bund. XII, 9.

2. Written Apû-rôyisn, as if it were an Arabic hybrid meaning 'father of growth.'

3. Bund. XII, 9. XXIV, 28, have Khûgîstân instead of Kînistân; the latter appears to be an old name of the territory of Samarkand (see note to Bund. XII, 13).

4. Literally, 'creature.'

5. Bund. XI, 2-4 is paraphrased in §§ 8-11.]

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#### CHAPTER VIII.

1. As he (Aharman) came fourthly to the plants--which have struggled (kûkhshî-âitö) against him with the whole vegetation--because the vegetation was quite dry[1], Amerôdad, by whom the essence of the world's vegetation[2] was seized upon,

pounded it up small, and mixed it up with the rain-water of Tistar. 2. After the rain the whole earth is discerned sprouting, and ten thousand[3] special species and a hundred thousand[4] additional species (levatman sardakö) so grew as if there were a species of every kind; and those ten thousand species are provided for[5] keeping away the ten thousand[3] diseases.

3. Afterwards, the seed was taken up from those hundred thousand species of plants, and from the collection of seed the tree of all germs, amid the wide-formed ocean, was produced, from which all species of plants continually grow. 4. And the griffon bird (sênô mûrûvö) has his resting-place upon it; when he wanders forth from within it, he scatters the dry seed into the water, and it is rained back to the earth with the rain.

5. And in its vicinity the tree was produced which is the white Hôm, the counteractor of decrepitude,

[1. This chapter is a paraphrase of Bund. IX.

2. Or, perhaps, 'the worldly characteristics of vegetation.'

3. Written like 'one thousand,' but see the context and Bund. IX, 4.

4. In Bund. IX, 4, the MSS. have '120,000,' which is probably wrong, as Bund. XXVII, 2, agrees with the text above.

5. The MS. has *barâ* instead of *pavan*, a blunder due probably to some copyist reading the *Huzvâris* in Persian, in which language *bih* (= *barâ*) and *bah* (= *pavan*) are written alike. In *Pâzand* they are usually written *be* and *pa*, respectively.]

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the reviver of the dead, and the immortalizer of the living.

6. This was the fourth contest, about the plants.

#### CHAPTER IX.

1. As he (Aharman) came fifthly to cattle--which struggled against him with all the animals--and likewise as the primeval ox [1] passed away, from, the nature of the vegetable principle it possessed, fifty-five[2] species of grain and twelve species of medicinal plants grew from its various members; and forasmuch as they should see from which member each one proceeds, it is declared in the *Dâmdâd Nask*[3]. 2. And every plant grown from a member

[1. See Chaps. II, 6, III, 1, and Bund. IV, 1, X, 1, XIV, 1.

2. The MS. has 'fifty-seven' in ciphers, but Bund. X, 1, XIV, 1, XXVII, 2, have, 'fifty-five' in words.

3 This was the fourth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the *Dînkard*, which gives a very short and superficial account of its contents. But, according to the *Dîni-vagarkard* and the *Rivâyats* of *Kâmah Bahrah*, *Narîmân Hôshang*, and *Barzû Qiyâmu-d-dîn*, it was the fifth nask, and was called *Dvâzdah-hâmâst* (or *homâst*). For its contents, as given by the *Dîni-vagarkard*, see Haug's *Essays*, p. 127. The *Rivâyat* of *Kâmah Bahrah*, which has a few more words than the other *Rivâyats*, gives the following account (for the Persian text of which, see 'Fragments relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre,' par Olshausen et Jules Mohl):--

'Of the fifth the name is *Dvâzdah-homâst*, and the interpretation of this is "the book about help" (*dar imdâd*, but this is probably a corruption of *dâmdâd*). And this book has thirty-two sections (*kardah*) that the divine and omnipotent creator sent down, in remembrance of the beginning of the creatures of the superior world and inferior world, and it is a description of the whole of them and of that which God, the most holy and omnipotent, mentioned about the sky, earth, and water, vegetation and {footnote p. 178} fire, man and quadrupeds, grazing and flying animals, and what he produced for their advantage and use, and the like. Secondly, the resurrection and heavenly path, the gathering and dispersion, and the nature of the circumstances of the resurrection, as regards the virtuous and evil-doers, through the weight of every action they perform for good and evil.'

This description corresponds very closely with what the *Bundahis* must have been, before the addition of the genealogical and chronological chapters at the end; and *Dâd-sparam* mentions in his text here, and again in § 16, particulars regarding the *Dâmdâd* which also occur in the *Bundahis* (XIV, 2, 14-18, 21-24). There can be very little doubt, therefore, that the *Bundahis*

was originally a translation of the Dâmdâd, though probably abridged; and the text translated in this volume is certainly a further abridgment of the original Bundahis, or Zand-âkâs. Whether the Avesta text of the Dâmdâd was still in existence in the time of Dâd-sparam is uncertain, as he would apply the name to the Pahlavi text. At the present time it is very unusual for a copyist to write the Pahlavi text without its Avesta, when the latter exists, but this may not always have been the case.]

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promotes that member, as it is said that there where the ox scattered its marrow[1] on to the earth, grain afterwards grew up, corn[2] and sesame, vetches[3] and peas; so sesame, on account of[4] its marrow quality, is itself a great thing for developing marrow. 3. And it is also said that from the blood is the vine[6], a great vegetable thing--as wine itself is blood--for more befriending the sound quality of the blood. 4. And it is said that from the nose is the pulse (mâys or mâsah) which is called dônak, and was a variety of sesame (samagâ)[6], and it is for other noses.

[1. Or 'brains.'

2. Supposing the MS. galôlag is a corruption of gallak (Pers. ghallah).

3. Assuming the MS. alûhō or arvanō to be a corruption of alûm or arzanō.

4. Reading râi instead of lâ.

5. Compare Bund. XIV, 2.

6. Either this sentence is very corrupt in the MS. or it cannot be {footnote p. 179} reconciled with the corresponding clause of Bund. XIV, 2. Altering dônak and gûnak into gandanak, and samagâ into samasdar, we might read, 'from the nose is mâys, which is called the leek, and the leek was an onion;' but this is doubtful, and leaves the word mâys unexplained.]

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5. And it is also said that from the lungs are the rue-like herbs[1] which heal, and are for the lung-disease of cattle. 6. This, rooted amid the heart, is thyme, from which is Vohûman's thorough withstanding of the stench of Akôman[2], and it is for that which proceeds from the sick and yawners.

7. Afterwards, the brilliance of the seed, seized upon, by strength, from the seed which was the ox's, they would carry off from it, and the brilliance was intrusted to the angel of the moon[3]; in a place therein that seed was thoroughly purified by the light of the moon, and was restored in its many qualities, and made fully infused with life (gânvar-hômand). 8. Forth from there it produced for Aîrân-vêg, first, two oxen, a pair, male and female[4], and, afterwards, other species, until the completion of the 282 species[5]; and they were discernible as far as two long leagues on the earth. 9. Quadrupeds walked forth on the land, fish swam in the water, and birds flew in the atmosphere; in every two, at the time good eating is enjoyed, a longing (âvdahân) arose therefrom, and pregnancy and birth.

10. Secondly, their subdivision is thus:--First, they are divided into three, that is, quadrupeds walking on the earth, fish swimming in the water,

[1. The MS. has gôspendânō, 'cattle,' instead of sipandânō, rue, herbs.'

2. See Bund. I, 24, 27, XXVIII, 7, XXX, 29.

3. Bund. X, 2, XIV, 3.

4. Bund. X, 3, XIV, 4.

5. Bund. X, 3, XIV, 13.]

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and birds flying in the atmosphere. 11. Then, into five classes[1], that is, the quadruped which is round-hoofed, the double-hoofed, the five-clawed, the bird, and the fish, whose dwellings are in five places, and which are called aquatic, burrowing, oviparous, wide-travelling, and suitable for grazing. 12. The aquatic are fish and every beast of burden, cattle, wild beast, dog, and bird which enters the water; the burrowing are the marten (samûr) and musk animals, and all other dwellers and movers in holes; the oviparous are birds of every kind; the wide-travelling sprang away for help, and are also those of a like kind; those suitable for grazing are whatever are kept grazing in a flock.

13. And, afterwards, they were divided into genera, as the round-hoofed are one, which is all called 'horse;' the double-hoofed are many, as the camel and ox, the sheep and goat, and others double-hoofed; the five-clawed are the dog, hare, musk animals, marten, and others; then are the birds, and then the fish. 14. And then they were divided into species[2], as eight species of horse, two species of camel, ten[3] species of ox, five species of sheep, five species of goat, ten of the dog, five of the hare, eight of the marten, eight of the musk animals, 110 of the birds, and ten of the fish; some are counted for the pigs, and with all those declared and all those undeclared there were, at first, 282 species[4]; and with the species within species there were a thousand varieties.

[1. Bund, XIV, 8-12.

2. Bund. XIV, I, 3-2 3, 26, 27.

3. Bund. XIV, 17 says, 'fifteen,' which is probably correct.

4. Only 181 species are detailed or 'declared' here.]

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15. The birds are distributed[1] into eight groups (rîstakö), and from that which is largest to that which is smallest they are so spread about as when a man, who is sowing grain, first scatters abroad that of heavy weight, then that which is middling, and afterwards that which is small.

16. And of the whole of the species, as enumerated a second time in the Dâmdâd Nask[2], and written by me in the manuscript (nipîk) of 'the summary enumeration of races[3]'-this is a lordly[4] summary--the matter which is shown is, about the species of horses, the first is the Arab, and the chief of them[5] is white and yellow-eared, and secondly the Persian, the mule, the ass, the wild ass, the water-horse, and others. 17. Of the camel there are specially two, that for the plain, and the mountain one which is double-humped. 18. Among the species of ox are the white, mud-coloured, red, yellow, black, and dappled, the elk, the buffalo, the camel-leopard[6], the ox-fish, and others. 19. Among sheep are those having tails and those which are tailless, also the wether and the Kûrisk which, because of its trampling the hills, its great horn, and also being suitable

[1. Bund. XIV, 25.

2. See § 1; the particulars which follow are also found in Bund. XIV, 14-18, 21-24, showing that the Bundahis must be derived from the Dâmdâd.

3. The title of this work, in Pahlavi, is Tôkhm-ausmaris-nîh-i hangardîkô, but it is not known to be extant.

4. Reading marâk (Chaldee ###), but this is doubtful, though the Iranian final k is often added to Semitic Huzvâris forms ending with â. It may be minâk, 'thinking, thoughtful,' or a corruption of manîk, 'mine,' in which last case we should translate, 'this is a summary of mine.'

5. Bund. XXIV, 6.

6. Literally, 'camel-ox-leopard.')

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for ambling, became the steed of Mânûskîhar. 20. Among goats are the ass-goat, the Arab, the fawn (varîkô), the roe, and the mountain goat. 21. Among martens are the white ermine, the black marten, the squirrel, the beaver (khaz), and others. 22. Of

musk animals with a bag, one is the Bîshmusk--which eats the Bîsh poison and does not die through it,--and it is created for the great advantage that it should eat the Bîsh, and less of it should succeed in poisoning the creatures--and one is a musk animal of a black colour which they desired (ayûftö) who were bitten by the fanged serpent--as the serpent of the mountain water-courses (makö) is called--which is numerous on the river-banks; one throws the same unto it for food, which it eats, and then the serpent enters its body, when his[1] serpent, at the time this happens, feeds upon the same belly in which the serpent is, and he will become clear from that malady. 23. Among birds two were produced of a different character from the rest, and those are the griffon bird and the bat, which have teeth in the mouth, and suckle their young with animal milk from the teat.

24. This is the fifth contest, as to animals.

#### CHAPTER X.

1. As he (Aharman) came sixthly to Gâyôbard there was arrayed against him, with Gâyôbard, the

[1. This appears to be the meaning here of amat zak garzakö, but the whole sentence is a fair sample of Dâd-sparam's most involved style of writing. By feeding the black musk animal with snakes the effect of a snake-bite, experienced by the feeder, is supposed to be neutralized.]

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pure propitious liturgy (mânsarspend), as heard from Gâyôbard; and Aûharmazd, in pure meditation, considered that which is good and righteousness as destruction of the fiend (drûgö). 2. And when he (Gâyôbard) passed away eight kinds of mineral of a metallic character arose from his various members; they are gold, silver, iron, brass, tin, lead, quicksilver (âvgînakö), and adamant; and on account of the perfection of gold it is produced from the life and seed.

3. Spendarmad received the gold of the dead Gâyôbard[1], and it was forty years in the earth. 4. At the end of the forty years, in the manner of a Rîvâs-plant, Mashya and Mashyôî[2] came up, and, one joined to the other, were of like stature and mutually adapted[3]; and its middle, on which a glory came, through their like stature[4], was such that it was not clear which is the male and which the female, and which is the one with the glory which Aûharmazd created. 5. This is that glory for which man is, indeed, created, as it is thus said in

[1. Compare Bund. XV, 1.

2. The MS. has Mashâ Mashâyê, but see Bund. XV, 6. The Avesta forms were probably mashya mashyôî (or mashyê), which are regular nominatives dual, masculine and feminine, of mashya, 'mortal,' and indicate that they were usually coupled together in some part of the Avesta which is no longer extant. Pâzand writers have found it easy to read Mashyanî instead of Mâshyôî.

3. Reading ham-basnö ham-dakhîk, but whether this is more likely to be the original reading than the ham-badisn va ham-dasak of Bund. XV, 2, is doubtful. The last epithet here might also be read ham-sabîk, 'having the same shirt,' but this is an improbable meaning.

4. It is evident that ham-badisnîh, 'mutual connection,' in accordance with Bund. XV, 3, would be preferable to the ham-basnöîh, 'like stature,' of this text.]

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revelation: 'Which existed before, the glory[1] or the body?' And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'The glory was created by me before; afterwards, for him who is created, the glory is given a body so that it may produce activity, and its body is created only for activity.' 6. And, afterwards, they changed from the shape of a plant into the shape of man[2], and the glory went spiritually into them.

#### CHAPTER XI.

1. As he (Aharman) came seventhly to fire, which was all together against him, the fire separated into five kinds[3], which are called the Propitious, the Good diffuser, the Aûrvâzîst, the Vâzîst, and the Supremely-benefiting. 2. And it produced the Propitious fire itself in heaven (garödmân); its manifestation is in the fire which is burning on the earth, and its propitiousness is this, that all the kinds are of its nature. 3. The Good diffuser is that which is in men and animals[4], and its business consists in the digestion of the food, the sleeping of the

[1. The old word nismô, 'soul' (see Bund. XV, 3, 4), has become corrupted here (by the omission of the initial stroke) into gadman, 'glory.' This corruption may be due either to Dâd-sparam not understanding the word (in which case the Bundahis must have been an old book in his time), or else to some later copyist confounding the old word for 'soul' with the better-known 'glory' of the Iranian sovereigns.

2. Bund. XV, 5.

3. Bund. XVII, 1. Three of the Avesta names are here translated, the first two being the Spênist and Vohu-fryân, which are the fifth and second in the Bundahis, and the fifth being the Berezi-savang, which is the first in the Bundahis.

4. See Bund. XVII, 2.]

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body, and the brightening of the eyes. 4. The Aûrvâzîst is that which is in plants, in whose seed it is formed, and its business consists in piercing the earth, warming the chilled water[1] and producing the qualities and fragrance of plants and blossoms therefrom, and elaborating the ripened produce into many fruits. 5. And the Vâzîst is that which has its motion in a cloud, and its business consists in destroying the atmospheric gloom and darkness, and making the thickness of the atmosphere fine and propitious in quality, sifting the hail, moderately warming the water which the cloud holds, and making sultry weather showery. 6. The Supremely-benefiting, like the sky, is that glory whose lodgment is in the Behrâm fire[2], as the master of the house is over the house, and whose propitious power arises from the growing brightness of the fire, the blazing forth in[3] the purity of the place, the praise of God (yazdânö), and the practice of good works. 7. And its business is that it struggles with the spiritual fiend, it watches the forms of the witches--who walk up from the river[4], wear woven clothing, disturb the luminaries by the concealment of stench, and by witchcraft injure the creatures--and the occurrences of destruction, burning, and celebration of witchcraft, especially at night; being an assistant of Srôsh the righteous.

[1. Reading mayâ-i afsardîndö tâftanö instead of the seemingly unmeaning mayâ asardinîdö âftanö of the MS.

2. The Verehrânö âtâsh, or sacred fire of the fire-temples.

3. Reading pavan instead of barâ (see p. 176, note 5).

4. Or 'sea' (darîyâvö). This long-winded sentence is more involved and obscure in the original than in the translation.]

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8. And in the beginning of the creation[1] the whole earth was delivered over into the guardianship of the sublime Frôbak fire, the mighty Gûsnasp fire, and the beneficial Bûrzîn-Mitrô fire[2], which are like priest, warrior, and husbandman. 9. The place of the fire Frôbak was formed on the Gadman-hômand ('glorious') mountain in Khvârizem[3], the fire Gûsnasp was on the Asnavand mountain in Âtarô-pâtakân, and the fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô on the Rêvand mountain which is in the Ridge of Vistâsp, and its material manifestation in the world was the most complete.

10. In the reign of Hôshâng[4], when men were continually going forth to the other regions (kêshvar) on the ox Srûvô[5], one night, half-way, while admiring the fires, the fire-stands which were prepared in three places on the back of the ox, and in which the fire was, fell into the sea, and the substance of that one great fire which was manifest, is divided into three, and they established it on the three fire-stands, and it became itself three glories whose lodgments are in the Frôbak fire, the Gûsnasp fire, and the Bûrzîn-Mitrô[6].

[1. Literally, 'creature.'

2. The epithets of these three sacred fires are, respectively, vargân, tagîkô, and pûr-sûdö in Pahlavi.

3. See Bund. XVII, 5, 7, 8.

4. Bund. XVII, 4 says, 'in the reign of Takhmôrup,' his successor.

5. Sarsaok or Srisaok in the Bundahis.

6. The remainder of 'the sayings of Zâd-sparam, about the meeting of the beneficent spirit and the evil spirit,' have no special reference to the Bundahis. They treat of the following matters:--

The coming of the religion, beginning in the time of Frâsîyâv and Mânûskîhar, with an anecdote of Kâi-ûs and the hero Srîtô (Av. Thrîta). The manifestation of the glory of Zaratûst {footnote p. 187} before his birth. The begetting of Zaratûst through the drinking of hôm-juice and cow's milk infused, respectively, with his guardian spirit and glory, as declared in the manuscript on 'the guidance of worship.' The connection of Zaratûst with Aûharmazd, traced back through his genealogy as far as Gâyôpard. The persistent endeavours of the fiends to destroy Zaratûst at the time of his birth, and how they were frustrated. His receiving the religion from Aûharmazd, with another anecdote of Kâi-ûs and Srîtô, and of Zaratûst's exclamation on coming into the world. The enmity borne to him by five brothers of the Karapân family, and how it was frustrated; his own four brothers, and some of his wonderful deeds. The worthiness of his righteousness; his compassionate and liberal nature; his giving up worldly desires; his pity; his good selection of a wife; and what is most edifying for the soul. What occurred when he was thirty years old, and his being conducted by the archangel Vohûman to the assembly of the spirits. The questions asked by Zaratûst, and Aûharmazd's replies thereto. The seven questions he asked of the seven archangels in seven different places, in the course of one winter. [Westergaard's MS. K35 ends in the middle of the second of these questions.] The five dispositions of priests, and the ten admonitions. The three preservatives of religion, with particulars about the Gâthas and the connection of the Ahunavar with the Nasks. Zaratûst's obtaining one disciple, Mêdyôk-mâh, in the first ten years, and the acceptance of the religion by Vistâsp two years afterwards.

The second of the writings of Zâd-sparam consists of his sayings about the formation of men out of body, life, and soul; and the third (which is imperfect in all known MSS.) contains his sayings about producing the renovation of the universe. ]

BAHMAN YAST,  
OR  
ZAND-I VOHÛMAN YASNO,  
OF WHICH ZAND, OR COMMENTARY,

THIS WORK SEEMS TO BE AN EPITOME.

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OBSERVATIONS.

1-5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are:--Av. for Avesta. Bund. for Bundahis, as translated in this volume. Dâd. for Dâdistân-i Dînîk. Gr. for Greek. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Huz. for Huzvâris. Pahl. for Pahlavi. Pâz. for Pâzand. Pers. for Persian. Sans. for Sanskrit. Sl. for Shâyast la-shâyast, as translated in this volume. SZS. for Selections of Zâd-sparam, as translated in this volume. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Yast, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are:--

K20 (about 500 years old), No. 20 in the University Library at Copenhagen.

Pâz. MSS. (modern), No. 22 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich, and a copy of one in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay.

Pers. version (composed A.D. 1496, copied A.D. 1679) in a Rivâyât MS., No. 29 of the University Library at Bombay.

BAHMAN YAST.  
CHAPTER I.

0. May the gratification of the creator Aûharmazd, the beneficent, the developer, the splendid, and glorious, and the benediction of the archangels, which constitute the pure, good religion of the Mazdayasnians, be vigour of body, long life, and prosperous wealth for him whose writing I am[1].

1. As[2] it is declared by the Stûdgar Nask[3] that



[1. Or, possibly, 'for whom I am written,' the meaning of *mûn yektûbûnîhêm* being not quite clear. In fact, the construction of the whole of this initial benediction is rather obscure.

2. It is possible that this is to be read in connection with Chap. II, 1, with the meaning that 'as it is declared by the *Stûdgar Nask* that Zaratûst asked for immortality from Aûharmazd, so in the *Vohûman Yast* commentary it is declared that he asked for it a second time.' This introductory chapter is altogether omitted in both the *Pâz. MSS.* which have been examined, but it is given in the Pers. version. It is also omitted in the epitome of the *Bahman Yast* contained in the *Dabistân* (see Shea's translation, vol. i. pp. 264-271).

3. This was the first *nask* or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the *Dînkard*, which calls it *Sûdkar*; but according to the *Dînî-vagarkard* and the *Rivâyats* it was the second *nask*, called *Stûdgar* or *Istûdgar*. For its contents, as given by the *Dînî-vagarkard* (which agrees with the account in the *Rivâyats*), see Haug's *Essays*, p. 126. In the *Dînkard*, besides a short description of this *Nask*, given in the eighth book, there is also a detailed account of the contents of each of its *fargards*, or chapters, occupying twenty-five quarto pages of twenty-two lines each, in the ninth book. From this detailed statement it appears {footnote p. 192} that the passage mentioned here, in the text, constituted the seventh *fargard* of the *Nask*, the contents of which are detailed as follows:--

'The seventh *fargard*, *Tâ-ve-ratô* (Av. *tâ ve urvâtâ*, Vas. XXXI, 1), is about the exhibition to Zaratûst of the nature of the four periods in the Zaratûstian millennium (*hazangrôk zim*, "thousand winters"). First, the golden, that in which Aûharmazd displayed the religion to Zaratûst. Second, the silver, that in which Vistâsp received the religion from Zaratûst. Third, the steel, the period within which the organizer of righteousness, *Âtarô-pâd* son of *Mârspend*, was born. Fourth, the period mingled with iron is this, in which is much propagation of the authority of the apostate and other villains (*sarîtarânô*), along with destruction of the reign of religion, the weakening of every kind of goodness and virtue, and the departure of honour and wisdom from the countries of Iran. In the same period is a recital of the many perplexities and torments of the period for that desire (*girâyîh*) of the life of the good which consists in seemliness. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness (Av. *ashem vohû vahistem astî*, Yas. XXVII. 14, W.).'

If this be a correct account of the contents of this *fargard*, the writer was evidently consulting a Pahlavi version of the *Nask*, composed during the later Sasanian times.]

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Zaratûst asked for immortality from Aûharmazd, then Aûharmazd displayed the omniscient wisdom to Zaratûst, and through it he beheld the root of a tree, on which were four branches, one golden, one of silver, one of steel, and one was mixed up with iron. 2. Thereupon he reflected in this way, that this was seen in a dream, and when he arose from sleep Zaratûst spoke thus: 'Lord of the spirits and earthly existences! it appears that I saw the root of a tree, on which were four branches.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst the *Spîtâmân*[1] thus: 'That root of a tree which thou sawest, and those four branches, are the four periods which will

[1. Generally understood to mean 'descendant of Spitama,' who was his ancestor in the ninth generation (see *Bund.* XXXII, 1).]

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come. 4. That of gold is when I and thou converse, and King Vistâsp shall accept the religion, and shall demolish the figures of the demons, but they themselves remain for[1]. . . concealed proceedings. 5. And that of silver is the reign of *Ardakhshîr* [2] the *Kayân* king (*Kaî shah*), and that of steel is the reign of the glorified (*anôshak-rûbân*) *Khûsrô* son of *Kêvâd*[3], and that which was mixed with iron is the evil sovereignty of the demons with dishevelled hair[4] of the race of *Wrath*[5], and when it is the end of the tenth hundredth winter (*satô zim*) of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the *Spîtâmân*!

6. It is declared in the commentary (*zand*)[6] of the *Vohûman Yast*, *Horvadam Yast*, and *Âstâd Yast*

[1. A word is lost here in K20 and does not occur in the other copies and versions, nor can it be supplied from the similar phrase in Chap. II, 16. The meaning of the sentence appears to be that Vistâsp destroyed the idols, but the demons they represented still remained, in a spiritual state, to produce evil.

2. See, Chap. II, 17.

3. Khusrô Nôshirvân son of Qubâd, in modern Persian, who reigned in A. D. 531-579. Kêvâd is usually written Kavâd.
4. The epithet vigârd-vars may also mean 'dressed-hair,' but the term in the text is the more probable, as the Persian version translates it by kushâdah muî, 'uncovered hair.' That it is not a name, as assumed by Spiegel, appears clearly from the further details given in Chap. II, 25.
5. Or, 'the progeny of Aêshm,' the demon. Wrath is not to be understood here in its abstract sense, but is personified as a demon. It is uncertain whether the remainder of this sentence belongs to this § or the next.
6. If there were any doubt about zand meaning the Pahlavi translation, this passage would be important, as the Avesta of the Horvâdad (Khordâd) and Âstâd Yasts is still extant, but contains nothing about the heretic Mazdîk or Mazdak (see Chap. II, 21). No Avesta of the Vohûman Yast is now known.]

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that, 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 (yazdân). 7. And he, the glorified one[1], summoned Khûsrô son of Mâh-dâd and Dâd-Aûharmazd 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, and he demanded of them a promise[2], thus: 'Do not keep these Yasts in concealment, and do not teach the commentary except among your relations[3].' 8. And they made the promise unto Khûsrô.

## CHAPTER II.

1. In the Vohûman Yast commentary (zand) it is declared[4] that Zaratûst asked for immortality from

[1. That is, Khusrô Nôshirvân. As the names of his priests and councillors stand in K20 they can hardly be otherwise distributed than they are in the text, but the correctness of the Ms. is open to suspicion. Dâd-Aûharmazd was a commentator who is quoted in Chap. III, 16, and in the Pahl. Yas. XI, 22; Âtarô-frôbâg was another commentator mentioned in Sls. I, 3; and Âtarô-pâd and Bakht-âfrîd are names well known in Pahlavi literature, the former having been borne by more than one individual (see Sls. I, 3, 4).

2. The Pers. version says nothing about this promise, but states that 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.

3. A similar prohibition, addressed to Zaratûst, as regards the Avesta text, is actually found in the Horvâdad Yt. 10.

4. This seems to imply that this text is not the commentary {footnote p. 195} itself, but merely an epitome of it. The Pâz. MSS. which have been examined, begin with this chapter.]

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Aûharmazd a second time, and spoke thus: 'I am Zaratûst, more righteous and more efficient among these thy creatures, O creator! when thou shalt make me[1] immortal, as the tree opposed to harm[2], and Gôpatshah, Gôst-i Fryân, and Kîtrôk-miyân son of Vistâsp, who is Pêshyôtanû, were made[3]. 2. When thou shalt make me immortal they in thy good religion will believe that the upholder of religion, who receives from Aûharmazd his pure and good religion of the Mazdayasnians, will become immortal; then those men will believe in thy good religion.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke[4] thus: 'When I shall make thee immortal, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! then Tûr-i Brâdarvash the Karap[5] will become immortal, and

[1. Or, 'when I shall become;' the verb is omitted by mistake in K20.

2. Three of these immortals are mentioned in Bund. XXIX, 5, and Gôst-i Fryân is included in a similar enumeration in Dâd. (Reply 89). The tale of Gôst-i Fryân (Av. Yôistô yô Fryananâm, of Âbân Yt. 81 and Fravardîn Yt. 120) has been published with *The Book of Ardâ-Vîrâf*, ed. Hoshangji and Haug.

3. Or, 'became;' most of this verb is torn off in K20.

4. The verb is placed before its nominative in the Pahlavi text, both here and in most similar sentences, which is an imitation of the Avesta, due probably to the text being originally translated from an Avesta book now lost, or, at any rate, to its author's wish that it might appear to be so translated. In such cases of inverted construction, when the verb is in a past tense, the Pahlavi idiom often requires a pronominal suffix, corresponding, to the nominative, to be added to the first word in the sentence; thus, gūftōs Aûharmazd, or afas gūft Aûharmazd, does not mean 'Aûharmazd spoke to him (or said it),' but merely 'Aûharmazd spoke'(lit. 'it was said by him, Aûharmazd').

5. According to an untranslated passage in the Selections of Zâd-sparam, mentioned in the note on p. 187, this is the name of {footnote p. 196} one of the five brothers in the Karapân family of sorcerers, who were enemies of Zaratûst during his childhood. Their names, as written in SZS., may be read as follows, 'Brâdarvakhsh, Brâdrôyisnô, Tûr Brâgrêsh, Azânô, and Nasm,' and the first is also called 'Tûr-i 'Brâdarvakhsh; they are described as descendants of the sister of Manûskîhar. In the seventh book of the Dînkard a wizard, who endeavours to injure Zaratûst in his childhood, is called 'Tûr-i Brâdrôk-rêsh, the Karapô,' and was probably the third brother, whose name (thus corrected) indicates brâthrô-raêsha as its Avesta form. Karap or Karapân in all these passages is evidently the name of a family or caste, probably the Av. karapanô which Haug translates by 'performers of (idolatrous) sacrificial rites,' in connection with Sans. kalpa, 'ceremonial ritual' (see Haug's Essays, pp. 289-291).]

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when Tûr-i Brâdarvash the Karap shall become immortal the resurrection and future existence are not possible.'

4. Zaratûst seemed uneasy about it in his mind[1]; and Aûharmazd, through the wisdom of omniscience, knew what was thought by Zaratûst the Spîtâmân with the righteous spirit, and he[2] took hold of Zaratûst's hand. 5. And he, Aûharmazd the propitious spirit, creator of the material world, the righteous one, even he put the omniscient wisdom, in the shape of water, on the hand of Zaratûst, and said to him thus: 'Devour it.'

[1. K20 has 'among the spirits;' the word mânisn having become maînôkân by the insertion of an extra stroke.

2. Reading afas instead of minas (Huz. of agas, 'from or by him,' which is written with the same letters as afas; 'and by him'), not only here, but also in §§ 5, 7, 9. The copyist of K20 was evidently not aware that afas is a conjunctive form, but confounded it with the prepositional form agas, as most Parsis and some European scholars do still. The Sasanian inscriptions confirm the reading afas for the conjunctive form; and Nêryôsang, the learned Parsi translator of Pahlavi texts into Pâzand and Sanskrit some four centuries ago, was aware of the difference between the two forms, as he transcribes them correctly into Paz. vas and azas.]

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6. And Zaratûst devoured some of it; thereby the omniscient wisdom was intermingled with Zaratûst, and seven days and nights Zaratûst was in the wisdom of Aûharmazd. 7. And Zaratûst beheld the men and cattle in the seven regions of the earth, where the many fibres of hair of every one are, and whereunto the end of each fibre holds on the back. 8. And he beheld whatever trees and shrubs there were, and how many roots of plants were in the earth of Spendarmad, where and how they had grown, and where they were mingled.

9. And the seventh day and night he (Aûharmazd) took back the omniscient wisdom from Zaratûst, and Zaratûst reflected in this way, that I have seen it in a pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd, and I am not surfeited with the dream. 10. And he took both hands, rubbed his body (kerp) again, and spoke[1] thus: 'I have slept a long time, and am not surfeited with this pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd.'

11. Aûharmazd said to the righteous Zaratûst thus: 'What was seen in the pleasant dream produced by Aûharmazd?'

12. Zaratûst spoke thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous creator! I have seen a celebrity (khunîd) with much wealth, whose soul, infamous in the body, was hungry (gurs)[2] and jaundiced and in hell, and he did not seem to me exalted; and I saw a beggar with no wealth and helpless, and his soul was thriving (farpîh) in paradise, and[3] he seemed to me exalted.

[1. This verb is omitted in K20 by mistake.

2. Or else 'dirty.'

3. Reading afam instead of minam, both here and in § 14; the {footnote p. 198} copyist of K20 having confounded these two words, like those mentioned in the note on § 4.]

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13. [And I saw a wealthy man without children, and he did not seem to me exalted;][1] and I saw a pauper with many children, and he seemed to me exalted. 14. And I saw a tree on which were seven branches, one golden, one of silver, one brazen, one of copper, [one of tin][2], one of steel, and one was mixed up with iron.'

15. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I say beforehand, the one tree which thou sawest is the world which I, Aûharmazd, created; and those seven branches thou sawest are the seven periods which will come. 16. And that which was golden is the reign of King Vistâsp, when I and thou converse about religion, and Vistâsp shall accept that religion and shall demolish the figures of the demons, and the demons desist from demonstration into concealed proceedings; Aharman and the demons rush back to darkness, and care for water, fire, plants, and the earth of Spendarmad[3] becomes apparent. 17. And that which was of silver[4] is the reign of Ardashîr[5] the

[1. The passage in brackets is omitted in K20, but is supplied from the Paz. MSS., being evidently necessary to complete the contrast. It occurs also in the Pers. version.

2. Supplied from the Paz. and Pers. versions, being omitted here in K20, though occurring in § 20.

3. The female archangel who has charge of the earth (see Bund. I, 26).

4 The Pâz. MSS. omit the description of the silver age.

5. Usually identified with Artaxerxes Longimanus, but his long reign of 112 years may include most of the Achæmenian sovereigns down to Artaxerxes Mnemon, several of whom are called Ahasuerus or Artaxerxes in the biblical books of Ezra and Esther. See Bund. XXXI, 30, XXXIV, 8.]

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Kayân (Kaî), whom[1] they call Vohûman son of Spend-dâd[2], who is he who separates the demons from men, scatters them about, and makes the religion current in the whole world. 18. And that which was brazen[3] is the reign of Ardakhshîr[4], the arranger and restorer of the world, and that of King Shahpûr, when he arranges the world which I, Aûharmazd, created; he makes happiness (bûkhtakîh)[5] prevalent in the boundaries of the world, and goodness shall become manifest; and Âtarô-pad of triumphant destiny, the restorer of the true religion, with the prepared brass[6], brings this religion, together with the transgressors, back to the truth. 19. And that which was of copper is the reign of the Askânian king[7], who removes from the world

[1. Reading mûn, 'whom,' instead of amat, 'when' (see the note on Bund. I, 7).

2. Contracted here into Spendâd, as it is also in Bund. XXXIV, 8 in the old MSS. This name of the king is corrupted into Bahman son of Isfendiyâr in the Shâhnâmah.

3. This brazen age is evidently out of its proper chronological order. The Pâzand and Persian versions correct this blunder by describing the copper age before the brazen one here, but they place the brazen branch before the copper one in § 14, so it is doubtful how the text stood originally.

4. Artakhshatar son of Pâpakî and Shahpûharî son of Artakhshatar are the Sasanian forms of the names of the first two monarchs (A.D. 226-271) of the Sasanian dynasty, whose reigns constitute this brazen age.

5. Literally, 'deliverance from sin' or 'salvation' by one's own good works, and, therefore, not in a Christian sense.

6. Referring to the ordeal of pouring molten brass on his chest, undergone by Âtarô-pâd son of Mâraspend, high-priest and prime minister of Shâpûr I, for the purpose of proving the truth of his religion to those who doubted it.

7. It is uncertain which of the Askânian sovereigns is meant, or whether several of the dynasty may not be referred to. The

Greek {footnote p. 200} successors of Alexander were subdued in Persia by Ask (Arsaces I), who defeated Seleucus Callinicus about B.C. 236. But the third book of the Dînkard (in a passage quoted by Haug in his Essay on the Pahlavi Language) mentions Valkhas (Vologeses) the Askânian as collecting the Avesta and Zand, and encouraging the Mazdayasnian religion. This Valkhas was probably Vologeses I, a contemporary of Nero, as shown by Darmesteter in the introduction to his translation of the Vendidad.]

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the heterodoxy (gavîd-rastakîh) which existed, and the wicked Akandgar-i Kilisyâkîh[1] is utterly destroyed by this religion, and goes unseen and unknown from the world. 20. And that which was of tin is the reign of King Vâhrâm Gôr[2], when he

[1. I am indebted to Professor J. Darmesteter for pointing out that Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit translation of Yas. IX, 75, explains Kalasiyâkâh as 'those whose faith is the Christian religion;' the original Pahlavi word in the oldest MSS. is Kilisâyâk, altogether a misunderstanding of the Avesta name Keresâni, which it translates, but sufficiently near the name in our text to warrant the assumption that Nêryôsang would have translated Kilisyâkîh by 'Christianity;' literally it means 'ecclesiasticism, or the church religion' (from Pers. kilisyâ, Gr. {Greek ?ekklhsi'a}). Akandgar is probably a miswriting of Alaksandar or Sikandar; though Darmesteter suggests that Skandgar (Av. skendô-kara, Pers. sikandgar), 'causer of destruction,' would be an appropriate punning title for Alexander from a Persian point of view. The anachronisms involved in making Alexander the Great a Christian, conquered by an Askânian king, are not more startling than the usual Pahlavi statement that he was a Roman. To a Persian in Sasanian times Alexander was the representative of an invading enemy which had come from the countries occupied, in those times, by the eastern empire of the Christian Romans, which enemy had been subdued in Persia by the Askânian dynasty; and such information would naturally lead to the anachronisms just mentioned. The name Kilisyâkîh is again used, in Chap. III, 3, 5, 8, to denote some Christian enemy.

2. This Sasanian monarch (A. D. 420-439), after considerable provocation, revived the persecution of the heretics and foreign creeds which had been tolerated by his predecessor, and this conduct naturally endeared him to the priesthood.]

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makes the sight[1] of the spirit of pleasure manifest, and Aharman with the wizards rushes back to darkness and gloom. 21. And that which was of steel is the reign of King Khûsrô son of Kêvâd[2], when he keeps away from this religion the accursed Mazdîk[3], son of Bâmdâd, who remains opposed to the religion along with the heterodox. 22. And that which was mixed with iron [is the reign of the demons with dishevelled hair[4] of the race of Wrath, when it is the end of the tenth hundredth winter of thy millennium], O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân!

23. Zaratûst said thus: 'Creator of the material world! O propitious spirit! what token would you give of the tenth hundredth winter?'

24. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Righteous Zaratûst! I will make it clear: the token that it is the end of thy millennium, and the most evil period is coming, is that a hundred kinds, a thousand kinds, a myriad of kinds of demons with dishevelled hair, of the

[1. Reading vênâp (Pers. bînâb), but it may be va davâg, in which case the phrase must be translated as follows: 'when he makes the spirit of pleasure and joy manifest.'

2. See Chap. I, 5. The characteristic of the steel age, like that of the tin one, was the persecution of heretics who had been tolerated by the reigning monarch's predecessor.

3. Generally written Mazdak, a heretic whose teaching was very popular in the time of King Kêvâd (or Kavâd, A. D. 487-531). His doctrine appears to have been extreme socialism built upon a Mazdayasnian foundation. He was put to death by Khûsrô I, as hinted in the text. It is remarkable that none of the successors of Khûsrô Nôshirvân are mentioned in the Bahman Yast, so that a Parsi, who even did not believe in the verbal inspiration of the book, might possibly consider the remainder of it as strictly prophetic.

4. The passage in brackets is omitted in K20 by mistake, and is here supplied from Chap. I, 5, in accordance with the Pâz. and Pers. versions.]

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race of Wrath, rush into the country of Iran (Aîrân shatrô) from the direction of the east[1], which has an inferior race and race: of Wrath. 25. They have uplifted banners, they slay those living in the world[2], they have their hair dishevelled on the back, and they are mostly a small and inferior (nîtûm) race, forward in destroying the strong doer; O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the race of Wrath is miscreated (vishûd) and its origin is not manifest. 26. Through witchcraft they rush into these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created, since they burn and damage many things; and the house of the house-owner, the land of the land-digger, prosperity, nobility, sovereignty, religion[3], truth, agreement, security, enjoyment, and every characteristic which I, Aûharmazd, created, this pure religion of the Mazdayasnians, and the fire of Vâhrâm, which is set in the appointed place, encounter annihilation, and the direst destruction and trouble will come into notice. 27. And that which is a great district will become a town; that which is a great town, a village; that

[1. Or 'of Khûrâsân.' it is difficult to identify these demons with the Arabs, who came from the west, though a dweller in Kirmân might imagine that they came from Khûrâsân. In fact, hardly any of the numerous details which follow, except their long-continued rule, apply exclusively to Muhammadans. It appears, moreover, from § 50 and Chap. III, 8, that these demons are intended for Tûrks, that is, invaders from Turkistân, who would naturally come from the east into Persia.

2 Reading gêhân-zivö zektelûnd, but the beginning of the latter word is torn off in K20, and the other versions have no equivalent phrase. The Pâzand substitutes the phrase 'black banners, and black garments.'

3. This word, being torn off in K20, is supplied from the Pâz. MSS.]

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which is a great village, a family; and that which is a [great][1] family, a single threshold. 28. O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! they will lead these Iranian countries of Aûharmazd into a desire for evil, into tyranny and misgovernment, those demons with dishevelled hair who are deceivers, so that what, they say they do not do, and they are of a vile religion, so that what they do not say they do. 29. And their assistance and promise have no sincerity, there is no law, they preserve no security, and on the support they provide no one relies; with deceit, rapacity, and misgovernment they will devastate these my Iranian countries, who am Aûharmazd.

30. 'And at that time, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! all men will become deceivers, great friends will become of different parties, and respect, affection, hope[2], and regard for the soul will depart from the world; the affection of the father will depart from the son; and that of the brother from his brother; the son-in-law will become a beggar (kîdyak or kasîk) from his father-in-law [3], and the mother will be parted and estranged from the daughter.

31. 'When it is the end of thy tenth hundredth winter, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the sun is more unseen and more spotted (vasangtar); the year, month, and day are shorter; and the earth of Spendarmad is more barren, and fuller of

[1. This word is omitted in K20, but supplied from the Pâzand. The whole section is omitted in the Pers. version.

2. This word, being torn off in K20, is doubtfully supplied from the Pers. paraphrase. The Pâz. MSS. omit §§ 30-32.

3. Or, perhaps, 'parents- in-law;' the original is khûsrûnê, followed by some word (probably nafsman) which is torn off in K20. The Pers. version gives no equivalent phrase.]

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highwaymen[1]; and the crop will not yield the seed, so that of the crop of the corn-fields in ten cases seven will diminish and three[2] will increase, and that which increases does not become ripe[3]; and vegetation, trees, and shrubs will diminish; when one shall take a hundred, ninety will diminish and ten will increase, and that which increases gives no pleasure and flavour. 32. And men are born smaller, and their skill and strength are less; they become more deceitful and more given to vile practices; they have no gratitude and respect for bread and salt, and they have no affection for their country (dêsak).

33. 'And in that most evil time a boundary has most disrespect[4] where it is the property of a suffering man of religion; gifts are few among their deeds, and duties and good works proceed but little from their hands; and sectarians of all kinds are seeking mischief for them[5]. 34. And all the world will be burying and clothing the dead, and burying the dead and washing the dead will be by law; the burning, bringing to water and fire, and eating of dead matter they practise by law and do not abstain from. 35. They recount largely about duties and good works, and pursue wickedness and the road to hell; and through the iniquity, cajolery, and craving of wrath and avarice they rush to hell.

36. 'And in that perplexing time, O Zaratûst the

[1. Or, 'tax-collectors;' Pahl. tangtar va rās-vânagtar.

2. In K20 'va 3' is corrupted into the very similar va vâi, 'and a portion.'

3. Literally, 'white.'

4. Reading anâzarm instead of hanâ âzarm.

5. That is, for the Iranians in general, who are the 'they' in §§ 32-35.]

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Spîtâmân!--the reign of Wrath with infuriate spear[1] and the demon with dishevelled hair, of the race of Wrath,--the meanest slaves walk forth with the authority of nobles of the land; and the religious, who wear sacred thread-girdles on the waist, are then not able to perform their ablution (pâdîyâvîh), for in those last times dead matter and bodily refuse become so abundant, that one who shall set step to step walks upon dead matter; or when he washes in the barashnûm ceremony, and puts down a foot from the stone seat (magh)[2], he walks on dead matter; or when he arranges the sacred twigs (baresôm) and consecrates the sacred cakes (drônô) in their corpse-chamber (nasât katak)[3] it is allowable.

[1. The Av. Aêshmô khrvîdrus, 'Aêshma the impetuous assailant' (see Bund. XXVIII, 15-17); this demon's Pahlavi epithet is partly a transcription, and partly a paraphrase of the Avesta term.

2. According to Dastûr Hoshangji (Zand-Pahlavi Glossary, p. 65) the term magh is now applied to the stones on which the person undergoing purification has to squat during ablution in the barashnûm ceremony. Originally, however, Av. magha appears to have meant a shallow hole dug in the earth, near or over which the person squatted upon a seat, either of stone or some other hard material (see Vend. IX). The term for the hole was probably extended to the whole arrangement, including the seat, which latter has thus acquired the name of magh, although magh and maghâk still mean 'a channel or pit' in Persian.

3 The Av. kata of Vend .V, 36-40; a special chamber for the temporary reception of the corpse, when it was impossible to remove it at once to the dakhma, owing to the inclemency of the weather. It should be large enough for standing upright, and for stretching out the feet and hands, without touching either walls or ceiling; that is, not less than six feet cube. The text means that those times will be so distressing, that it will be considered lawful to perform the sacred ceremonies even in a place of such concentrated impurity as a dead-house not actually occupied by a corpse.]

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37. Or, in those last times, it becomes allowable to perform a ceremonial (yazisn) with two men, so that this religion may not come to nothing and collapse[1]; there will be only one in a hundred, in a thousand, in a myriad, who believes in this religion, and even he does nothing of it though it be a duty[2]; and the fire of Vâhrâm, which will come to nothing and collapse, falls off from a thousand to one care-taker, and even he does not supply it properly with firewood and incense; or when a man, who has performed worship and does not know the Nîrangistân[3] ('code of religious formulas'), shall kindle it with good intentions, it is allowable.

38. 'Honourable[4] wealth will all proceed to those of perverted faith (kêvîd-kêshân); it comes to the transgressors, and virtuous doers of good works, from the families of noblemen even unto the priests (môg-mardân), remain running about uncovered; the lower orders take in marriage the daughters of nobles, grandees, and priests; and the nobles, grandees, and priests come to destitution and bondage. 39. The misfortunes of the ignoble will overtake greatness and authority, and the helpless and ignoble will come to the foremost place and advancement; the words of the upholders of religion, and the seal and decision of a just judge will become the

[1. The Pâz. MSS. add, 'and helplessness.'

2. The Pâz. MSS. add, 'and the prayers and ceremonies that he orders of priests and disciples they do not fulfil.'

3. The name of a work which treats of various ceremonial details, and appears to be a portion of the Pahlavi translation of the

seventeenth or Hûspâram Nask, containing many Avesta quotations, which are not now to be found elsewhere.

4. The Pâz. MSS. have misread azîr damîk, 'underground,' instead of âzarmîk.]

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words of random speakers (andêzö-gokân) among the just and even the righteous; and the words of the ignoble and slanderers, of the disreputable and mockers, and of those of divers opinions they consider true and credible, about which they take[1] an oath, although with falsehood, and thereby give false evidence, and speak falsely and irreverently about me, Aûharmazd. 40. They who bear the title of priest and disciples wish evil concerning[2] one another; he speaks vice and they look upon vice; and the antagonism of Aharman and the demons is much brought on by them; of the sin which men commit, out of five[3] sins the priests and disciples commit three sins, and they become enemies of the good, so that they may thereby speak of bad faults relating to one another; the ceremonies they undertake they do not perform, and they have no fear of hell.

41. 'And in that tenth hundredth winter, which is the end of thy millennium, O righteous Zaratûst! all mankind will bind torn hair, disregarding revelation[4], so that a willingly-disposed cloud and a

[1. Literally, 'devour an oath,' which Persian idiom was occasioned by the original form of oath consisting in drinking water prepared in a particular manner, after having invoked all the heavenly powers to bear witness to the truth of what had been asserted (see the Saûgand-nâmah).

2. Reading râi instead of lâ, 'not.' The whole section is omitted by the Pâz. MSS., possibly from politic motives, as the language is plain enough.

3. The Persian paraphrase has 'eight.'

4. Referring probably to the injunctions regarding cutting the hair and paring the nails, with all the proper precautions for preventing any fragments of the hair or nails from lying about, as given in Vend. XVII. One of the penalties for neglecting such precautions is supposed to be a failure of the necessary rains. The {footnote p. 208} words anâstak dîfîno can also be translated by 'despising the religion.'

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righteous wind are not able to produce rain in its proper time and season. 42. And a dark cloud makes the whole sky night, and the hot wind and the cold wind arrive, and bring along fruit and seed of corn, even the rain in its proper time; and it does not rain, and that which rains also rains more noxious creatures than water; and the water of rivers and springs will diminish, and there will be no increase. 43. And the beast of burden and ox and sheep bring forth more painfully[1] and awkwardly, and acquire less fruitfulness; and their hair is coarser and skin thinner; the milk does not increase and has less cream (karbist); the strength of the labouring ox is less, and the agility of the swift horse is less, and it carries less in a race.

44. 'And on the men in that perplexing time, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! who wear the sacred thread-girdle on the waist, the evil-seeking of misgovernment and much of its false judgment have come as a wind in which their living is not possible, and they seek death as a boon; and youths and children will be apprehensive, and gossiping chitchat and gladness of heart do not arise among them. 45. And they practise the appointed feasts (gasnö) of their ancestors, the propitiation (aûsôfrîd) of angels, and the prayers and ceremonies of the season festivals and guardian spirits, in various places, yet that which they practise they do not believe in unhesitatingly; they do not give rewards lawfully, and

[1. The word appears to be dardaktar, but is almost illegible in K20; it may possibly be kûdaktar, 'more scantily' as the Pâz. MSS. have kôdaktar bahôd, 'become smaller.'

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bestow no gifts and alms, and even those [they bestow][1] they repent of again. 46. And even those men of the good religion, who have revered the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, proceed in conformity with (bar-hamakö rûbisn) those ways and customs[2], and do not believe their own religion. 47. And the noble, great, and charitable[3], who are the virtuous of their own country and locality, will depart from their own original place and family[4] as idolatrous; through want they beg something from the ignoble and vile, and come to poverty and helplessness; through them[5] nine in ten of these men will perish in the northern quarter.



48. 'Through their way of misrule everything comes to nothingness and destitution, leivity and infirmity; and the earth of Spendarmad opens its mouth wide, and every jewel and metal becomes exposed, such as gold and silver, brass, tin, and lead. 49. And rule and sovereignty come to slaves, such as the Tûrk and non-Tûranian (Atûr) of the army[6], and are turbulent as among the

[1. This verb is omitted in K20.

2. It is rather doubtful whether their own customs are meant, or those of their conquerors. .

3. Or dahâkân may mean 'the skilful.'

4. Reading dûdak instead of rûdak. At first sight the miswriting of r for d seems to indicate copying from a text in the modern Persian character, in which those two letters are often much alike; but it happens that the compounds dû and rû also resemble one another in some Pahlavi handwriting.

5. Whether through poverty and helplessness, or through the conquerors, is not quite clear.

6. Very little reliance can be placed upon the 'details of this sentence, but it is difficult to make any other complete and consistent translation. Darmesteter suggests the reading hênô, 'army,' but another possible reading is Khyôn (Av. Hvyæona), the old name {footnote p. 210} of some country probably in Turkistân, as Argâsp, the opponent of Vistâsp, is called 'lord or king of Khyôn' in the Yâdkâr-i Zarîrân (see also Gôs Yt. 30, 31, Ashi Yt. 50, 51, Zamyâd Yt. 87).]

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mountaineers[1]; and the Kîni[2], the Kâvûli, the Sôfti, the Rûman (Arûmâyak), and the white-clothed Karmak[3] then attain sovereignty in my countries of Iran, and their will and pleasure will become current in the world. 50. The sovereignty will come from those leathern-belted ones[4] and Arabs (Tâzîgân) and Rûmans to them, and they will be so misgoverning that when they kill a righteous man who is virtuous and a fly, it is all one[5] in their eyes. 51. And the security, fame, and prosperity, the country and families, the wealth and handiwork, the streams, rivers, and springs of Iran, and of those of the good religion, come to those non-Iranians; and the army and standards of the frontiers come to them, and a rule with a craving for wrath advances in the world. 52. And their eyes of avarice are not sated with wealth, and they form hoards of the world's wealth, and conceal them underground; and through wickedness they commit sodomy, hold much intercourse with menstuous women, and practise many unnatural lusts.

[1. Or, 'as the mountain-holding Khûdarak.' Darmesteter suggests that Khûdarak may be an 'inhabitant of Khazar.'

2. Probably the people of Samarkand, which place was formerly called Kîn according to a passage in some MSS. of Tabart's Chronicle, quoted in Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 298. See also Bund. XII, 22.

3. The Kâbuli and Byzantine Rûman are plain enough; not so the Sôfti and Karmak (Kalmak or Krimak).

4 That is, the. Tûrks, as appears more clearly from Chap. III, 8, 9. The Arabs are mentioned here, incidently, for the first time, and again in Chap. III, 9, 51.

5. Literally, 'both are one.')

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53. 'And in that perplexing time the night is brighter[1], and the year, month, and day will diminish one-third; the earth of Spendarmad arises, and suffering, death, and destitution become more severe in the world.'

54. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân: 'This is what I foretell: that wicked evil spirit, when it shall be necessary for him to perish, becomes more oppressive and more tyrannical.'

55. So Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân thus: 'Enquire fully and learn by heart[2] thoroughly! teach it by Zand, Pâzand, and explanation! tell it to the priests and disciples who speak forth in the world, and those who are not aware of the hundred winters, tell it then to them! so that, for the hope of a future existence, and for the preservation of their own souls,

they may remove the trouble, evil, and oppression which those of other religions cause in the ceremonies of religion. (dînô yêsnân). 56. And, moreover, I tell thee this, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! that whoever, in that time, appeals for the body is not able to save the soul, for he is as it were fat, and his soul is hungry and lean in hell; whoever appeals for the soul, his body is hungry and lean through the misery of the world, and destitute, and his soul is fat in heaven.'

57. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world who art righteous!-- He is Aûharmazd through righteous invocation, and the rest through

[1. The Pâz. version adds, 'the motion of the sun is quicker.'

2. Literally, 'make easy.')

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praise; some say 'righteous creator[1]!--'O creator! in that perplexing time are they righteous? and are there religious people who wear the sacred thread-girdle (kûstîk) on the waist, and celebrate religious rites (dînô)[2] with the sacred twigs (baresôm)? and does the religious practice of next-of-kin marriage (khvêtûk-das) continue in their families?'

58. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst thus: 'Of the best men is he who, in that perplexing time, wears the sacred thread-girdle on the waist, and celebrates religious rites with the sacred twigs, though not as in the reign of King Vistâsp. 59. Whoever in that perplexing time recites Itâ-âd-yazam (Av. ithâ âd yazamaidê, Yas. Vand XXXVII)[3] and one Ashem-vohû[4], and has learned it by heart, is as though, in the reign of King Vistâsp, it were a Dvâzdah-hômâst[5], with holy-water (zôhar). 60. And by

[1. This interpolated commentary is a pretty clear indication that the writer is translating from an Avesta text.

2. Both Pâz. and Pers. have drônô, 'sacred cakes.'

3. The third hâ or chapter of the Yasna of seven chapters. It worships Aûharmazd as the creator of all good things.

4. See Bund. XX, 2.

5. For the following explanation of the various kinds of hómâst I am indebted to Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji Jâmâsp-Âsânâ of Bombay:--

There are four kinds of hómâst recited by priests for the atonement of any sin that may have been committed by a woman during menstruation, after her purification:--

1. Hómâst consists of prayers recited for 144 days, in honour of the twelve following angels: Aûharmazd, Tîstar, Khûrshêd, Mâh, Âbân, Âdar, Khurdâd, Amerdâd, Spendarmad, Bâd, Srôsh, and Ardâ-fravash. Each angel, in turn, is revered for twelve days successively, with one Yasna each day.

2. Khadûk-hómâst, 'one hómâst,' differs from the last merely in adding a Vendidad every twelfth day, to be recited in the {footnote p. 213} Ushahin Gâh (12 P.M. to 6 A.M.) in honour of the angel whose propitiation ends that day.

3. Dah-hómâst, 'ten hómâsts,' differs from the preceding merely in having a Vendidad, in addition to the Yasna, every day.

4. Dvâzdah-hómâst, 'twelve hómâsts,' are prayers recited for 264 days in honour of twenty-two angels, namely, the twelve aforesaid and the following ten: Bahman, Ardibahist, Shahrivar, Mihir, Bahrâm, Râm, Dîn, Rashnû, Gôs, and Âstâd. Each angel, in turn, is revered as in the last.

The celebration of hómâst costs 350 rûpîs, that of khadûk-hómâst 422 rûpîs, that of dah-hómâst 1000 rûpîs, and that of dvâzdah-hómâst 2000 rûpîs; but the first and third are now no longer used. The merit obtained by having such recitations performed is equivalent to 1000 tanâpûhars for each Yasna, 10,000 for each Visparad, and 70,000 for each Vendidad recited. A tanâpûhar is now considered as a weight of 1200 dirhams, with which serious sins and works of considerable merit are estimated; originally it must have meant a sin which was 'inexpiable' by ordinary good works, and, conversely, any extraordinary good work which was just sufficient to efface such a sin.

The amount of merit attaching to such recitations is variously stated in different books, and when recited with holy-water (that is, with all their ceremonial rites) they are said to be usually a hundred times as meritorious as when recited without it.]

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whomever prayer is offered up, and the Gâtha-hymns are chanted, it is as though the whole ritual had been recited, and the Gâtha-hymns consecrated by him in the reign of King Vistâsp. 61. The most perfectly righteous of the righteous is he who remains in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, and continues the religious practice of next-of-kin marriage in his family.'

62. Aûharmazd said to the righteous Zaratûst: 'In these nine thousand years which I, Aûharmazd, created, mankind become most perplexed in that perplexing time; for in the evil reigns of Az-i Dahâk and Frâsîyâv of Tûr mankind, in those perplexing times, were living better and living more

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numerously, and their disturbance by Aharman and the demons was less. 63. For in their evil reigns, within the countries of Iran, there were not seven[1] towns which were desolate as they will be when it is the end of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! for all the towns of Iran will be ploughed up by their horses' hoofs, and their banners will reach unto Padashkhvârgar[2], and they will carry away the sovereignty of the seat of the religion I approve from there; and their destruction comes from that place, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I foretell.'

64. Whoever[3] of those existing, thus, with reverence unto the good, performs much worship for Aûharmazd, Aûharmazd, aware of it through righteousness, gives him whatsoever Aûharmazd is aware of through righteousness, as remuneration and reward of duty and good works, and such members of

[1. So in the Pâzand, but 'seventeen' in Persian; in K20 the word is partly illegible, but can be no other number than sibâ, seven.'

2. The mountainous region south of the Caspian (see Bund. XII, 2, 17).

3. This section is the Pahlavi version of an Avesta formula which is appended to nearly two-thirds of the hâs or chapters of the Yasna, and, therefore, indicates the close of the chapter at this point. The version here given contains a few verbal deviations from that given in the Yasna, but none of any importance. The Avesta text of this formula is as follows:--

YêNhê hâtâm âad, yêsênê paiî  
vanghô mazdau ahurô vaêthâ, ashâd hakâ,  
yaunghâm kê, tâskâ tauskâ yazamaidê.

And it may be translated in the following manner:--

'Of whatever male of the existences, therefore, Ahuramazda was better cognizant, through righteousness in worship, and of whatever females, both those males and those females we reverence.']

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the congregation, males and females, I reverence; and the archangels, who are also male and female, they are good.

### CHAPTER III.

1. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous one! whence do they restore this good religion of the Mazdayasnians? and by what means will they destroy these demons with dishevelled hair[1], of the race of Wrath? 2. O creator! grant me death! and grant my favoured ones death I that they may not live in that perplexing time; grant them exemplary living! that they may not prepare wickedness and the way to hell.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! after the ill-omened[2] sovereignty of those of the race of Wrath[3] there is a fiend, Shêdâspîh[4] of the Kilisyâkîh, from the countries of Salmân[5]; Mâhvand-dâd

[1. The Pâz. MSS. insert, 'and black clothing' here.

2. Literally, 'black-marked,' or possibly, 'black standard.'

3. The Pâz. MSS. add, 'the leathern-belted Tûrks,' that is, people of Turkistân.

4. This fiend appears to be a personification of Christianity or 'ecclesiasticism' (Kilisyâkîh, see Chap. II, 19), and the writer seems to place his appearance some time in the middle ages, probably before the end of the thirteenth century (see the note on 144). Darmesteter suggests that Shêdâsp may have been intended as a modern counterpart of Bêvarâsp (Az-i Dahâk), the ancient tyrant; and that this Christian invasion may be a reminiscence of the crusades.

5. I have formerly read Mûsulmân instead of min Salmân, and hence concluded that the text must have been written long {footnote p. 216} after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia; but this reading is irreconcilable with the context. The position of Salmân (Av. Sairima) is defined by Bund. XX, 12, which places the sources of the Tigris in that country.]

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said that these people are Rûman (Arûmâyîk), and Rôshan[1] said that they have red weapons, red banners, and red hats (kûlâh). 4. 'It is when a symptom of them appears, as they advance, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the sun and the dark show signs, and the moon becomes manifest of various colours; earthquakes (bûm-guzand), too, become numerous, and the wind comes mote violently; in the world want, distress, and discomfort come more into view; and Mercury and Jupiter advance the sovereignty for the vile[2], and they are in hundreds and thousands and myriads. 5. They have the red banner of the fiend Shêdâspîh of Kilisyâkîh, and they hasten much their progress to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created, up to the bank of the Arvand[3] some have said[4] the Frât[5] river, 'unto the Greeks (Yûnân) dwelling in Asûristân;' they are Greeks by strict reckoning[6],

[1. The name. of a commentator, or commentary, often quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad, and other texts. Mâhvand-dâd is mentioned in the Pahlavi Yasna (see Sl. I, 4).

2 The Pâz. MSS. state that 'Mercury and Jupiter beat down the strength of Venus.'

3. Here written Arang, Arand, or Arvad, but as it is Arvand in §§ 21, 38, that reading seems preferable, the difference between the two names in Pahlavi being merely a single stroke. The Arvand is the Tigris, and the Arang probably the Araxes (see SZS. VI, 20, Bund. XX, 8)..

4. Literally, 'there are and were some who said;' this phrase occurs several times in the latter part of this text.

5. The Euphrates.

6 Or, 'of strict reckoning,' reading sâkht amâr, but both reading and meaning are very uncertain. As it stands in K26 it {footnote p. 217} may be sâkht gumâl, 'extreme beauty,' or Sâkhtîmâr (the name of a place), or this may stand for sâkht tîmâr, 'severe misfortune;' and other readings are possible.]

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and their Assyrian dwelling is this, that they slay the Assyrian people therein, and thus they will destroy their abode, some have said the lurking-holes (grêstak) of the demons.

6. 'They turn back those of the race of Wrath[1] in hundreds and thousands and myriads; and the banners, standards, and an innumerable army of those demons with dishevelled hair will come to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created. 7. And the army of the invader[2] is an extending enemy of the Tûrk[3] and even the Karm[4], be it with banners aloft when he shall set up a banner, be it through the excessive multitude which will remain--like hairs in the mane of a horse--in the countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created.

8. 'The leathern-belted Tûrk and the Rûman Shêdâspîh of Kilisyâkîh come forth with simultaneous movement[5], and in three places, with similar strife, there was and will be three times a great contest (ârdîh), O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! One in the reign of Kaî-Kâûs[6], When through

[1. It is not quite clear which party will turn the other back.

2. Literally, 'extender,' that is, one engaged in extending his own dominions.
3. The remainder of this § (except the verb 'remain') is Pâzand written in Persian characters in K20.
4. Possibly the Karmak of Chap. II, 49. In § 20 the Kurd and Karmân (or Karms) may refer to the Tûrk and Karm of this §, so it is doubtful whether Tûrk or Kurd is meant.
5. Or, 'for the encounter,' pavan ham-rasisnîh.
6. See Bund. XXXI, 25, XXXIV, 7. The letters are here joined together, so as to become Kai-gâûs, and this form of the name is {footnote p. 218} often read Kâhûs or Kahôs in Pâzand (see Mkh. VIII, 27, XXVII, 54, LVII, 21). The Pâz. MSS. omit § 9.]

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the assistance of demons it was with the archangels; and the second when thou, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! receivedst the religion and hadst thy conference, and King Vistâsp and Argâsp[1], miscreated by wrath, were, through the war of the religion, in the combat of Spêd-razûr ("the hoary forest[2]"), 'some have said it was in Pars; 'and the third when it is the end of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! when all the three, Tûrk, Arab, and Rûman, come to this[3] place,' some have said the plain of Nîsânak[4]. 10. 'And all those of the countries of Iran, which I, Aûharmazd, created, come from their own place unto Padashkhvârgar[5], owing to those of the race of Wrath, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! so that a report of something of the cave dwellings, mountain dwellings, and river dwellings of these people will remain at Padashkhvârgar and Pârs; some have said the fire Visnâsp[6], on the deep Lake Kêkast which has medicinal water opposed to the demons, is there (in Padashkhvârgar?) as it were conspicuous,' some have said 'originating[7],' 'so that

[1. See Bund. XII, 32, 33.

2. See Bund. XXIV, 16.

3. Perhaps 'one' is meant, as hanâ, 'this,' is sometimes substituted for aê, 'one,' both being read e in Pâzand.

4. The reading of this name is quite uncertain.

5. See Chap. II, 63. The whole of the final clause of this section, about the fire Visnâsp, is inserted parenthetically at this point in the Pahlavi text.

6. Elsewhere called Gûsnâsp, Gûsnâsp, or Gûsasp (see SZS. VI, 22).

7. The most obvious reading of this word is mâhîk, 'fish,' which can hardly be reconciled with the context. The view here taken is that the writer was translating from an Avesta text, and met {footnote p. 219} with the word kithra, which means both pêdâk, 'clear,' and tôkhmak, 'originating,' but to express the latter meaning he used the synonym mâyakîk, which can be written exactly like mâhîk. Owing to the involved character of this section it is not very clear in English, but it is still more obscure in the Pahlavi text, in which the whole of this clause about the fire is inserted parenthetically after the first mention of Padashkhvârgar.]

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they may use it anew, and the fire may become shining in these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created. 11. For when one shall be able to save his own life, he has then no recollection of wife, child, and wealth, that they may not live, in that perplexing time, O Zaratûst! yet the day when the hundredth winter becomes the end of thy millennium, which is that of Zaratûst, is so that nothing wicked may go from this millennium into that millennium[1].'

[1. This last clause may be read several ways, and it is by no means easy to ascertain clearly the chronological order of the events which are jumbled together in this last chapter. But it would appear that Zaratûst's millennium was to end at a time when the religion was undisturbed, and just before the incursion of the demons or idolators, the details of which have been given in Chap. II, 2 2-III, II, and which is the first event of Hûshêdar's millennium (see § 13). Now according to Bund. XXXIV, 7-9, the interval from 'the coming of the religion,' in the reign of Kaî-Vistâsp, to the end of the Sasanian monarchy

was  $90 + 112 + 30 + 12 + 14 + 14 + 284 + 460 = 1016$  years. If by 'the coming of the religion' be meant the time when Zaratûst received it, as he was then thirty years old, he must have been born 1046 years before the end of the Sasanian monarchy (A. D. 651), and the end of his millennium must have been in A. D. 605, the sixteenth year of Khûsrô Parvîz, when the Sasanian power was near its maximum, and only a score of years before it began suddenly to collapse. This close coincidence indicates that the writer of the Bahman Yast must have adopted the same incorrect chronology as is found in the Bundahis. If, however, 'the coming of the religion' mean its acceptance by Vistâsp, which occurred in Zaratûst's fortieth or {footnote p. 220} forty-second year, his birth must have been ten or twelve years earlier, and his millennium must have ended A. D. 593-595. But according to the imperfect chronology of Bund. XXXIV the tenth millennium of the world, that of Capricornus, commenced with 'the coming of the religion,' and ended, therefore, in A. D. 635, the fourth year of Yazdakard, the last Sasanian king, when the Muhammadans were just preparing for their first invasion; so the millennium of Aquarius is very nearly coincident with that of Hûshêdar, and may probably be intended to represent it. It appears, therefore, that the millennium of Hûshêdar is altogether past, having extended from A. D. 593-635 to A. D. 1593-1635.]

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12. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous one! when they are so many in number, by what means will they be able to perish[1]?'

13. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! when the demon with dishevelled hair of the race of Wrath comes into notice in the eastern quarter, first a black token becomes manifest, and Hûshêdar son of Zaratûst is born on Lake Frazdân[2]. 14. It is when he comes to his conference with me[3], Aûharmazd, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! that in the direction of Kînistân [4], it is said--some have said among the Hindus--'is born a prince (kaî); it is his father, a prince of the Kayân race, approaches the

[1. The Paz. MSS. omit § 12. The writer having detailed the evils of the iron age, now returns to its commencement in order to describe the means adopted for partially counteracting those evils.

2. See Bund. XXII, 5, XXXII, 8. The Pâz. MSS. add, 'they bring him up in Zâvulistân and Kâvulistân;' and the Pers. version says, 'on the frontier of Kâbulistân.' With regard to the time of Hûshêdar's birth, see § 44. His name is always written Khûrshêdar in K20.

3. The Pâz. and Pers. versions say, 'at thirty years of age,' as in § 44.

4. Possibly Samarkand (see Chap. II, 49. note 2).]

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women, and a religious prince is born to him; he calls his name Vâhrâm the Vargâvand[1], 'some have said Shahpûr. 15. 'That a sign may come to the earth, the night when that prince is born, a star falls from the sky; when that prince is born the star shows a signal.' 16. It is Dâd-Aûharmazd[2] who said that the month Âvân and day Vâd[3] is his father's end; 'they rear him with the damsels of the king, and a woman becomes ruler.

17. 'That prince when he is thirty years old'--some have told the time--'comes with innumerable banners and divers armies, Hindu and Kîni[4], having uplifted banners--for they set up their banners--having exalted banners, and having exalted weapons; they hasten up with speed[5] as far as the Vêh river'--some have said the country of Bambö[6]--as far as Bukhâr and the Bukhârans within its bank,

[1. Bahrâm the illustrious or splendid (Av. varekanhand, compare Pers. varg), an epithet applied, in the Avesta, to the moon, Tistrya, the scriptures, the royal glory of the Kayâniâns, the Kayâniâns themselves, and the hero Thrîta. This personage may possibly be an incarnation of the angel Bahrâm, mingled with some reminiscences of the celebrated Persian general Bahrâm Kôpîn; but see §§ 32, 49.

2 A commentator who is quoted in the Pahlavi Yas. XI, 22; see also Chap. I, 7.

3. The 22nd day of the eighth month of the Parsi year, corresponding to October 7th when the year began at the vernal equinox, as the Bundahis (XXV, 6, 7, 20, 21) describes.

4. That is, Bactrian and Samarkandian.

5. Or, 'light up with glitter,' according as we read tâgend or tâvend. The Pâz. MSS. omit §§ 17-44, except one or two isolated phrases.

6. Spiegel was inclined to identify this name with Bombay, but this is impossible, as the MS. K20 (in which the name occurs) was written some two centuries before the Portuguese invented the name of Bombay. Its original name, by which it is still called by {footnote p. 222} its native inhabitants, being Mumbaî. The locality mentioned in the text is, evidently to be sought on the banks of the Oxus near Bukhârâ; the Oxus having been sometimes considered the upper course of the Arag, and sometimes that of the Veh (see Bund. XX, 22, note 5). It is hardly probable that either Bâmî (Balkh) or Bâmiyân would be changed into Bambö, and the only exact representative of this name appears to be Bamm, a town about 120 miles S. E. of Kirmân; this is quite a different locality from that mentioned in the text, but it is hazardous to set bounds to the want of geographical knowledge displayed by some of the Pahlavi commentators.]

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O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! 18. When the star Jupiter comes up to its culminating point (bâlist)[1] and casts Venus down, the sovereignty comes to the prince. 19. Quite innumerable are the champions, furnished with arms and with banners displayed,' some have said from Sagastân, Pârs, and Khûrâsân, some have said from the lake of Padashkhvârgar[2], some have said from the Hirâtîs[3] and Kôhistân, some have said from Taparistân[4]; and from those directions 'every supplicant for a child[5] comes into[6] view. 26. It is concerning the displayed banners and very numerous army, which were the armed men, champions, and soldiers from the countries of Iran at Padashkhvârgar--whom I told thee[7] that they call both Kurd and Karmân--it is declared

[1. Compare SZS. IV, 8. Here the triumph of Jupiter over Venus appears to be symbolical of the displacement of the queen dowager by her son.

2. That is, from the southern shore of the Caspian.

3. Reading Hiriyân, but this is doubtful, as it may be 'from the citadels (arigânö), or defiles (khalakânö), of Kôhistân.'

4. See Bund. XII, 17, XIII, 15.

5. That is, every man able to bear arms.

6. Reading pavan, 'into,' instead of barâ, 'besides' (see SZS. VIII, 2, note 5).

7. See § 10, but as nothing is said there about Kurd or Karmân, it is possible that the writer meant to say, 'of whom I told thee, {footnote p. 223} and whom they call both Kurd and Karmân.' It is more probable, however, that he is referring to § 7.]

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that they will slay an excessive number, in companionship and under the same banner, for these countries of Iran.

21. 'Those of the race of Wrath and the extensive army[1] of Shêdâspîh, whose names are the two-legged wolf and the leathern-belted demon on the bank of the Arvand[2], wage three battles, one in Sped-razûr[3] and one in the plain of Nîsânak;' some have said that it was on the lake of the three races, some have said that it was in Marûv[4] the brilliant, and some have said in Pârs. 22. 'For the support of the countries of Iran is the innumerable army of the east; its having exalted banners', is that they have a banner of tiger skin (bôpar pôst), and their wind banner is white cotton[6]; innumerable are the mounted troops, and they ride up to the lurking-holes[7] of the demons; they will slay so that a thousand women can afterwards see and kiss but one man.

[1. Compare § 7. The 'extensive army' and 'two-legged wolf' are terms borrowed apparently from Yas. IX, 62, 63.

2. That is, 'the rapid' (Av. aurvand). The other names of this river, Tigris and Hiddekel, have the same meaning. See §§ 5, 38.

3. See § 9, of which this is a recapitulation, but the first of the three battles is here omitted by mistake.

4. Marv in the present Turkistân.

5. Referring to § 17.

6. Supposing that bandôk may be equivalent to Pers. bandak, but the usual Pahlavi term for cotton is pumbak (Pers. punbah).

7. Reading grestak as in § 5, but the word can also be read dar dîdak, 'gate watch-tower.' It is possible that the drugö geredha, 'pit of the fiend,' of Vend. III, 24, may be here meant; the gate of hell, whence the demons congregate upon the Arezûr ridge (Bund. XII, 8).]

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23. 'When it is the end of the time', O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! those enemies will be as much destroyed as the root of a shrub when it is in the night on which a cold winter arrives, and in this night it sheds its leaves; and they will reinstate these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created[2].

24. 'And with speed rushes the evil spirit, with the vilest races of demons and Wrath with infuriate spear[3], and comes on to the support and assistance of those demon-worshippers and miscreations of wrath, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! 25. And I, the creator Aûharmazd, send Nêryôsang the angel and Srôsh the righteous[4] unto Kangdez[5], which the illustrious Sîyâvakhsh [6] formed, and to Kîtrô-mîyân[7] son of Vistâsp, the glory of the Kayâns, the just restorer of the religion, to speak thus: "Walk forth, O illustrious Pêshyôtanû! to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created; consecrate the fire and waters for the Hâdôkht[8] and Dvâzdah-hômâst!

[1. Compare, 'and at the time of the end' (Dan. xi. 40). The writer appears to be here finally passing from a description of the past into speculations as to the future, which he has hitherto only casually indulged in.

2. The supernatural means supposed to be employed for the destruction of the wicked and the restoration of the good are detailed in the following paragraphs.

3. See Chap. II, 36.

4. The two angels who are the special messengers of Aûharmazd to mankind (see Band. XV, 1, XXX, 29). This message was expected to be sent to Pêshyôtanû near the end of Hûshêdar's millennium (see § 51).

5. See Bund. XXIX, 10.

6. See Bund. XXXI, 25.

7. A title of Pêshyôtanû, written Kîtrô-maînô in Bund. XXIX, 5.

8. This was the twentieth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard; but the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats make it the twenty-first, and say very {footnote p. 225} little about its contents (see Haug's Essays, pp. 133, 134). The Dînkard, in its eighth book, gives the following account of this Nask:--

'The Hâdôkht as it exists has three divisions among its 133 sections. The first has thirteen (twelve?) sections, treatises upon the nature of the recital of the Ahunavar, which is the spiritual benefit from chanting it aloud, and whatever is on the same subject. Admonition about selecting and keeping a spiritual and worldly high-priest, performing every duty as to the high-priest, and maintaining even those of various high-priests. On the twenty-one chieftainships of the spirits in Aûharmazd, and of the worldly existences in Zaratûst, among which are the worship of God and the management of the devout. On the duty requisite in each of the five different periods of the day and night, and the fate at the celestial bridge of him who shall be zealous in the celebration of the season-festivals; he who does not provide the preparations for the feast of the season-festivals, and who is yet efficient in the other worship of God. On how to consider, and what to do with, a leader of the high-priest class and a man of the inferior classes; he who atones for unimportant sin, and he who does not atone even for that which is important, and whatever is on the same subject. On the apparatus with which ploughed land (?) is prepared. On the manifestation of virtuous manhood, and the merit and advantage from uttering good words for blessing the eating and drinking of food and drink, and rebuking the inward talk of the demons. On the recitations at the five periods of the day, and the ceremonial invocation by name of many angels, each separately, and great information on the same subject; the worthiness of a man restrained by authority the giving of life and body to the angel the good rulers, and their examination and satisfaction; the blessing and winning words which are most successful in carrying off the affliction which proceeds from a fiend. On all-pleasing creativeness and omniscience, and all precedence (?), leadership, foresight(?), worthy liberality, virtue



(?), and every proper cause and effect of righteousness; the individuality of righteousness, the opposition to the demons of Aûharmazd's opinion, and also much other information in the same section.

'The middle division has 102 sections, treatises on spiritual and worldly diligence, the leadership of the diligent, and their mighty {footnote p. 226} means, all former deeds of righteousness; righteousness kindling the resolution is the reward of merit, each for each, and is adapted by it for that of which it is said that it is the Hâdôkht which is the maintaining of righteousness, so that they may make righteousness more abiding in the body of a man.

'The last division has nineteen sections of trusty remedies, that is, remedies whose utterance aloud by the faithful is a chief resource among the creatures of God; also the nature of sayings full of humility, well-favoured, most select, and adapted for that of which it is said that I reverence that chief, the excellent and eminent Hâdôkht, of which they trust in the sustaining strength of every word of Zaratûst. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness (Av. ashem vohû vahistem astî).'

According to tradition three chapters of this Nask are still extant, being the Yast fragments XXI, XXII of Westergaard's edition of the Avesta Texts; but they do not correspond to any part of the description in the Dînkard. For a description of Dvâzdah-hômâst see Chap. II, 59.]

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that is, celebrate them with the fire and waters, and such as is appointed about the fire and waters!"

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26. 'And Nêryôsang proceeds, with Srôsh the righteous, from the good Kakâd-i-Dâtûk[1] to Kangdez, which the illustrious Siyâvakhsh formed, and cries out from it thus: "Walk forth, O illustrious Pêshyôtanû! O Kîtrô-mîyân son of Vistâsp, glory of the Kayâns, just restorer of the religion! walk forth to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created! restore again the throne of sovereignty of the religion!"

27. 'Those spirits move on, and they propitiate them; with holy-water the illustrious Pêshyôtanû celebrates the Dvâzdah-hômâst, with a hundred and fifty righteous who are disciples of Pêshyôtanû, in black marten fur, and they have garments as it were of the good spirit. 28. They walk up with the words: "Hûmat, hûkht, hûvarst[2]" and consecrate

[1. See Bund. XII, 7.

2. That is, 'good thoughts, good words, and good deeds,' a formula often uttered when commencing an important action.]

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the fire of the waters; with the illustrious Hâdôkht they bless me, Aûharmazd, with the archangels, and after that it demolishes one-third of the opposition. 29. And the illustrious Pêshyôtanû walks forth, with the hundred and fifty men who wear black marten fur, and they celebrate the rituals (yasnân) of the Gadman-hômand ("glorious") fire, which they call the Rôshanô-kerp ("luminous form")[1], which is established at the appointed place (dâtô-gâs), the triumphant ritual of the Frôbâ fire, Horvadam, and Amerôdad, and the ceremonial (yazisn) with his priestly co-operation; they arrange and pray over the sacred twigs; and the ritual of Horvadam and Amerôdad, in the chapter of the code of religious formulas (nîrangistân)[2] demolishes three-thirds of the opposition. 30. Pêshyôtanû son of Vistâsp walks forth, with the assistance of the Frôbâ fire, the fire Gûsnâsp, and the fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô[3], to the great idol-temples, the abode of the demons[4]; and the wicked evil spirit, Wrath with infuriate spear[5], and all demons and fiends, evil races and wizards, arrive at the deepest abyss of hell; and those idol-temples are extirpated by the exertions of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû.

31. 'And I, the creator Aûharmazd, come to Mount Hûkaîryâd[6] with the archangels, and I issue

[1. See Bund. XVII, 5, 6. This appears to be an allusion to the removal of the sacred fire by Vistâsp, from the, 'glorious' mountain in Khvârizem to the 'shining' mountain in Kâvulistân.

2. See Chap. II, 37.

3. Regarding these three manifestations of the sacred fire, see Bund. XVII, 3-9, SZS. XI, 8-10.

Supplying the word sêdâân, 'the demons,' in accordance with 36, 37; there being clearly some word omitted in K20.

4. See Chap. II, 36.

5. Hûgar the lofty in Bund. XII, 2, 5.]

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orders to the archangels that they should speak to the angels of the spiritual existences thus: "Proceed to the assistance of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû!" 32. Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures, Srôsh the vigorous, Rashn the just, Vâhrâm[1] the mighty, Âstâd the victorious, and the glory of the religion of the Mazdayasnians, the stimulator of religious formulas (nîrang), the arranger of the world, proceed[2] to the assistance of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû, through the order of which I, the creator, have just written[3].

33. 'Out of the demons of gloomy race the evil spirit cries to Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures thus: "Stay above in truth[4], thou Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures!"

34. 'And then Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries thus: "of these nine thousand years' support, which during its beginning produced Dahâk of evil religion, Frâsîyâv of Tûr, and Alexander[5] the Rûman, the period of one thousand years of those leathern-belted demons with dishevelled hair is a more than moderate reign to produce[6]."

35. 'The wicked evil spirit becomes confounded when he heard this; Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures will smite Wrath of the infuriate spear with

[1. The fact that the angel Vâhrâm goes in his spiritual forth to the assistance of Pêshyôtanû, rather militates against the idea that he also goes in the form of Vâhrâm the Vargâvand.

2. This verb is omitted by mistake in K20.

3. Literally, 'arrive at the writing.'

4. Or, 'stand up with honesty.'

5. The latter two names are here written Frâsâv and Alasandar.

6. From this it appears that the writer expected the evil reign of the unbelievers to last a thousand years, that is, till the end of Hûshêdar's millennium, about A.D. 1593-1635, which corresponds very closely with the reign of the great Shâh `Abbâs.]

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stupefaction; and the wicked evil spirit flees, with the miscreations and evil progeny he flees back to the darkest recess of hell. 36. And Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries to the illustrious Pêshyôtanû thus: "Extirpate and utterly destroy the idol-temples, the abode of the demons! proceed to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created! restore again the throne of sovereignty of the religion over the wicked! when they see thee they will be terrified."

37. 'And the illustrious Pêshyôtanû advances, and the fire Frôbâ, the fire Gûsnasp, and the triumphant fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô will smite the fiend of excessive strength; he will extirpate the idol-temples that are the abode of demons; and they celebrate the ceremonial (yazisn), arrange the sacred twigs, solemnize the Dvâzdah-hômâst, and praise me, Aûharmazd, with the archangels; this is what I foretell[1]. 38. The illustrious Pêshyôtanû walks forth to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created, to the Arvand and Vêh river[2]; when the wicked see him they will be terrified, those of the progeny of gloom and those not worthy.

39. 'And regarding that Vâhrâm the Vargâvand it is declared that he comes forth in full glory, fixes upon Vandîd-khîm[3] ("a curbed temper"), and having intrusted him with the seat of mobadship of the

[1. Or, perhaps 'what I said before,' being already narrated in § 29 as performed by Pêshyôtanû before advancing far into Iran.

2. The Tigris and the Oxus-Indus (see §§ 5, 21).

3. Probably a title of Pêshyôtanû; a more obvious translation would be, 'restrains a curbed temper, and is intrusted,' &c., but it is hardly probable that the warrior prince Vâhrâm could become a priest. It is Vâhrâm's business to restore the empire, leaving Pêshyôtanû to restore the religion.]

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mobads[1], and the seat of true explanation of the religion, he restores again these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created; and he drives[2] away from the world covetousness, want, hatred, wrath, lust, envy, and wickedness. 40. And the wolf period goes away, and the sheep period comes on; they establish the fire Frôbâ, the fire Gûsnâsp, and the fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô again at their proper places, and they will properly supply the firewood and incense; and the wicked evil spirit becomes confounded and unconscious, with the demons and the progeny of gloom. 41. And so the illustrious Pêshyôtanû speaks thus: "Let the demon be destroyed, and the witch be destroyed! let the fiendishness and vileness of the demons be destroyed! and let the gloomy progeny of the demons be destroyed! The glory[3] of the religion of the Mazdayasnians prospers, and let it prosper! let the family[4] of the liberal and just, who are doers of good deeds, prosper! and let the throne of the religion and sovereignty have a good restorer!" 42. Forth comes the illustrious Pêshyôtanû, forth he comes with a hundred and fifty men of the disciples who wear black marten fur, and they take the throne of their own religion and sovereignty.'

43. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân: 'This is what I foretell, when it is the end of thy millennium it is the beginning of that of Hûshêdar[5].

[1. The supreme high-priesthood, or primacy.

2. Merely a guess, as the verb varafsêd is difficult to understand.

3. K20 has nismô, 'soul,' but the very similarly written gadman, 'glory,' is a more likely reading here (see § 32).

4. Reading dûdak instead of rûdak, as in Chap. II, 47.

5. The writer having detailed the supernatural means employed for restoring the religion, now returns to the birth of Hûshêdar {footnote p. 231} (§ 13) for the purpose of mentioning some of his actions, and making the chronology of his millennium rather more clear. Nothing is said here about his miraculous birth, the details of which are given in the seventh book of the Dînkard very much as they are found in the Persian Rivâyats. The Dînkard states that thirty years before the end of Zaratûst's millennium a young maiden bathing in certain water, and drinking it, becomes pregnant through the long-preserved seed of Zaratûst (see Bund. XXXII, 8, 9), and subsequently gives birth to Hûshêdar.]

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44. Regarding Hûshêdar it is declared that he will be born in 1600[1], and at thirty years of age he comes to a conference with me, Aûharmazd, and receives the religion. 45. When he comes away from the conference he cries to the sun with the swift horse[2], thus: "Stand still!"

46. 'The sun with the swift horse stands still ten

[1. There seems to be no other rational way of understanding this number than by supposing that it represents the date of Hûshêdar's birth, counting from the beginning of Zaratûst's millennium. According to this view Hûshêdar was to be born in the six hundredth year of his own millennium, and not at its beginning, as § 13 seems to imply, nor nearly thirty years earlier, as the Dînkard asserts. As the beginning of his millennium may be fixed about A. D. 593-635 (see note on § 11), the writer must have expected him to be born about A. D. 1193-1235; a time which was probably far in the future when he was writing. And as Vâhrâm the Vargâvand was to be born when Hûshêdar was thirty years of age (compare §§ 14) 44), and was to march into Iran at the age of thirty (§ 17), the great conflict of the nations (§§ 8, 19-22) was expected to begin about A.D. 1253-1295, and to continue till near the end of the millennium, about A.D. 1593-1635, when Pêshyôtanû was expected to appear (§ 51) and to restore the 'good' religion (§§ 26, 37, 42). An enthusiastic Parsi interpreter of prophecy might urge that though this period did not witness any revival of his religion, it did witness a restoration of the Persian empire under Shâh `Abbâs, and also the first beginning of British power in India, which has been so great a benefit to the scanty, remnant of his fellow-countrymen.

2. The usual epithet of the sun in the Avesta.]

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days and nights; and when this happens all the people of the world abide by the good religion of the Mazdayasnians. 47. Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries to Hûshêdar, son of Zaratûst, thus: "O Hûshêdar, restorer of the true religion! cry to the sun with the swift horse thus: 'Move on!' for it is dark in the regions of Arzâh and Savâh, Fradadafsh and Vîdadafsh, Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst, and the illustrious Khvanîras[1]."

48. Hûshêdar son of Zaratûst cries, to the sun he cries, thus: "Move on!" 49. The sun with the swift horse moves on, and Vargâvand[2] and all mankind fully believe in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians.

50. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I foretell, that this one brings the creatures back to their proper state. 51. When it is near the end of the millennium Pêshyôtanû[3] son of Vistâsp comes into notice, who is a Kayân that advances triumphantly; and those enemies who relied upon fiendishness, such as the Tûrk, Arab, and Rûman, and the vile ones who control[4] the Iranian sovereign with insolence and oppression and enmity to the sovereignty, destroy the fire and make the religion weak; and they convey their power and success to him and every one who accepts the law and religion willingly; if he

[1. The seven regions of the earth (see Bund. XI, 2, 3).

2. It is just possible to read, 'the sun with the swift horse, the splendid, moves on, and all mankind fully believe,' &c. But if the reading in the text be correct it effectually disposes of the idea of Vâhrâm being an incarnation of the angel, as an angel would require no miracle to make him believe in the religion.

3. See §§ 25-30.

4. This verb is doubtful, as most of the word is torn off in K20.]

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accept it unwillingly the law and religion ever destroy him[1] till it is the end of the whole millennium.

52. 'And, afterwards, when the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh comes, through Hûshêdar-mâh[2] the creatures become more progressive, and he utterly destroys the fiend of serpent origin[3]; and Pêshyôtanû son of Vistâsp becomes, in like manner, high-priest and primate (rad) of the world[4]. 53. In that millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh mankind become so versed in medicine, and keep and bring physic and remedies so much in use, that when they are confessedly at the point of death they do not thereupon die, nor when they smite and slay them with the sword and knife[5].

54. 'Afterwards, one begs a gift of any description out of the allowance of heretics, and owing to depravity and heresy they do not give it. 55. And Aharman rises through that spite[6] on to the mountain

[1. This appears to be the meaning, but the latter part of the sentence is not very clear.

2. See Bund. XXXII, 8. The name is written Khûrshêd-mâh in K20. The Dînkard gives the same account of the miraculous birth of Hûshêdar-mâh as of the first Hûshêdar (see note on § 43); it also repeats the legend of the sun standing still, but for the longer period of twenty days; all which details are also found in the Persian Rivâyats.

3. Av. azikithra; such creatures are mentioned in Ardavahist Yt. 8, 10, 11, 15; but Az-i Dahâk, 'the destructive serpent,' is probably meant here (see §§ 56-61).

4. As in the previous millennium. According to the chronology deduced from s 44 the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh, which corresponds to the twelfth and last millennium of Bund. XXXIV, is now near the middle of its third century.

5. The sentence is either defective or obscure, but this appears to be its meaning.

6. The evil spirit is encouraged by an act of religious toleration, apparently, to recommence his manœuvres for injuring

mankind.]

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of Dimâvand[1], which is the direction of Bêvarâsp, and shouts thus: "Now it is nine thousand years, and Frêdûn is not living; why do you not rise up, although these thy fetters are not removed, when[2] this world is full of people, and they have brought them from the enclosure which Yim formed[3]?"

56. 'After that apostate shouts like this, and because of it, Az-i Dahâk[4] stands up before him, but, through fear of the likeness of Frêdûn in the body of Frêdûn, he does not first remove those fetters and stake from his trunk until Aharman removes them. 57. And the vigour of Az-i Dahâk increases, the fetters being removed from his trunk, and his impetuosity remains; he swallows down the apostate on the spot[5], and rushing into the world to perpetrate sin, he commits innumerable grievous sins; he swallows down one-third of mankind, cattle, sheep, and other creatures of Aûharmazd; he smites the water, fire, and vegetation, and commits grievous sin.

58. 'And, afterwards, the water, fire, and vegetation stand before Aûharmazd the lord in lamentation, and make this complaint: "Make Frêdûn alive again! so that he may destroy Az-i Dahâk; for if thou, O Aûharmazd! dost not do this, we cannot

[1. Here written Dimbhâvand (see Bund. XII, 31).

2. Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see the note on Bund. I, 7).

3. The var-i Yim kard (see Bund. XXIX, 14). The men and creatures who are supposed to be preserved in this enclosure are expected to replenish the world whenever it has been desolated by wars and oppression.

4. Whose surname is Bêvarâsp (see Bund. XXIX, 9).

5. The Pâz. MSS. end here.]

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exist in the world; the fire says thus: I will not heat; and the water says thus: I will not flow."

59. 'And then I, Aûharmazd the creator, say to Srôsh and Nêryôsang the angel: "Shake the body of Keresâsp the Sâmân, till he rises up!"

60. 'Then Srôsh and Nêryôsang the angel go to Keresâsp[1]; three times they utter a cry, and the fourth time Sâm rises up with triumph, and goes to meet Az-i Dahâk. 61. And[2] Sâm does not listen to his words, and the triumphant club strikes him on the head, and smites and kills him; afterwards, desolation and adversity depart from this world, while I make a beginning of the millennium[3]. 62. Then Sôshyans[4] makes the creatures again pure, and the resurrection and future existence occur.'

63. May the end be in peace, pleasure, and joy, by the will of God (yazdânö)! so may it be! even more so may it be!

[1. Also called Sâm in this same section; he was lying in a trance in the plain of Pêsyânsâf (see Bund. XXIX, 7-9).

2. Reading afas instead of minas (see Chap. II, 4, note 2).

3. The thirteenth millennium, or first of the future existence, when Sôshyans appears. The Dînkard and the Persian Rivâyats recount the same legends regarding the miraculous birth of Sôshyans, and of the sun standing still (for thirty days), as they do with regard to Hûshêdar (see note on § 43).

4. See Bund. XXXII, 8.]

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SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST  
OR  
THE PROPER AND IMPROPER.  
AN OLD  
PAHLAVI RIVÂYAT  
OR  
MISCELLANY OF TRADITIONAL MEMORANDA.  
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OBSERVATIONS.

1-5. (The same as on p. 2.)

6. Abbreviations used are:--Âf. for Âfrîngân. Av. for Avesta. AV. for the Book of Ardâ-Vîrâf, ed. Hoshangji and Haug. Bund. for Bundahis, as translated in this volume. B. Yt. for Bahman Yast, as translated in this volume. Chald. for Chaldee. Farh. Okh. for Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, ed. Hoshangji and Haug. Haug's Essays, for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by Martin Haug, 2nd edition. Huz. for Huzvâris. Lev. for Leviticus. Mkh. for Mainyô-i-khard, ed. West. Nîr. for Nîrangistân. Pahl. for Pahlavi. Pâz. for Pâzand. Pers. for Persian. Sls. for Shâyast lâ-shâyast, as here translated. SZS. for Selections of Zâd-sparam, as translated in this volume. W. for Westergaard. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Visp. for Visparad, ed. Spiegel. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Spiegel. Yt. for Yast, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are:--

B29 (written A.D. 1679), a Rivâyat MS., No. 29 of the University Library at Bombay.

K20 (about 500 years old), No. 20 in the University Library at Kopenhagen.

L7, L15, L22, &c. are MSS. No. 7, 15, 22, &c. in the India Office Library at London.

M5 (written A.D. 1723), No. 5 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

M6 (written A. D. 1397), No. 6 of the same Collection,

M9 (modern), No. 9 of the same Collection.

TD (written about A.D. 1530), a MS. of the Bundahis belonging to Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria at Bombay.

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SHAYÂST LA-SHAYÂST  
PART I.--The Original Treatise.  
CHAPTER I.

0. In the name of God, (yazdân) and the good creation may there be the good health, long life, and abundant wealth of all the good and the right-doers specially for him whose writing I am[1].

1. As revealed by the Avesta, it is said in the Vendidad[2] that these seven degrees (pâyak) of sin

[1. See the note on B. Yt. I, 0.

2. Referring to Vend. IV, 54-114, where seven classes of assault and their respective punishments are detailed. In our text eight classes of sin are named, although only seven degrees are mentioned; the second and third classes being apparently arranged together, as one degree of sin in § 2. Or the inconsistency may have arisen from the addition of the Farmân, a class of sin or crime not mentioned in the Vendidad, unless, indeed, it be the farmân spôkhtanö, 'neglect of commandment' (referring probably to priest's commands), of Pahl. Vend. VI, 15. The other seven classes are thus described in Pahl. Vend. IV, 54-57, 79, 85, 93, 99, 106:--

'By the man whose weapon (or blow) is upraised for striking a man, that which is his Âgerept is thus implanted in him. When it has moved forward--that is, he makes it advance--it is thus his Avôîrîst, that is, Avôîrîst is implanted in him and the Âgerept merges into it, some say that it does not exist. When he comes on to him with thoughts of malice--that is, he places a hand upon him--it is thus his Aredûs, that is, Aredûs is implanted in him and the Avôîrîst merges into it, some say that it does not exist. At the fifth Aredûs the man even becomes a Tanâpûhar; things at {footnote p. 240} sunrise (avar-khûrshêdîh) and in the forenoon (kâîfîh = kâstîh) are no more apart. . . . Whoever inflicts the Aredûs blow on a man it is one-fifth of a wound (rêsh). . . . Whoever inflicts that which is a cruel Khôr ('hurt') on a man it is one-fourth of a wound. . . . Whoever inflicts that which is a bleeding Khôr on a man it is one-third of a wound. . . . Whoever shall give a man a bone-breaking Khôr it is half a wound... Whoever strikes a man the blow which puts him out of consciousness shall give a whole wound.'

This description does not mention Bâzâî and Yât, unless they be the two severer kinds of Khôr; but, Bâzâî occurs in Pahl. Vend. IV, 115, V, 107, XIII, 38, though Yât seems not to be mentioned in the Vendidad. Aredûs occurs again in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, and Khôr in Pahl. Vend. III, 48, XIII, 38, and Yas. LVI, iv, 2.]

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are mentioned in revelation, which are Farmân, Âgerept, Avôîrîst[1], Aredûs, Khôr, Bâzâî, Yât, and Tanâpûhar[2]. 2. A Farmân is the weight of four

[1. Also written avôîrist, avîrist, aîvîrist, avôkîrist, and avakôrist in other places.

2. Five of these names are merely slight alterations of the Av. âgerepta, avaoirista, aredu, hvara, and tanuperetha (peretôtanu or peshôtanu). The last seven degrees are also noticed in a very obscure passage in Farh. Okh. pp. 36, 37 (correcting the text from the old MSS. M6 and K20) as follows:--

'Âgerept, "seized," is that when they shall take up a weapon for smiting an innocent person; Avôîrîst, "turning," is that when one turns the weapon upon an innocent person; when through sinfulness one lays the weapon on a sinner the name is Aredûs; for whatever reaches the source of life the name is Khôr; one explains Bâzâî as "smiting," and Yât as "going to," and the soul of man ought to be withstanding, as a counterstroke is the penalty for a Yât when it has been so much away from the abode of life. In like manner Âgerept, Avôîrîst, Aredûs, Khôr, Bâzâî, and Yât are also called good works, which are performed in like proportions, and are called by the names of weights and measures in the same manner. Of peshôtanus tanûm pairyêitê the meaning is a Tanâpûhar; as they call a good work of three hundred a Tanâpûhar, on account of the three hundred like proportions of the same kind, the meaning of its name, Tanâpûhar, thereupon enters into sin. . . . A Khôr is just that description of wound from which {footnote p. 241} the blood comes, irrespective of where, how, how much, and wherewith it is inflicted; it is that which is a wound from the beginning, and that which will result therefrom.'

The application of this scale of offences is, however, not confined to these particular forms of assault, but has been extended (since the Avesta was compiled) to all classes of sins, and also to the good works which are supposed to counterbalance them.]

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stîrs, and each stîr is four dirhams (gûgan)[1]; of Âgerept and Avôîrîst that which is least is a scourging (tâzânö), and the amount of them which was specially that which is most is said to be one dirham[2]; an Aredûs is thirty stîrs[3]; a Khôr is sixty stîrs; a Bâzâî is ninety stîrs; a Yât is a hundred and eighty stîrs; and a Tanâpûhar is three hundred stîrs[4].

[1. The dirham has been variously estimated, at different times, as a weight of forty-five to sixty-seven grains, but perhaps fifty grains may be taken as the meaning of the text, and the stîr may, therefore, be estimated at 200 grains. The Greeks used both these weights, which they called {Greek draxmh'} and {Greek stath'r'}.

2. The amounts of these first three degrees of sin are differently stated in other places (see Chaps. XI, 2, XVI, 1-3, 5). It is difficult to understand why the amounts of Âgerept and Avôîrîst should here be stated as less than that of Farmân, and some Parsis, therefore, read vîhast (as an irregular form of vîst, 'twenty') instead of vês-ast, 'is most,' so that they may translate the amount as 'twenty dirhams;' but to obtain this result they would have to make further alterations in the Pahlavi text. In a passage quoted by Spiegel (in his Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen, p. 88) from the Rivâyât MS. P12, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, it is stated that Farmân is seven stîrs, Âgerept twelve stîrs, and Avôîrîst fifteen stîrs. Another Rivâyât makes the Farmân eight stîrs.

3. All MSS. have Aredûs sî 30, 'an Aredûs is thirty (30), 'leaving it doubtful whether dirhams or stîrs are meant; and the same mode of writing is adopted in Chap. XI, 2.

4. All authorities agree about the amounts of the last five degrees of sin. These amounts are the supposed weights of the several sins in the golden scales of the angel Rashnû (see AV. V, 5), when the soul is called to account, for its actions during life, after the {footnote p. 242} third night after death (see Mkh. II, 114-122). Its sins are supposed to be then weighed against its good works, which are estimated by the same scale of degrees (see the passage already quoted from Farh. Okh. in p. 240, note 2), and it is sent direct to heaven, or hell, or an intermediate place, according as the good works or sins preponderate, or are both equal. In the Avesta of the Vendidad, however, whence these degrees are derived, we find them forming merely a graduated scale of assaults, extending from first lifting the hand to smite even unto manslaughter; and for each of these seven degrees of assault a scale of temporal punishments is prescribed, according to the number of times the offence has been committed. These punishments consist of a uniform series of lashes with a horse-whip or scourge, extending from a minimum of five lashes to a maximum of two hundred (see Vend. IV, 58-114); each degree of assault commencing at a different point on the scale of punishments for the first offence, and gradually rising through the scale with each repetition of the offence, so that the more aggravated assaults attain the maximum punishment by means of a smaller number of repetitions. Thus, the punishments prescribed for Âgerepta, from the first to the eighth offence, are 5, 10, 15, 30, 50, 70, 90, and 200 lashes respectively; those for Avaoirista, from the first to the seventh offence, extend on the same scale from 10 to 200 lashes; those for Aredus, from the first to the sixth offence, are from 15 to 200 lashes; those for a bruised hurt (hvara), from the first to the fifth offence, are from 30 to 200 lashes; those for a bleeding hurt, from the first to the fourth offence, are from 50 to 200 lashes; those for a bone-breaking hurt, from the first to the third offence, are from 70 to 200 lashes; and those for a hurt depriving of consciousness or life, for the first and second offences, are 90 and 200 lashes. The maximum punishment of 200 lashes is prescribed only when the previous offences have not been atoned for, and it is to be inflicted in all such cases, however few or trifling the previous assaults have been.]

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In the administration of the primitive faith[1] there are some who have been of different opinions

[1. In M6 pôryôdkêshîh, but pôryôdkêshân, 'of those of the primitive faith,' in K20; from the Av. paoiryôdkêsha of Yas. I, 47, III, 65, IV, 53, XXII, 33, Fravardîn Yt. 0, 90, 156, Âf. Rapithwin, 2. It is a term applied to what is considered as the {footnote p. 243} true Mazdayasnian religion in all ages, both before and after the time of Zaratûst.]

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about it, for Gôgôsasp[1] spoke otherwise than the teaching[2] (kâstak) of Âtarô-Aûharmazd[3], and Sôshyans[4] otherwise than the teaching of Âtarô-frôbâg Nôsâi[5], and Mêdôk-mâh[6] otherwise than the teaching of Gôgôsasp[7], and Afarg[8] otherwise than the teaching

[1. One of the old commentators whose opinions are frequently quoted in Pahlavi books, as in Chap. II, 74, 82, 119, Pahl. Vend. III, 48, 138, 151, IV, 35, V, 14, 121, VI, 9, 64, VII, 6, 136, VIII, 64, 236, XV, 35, 48, 56, 67, XVI, 5, XVIII, 98, 124, and thirteen times in the Nîrangistân. His name is sometimes written Gôsasp (as it is here both in M6 and K20) and sometimes Gôgôsôsp.

2. Probably a written exposition or commentary is meant.

3. This commentator is mentioned once in the Nîrangistân as Âtarô Aûharmazdân.

4. This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 56, 74, 80, 118, 119, III, 13, VI, 4, 5; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 64, 69, 151, IV, 6, V, 48, 80, 107, 121, 146, 153, VI, 15, 64, 73, VII, 4, 136, 168, VIII, 28, 59, 303, IX, 184, XIII, 20, XVI, 7, 10, 17, 20-22, 27, XVIII, 98, and forty-six times in the Nîrangistân. He was a name-sake of the last of the future apostles and sons of Zaratûst (see Bund. XXXII, 8), and his name is often written Sôshân and read Saoshyôs or Sôsyôs by Pâzand writers.

5. This commentator is mentioned once in the Nîrangistân, and may probably be the Âtarô-frôbâg of B. Yt. I, 7; compare also Nôsâi Bûrz Mitrô, the name of another commentator, in Chap. VIII, 18.

6. This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 1, 11, 12, 89, V, 5, 6; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, V, 6, 58, 107, VIII, 48, 110, IX, 132, XIII, 99, XIV, 37, and four times in the Nîrangistân. His name is sometimes written Mêdyôk-mâh or Mâidôk-mâh, and he was a namesake of Zaratûst's cousin and first disciple (see Bund. XXXII, 2, 3). The Vagarkard-i Dînik professes



to have been compiled by Mēdyōk-mâh, but there appear to have been several priests of this name (see Bund. XXXIII, 1).

#### 7. Gōsasp in M6.

8. This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 2, 64, 73, 88, 115, V, 5, 6; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 48, 115, V, 6, 14, 22, 58, {footnote p. 244} 146, VI, 9, VII, 6, 61, 93, 136, VIII, 48, 64, 110, 250, IX, 132, XIII, 99, XIV, 14, 37, XIX, 84, Pahl. Yas. LXIV, 37, once in Farh. Okh., and thirty-eight times in the Nîrangistân.]

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of Sôshyans. 4. And all those of the primitive faith rely upon these six[1] teachings, and there are some who rely more weakly and some more strongly upon some of them.

[1. Both MSS. have 'three,' although four teachings and six commentators are mentioned in the previous section, and a fifth 'teaching' is mentioned in Chap. II, 2. The original reading was more probably 'six' than 'four', as a Pahlavi 'six' requires merely the omission of a cipher to become 'three,' whereas a Pahlavi 'four' must be altered to produce the same blunder.

Several other commentators are mentioned in Pahlavi books, such as Âtarô-pâd, son of Dâd-farukh, twice in the Nîrangistân; Âzâdmard nine times in Nîr.; Barôshand Aûharmazd once in Nîr.; Dâd Aûharmazd in B. Yt. I, 1, 7, III, 16, Pahl. Yas. X, 57, XI, 22; Dâd-farukh in Pahl. Vend. V, 112, VI, 64, and twice in Nîr.; Dâd-i-vêh seventeen times in Nîr.; Farukhō thrice in Nîr.; Kîrâtânô-bûgêd in Pahl. Vend. V, 80, VI, 15, IX, 184, XIII, 20, he is called the Kirmânîk in Pahl. Vend. IV, 35, and Dastûr Hoshangjî thinks his name is merely a variant of the next; Kûshtânô-bûgêd in Sls. II, 57, 81, 118, VI, 6, VIII, 17, Pahl. Vend. III, 64, 69, IV, 6, V, 48, VI, 53, 64, 73, VIII, 28, XVI, 17, 21, 22, 27, and twenty-two times in Nîr.; Mâh-Aûharmazd in Pahl. Vend. VII, 82; Mâh-gōsaspō, Mâh-gōsōspō, Mâh-gōspō, or Mâh-vasp in Pahl. Yas. IX, 33, Pahl. Vend. III, 138, and ten times in Nîr.; Mâhvand-dâd or Mâh-vindâd in B. Yt. III, 3, Pahl. Yas. IX, 33, X, 57, XI, 22, XIX, 27; Mard-bûd in Sls. II, 96, and twice in Nîr., where he is called the son of Dâdgun; Nêryôsang in Sls. VIII, 13, Pahl. Vend. V, 22; Nikshâpûhar, or Nîshapûhar in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, V, 112, VI, 71, VIII, 64, XVI, 10, AV. I, 35, and twenty-four times in Nîr.; Nôsâi Bûrz-Mitrô in Sls. VIII, 18; Parîk or Pîrîk in Pahl. Vend. III, 138, V, 14, 134, VII, 82, 93, VIII, 64, and once in Nîr.; Rôshan or Rôshanô (which, as the Sikand-gûmânî states, was the name of a commentary written by Rôshan son of Âtarô-frôbâg) in Sls. II, 39, 86, 107, B. Yt. III, 3, Pahl. Yas. IX, 5, 14, Pahl. Vend. III, 48, V, 112, 134, 176, VII, 93, XVII, 11, and eleven times in Nîr.; disciples of Vakht-âfrîdô (possibly the Bakht-âfrîd of Sls. XX, 11, B. Yt. I, 7) are mentioned once in Nîr.; Vand-Aûharmazd in Sls. II, 2, 6, 44, XIV, 5, Pahl. Vend. VI, 73; and Vêh-dôst once in {footnote p. 245} the Nîrangistân. It must, however, be observed that the reading of some of these names is very uncertain.]

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## CHAPTER II.

1. For in the third fargard ('chapter) of the Vendidad of Mēdôk-mâh[1] it is declared that when life is resigned without effort [2], at the time when the life departs, when a dog is tied to his foot, even then the Nasûs[3] rushes upon it, and afterwards, when seen by it, the Nasûs is destroyed by it. 2. This is where it is stated which is the dog which destroys the Nasûs[4], the shepherd's dog, the village-dog, the blood-hound, the slender hound[5], and the rûkûnîk[6];

[1. Alluding probably to Mēdôk-mâh's complete commentary on the Vendidad (now no longer extant), as the commentary on Pahl. Vend. III, 48, which treats of Sag-dîd or dog-gaze, does not mention Mēdôk-mâh or any of the details described here in the text; these details, however, are to be found in Pahl. Vend., VII, 4.

2. Reading amat barâ zôr gân dâd. This phrase occurs only in M6 (as a marginal note) and in the text of its descendants. Assuming that barâ may be a miswriting of pavan (see p. 176, note 5), we might read amat pavan zôr shûyâd, 'when he shall wash with holy-water.'

3. The 'corruption' which is supposed to enter a corpse shortly after death, whence it issues in the form of a fiend and seizes upon any one who touches the corpse, unless it has been destroyed, or driven away, by the gaze of a dog, as mentioned in the text (compare Vend. VIII, 38-48). The carcass of a dog is considered equally contagious with the corpse of a human being, and when the fiend of corruption (Nasûs or Nas of Bund. XXVIII, 29) has seized upon any one, it can be driven out only by a long and troublesome form of purification described in Vend. VIII. 111-228, IX, 4-117.

4. This statement is now to be found in Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

5. See Bund. XIV, 19. The Persian Rivâyats of Kâmah Bahrah and Kâûs Kâmân (quoted in B29) describe these dogs as 'the shepherd's dog, the house-dog, the strange or tame (gharîb) dog, and the puppy.'

6. Probably the Av. *sukuruna* of Vend. V, 100, XIII, 48, which {footnote p. 246} is translated by *hûkar* or *hûkûr* in the Pahlavi version. This fifth kind of dog is called 'the blind (*kûr*) dog' in the Persian Rivâyats; but Pahl. Vend. VII, 4 asserts that, *Sôshâns* said the *rûkunîk* also destroys it,' and then speaks of the blind dog as in § 4.]

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and as to the *rûkunîk* there have been divers opinions, as Vand-Aûharmazd[1] asserted, from the teaching of Afarg, that it does not destroy it. 3. The dog destroys the *Nasûs* at the time when it sees the flesh, and when it sees the hair or nails it does not destroy it[2]. 4. A blind dog also destroys it at the time when it places a paw[3] on the corpse; and when it places it upon the hair or nails it does not destroy it[4]. 5. The birds which destroy the *Nasûs* are three: the mountain kite, the black crow, and the vulture[5]; the bird, moreover, destroys it at the time when its shadow falls upon it; when it sees it in the water, a mirror, or a looking-glass, it does not destroy it[6].

[1. See the note on Chap. I, 4.

2. This is also stated in Pahl. Vend. III, 138.

3. See Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

4. The Persian Rivâyats say this is because the *Nasûs* is concealed beneath the hair and nails (compare Vend. VII, 70).

5. These are the birds 'created for devouring dead matter' (see Bund. XIX, 25). Pahl. Vend. VII, 4 substitutes an eagle (*dâlman*) for the vulture.

6. This sentence is probably defective, as the last clause evidently refers to the dog's gaze (see Pahl. Vend. III, 138), and not to the bird's shadow; the rule, however, is applicable to both. Thus the Persian Rivâyats state that if the bird's shadow falls upon the hair or the nails of the corpse, or if the bird's shadow, or the dog's gaze falls upon a corpse in the water, or upon its reflection in a mirror, the *Nasûs* is not destroyed. *Dastûr Jâmâspji* is of opinion that the utility of the bird's shadow is intended to apply only to cases of death in uninhabited places, where a dog is not procurable. As all three birds are such as feed upon corpses, it seems probable that the rule as to their utility was intended to prevent {footnote p. 247} any neglect of corpses found in wild places, where some of these birds would be sure to approach and let their shadows fall upon the dead. after which the finder of the corpse would suppose that the *Nasûs* was destroyed or driven away, and the corpse safer to approach.]

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6. Vand-Aûharmazd said, where a pregnant woman is to be carried by two men[1], both are to be cleansed by the *Bareshnûm* ceremony[2], and the head of the corpse, when they carry it away, is to be set towards the *Dakhma*[3]. 7. And on account of contamination

[1. This is an exceptional case, when not more than two men are available; the usual custom (see Chap. X, 10) is to employ four men and two dogs (double the usual number) in disposing of the corpse of a pregnant woman, on account of the double risk of contamination, owing to the *Nasûs*, or fiend of corruption, having seized upon two corpses at once. In consequence of the exceptional nature of the case, the mode of purification is also exceptional.

2. A long purification ceremony lasting nine nights, and described in Vend. IX, 1-145. Its name, according to *Dastûr Hoshangji*, is derived from the first word of the instructions for sprinkling the unclean person, which commence (Vend. IX, 48) as follows: *Bareshnûm hê vaghdhanem paourum patti-hinkôis*, sprinkle in, front on the top of his head.' As it is usual to quote chapters by their initial words, the initial word of these instructions for the ceremony became a name for the ceremony itself.

3. The building in which the dead are finally deposited; here called by its *Huzvâris* name, *khazân*. The *Dakhmas* used by the Parsis in India are like low circular towers in external appearance, and consist of a high wall enclosing a larger or smaller circular space which is open to the sky. The only opening in the wall is a small doorway, closed with an iron door. In the centre of the circular area is a circular well a few feet in depth, and the space around it is paved so as to slope gently downwards from the enclosing wall to the brink of the well. This paved annular area is divided (by shallow gutters grooved

into its surface) into spaces, each large enough for one corpse to be laid, upon it, with the head towards the wall and the feet towards the well. These spaces are arranged in two or more concentric rings around the well, and the gutters (which isolate each space on all four sides) drain into the {footnote p. 248} well. After a sufficient time has elapsed the dry bones are said to be thrown into the well, and when the well is full the Dakhma ought to be finally closed, and another one brought into use. These Dakhmas are erected upon some dry and barren spot, remote from habitations and water; upon the summit of a hill, if possible, as prescribed in Vend. VI, 93, and usually more than a mile from the town. In Bombay the town has gradually approached the Dakhmas, and to some extent surrounded them, but has been kept away from their immediate vicinity by the judicious measures of influential Parsis, who have acquired all the neighbouring land, and refrain from building on it. The reason for thus exposing their dead to the sun and carnivorous birds is that the Parsis consider fire, water, and earth too sacred to be defiled by corpses; and they have less consideration for the air. Next to burning, the Parsi mode of disposing of the dead is the most rapid and effectual, as it avoids most of the concentrated evils which must accumulate in crowded cemeteries in the course of time, and which require ages to dissipate. As it is, most of the offensive effluvia in the immediate vicinity of a Dakhma arises not from direct contamination of the air, but indirectly through the ground, which becomes polluted, in the course of time, by impure filtrations.]

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(padvîshak)[1] two are not to be carried at one time, and two by one person are not proper; one dog and one person are proper [2]. 8. Every one who understands the care of a corpse is proper; two boys of eight years old, who understand the care, are proper; a woman free from menstruation, or free from dead

[1. Dastûr Jâmâspji prefers reading patôshak, and thinks it means 'necessity,' as in cases where two deaths occur nearly simultaneously in the same house, when both corpses cannot be removed the same day. Such a meaning might suit this passage, but the word occurs again, in § 33 and Chap. IX, 7, where it can refer only to 'contamination,' and the etymology of padvîshak (Av. paîti + vish) is plain enough.

2. That is, when two persons cannot be found to carry a corpse, one can do it alone, provided he holds a dog by a string. This course is adopted, Dastûr Jâmâspji says, when a person happens to die in a place where only one Parsi is available.]

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matter[1], or a man, with a woman or a child of eight years old, is proper.

9. It is not to be carried all covered up[2], for that is burying the corpse; to carry it in the rain is worthy of death[3]. 10. When clouds have been around[4], it is allowable to carry it away from the house; and when rain sets in upon the road it is not allowable to carry it back to the house; but when it is before a veranda (dâhlîz) one should put it down there; that is allowable when he who owns the veranda is apprehensive, and when he does not allow it inside; and, afterwards, it is to be carried away to its place, and when the water stands the height of a javelin (nîzak) inside[5], one puts it down and brings it away yet again. 11. Mêdôk-mâh[6] says that there should be a shelter (var)[7] one should

[1. In the terms avî-dashtânô and avî-nasâi the compound av is written in an obsolete manner, both in M6 and K20. The meaning of the text is that either or both of the corpse-carriers may be any Parsi man, woman, or child who understands the proper precautions. Compare Pahl. Vend. VIII, 28.

2. K20 has 'when curved it is not to be carried.'

3. That is, it is a mortal sin to allow rain to fall upon a corpse before it is deposited in the Dakhma.

4. Or 'withheld,' or 'continuous,' according as we compare hâmûn with Pers. âmûn (âman), amân, or hâman.

5. Inside the Dakhma apparently. The meaning seems to be, that when the Dakhma is flooded the corpse is to be laid down in some dry place in its vicinity until the flood has abated. But according to Pahl. Vend. VIII, 17, it is allowable to throw the corpse in when the Dakhma is full of water.

6. See Chaps. I, 3, II, 1. Here, again, the quotation must be from his complete commentary, as it is not extant in the present Pahlavi Vendidad.

7. From Av. var, 'to cover, to shelter;' compare Pers. gullah, 'a bower or shed.' Nowadays the Parsis have a permanent shelter

near the Dakhma. Pahl. Vend. VIII, 17 says, 'to carry {footnote p. 250} an umbrella (avargash) from behind, or to hold up a shelter, is of no use.'

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fasten above that place, and it would make it dry below[1]; one should place the corpse under that shelter, and they may take the shelter and bring it away.

12. From the fifth fargard of the Vendidad of Mêdôk-mâh[2] they state thus, that at the place where one's life goes forth, when he shall die upon a cloth, and a hair or a limb remains upon the bed-place and the ground[3], the ground conveys the pollution, even not originating with itself (ahambûnik), in like manner down unto the water[4]. 13. And when he is on a bedstead, and its legs are not connected with the ground, when a hair or a limb remains behind on the bedstead, it does not convey the pollution down. 14. When he shall die on a plastered floor the plaster is polluted, and when they dig up that plaster, and spread it again afterwards, it is clean. 15. When he shall die on a stone, and the stone is connected with the ground, the stone will become clean, along with the ground, in the length of a year; and when they dig up the place, the stone being polluted is to be washed at the time. 16. When a stone is connected with the ground, or is separated, and one shall die upon it, so much space of the stone as the corpse occupied is polluted [5];

[1. Or, 'it would make it very dry,' if we read avîr, 'very,' instead of agîr, 'below;' these two words being written alike in Pahlavi.

2. Quoting again from his lost commentary.

3. Or, perhaps, 'floor.'

4. This translation is somewhat doubtful, but the text seems to imply that the ground is polluted as deep as it contains no water.

5. K20 has had, 'the stone is all polluted, and will become clean at the time when they dig it up, the stone is all polluted, in so {footnote p. 251} much space as the corpse occupied it is polluted;' but the additional matter seems to be struck out. Something analogous to the details in this paragraph will be found in Pahl. Vend. VI, 9.]

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when they shall leave it, in the length of a year it will become clean along with the ground; and when they dig it up, the stone is all polluted, and is to be washed at the time; when the stone is not made even with the ground, above the ground the stone is all polluted, and is to be washed at the time.

17. Dung-fuel and ashes, when the limbs of a menstruous woman come upon them, are both polluted; and the salt and lime for washing her shift (kartak-shûî) are to be treated just like stone[1].

18. If one shall die on a terrace roof (bân)[2], when one of his limbs, or a hair, remains behind at the edge of the roof, the roof is polluted for the size of the body as far as the water; and they should carry down all the sacred twigs (baresôm)[3] in the house, from the place where the pollution is, until there are thirty steps of three feet[4] to the sacred twigs, so that the sacred twigs may not be polluted; and when his hair or limb has not come to the eaves (parakân) the roof is polluted to the bottom (tôhîk). 19. And when one shall die on a rîtâ[5] it is polluted

[1. This section would be more appropriate in Chap. III.

2. Or 'an upper floor;' Pahl. Vend. VI, 9 has, 'when he shall die on an upper floor, when nothing of him remains behind at the partitions (pardakân), the floor is polluted as far as the balcony (âskûp) and the balcony alone is clean; when anything of him remains behind at the partitions, the floor is polluted as far as the balcony, the ground is polluted as far as the water, about the balcony alone it is not clear.'

3. See note on Chap. III, 32.

4. The gâm, 'step,' being 2 feet 7½ inches (see note on Bund. XXVI, 3) these thirty steps are about 79 English feet.

5. Meaning uncertain; the word looks like Huzvâris, but it is possible to read rîd-aê instead of rîtâ-I.]

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for the size of the body as far as the water; in the length of a year it will become clean along with the ground. 20. A built bridge is liable just like a terrace roof. 21. When one shall die on the terrace roof of a trellised apartment (varam), that is also liable just like a terrace roof. 22. When he shall die in a trellised apartment, when one of his limbs, or a hair, does not remain on the borders (parakân), it does not convey the pollution down, but when any of him remains behind it conveys it down; it is allowable when they dig it up[1], and one also spreads it again afterwards, and it is clean.

23. When one shall die by strangulation and a rope in a crowd, when there is no fear of his falling down they should not carry him down; and when there is a fear of his falling down, when that fear is as regards one side of him, they should carry him down on that side; and when he has fallen down they should carry him down in such place as he has fallen. 24. When one is seated upright and shall die, when there is fear of his falling on one side they should carry him down on that one side, and when there is fear on all four sides, then on all four sides; and when he has fallen down they should carry him down in such place as he has fallen[2].

25. And when one shall die on a tree, when its

[1. That is, the floor of the apartment; which would probably be formed of earth beaten down, which, in India, is nearly always overspread with diluted cow-dung to hinder cracks in the smooth surface. A better class of floor is spread with lime plaster on a stony surface.

2. The object of these rules is evidently to avoid disturbing the corpse more than is absolutely necessary, provided there be no fear of its polluting more of the ground by falling upon it.]

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bark is green and there is no fear of falling off, they should not carry him down; and when there is fear of it, they should carry down the whole of the body (tanû masâi). 26. And when the bark of the tree is withered, when there is fear of it and when there is no fear of it, they should carry it down. 27. When he shall die on a branch of a tree which is green, when there is no fear of his falling off they should not carry him down. 28. And when there is fear of it, or it is a branch of a withered tree, when also, a hair originating with him, or a limb, remains behind on the particular tree, they should carry down the whole of the body[1]. 29. And when it does not remain behind him on the particular tree, but when there is fear of its falling off, they should not carry it below (vad frôd)[2].

30. When a corpse (nasâi-I)[3], from outside of it, remains behind on a jar (khûmbö) in which there may be wine, the jar is polluted, and the wine is clean. 31. And when one shall die inside, in the wine in the jar, if not even a hair or a curl originating with him remains behind on the jar, the wine is polluted and the jar not polluted[4]. 32. When it is

[1. K20 has a portion of § 30 inserted here by mistake.

2. The object of these rules is likewise to prevent the risk of the corpse defiling more of the ground than is absolutely necessary by falling upon it, as it might do by the breaking of a dead branch.

3. Nasâi (Av. nasu) means not only a corpse or carcase of a human being, dog, or other animal of the good creation, but also any portion of such corpse or carcase; that is, solid 'dead matter' in general, as distinguished from dirt or refuse from the living body, or any liquid exudation from a corpse or carcase, which is called hîkhar (Av. hikhra).

4. Pahl. Vend. VI, 9 states, that 'when one shall die on a jar of wine, the jar is useless, and the wine becomes just as though its {footnote p. 254} course (ravisn) had been within three steps of the corpse. And when he shall die in the wine, when nothing of him remains behind on the jar, the jar is proper on making it dry' (or, perhaps, 'the jar is fit for bran-flour').]

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a jar in which there is oil[1], and dead matter (nasâi), from outside of it, remains behind on it, this is even as though it remains inside it, because the oil comes outside and goes back to the inside, and both are polluted, the jar and the oil; and

even on making the jar dry[2] it is not fit to put anything in.

33. When a serpent (garzak) is in a jar in which there is wine, both are useless and polluted, for it makes them contaminated (padvîshak). 34. And when corn shall be in it, the jar is polluted and the corn clean; and when nothing originating with the serpent inside the jar remains behind on the jar, so much of the corn as includes the serpent, and upon which the touch (mâlisn) of the serpent has gone--because the touch of the serpent's seed might be the death of one--is to be taken out and to be thrown away. 35. And when hair or dead matter, even not originating with the serpent, remains behind on the jar, the jar is polluted, but is serviceable (shâyad) on making it dry[3].

36. Brick, earth, and mortar are separated by

[1. Or 'clarified butter;' in this case the 'jar' is probably a globular vessel, or carboy, made of hide, through which the oil, or liquid butter, penetrates so far as to keep the outer surface greasy, which accounts for the remark about the oil passing in and out. Such vessels, called dabar, are commonly used for oil and liquid butter in India.

2. Assuming that khûskar stands for khûsk-kar, as it does in Pahl. Vend., VI, 71; otherwise we should have to read thus: 'and the jar is not even fit to put any bran-flour in.'

3. Again assuming as in § 32; otherwise we must read thus: 'but is fit for bran-flour (khûskar).']

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their own substance (pavan mindavam-i nafsman), and are connected with the ground; being separated by their own substance is this, that so much space as dead matter[1] comes upon is polluted; being connected with the ground is this, that they would convey the pollution down unto the water. 37. Dung-fuel, ashes, flour, and other powdered things are connected with their own substance, and are separated from the ground; being connected with their own substance is this, that when dead matter comes upon them the whole of them is polluted; and being separated from the ground is this, that when dead matter comes upon them it does not make the ground polluted[2].

38. At a house in which the sacred ceremony (yazisn) is prepared, and a dog or a person passes[3] away in it, the first business to be done is this, that the fire is to be preserved from harm; moreover, if it be only possible to carry the fire so that they would carry it away within three steps of the corpse[4], even then it is to be carried away, and the

[1. Or 'a corpse;' K20 has 'stands upon.' The meaning is that these substances do not communicate the contamination throughout their own substance, but only downwards to the ground, which conveys it farther down, so far as it contains no water.

2. That is, these substances communicate the contamination throughout their own substance, but not down to the ground.

3. The verb vidardanö (Huz. vabrûntanö), 'to cross over, to pass away' (Av. vi + tar, Pers. guDHastan), can only be used when referring to the death of good people or animals; but the verb mûrdanö (Huz. yemîtûntanö), 'to die, to expire' (Av. mar, Pers. murdan), can be used generally, though usually applied to the wicked and to evil creatures. Pahl. Vend. V, 134 contains nearly the same text as §§ 38, 39.

4. Under ordinary circumstances fire must not be brought within thirty steps, or about 79 English feet, of a corpse (see Vend. VIII, {footnote p. 256} 17). But the spirit of the Mazdayasnian law is reasonable, and, although strict, it allows for practical difficulties and chooses the least of two evils in a more judicious manner than might be expected (a fact which it would be well for Parsis and others to observe in doubtful cases). Here, breaking through the wall of a house is considered a greater evil than the possible pollution of the fire by passing at a distance of three steps, or eight English feet, from a corpse.]

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wall is not to be cut. 39. Rôshan[1] said that an earthen one is to be cut into, but a mortar one is not to be cut; below and above no account is taken of damaging (bodôzêdîh)[2] the wall[3]. 40. To bring the fire within[4] the three steps from the corpse is a Tanâpûhar sin; and when exudation happens to the corpse, it is worthy of death[5]. 41. The prepared food in that house is all useless, and that which is not prepared is usable in the length of nine nights

[1. The name of a commentator, or commentary, often quoted in Pahlavi translations (see, the note on Chap. I, 4).

2. Literally, 'destroying the consciousness,' or 'injuring the existence.' Bôdôzêd or bôdyôzad is a particular kind of sin which appears to consist chiefly of the ill-treatment of animals and injury of useful property. It is mentioned in Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 1b, Pahl. Vend. V, 107, XIII, 38, Farh. Okh. pp. 32, 33; and in some editions of the Khurda Avesta it is defined as selling stolen men or animals into misery, or one's own domestic cattle to the butcher, also spoiling and tearing up good clothing, or wasting and spoiling good food.

3. The meaning is, that if it became necessary to break through the wall in order to remove the fire unpolluted, the sin committed through damaging the wall will not be punished either in this world or the next.

4. That is, nearer than three steps, which is considered to be the minimum distance at which any degree of purity can be maintained.

5. A marg-argân sin, on committing which the sinner is required to place his life at the disposal of the high-priest (see Chap. VIII, 2, 5, 6, 21). It is usually considered equivalent to fifteen Tanâpûhars (see Chap. I, 1, 2).]

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or a month[1]. 42. Clothing also in like manner, except that which one wears on the body; that, even in that time, is not clean, since it remains in use. 43. And the holy-water (zôhar)[2], too, which is taken and remains in that place, is to be carried away immediately to the water; also the sacred milk (gîv)[3] and butter (gum)[4] in like manner. 44. Of the prayer[5] clothing Vand-Aûharmazd[6] said that it is usable in the length of nine nights or a month, the writer[7] (dapîr) said that it is when they perform the washing of hands, and wash it thoroughly, it will become clean at the time.

45. If in a house there are three rooms (gungînak), and one shall die in the entrance place (dargâs), if it be so that they may set the door open, and the corpse comes to this side, only this

[1. According to the season of the year, the period of uncleanness being nine nights in the five winter months, and a month in the seven summer months (see Vend. V, 129).

2. Av. zaothra; this holy-water is consecrated by the priest reciting certain prayers while holding the empty metal cups in his hands, while filling them with water, and after filling them (see Haug's Essays, p. 397).

3. The Av. gâus gîvya, 'product of the living cow,' which is kept in a metal saucer during the ceremonies, and used for sprinkling the sacred twigs (baresôm), and for mixing with the holy-water and Hôm-juice in the mortar (see Haug's Essays, pp. 403, 405, 06).

4. Compare Pers. kûm, 'fat;' it is the Av. gâus hudhau, 'product of the well-yielding cow,' a small piece of which is placed upon one of the sacred pancakes, or wafers (drôn), during the ceremonies (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396, 407).

5. Reading yast; but it may be gast, 'changed.'

6. See the note on Chap. I, 4.

7. There appear to be, as yet, no means of ascertaining the name of the writer of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, who gives his own opinion here.]

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side is polluted; and if the corpse comes to that side, only that side is polluted; when it comes to both sides at once (aêvâk), only the entrance place is polluted alone, both the dwelling-rooms (khânak) are clean.

46. And the vault of the sacred fires[1] alone does not become polluted.

47. If one shall die in a wild spot (vaskar), prepared food which is within three steps is all useless, and beyond four steps it is not polluted. 48. Prepared food is this, such as bread, boiled and roast meat, and prepared broth[2].

49. And the ashes (var) of the sacred fire[3] become in a measure polluted.

50. Should they carry in the fire into that house in which the length of nine nights or a month is requisite for becoming clean, there is a sin of one Tanâpûhar[4] through carrying it in, and one Tanâpûhar through kindling it; and every trifling creature (khûr or khûl) which shall die and shall remain causes a sin of one Tanâpûhar. 51. Also through carrying water in, there is a sin of one Farmân; and to pour water on the place where any one's life departs is a sin of one Tanâpûhar, and to pour it on a different place is a sin of one Yât. 52. And to

[1. Literally, 'the vault of the fires of Vâhrâm.' Pahl. Vend. V, 134 says 'the vault of the fires is liable just like an empty house.' Both this section and § 49 seem out of place.

2. See Pahl. Vend. V, 134.

3. Literally, 'the produce of the fire of Vâhrâm,' a term for 'ashes,' which is used in Pahl. Vend. V, 150 along with the equivalent phrase, 'clothing of the fire' (see Chap. III, 27).

4. See Chap. I, 1, 2 for the degrees of sin mentioned in §§ 50, 51, 53.]

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undergo ablution[1] inside the unclean house is all non-ablution. 53. And whoever goes into it needlessly, his body and clothes are to be every time thoroughly washed, and his sin is one Tanâpûhar[1]; and when he goes in needfully it is neither good work nor sin[2].

54. And this pollution is all in the sharp account (tîkhak amâr) when the life departs[3]; the only thing which amounts to polluting is contact with the flesh, and even with the hair and nails. 55. Of the contact which is stated in the Avesta[4], the account is that it is from one side, and it ever cleaves to one; the curse (gazisn)[5] which is stated in the Avesta advances from all four sides. 56. Sôshyans[6] said it is, until its exhibition to a dog, just as it becomes at the time when its life departs [7]; a priest, a

[1. That is, the ceremonial ablution (pâdîyâvîh), or 'washing, with water, the hands and arms up to the elbows, the face as far as behind the ears, and the feet up to the ankles,' whilst a certain form of prayer is recited (see AV. p. 148, note).

2. Here again, as in § 38, the strict letter of the law is relaxed in case of necessity.

3. Meaning, apparently, that any pollution is taken into account, as a sin, in the investigation the soul has to undergo upon entering the other world. Much of this paragraph will be found in Pahl. Vend. V, 107.

4. Referring to Vend. V, 82-107, which gives an account of the number of persons through whom the pollution of a corpse or carcass will pass, which is in proportion to the importance of the dead individual. The statement here made is that the infection, passing from one to the other, enters each person only on one side, but the demon of corruption attacks them on all sides.

5. Meaning, probably, the Nasûs, or demon of corruption (see § 1 who is said to rush upon all those polluted as detailed in Vend. V, 82-107.

6. See Chap. I, 3.

7. That is, until seen by the dog the corpse remains pervaded by the demon of corruption and hazardous to approach (see §§ 1-4).]

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warrior, and a husbandman are no use, for merely a dog is stated. 57. Kûshtanö-bûgêd[1] said the account is at the time when its life departs; and that which Kûshtanö-bûgêd specially said is, 'when anything is inside it (the place) the pollution is as far as to the place where that thing stands.' 58. When a dog, or a goat, or a pig is requisite (dârvâi)[2] it is proper, for the pollution does not attack further there; and the pollution of a child in the womb is along with the mother.



59. The direct pollution of a hedgehog[3] cleaves to one, and not the indirect pollution. 60. Direct pollution (hamrêd)[4] is that when the body is in contact with a corpse, and indirect pollution (paîtrêd)

[1. See Chap. I, 4, note. This name is nearly always written Kushtanö-bûgêd in SIs. in K20 and M6; it is not mentioned in Pahl. Vend. II, 107, although the details here quoted are there given in part.

2. The meaning is not quite clear, but this sentence is probably to be read in connection with the preceding one, as implying that where such domestic animals are kept they can be used for stopping the infection, as effectually as any inanimate object. The pig is here mentioned as a common domestic animal, but Parsis have long since adopted the prejudices of Hindus and Muhammadans as regards the uncleanness of the pig.

3. As Vend. V, 108-112 says the same of the dog urupî, it would seem that the writer of our text considered the urupî to be a hedgehog (zûzak); the Pahlavi translation of the Vendidad renders it by rapuk or rîpûk, which appears to be merely an approximate transcript of the Avesta word; traditionally, this is read raspûk and compared with Pers. râsû, 'ichneumon;' its identification with the hedgehog is certainly doubtful, although it appears to be admitted in Pahl. Vend. V, 112, where the same words are used as in this section.

4. The technical terms hamrêd and paîtrêd, for contagion and infection, are merely corruptions of Av. hãm-raêthwayêiti and paiti-raêthwayêiti. The definition of the latter one is omitted in K20 by mistake.]

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is that when[1] one is in contact with him who touched the corpse and from contact with him who is the eleventh[2] indirect pollution cleaves to one in the same manner. 61. The indirect pollution of an ape[3] and a menstruous woman, not acting the same way, remains. 62. The shepherd's dog, and likewise the village-dog, and others also of the like kind carry contamination to eight[4]; and when they, shall carry the carcass down on the ground the place[5] is clean immediately; and that, too, which dies on a balcony (âskûp), until they shall carry it down to the bottom, is polluted for the length of a year.

63. Whoever brings dead matter (nasâi) on any person is worthy of death; he is thrice worthy, of

[1. Reading amat, when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see note to Bund. I, 7).

2. Vend. V, 86, 87 limits the pollution to the eleventh person infected, in the extreme case of the corpse having been a priest; but Pahl. Vend. V, 107 quotes the opinion of Sôshâns that until a dog has gazed at the corpse the pollution extends to the twelfth, but only the first ten require the ceremonial purification of the bareshnûm, the others being cleansed by ordinary washing with bull's urine and water.

3. Pahl. Vend. V, 107 states, however, that 'everything of the ape (kapîk) is just like mankind.' The meaning of § 61 is very uncertain, as the text can be both read and translated several ways, and none of them are very satisfactory.

4. That is, in the case of the shepherd's dog (see Vend. V, 92, 93); the carcasses of other dogs occasion the indirect pollution of fewer persons, in proportion to their inferior importance; but Pahl. Vend. V, 107 states, with regard to this importance, that when 'in doubt, every man is to be considered as a priest, and every dog as a shepherd's dog,' so as to be on the safe side, by exacting, the maximum amount of purification in all doubtful cases.

5. The Pahlavi text leaves it doubtful whether the place, the people, or the carcass becomes clean, but the first is the most probable.]

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death[1] at the time when a dog has not seen the corpse (nasâi); and if through negligence of appliances and means (kâ va tûbânô) he disturbs it, and disturbs it by touching it, he knows that it is a sin worthy of death; and for a corpse that a dog has seen, and one that a dog has not seen, the accountability is to be understood to be as much[2], and for the death and sickness [3] of a feeble man and a powerful one. 64. Afarg has said there is no account of appliances and means[4], for it is not allowable to commit a sin worthy of death in cases of death and sickness.

65. When they move a corpse which a dog has not seen with a thousand men, even then the bodies of the whole number are

polluted[5], and are to be washed for them with ceremony (pîsak)[6]. 66. And for that which a dog has seen, except that one only when a man shall move it all[7] by touching it, his washing is then not to be with ceremony. 67. And when he is in contact and does not move it, he is to be washed with bull's urine and water. 68. And

[1. That is, he has committed a sin equivalent to three mortal sins (marg-argân).

2. Reading ves as equivalent to vês.

3. Reading râkhtakîh (compare Pers. rakhtah, 'sick, wounded').

4. This opinion of Afarg (see Chap. I, 3) is also quoted in Pahl. Vend. III, 48.

5. This statement is repeated in Chap. X, 33.

6. That is, with the Bareshnûm ceremony.

7. This exception (which is repeated in §§ 68, 71) seems to imply that §§ 66, 68, 71 refer to the collection of any fragments of a corpse found in the wilderness, or in water; and the exemption from the troublesome purification ceremony in such cases, is probably intended to encourage people to undertake the disagreeable duty of attending to such fragments.]

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when he shall move with a stake (dâr)[1] a corpse which a dog has not seen, except that one only when he shall move it all, the washing for him is not to be with ceremony.

69. And when a man shall move a corpse, which a dog has not seen, by the hand of another man, he who moves it by the hand of a man, and he also whose own hand's strength does it are polluted in the bodies of both; and it is the root of a Tanâpûhar[2] sin for him himself and of a Tanâpûhar for the other one, for this reason, because his own body and that also of the other are both made polluted through sinfulness. 70. And when there is not in him, nor even originating with him (ahambûnik), the strength of him whose own hand it is, it is just as though, he would move it (the corpse) with a stake[3]; and he who held it in the way of contact with his hand is to be washed with ceremony; and it is the root of a Tanâpûhar sin for him whose own hand it is, and of a Khôr[4] for himself. 71. When he shall move a corpse by the hand of a man, and the corpse is of those which a dog has seen--except that one only when he shall move it all[5]--the washing for him is not to be with ceremony.

[1. The interposition of the stake, or piece of wood, prevents the direct attack of the Nasûs, or demon of corruption, which has not been driven away by a dog. That inanimate objects are supposed to stop the progress of the pollution appears from § 57.

2. See Chap. I, 1, 2. A sin is figuratively said to take root in the body, when it has to be eradicated, or figuratively dug up.

3. See § 68. If he employs another man to move the corpse merely because he is physically unable to do it himself, he escapes with less pollution than when he is able to do the work himself; but the man employed suffers the same in both cases.

4. See Chap. I, 1, 2.

5 See § 66.]

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72. When one is going by a place at night, and comes back there on the morrow, and a corpse lies there, and he does not know whether the evil (dûs) was there when he came by[1], or not, it is to be considered by him that it was not there.

73. Of a flock in which is a sheep by whom dead matter is eaten, of a forest in which is a tree with which dead matter is mingled, and of a firewood-stand (aesamdân) in which is a stick of firewood with which grease is mingled, Afarg said that it is not proper to make the flock and the forest fruitful, and the firewood is useless[2].

74. About a door on which a corpse impinges; as to the door of a town and city they have been of the same opinion, that it is to be discarded by his comrades (hamkâr)[3]; as to a door which is mostly closed (badtûm)[4] they have been of different opinions,

[1. Literally, 'when I came by;' the usual Persian idiom in such phrases.

2. This statement of Afarg's, so far as it relates to greasy firewood, will be found in Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

3. Or, 'by the community.' The same rule is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

4. There is some uncertainty about this word. It is not the Pers. badtum, 'worst, vilest,' because that is written vadtûm or vatûm in Pahlavi; besides, the rule must apply to other than the vilest doors, otherwise it would not harmonize with § 75. It is not a miswriting of nîtûm, 'lowest, most debased,' for the same reason, and because it occurs elsewhere. It is not a miswriting of bêtmân, a possible variant of bêtâ, 'a house' (although 'a house-door' would suit the context very well), because it occurs also in Pahl. Vend. V, 14, XI, 10, in which latter place it is clearly an adjective partially translating Av. bendvô. And it would be hazardous to connect it with Pers. bîdûn, 'outside,' which seems merely a corruption or misreading of bîrûn. The view taken here is that badtûm stands for bandtûm, 'most shut up,' the nasal being often dropped in Pahlavi, as in sag for sang, 'stone,' &c.]

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Gôgôsasp[1] said that discarding it by his comrades is likewise proper, and Sôshyans said that it is not proper; and as to other doors they have been of the same opinion, that it is not proper. 75. The door of one's own chief apartment (shah-gâs) is fit for that of the place for menstruation (dastânistân), and that of the place for menstruation is fit for that of the depository for the dead (khazânö)[2], and that of the depository of the dead is not fit for any purpose whatever[3]; that of the more pleasant is fit for that of the more grievous.

76. Any one who, through sinfulness, throws a corpse into the water, is worthy of death on the spot[4]; when he throws only one it is one sin worthy of death, and when he throws ten at one time it is then one sin worthy of death; when he throws them separately it is a sin worthy of death for each one. 77. Of the water, into which one throws dead matter, the extent of pollution is three steps of three feet in the water advancing, nine steps of three feet in the water passed over, and six steps of three feet in the water alongside[5]; six steps of three feet in the depth of the water, and three steps of three feet in the water pouring over the dead matter are polluted as regards the depth[6]. 78. When it is thrown into the midst of a great standing water, in like manner, the proportion it comes is ever as much as it goes, and

[1. See Chap. I, 3.

2. The Huz. equivalent of Pâz. dakhmak (see § 6).

3. See Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

4. Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 66.

5. See Vend. VI, 80.

6. That is, the pollution extends about eight English feet up-stream and upwards, sixteen feet sideways and downwards, and twenty-four feet down-stream. Some of the latter part of the sentence is omitted in K20 by mistake.]

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is the proportion of it they should always carry away with the dead matter[1].

79. And when a man comes forth, and a corpse lies in the water, when he is able to bring it out, and it is not an injury to him, it is not allowable to abandon it except when he brings it out[2]. 80. Sôshyans[3] said that, when it is an injury, it is allowable when[4] he does not bring it out; and when it is not an injury, and he does not bring it, his sin is a Tanâpûhar[5]. 81. Kûshtanö-bûgêd[6] said that even in case of injury it is not allowable to abandon it, except when he brings it out; when he does not bring it he is worthy of death. 82. And Gôgôsasp[7] said that it is even in case of injury not allowable, except when

he brings it out; and when, in case of injury, he does not bring it out his sin is a Tanâpûhar; and when it is no injury to him, and he does not bring it, he is worthy of death.

83. And when he shall wish to bring it his clothing is to be laid aside[8], for it makes the clothing

[1. The sentence is obscure, but this seems to be the meaning; that is, when a corpse or any dead matter is thrown into a pond or tank, the pollution extends sixteen feet from it in all directions; and that quantity of water ought to be drawn off, in order to purify the tank (see Vend. VI, 65-71). As the corpse, in nearly all cases, must be either at the bottom or on the surface, the quantity of polluted water to be drawn off must be a hemispherical mass sixteen feet in radius, or about forty-eight tons of water.

2. See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64, where it states that bringing it out is a good work of one Tanâpûhar, and leaving it is a sin of the same amount.

3. See Chap. I, 3.

4. Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

5. See Chap. I, 1, 2.

6. See Chap. I, 4, note.

7. See Chap. I, 3.

8. See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64.]

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polluted, and whatever he is first able and best able to bring is to be brought out by him. 84. When, too, he is able to bring it out through the breadth of the water, then also it is to be brought out so[1]; and when he is not able, it is to be brought out through the length of the water; and showing it to a dog and the two men are not to be waited for[2].

85. And it is to be carried by him so much away from the neighbourhood of the water that, when he puts it down, the water which comes out dropping from the corpse does not reach back to the water; for when the water which comes out from the corpse reaches continuously back to the water he is worthy of death; and after that (min zak frâg) it is to be shown to a dog, and it is to be carried away by two men. 86. And when he wishes to throw it out from the water, Mard-bûd[3] said it is allowable to throw it out thus, so that the water of the dripping corpse does not reach continuously back to the water; Rôshan said it would be allowable to throw it out far.

87. To drag it over the water is allowable, to grasp and relinquish it is not allowable[4]; and when it is possible to act so that he may convey it from a great water to a small water, when the water is

[1. So that less water may be polluted by the corpse taking the shortest route through it; but if that be impossible it must come out quickly, at any rate.

2. That is, the otherwise indispensable dog's gaze and two bearers must be dispensed with, if not at hand, in order to save time, until the corpse is out of the water (see § 85).

3. It might be, 'there was a man who said,' but Mard-bûd occurs in the Nîrangistân as the name of a commentator (see Chap. I, 4, note).

4. See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64 for this prohibition.]

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connected it is allowable, and when separated it is not allowable. 88. Afarg[1] said it is allowable to drag it below through the

water, but to drag it over is not allowable, for this has come on the water as a danger[2], and that has not come on it as a danger. 89. Mêdôk-mâh[1] said it is allowable to drag it above, but to drag it below is not allowable, for the danger has gone out across the water, and the danger is not now to be brought upon it; and on that which is below, on which the danger has not come, the danger will at last arrive.

90. When he goes into the water he is to go into it with this idea, that 'should there be many below, then I will even bring all;' for whoever goes in not with this idea, and shall disturb any other one which lies there, will become polluted[3]. 91. And if the corpse be heavy and it is not possible to bring it out by one person; and he goes out with this idea, that 'I will go and prepare means, and bring this corpse out of the water;' and when through sinfulness[4] he does not go back his body is polluted and worthy of

[1. See Chap. I, 3.

2. Or 'fear.' The difference of opinion between the two commentators on this question in casuistry, appears to have arisen from Afarg regarding the water merely as the representative of a spirit, who might be endangered or frightened by the source of impurity becoming more visible when above the water, while Mêdôk-mâh considered the water in its material aspect, and wished to save it from the further pollution consequent upon drawing the corpse through more of it.

3. See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64.

4. These rules generally distinguish clearly between offences committed 'through sinfulness,' that is, wilfully, and those arising from accidental inability; more stress being laid upon the intention than upon the action.]

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death, and when he is unable to go back he is not polluted.

92. When the corpse is so decomposed (pûdak), when it is thus necessary to bring it out, that, he must cut off various fragments, even after he cuts them off they are to be brought out; and for every fragment his hands and knife are to be washed with bull's urine (gômêz), and with dust and moisture (nambö) they are clean[1]. 93. And they are to be torn off[2] by him, and for every single fragment which he brings out his good work is one Tanâpûhar.

94. And when rain is falling the corpse lies in the water; to take it from the water to deposit it in the rain is not[3] allowable.

95. Clothing which is useless[4], this is that in which they should carry a corpse, and that even when very much or altogether useless; of that on which they shall decompose[5] (barâ vishûpênd), and of that on which the excretions (hîkhar) of the dead come, so much space is to be cut away[6], and the rest is to be

[1. See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64 for §§ 92, 93.

2. Or 'twisted off;' the Huz. neskhûntanö must be traced to Chald. ### 'to pluck out, to tear away,' and seems to have a similar meaning in Pahlavi; its Paz. equivalent víkhtanö (Av. vig) ought to be compared rather with Pers. kîkhtan, 'to bruise or break,' than with bêkhtan or pêkhtan, 'to twist.'

3. This negative is omitted in M6 by mistake.

4. Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 32.

5. Or 'go to pieces;' that this is the meaning of vishûpênd appears clearly from Pahl. Vend. VII, 123, but a Persian gloss in the modern MS. M9 explains it as 'deposit fragments from the beak of a bird,' meaning, of course, fragments of dead matter dropped by a carrion bird.

6. As useless, being incapable of purification; such cuttings are to be buried, according to the Avesta of Vend. VII, 32, though the Pahlavi commentary explains that they are to be thrown away.]

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thoroughly washed for the six-months' period[1]. 96. That which a menstruous woman has in wear (mahmânîh)[2] is to be discarded in like fashion.

97. The clothing which is to be washed for the six-months' period is such as is declared in the Avesta[3]. 98. If the clothing be leathern it is to be thoroughly washed three times with bull's urine (gômêz), every time to be made quite dry with dust, and to be thoroughly washed three times with water, and to be laid out three months in a place to be viewed by the sun[4]; and then it is proper for an unclean person (armêst)[5] who has not performed

[1. Khshvâs-mâûgôk is merely a corruption of the Av. khshvas maunghô, 'six months,' of Vend. VII, 36, where this form of cleansing is thus described: 'If (the clothing) be woven, they should wash it out six times with bull's urine, they should scour it six times with earth, they should wash it out six times with water, they should fumigate it six months at the window of the house.'

2. See Pahl. Vend. VII, 3 2.

3. That is; woven clothing, as declared in Vend. VII, 36 (quoted above in note 1).

4. See Vend. VII, 35.

5. A Persian gloss defines armêst as 'a woman who has brought forth a dead child,' and this is the general opinion; but that seems to be only a particular example of an unclean person who would be included under the general term armêst, for according to Pahl. Vend. IX, 133, 137, 141 a man when only partially purified must remain apart in the place for the armêst (Av. airima, compare Sans. il or rî) for a certain time. Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit translation of Mkh. (XXXVII, 36, XXXIX, 40, LI, 7), explains armêst as 'lame, crippled, immobility;' it also means 'stagnant,' when applied to water; and its primitive signification was, probably, 'most stationary' an appropriate term for such unclean persons as are required to remain in a particular place apart from all others, as well as for helpless cripples, and insane persons under restraint (see Chap. VI, x). The meaning 'most polluted' would hardly apply to tank water.]

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worship, or it is proper for a menstruous woman. 99. Other clothing, when hair is on it[1], is liable just like woven cloth (tadak); all the washing of wool, floss silk, silk, hair, and camel's hair is just like that of woven cloth; and woven clothing is to be washed six times[2].

100. Wool which is connected together, when one part is twisted over another, and a corpse rests[3] upon it, is all polluted on account of the connection; and when fleece (mêsh) rests upon fleece, then so much space as the corpse rests upon is polluted. 101. When one shall die upon a rich carpet (bûp) when the carpet is on a coarse rug (namad) and is made connected, the rug and carpet are both polluted, and when separated the rug is clean. 102. When several cushions are heaped (nikîd) one upon the other, and are not made connected, and dead matter comes upon them, they have been unanimous that only that one is polluted on which the dead matter came. 103. A cushion together with wool[4] is liable just like a carpet with a rug[5]. 104. Of several cushions which are tied down together, when dead matter comes to the tie, both are polluted, the cord and the cushions; and when the dead matter comes to a cushion, and does not come to the tie, the cushions are all polluted on account of the connection, and the tie is clean[6].

[1. Pahl. Vend. VII, 35 says 'when a single hair is on it.'

2. As mentioned in a note on § 95.

3. Literally, 'impinges.' Here, as in many other places, 'dead matter' may be read instead of 'corpse,' as nasât means both or either of them.

4. That is, laid upon wool. See § 101.

5. See Pahl. Vend. VII, 27.]

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105. A pregnant woman who devours dead matter through sinfulness is polluted and worthy of death, and there is no washing for her[1]; and as for the child, when it has become acquainted with duties (pîsak-shinâs), ashes[2] and bull's urine are for its eating and for its washing. 106. As for a child who is born of solitary carriers of the dead[3], although its father and mother may both have devoured dead matter through sinfulness, that which is born is clean on the spot, for it does not become polluted by birth.

107. Rôshan[4] said that every one, who, through sinfulness, has become polluted by means of dead matter, is worthy of death, and his polluted. body never becomes clean; for this one is more wretched than the fox which one throws into the water living, and in the water it will die. 108. One worthy of death never becomes clean; and a solitary carrier of the dead is to be kept at thirty steps from ceremonial ablution (pâdyâvîh).

109. Whichsoever of the animal species has eaten their dead matter[5], its milk, dung, hair, and wool are polluted the length of a year; and if pregnant when it has eaten it, the young one has also eaten it, and the young one is clean after the length of a year from being born of the mother. 110. When a male which has eaten it mounts a female, the female is not polluted. 111. When dead matter is eaten by it,

[1. That is, she cannot be purified.

2. Reading var (see note on § 49).

3. Carrying a corpse by a single person being prohibited (see §§ 7, 8); but why he is supposed to devour it is not clear.

4. See Chap. I, 4, note.

5. Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 192.]

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and even while it is not digested it shall die, it is liable just like a leathern bag (anbân) in which is dead matter.

112. Gold, when dead matter comes upon it, is to be once thoroughly washed with bull's urine (gômêz), to be once made quite dry with dust, and to be once thoroughly washed with water, and it is clean[1]. 113. Silver is to be twice thoroughly washed with bull's urine, and to be made quite dry with dust, and is to be twice thoroughly washed with water, and it is clean [2]. 114. And iron, in like manner, three times, steel four times, and stone six times[3]. 115. Afarg said: 'Should it be quicksilver (âvgînak)[4] it is liable just like gold, and amber (kahrupât) just like stone, and all jewels just like iron. 116. The pearl (mûrvârîd)[5], amber, the

[1. The purification here detailed is prescribed for golden vessels in Vend. VII, 186.

2. This is the purification prescribed for silver vessels in Vend. VII, 74 W.; it is found in the Vendidad Sâdah, but is omitted (evidently by mistake) in the Vendidad with Pahlavi translation, and has, therefore, been omitted in Spiegel's edition of the texts. By this accidental omission in the MSS. silver is connected with the purification for stone (see § 114).

3. See Vend. VII, 75 W., much of which is omitted in the Vendidad with Pahlavi translation, and in Spiegel's edition (see the preceding note), the sixfold washing of stone being erroneously applied to silver (see Vend. VII, 187 Sp.), owing to this omission of the intervening text. It appears from this section that the AV. haosafna, which has usually been translated as 'copper,' was understood to be pûlâvd, 'steel,' by the Pahlavi translators.

4. Or 'a mirror' (Pers. âbgînah), but the word is evidently used for a metal in SZS. X, 2, and very likely here also.

5. Most of the substances mentioned in §§ 115, 116 are detailed in Pahl. Vend. VII, 188, where it is stated that 'as to the pearl there have been different opinions, some say that it is liable just like gold, some say that it is just like the other jewels, and some say that there is no washing for it.'

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ruby (yâkand) gem, the turquoise[1], the agate (shapak), coral-stone (vasadîn sag), bone, and other substances (gôhar) which

are not particularly mentioned, are to be washed just like wood[2]; and when they are taken into use there is no washing[3], and when they are not taken their washing is once. 117. Of earthen and horny articles there is no washing; and of other substances which are not taken for use the washing is once, and they are declared out of use.

118. Firewood, when green, is to be cut off the length of a span (vitast), one by one, as many sticks as there are--and when dry one span and two finger-breadths[4]--and is to be deposited in some place the length of a year, and water is not to be dropped upon it; and it is drawn out after the length of a year; Sôshyans[5] said that it is proper as firewood for ordinary fires, and Kûshtanö-bûgêd[6] said that it is just as declared in the Avesta: 'The

[1. This is doubtful; the word can be read pirînak, and has the Pers. gloss pîrûzah, 'turquoise,' in some MSS. If read pilînak it might perhaps be taken for 'ivory.' But in Pahl. Vend. VII, 188 it is vafarinô, 'snowy,' and the reading there seems to be 'jet-black and snow-white stone-coral;' so here the original meaning may have been 'snow-white, and jet-black coral-stone.'

2. Vend. VII, 188 says that 'earthen or wooden or porcelain vessels are impure for everlasting.'

3. Meaning, apparently, that they cannot be purified for immediate use.

4. That is, one-sixth longer than when green, the vitast being twelve finger-breadths, or nine inches (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note). The purification of firewood, here prescribed, is simply drying it for a year in short lengths; but Vend. VII, 72-82 requires it also to be sprinkled once with water, and to be cut into longer pieces.

5. See Chap. I, 3.

6. See Chap. I, 4, note.]

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washed one, even then, is proper in dried clothing[1]. 119. About corn[2] they have been unanimous that so much space is polluted as the dead matter comes upon; and of that which is lowered into pits[3], or is wanted to be so, and of that which is scattered (afsîd) at such a place there are different opinions; Sôshyans said: 'Should it be of such a place it is polluted as much as the dead matter has come upon it;' and Gôgôsasp[4] said: 'Should it be so it is all polluted, and the straw is all polluted.'

120. A walnut[5], through its mode of connection, is all polluted, and the washing of both its shell and kernel (pôst va mazg) is just like that of wood. 121. A pomegranate also is of such nature as a walnut. 122. As to the date, when its stalk[6] is not connected the date is polluted and the stalk and stone (âstak) are clean; the washing of the date is just like that of corn; and when it is touched upon the stalk, when the stalk, stone, and date are connected, the whole is polluted; as to the date when not connected with the stalk, and touched at the

[1. Something similar is said in Pahl. Vend. VI, 71.

2. According to Vend. VII, 83-93 polluted corn and fodder are to be treated like polluted firewood, but to be cut into pieces of about double the length.

3. Reading dên gôpân farôstak; the practice of storing corn in dry pits underground is common in the East and in some parts of Europe. In Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 it is den gôpân âvist, 'concealed in pits.'

4. See Chap. I, 3.

5. Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 classes the almond with the walnut as a connected fruit and the date with the pomegranate as a separated one.

6. The word is kûrâpak or kûrâzak, but its meaning is doubtful.]

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stalk, the date is clean, and the washing of the stone is just like that of wood. 123. The pomegranate, citron, quince, apple, pear, and other fruit, when in bearing and the rind (pazâvisnô) is perceptible on it, when dead matter comes upon it there is no



pollution of it; and when the rind (pazâmisnö) is not perceptible on it, its washing is just like that of corn; and rind is ever with the citron[1]. 124. For meat, butter, milk, cheese, and preserves (rîkâr) there is no washing[2].

### CHAPTER III.

1. The clothing of a menstruous woman which they shall take new for her use is polluted, and that which is in use is not polluted'. 2. When a bedchamber (shâd-aûrvân) is overspread, and a carpet (bûp) is laid upon it and a cushion on the two[4], and

[1. Pahl. Vend. VII, 9 3 says, 'fruit whose rind (pazâv) exists is also just like that in a pod (kûvak), and for that which does not remain in a rind, when pollution shall come upon it, there is no cleansing whatever. Afarg said that there is ever a rind (pazâvisnö) with the citron.'

2. Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 says, 'for everything separated there is a washing, except meat and milk.' Articles for which there is no washing cannot be purified.

3. Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5 says, 'when in the place she remains in for the purpose, she does not make the clothing she wears on her body polluted, it remains for use within the place.' The meaning is, probably, that clothing already set apart for the purpose does not become further polluted, so as to be unfit for her use. It appears also (Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5) that on the spot where menstruation first appears, not even the twigs uplifted in the sacred ceremony are polluted, unless the circumstances are abnormal.

4. This phrase, about the carpet and cushion, is omitted in K20 by mistake.]

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a woman sits upon it and menstruation occurs, when she puts a foot from the cushion on to the carpet, and from the carpet out into the bed-chamber, the carpet and bed-chamber are both polluted, for they are taken newly for her use, but of the cushion there is no pollution for this reason, because it is in use. 3. And when she sits on the cushion so that she shall have both the carpet and cushion in use, the bed-chamber is polluted by itself; and when all three shall be in use there is no pollution whatever[1].

4. Just as she knows that it is menstruation, in the place she is in for the purpose[2], first the necklace, then the ear-rings, then the head-fillet (kambar), and then the outer garments (gâmak) are to be put off by her. 5. When in the place she remains in for the purpose, even though she may remain a very long time for that purpose, yet then the outer garments are clean, and there is no need of leather covering and leather shoes[3].

6. When she knows for certain (aêvar) that it is menstruation, until the complete changing (gûharîdanö) of all her garments, and she shall have sat down in the place for menstruation[4], a prayer is to

[1. §§ 2, 3 are merely corollaries from § 1.

2. Or, possibly, 'on the spot she is in on the occasion;' although it would appear from § 5 that the place referred to is the dashtânistân, or place of retirement for the unclean.

3. Reading mask va salmîhâ, but both reading and meaning are doubtful. The first word may be muskö, 'musk,' and the other can be read sharmgâh, but, if so, the construction of the sentence is defective, as it stands in the MSS.

4. The dashtânistân, a comfortless room or cell provided in every Parsi house for unclean persons to retire to, where they can see neither sun, moon, stars, fire, water, sacred vessels, nor righteous men; it ought to be fifteen steps (39½ feet) from fire, {footnote p. 278} water, and the sacred twigs, and three steps (8 feet) from righteous men (see § 33 and Vend. XVI, 1-10).]

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be retained inwardly[1]. 7. When worship is celebrated a prayer is to be retained[2] inwardly, and should menstruation occur the prayer is to be spoken out by her. 8. When in speaking out the prayer should menstruation occur, both afterwards, when the time was certain (avîgûmân), and now she is certain[3]. 9. When she retains a prayer inwardly, and a call of nature arises, there is no need for her to speak out the prayer, for the formula for the call is to be spoken by her[4].

10. Hands sprinkled in ceremonial ablution (pâdîyâv), when a menstruous woman sees them, become quite unclean (apâdîyâv) by her look[5], and even when she looks hastily, and does not see the sacred twigs (baresôm), it is the same. 11. And on the subject of a house (khânak-I babâ), when a menstruous woman is above in it, and the sacred twigs

[1. This kind of prayer (Av. vâk, 'a word or phrase,' Pahl. vâg, Pers. bâz) is a short formula, the beginning of which is to be muttered in a kind of whisper, or (according to the Pahlavi idiom) it 'is to be taken' and 'retained' inwardly (as a protection while eating, praying, or performing other necessary acts) by strictly abstaining from all conversation, until the completion of the act, when the prayer or vâg 'is to be spoken out,' that is, the conclusion of the formula is to be uttered aloud, and the person is then free to speak as he likes. Different formulas are used on different occasions.

2. K20 has, 'she retains a prayer.' See Pahl. Vend, XVI, 5.

3. The meaning is, however, uncertain.

4. The Pahlavi text is as follows: Amat vâg yaxhsenunêd, pêsînkâr (Pers. pêsyâr) barâ yatûnêd, as vâg gûftanô kâr lôit mamasan nask-i pavan kamisn yemalelunisnô. . Compare Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5.

5. See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 10.]

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stand right below, if even fully fifteen steps below, even then the sacred twigs are unclean (apâdîyâv)[1]; but when not right below fifteen steps are plenty.

12. Prepared food which is within three steps of a menstruous woman is polluted by her, and food which she delivers up (barâ pardazêd) from her morning meal (kâsht) is not fit for the evening meal (sâm), nor that which she delivers up from her evening meal for the morning meal; it is not fit even for the same woman[2]; and water which is within three steps of her, when they shall put it into a pail (dûbal) or ablution-vessel (pâdîyâvdân), and shall do it without handling (ayadman), is fit for the hands in ceremonial ablution. 13. When she touches the bedding[3] and garments of any one, Sôshyans[4] said that so much space is to be washed with-bull's urine (gômêz) and water; her bedding which touches the bedding of any one does not make it polluted.

14. A menstruous woman who becomes clean in three nights is not to be washed till the fifth day; from the fifth day onwards to the ninth day, when-

[1. Pahl. Vend. XVI, 10 says, 'everything, when at the right distance, is proper, except only that one case, when uncleanness is above and cleanness also right below; although it be even much below, yet it is not proper.' In such a case the prescribed distance of fifteen steps is not sufficient; therefore, the dashtânistân should be on the ground floor, not over an underground water-tank, nor within fifteen steps of the water in such a tank.

2. Or, possibly, ham nêsmân may mean 'a companion woman,' when two or more are secluded at the same time. Pahl. Vend. XVI, 17 says, 'food delivered up by a menstruous woman is of no use whatever, it is not proper; in parts free from pollution (gavîdvasnô), in those likewise it is not proper;' the reading gavîdvasnô (proposed by Dastûr Hoshangji) is, however, doubtful.

5. Or 'clothing,' vistarg.

6. See Chap. I, 3.]

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ever she becomes clean, she is to sit down in cleanliness one day for the sake of her depletion (tihîk), and then she is fit for washing; and after nine nights the depletion is no matter[1].

15. A woman who has brought forth or miscarried (nasât), during forty days sees whenever she is polluted; but when she knows for certain that she is free from menstruation she is, thereupon, to be associated with meanwhile (vadas), from the forty days[2], onward; but when she knows for certain that there is something of it, she is to be considered meanwhile as

menstruous.

16. A menstruous woman when she has sat one month as menstruous, and becomes clean on the thirtieth day, when at the very same time she became quite clean she also becomes again menstruous, her depletion (tîhîk) is from its beginning, and till the fifth day washing is not allowable. 17. And when she is washed from the menstruation, and has sat three days in cleanliness, and again becomes menstruous as from the beginning, four days are to be watched through by her, and the fifth day is for washing[3]. 18. When she has become free

[1. See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 22. The Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 19) prescribes a fixed period of seven days, except in abnormal cases.

2. The same period of seclusion as appointed by the Hebrew law, after the birth of a man child (see Lev. xii. 2-4). The Avesta law (Vend. V, 135-159) prescribes only twelve nights' seclusion, divided into two periods of three and nine nights respectively, as the Hebrew woman's seclusion is divided into periods of seven and thirty-three days.

3. The substance of §§ 16, 17 is given in Pahl, Vend. XVI, 22, but in language even more obscure than here. The washing mentioned here is merely for the first menstruation; that for the second one being prescribed in § 18.]

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from the second menstruation she is not in cleanliness for nine days and nights,--these days and nights are for watching,--and then she is to be washed; when the nine days and nights are completed, on the same day washing is good[1].

19. Of leucorrhœa (kîharak)[2], when it has quite changed colour, that which comes on before and also that which is after menstruation, the pollution is just like that of menstruation.

20. When she has become so completely clean from menstruation that her washing may be as usual (dastôbarag hâe), she does not make the sacred twigs (baresôm), nor even other things, polluted when beyond three steps.

21. On account of severe cold it is allowable for her to sit out towards[3] the fire; and while she washes a prayer (vâg) is to be taken inwardly by her[4], and the washing of her hands, except with bull's urine (gômêz), is not proper till then; and when they are washed by her, two hundred noxious creatures are to be destroyed by her as atonement for sin.

22. A woman who goes beyond the period of menstruation[5], and, afterwards, sees she is polluted, when her pregnancy is certain--except when her

[1. In such abnormal cases the Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 25-28) prescribes seven days' seclusion after recovery.

2. Av. kithra, see explanation of kîharak-hômand (Av. kithravand) in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 1, 34.

3. Dastûr Jâmâspji reads val bavan-i âtâsh, 'to the part of the fire.' From what follows it would seem doubtful whether this distant approach to the fire is allowable until she is ready for washing.

4. See § 6, note.

5. Or, 'goes up from the place of menstruation.']

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miscarriage (nasâi yehevûntanö) is evident--is then to be washed with bull's urine and water; when her pregnancy is not certain she is to be considered as menstruous. 23. Some say[1], moreover, that when miscarriage is certainly manifest she is, meanwhile, to be considered as menstruous. 24. Some say that when she is doubtful about the miscarriage she is to be washed with ceremony[2].

25. And for any one[3] who comes in contact with a menstruous woman, or with the person whom it is necessary to wash with water and bull's urine, it is the root of a sin of sixty stîrs[4]. 26. And for whomever knowingly has sexual intercourse with a menstruous woman it is the root of a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars and sixty stîrs[5].

27. Of a menstruous woman who sees a fire the sin is one Farmân[6], and when she goes within three steps it is one Tanâpûhar, and when she puts a hand on the fire itself[7] it is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars; and in like manner as to the ashes [8] and water goblet[9]. 28. When she looks at water it is a

[1. Literally, 'there is one who says thus.'

2. See Chap. II, 65.

3. Reading aîs instead of adînas, 'then for him.'

4. That is, the sin is a Khôr (see Chap. I, 2).

5. According to the Avesta (Vend. XV, 23, 24) he becomes a peshôtanu (Pahl. tanâpûhar). The Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 24) makes him unclean for seven days.

6. See Chap. I, 2. That it was sinful for her to look at fire, even in Avesta times, appears from Vend. XVI, 8.

7. Literally, 'on the body of the fire.'

8. That libûsyâ means 'ashes' appears from Pahl. Vend. V, 150; literally it is Huzvâris for 'clothing or covering,' and is so used in Pahl. Vend. VI, 106, VII, 122. Metaphorically, ashes are the clothing of the fire.

8. Reading dûbalak; but the word is doubtful. Possibly it {footnote p. 283} should be read gôbarak for gâv-bar, 'bull's produce,' referring to the bull's urine which, with ashes, is prescribed (Vend. V, 149) as the first food for a woman after miscarriage.]

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sin of one Farmân; when she sits in water it is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars; and when through disobedience she walks out in the rain every single drop is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars for her. 29. And the sun and other luminaries are not to be looked at by her, and animals and plants are not to be looked at by her, and conversation with a righteous man is not to be held by her; for a fiend so violent is that fiend of menstruation[1], that, where another fiend does not smite anything with a look (akhsh), it smites with a look.

30. As to a house[2] in which is a menstruous woman, the fire of that house is not to be kindled; food which is delivered up from before a menstruous woman is not proper for the same woman[3]. 31. A tray-cloth (khvânö gâmak) which stands before her, when it is not in contact with her, is not polluted; a table-napkin (patashkûr) when apart from her thigh, and contact does not occur, is proper[4].

32. When one[5], wishes to consecrate the sacred cakes (drôn)[6], when one holds up the sacred twigs

[1. The demoness Gêh (see Bund. III, 3-9).

2. By khânak, 'house, abode; must here be understood merely the woman's place of seclusion. K20 inserts âtâs dên after mûn, which renders it possible (by assuming another preposition) to translate as follows" 'As to a house in which is a fire, the fire in that house is not to be kindled by a menstruous woman.'

3. See § 12.

4. Fit to use again.

5. Perhaps we should read 'she' throughout this section, as a woman can perform. these rites among women (see Chap. X, 35).

6. The drôn (Av. draona, corrupted into drûn, or darûn by {footnote p. 284} Pâz. writers) is a small round pancake or wafer of unleavened bread, about the size of the palm of the hand. It is made of wheaten flour and water, with a little clarified butter, and is flexible. A drôn is converted into a frasast by marking it on one side, before frying, with nine superficial cuts

(in three rows of three each) made with a finger-nail while thrice repeating the words humat hūkht huvarst, 'well-thought, well-said, well-done,' one word to each of the nine cuts. Any drôn or frasast that is torn must not be used in any ceremony. In the drôn ceremony two drôns are placed separately by the priest upon a very low table before him, on its left side, the nearer one having a small piece of butter (gâus hudhau) upon it; two frasasts are similarly placed upon its right-hand side, the farther one having a pomegranate twig (urvarâm) upon it; and between this and the farther drôn an egg is placed. The sacred twig (baresôm) must also be present on their stand to the left of the priest, and a fire or lamp must stand opposite him, on the other side of the table. The priest recites a certain formula of consecration (chiefly Yas. III, 1-VIII, 9), during which he uplifts the sacred twigs, and mentions the name of the angel, or of the guardian spirit of a deceased person, in whose honour the ceremony is performed. After consecration, pieces are broken off the drôns by the officiating priest, and are eaten by himself and those present, beginning with the priests (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396, 407, 408, AV. p. 147).]

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(baresôm)[1] from the twig-stand (baresôm-dân), and menstruation occurs, and just as it came to one's knowledge one puts down the sacred twigs and goes out, the sacred twigs are not polluted.

[1. The baresôm (Av. baresma) consists of a number of slender rods or tâi (Pahl. tâk), formerly twigs of some particular trees, but now thin metal wires are generally used. The number of these twigs varies according to the nature of the ceremony, but is usually from five to thirty-three. These twigs are laid upon the crescent shaped tops of two adjacent metal stands, each called a mâh-rû, 'moon-face,' and both together forming the baresôm-dân or 'twig-stand.' The baresôm is prepared for the sacred rites by the recital of certain prayers by the officiating priest, during which he washes the twigs with water, and ties them together with a kûstîk or girdle formed of six thread-like ribbons split out of a leaflet of the date-palm and twisted together; this girdle, being {footnote p. 285} passed twice round the twigs, is secured with a right-handed and left-handed knot on one side, and is then passed round a third time and secured with a similar double knot on the other side, exactly as the kûstîk or sacred thread-girdle is secured round the waist of a Parsi man or woman (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396-399).]

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33. And during her menstruation she is to be so seated that, from her body, there are fifteen steps of three feet to water, fifteen steps to fire, fifteen steps to the sacred twigs, and three steps to a righteous man[1]. 34. And her food is to be carried forth in iron or leaden vessels; and the person (valman) who shall carry forth the food stands at three steps away from her[2]. 35. When worship is celebrated, every time at the dedication (shnûmanê)[3] of the consecration of sacred cakes (drôn yast) it is to be uttered aloud by her; some say the Ithâ and Ashem-vohû[4].

#### CHAPTER IV

1. A sacred thread-girdle (kûstîk), should it be made of silk (parvand), is not proper; the hair (pashm) of a hairy goat and a hairy camel is

[1. See Vend. XVI, 9, 10. All the ceremonial apparatus must be kept as far removed as the sacred twigs.

2. See Vend. XVI, 11-14, which states that the food is to be carried forth on iron, lead, or the basest metal.

3. This is the time when the name of the angel or spirit is mentioned, in whose honour the cakes are consecrated (see § 32, note on drôn, and Chap. VII, 8).

4. The Ithâ is Yas. V (so called from its first word), which forms a part of the drôn yast or formula of consecration (see § 32, note on drôn). The Ashem-vohû is probably that in Yas. VIII, 9, which concludes the consecration. The same details are given in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 17. These prayers also form a portion of all ceremonial worship, including the Yazisn.]

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proper, and from other hairy creatures (mûyînö) it is proper among the lowly (nakhêzîk). 2. The least fulness[1] necessary for it is exactly three finger-breadths; when it is exactly three finger-breadths altogether[2] from one side, and when the rest is cut off, it is proper. 3. When one retains the prayer inwardly[3] and has tied his girdle, and ties it anew once again, he will untie that which he has tied, and it is not proper[4].

4. Cloth of thick silk brocade (dîpâkö) and figured silk (parnîkânö) is not good for girdling[5] and cloth of hide when the hair is stripped from it of wool, of hair, of cotton, of dyed silk, and of wood[6] is proper for shirting (sapîkîh). 5. Four finger-

breadths of shirt[7] is the measure of its width away

[1. Literally, 'width;' that is, extra width, or slackness round the waist, as the girdle sits very loosely over a loose shirt; or, as the text implies, the slackness ought to admit three fingers together, projecting edgeways from the waist. After tying it so loosely, any unnecessary length of string may be cut off, when the girdle is put on for the first time. The necessary looseness is again mentioned in Chap. X, 1.

2. Literally, 'extreme to extreme;' rôsman-â-rôsman being Huzvâris for sarâsar.

3. That is, has begun the prayer formula (requisite while tying on the girdle) with a bâz or muttered prayer (see Chap. III, 6, note).

4. The meaning appears to be that he must not tie the girdle a second time without recommencing the prayer formula.

5. This word, ayîbyâêghânîh, is chiefly a transcript from the Avesta name of the kûstîk or girdle, aiwyaunghana. Probably garments in general are meant.

6. Perhaps dârîn may mean cloth of bark, hemp, or flax here.

7. The sacred shirt, worn by Parsis of both sexes (young children excepted) in India, is a very loose tunic of white muslin, with very short loose sleeves covering part of the upper arm. It is called sadaro (Pers. sudarah) in Gugarâti, and shapîk (Pers. shabî) in Pahlavi.]

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from each side, from the neck to the skirt (parîk); and as to the length before and behind, as much as is proper to cover up is good. 6. So much length and breadth, when it is double or thickened[1], are not proper; when on the separation (dûrmânak) of the two folds one remains clothed on one side, both when he wears the girdle (kûstîk), and when he does not wear the girdle, even then it is not undress (vishâdakîh)[2].

7. When a shirt of one fold is put on, and the skirt has concealed both sides, the girdle is tied over it, and it is proper. 8. When two shirts are put on, and they shall tie the girdle over that which is above, then it is for him a root of the sin owing to[3] running about uncovered[4].

9. By a man and woman, until fifteen years of age, there is no committal of the sin of running about uncovered[5]; and the sin of unseasonable

[1. Assuming that âtabarîd stands for astabarîd; the Huz. âit being substituted for the Pâz. ast. The text appears to refer to lined or stuffed shirts, such as would be very suitable for the cold winters of Persia, like the clothing padded with cotton wool used by natives of the cooler parts of India in the cold season.

2. That is, the degree of nakedness which is sinful (see §§ 8-10).

3. K20 has lâ, 'not,' instead of râi, 'owing to;' this would reverse the meaning of the sentence, but it is not the usual place for the negative particle.

4. This sin is called vishâd-dûbârisnîh; it is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 167, VII, 48, but not described there. The usual definition of the sin is 'walking about without the sacred thread-girdle;' and it is generally classed with the two other Parsi sins of 'walking with one boot' and 'making water on foot' (see AV. XXV, 5, 6); sometimes a fourth Parsi sin, 'unseasonable chatter,' is associated with them, as in the text, but this is supposed to be punished in a different manner in hell (see AV. XXIII).

5. Indicating that it is not absolutely necessary to wear the sacred thread-girdle till one is fifteen years old (see Chap. X, 13).]

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chatter[1] arises after fifteen years of age[2]. 10. The sin of running about uncovered, as far as three steps; is a Farmân each

step; at the fourth step it is a Tanâpûhar[3] sin.

11. A girdle to which there is no fringe is proper; and when they shall tie a woman's ringlet (gurs)[4] it is not proper.

12. Walking with one boot[5] as far as four steps is

[1. This sin is called drâyân-gûyisnîh, literally, 'eagerness for chattering,' and consists in talking while eating, praying, or at any other time when a prayer (vâg) has been taken inwardly and is not yet spoken out; many details regarding it are given in the next chapter. The sin consists in breaking the spell, or destroying the effect, of the vâg.

2. This is modified by Chap. V, 1, 2.

3. See Chap. I, 1, 2. These particulars are deduced by the Pahlavi commentator from Vend. XVIII, 115, which refers, however, to a special case of going without girdle and shirt. He says (Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 116), 'so that as far as the fourth step it is not more than (aî) a Srôshô-karanâm, and at the fourth step it amounts to the root of a Tanâpûhar within him; some say that he is within what is allowed him in going three steps. When he walks on very many steps it is also not more than a Tanâpûhar, and when he stops again it is counted from the starting-point' (compare § 112).

4. Probably referring to the possibility of tying the girdle over a woman's hair, when hanging loose down to her waist. The present custom among Parsi women in India is to cover up the whole of their hair with a white handkerchief tied closely over the head; but whether this is an ancient custom is uncertain.

5. This sin, which is mentioned in Bund. XXVIII, 13, is called aê-mûk-dûbârisnîh or khadû-mûk-dûbârisnîh, literally, 'running in one boot,' and is usually so understood, but how there can be any risk of the committal of so inconvenient an offence is not explained. Dastûr Hoshangji thinks that aê-mûk, 'one boot,' was, formerly written avî-mûk, 'without boots;' and no doubt avî is sometimes written exactly like khadû, 'one,' (indicating, possibly, a phonetic change of avî into agvi). Perhaps, however, the word alludes to the Persian practice of wearing an outer boot {footnote p. 289} (mûk) over an inner one of thinner leather, when walking out of doors; so that the sin of 'running in one pair of boots' would be something equivalent to walking out in one's stockings; and this seems all the more probable from the separate account of walking 'without boots or stockings,' avîmûgak, given in Chap. X, 12. But whatever may have been the original meaning of the word, Parsis nowadays understand that it forbids their walking without shoes; this should be recollected by any European official in India who fancies that Parsis ought to take off their shoes in his presence, as by insisting on such a practice he is compelling them to commit what they believe to be a serious sin.]

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a Tanâpûhar sin, when with one[1] movement; and after the fourth step as much as one shall walk is a Tanâpûhar; and when he sits down and walks on the sin is the same that it would be from his starting-point (bûnîh); and there were some who said it is a Tanâpûhar for each league (parasang).

13. At night, when they lie down, the shirt and girdle are to be worn, for they are more protecting for the body, and good for the soul. 14. When they lie down with the shirt and girdle, before sleep one shall utter one Ashem-vohû[2], and with every coming and going of the breath (vayô) is a good work of three Srôshô-karanâms[3]; and if in that

[1. Assuming that hanâ, 'this,' stands for aê, 'one' (see p. 218, note 3). The amount of sinfulness in walking improperly shod appears to be deduced from that 'incurred by walking improperly dressed (see § 10).

2. See Bund. XX, 2. The same details are given in Chap. X, 24.

3. The Av. sraoshô-karana appears to have been a scourge with which offenders were lashed by the assistant priests (see Vend. III, 125, 129, IV, 38, &c.), and a Srôshô-karanâm was, therefore, originally one lash with a scourge. As the gravity of an offence was measured by the number of lashes administered, when this term was transferred from the temporal to the spiritual gravity of sin, it was considered as the unit of weight by which sins were estimated; and, by a further process of reasoning, the good works {footnote p. 290} necessary for counterbalancing sins were estimated by the same unit of weight. Regarding the amount of a Srôshô-karanâm there is much uncertainty; according to Chap. XVI, 5 and Pahl. Vend. VI, 15 it is the same as a Farmân, and this appears to be the case also from a comparison of § 10 with Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 116 (see note on § 10); but according to Chap. XI, 2 it is half a Farmân, and the Farmân is also probably the degree meant by the frequent mention of three Srôshô-karanâms as the least weight of sin or good works that will turn the scale in which the soul's actions

are weighed after death (see Chap. VI, 3). This uncertainty may perhaps have arisen from *aê*, 'one,' and the cipher 3 being often written alike in Pahlavi. But, besides this uncertainty, there is some discordance between the various accounts of the actual weight of a *Srôshô-karanâm*, as may be seen in Chaps. X, 24, XI, 2, XVI, 5. As a weight the *Srôshô-karanâm* is not often mentioned in the Pahlavi Vendidad, for wherever it translates the Av. *sraoshô-karana* it means 'lashes with a scourge;' but the weight of one *Srôshô-karanâm* is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. VI, 15, three *Srôshô-karanâms* in IV, 142, VII, 136, XVII, 11, XVIII, 55, 116, and five *Srôshô-karanâms* in XVI, 8.]

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sleep decease occurs, his renunciation of sin is accomplished[1].

#### CHAPTER V.

1. Of unseasonable chatter[2] that of children of five years of age has no root; and from five years till seven years, when one is under the tuition of his

[1. *Patîtkîh*, 'the dropping' or renunciation of sin, is effected by confessing serious offences to a high-priest, and also by the recitation of a particular formula called the *Patit*, in which every imaginable sin is mentioned with a declaration of repentance of any such sins as the reciter may have committed. The priest ordains such atonement as he thinks necessary, but the remission of the sins depends upon the after performance of the atonement and the effectual determination to avoid such sins in future (see Chap. VIII, 1, 2, 8).

2. See Chap. IV, 9.]

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father and innocent[1], it has no root in him, and when sinful it has root in the father[2]. 2. And from eight years till they are man and woman of fifteen years, if even one is innocent during the performance of the ritual (*yastô*), but is able to say its *Ithâ* and *Ashem-vohû*[3], and does not say them, it is the root of unseasonable chatter for him[4]; and when he is able to perform his ritual by heart (*narm*), and says only the *Ithâ* and *Ashem-vohû*, some have said that such is as when his ritual is not performed and there is no offering (*yastôfrîd*), and some have said that it is not unseasonable chatter.

3. Unseasonable chatter may occur at every ceremonial (*yazisnô*); for him who has performed the ritual it is a *Tanâpûhar* sin [5]; for him who has not performed the ritual it is less, some have said three *Srôshô-karanâms*[6]. 4. The measure of unseasonable chatter is a *Tanâpûhar* sin; this is where every ceremony, or every morsel, or every drop of urine is not completed[7]. 5. Of the unseasonable chatter of

[1. That is, intending no harm, as contrasted with sinful or wilful chatter in defiance of instruction.

2. Because the father is supposed to be responsible, in the next world, for the sins of the child, even as he will profit by its good works (see, Chaps. X, 22, XII, 15).

3. See Chap. III, 35.

4. Inattention to prayers evinced by improper silence is thus put upon the same footing as inattention evinced by improper talking. This portion of the sentence is omitted in K20.

5. See Chap. I, 1, 2, It is a greater sin in the officiating priests than in the other persons present at the ceremony.

6. Probably a *Farmân* sin (see Chap. IV, 14, note).

7. Referring to the three principal occasions when a prayer (*vâg*), is taken inwardly and retained until the completion of the action; during which time it is unlawful to say anything but the prescribed prayers (see Chap. III, 6, note).]

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him who has not performed the ritual *Afarg*[1] said this degree is slighter; *Mêdôk-mâh*[1] said both are alike, and he spoke further of this, since for him who has not performed the ritual, and does not attend to[2] saying its *Ithâ* and *Ashem-vohû*, it is



more severe than for him who has performed the ritual, and does not attend to consecrating its sacred cake (drôn). 6. Médôk-mâh said that it (the ceremonial)[3] does not become Gêto-kharîd[4]; Afarg said that it amounts to an offering (yastôfrîd)[5] for every one, except for that person who knows the ritual by heart, and through sinfulness will not perform it; and it becomes his at the time when, during his life and by his command, it is recited with this intention, namely: 'I wish to do it, my faith (astôbânîh) is in the religion[6].'

7. The deaf and dumb when it is not possible for him to say an Ashem does not commit unseasonable chatter[7]; and when it is possible for him to say an Ashem he shall three times say of it, 'Ashem, ashem, ashem;' and if it be possible for him to say

[1. See Chap. I, 3.

2. Literally, 'believe or trust to.'

3. During which unseasonable chatter occurs.

4. Generally written Gêtu-kharîd (see Bund. XXX, 28); but, perhaps, we should here read yastôfrîd, 'offering,' though gêtôk-kharîd occurs in Chap. XII, 30.

5. The MSS. have merely stôfrîd, which differs from the foregoing gêtô-kharîd only in one Pahlavi letter, so we should probably read the same word in both cases, but which of them it ought to be is uncertain.

6. Meaning, apparently, that he can obtain the benefit of any past ceremony, forfeited by wilful negligence, by repentance and a repetition of the ceremony during his lifetime.

7 By omitting to say it (see § 2). This clause of the sentence is omitted in K20.]

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'ithâ' and 'ashem-vohû' it is well, and when it is only possible for him to say 'ithâ' it matters not[1].

## CHAPTER VI.

1. The deaf and dumb and helpless (armêst)[2], though of unblemished conduct and proper disposition, is incapable of doing good works, and from the time when he is born till the time when he shall die, all the duty and good works which they may perform in the world become his property (nafsman) as much as his even by whom they are performed; some say that it is thus: as much as they belong to Zaratûst[3]. 2. Though he does not do the good works not really originating with (ahambûnik) him, and does not commit the sin not really originating with him, it is better than though he were able to do the good works not really originating with him, and should not do them; but should commit the sin not really originating with him; when, afterwards, he passes away, and then also comes to his account as to sin and good works, when the good works not really originating with him are more he is in heaven (vahist), when the sin

[1. That is, any one barely able to speak must repeat so much of the indispensable prayers as he is able to pronounce, otherwise he will commit sin.

2. That is, any one compelled to remain stationary or secluded, owing to bodily or mental infirmity (see Chap. II, 98); an idiot, or insane person, is probably meant here.

3. This comment seems to imply that its writer was translating from an Avesta text, and here met with a word which some persons thought contained a reference to Zaratûst, but which he first translated so as to suit the context; perhaps Av. zarazdâiti may be suggested.]

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not really originating with him is more he is in hell[1], and when both are equal he is among the ever-stationary (hamîstakân) [1]. 3. When the good works are three Srôshô-karanâms[2] more than the sins he is in heaven (vahist), when the good works are one Tanâpûhar more he attains to the best existence (pâhlûm ahvân)[3], when his ceremony (yast) is

[1. That is, he is treated, with regard to the actions merely imputed to him, precisely as all others are with regard to their own

actions. With reference to the hamîstakân, Ardâ-Vîrâf states (AV. VI, 2, 5-12) that on his journey to the other world he 'saw the souls of several people who remain in the same position,' and he was informed that 'they call this the place of the Hamîstakân ("those ever-stationary"), and these souls remain in this place till the future existence; and they are the souls of those people whose good works and sin were equal. Speak out to the worldlings thus: "Consider not the easier good works with avarice and vexation! for every one whose good works are three Srôshô-karanâms more than his sin is for heaven, they whose sin is more are for hell, they in whom both are equal remain among these Hamîstakân till the future existence." And their punishment is cold or heat from the changing of the atmosphere; and they have no other adversity.'

2. Probably equivalent to a Farmân sin (see Chaps, I, 1, 2, IV, 14, note).

3. This appears to be another name for Garôdmân, 'the abode of song,' which is the highest heaven, or dwelling of Aûharmazd. The lower heaven is here called Vahist, which is a general term for heaven in general. AV. VII-XXVII, 27, and Mkh. VII, 9-12, 20, 21 describe four grades in heaven and four in hell, besides the intermediate neutral position of the Hamîstakân (AV. VI, Mkh. VII, 18, 19). The four grades of heaven, proceeding upwards, are Hûmat for good thoughts in the station of the stars, Hûkht for good words in the station of the moon, Hûvarst for good deeds in the station of the sun, and Garôdmân where Aûharmazd dwells (Vend. XIX, 12 1). And the four grades of hell, proceeding downwards, are Dûs-hûmat for evil thoughts, Dûs-hûkht for evil words, Dûs-hûvarst for evil deeds, and the darkest hell (Vend. XIX, 147) where the evil spirit dwells. The pâhlûm ahvân of {footnote p. 295} the text is merely the Pahlavi form of Av. vahistem ahûm (Vend. VII, 133, XVIII, 69, XIX, 120, Yas. IX, 64), whence the term vahist (Pers. bahist) is also derived.]

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performed[1]. 4. Sôshyans[2] said that to come into that best existence it is not necessary to perform the ceremony, for when his good works are one[3] Tanâpûhar more than the sin he attains to the best existence, and no account is taken of performing his ceremony; because in the heavenly existence (garôdmânîkîh) it is not necessary to perform a ceremony, for an excess of good works must attain Garôdmân[4]. 5. As Sôshyans said, in heaven (vahist) he who is below is elevated to him who is above; and it says thus: 'Happy indeed art thou, O man! who art in any way near unto that imperishable existence[5].'

6. Kûshtanö-bûgêd[6] said that an infidel (akdîno)[7], when his good works are one Tanâpûhar more than his sin, is saved from hell.

[1. That is, when his surviving relatives have performed the proper religious ceremonies after his death.

2. See Chap. I, 3.

3. Reading aê, 'one,' and supposing that this Pâz. form has been substituted for an original Huz. khadûk, 'one.' This supposition being necessary to account for the aê preceding its noun, instead of following it; and without it we ought to read 'three' instead of 'one,' which seems, however, hardly reconcilable with the context (but compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 136). This, is an instance of the ambiguity occasioned by aê, 'one,' and the cipher 3 being often written alike in Pahlavi, as already noticed in p. 289, note 3. The word might also be taken as the conditional verbal form aê, 'shall be,' but in that case it is likewise misplaced.

4. See note on pâhlûm ahvân in § 3.

5. A somewhat similar exclamation to that in Vend. VII, 136.

6. See Chap. I, 4, note.

7. That is, one of another religion; not an apostate, nor an atheist.]

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7. of a pure law (dâd) are we of the good religion, and we are of the primitive faith; of a mixed law are those of the Sînik congregation[1]; of a vile

[1. It is not easy to identify this Sînik vaskardîh, but Professor J. Darmesteter suggests that the term may have been applied to the Manicheans settled in eastern Turkistân and western China, whence they may have been called Sînik (the country of the

Sênî, Av. Sâini, being identified with Kînistân or China in Bund. XV, 29, because TSîn is the Arabic name of the latter). This is confirmed, to some extent, by a passage in the Dînkard (see Dastûr Pêshôtan's edition of the Pahlavi text, p. 27), where three foreign religions are mentioned, that of the Jews from Arûm, that of the Messiah from the west, and that of Mânih from Turkistân. Darmesteter further points out the following passages in Barbier de Meynard's French translation of Mas'aûdî, which show that the Manicheans had considerable influence in eastern Turkistân as late as A.D. 944:--

(Meynard, I, 268): '... the Turks, the Khuzlug, and the Taghazghaz, who occupy the town of Kûsân, situated between Khurâsân and China, and who are now (A.D. 944) the most valiant, most powerful, and best governed of all the Turkish races and tribes. Their kings bear the title of îrkhân ("sub-khân?"), and they alone, among all these nations, profess the religion of Mânî.'

Again, after stating that the Chinese were at first Samanians (Buddhists), it is added (Meynard, II, 258): 'Their kingdom is contiguous to that of the Taghazghaz, who, as we have said above, are Manicheans, and proclaim the simultaneous existence of the two principles of light and darkness. These people were living in simplicity, and in a faith like that of the Turkish races, when there turned up among them a demon of the dualist sect, who showed them, in tempting language, two opposing principles in everything that exists in the world, such as life and death, health and sickness, riches and poverty, light and darkness, union and separation, connection and severance, rising and setting, existence and non-existence, night and day, &c. Then, he spoke to them of the various ailments which afflict rational beings, animals, children, idiots, and madmen; and he added that God could not be responsible for this evil, which was in distressing contradiction to the excellence which distinguishes his works, and that he was {footnote p. 297} above any such imputation. By these quibbles, and others like them, he carried away their minds, and made them adopt his errors.'

The tenets of the Manicheans ought, no doubt, to have been considered by the Zoroastrians as a mixture of truth and error, just as those of the Sînik congregation are represented to be in our text; but such tenets being an heretical offshoot of Zoroastrianism, it argues unusual liberality in the priests if they preferred Manicheans to Christians, that is, heretics to infidels.

K20 has altered sînik vaskardîh into nisînik (or vîdînik) sikaffîh, which appears to be an attempt to bring the words within the limits of the writer's knowledge, without paying much attention to their collective meaning.]

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law are the Zandîk[1], the Christian (Tarsâk), the Jew (Yahûd), and others of this sort (sanö)[2].

## CHAPTER VII.

1. The morning sun it is necessary to reverence (yastanö) till midday, and that of midday it is necessary to reverence till the afternoon time, and that of the afternoon time it is necessary to reverence till night[3]; whenever one is quite prepared

[1. A sect which (according to its name) probably adhered to a certain heretical interpretation (zand) in preference to the orthodox Avesta and Zand. Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit version of Mkh. XXXVI, 16, explains a Zandîk as one who 'thinks well of Aharman and the demons.'

2. Unless this paragraph be a continuation of the quotation from Kûshtanö-bûgêd's commentary, which seems unlikely, its contents have an important bearing upon the age of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast. As it does not mention Muhammadanism by name it could hardly have been written after the fall of the Sasanian dynasty, when that new faith had become much more important, in Persia, than those of the Christians and Jews.

3. Referring to the recitation of the Khûrshêd Nyâyis, or 'salutation of the sun,' which should be performed thrice a day, in the Hâvan, Rapîtvin, and Aûzêrin Gâhs, or periods of the day (see {footnote p. 298} Bund. XXV, 9); a few sentences in the Nyâyis, or formula of salutation, are altered to suit the particular Gâh in which it is recited.]

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for activity (khvêskârîh), and shall then do reverence, it is proper. 2. And when anything of that happens which indicates when it is not proper to wash the hands, and about this he considers that when he does not reverence the sun it will stop[1], at the time previous to that in which it occurs the sun is to be fully revered by him, and, afterwards, when his hands are washed, it is to be revered again; and when he does not reverence it, except when innocent through not reverencing it[2], then it becomes irreverence (lâ yast) of the sun for him.

3. As to the sun it is better when one reverences it every time at the proper period (pavan gâs-i nafsman); when he does not reverence it for once it is a sin of thirty stîrs[4]. 4. Reverencing the sun is every time a good work of one Tanâpûhar[5]; and so of the moon and fire in like manner[6]. 5. When on account of cloudiness the sun is not visible (pêdâk), and one shall reverence it, it is proper.

[1. K20 has, 'it will protect it;' having read netrûnêd instead of ketrûnêd in its original. To pray with unwashed hands would be sinful (see Pahl. Vend. XIX, 84).

2. That is, except when the omission is to avoid a worse evil, as in the instance just mentioned.

3. Or, perhaps, 'it does not become a Khûrshêd Yast ("a formula of praise in honour of the sun") for him.' This Yast forms a part of the Nyâyis.

4. That is, an Aredûs sin (see Chap. I, 2). M6 has, 'when he does not reverence if again.'

5. That is, a good work sufficient to counterbalance a Tanâpûhar sin, which puts the performance of a Nyâyis on the same footing as the consecration of 9, sacred cake or drôn (see Chap. XVI, 6).

6. The moon and fire have each a separate Nyâyis.]

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6. And while one does not reverence the sun, the good works which they do that day are not their own; some say that of the good works which they do within the law (dâd) of the good religion he has no share. 7. While they do not wash dirty hands any good work which they do is not their own, for while one does not utterly destroy corruption (nasûs)[1] there is no coming of the angels to his body, and when there is no coming of the angels to his body he has no steadfastness in the religion, and when he has no steadfastness in the religion no good work whatever reaches unto him.

8. When one wishes to perform the propitiation (shnûman)[2] of fire, it is allowable to perform one 'âthrô' by itself, and, when two and the 'mad vîspaêibyô âterebyô,' these three are thus the propitiation everywhere[3]; some say that it would be proper to perform it while allowable, except that of the heterodox.

[1 That is, the demon of corruption, who is supposed to enter and reside in all filth of the nature of dead matter, until expelled or destroyed by cleansing.

2. A shnûman or khshnûmanö (Av. khshnûman) is a short formula of praise, reciting all the usual titles of the spirit intended to be propitiated by it, and is used for dedicating the prayers or ceremony specially to his service (see Chaps. III, 35, X, 2, XIV, 3). The propitiatory formulas for the thirty angels and archangels who preside over the days of the month constitute the Sîrôzah, or form of prayer 'relating to the thirty days.'

3. The propitiation of fire (as given in Sîrôz. I, 9, Âtâs Nyâyis 5, 6) consists of five sentences, 'each beginning with the word âthrô, 'of the fire,' and the last sentence also contains the words mad vîspaêibyô âterebyô, 'with all fires.' The meaning of the text appears to be that it is allowable to use only one of these sentences (probably the last), but if two are used besides the first they are amply sufficient for practical purposes.]

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9. Whoever shall extinguish[1] a fire, by him ten fires are to be gathered together, by him ten punishments are to be endured, by him ten ants are to be destroyed[2], and by him holy-water (zôhar) is to be presented to the sacred fire (âtâs-i Vâhrâm).

#### CHAPTER VIII.

1. Sin which affects accusers[3] is to be atoned for (vigârisn) among the accusers, and that relating to

[1. Literally, 'kill.'

2. The ant being a creature of the evil spirit, on account of its carrying away corn.

3. Vinâs-i hamêmâlân, 'sin relating to adversaries.' Sins appear to be divided into two great classes, hamêmâl and rûbânîk. A hamêmâl sin seems to be any secular offence which injures some person or animal who, thereupon, becomes a hamêmâl, 'accuser' (Av. hameretha, 'opponent,' Yas. LVI, x, 10), and who must first be satisfied by atonement, before confession to the high-priest, or renunciation of sin, can be of any avail for removing the sin (compare Matthew V. 23-26). The Rivâyats assert that if a person dies without atoning for a hamêmâl sin, his soul will be stopped at the Kinvad bridge (see Bund. XII, 7) on its way to the other world, and kept in a state of torment until the arrival of the 'accuser,' and after he is satisfied the sinner's soul will be disposed of, in the usual manner, according to the balance of its good and bad actions. It is also probable that only a man of 'the good religion,' or an animal of the good creation, can be an 'accuser.' A rûbânîk sin, on the other hand, seems to be one which affects only the sinner's own soul, and for which the high-priest can prescribe a sufficient atonement. It is doubtful, however, whether the Parsis nowadays have any very clear notions of the exact distinction between these two classes of sins, although aware of their names, which are mentioned in their Patit, or renunciation of sin. The explanations given in some editions of their Khurdah Avesta, or prayer-book, are confined to mentioning certain special instances of each class of sin; thus, {footnote p. 301} murder, seduction, unnecessary slaughter of cattle, embezzlement, slander, seizing land by force, and a few other evil deeds are stated to be hamêmâl sins; while unnatural offences and intercourse with women of another race and religion are said to be rûbânîk sins. In the Pahlavi Vendidad these classes of sins are rarely mentioned, but hamêmâlân occurs in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, IV, 23, XIII, 38; hamêmâlîh in III, 119; and rûbânîk in XIII, 38; although, perhaps, not always in the sense of sin.]

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the soul is to be atoned for among the high-priests (radân), and when they do whatever the high-priests of the religion command the sin will depart, and the good works which they may thenceforth do will attain completion (avaspôrik). 2. The sin of him who is worthy of death (marg-argân), is to be confessed (garziszö) unto the high-priests, and he is to deliver up his body[1]; except to the high-priests he is not to deliver up his body.

3. On account of the dexterity (farhâng) of horsemen it is not their business to hunt (nakhkîr kardanö); and it is not allowable for any one else to hunt for game, except for him whose wealth is less than three hundred stîrs[2].

[1. By committing a marg-argân or mortal sin, that is, a sin worthy of death, he has forfeited his life, and ought to place it at the disposal of the rad, or high-priest.

2. This section, intended to preserve game for the poor, is evidently out of place here, as it has no connection with the context. With reference to the property qualification for hunting, it appears, from a passage in the Persian MS. M5 about the proper dowry for a privileged wife, that 2000 dirhams of silver were worth 2300 rûpîs, and that 2 dirhams were 2¼ tolas; this was written in A.D. 1723, when neither the rûpî nor the tola were of uniform amount, though now the rûpî is exactly a tola weight of silver. As the stîr was four dirhams (see Chap. I, 2), three hundred stîrs would have been 1380 rûpîs or 1350 tolas of silver, according to the standards, mentioned in M5; so that hunting was intended to be confined to those whose property was less than 1350-1380 rûpîs; but how {footnote p. 301} this limitation is to be reconciled with the fact that hunting was a favourite pursuit of kings and nobles does not appear, unless it be considered as a sacerdotal protest against that practice.]

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4. The ceremonial worship (yazisn) of those worthy of death, which they do not perform by way of renunciation of sin[1], is the ceremonial which is demon worship; and when the officiating priest (aêrpat) does not know it the merit (kîrfak) of the ceremonial goes to the store (gang) of the angels, and they give the enjoyment which arises from that merit in the spiritual existence to the soul of that person who has at once (aêvâk) become righteous in mind.

5. When the mortal sinner (marg-argânö) has delivered his body and wealth at once to the high-priests, and engages mentally in renunciation as to the sin which has occurred, and the high-priests give him their decision (dastôbarîh) as to duty and good works, the duty and good works which were before performed by him come back to him; and when they inflict punishment for three nights[2], he does not enter hell. 6. And if the high-priest orders the cutting off of his head he is righteous on the spot[3], and the three nights' (satûîh) ceremony is to be celebrated for him, and the account of the

[1. That is, in those cases when they do not have the yazisn performed as an atonement for sin, by order of the high-priest after confession.

2. This appears to refer to temporal punishment, inflicted by order of the high-priest, for the purpose of saving him from the 'punishment of the three nights' in the other world, mentioned in Bund. XXX, 16.

3. Reading pavan gînak; but M6 marks the phrase as pavan dînâk (for dînâ), 'through the decree,' which is probably an error.]

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three nights (satûih) does not affect him[1]. 7. And if he does not engage in renunciation he is in hell till the future existence; and in his future body they will bring him from hell, and for every mortal sin they will cut off his head once, and the last time they will make him alive again, and will inflict (numâyend) three nights' severe punishment[2].

8. However a man engages in renunciation of sin the duty of his state of renunciation (patîih) is to be engaged therein openly and mentally in renunciation; the duty of openness is this, that the sin which he knows has assailed him[3], is to be specially confessed (barâ gôbîsnö) by him; and the mental duty is this, that he engages in renunciation with this thought, that 'henceforth I will not commit sin.' 9. And that which occurs before the renunciation, except pious alms, it is well for him not to be overlooked[4] by him, and not to be kept[5] secret by him; for when he shall overlook[6], or shall keep secret, about sin committed, it becomes for him as

[1. That is, the usual ceremonies after death are not to be withheld in this world, and his soul is able to pass through the usual investigation, as to his sins and good works, on its way to the other world, without delay. This period of three nights (satûih, 'the triplet '), which Pâzand writers miscall sedôs or sadis, is the time during which the soul is supposed to hover about the body, before finally departing for the other world (see Mkh. II, 114, 158-160, AV. IV, 9-14, XVII, 2-9).

2. The same statement is made in nearly the same words in Pahl. Vend. VII, 136. This is the future three nights' punishment for impenitent sinners, mentioned in Bund. XXX, 16.

3. Literally, 'which he knows thus: "It assailed me."'

4. Reading avênîsnö, but the word can also be read khunîîsnö, 'to be made celebrated, to be boasted of.'

5. Literally, 'carried on, home away.'

6. Reading avênêd, but it may be khunîêd, 'boast of.'

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much, some say, as three Srôshô-karanâms[1]; some say that when he keeps secret about a sin of three Srôshô-karanâms he is worthy of death; some say much otherwise[2]. 10. Âtarô-pâd son of Zaratûst[3] had remarked (pedâkîîd) to a disciple, about this duty, thus: 'Conform to the renunciation of sin!' and one[4] time a secret was kept by him, and he ordered him thus: 'Henceforth be thou never apparent in this duty!' and after that he looked upon the supplication (avakhshîh) and much repentance of that disciple, and even then he did not become the high-priest (dastôbar) over him.

11. The rule is[5] this, that of those who would be proper for this priestly duty (dastôbarîh), that person is proper who is perfect in (narm) the commentary (zand) of the law, and the punishment of sin is easy for him, and he has controlled himself; some say thus: 'By whom a course of priestly studies (aêrpatastân) is performed.' 12. And the punishment of sin being easy for him, and his having controlled himself are proper; and when, in danger before a menstruous woman, he engages in renunciation it is proper.

[1. Probably the same as a Farmân sin (see Chaps. I, 1, 2, IV, 14).

2. Or 'many other things.'

3. This Âtarô-pâd-i Zaratûstân is mentioned in a manuscript about 500, years old, belonging to Dastûr Jâmâspji, in Bombay, as having lived for 160 years, and having been supreme high-priest for ninety years: he is also mentioned in the sixth book of the Dînkard. He may, possibly, have been the Âtarô-pâd mentioned in B. Yt. I, 7, but it is hazardous to identify an individual by a single name so common as Âtarô-pâd used to be.

4. Reading aê, 'one,' instead of hanâ, 'this' (see p. 218, note 3).

5. Assuming that the word âînak has been omitted at the beginning of this section (see Chap. X, x).]

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13. Nêryôsang[1] said thus: 'Thou deemest it most surprising that, of the renunciation of sin with energy, whatever may be its efficacy, they have been so much of the same[2] opinion, so that whenever they perform renunciation, however they perform it, and before whomever they perform it, whenever a sin is not even mentally originating with one[3] a renunciation should be performed by him; and when very many mortal sins (marg-argân) are committed by him, and he engages mentally in renunciation of every one separately, he is not on[4] the way to hell, owing to his renunciation; and if there be one of which he is not in renunciation the way to hell[5] is not closed to him, for he does not rely upon the beneficence (sûd) of Aûharmazd, and it is allowable to appoint a priestly retribution (rad tôgîsn) to fully atone for it, and when thou appointest a priestly retribution for it, and dost not fully atone, it is allowable to inflict it justly and strongly (drûbô).'

14. When his sin is committed against (dên)

[1. This cannot be the learned Parsi translator of several Pahlavi texts into Sanskrit, who bore the same name, and is supposed to have lived in the fifteenth century. Being quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad (see Chap. I, 4, note) he must have been one of the old commentators.

2. K20 has hômanam, 'I am,' instead of ham, 'the same;' a mistake arising from reading am, 'I am,' for ham.

3. This applies to all cases of merely imputed sin, such as those committed by children, which are imputed to the father, and for which he is spiritually, as well as temporally, responsible.

4. Reading pavan, 'on,' instead of barâ, 'out of,' (see p. 176, note 5).

5. Most of this clause is omitted in K20 by mistake.]

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accusers[1] it will be necessary to act so that the head of the family (mîrak) shall not become evil-minded[2], and shall not divorce the wife from matrimony, and they shall not bring[3] him on unto him; before his accusers he is to be engaged in renunciation, and when not, he is to be engaged in renunciation of the sin before the high-priests (radân), and it will become debts, and debt does not make a man wicked[4]; its effect is this, that in the future existence they may quite forsake him, and this becomes a great shame, and they disturb (kâvênd) his enjoyment. 15. As to the sin which affects the accusers, when the female has atoned for it, its stem (pâyak) is atoned for; some say that the stem (pâyakgâhîh) has no root; some say that it is just like a tree whose leaves wither away.

16. Sin relating to the soul[5] when one engages in renunciation, stays away from him; when it shall be fully atoned for it is well, and when he does not fully atone they will make him righteous by the three nights' (satûîh) punishment. 17. Kûshtanö-bûgêd[6] said that even that which affects accusers, when one engages in renunciation, stays away from him.

[1. Hamêmâlân (see § 1); the particular instance of hamêmâl sin here referred to is seduction.

2. Reading dûsmînân instead of the unmeaning dûsmîyân of the MSS.

3. Reading yâityûnâ[5], instead of the unmeaning yâitam of the MSS; ã being often written very much like m in Pahlavi.

4. This clause about the hamêmâl sin becoming a debt, to be settled with the 'accuser,' either here or hereafter, is taken from Pahl. Vend. III, 151.

5. That is, rûbânîk-sin (see § 1, note). See Chap. I, 4, note.]

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18. Nôsâi Bûrz-Mitrô[1] spoke these three sayings, that is, 'Next-of-kin marriage will extirpate mortal sins (marg-argânân), and the sacred twigs when their ablution is such as renders them improper for firewood, and a man when his wife becomes pregnant by him.'

19. Whoever commits a sin against (dên) water, and kills a lizard, or other noxious water-creature, has atoned for it; also when thou atonest to (dên) fire for that against water it is proper[2], and when thou atonest to water for that against fire it is proper; some say that even a scorpion is proper to be killed. 20. And when a sin of one Tanâpûhar[3] is committed by him, and he shall consecrate a sacred cake (drôn), or shall accomplish a good work of one Tanâpûhar 4, it has atoned for it.

21. When he has committed a mortal sin (marg-argân), and engages mentally in renunciation, and the high-priest (rad) knows that, though he ought to give up his body, he will not give it up, it is allowable when he shall kill him; that is, because he relies upon the beneficence (sûd) of Aûharmazd. 22. Moreover, from the rule (mank) 'yazemna[5] kad nâ hakad' ('through being worshipped what then at

[1. See Chap. I, 4, note.

2. A blank space is left for this verb in M6, indicating that that MS. was, copied from an original already old and not very legible.

3. See Chap. I, 1, 2.

4. Consecrating a sacred cake is a Tanâpûhar good work (see Chap. XVI, 6). The theory of counterbalancing sins by good works of the same weight is here clearly enunciated.

5. Written izimn in the MSS. This quotation appears to be, from some part of the Avesta, no longer extant, and being only the first words of the passage its exact meaning is very uncertain. The section, generally, seems to refer to the beneficence of Aûharmazd.]

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once,' &c.) it is evident, and it becomes his through ceremonial ablution of the hands; it amounts to a whole quarry (kânö) of good works, and the worship of God (yazisn-i yazdânö) is to be performed for him[1]. 23. Âtarö-pâd[2] son of Mâraspend said that it is always necessary to be more diligent in performing one's worship of God at the time that many mortal sins are committed; all sins being admissible into renunciation, when thou shalt atone by complete self-sacrifice (pûr-gân-dâdîhâ), and when one engages in renunciation of the sin from its root, he becomes free from the sin in renunciation of which sin he engaged; for Aûharmazd will not leave his own creatures unto the evil spirit, unless on the path of non-renunciation.

#### CHAPTER IX.

1. The greater Hâsar is one part in twelve parts of the day and night, and the lesser Hâsar is one part in eighteen parts[3].

[1. It seems that the execution of the sinner after repentance is here considered as furnishing him with a store of good works, so that it is allowable to perform such ceremonies for him, after death, as are usually performed for righteous men; the reason being given in § 23. The end of this section and beginning of the next are omitted in K20.

2. Whether the prime minister of Shâpûr II, or the last editor of the Dînkard (see Bund. XXXIII, 3, 11), is not clear.

3. The Hâsar is not only a measure of distance (see Bund. XXVI, i), but also a measure of time (see Bund. XXV, 5). According to the text here the greater Hâsar must be two hours, and the lesser Hâsar (which is not mentioned in M6) must be one hour and twenty minutes. But Farh. Okh. (P. 43) says, 'dvada-sang-hâthrem asti aghrem ayare, "of twelve Hâsars is the {footnote p. 309} longest day;" the day and night in which is the longest day are twelve of the greatest Hâsars, eighteen of the medium, and twenty-four of the least;' according to which statement there are three kinds of Hâsar, that are respectively equivalent to two hours, one hour and twenty minutes, and one hour. As the longest day is said (Bund. XXV, 4) to be twice the length of the shortest day, and the greatest Hâsar is twice the length of the least one, it may be conjectured that the Hâsar varied with the length of the day, being a subdivision (one-eighth) of the time the sun was above, the horizon; this would account for the greatest and least Hâsars, which are one-eighth of the longest and shortest days, respectively; but it does not account for the medium Hâsar, which is not a mean between the two extremes, but one-ninth (instead of one-eighth) of the mean day of twelve hours. If the Hâsar of distance were really a Parasang, as is sometimes stated, the connection between it and the Hâsar of time would be obvious, as the average Hâsar of one hour and twenty minutes is just the time requisite for walking a Parasang, which seems indeed to be stated in Farh. Okh. p. 42.]

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2. The priest (âsrûk) who passes away in idolatry[1] (aûzdâyakîh) thou hast considered as desolate (vîrân)[2]; and there is a high-priest (dastôbar) who is of a different opinion, there is one who says he is as a non-Iranian (anâîrân) country[3]. 3. It is declared that, when a supreme high-priest (zaratûstrotûm) passes away in idolatry, an apostate (aharmôk) will be born in that dwelling, and a rumour of this calamity is uttered[4] by that supreme high-priest.

4. In order to be steadfast in the good religion it is to be discussed with priests and high-priests, and when one does not discuss it is proper that he do not teach it.

[1. Or it may be 'passes over into idolatry.'

2. K20 has girân, grievous.'

3. That is, he reads anâîrân instead of vîrân in the foregoing statement.

4. Or, perhaps, 'this calamity is at once announced.']

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5. The ceremonial worship (yazisn) which they perform in a fire-temple[1], when not done aright, does not reach unto the demons; but that which they perform in other places, when they do not perform it aright, does reach unto the demons; for there is no medium in worship, it reaches either unto the angels or unto the demons. 6. Of a man who has relinquished a bad habit, and through his good capabilities engages in renunciation of sin[2], the good work advances unto the future existence.

7. Any one who shall die in a vessel (kastîk) it is allowable, for fear of contamination (padvîshak), to throw into the water; some say that the water itself is the receptacle for the dead (khazânîh).

8. This, too, is declared: 'When in the dark it is not allowable to eat food; for the demons and fiends seize upon one-third of the wisdom and glory of him who eats food in the dark;' and it is declared by that passage (gînâk) which Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst, thus: 'After the departure of the light let him not devour, with unwashed hands, the water and vegetables of Horvadad and Amerôdad[3]; for if after the departure of the light thou devourdst, with unwashed hands, the water and vegetables of Horvadad and Amerôdad, the fiend seizes away from thee two-thirds of the existing original wisdom

[1. Literally, 'in the dwelling of fires.' The fire must always be sheltered from the sun's rays, and in a fire-temple it is kept in a vaulted cell, with a door and one or two windows opening into the larger closed chamber which surrounds it.

2. K20 has, 'and it shall happen through his good capabilities.'

3. The two archangels whose chief duties are the protection of water and plants, respectively (see Chap. XV, 5, 25-29, Bund. IX, 2).]

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which, when he seizes it away, is the glory and religion which are auspicious. for thee that day, so that diligence becomes a vexation this day[1].'

9. In a passage of the fifth fargard of the Pâzôn Nask[2] it is declared that one mentions these characteristics

[1. This passage does not appear to be now extant in the Avesta.

2 This was the sixth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Pâzî or Pâzag; but according to the Dîni-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the seventh nask, called Pâgam. For its contents, as given by the Dîni-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, pp. 128, 129. The following is a short summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard (that published in the Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, pp. 184, 185, being taken from the fifteenth nask, whose contents were mixed up with those of the seventh through the abstraction of several folios from the Iranian MS. of the Dînkard before M13, or any other copy, was written in India):--

The Pâzî (or Pâzag) is about the lawful slaughtering of animals in the ceremonial rites of fire and water at the season-

festivals; also where, when, and how the festivals are to be celebrated, their advantages, and the duties of the officiating priests. The rotation of days, months, and years, summer and winter, the ten days at the end of the winter, when the guardian spirits visit the world. and the ceremonies to be then performed. The time for gathering medicinal plants. The retribution necessary for the various sins affecting the soul, the advantage of providing for such retribution, and the harm from not providing it. The thirty-three principal chiefs of the spiritual and worldly existences. The miracles of great good works, and the heinous sinfulness of apostasy. How far a wife can give away her husband's property, and when it is lawful for him to recover it. Whither winter flees when summer comes on, and where summer goes when winter comes on. The amount of disaster (vôighn) in one century, and the duration of everything connected with such disaster. The summer and winter months, the names of the twelve months, their meaning, and the angels they are devoted to; also the thirty days of the month, and the five Gâtha days at the end of the year, when the guardian spirits are to be revered.

The fifth fargard, quoted in the text, was probably that portion of the Nask which described the duties of the officiating priests.]

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of four kinds of worship of the celestial beings (yazdân):--one is that whose Avesta is correct, but the man is bad; the second is that whose Avesta is faulty (zîfânö)[1], but the man is good; the third is that whose Avesta is correct, and the man is good; and the fourth is that whose Avesta is faulty and the man is bad. 10. That whose Avesta is correct, but the man bad, the archangels will approach and will listen to, but do not accept; that whose Avesta is faulty, but the man good, the archangels and angels[2] will approach, but do not listen to, and will accept; that whose Avesta is correct, and the man good, the archangels and angels will approach, will come to, will listen to, and will accept; that whose Avesta is faulty, and the man bad, they do not approach, do not listen to, and do not accept.

11. In every ceremonial (yazisnö), at the beginning of the ceremony[3], and the beginning of the sacred-cake consecration (drôn)[4], the angels and guardian spirits of the righteous are to be invited to the ceremony. 12. When they invoke the angels they will accept the ceremony, and when they do

[1. K20 has hûzvân, 'tongue, speech,' for zîfân, 'faulty' (compare Pers. zîf, 'sin'), in all occurrences of the word.

2. K20 omits from this word to 'will approach' in the next clause of the sentence.

3. That is, shortly before beginning the regular recitation of the Yasna, the angels, in whose honour the ceremony is being performed, are invited to approach by reciting their proper Khshnûmans, or propitiatory formulas (see Chap. VII, 8, and Haug's Essays, p. 404).

4. This begins with Yas. III, 1, and the spirits are to be invited by adding their proper Khshnûmans to those contained in Yas. III, 3-20 (see Haug's Essays, p. 408).]

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not invoke them, all the guardian spirits of the righteous are to be invoked at the beginning of 'staomi[1]'; and when not, they watch until the words 'frashô-karethrām saoshyantām[2], and when they shall invoke them there they will accept the ceremony; and when not, they will watch until the words 'vîspau fravashayô ashaonām yazamaidê[3], and when they shall invoke them there they will accept[4] the ceremony; and when not, they will watch until the words 'tauskâ yazamaidê[5];' and when they invoke them[6] at the threefold 'ashem vohû' and the word dâmanām[7], at the twice-told 'aokhtô-nâmanô[8], the 'ashâd hakâ[9], or the 'yâtumanahê gasaiti[10],'

[1. This may be at the 'staomi' of Yas. XII, 6, which is recited before the Yasna is commenced; but K20 alters the meaning (by inserting the relative particle) into 'they are to be invoked at "staomi," the beginning of "all the guardian spirits of the righteous" (Yas. XXVI, 1).'

2. Yas. XXVI, 20.

3. Yas. XXVI, 34.

4. K20 has, 'shall not invoke,' and 'will not accept.'

5. The concluding words of the yêNhê hâtâm formula, probably of that one at the end of Yas. XXVII, just preceding the recital of the Gâthas, up to which time the spirits wait, but, if not invoked, they are then supposed to ascend, away from the ceremony, as mentioned in the text.

6. K20 has, 'when they do not invoke them.'

7. Yas. VIII, 10; which is preceded by a thrice-told 'ashem vohû,' at which the officiating priest tastes the sacred cake, being the end of the Drôn ceremony (see Haug's Essays, pp. 404, 408).

8. Yas. XXII, 33 (§§ 14-33 being recited twice). At this point the officiating priest brings out the mortar for pounding the Hôm twigs (see Haug's Essays, p. 405); Yas. XXII being called the beginning of the Hômâst in the Vistâsp Yast Sâdah.

9. Yas. XXIV, 30, when the officiating priest turns the mortar right side upwards.

10. Yas. VIII, 9, which is practically the same place as the threefold 'ashem vohû' before mentioned.]

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they will accept[1]; and when not, they go up the height of a spear (nîzak) and will remain. 13. And they speak thus: 'This man does not understand that it will be necessary even for him[2] to go from the world, and our prayer (apistân) is for reminding men; it is not that our uneasiness arises from this, that we are in want of their ceremony, but our uneasiness arises from this, that when, they do not reverence and do not invoke us, when evil comes upon them it is not possible for us to keep it away.'

14. "O creator! how much is the duration in life of him who is dead?' And Aûharmazd spoke thus:., As much as the wing of a fly, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! or as much as the hearing a wing unto a sightless one[3].'

#### CHAPTER X.

1. The rule[4] is this, that a sacred thread-girdle (kûstîk) be three finger-breadths loose transversely

[1. K20 has, 'they will not accept.'

2 Literally, 'for me,' which seems to refer to the man, and not to the spirits.

3. This appears to be the complete translation of the Avesta sentence partially quoted in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 64: 'yatha makhshyau perenem, yatha vâ perenahê,' &c. The last clause is doubtful; the reading adopted here is kand zak-i shinavâk-i par andarg avênâk, as nothing more satisfactory suggests itself; it might also be translated by 'as much as the sound of a wing in the invisible.'

4. Reading âfnak; Pâzand writers convert it into yak, which can, however, have the same meaning, though they evidently take the word to be Huz. khadûk, 'one,' which is written precisely like âfnak in Pahlavi characters. Most of the miscellaneous statements, contained in the latter part of SIs., commence with this phrase.]

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(pavan targûn)[1], as is said in every teaching (kâstak)[2], and when it is less it is not proper.

2. The rule is this, that the sacred cake (drôn), set aside at the dedication formula (shnûmanê) on the days devoted to the guardian spirits[3], is to be used at the season-festivals, the Nônâbar[4], the three nights' ceremony[5], the Hôm-drôn, and other rites of the righteous guardian spirits; and when they shall not do so, according to some teachings, it is not proper.

3. In the exposition (kâstak) of the Nihâdûm Nask[6] it says that a man is going to commit robbery,

[1. That is, round the waist (see Chap. IV, 1).

2. That is, 'interpretation or exposition' (see Chap. I, 3, 4). K20 has, 'and by every teaching it is proper.'

3. These fravardîkân are, strictly speaking, the five supplementary days at the end of the Parsi year, but the last five days of the last month are usually added to them, so as to make a period of ten days at the end of the year, during which the guardian spirits of the departed are supposed to revisit their old homes, and for whom the sacred cake is set aside.

4. The initiatory ceremony of a young priest (see Chap. XIII, 2).

5. The ceremonies performed by the survivors for three nights after a death (see Chaps. VIII, 6, XVII, 3, 4).

6. This was the fifteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Nîkâdûm; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the sixteenth nask, called Niyârum. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 132. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard, where it occupies twenty-five quarto pages of that work:--

The beginning of the law (dâd) is the Nîkâdûm of thirty fargards. The section Patkâr-radistân ('the arbitrator's code') is about umpires and arbitration, contracts by words of four kinds and by signs of six kinds; and twelve sorts of arbitrators are described in four sub-sections, according as they decide by hearing or seeing, and with regard to women and children, foreigners and {footnote p. 316} those worthy of death. The second section, Zadamistân ('the assault code'), is a treatise on assault and the consequences of assault, pain, blood, and unconsciousness; on blows and conflicts, man with man, women with women, and child with child, with their proper penalties; also the murder of slaves and children. The third section, Rêshistân ('the wound code'), is a treatise on various kinds of wounds and their characteristics. The fourth section, Hamêmâlistân ('the accuser's code'), is a treatise on accusation and false accusation of various specified crimes, on lying and slander, the care of pregnant women, impenitence and various offences against priests and disciples, remitting penalties, abetting and assisting criminals, mediation, punishment of children, smiting foreigners, murder, medical treatment, and many other things (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, p. 184, where they are erroneously ascribed to the Pâzôn Nask, owing to the defective text of the MS. M13). The fifth section contained twenty-four treatises on miscellaneous subjects connected with crime and sin (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, pp. 184, 185).

The passage mentioned in the text cannot be recognised in any of the details supplied by the Dînkard.]

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and a wall falls in upon him, it is his destroyer; when a man strikes at him he is his adversary, and both are in sinfulness; when he is going to perform the worship of God (yazisnô-i yazdânö) both of them are in innocence.

4. The rule is this, that when a woman becomes pregnant, as long as it is possible, the fire is to be maintained most carefully in the dwelling, because it is declared in the Spend Nask[1] that towards

[1. This was the thirteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to all authorities, but is called Sfind in the Rivâyats. For its contents, as given by the Dîni-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, pp. 131, 132. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard:--

The Spend is a treatise on the origin and combination of the existence, guardian spirit, and glory of Zaratûst; on his generation and birth; on the coming of the two spirits, the good one to sustain, and the bad one to destroy him, and the victory of the good {footnote p. 317} spirit; on his going, at thirty years of age, to confer with Aûharmazd, and his seven conferences in ten years; on the seven questions he proposed to the archangels on those occasions; on the conveyance of the omniscient wisdom into him, showing him heaven and hell, and the intermediate place of those 'ever-stationary,' the account taken of sin and good works, the future existence, and the fate of the religion on earth till the renovation of the universe, with the coming of his future sons, the last three apostles.]

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Dûkdâv[1], the mother of Zaratûst, when she was pregnant with Zaratûst, for three nights, every night a leader (khûdâ)[2] with a hundred and fifty[3] demons rushed for the destruction of Zaratûst, but owing to the existence of the fire in the dwelling they knew no means of accomplishing it.

5. The rule is this, that they have a tank (môg) for the disciples, when they are going to perform the worship of God, and are sprinkling the stone seat (magôk)[4]; and lest they should make a wet place by that sprinkling through taking water out from it, it is to be done sitting; for in the Vendidad[5] the high-priests have taught, about making

[1. The Pâz. Dughdâ of Bund. XXXII, 10 would indicate Pahl. Dûkdân, but the Dînkard has Dûkdâûbö and Dûkdâûbag (pointing to Av. Dughdhavan), and the Persian forms are Dughdû and Dughdavîh. Here the name is Dûkdâvö, which is transposed into Dûdkâv in Chap. XII, 11; it must have meant either 'milk-maid' or 'suckler' originally.

2. K20 has sêdâ, 'a demon,' and in Chap. XII, 11, where this section is repeated, the word can be read either sêdâ, 'a demon,' or shâh, 'a king or ruler;' of course 'an arch-fiend' is meant.

3. M6 appears to have 'sixty,' instead of 'fifty,' but see Chap. XII, 11.

4. Or magh, on which they squat in the purification ceremony (see B. Yt. II, 36).

5. Referring probably to Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 98; the ground is not to be wetted further than the length of the fore-part of the foot beyond the toes, that is, not more than a hand's breadth; this {footnote p. 318} measure is here extended to washing water, hence the necessity of squatting during such ablutions.]

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water when standing on foot[1], that the measure it refers to applies to everything else, not even of a like origin; by him who makes water the Avesta[2] for making water is to be uttered, and then it is the root of a Tanâpûhar sin[3] for him, and when he does not utter it he is more grievously sinful.

6. The rule is this, that to recite the Gâthas over those passed away is not to be considered as beneficial, since it is not proper to recite the three Hâs[4] which are the beginning of the Aûstûvat Gâtha whenever one is on the road; whenever one recites them over a man in the house they are healing.

7. The rule is this, that in the night wine and aromatic herbs (sparam) and anything like food are not to be cast away towards the north quarter, because a fiend[5] will become pregnant; and when one casts them away one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô[6] is to be uttered.

[1. This is a sin which is usually classed with 'running about uncovered' and 'walking with one boot' (see Chap. IV, 8, note).

2. This Avesta is prescribed in Vend. XVIII, 97, and is still in constant use; it consists of three Ashem-vohûs (see Bund. XX, 2), two Humatanâms (Yas. XXXV, 4-6), three Hukhshathrômâis (Yas. XXXV, 13-15), four Ahunavars (see Bund. I, 21), and one YêNhê-hâtâm (see B. Yt. II, 64).

3. See Chap. I, 1, 2.

4. The three chapters (Yas. XLII-XLIV) which begin the Ustavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XLII-XLV).

5. A drûg, or fiend, is usually considered as a female demon (see Vend. XVIII, 70-77); and the demons are supposed to come from the north, where they congregate on the summit of Arezûr, at the gates of hell (see Vend. XIX, 1, 140) 142, Bund. XII, 8).

6. See Bund. I, 21. This statement is repeated in Chap. XII, 18.]

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8. The rule is this, that reverential should be the abstinence from unlawfully slaughtering of any species of animals; for in the Stûdgar Nask[1] it is said, concerning those who have unlawfully slaughtered animals, the punishment is such that each hair of those animals becomes like a sharp dagger (têkh), and he who is unlawfully a slaughterer is slain. 9. Of animals, the slaughtering of the lamb, the goat (vahîk), the ploughing ox, the war-horse, the hare, the bat (kîharâz), the cock or bird of Vohûman, and the magpie (kâskînak) bird, and of birds that of the kite, eagle (hûmâi), and swallow is most to be abstained from.

10. A pregnant woman who passes away is not to be carried away by less than four men[2], who are at it constantly with united strength; for with other corpses, after a dog's gaze, when they carry them along by two men with united strength, they do not become polluted; but for a pregnant woman two dogs are necessary, to whose united power she is to be exposed; and

they carry her along by four men with united strength, and they do not become polluted; but when they carry her along by two men they are to be washed with ceremony (pîsak)[3].

11. The rule is this, that when they beg forgiveness for a person (mardûm) who has passed away,

[1. See B. Yt. I, 1. The passage here referred to is probably one in the middle of the seventeenth fargard of this Nask, which is mentioned as follows, in the ninth book of the Dînkard: 'And this too, namely, those who unlawfully slay sheep and cattle, which diminishes their life and glory.'

2. This is the usual custom, while that mentioned in Chap. II, 6 is the exceptional case, mentioned at the end of this section, which necessitates extraordinary purification.

3. That is, with the Bareshnûm ceremony (see Chap. II, 6).]

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such a prayer is more significant when one says thus: 'Whenever a trespass (vinâs) of mine has occurred against him, you will take account of it along with those of his which have occurred against me, and the trespasses have passed away one through the other; any further trespasses of his which have occurred against me are then made a righteous gift by me[1].'

12. The rule is this, that one should not walk without boots[2]; and his advantage therefrom is even this, that when a boot (mûgak) is on his foot, and he puts the foot upon dead matter, and does not disturb the dead matter, he does not become polluted; when a boot is not on his foot, and he puts the foot upon dead matter, and does not disturb it, he is polluted[3], except when he knows for certain (aêvar) that a dog has seen it, or if not it is to be considered as not seen by a dog.[4]

13. The rule is this, as revealed in the Dûbâsrûgd Nask[5], where a day in the year is indicated,

[1. That is, I pardon them in charity.

2. Or, perhaps, 'without stockings,' avîmûgak; this seems to be something different from the sin of aê-mûk-dûbârisnîh, running in one boot' (see Chap. IV, 12).

3. Without these words, which do not exist in the MSS., the sentence seems to have no clear meaning.

4. And, therefore, still containing the Nasûs, or fiend of corruption, who will enter into any one who merely touches the dead matter, without disturbing it, and can be driven out only by the tedious and troublesome Bareshnûm ceremony.

5. This was the sixteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Dûbâsrûgd or Dûbâsrûd; but according to the Dîni-vagarkard, which calls it Dvâsrûzd, and the Rivâyats, which call it Dvâsrûgad, Dvâsrûngad, or Dvâsrûb, it was the eighteenth nask. For its contents, as given by the Dîni-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, pp. 132, 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given {footnote p. 321} in the eighth book of the Dînkard, which occupies ten quarto pages of that work:--

Of the first eighteen sections of the Dûbâsrûgd the first is a treatise on thieves, their arrest, imprisonment, and punishment, with the various kinds of robbery; the second section is about the irresponsibility of a father for the crimes of a grown-up son, and of a husband for those of a separated wife, about the time for instructing children, and when they first become responsible for sin, the crime of giving weapons to women, children, and foreigners, about warriors plundering, the various kinds of judges and their duties, and offences against accusers. Of the twelve next sections one, called Pasûs-hôrvistân ('the shepherd's dog code'), is about shepherd's dogs, their duties and rights. Of the last thirty-five sections the first, called Stôristân ('the beast of burden code'), is about the sin, affecting the soul, of unlawfully beating and wounding cattle and beasts of burden, birds and fish; the second section, Argistân ('the value code'), is a treatise on the value of animate and inanimate objects; the third section, Aratêstâristân ('the warrior code'), is a treatise on warriors, arms, armies, generals, battles, plunder, &c.; the fourth section is about warm baths, fires, clothing, winter stores, reaping fodder and corn, &c.

The passage mentioned in the text was probably in that part of the second section which referred to the responsibility of children. The words from 'as revealed' to 'indicated' are omitted in K20.]

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that the sacred thread-girdle of every one who shall be one day more than fourteen years and three months old is to be tied on--it is better so than when he remains unto fifteen years, and then ties on the girdle--who is more cared for, that way, than a five-months' child[1], on whom they should put it in the womb of its mother.

14. The rule is this, that when one retains a prayer inwardly[2], and wind shall come from below, or wind shall come from the mouth, it is all one[3].

[1. K20 has 'nine-months' child.'

2. See Chap. III, 6.

3. Literally, 'both are one:' that is, in either case the spell of the vâg or prayer is broken.]

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5. Also this, that ten women are necessary for affording assistance to a woman who is in labour: five women for directing the making of the cradle (gavârak), one woman should be opposite the left shoulder, and one to hold the right shoulder, one woman to throw a hand on her neck, one woman to hold her waist, and one woman, when the infant shall be born, to take it up and cut the navel cord, and to make the fire blaze[1]. 16. Three days and three nights no one is to pass between the fire and the child, nor to show the child to a sinful man or woman; they are to triturate a little sulphur in the sap (mayâ) of a plant, and to smear it over the child; and the first food to give it is Hôm-juice (parâhôm) and aloes (shapyâr).

17. The rule is this, that in case any one shall beat an innocent man, until the pain shall cease it becomes every day the root of a Tanâpûhar sin[2] for him.

18. The rule is this, that when in a country they trust a false judge, and keep him among their superiors, owing to the sin and breach of faith which that judge commits, the clouds and rain, in that country, are deficient, a portion (bavan) of the deliciousness, fatness, wholesomeness, and milk of the cattle and goats diminishes[3], and many children become destroyed in the mother's womb.

19. The rule is this, that a man, when he does not wed a wife, does not become worthy of death; but when a woman does not wed a husband it

[1. Literally, 'make the fire high.'

2. See Chap. I, 1, 2.

3. Most of these evils are also ascribed (see B. Yt. II, 41-43) to neglect of the precautions prescribed with regard to hair-cuttings.]

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amounts to a sin worthy of death; because for a woman there is no offspring except by intercourse with men, and no lineage proceeds from her; but for a man without a wife, when he shall recite the Avesta, as it is mentioned in the Vendidad[1], there may be a lineage which proceeds onwards to the future existence.

20. The rule is this, that a toothpick is to be cut out clear of bark (pôst pâk)[2], for the high-priests have taught that when one's toothpick--made for the mouth with the bark--shall fall, and when a pregnant woman puts a foot upon it, she is apprehensive about its being dead matter[3].

21. The rule is this, that in accepting the child of a handmaid (kakar)[4] discrimination is to be exercised; for in the fourteenth of the Nask Hûspâram[5]

[1. This reference is probably to the circumstances detailed in Vend. XVIII, 99-112, but the Pahlavi commentary on §§ 111, 112 of that passage is missing in all MSS. The Avesta to be recited in such cases is precisely the same as that detailed in a

note on § 5.

2. This translation is in accordance with the seventeenth chapter of the prose Sad-dar Bûndahis, or 'Bûndahis of a hundred chapters,' a Pâzand work of later times; but the text here might be translated 'cut out of clean skin,' and in Chap. XII, 13, where the statement is repeated, the word used is also ambiguous.

3. The Sad-dar Bûndahis says, 'the fear arises that the infant may come to harm.' This section and the three which follow are repeated in Chap. XII, 13-16.

4. This might mean a kakar, or 'serving' wife (see Bund. XXXII, 6), but the further details given in Chap. XII, 14, where this statement is repeated, make it more probable that a concubine is meant.

5. As this was the seventeenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to all authorities, it is probable that the word 'fourteenth.' in the text here, refers to some particular chapter or fargard, most likely to the last group of fourteen {footnote p. 324} sections, mentioned below, in the summary of its contents; and this is confirmed by another reference in Chap. XII, 7. This nask is called Aspâram in the Rivâyats, and Aspârûm in the Dîní-vagarkard; for its contents, as given by the latter, see Haug's Essays, p. 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard, where it occupies sixteen quarto pages of that work:--

Of the first thirty sections of the Hûspâram, one is the Aêrpatistân ('the priest's code'), a treatise on priestly studies, priests, disciples, and their five dispositions. One section is the Nîrangistân ('religious formula code'), a treatise on the formulas of worship, the Avesta to be recited by the officiating priests twice, thrice, and four times, the five periods of the day and their proper ceremonies, the season-festivals, the sacred girdle and shirt, cutting the sacred twigs, reverencing water, the families of Zaratûst, Hvôv, and Vistâsp, &c. One section is the Gôharîkistân ('quality code'), a treatise on nobility and superiority, buying and selling, cattle, slaves, servants, and other property, houses where men or dogs have been sick, dealings with foreigners, &c. And other sections are about appropriating the property of others, obedient and disobedient wives, foreign wives, advantages of male and female offspring, breeding of cattle, treatment of labourers and children, the evil eye, judges, the origin and cultivation of corn, the degrees of crime and punishment, &c. of the next twenty sections, one is about the treatment of furious cattle and mad dogs, and the damage they may do. One section on the means of accumulating wealth, the giving of sons and daughters in marriage, the goodness of charity and evil of waste, the five best actions and the five worst, unlawful felling of trees, the sin of burying the dead, &c. And one section on the begetting, birth, and treatment of children. of the, last fourteen sections, one is a treatise, in six fargards, on the ownership of property and disputes about it, on one's own family, acquiring wife and children, adoption, &c. And a section of seven fargards, at the end, is a treatise on the sufferings of men, women, children, and dogs, on the connection of owner and herds, priest and disciple, on various offences and sins, spiritual and worldly healing, physic and physicians, astrology, {footnote p. 325} the proper feeding of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and pigs, the duty of a frontier governor during a foreign invasion, &c.

The passage mentioned in the text was probably in that portion of the last group of fourteen sections which treated of wives, children, and adoption.]

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the high-priests have taught thus: 'My son is suitable also as thy son, but my daughter is not suitable also as thy daughter.'

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22. The rule is this, that one perseveres much in the begetting of offspring, for the acquisition of abundance of good works at once; because, in the Nihâdûm Nask[1], the high-priests have taught that the duty and good works which a son performs are as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand; and in the Dâmdâd Nask[2] it is revealed thus: 'Likewise, too, the good works, in like measure, which come into the father's possession.'

23. The rule is this, that they shall give to the worthy as much of anything as is proper for eating and accumulating; because in the Nihâdûm Nask[3] the high-priests have taught thus: 'A man gives a hungry one bread, and it is too much, yet all the good works, which he shall perform through that superabundance, become as much his who gave it as though they had been done by his own hand.'

24. The rule is this, where one lies down, in circumstances of propriety and innocence, one Ashem-vohû is to be uttered[4], and in like manner when he



- [1. See § 3; the passage mentioned here cannot be traced in the account of this Nask given in the Dînkard.
2. See SZS. IX, 1. The passage here quoted cannot be traced in any of the short accounts of the contents of this Nask. This section is repeated, with a few verbal alterations, in Chap. XII, 15.
3. See § 3; the passage here quoted is also not to be traced in the account of this Nask given in the Dînkard. This section is repeated, with a few verbal alterations, in Chap. XII, 16.
4. Compare Chap. IV, 14, where much the same is stated as what occurs, in this section.]

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gets up well; when he does so, every single drawing of the breath (vayô) becomes a good work of three Srôshô-karanâms, that is, a weight of ten dirhams of the full weight of four mads[1].

25. The rule is this, that when an action or an opinion comes forward, and one does not know whether it be a sin or a good work, when possible it is to be abandoned and not executed by him; as it says in the Sakâdûm Nask[2] that Zaratûst has

[1. Reading i mad-4, instead of va maz-4; the word mad (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, p. 21) being Huz. for the dâng or quarter-dirham. The amount of the Srôshô-karanâm, as deduced from this statement, differs from those given in Chaps. XI, 2, XVI, 5, and must be awkwardly fractional, unless the sentence be altered into 10 gûgan sang nêms zîs pûr sang yehevûnêd, 'a weight of ten dirhams and a half, which is its full weight;' in which case one Srôshô-karanâm would be 3½ dirhams, as in Chap. XVI, 5.

2. This was the eighteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard; but according to the Dîni-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the nineteenth nask, called Askârûm or Askâram. For its contents, as given by the Dîni-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard, where it occupies twenty quarto pages of that work:--

Of the first thirty sections of the Sakâdûm one is a treatise on the necessity of obedience and understanding the laws, on newborn infants and their proper treatment, on the care of fire and sharp-pointed things, on race-courses, the use of water, salt and sweet, warm and cold, flowing and stagnant, &c. One section is the Hakîdakânistân ('annoyances code'), a treatise on irritating words and ill-treatment of living creatures and trees, the finding of buried treasure at various depths and in different places, &c. And one section is the Zîyânakistân ('damage code'), a treatise on damage to animate and inanimate objects. Of the last twenty-two sections, one is the Vakhshistân ('increase code'), a treatise on the progress of growth, breeding of cattle and other animals, pleadings regarding debts, growth of corn, &c. One section is the Varistân ('ordeal code'), a treatise on the detection of witchcraft by ordeal, by heat and cold, &c. One section on asking assistance {footnote p. 327} and rewarding it, on the unjust judge and the sagacious one, on daughters given in marriage by mothers and brothers, on the disobedient son, &c. And one section on the spirits of the earthly existences, the merit of killing noxious water-creatures, the animal world proceeding from the primeval ox, the evil spirit not to be worshipped, and much other advice.

The passage mentioned in the text appears to have been in the first section of this Nask, as the Dînkard says it treated, among other matters, 'about a man's examining an action before doing it, and when he does not know whether it be a sin or a good work, when possible, he is to set it aside and not to do it.' But nothing is said there about Zaratûst, and what is said here seems to have very little connection with the 'rule' laid down in this section.]

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not provided about everything whatever, but three times it has been done by Zaratûst about this duty, that is, so that the Avesta and Zand, when one has learned it thoroughly by heart[1], is for recitation, and is not to be mumbled[2] (gûyisnô), for in mumbling (gûdanô) the parts of the Ahunavar[3] are more chattering[4]. 26. As it says in the Bagh Nask[5]

[1. Literally, made it quite easy.'

2. Literally, 'not to be devoured or gnawed.'

3. The formula commencing with the words Yathâ ahû vairô (see Bund. I, 21); its parts or bagha are the phrases into which

it may be divided (see Yas. XIX, 49 6, 9, 12).

4. Reading drâitar, 'more clamorous or chattering;' but the word is ambiguous, as it may be darâktar, 'more rending,' or girâitar, 'more weighty, more threatening' &c.

5. M6 has Bak. This was the third nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Bakô; but according to the Dîni-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the fourth nask. For its contents, as given by the Dîni-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 127. In the Dînkard, besides a very brief account of it, in the eighth book, which states that it was a treatise on the recitation of the revealed texts, there is, in the ninth book, a long description of the contents of each of its twenty-two fargards, occupying, fifty quarto pages in the MSS, of the Dînkard. From this it appears that the passage quoted in our text probably occurred in the first {footnote p. 328} fargard. It also occurs, in nearly the same words, in Pahl. Yas. XIX 12-15, and as Yas. XIX is called 'the beginning of the Bakân' in some MSS., it is possible that the three Hâs (Yas. XIX-XXI) which relate to the three short Avesta formulas are really the first three fargards of the Bagh Nask, which are said to have treated of the same subjects.]

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thus: "Whoever shall mutter, O Zaratûst! my allotment of the Ahunavar[1]--that is, shall softly take it inwardly--and shall let it escape[2] again--that is, shall utter it aloud--so much as a half, or one-third, or one-fourth, or one-fifth, his soul will I shield, I who am Aûharmazd, from the best existence--that is, I will keep it away--by so much of an interval as the width of this earth.'

27. The rule is this, that one is to proceed with great deliberation when he does not know whether it be a sin or a good work, that is, it is not to be done.

28. The rule is this, that an opinion (andâzak) of anything is to be formed through consultation

[1. The text is corrupted into min zak-i li, Zaratûst! bêstârîh-i min Ahunavar drûgist, which might be translated, in connection with the following phrase, thus: 'of my vexation, O Zaratûst! from the Ahunavar, the most fiendish is that one shall softly take it,' &c. But very slight alterations of the Pahlavi letters (in accordance with Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12) convert min into mûn, bêstârîh into bâkhtârîh, and drûgist into drengâd. Instead of 'allotment of the Ahunavar' we might read 'predestination, or providence, from the Ahunavar;' because the Pahlavi translator, by using the word bâkhtârîh or bakhtârîh, appears to have understood the Av. bagha in its sense of 'divinity, providence,' rather than in that of 'part, portion.'

2. Reading râînêd or rahônêd. The Pahlavi translator seems to think the sin consists in breaking the spell of the vâg or inward prayer (see Chap. III, 6) by speaking part of it aloud; but the original Avesta of this passage attributes the sin to obscuring the meaning by imperfect recitation.]

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with the good; even so it is revealed in the Kîdrast Nask[1] that Spendarmad spoke to Mânûskîhar thus: 'Even the swiftest horse requires the whip (tâzânak),

[1. This was the twelfth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Kidrastô or Kidrôstô; but according to the Dîni-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the fourteenth nask called Girast. For its contents, as given by the Dîni-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 131. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard:--

The Kidrôstô is a treatise on the race of man; how Aûharmazd produced the first man, Gâyôpard, how the first pair, Mashya and Mashyôî, arose, with their progeny, till the region of Khvanîras was full, when they supplied the six surrounding regions, till they filled and cultivated the whole world. The Pêsdâdian dynasty of Hôshâng, Tâkhmôrupö, and Yim, the evil reign of Dahâk, descended from Tâz, the brother of Hôshâng and father of the Arabs, then Frêdûn who divided Khvanîras between his three sons, Salm, Tûg, and Aîrîk, who married the daughters of Pâtsrôbô (compare Pahl. Vend. XX, 4) king of the Arabs, then Manûskîhar, descendant (nâpô) of Aîrîk, the penal reign of Frâsiyâv ruler of Tûrân, then Aûzôbô the Tûmâspian, descendant of Mânûskîhar, then Kaî-Kavâd and the penal reign of Karsâspô. The Kayânian dynasty of Kâi-Us, Kaî-Khûsrôb son of Sîyâvakhsh, with many tales of the specially famous races of Iran, Tûrân, and Salmân, even to the reigns of Kaî-Lôharâsp and Kaî-Vistâsp. The apostle Zaratûst, and the progress of time and events from the reign of Frêdûn till Zaratûst's conference with Aûharmazd. The race of Mânûskîhar, Nôdar, and others. Avarethrabau's (see Fravardîn Yt. 106) father,

Âtarô-pâd son of Mâraspend. On future events and the reign of the renovation of the universe; the origin of the knowledge of occupation, and the care and industry of the period; the great acquaintance of mankind with the putting aside of injury from the adversary, the preservation of the body, and the deliverance of the soul, both before and after the time of Zaratûst.

As Mânûskîhar is several times mentioned there are several places in this Nask where the statement, quoted in the text as a saying of Spendarmad, the female archangel who has special charge of the earth (see Chap. XV, 5, 20-24, and Bund. I, 26), may have occurred.]

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the sharpest steel knife requires the whetstone (afsân), and the wisest man requires counsel (hampûrsîh).'

29. The rule is this, that when one laughs outright (barâ khandêd) the Avesta and Zand are not to be mumbled, for the wisdom of Aûharmazd is omniscient, and good works are a great exercise of liberality, but an extreme abstinence from producing irritation (hangîdâr-dahîsnîh); because in the Ratûstâtîh Nask[1], many harsh things are said about the severe punishment of producers of irritation, in the spiritual existence.

30. The rule is this, that as there may be some even of those of the good religion who, through unacquaintance with the religion, when a female fowl crows in the manner of a cock, will kill the

[1. This was the seventh nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Ratûstâtî; but according to the Dîni-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the eighth nask called Ratustât. For its contents, as given by the Dîni-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 129. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard:--

The Ratûstâtî is a treatise on indispensable religious practices, the reason of the worthiness and superexcellence in a purifying priest, and how to distinguish worthiness and superexcellence from unworthiness, in the priesthood of each of the seven regions of the earth; on the indication and manifestation of an assemblage of the archangels, the formulas and means to be employed in reverencing the angels, the position and duties of the two officiating priests in the ceremonies, and all the business of the orderers of ceremonies, with their various duties; on the greatness and voluntariness of good works, the kinds of voluntariness, and the proximity of Aûharmazd to the thoughts, words, and deeds of the material world.

It is uncertain under which of these heads the passage mentioned in the text may have occurred.]

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fowl, so those of the primitive faith[1] have said that there may be mischief (vinâstârîh) from wizards in that dwelling, which the cock is incapable of keeping away, and the female fowl makes that noise for the assistance of the cock[2], especially when the bringing of another cock into that dwelling is necessary.

31. The rule is this, that when one sees a hedgehog, then along with it[3] a place in the plain, free from danger, is to be preserved; for in the Vendidad[4] the high-priests have taught that it is when the hedgehog every day voids urine into an ant's nest that a thousand ants will die.

32. The rule is this, that in the Vendidad[5] seven kinds of things are mentioned, and when they are the cause of a man's death, until the forthcoming period of the day (gâs-i levîn) comes on,

[1. See Chap. I, 3.

2. The cock is considered to be an opponent of demons and wizards (see Bund. XIX, 33), and to warn men against the seductions of the demoness of lethargy (see Vend. XVIII, 33-42, 52).

3. Assuming that levatman val means levatman valman, but the reading 'he takes it back to (lakhvâr val) the plain,' which occurs in the repetition of this section in Chap. XII, 20, seems preferable.

4. The details which follow are to be found in Bund. XIX, 28, but they appear to be no longer extant in the Pahlavi Vendidad; though the hedgehog is called 'the slayer of the thousands of the evil spirit,' in Vend. XIII, 5, of which passage the statement

in our text seems to be an illustration. The ant is considered noxious.

5. Vend. VII, 5, 6, where, however, eight modes of death are mentioned, which delay the arrival of the Nasûs, or fiend of corruption, till the next period of the day; these are when the person has been killed by a dog, a wolf, a wizard, anxiety, falling into a pit, the hand of man as sentenced by law, illegal violence, or strangulation. In all other cases it is supposed that the fiend of corruption enters the corpse immediately after death (see Vend. VII, 2-4).]

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contamination (nistrûst)[1] does not rush upon him; and for this reason, this, too, is well for the good, that is, to show a dog rightly again a previous corpse in the forthcoming period of the day[2].

33. The rule is this, that by those who attend to a corpse among the pure it is then to be shown to a dog very observant of the corpse; for when even a thousand persons shall carry away a corpse which a dog has not seen, they are all polluted[3].

34. The rule is this, that meat, when there is stench or, decomposition not even originating with it, is not to be prayed over[4]; and the sacred cake (drôn) and butter (gâûs-dâk) which are hairy are also not to be prayed over[5].

35. A woman is fit for priestly duty (zôtîh) among women[6], and when she is consecrating[7] the sacred

[1. See Bund. XXVIII, 29.

2. In order that there may be no risk of the fiend of corruption having entered the corpse after it was first exhibited to a dog.

3. This statement has been already made in Chap. II, 65.

4. That is, it is not to be used in any religious ceremony. Small pieces of meat are consecrated, along with the sacred cakes, in the Drôn and Âfrîngân ceremonies at certain festivals.

5. So in K20; but M6 has, 'the sacred cake they present, even that is not to be prayed over.' Although M6 is more carefully written than K20, it seems to have been copied from an original which was hardly legible in some places, of which this is one. The presence of a hair in the cake or butter would render it useless for religious purposes.

6. But only for some of the minor priestly offices, such as consecrating the sacred cake. According to Avesta passages, quoted in the Nîrangistân, any man who is not a Tanâpûhar sinner can perform certain priestly duties for virtuous men, and any woman who is not feeble-minded (kasu-khrathwa) can perform them for children.

7. M6 has, 'when she does not consecrate.']

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cake (drôn), and one Ashem-vohû[1] is uttered by her, she puts the sacred twigs (baresôm) back on the twig-stand, brings them away, and the utterance of another one is good; when she says it is not expedient to do it with attention before a meal, it is proper. 36. The sacred cake of a disreputable woman is not to be consecrated, but is to be rendered ineligible (avîgnakô).

37. When one places a thing before the fire observantly, and does not see the splendour itself, 'tava âthrô[2]' is not to be said.

38. At night, when[3] one lies down, the hands are to be thoroughly washed. 39: That which comes from a menstruous woman to any one, or to anything, is all to be thoroughly washed with bull's urine (gômêz) and water[4].

[ 40. The rule is this, as Âtarô-pâd son of Mâraspend[5] said when every one passed away:--'The mouth-veil[6] and also the clothing are to be well

[1. See Bund. XX, 2; it is rather doubtful whether we should read 'one' or, 'two'.

2. These Avesta words, meaning 'for thee, the fire,' are used when presenting anything to the fire, such as firewood and

incense (see Yas. VII, 3, XXII, 10, 22, &c.)

3. Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

4. Here ends the original Shâyast lâ-shâyast. § 40 is found only in M6, and is evidently a later addition to that MS. by another hand. Then follows the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, both in M6 and K20; this is an old Avesta-Pahlavi Glossary which has no connection with Sls., although it may be of the same age, as it quotes many Avesta sentences which are no longer extant elsewhere, and amongst others passages from the Nihâdûm Nask (see Sls. X, 3) and the commentary of Afarg (see Sls. I, 3).

5. See Bund. XXXIII, 3.

6. The padâm (Av. paitidâna, Pâz. penôm) 'consists of two {footnote p. 334} pieces of white cotton cloth, hanging loosely from the bridge of the nose to at least two inches below the mouth, and tied with two strings at the back of the head. It must be worn by a priest whenever he approaches the sacred fire, so as to prevent his breath from contaminating the fire. On certain occasions a layman has to use a substitute for the penôm by screening his mouth and nose with a portion of his muslin shirt.' (Haug's Essays, p. 243, note 1; see also Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 1-4.)

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set apart from the gifts (dasarân), so that his soul may become easier.' Completed in peace and pleasure.]

## PART II.--A Supplementary Treatise[1]

### CHAPTER XI.

1. The degrees of sin are these[2], such as a Farmân, Srôshô-karanâm, Âgerept, Aîvîrist, Aredûs, Khôr, Bâzâi, Yât, and Tanâpûhar, and I will mention each of them a second time. 2. A Farmân is the weight of three dirhams of four mads[3]; a

[1. This second part is evidently by another writer, for he not only repeats several passages (Chaps. XI, 1, 2, XII, 11, 13-16, 18, 20), which are given in the first part, but he also writes generally in a less simple style. In some MSS. of Sls. alone, such as M9, the second part immediately follows the first, as in this translation; indicating that it has been accepted as a part of the same work. But in M6 the two parts are separated by the Farh. Okh., occupying twenty folios; and in K20 there is an interval of ninety-two folios, containing the Farh. Okh., Bund., B. Yt., and several other texts.

2. §§ 1, 2 are a repetition of Chap. I, 1, 2, with a few variations. The number of degrees is here raised to nine by the addition of the Srôshô-karanâm (see Chap. X, 24), which is written Srôshakaranâm in both these sections.

3. Reading i mad-4, instead of va m-4; the mad being a quarter-dirham (see Chap. X, 24, note); or we can read 'weight and quantity (mâyah) of three dirhams.' The amount of the Farmân {footnote p. 335} here given appears to agree with that stated in Chap. XVI, 1, but differs very much from the sixteen dirhams mentioned in Chap. I, 2, and the twenty-eight dirhams quoted by Spiegel.]

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Srôshô-karanâm is one dirham and two mads; three Srôshô-karanâms are the weight of four dirhams and two mads[1]; an Âgerept is thirty-three stîrs[2]; an Aîvîrist is the weight of thirty-three dirhams; an Aredûs is thirty stîrs[3]; a Khôr is sixty stîrs; a Bâzâi is ninety stîrs; a Yât is a hundred and eighty stîrs, and a Tanâpûhar is three hundred stîrs.

3. Every one ought to be unhesitating and unanimous about this, that righteousness is the one thing, and heaven (garôdmân) [4] the one place, which is good, and contentment the one thing more comfortable.

4. When a sheep[5] is slaughtered and divided, its meat-offering (gâvûs-dâk)[6] is to be thus presented:--the tongue, jaw, and left eye are the

[1. That is, one Srôshô-karanâm is one dirham and a half, and three of them, therefore, are four dirhams and a half; the mad being a quarter-dirham. This computation differs considerably from the amounts stated in Chaps. X, 24, XVI, 5, but corresponds better with the supposition (see Chap. IV, 14, note) that a Srôshô-karanâm is one-third of a Farmân.

2. Both this amount and the next are evidently wrong, and no doubt the Pahlavi ciphers have been corrupted. Chap. XVI, 5

gives 'sixteen' and 'twenty-five' stîrs, which are probably correct, though the computation in Chap. I, 2 is very different.

3. Written Aredûs 30 sî, 'an Aredûs is 30 (thirty),' as in Chap. I, 2; with which also all the remaining amounts correspond.

4. See note on pâhlûm ahvân in Chap. VI, 3.

5. Or 'goat.'

6. Av. gâus hudhau, which is generally represented by a small piece of butter placed upon one of the sacred cakes; but on certain occasions small pieces of meat are used. The object of this section is to point out what part of the animal is suitable for use in a ceremony dedicated to any one of the angels, or spirits, mentioned.]

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angel Hôm's[1] own; the neck is Ashavahist's[2] own; the head is the angel Vâê's[3] own; the right shoulder (arm) is Ardvîsûr's[4], the left is Drvâsp's[5]; the right thigh (hakht) is for the guardian spirit[6] of Vistâsp, and the left for the guardian spirit of Gâmâsp[7]; the back is for the supreme chief[8]; the loin is the spirits' own; the belly is Spendarmad's[9]; the testicles[10] are for the star Vanand[11] the kidneys are

[1. Av. haoma, the angel of the Hôm plant (see Yas. IX-XI, Bund. XVIII, 1-3, XXVII, 4, 24), the juice of which is used in ceremonial worship by the Parsis.

2. The same as Ardavahist (see Bund. I, 216).

3. M6 has 'Râm' as a gloss; he is the Vayô of the Râm Yt., 'the good Vaê' of Mkh. II, 115, who assists the righteous souls in their progress to the other world; his name, Râm, is given to the twenty-first day of the Parsi month (see Chap. XXII, 21).

4. Av. Ardvî sûra of the Âbân Yt., a title of Anâhita, the female angel of the waters (see Bund. XXXII, 8). This title is written Arêdvîvsûr in the Bundahis, and applied to the source of pure water (Bund. XIII); while the name Âvân, 'waters,' is given to the eighth month and the tenth day of each month in the Parsi year.

5. Av. Drvâspa of the Gôs Yt., the name of the female angel of cattle, called Gôsûrvan in Bund. IV; her alternative name, Gôs, is given to the fourteenth day of the Parsi month.

6. The word fravash-i, 'the guardian spirit of,' is evidently omitted here, as it occurs with the next name. For Vistâsp, see Bund. XXXI, 29, XXXIV, 7.

7. Av. Gâmâspa of Yas. XIII, 24, XLV, 17, XLVIII, 9, L, 18, Âbân Yt. 68, &c., the prime minister of Vistâsp.

8. Ratpôk berêzad stands for the Av. rathwô berezatô of Yas. I, 46, &c., a 'supreme chief' who is often associated with the chiefs of the various subdivisions of time, and seems to be Aûharmazd himself (see Yas. LVI, i, 10).

9. The female archangel who has charge of the earth (see Chap. XV, 5, 20-24, and Bund. I, 26).

10. The word gûnd has here, in most MSS., the usual Persian gloss dahân, 'mouth' (see Bund. XIX, i), which is a very improbable meaning in this place.

11. Probably Fomalhaut (see Bund. II, 7, note).]

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Haptôîring's[1]; the ventricle (naskadakö)[2] is for the guardian spirit of priests; the lungs are for the guardian spirit of warriors; the liver is for compassion and sustenance[3] of the poor; the spleen is Mânsarspend's[4]; the fore-legs (bâzâi) are for the waters; the heart is for the fires; the entrail fat is Ardâi-fravard's[5]; the tail-bone (dunb-gazakö) is for the guardian spirit of Zaratûst the Spîtâmân[6]; the tail (dunbak) is for Vâd[7] the righteous; the right eye is in the share of the moon[8]; and any[9] that may be left over from those is for the other archangels. 5. There have been those who may have spoken about

protection, and there have been those who may have done so about meat-offerings; whoever has spoken about protection is such as has

[1. Ursa Major, called Haptôk-ring in Bund. II, 7.

2. Translating in accordance with the Persian gloss *kustah*, given in the modern MS. M9; but *nas-kadakö* may perhaps mean 'the womb.'

3. Reading *sar-âyisnö*, maturity,' the usual equivalent of Av. *thraosta* (see Yas. XXXIV, 3), and not *srâyisnö*, 'chanting.'

4. Av. *māthra spenta*, 'the beneficent sayings, or holy word,' of which this angel is a personification; his name is often corrupted into *Mahraspand* or *Mâraspend*, and is given to the twenty-ninth day of the Parsi month (see Chap. XXII, 29).

5. A personification of the Av. *ashaonām fravashayô*, 'guardian angels of the righteous' (see *Fravardîn Yt. I*, &c.), whence the first month, and the nineteenth day of each month, in the Parsi year, are called *Fravardîn*.

6. This clause and the next are omitted in K20.

7. The angel of the wind, whose name is given to the twenty-second day of the Parsi month (see Chap. XXII, 22).

8. Or its angel, *Mâh*, whose name is given to the twelfth day of the Parsi month.

9. M6 has *va aê-maman = va aêk* (Pers. *îk*, 'any'); K20 has *kolâ maman*, 'whatever,' and omits the words 'may be left over' and 'other.']

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spoken well, and whoever has spoken about meat-offerings has not spoken everything which is noteworthy[1]. 6. When one shall offer up[2] what pertains to one (*khadûkag*) on account of another it is proper; except the tongue, jaw, and left eye, for that those are the angel *Hôm*'s own is manifest from the passage: '*Hizvâm frerenaod*[3], &c.

## CHAPTER XII.

1. The rule is this, that when one's form of worship (*yast*)[4] is performed, and it is not possible for him to prepare it, the practice of those of the primitive faith[5] is, when the girdle (*âpiyâung*) is twined about a sacred twig-bundle (*baresôm*)[6] of seven twigs (*tâk*), to consecrate a sacred cake (*drônô*) thrice, which becomes his form of worship that is performed one degree better through the sacred cake; and of the merit of a threefold consecration

[1. Meaning, apparently, that to pray for protection as a favour is better than to pray for it as a return for an offering.

2. K20 has 'shall give up.'

3. It is doubtful if this passage can be found in the extant Avesta; but a passage of similar meaning, and containing the words *frerenaod* and *hizvô*, occurs in Yas. XI, 16, which states that 'the righteous father, *Ahuramazda*, produced for me, *Haoma*, as a *Draona*, the two jaws, with the tongue and the left eye;' and it then proceeds (Yas. XI, 17-19) to curse any one 'who shall deprive me of that *Draona*, or shalt himself enjoy, or shall give away what the righteous *Ahuramazda* gave me, the two jaws, with the tongue and the left eye.'

4. A *Yast* is a formula of praise in honour of the sun, moon, water, fire, or some other angel, as well as a term for prayers and worship in general.

5. See Chap. I, 3.

6. See Chap. III, 32, note.]

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of the sacred cake the high-priests have specially taught, in the Hûspâram Nask[1], that it is as much as that of a lesser form of worship.

2. The rule is this, that he who is himself more acquainted with religion is he who considers him who is more acquainted with religion than himself as high-priest, and considers him as high-priest[2] so that he may not destroy the bridge of the soul[3]; as it says in the Sakâdûm Nask[4] that no one of them, that is an inattentive (asrûshdâr) man who has no high-priest, attains to the best existence[5], not though his recitations should be so many that they have made his duty and good works as much as the verdure (sapdak) of the plants when it shoots forth in spring, the verdure which Aûharmazd has given abundantly.

3. The rule is this, that they keep a fire[6] in the house, because, from not keeping the fire properly, there arise less pregnancy of women and a weeping (âv-dîdanö) for the loss of strength (tanû) of men[7]; and the chilled charcoal (angist) and the rest which are without advantage (bar) are to be

[1. See Chap. X, 21. The passage mentioned in the text was probably in the section called Nîrangistân.

2. K20 omits this repetition.

3. That is, may not render the passage of his soul to heaven, over the Kinvad bridge (see Bund. XII, 7), impossible, owing to the sin of arrogance in this world.

4. See Chap. X, 25; the passage alluded to was probably at the beginning of the Nask, which treated of 'the reward of the precepts of religion, and the bridge of the destroyers of good preceptors, adapted to their destruction.'

5. See Chap. VI, 3.

6. K20 has 'that a fire is to be properly kept.'

7. K20 has 'and a loss of the strength and wealth of men.']

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carried away from the fire; and in the Spend Nask[1] it is revealed that a fire, when they shall make it quite clean from its chilled charcoal, has as much comfort as a man whose clothing they should make clean.

4. The rule is this, that when any one passes away it is proper to render useless[2] as much as the smallest mouth-veil[3], for it says, in the Vendidad[4] that 'if even those Mazdayasnians should leave on him who is dead, in parting with him, as much as that which a damsel would leave in parting with the food-bowl (padmânakö)--that is, a bag (anbânakö-hanâ)[5]--the decree is this, that it is a

[1. See Chap. X, 4; the passage mentioned was probably in that part of the Nask which described the protection afforded by the fire to the new-born Zaratûst.

2. Probably a negative is omitted, or akârînfîdanö should be translated 'to make no use of.'

3. See Chap. X, 40. K20 has 'garment.'

4. Always written Vadîkdâd in this second part of SIs., except in Chap. XIII, 7; whereas in the first part it is written in its uncorrupted form Gavîd-dêf-dâd or Gavîd-sêdâ-dâd, 'the law opposed to the demons.' The passage here quoted is Pahl. Vend. V, 171, 172, with one or two verbal variations.

5. Standing for anbânak-aê, which is corrupted in the Vendidad MSS. into the unintelligible form andanakö-I, so that this old quotation throws a rather unexpected light upon a passage in the Vendidad which translators would be almost certain to misunderstand. The allusion is to the bags used by a menstruous woman, when eating, to prevent contamination of the food. The Persian Rivâyats state that three bags (kîsah) are made of two thicknesses of strong linen, one bag to wear on each hand, and the third, which is larger, to hold the metal food-bowl and water-goblet. After thoroughly washing her hands and face, she puts the two bags on her hands, taking care that they do not touch her food, or clothes, or any other part of her body. She then feeds herself with a metal spoon, which must not touch her nose; and when the meal {footnote p. 341} is finished the



food-bowl and water-goblet are placed on the large bag, and the two smaller bags inside it, till wanted again.]

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Tanâpûhar sin[1] at root, which is hell; and in the Vendidad[2] it says that the clothing of the charitable (dahisn-hômand) soul, and even the clothing which they will give it, are out of almsgivings (dâsarân)[3].

5. The rule is this, that when any one passes away after keeping fasting the three nights[4], still the presentation of holy-water (zôhar) to the fire is to be performed, which is the presenting of the holy-water to the nearest fire; for in the Dâmdâd Nask[5] it is revealed that when they sever (tebründ) the consciousness of men it goes out to the nearest fire, then out to the stars, then out to the

[1. See Chap. I, 1, 2.

2. This passage does not appear to be now extant in the Vendidad, and it is possible to read Nask Dâd instead of Vadîkdâd. The Dâdî or Dâdak Nask was the eleventh nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which merely says that its 'Avesta and Zand are not communicated to us by the high-priest.' According to the Dînî-vagarkard, which calls it Khûstô and the Rivâyats, which call it Khast, it was the twelfth Nask, and they give its contents in more detail than usual (see Haug's Essays, pp. 130, 131).

3. Meaning that the dead require no clothing, as their future bodies will be clothed out of the garments they have given away in charity. The resemblance of this statement to that contained in Bund. XXX, 28, which must have been abridged from the Dâmdâd Nask (see SZS. IX, 1), renders it possible that it may have been taken from that Nask.

4. No fresh meat is to be cooked or eaten for the first three days after a death in the house, according to the Sad-dar Bundahis, LXXVIII (compare Chap. XVII, 1-3).

5. See SZS. IX, 1. The passage here quoted may perhaps be found in the complete text of the Bundahis, as given in TD (Chap. 37; see Introduction, p. xxxvii).]

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moon, and then out to the sun[1]; and it is needful that the nearest fire, which is that to which it has come out, should become stronger (zôr-hômand-tar)[2].

6. The rule is this, that they should not leave a nail-paring unprayed over (anâfsûdak), for if it be not prayed over (afsând)[3] it turns into the arms and equipments of the Mâzanân demons[4]; this is explicitly shown in the Vendidad[5].

7. The rule is this, that the labour of child-birth[6] is not to be accomplished at night, except while with the light of a fire, or the stars and moon, upon it; for great opposition is connected with it, and in the twentieth of the Hûspâram Nask[7] it is shown that over the soul of him who works in the dark there is more predominance of the evil spirit.

8. The rule is this, that they should allow the egg and other food[8] for those gifts and favours of the

[1. A righteous soul is supposed to step out first to the star station, then to the moon station, and then to the sun station, on its way to Garôdmân, the highest heaven; but if its righteousness is imperfect it has to stop at one of these three stations, which are the three lower grades of heaven (see note on pâhlûm ahvân, Chap. VI, 3).

2. Or 'more provided with zôr,' which may mean 'holy-water,' as the two words zôr and zôhar are occasionally confounded.

3. Or, perhaps, 'if they shall not pray over it.'

4. See Bund. III, 20, XIX, 19, 20.

5. Vend. XVII, 29.

6. Barman-zerkhûnisnîh may also mean 'begetting a son.'

7. See Chap. X, 2 x. The word 'twentieth' appears to refer to the second group of twenty sections, one of which treated of the begetting, birth, and treatment of children.

8. Referring to the egg, drôns, frasasts, and gâus hudhau or 'meat-offering' (which may be either butter or meat, see Chap. XI, 4) that are used in the drôn ceremony, or consecration of the sacred cakes (see note on drôn, Chap. III, 32). The object of {footnote p. 343} this paragraph is, evidently to reprove niggardliness in such offerings, and to prevent their being mere pretexts for feasting.]

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sovereign moon (mâh-i khûdâi) and the other angels; if so, it is to be allowed by them thus: 'I will consecrate so much food for such an angel,' and not thus: 'One sacred cake (drônô) in so much food.' 9. And the reason of it is this, that they who shall allow thus: 'One sacred cake out of so much food,' and of which it is one thing less, even though one shall consecrate it many times, still then he has not repaid; and they who should allow thus: 'I will consecrate so much food for such an angel,' though one shall reverence him with many sacred cakes, it is proper. 10. And in the twenty-two sections of the Sakâdûm Nask[1] grievous things are shown about those who do not make offerings (aûstôfrîd) unto the angels.

11. The rule is this, that when a woman becomes pregnant, as long as it is possible, a fire one cares for well is to be maintained in the house, because it is revealed[2] in the Spend Nask that to Dûkdâv[3], the mother of Zaratûst, when she was pregnant with Zaratûst, for three nights, every night a leader (shâh)[4] with a hundred and fifty demons came for the destruction of Zaratûst, and yet, owing to the existence of the fire in the dwelling, they knew no means for it.

[1. See Chap. X, 25., The passage alluded to here was probably in that section, of the last twenty-two, which treated of the spirits of the earthly existences, one portion of which was 'about preparing offerings (aûstôfrîtô) to the angels.'

2. M6 has 'the fire of Aûharmazd is to be fully maintained, and it is revealed,' &c. This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 4, with a few variations.

3. Here written Dûdkâv.

4. Or it may be read sêdâ, 'a demon', meaning, an 'arch-fiend.')

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12. The rule is this, where a child is born, during three days, for protection from demons, wizards, and witches, a fire is to be made at night until daylight, and is to be maintained there in the day, and pure incense is to be put upon it, as is revealed in the thirtieth of the Sakâdûm Nask[1].

13. The rule is this[2], that from a toothpick the bark[3] is to be well cut off, for there are some of those of the primitive faith [4] who have said that, when[5] they shall make it for the teeth with the bark on, and they throw it away, a pregnant woman, who puts a foot upon it, is doubtful about its being dead matter.

14. The rule is this, that it is well if any one of those who have their handmaid (kakar) in cohabitation (zanîh), and offspring is born of her, shall accept all those who are male as sons; but those who are female are no advantage, because an adopted son (satôr) is requisite, and in the fourteenth of the Hûspâram Nask[6] the high-priests

[1. That is, in the first thirty sections of the Nask (see Chap. X, 25); the passage alluded to must have been, in that portion which treated of new-born infants and their proper treatment.

2. §§ 13-16 are a repetition of Chap. X, 20-23, with a few variations.

3. The word appears to be tôpö or tûfö, which would rather mean 'scum' or 'gum' (see Bund. XXVII, 19), unless it be considered a miswriting of tôgö or tôzö, which would mean 'thin bark' or 'bast.' It can also be read tûpar, 'a leather bag,' and the sentence can be so translated as to imply that a toothpick should be cut out of a leather bag, an alternative similar to that suggested by the text of Chap. X, 20.

4. See Chap. I, 3.

5. Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

6. See Chap. X, 21.]

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have taught thus: 'My son is suitable also as thy son, but my daughter is not suitable also as thy daughter;' and there are many who[1] do not appoint an adopted son with this idea, that: 'The child of a handmaid may be accepted by us as a son.'

15. The rule is this, that one is to persevere much in the begetting of offspring, since it is for the acquisition[2] of many good works at once; because in the Spend[3] and Nihâdûm Nasks[4] the high-priests have taught that the duty and good works which a son performs. are as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand; and in the Dâmdâd Nask[5], it is revealed thus: 'Likewise, too, the good works, in like manner, which come to the father as his own.'

18. The rule is this, that what they shall give to the worthy is as much as is proper and beyond, for eating and accumulating; because in the Nihâdûm Nask[6] the high-priests have taught thus: 'When a man gives bread to a man, even though that man has too much bread, all the good works, which he shall perform through that superabundance, become as much his who gave it as though they had been done by his own hand.'

17. The rule is this, that in the night water is

[1. The writer of M6 evidently found his original illegible at this place, as he wrote . . . maman instead of mûn denman.

2. M6 has 'performance,' which is probably a misreading, due to the original of that MS. being partially illegible.

3. See Chap. X, 4. This Nask is not mentioned in Chap. X, 22, and the passage here alluded to is not to be traced in any of the short accounts of its contents.

4. See Chap. X, 3, 22.

5. See SZS. IX, 1, and Chap. X, 22.

6. See Chap. X, 3, 23.]

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not to be drawn[1] from a well, as in the Bâg-yasnô[2] notice is given about the uncleanness (ayosdâsarîh) of well-water at night.

18. The rule is this, that in the night anything eatable is not to be cast away to the north, because a fiend will become pregnant; and when it is cast away one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô[3] is to be uttered. 19. Those of the primitive faith[4] who used to act more orthodoxically (hû-rastakîhâtar), when food was eaten by them in the night, for the sake of preservation from sin owing to the coming of strainings and sprinklings on to the ground, directed a man to chant the Ahunavar[5] from the beginning of the feast

[1. K20 has 'that water is not to be drawn on foot.'

2. Probably the Bakân-yastô is meant, which was the fourteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the fifteenth nask, called Baghân-yast. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 132. The following is the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard:--

'The Bakân-yastô is a treatise, first, 'on the worship (yastô) of Aûharmazd, the most pre-eminent of divinities (bakân avertûm), and, secondly, the worship of the angels of the other invisible and visible worldly existences, out of whom are even

the names of the days, and the glory, power, triumph, and miraculousness of their life also is extreme; the angels who are invoked by name in their worship, and the attention and salutation due to them; the worthiness and dispensation of favour for worshippers, and the business of their many separate recitations unto the angels; the business of unlimited acquaintance with knowledge about the promoters of the treasures of the period, unto whom the creator Aûharmazd is to intrust them, and they remain to cause industry. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.'

3. See Bund. I, 21. This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 7, with a few variations.

4. See Chap. I, 3.

5. That is, the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô (see Bund. I, 21).]

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(myazd) unto the end, more especially at the feast of the season-festivals; as it says in the Hâdôkht Nask[1], that of the sayings which are spoken out the Ahunavar is that which is most triumphant.

20. The rule is this, that when one sees a hedgehog he takes it back to the plain, and its own place is to be preserved free from danger; for in the Vendidad the high-priests have taught, that every day, when the hedgehog voids urine into an ant's nest, a thousand ants will die[2].

21. The rule is this, that some who are of the good religion say, where one is washing his face, one Ashem-vohû[3] is always to be uttered, and that Ashem-vohû is to be uttered before the washing; for when he utters it while washing his face, he is doubtful (var-hômand) about the water coming to his mouth.

22. The rule is this, that they select from the purifiers[4]--when their business (mindavam) is as important (rabâ) as purity and impurity--him with whom the control[5] of ablution (pâdîyâvîh)[6], and non-ablution is connected; they select him especially

[1. See B. Yt. III, 25. The passage here quoted must have been in the first division of the Nask.

2. This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 31.

3. See Bund. XX, 2.

4. The yôsdâsarân, 'purifiers' (Av. yaozdâthrya), are those priests who retain so much of the purifying effect of the Bareshnûm ceremony (see Chap. II, 6) as to be able to assist in purifying others by means of the same ceremony. When that effect has passed away a priest can no longer perform the sacred rites, until he has again undergone the nine nights' purification of the Bareshnûm.

5. Reading band, but it may be bôd, 'vitality, essence.'

6. See Chap. II, 52.]

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with regard to the good disposition and truthful speaking of the man, and to the particular work; and on account of his being, in innocence he is to be considered more righteous. 23. As in the Vendidad[1] it says, about the two shares of righteousness, how one should tell that he is 'a righteous man, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! who is a purifier, who should be a speaker that speaks truly, an enquirer of the sacred texts--that is, he has performed his ritual (yast)--a righteous one who specially understands purification from the religion of the Mazdayasnians, that is, he understands its religious formulas (nîrang).' 24. When it is so that the control of their ablution is connected with him, so that they consider what pertains to the purifying bowl (zak-i tâstîk) as his, and ever abstain from it, though the angels hear and consider them as clean, and they select for him those who consecrate the water and bull's urine (gômêz) on account of their control, of purification (yôsdâsarkarîh), and it is to be performed very observantly by the consecrators at the place which is to be measured with a measure and very exactly (khûptar)[2]. 25. And the purifier is so much the better when washed again, and when it is by some one through whose periodic (zamânîk)

[1. The passage here quoted is from Pahl. Vend. IX, 4-6.

2. Referring to the Bareshnûm-gah, or place prepared for the Bareshnûm ceremony of purification with bull's urine and water, which are handed to the person undergoing purification by an officiating priest (see Chap. II, 6). The place is marked out with furrows in the ground, and furnished with stones (magh) to squat upon during the ablutions (see B. Yt. II. 36). The construction of this paragraph is very obscure in many places, and its proper division into sentences is, therefore, uncertain.]

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care he is thus done; for in the periodic interval many secret[1] kinds of pollution are produced. 26. Of the celebrators of the Vendidad the good are they who shall again perform the Navashâdar rite[2]; for, on account of the same nicety (nâzûkîh) which is written above by me, and on account of much also that is secret, which has happened and mostly arises about it, there is no harm from performing it. 27: And any one of those who shall receive the water and bull's urine it is very important to wash beforehand (pavan pês)[3]; because, if there be impurity about him[4], and he puts a hand to the cup (gâmak), the water, and the bull's urine, they are unclean (apâdâvö)[5]; when it is so that there be some one, when so, it is better that they always wash his eyelids (môyak gâs), and to wash them by the clean is good.

28. The rule is this, that thou shouldst not consider even any one hopeless (anâimêd) of heaven,

[1. Reading nihân, but we might perhaps read 'causes (vahân) of pollution of many kinds.' The meaning of the section is, that it is necessary for the purifying priest to maintain his own purity by frequently undergoing the Bareshnûm ceremony himself.

2. Yast-i Navashâdar in all MSS., but the latter word is most probably a corruption of Av. navakhshapara, 'a period of nine nights,' for which length of time the Bareshnûm ceremony must be continued (see Vend. IX, 144, XIX, 80). The 'Navashâdar rite' is, therefore, 'the ceremony of the nine nights,' which should be frequently undergone by the priests who celebrate the Vendidad ceremonial.

3. M6 has pavan pîsak, 'with ceremony.'

4. M6 has 'them.'

5. M6 has 'one knows it is unto the cup and bull's urine;' but as M6 was evidently copied from a MS. already nearly illegible in some places, it is generally safer to follow K20, except when M6 supplies words omitted by the more careless writer of K20.]

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and they should not set their minds steadfastly on hell; thereby much sinfulness for which there is a desire would be undesirable, because there is nothing which is a sin in my religion for which there is no retribution, as it says in the Gâthas[1] thus:--'Of those who are aware that thou art, O Aûharmazd! is even he who is infamous (raspakö); and they know the punishment of him even who is very sinful.' 29. And as to him even who is a very sinful person, through the desire[2] of good works which is entertained by him, there then comes more fully to him the joy of a soul newly worthy (nuk shâyad); as in the Spend Nask[3] it was shown to Zaratûst about one man, that all his limbs were in torment, and one foot was outside; and Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd about the reason of it; and Aûharmazd said that he was a man, Davâns[4] by name; he was ruler over thirty-three[5] districts, and he never practised

[1. The passage here quoted from the Gâthas will be found in Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 7.

2. M6 has merely 'through the good works which are practised by him;' but K20 has 'I hamak' inserted at this point, which seems to indicate the existence of the nearly identical Pahlavi letters kâmak, 'desire,' in the original from which it was copied.

3. See Chap. X, 4. The passage here quoted was no doubt contained in that part of the Nask which treated of the exhibition of heaven and hell to Zaratûst, which must have been very similar to the Ardâ-Vîrâf-nâmak, in which most of the details of this story about Davâns are given (see AV. XXXII).

4. This is, no doubt, the Av. davâs of Yas. XXXI, 10, which may be translated 'hypocrite.' The Pahlavi translation of the line in which the word occurs is thus rendered in Haug's Essays (p. 351): 'Aûharmazd does not allot to him who is an idler, the

infidel who is any hypocrite (davās) in the sacred recitations. In the good religion it is asserted that even as much reward as they give to the hypocrite they, do not give to the infidel.'

5. K20 has 'thirty-four.']

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any good work, except one time when fodder was conveyed by him to a sheep with that one foot.

30. The rule is this, that when a man has performed his form of worship (yast), and his wife has not performed it, it is extremely necessary to perform the suitable form of worship, or to order a Gêôt-kharîd[1], so that they may become such as are dwelling more closely together in the spiritual existence than in the world; and in the Hâdôkht Nask[2] it says that a woman (nâîrîk) who shall be reverent (tarsak) is to be considered as much as she who is suitable (zîyâk).

31. The rule is this, that these five ceremonies (yazisn), when they shall perform them, are good works[3]; when one does not perform them, and the time is manifest to him, and when he shall set them aside to perform them out of the proper time, they shall go to the bridge[4] as sin; the ceremonies which go to the bridge are these, and in the Hûspâram Nask[5] it says that they are the non-celebration of the rites (lâ yastanö) of the season-festivals[6], the

[1. Here written gêtök-kharîd, but see Chap. V, 6, and Bund. XXX, 28.

2. See B. Yt. III, 25; but the passage here quoted is not clearly indicated in the accounts we have of the contents of this Nask.

3. The distinction between these ceremonies and those whose values as good works are given in Chap. XVI, 6, appears to be that any omission in performing these five at their proper times amounts; to an absolute sin, whereas the others are not so indispensable.

4. That is, they will be taken into account at the judgment on the soul's actions at the Kinvad bridge (see Bund. XII, 7).

5. See Chap. X, 21. The passage here quoted was probably in the section called Nîrangistân.

6. The: Gâsânbârs or Gâhanbârs (see Bund. XXV, 1-6).]

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Rapîtvîn[1], the three nights[2] after a death, the days devoted to the guardian spirits[3], and the sun and moon[4].

32. The rule is this, that at every one of these three things, which come through hungry living, that is, sneezing, yawning, and sighing, one is to speak out a Yathâ-ahû-vairyô and one Ashem-vohû[5]; and also when one hears the sneezing of any one, to speak in like manner is so considered as an action of the good[6]; and in the Stûdgar Nask[7] it says thus: "'What prepares sneezing? that is, through what process (kâr) does it come?" And Aûharmazd said thus: "Hungry living, O Zaratûst! because the remedy for its existence is the Ahunavar, O Zaratûst! and righteousness[8]."

### CHAPTER XIII.

0. The signification of the Gâthas[9].

1. These three Ashem-vohûs (Yas. XI, end) which

[1. The midday period (see Bund. II, 8; 9, XXV, 9-14).

2. See Chap. VIII, 6.

3. See Chap. X, 2.

4. See Chap. VII, 1-5.

5. See Bund. I, 21, XX, 2.

6. That is, it is commendable, though not obligatory. The practice of uttering a blessing on hearing a sneeze is still common in many parts of Europe.

7. See B. Yt. I, 1. The passage here quoted is not to be traced in any of the accounts of this Nask.

8. 'The Ahunavar and praise of righteousness' would be a Pahlavi equivalent for 'the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô and Ashem-vohû.'

9. That is, the mystical meaning or influence supposed to attach to various parts of the ancient hymns, or to the manner in which they are chanted. The term Gâtha or 'hymn' (Pahl. gâs) is applied, in this chapter, not only to the five Gâthas properly so called, but also to the Yasna of seven chapters, and apparently to {footnote p. 353} other portions of the Yasna written in the Gâtha dialect of the Avesta.]

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represent[1] the Fravarânê (Yas. XI, end) of the preliminary ritual (pês nîrang) and the rotation of these three Hâs ('chapters'), the Fravarânê, Frastuyê, and Âstuyê--fravarânê being the beginning of the Fravarânê[2] which extends as far as frasastayaêka [3], frastuyê[4], the beginning of the Frastuyê (Yas. XII, I-XIII, 26) which extends up to the Âstuyê, and âstuyê[5], the beginning of the Âstaothwanem[6], (Yas. XIII, 27-XIV, end) which extends as far as âstaothwanemkâ daênayau Mâzdayasnôis--also represent the Visâi-ve-ameshâ-spentâ (Yas. XV), which is the beginning of the Stôtânyasnô ('the ritual of praisers')[7], and these three Hâs of the Baghâm (Yas. XIX-XXI).

2. In the exposition (kashîdak) and through the

[1. This appears to be the meaning, but the construction of this section is altogether very obscure, and the text is more or less corrupt in all MSS. In the celebration of the Yasna or Yazisn the officiating priest tastes the Hôm juice during the recitation of Yas. XI (see Haug's Essays, p. 404), and shortly afterwards he commences the preliminary prayers mentioned in the text.

2. Both K20 and M6 have Frerân in Pâzand.

3. Both K20 and M6 omit the initial f.

4. M6 has âstuyê.

5. M6 omits this word.

6. This is the Avesta name of the Hâ or chapter consisting of Yas. XIII, 27-XIV, 19; as Fraoreti is the name of the preceding Hâ, consisting of Yas. XII, I-XIII, 26.

7. Probably consisting of the three Hâs, Yas. XV-XVII; in which case, the meaning seems to be that the three Ashem-vohûs, at the beginning of this preliminary ritual, are symbolical of each of the three triplets of chapters which follow them; first, of the Fravarânê, Fraoreti, and Âstaothwanem chapters; secondly, of the three chapters of the Stôtân-yasnô; and thirdly, of those of the Baghân Yast.]

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evidence of revelation (dînô) the wise of those of the primitive faith[1] have thus said, that a man of fifteen years[2], and a son and, brother of Mazdayasnians--when he confesses his failings (mândak) to the high-priests (radân), and they shall bring him the whip and scourge[3], and these five Gâthas[4] are chanted and the good waters consecrated by him, and the whole of the renewed-birth ceremony (navîd-zâdîh)[3] is performed by him--becomes a mature youth and not a child, and a share of the prayers of initiation (nâpar) and of the fires is to be given over to him,; and when thus much is not performed by him, a share is not to be given. 3. These five[7] Gâthas are made up from the body of a righteous man.

[1. See Chap. I, 3.

2. Referring to one about to become a priest.

3. The Av. *astra* and *sraoshô-karana* of Vend. IV, 38-114, &c., which were formerly used for the temporal punishment of sinners. Whether they are here brought to the neophyte as a token of his admission to the priesthood, or are administered to him as a punishment for his offences, is not quite clear.

4. The five *Gâthas* are the *Ahunavaiti* (Yas. XXVIII-XXXIV), the *Ustavaiti* (Yas. XLII-XLV), the *Spentâ-mainyû* (Yas. XLVI-XLIX), the *Vohû-khshathra* (Yas. L), and the *Vahistôisti* (Yas. LII); these collections of hymns are thus named from the words with which each of them commences, excepting the first, which derives its name from the *Ahunavar* (see Bund. I, 21) which is written in the same metre.

5. This is the Pahlavi form of the *Parsi navazûdi*, a term applied to the whole initiatory ceremonial of a *nônâbar*, or newly initiated priest; the term evidently implies that the ceremony is considered somewhat in the light of 'regeneration.'

6. That is, he can take his part in the regular priestly duties, including the initiation of other neophytes.

7. Both K20 and M6 have four in ciphers, which can hardly be right; the sentence is clear enough, but the idea of its writer is rather obscure.]

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4. *Ahyâ-yâsâ* (Yas. XXVIII), *Khshmaibyâ* (Yas. XXIX), and *Ad-tâ-vakhshâ* (Yas. XXX) have, severally, eleven stanzas (*vakêst*), because eleven things move spiritually within the bodies of men, as life, consciousness, religion, soul, guardian spirit, thought, word, deed, seeing, smelling, and hearing; and the bodies of men and other creatures are formed of water, fire, and wind[1].

5. *Ashem-Ahurem-mazdâm* (Visp. XV) is to be recited[2] three times before the coming of *Hûshêdar*, *Hûshêdar-mâh*, and *Sôshyans*; and when they also recite the chapter (*hâd*) well, and by line (*gâs*) and stanza, those apostles are present[3], and the

[1. These first three chapters of the *Ahunavaiti* collection of hymns are here supposed to symbolize the three material elements, whose union distinguishes a man's body from inorganic substances; while the eleven stanzas, which each of these chapters contains, symbolize the eleven immaterial existences said to be contained in the same body.

2. This is doubtful, as no verb is expressed, and, the word *bâr*, 'time,' is struck out in M6, so it is possible to read 'the "three foremost" of the *Ashem-Ahurem-mazdâm* are the coming of *Hûshêdar*,' &c. The 'three foremost' (3 *levînög*) would be a possible Pahlavi translation of the Av. *tisra paoiryô* and *tisra paoirya* of Visp. XV, 4-6, instead of the actual 'three first' (3-*i fratûm*), as may be seen from Pahl. Visp. VIII, 17, 20, where both *pês* (= *levînö*) and *fratûm* are used indifferently for Av. *paoiryô*. At any rate the idea embodied in the text is that these 'three first' have some reference to the three future apostles of the *Parsi* religion (see Bund. XXXII, 8, B. Yt. III, 13, 44, 52, 62). In fact, however, they seem to refer to the first three chapters of the *Ahunavaiti Gâtha*, immediately after which this chapter (Visp. XV) is recited in the full *Parsi* ritual; the phrase being rendered in the Pahlavi translation thus:--'I reverence the three first by not speaking out, that is, I do not say anything during them, and not wearing out, that is, I do not doze away during them.'

3. K20 has 'arrive early.')

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country becomes more flourishing and more dominant in the world.

6. The twenty-two stanzas of *Tâ-ve-urvâtâ* (Yas. XXXI) are the twenty-two judgments (*dâdistân*) of which it speaks in the *Hâdôkht Nask*[1] thus:--'Anaomô mananghê daya vîspâi kva, kva parô?' (where are they to be produced beyond every thought? and where before?) 'Lodging in the judge, that while he has twenty-two judgments he may be more just;--so that when they pray the *Tâ-ve-urvâtâ* chapter well, and recite it by line and stanza, the judges possess those twenty-two judgments more correctly, and judiciousness is more lodging in them.

7. The sixteen stanzas of the *Hvaêtumaithi* chapter (Yas. XXXII)[2] are lodging in warriors, so that it becomes possible, during their good protection, to force the enemy away from those sixteen countries which the *Vendidad*[3] mentions in its first *fargard*.



[1. See B. Yt. III, 25. Both the Avesta text here quoted and the translation suggested must be received with caution, as the MSS. do not agree in the three central words; K20 has manaNhê de vîspâi kaua, and M6 has manaNhê kya vîsâi kaia. The former reading has been adopted, with very slight correction, as it seems the more intelligible; but the meaning of the preceding word, anaomô, is, far from certain. The writer seems to have been quoting from a Pahlavi version of the Nask which contained this Avesta quotation.

2. This Hâ, which begins with the words ahvyâkâ hvaêtus, is not called by its initial words, as the preceding chapters are, but has this special name (see the prayers at the end of it) derived from its second word, and which is corrupted in. Pahlavi into Khvêtmanö.

3. Here written Gavîd-sêdâ-dâd as in Sls. Part I, and not Vadîkdâd as in other parts of Sls. Part II (see § 19 and Chap. XII, 4, 6, 20, 23, 26). Vend. I contains an account of the sixteen {footnote p. 357} 'best of regions and countries' where the Iranian power and religion extended at an early date.]

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8. The fourteen stanzas of Yathâ-âis (Yas. XXXIII) are for this reason, because seven archangels are more diligent in activity for the spirit, and seven archangels[1] for the world, so that they may attain 'to heaven, the home (mêhônö) of Aûharmazd, the home of the archangels, the home of those righteous ones,' avi garô-nmânem, maêthanem Ahurahê mazdau, maêthanem ameshanâm spentanâm, maêthanem anyaêshâm ashaonâm[2]. 9. The three repetitions (dânar) of Ye-sevistô (Yas. XXXIII, 11)[3], and the holding up of the holy-water (zôhar) at these repetitions, are for the four classes[4], and for this reason at Ahurâi mazdâi and ashemkâ frâdad[5] the holy-water is

[1. The seven archangels besides their spiritual duties have severally charge of the seven worldly existences, man, animals, fire, metal, earth, water, and plants (see § 14 and Chap. XV). But perhaps we should read 'angels,' as they are often mentioned as the angels of the spiritual and worldly existences.'

2. This quotation, of which the Pahlavi translation is first given, and then the Avesta text, is from Vend. XIX, 107.

3. This stanza is recited thrice, and about the same time the officiating priest strains the Hôm juice, and prepares to pour holy-water into the mortar in which the Hôm twigs were pounded (see Haug's Essays, pp. 402, 406).

4. Or 'professions' of the community, of which there were originally only three, the priest, warrior, and husbandman; but at a later date the artizan was added. Both K20 and M6 have 'four classes,' but this is inconsistent with the 'three repetitions.' The Avesta generally knows only three classes, but four are mentioned in the Baghân Yast (Yas. XIX, 46).

5. That is, probably, at the words Ahurô mazdauskâ in the first line, and ashemkâ frâdad in the second line of the stanza; but this is doubtful, as the MSS. give the words corruptly, in a mixture of Av. and Pahl., as follows: pavan Ahurâi mazdâi ahârayih-i dadôih.]

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to be held level with the heart of him who is the officiating priest (zôt), and at sraotâ[1] it is to be held level with the arm of him who is the officiating priest, so that while the warriors are in battle with foreigners (anâîrân) they may be fuller of breath (vayô-gîrtar), and the husbandmen stronger-armed in the tillage and cultivation of the world.

10. The fifteen stanzas of Yâ-skyaothanâ (Yas. XXXIV) are for this reason, because it is given[2] for the destruction of those fifteen fiends who are disclosed in the medical part (bêshâz) of the Hâdôkht Nask[3]. 11. The four repetitions (bâr) of Mazdâ-admôi (Yas. XXXIV, 15)[4] are for the right coming on of the share of these five chieftainships (radîh), the house-ruler, the village-ruler, the tribe-ruler, the province-ruler, and the supreme Zaratûst[5].

12. The two repetitions of Ahyâ-yâsâ (Yas. XVIII, 1)[6], are for this reason, that the sovereign (dahyûpat) may not at once seize body, consciousness,

[1. The first word in the third line of the stanza; but this, again, has to be guessed from a Pahlavi version in the MSS. which may be read va vâ-srôddân.

2. Or 'produced.'
3. In the last division of that Nask (see B. Yt. III, 25, note).
4. This last stanza of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha is recited four times.
5. See Yas. XIX, 50-52. The last of these rulers must have been the supreme pontiff or patriarch of the province, and in the province of Ragha (Rages or Raî, near Teheran) he was both temporal and spiritual ruler.
6. This first stanza of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha is recited twice, not only in its proper place (as the first stanza of each chapter is, in the Gâthas), but also at the end of every chapter of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha, while the officiating priest sprinkles the sacred twigs with the sacred milk or gâus gîvya, 'living-cow produce' (see Haug's Essays, pp. 405, 406).]

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and soul. 13. Those four Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs of the first Gâtha[I] are for this reason, that is, so that inferiors may become more tolerant of the commands of superiors, and good thoughts, good words, and good deeds be more domesticated (mâh-mântar) in the world, and the fiend more powerless (apâdakshâhtar).

14. In short (aê-mar)[2], Ahyâ-yâsâ is as (pavan)[3] Aûharmazd and the righteous man, Khshmaibyâ as Vohûman and cattle, Ad-tâ-vakhshyâ as Ardavahist and fire, Tâ-ve-urvâtâ as Shatvaîrô[4] and metal, the Hvaêtumaithi as the Gâtha of Spendarmad and the earth, Yatha-âis as Horvadad and water, and Yâskyaothanâ as Amerôdad and plants.

15. The progress which is in[5] the Ahunavaiti Gâtha the house-rulers should carry on; that which is in the Ustavaiti Gâtha the village-rulers should carry on; that which is in the Spentâ-mainyû[6] Gâtha the tribe-rulers should carry on; that which is in the Vohû-khshathra Gâtha the province-rulers should carry on; that which is in the Vahistô-isti Gathâ the supreme Zaratûsts should carry on, and

[1. After the two Ahyâ-yâsâs, at the end of each chapter of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha, the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula (see Bund. I, 21) is recited four times.

2. Or 'to sum up.'

3. It is not quite clear how pavan, 'in, on, with, by, through, as, for,' &c., should be translated in each clause of this section; but the intention is evidently to compare the seven chapters of the Ahunavaiti Gathâ with the seven archangels and the seven earthly creations which they severally protect (see Chap. XV).

4. Here written Shatrîvar.

5. Meaning probably 'the prosperity which is occasioned by;' but the exact signification of the word frâk-shâm or frehkashâm (or however it may be read) is uncertain.

6. Spendômat or Spendamat in Pahlavi.]

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that which is in the Yasna, which is the place of righteous blessing[1], these four classes themselves should carry on.

16. Of the Yasna of seven chapters (Yas. XXXV-XLI, 17) the beginning section (kardakö) has nine stanzas; and its beginning [2] is Humatanâm (Yas. XXXV, 4), and its end is Humatanâm (Yas. XLI, 17 supl.)

17. The six stanzas of Ahyâ-thwâ-âthrô (Yas, XXXVI) are owing to the six hot ordeals (var) which, in the Hûspâram Nask [3], are effected by kathrayâim âthraîâm[4].

18. The five stanzas of Ithâ-ad-yazamaidê (Yas. XXXVII) are thanksgiving and praise for the production of the good creations by Aûharmazd.

19. The five stanzas of Imām-âad-zām (Yas. XXXVIII) are owing to those five comforts and five discomforts of the earth, which, it is declared in the third fargard in the Vendidad[5] are accomplished

[1. That is, the Yasna of seven chapters (Yas. XXXV-XLI), which is called simply 'the Yasna' in this chapter. This last clause, which is omitted in M6, connects these later hymns with the four classes of the community (see § 9), just as the five older hymns are connected with the five chiefs of the community (see § 11) in the former clauses. This section may be a translation from the Avesta, as the verbs precede their nominatives.

2. That is, the beginning of the Yasna of seven chapters.

3. See Chap. X, 21; but the Sakâdûm Nask (see Chap. X, 25) is probably meant, as it contained a section on ordeals by heat and cold.

4. These Avesta words are evidently corrupt, but perhaps 'a quadruple fire' is meant. K20 has *kathrâyâim âthraïâm*.

5. Here written Vandîkdâd (see § 7). The passage here cited is not a quotation, but only a brief summary of Vend. III, 1-37; and appears to have been derived direct from the Avesta, without the assistance of the Pahlavi version, as several words differ from that translation.]

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thus:--'The first comfort of the earth is from the land on which a righteous man walks forth; the second is when they shall make the dwelling of the good and fires upon it; the third is when they sow corn upon it, and shall take heed of dead matter; the fourth is when all beasts of burden are born upon it; the fifth is when every beast of burden is on it[1]; and its first discomfort is from the Arezûr ridge[2] and the gate of hell; the second is when they dig[3] it up for a dead body; the third is when one constructs a depository for the dead (*khazân*)[4] upon it; the fourth is from the holes of its noxious creatures; the fifth is when they shall forsake a man in affliction (*vardakîh*) upon it, who is righteous.'

20. The five stanzas of Ithâ (Yas. XXXIX) are just as those which go before.

21. The four stanzas of Âhû-ad-paiti (Yas. XL) are about the benefit (*arg-hômandîh*) which is on account of water, earth, plants, and animals.

22. The six stanzas of Stûtô-garô (Yas. XLI, 117), the two repetitions of Humatanâm (Yas. XX XV, 4-6), and the three repetitions of Hukshathrôtemâi (Yas. XXXV, 13-15) are on account of the existence of the sons of Zaratûst[5].

[1. The verb is probably omitted by mistake, and we ought to read 'voids urine upon it,' in accordance with Vend. III, 20.

2. See Bund. XII, 8.

3. Reading *kalêndend* (Pers. *kalandand*), as Vend. III, 27 refers to burial of the dead, and the same idea might be obtained, more fancifully, by reading *kilînênd*, 'they turn to clay' (compare Pers. *gil*, 'clay'); but the most obvious reading is *karînênd*, 'they cut,' and as the sentence stands it would imply that 'they cut up its dead.'

4. See Chap. II, 6.

5. The three apostles expected in the future (see § 5 and Bund. XXXII, 8). It is doubtful whether these three passages in the {footnote p. 362} Yasna are here intended all to refer to the same subject, but no other subject is mentioned for the two former. Having completed the enumeration of the sections of the Yasna of seven chapters, the writer is now proceeding to notice those passages which are recited more than once in the performance of the ritual.]

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23. The two repetitions of Ashahyâ-âad-sairi[1] (Yas. XXXV, 22, 23) are for the laudation of righteousness and the destruction of the fiend. 24. The two repetitions of YêNhê-hâtâm[2] are for the laudation of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and the destruction of the evil spirit and the miscreations (*vishûdakân*). 25. The two repetitions of[3] *Thwôistaotaraskâ*, (Yas. XLI, 12-14) are for the laudation of ceremonial worship (*yazisnô*) and the sacred feast (*mâzd*).

26. The two repetitions of Âtaremka (Visp. XIX, 1-8)[4] are for the laudation of the Frôbâk fire and the fire Vâzist[5].

27. Of the sixteen stanzas of the Ustavaiti chapter (Yas. XLII)[6] it is related just as about the Hvaêtumaithi chapter[7].

[1. M6 has gairî, 'in a song,' with the obsolete g, which is very like s, and is also used in the word garô in § 22; this is a variant well worth consideration by translators of the Avesta. K20 has only Ashahyâ.

2. This formula (see B. Yt. II, 64) is recited after every chapter of the Gâthas, but does not appear to be anywhere recited twice; so the words 2 dânar, 'two repetitions,' may perhaps be inserted here in the wrong place, as they are wanting in § 25.

3. These words are omitted in the Pahlavi text, evidently through mistake.

4. Visp. XIX, XX follow Yas. XLI in the full Parsi ritual, and the first of them is recited twice.

5. The Frôbâk is the oldest sacred fire on earth, and the Vâzist is the lightning. (see Bund. XVII, 1, 5, SZS. XI, 5, 8-10).

6. The first chapter of the Ustavaiti Gâtha (see § 2, note 4), so called from its first word ustâ.

7. See § 7.]

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28. The twenty stanzas of Tad-thwâ-peresâ (Yas. XLIII) are the twenty judgments (dâdistân) between the beneficent spirit and the evil spirit; and for this reason they should every time utter Tad-thwâ-peresâ again[1], because they should utter the original judgment again, and the twentieth time the evil spirit becomes confounded.

29. The eleven stanzas of Ad-fravakhshyâ (Yas. XLIV) are made up from the six chieftainships[2] and the five accomplishments (farhâng) owing to religion; one is thus, not to do unto others[3] all that which is not well for one's self; the second is to understand fully what is well-done and not-well-done; the third is to turn from the vile and their conversation (andarag-gûftanö); the fourth is to confess one's failings to the high-priests, and let them bring the whip; the fifth is not to neglect the season-festivals at their proper hour (dên hâsar), nor the other things which go to the bridge[4]; and the six chieftainships are not his property who has not these

[1. That is, the first line (tad thwâ peresâ eres môi vaokâ Ahurâ! 'that I shall ask thee, tell it me right, O Ahura!') is repeated at the beginning of each of the first nineteen stanzas, and the first stanza being recited twice (as in all chapters of the Gâthas) these words are recited twenty times before the last stanza is reached. The phrases land for this reason' and 'because they should utter the original judgment again' are omitted in M6.

2. These cannot be the same 'chieftainships' (radîh) as those mentioned in § 11, of which there are only five; but perhaps they are the spiritual chieftainships, or primacies, of the six other regions of the earth (see Bund. XXIX, 1).

3. Assuming that aîsan stands for aîsân.

4. The Kinvad bridge, or route of the soul to the other world (see Chap. XII, 31). Part of these fourth and fifth clauses is omitted in K20 by mistake.]

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five accomplishments, and he is not fit even for teaching.

30. The nineteen stanzas of Kâm-nemôî-zâm (Yas. XLV) are for this reason, that every one may so persevere in his own duty (khvesakânîh)[1], that while those are our nineteen propitiations (aûsôfrîd)[2], which it says in the Sakâdûm Nask[3] should be my own, the strength and power of the angels shall become more considerable, and the destroyer more perishable.

31. The Ustavaiti Gâtha is a Gâtha (gâs) of four chapters[4], and each stanza of five lines (gâs), except Hêkad-aspâ-vakhshyâ (Yas. XLV, 15)[5]. 32. The two repetitions of Ustâ-ahmâi (Yas. XLII, 1)[6] are, one as a retention and embrace of

Aûharmazd, and one as a destruction of the fiends; and Usta-Ahurem-mazdām (Visp. XXI, 1-5)[7] in like manner.

33. Spenta-mainyû (Yas. XLVI) has six stanzas, Yêzî-adâis (Yas. XLVII) twelve stanzas, Ad-mâyavâ (Yas. XLVIII) twelve stanzas, and Kad-môi-urvâ (Yas. XLIX) eleven stanzas. 34. The Spentâ-mainyû Gâtha is a Gâtha of four chapters[8], and

[1. Or, it may be, 'through his own intellect (khvêsak hûsh),' or merely another mode of writing khvêskârîh, 'industry.'

2. Considering each of the stanzas as an offering to, or propitiation of, (Av. usefriti) the angels.

3. See Chap. X, 25.

4. Those detailed in §§ 27-30.

5. Which stanza has only four lines. Pahl. gâs means both the whole hymn and also each line of the hymn.

6. The first stanza of the Ustavaiti Gâtha, which is recited twice, both in its proper place and at the end of each chapter of that Gâtha (see § 12, note).

7. Visp. XXI follows Yas. XLV in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

8. Those detailed in § 33.]

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each stanza of four lines; it is made up from the five chieftainships and four classes[1]. 35. The two repetitions of Spentâ-mainyû (Yas. XLVI, 1)[2] are, one for the laudation of the beneficent spirit (spendamât), and one for that of the earth[3].

36. One Spentem-Ahurem-mazdām (Visp. XXII, 1-11)[4] is the laudation of the creatures of the beneficent spirit, and one is the destruction of the creatures of the evil spirit.

37. The twenty-two stanzas of the Vohû-khshathra Gâtha (Yas. L) are those twenty-two judgments which are lodging within judges, as written above[5]. 38. The two repetitions of Vohû-khshathrem (Yas. L, 1)[6] are, one the laudation of living (zîndakîh), and one of the supreme Zaratûst.

39. One Vohû-khshathrem yazamaidê (Visp. XXIII, 1-9)[7] is for the laudation of Shatvaîrô[8], and one of metal. 40. The two repetitions of

[1. See §§ 9, 11.

2. The first stanza of the Spentâ-mainyû Gâtha, which is recited twice, both in its proper place and at the end of each chapter of that Gâtha (see § 12, note).

3. It seems probable that the Pahlavi writer has here confounded Spendamât, 'the beneficent spirit,' with the archangel Spendarmad who has special charge of the earth; their names being even more alike in Pahlavi than in English, though corrupted from the distinct Avesta forms spenta mainyu and spenta ârmaiti, respectively.

4. Visp. XXII follows Yas. XLIX in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

5. See § 6.

6. The first stanza of the Vohû-khshathra Gâtha, which is recited twice, both at the beginning and end of the chapter (see § 12, note).

7. Visp. XXIII, 1-9 follows Yas. L in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

8. The archangel who has special charge of metal (see § 14, Chap. XV, 5, 14-19, and Bund. I, 26, XXX, 19); the name is here written Shatrívar.]

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Aviapām (Visp. XXIV, 1-12)[1] are, one for the laudation of waters, and one of plants.

41. The nine stanzas of the Vahistōisti (Yas. LII) are on account of those nine things which are[2] . . . the supreme Zaratūstship lodging in the supreme Zaratūsts, the source of fountains, the bridge over waters, and even the navigable river, the righteous man, and the righteous woman. 42. And it is a Gātha of one chapter, and each stanza of four lines, except Ithâ-î-haithyâ-narô (Yas. LII, 6)[3], for there is always one lord and sovereign in the world. 43. And those four lines are for this reason, because it is declared: kathrus hamayau khshapô dahmayâd parô âfritôid[4], 'four times every night is the "blessing of the holy" (Yas. LIX),' and three times Srôsh[5], twice Bûshâsp[6], and once Aêshm[7] will come

[1. After the two recitations of Visp. XXIII, 1-9 there follow Vend. XV, XVI, and Visp. XXIII, 10, and then Visp. XXIV, 1-12 is recited twice, in the full Parsi ritual, followed by Visp. XXV.

2. Some words are evidently lost here; M6 has m followed by a blank space, and K20 has madam, 'on.' It is not quite certain whether the things mentioned are to be reckoned as four, five, or six; but assuming they are five, it is possible that the four things missing in the text are the four remaining chieftainships (see § 11), the rulerships of the house, village, tribe, and province lodged in the rulers of the same respectively.

3. Which stanza has five lines, and is, therefore, here considered symbolical of the ruling monarch, or pontiff.

4. This Avesta passage does not appear to be extant elsewhere, and its Pahlavi translation, given in the text, is not quite correct it would be better thus: 'through the" blessing of the holy four times every night;' dahma âfriti (Pahl. dâhmân âfrînô, 'blessing of the holy') is the technical name of Yas. LIX.

5. See Bund. XIX, 33, XXX, 29. This angel, invoked by the 'blessing' (Yas. LIX, 8), comes to defend mankind against the wiles of Bûshâsp and Aêshm.

6. The demoness of sloth (see Bund. XXVIII, 26).

7. The demon of wrath (see Bund. XXVIII, 15-17, 20).]

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to the material world. 44. And the five lines of that one stanza (Yas. LII, 6) are for this reason, because the assistants of the supreme Zaratūst are five, the house-ruler, the village-ruler, the tribe-ruler, the province-ruler, and she even who is his own wife (nârik)[1]. 45. The two repetitions of Vahistâ-îstis (Yas. LII, 1)[2] are, one for the laudation of sovereigns, and one for the laudation of peace (padmân).

46. The two repetitions of Vahistem-Ahurem-mazdām (Visp. XXVI)[3] are, one for the laudation of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and one for the destruction of the fiends. 47. The four repetitions of the Airyamana (Yas. LIII)[4] are for the existence of more submission (âirmânîh) in the house, village, tribe, and province. 48. The four repetitions of Avad-mizdem (Visp. XXVII) are for the healing of those[5] who dwell in the house, village, tribe, and province.

49. The section (kardakö) whose beginning is Tad-sôidhis (Yas. LVII, 1-9)[6] is, for the completion

[1. Though bound to be strictly obedient to her husband or guardian, a Mazdayasnian woman occupied a more honourable position in the community than was sanctioned by any other oriental religion.

2. The first stanza of the Vahistōisti Gātha, which is recited twice, both at the beginning and end of the chapter (see § 12, note).

3. Visp. XXVI follows Yas. LII in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice, followed by Vend. XIX, XX.

4. So called from its first words â airyemâ; it is recited four times after Vend. XX, and shortly afterwards Visp. XXVII is also recited four times, as mentioned in § 48.

5. M6 has 'of the soul,' which is, no doubt, a blunder due to the illegibility of the MS. from which it was copied.

6. This is the Fshûshô-mâthra ('a spell or prayer for prosperity.') Of Visp. I, 28, II, 30, Yas. LVI, ix, 6, LVIII, 13. Whether the remainder of Yas. LVII is to be considered as pertaining to the Gâthas is uncertain; it is recited in seven sections by the assistant priest, each section from a different position; these seven. positions being the stations of the seven assistant priests who are supposed to be present spiritually, and to be arranged three on each side, and one at the south end, of the ceremonial area, while the chief officiating priest occupies the north end (see Haug's Essays, p. 332).]

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of the Gâthas, taught as pertaining, to the Gâthas (gâsânîk kâst).

50. The beginning of the Gâthas is Ahyâ-yâsâ (Yas. XXVIII, 1), and their end is drigavê vahyô (Yas. LII, 9, end); and there are 278 stanzas, 1016 lines, 5567 words (vâkak), 9999 mârik, and 16,554 khûrdak[1]. 51. For the lines and stanzas of the Gâthas were collected by us, and were:--one hundred stanzas of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XXVIII-XXXIV), of which each stanza is three lines; forty stanzas of the Yasna of seven chapters (Yas. XXXV-XLI, 17),

[1. The numbers of the stanzas and lines are correct, as may be seen from the details given in § 51. Regarding the words there is the uncertainty as to what constitutes a compound word, but, taking each compound in Westergaard's edition of the texts as a single word, the total number of words in the 1016 lines is about 6147; and this could be reduced to 5567 only by omitting the Yasna of seven chapters, and somewhat relaxing the rule as to compound words. The meaning of the last two terms, mârik and khûrdak, is doubtful, but they are certainly not syllables and letters, as the number of syllables exceeds 13,000. In other places (see Bund. I, 21) mârik usually means 'a word,' but that meaning is expressed by the term vâkak here. If the number 9999 be correct, mârik must signify some particular class of syllable which would include about three-fourths of the whole number of syllables. It may be noted, however, that Zâd-sparam, in the particulars he gives about the Gâthas (see SZS. XI, 10, note 6), states the number of mârik at 6666. The khûrdak or 'small' things are probably the consonants.]

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of which each stanza is three lines; sixty-six stanzas of the Ustavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XLII-XLV), of which each stanza is five lines, except Haêkad-aspâ (Yas. XLV, 15), for that one is four lines; forty-one stanzas of the Spentâ-mainyû Gâtha (Yas. XLVI-XLIX), of which each stanza is four lines; twenty-two stanzas of the Vohû-khshathra (Yas. L), of which each stanza is three[1] lines; and nine stanzas of the Vahistôisti (Yas. LII), of which each stanza is four lines, except Ithâ-î (Yas. LII, 6), for that one is a stanza of five;--the amount of the foregoing[2] is 278 stanzas[3].

#### CHAPTER XIV[4].

0. May it be in the name of God (yazdân) and the good creation!

1. When they consecrate a sacred cake (dronô), and it becomes demon worship[5], what and how many things are not proper?

[1. All MSS. have 'four,' and then add the exception about Ithâ-î to the account of this Gâtha, instead of mentioning it in the details of the Vahistôisti; which blunder is here corrected.

2. Reading kadmon yehevûnîsnö, but the latter word, with part of the ciphers which follow, is torn away in K20, and in M6 it is written so as to resemble the Avesta letters gnn gnn, which are unintelligible, though something like Pahl. yehevûnîsnö; there can, however, be little doubt as to the general meaning of the phrase.

3. The number of lines is easily computed from the same details, as follows:--300 + 120 + 329 + 164 + 66 + 37 = 1016 lines, as stated in § 50, and as they still exist in the Gâtha texts.

4. This chapter is also found in L15, fols. 1-4, and a Pâzand version of §§ 1-3 exists in L22, fols. 126, 127, and L7, fols. 78, 79.

5. That is, it becomes desecrated through some fault in the ceremony, {footnote p. 370}for any ceremony, which is too

imperfect for acceptance by the celestial beings, is supposed to be appropriated by the demons, as performed for their benefit (see Chap. IX, 5). Demon worship is a term also applied to many other evil actions which are supposed to give the demons special power over the perpetrator of them.]

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2. The decision is this:--Whoever knowingly consecrates a sacred cake with unpurified sacred twigs (baresôm-i apâdiyâv)[1], or with a twig-bundle the number of whose twigs (tâk) is too many or too few, or of another plant not proper for sacred twigs; or holds the end of the twig-bundle to the north[2] and utters the Avesta attentively; or whoever consecrates with efficacy unawares, it is not to be considered as uttered by him. 3. Nor by him who advertently or inadvertently takes a taste (kâshnîk), not from the sacred cake with the butter (gâûs-daê)[3], but from the frasast; or takes the prayer (vâg)[4] inwardly[5], regarding that cake (drônô) before the officiating priest (zôt) takes a taste from the same cake; or shall utter the length of a stanza in excess, and does not again make a beginning of the consecration of the sacred cake; or takes up the

[1. See Chap. III, 32, note.

2. The supposed direction of the demons (see Chaps. X, 7, XII, 18). When praying, a Parsi must face either the sun, or a fire or lamp; and when the direction of the sun is doubtful, or when it is nearly overhead, he must face to the south, even when he is in so low a latitude that the sun may be somewhat to the north of him.

3. Which usually takes the place of the meat-offering mentioned in Chap. XI, 4-6, and is placed upon one of the cakes on the left side of the table during consecration, while the frasasts are the cakes on the right-hand side of the table (see Chap. III, 32, note).

4. That is, prepares for eating by muttering the portion of the grace which is to be recited in a low murmur before eating (see Chap. III, 6, note). This clause is omitted in K20.]

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dedication formula (shnûmanô)[1] too soon or too late; or does not utter the Avesta for the fire when he sees the fire.

4. This is how it is when the period of the day (gâs)[2] is retained, and how it should be when one may relinquish it; that is, when even one of the stars created by Aûharmazd is apparent, it is retained, and when not it is relinquished. 5. It is Vand-Aûharmazd[3] who said that when, besides Tîstar, Vanand, or Satavês[4], one of the zodiacal stars (akhtarîk) is apparent, it is retained, and when not it is relinquished. 6. There have been some who said that when, besides one of those three, three zodiacal stars are apparent, it is retained, and when not it is relinquished[5].

[1. See Chaps. III, 35, VII, 8.

2. See Bund. XXV, 9. The text appears to refer to the transition from the Ushahina to the Hâvani Gâh at daybreak; and as certain portions of the prayers are varied according to the period of the day, it is very necessary to know precisely when each period commences, so as to avoid vitiating the whole ceremonial by the use of a wrong prayer.

3. See Chap. I, 4, note.

4. Three of the leading stars, probably Sirius, Fomalhaut, and Antares (see Bund. II, 7).

5. This chapter is followed (in both the old MSS. M6 and K20) by the Pahlavi text of the Patît-i Khûd, or renunciation of one's own sin, a translation of which will be found in Bleek's English version of the Avesta, London, 1864, III, pp. 159-162, derived from Spiegel's German translation of the Pâzand text. This translation is fairly correct on the whole, although some passages might be improved, thus (p. 162), instead of 'all sins which may attack the character of man [or] have attacked my character, if I, on account of much death, have not recognised the death,' &c., we should read 'of all sins which may become the lot of men, and have become my lot, on account of whose excessive number I do not know the number,' &c.]

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PART III.--Appendix[1].



## CHAPTER XV[2].

1. It is revealed by a passage of the Avesta that Zaratûst, seated before Aûharmazd, always wanted information (vâk) from him; and he spoke to Aûharmazd thus: 'Thy head, hands, feet, hair, face, and tongue are in my eyes just like those even which are my own, and you have the clothing men have; give me a hand, so that I may grasp thy hand.'

2. Aûharmazd said thus: 'I am an intangible spirit; it is not possible to grasp my hand.'

3. Zaratûst spoke thus: 'Thou art intangible, and Vohûman, Ardavahist, Shatvaîrô[3], Spendarmad, Horvadam, and Amerôdad are intangible, and when I depart from thy presence, and do not see thee nor even them--since of the person whom[4] I see and worship there is something--should thou and the seven archangels be worshipped by me, or not[6]?'

[1. This Appendix consists of a number of fragments found in the old MS. M6, and of somewhat the same character as the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, but they have no claim to be considered as a portion of that work. Excepting Chaps. XVIII, XIX, XXI, they are not found in the other old MS. K20, and beyond the fact that they must be more than five centuries old their age is quite uncertain, though some of them are probably older than others.

2. This chapter follows the Paît-i Khûd in M6, and is also found in L15, fols. 16-28; for a Pâzand version of it, see L22, fols. 113-122, and L7, fols. 70-76.

3. Written Shatrôivar throughout this chapter; these six (see Bund. I, 26) with Aûharmazd himself, are the, seven archangels.

4. Reading mûn, 'whom,' instead of amat, 'when' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

5. Zaratûst is doubtful whether he ought to worship beings of {footnote p. 373} whose existence he had had no tangible evidence, when he no longer saw them; fearing, perhaps, that they might have been mere dreams or optical illusions. But he is told that each of these spiritual beings is the protector of one class of worldly existences, and that the proper treatment of these existences is a man's best means of reverencing the spiritual beings interested in their welfare.]

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4. Aûharmazd said thus: 'They should be; I tell thee, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! that each individual of us has produced his own one creation (dâyak) for the world, by means of which they may set going in its body, in the world, that activity which they would exercise in the spiritual existence. 5. In the world that which is mine, who am Aûharmazd, is the righteous man, of Vohûman are the cattle, of Ardavahist is the fire, of Shatvaîrô is the metal, of Spendarmad are the earth and virtuous woman, of Horvadam is the water, and of Amerôdad is the vegetation. 6. Whoever has learned[1] the care of all these seven, acts and pleases well, his soul never comes into the possession of Aharman and the demons; when he has exercised his care of them, he has exercised his care of the seven archangels, and ought to teach all mankind in the world.

7. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Aûharmazd in the world, wishes to promote the things of Aûharmazd; and whoever he be, with whom Aûharmazd ever is in every place (gâs)[2], it is necessary that he should[3] propitiate the righteous man, in whatever

[1. Or 'taught,' for the verb has both meanings.

2. Or 'at all times;' it is always doubtful whether gâs means 'time' or 'place.'

3. Throughout this chapter a conditional meaning is given to the verbs by prefixing hanâ, aê, or I (all representing Pâz. aê or e) to the present tense, instead of affixing it.]

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has happened and whatever occurs to him, and should act for his happiness, and afford him protection from the vile. 8. Since the righteous man is a counterpart of Aûharmazd the lord, and when the righteous man acts it is caused by him who is Aûharmazd, whoever propitiates the righteous man, his fame and welfare exist a long time in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd and pleasure and joy become his own in heaven (vahist).

9. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Vohûman in the world, and wishes to act for his happiness, is he who wishes to promote the

things of Vohûman; and it is necessary for him, so that Vohûman may be ever with him, that he should propitiate, at every place (gâs) and time, the well-yielding (hûdhâk) cattle, in whatever has happened and whatever occurs, and should act for their happiness; and in the terrible days and the hurried times (gâs) which befall them, he should afford them protection from the oppressive and idle. 10. He should not give them as a bribe to a man who is a wicked tyrant, but should keep them in a pleasant and warm locality and place (gâs); and in summer he should provide them a store of straw and corn, so that it be not necessary to keep them on the pastures (karak) in winter; and he should not deliver them it up for this purpose, that is, "So that I may give them up to the vile," because it is necessary to give to the good; and he should not drive them apart from their young, and should not put the young apart from their milk. 11. Since they are counterparts of him (Vohûman) himself in the world, the well-yielding cattle, whoever propitiates those which are well-yielding cattle his fame subsists in the world, and

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the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own in the best existence[1].

12. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Ardavahist in the world is he who wishes to promote his things; and it is necessary for him, so that Ardavahist may be with him at every place (gâs) and time, that he should propitiate the fire of Aûharmazd, in whatever has happened and whatever occurs, and should act for its happiness; he should not put upon it wood, incense, and holy-water[2] which are stolen and extorted, and he should not cook at it a ration (bâhar) which is violently extorted from men. 13. For it is a counterpart of him (Ardavahist) himself in the world, the fire of Aûharmazd; and whoever propitiates those which are fires of Aûharmazd his fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own in heaven.

14. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Shatvaîrô in the world, and wishes to act for his happiness, is he who wishes to promote the things of Shatvaîrô; and whoever he be, it is necessary, so that Shatvaîrô may be with him at every place and time, that he should propitiate melted metal[3] at every place and time. 15. And the propitiation of melted metal is this, that he shall practise habits (âfyînô) of the

[1. See Chap. VI, 3.

2. Holy-water is not put upon the fire, for that would be sinful, but it is presented to the fire, and the outside of the fire-place is sprinkled or washed with it (see Haug's Essays, p. 403). The 'fire of Aûharmazd' means any fire, whether sacred or used for household purposes.

3. The word may be read either âfyên or asîn (Av. ayangh, Pers. âyan, âhan, or âhîn), which is usually translated 'iron,' but also means 'metal' generally, as it certainly does here, and very probably likewise in B. Yt. I, 1, 5, II, 14, 22.]

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heart so unsullied and pure that, when they shall drop melted metal upon it, it does not burn. 16. And Âtarôpâd son of Mâraspend[1] even acted in this priestly fashion (dastôbarîh), so that the melted metal, when they drop it upon the region (khânô) of his pure heart, becomes as pleasant to him as though[2] they were milking milk upon it. 17. When they drop it upon the region of the heart of the wicked and sinners, it burns, and they die. 18. And one should not commit sin with metal, and with its burning; and should not give gold and silver to the vile. 19. For it is a counterpart of Shatvaîrô himself in the world for him, and since he propitiates those which are melted metals, his fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own in heaven.

20. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Spendarmad in the world, wishes to promote the things of Spendarmad; and whoever he be, it is necessary, so that Spendarmad may be with him, that he should propitiate, at every place and time, the earth and virtuous woman, in whatever has happened and in whatever occurs, and should act for their happiness. 21. For when he does not spread out (barâ lâ vêshêd) this earth, and it does not separate one piece from another, his body also will not be always

[1. The primate and prime minister of Shâpûr II (A.D. 309-379), who is said to have undergone the ordeal of having melted metal poured upon his chest, in order to prove the truth of the Mazdayasnian religion. The metal used is generally called rûh, 'brass,' but here it is âfyên, 'iron,' though a more fusible metal than either was, no doubt, used.

2. Reading amat, 'though,' instead of mûn, 'which'(see Bund. I, 7, note).]

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living upon it at every place and time[1]. 22. On account of the lodgment of Spendarmad in the earth, when a robber, violent and worthy of death, and wives who are disrespectful to their husbands walk about in sinfulness in the world, and their husbands are active and virtuous, it becomes much distressed (zanöik). 23. This, too, is declared, that, whenever this earth becomes distressed (zanîk), it is most so at the time when sinners worthy of death are most; for it is declared, when sinners worthy of death walk upon it, its pain and uneasiness become as distressing (dûskhvâr) to it as the dead son on her bosom to a mother; and the lodgment of Spendarmad in the earth is little in that place whereon sinners worthy of death walk. 24. And her [2] happiness arises from that place when they shall perform tillage and cultivation on it, and a virtuous son is born upon it, and they rear cattle upon it; and it is so one's fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes one's own in heaven.

25. Whoever wishes to propitiate Horvadad and Amerôdad in the world, whereas that is necessary which promotes their things, whoever he be it is necessary that he should propitiate, at every place and time, the water and vegetation of Horvadad and Amerôdad, in whatever has happened and in

[1. Meaning that the earth must be tilled in order to support its inhabitants, but there is some doubt as to the exact wording of the translation.

2. Spendarmad is a female archangel; perhaps, however, the earth is meant here, as it is said to be most pleased by the existence of fire-temples, dwellings of righteous people, cultivation, stables, and pastures (see Vend. III, 1-20).]

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whatever occurs, and should seize upon those who consume and steal water and vegetation[1]. 26. And he should not act oppressively, he should not walk the world in sinfulness, and should not bring bodily refuse (hîkhar), dead matter (nasâi)[2], or any other pollution to water; he should not destroy vegetation unlawfully, and should not give fruit to the idle and vile. 27. For when he commits sin against water and vegetation, even when it is committed against merely a single twig of it, and he has not atoned for it, when[3] he departs from the world the spirits of all the plants in the world stand up high in front of that man, and do not let him go to heaven. 28. And when he has committed sin against water, even when it is committed against a single drop of it, and he has not atoned for it, that also stands up as high as the plants stood, and does not let him go to heaven. 29. Since they are counterparts of Horvadad and Amerôdad themselves, the water and vegetation, whoever propitiates those which be water and vegetation, his fame subsists in the world, and a share of the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his in heaven.'

30. Aûharmazd said this also to Zaratûst, namely:

[1. Reading mûn, 'who,' instead of amat, 'when,' and dûgend, 'they steal,' instead of dûgd (perhaps for dûgak, 'thievish'); and supposing the verb to be vakhdûnêd, 'takes, seizes,' and not vâdûnêd, 'makes, acts.' If the reverse be assumed, the translation would be thus: 'should act for their happiness. When they consume water and vegetation he should not act thievishly and oppressively.'

2. For the meaning of hîkhar and nasâi, see note on Chap. II, 30.

3. Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).]

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'My will and pleasure is that the observance and propitiation of these seven archangels shall be as I have told thee; and do thou, too, speak thus unto men, so that they may commit no sin and may not become wicked, and the splendour of Aûharmazd may become their own in heaven.'

31. Completed in peace, pleasure, and joy[1].

#### CHAPTER XVI.

0. In the name of God (yazdân) I write a paragraph (babâ) where the sins which are as it were small are mentioned one by one.

1. The least sin is a Farmân; and a Farmân is three coins of five annas[2], some say three coins. 2. An Âgerept is, as regards whatever weapon (snês) men strike with in the world, whenever the weapon is taken in hand; and taken up by any one four

finger-breadths from the ground it is the root[3] of an

[1. This is the most usual concluding phrase of short Pahlavi texts, and indicates that this account of the best mode of propitiating the archangels is to be considered as a separate text. It is followed in M6 by the paragraphs which constitute the next two chapters.

2. Reading 3 nûmât-i 5 ânak, but this is uncertain, and if correct must have been written in India, as the anna is an Indian coin worth nearly three halfpence. The coin of five annas was probably a dirham, as the dirham being about fifty grains of silver (see note on gûgan in Chap. I, 2), and the rūpî having formerly been less than 180 grains in Gugarât, the former would be nearly five-sixteenths of the latter, that is, five annas. It may, therefore, be assumed that the amount of the Farmân is here taken at three dirhams, as in Chap. XI, 2; but in § 5 it appears to be 3½ dirhams, and in Chap. I, 2 as much as sixteen dirhams.

3. See Chap. II, 69, note.]

{p. 380} Âgerept for him; and the retribution and punishment for an Âgerept should be fifty-three dirhams (gûgan)[1]. 3. When the weapon turns downwards it is the root of an Avôîrist for him, and his sentence (dînâ) is to be changed; his retribution and punishment should be seventy-three dirhams[2], which is when anything further occurs. 4. When he shall lay the weapon on any one it is the root of an Aredûs for him, and his retribution and punishment are thirty stîrs; if the wound thereby made by him be one-fifth of a span (dîst)[3] it is no root of an Aredûs for him, and his retribution and punishment are the same thirty stîrs.

5. I write the degrees of sin:--A Srôshô-karanâm[1] is three coins and a half, a Farmân is a Srôshô-karanâm, an Âgerept is sixteen stîrs, an Avôîrist is twenty-five stîrs, an Aredûs is thirty, a Khôr is sixty, a Bâzâi is ninety, a Yât is a hundred and eighty, and a Tanâpûhar is three hundred[5].

6. The good works which are in the ceremonial

[1. § 5 says sixteen stîrs, which, if equivalent to these fifty-three dirhams, would imply 3 5/16 dirhams to the stîr, instead of four as usually stated. (see Chap. I, 2). The amounts mentioned in Chaps. I, 2, XI, 2 are very different.

2. § 5 says twenty-five stîrs, which, at 3 5/16 dirhams to the stîr (as in the case of Âgerept), would be very nearly eighty-three dirhams, which is probably the number we ought to read in the text, and also, possibly, in Chap. XI, 2.

3. The dîst is a span of ten finger-breadths (about 7½ inches) between the thumb and middle finger (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note).

4. See Chap. IV, 14, note. Comparing the amount here mentioned with that of the Farmân in § 1, the Srôshô-karanâm, which is here made equal to the Farmân, appears to amount to 3½ dirhams, which agrees very nearly with the statement in Chap. X, 24, but differs from that in Chap. XI, 2.

5. For similar scales of degrees, see Chaps. I, 2, XI, 2.]

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worship of the sacred beings (yazisn-i yazdân):--Consecrating a sacred cake (drôn)[1] is a good work of one Tanâpûhar[2]; a form of worship (yast)[3] is a hundred Tanâpûhars; a Visparad[4] is a thousand Tanâpûhars; a Dô-hômâst[5] is ten thousand; a Dvâzdah-hômâst is a hundred thousand, and the merit (kirfak) of every one which is performed with holy-water is said to be a hundred to one; a Hâdôkht[6] is two thousand Tanâpûhars, and with holy-water it becomes a hundred to one[7].

[1. See Chap. III, 32. The Persian Rivâyats explain that this is when the proper ritual is merely recited, without using the sacred twigs and other ceremonial apparatus; when the twigs are used the merit is ten times as great.

2. That is, sufficient to counterbalance a Tanâpûhar sin (see Chap. I, 1, 2).

3. A Yast is a formula of praise in honour of some particular angel; when recited with all the accessories of sacred twigs and other ceremonial apparatus, the merit is ten times as great as is mentioned in the text.

4. The Visparad service includes the Yasna, and when performed with the use of the sacred twigs, holy-water, and other ceremonial apparatus the merit is ten times as great as here stated; some authorities say it is a hundred times as great.

5. This kind of Hôrnâst is not mentioned in Dastûr Jâmâspji's explanation of this species of religious service (see B. Yt. II, 59, note); it occurs, however, in the Nîrangistân as a distinct kind, though called merely Hôrnâst in the Persian Rivâyats.

5. See B. Yt. III, 25.

6. The merits of other prayers and ceremonies are detailed in the Persian Rivâyats; thus, that of the ordinary recital of a Vendidad (which includes both Yasna and Visparad) is sixty thousand Tanâpûhars, and when with sacred twigs and holy-water it is a hundred thousand; that of the recital of any Nyâyis (see Chap. VII, 4), or of taking and retaining a prayer (vâg, see Chap. III, 6) inwardly, is one Tanâpûhar.]

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## CHAPTER XVII.

1. This, too, Zaratûst asked of Aûharmazd, that is: 'Which is the time when one must not eat meat?'

2. Aûharmazd gave a reply thus: 'In a house when a person shall die, until three nights are completed, nothing whatever of meat is to be placed on a sacred cake (drôn) therein and in its vicinity[1]; but these, such as milk, cheese, fruit, eggs, and preserves, are to be placed; and nothing whatever of meat is to be eaten by his relations[2]. 3. In all the three days it is necessary to perform the ceremonial (yazisn) of Srôsh for this reason, because Srôsh will be able to save his soul from the hands of the demons for the three days[3]; and when one constantly

[1. Reading va hamgôshak, the latter word being apparently used in a parallel passage in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 64 in old MSS.; this reading is, however, somewhat doubtful here, and perhaps we ought to read 'on a sacred cake in that roofed place (pavan zak vâmkînh);' the last word being a possible term for 'roofing' as it stands, though it may be a miswriting of vâmpôs (Pers. bampôs, 'roofing').

2. The Parsis, nowadays (Dastûr Hoshangji says), do not cook for three days under a roof where a death has occurred, but obtain food from their neighbours and friends; but if the cookroom be under a separate roof, as often happens in India, they have no objection to cooking there.

3. The soul is supposed to hover about the body for the first three nights after death, during which time it has to rely upon the angel Srôsh (see Bund. XXX, 29) for protection from the demons, which the angel, it is presumed, will afford more efficiently if properly propitiated by the surviving relatives. At the third dawn after death (that is, the dawn of the fourth day inclusive of the day of death) the soul is supposed to depart finally for the other world (see AV. IV, 8-36, XVII, 5-27).]

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performs a ceremonial at every period (gâs)[1] in the three days it is as good as though they should celebrate the whole religious ritual (hamâk dînô) at one time. 4. And after the third night, at dawn, one is to consecrate three sacred cakes (drôn), one for Rashnû and Âstâd, the second for Vâe the good[2], and the third for the righteous guardian spirit (ardâi fravard); and clothing[3] is to be placed upon the sacred cake of the righteous guardian spirit. 5. For the fourth day it is allowable to slaughter a sheep[4], and the fourth day the ceremonial (yazisn) of the righteous guardian spirit is to be performed; and afterwards are the tenth-day, the monthly, and, then, the annual ceremonies; and the first monthly is exactly on the thirtieth day, and the annual on the particular day[5]. 6. When he

[1. These periods of the day are five in summer, and four in winter (see Bund. XXV, 9, 10).

2. The usual name of the angel Râm (the Vayu of Râm Yt.) who, with the angels Rashnû and Âstâd, is supposed to be stationed at the Kinvad bridge, where the soul has to give an account of its actions during life shortly after the dawn following the third night after death (see AV. V. 3, CI, 21, note, Mkh. II, 115).

3. This clothing must be new and good, and is supposed to be supplied to the spirit to prevent its appearing unclothed in the other world, where the clothing of the soul is said to be formed 'out of almsgivings' (Chap. XII, 4); to fulfil which condition the clothes provided are presented to the officiating priests (see Saddar Bundahis LXXXVII).

4. Or 'goat.'

5. That is, on the exact anniversary of the death; the sentence is rather obscure, but this appears to be the meaning. With regard to the ceremonies after a death, the Persian Rivâyats give more details, which may be summarized as follows:--On each of the first three days a Srôsh Yast is performed and a Srôsh Drôn consecrated (see Chap. III, 32, note). On the third night, in the middle of the Aiwisrûthrem Gâh (dusk to midnight), a renunciation {footnote p. 384} of sin is performed in the house of the deceased; and in the Ushahin Gâh (midnight to dawn) four Drôns are consecrated, one dedicated to the good Vâê (Nâ-î veh), one to Rashn and Âstâd, one to Srôsh, and one to the righteous (ashôân), and in front of the last are placed new and clean clothes with fruit, but without an egg. On the fourth day, at sunrise, the Dahmân Âfrîngân (Yas. LIX) is recited, and then the Khûrshêd and Mihir Nyâyis, after which the people in the house can first eat fresh-cooked meat. During the fourth day also the Yast of the righteous is performed, and the Drôn of the righteous is consecrated; and the same again on the tenth day, together with the recitation of the Dahmân Âfrîngân. On the thirtieth day the Sîrôzah (praise of the thirty days) is to be celebrated, with the dedication to the thirty days; thirty-three beans (lûvak) and thirty-three eggs, with fruit, being placed in front of the Drôn, which is consecrated in the presence of fire; and, afterwards, the assistant priest consecrates a Drôn for Srôsh. The next day the chief priest consecrates a Drôn for the righteous; a suit of clothes and fruit being placed in front of the Drôn. And each day a Yast of the righteous is performed, a Drôn of the righteous is consecrated, and an Âfrîngân recited. On the same day every month the same Yast, Drôn, and, Âfrîngân are celebrated; a priest also undergoes the Bareshnûm for the deceased, a Gêtf-kharîd (see Bund. XXX, 28) is performed, and three Vendidads dedicated to Srôsh. On each day a, the end of a year the Sîrôzah Yast is performed, and a Drôn {footnote p. 385} dedicated to the thirty days is consecrated, thirty-three beans being placed, with one Drôn, one Frasast (see Chap. III, 32, note), one pentagonal Drôn as the sun, one crescent-shaped as the moon, thirty-three eggs, and fruit, in front of the Drôn, which is consecrated in the presence of fire; afterwards, the assistant priest consecrates a Drôn for Srôsh, and recites the Dahmân Âfrîngân, and the next day the chief priest consecrates a Drôn for the righteous, a suit of clothes being placed before the Drôn, and recites the Dahmân Âfrîngân.]

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shall die at a place distant from that where the information arrives, when the three days' ceremonies (satûih) are celebrated at that place where he shall die it is well, when not, their celebration is to be at this place, and from the time when the information arrives, until three nights are completed, it is necessary to perform the ceremonial of Srôsh, and after three days and nights it is necessary to perform the ceremonial of the righteous guardian spirit.'

7. In one place it is declared, that of him whose begetting is owing to the demons, of him who commits sodomy, and of him who performs the religious rites (dînô) of apostasy, of none of the three do

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they restore the dead[1], for this reason, because he whose begetting is owing to the demons is himself a demon[2], and the soul of him who commits sodomy will become a demon[3], and the soul of him who performs the religious rites of apostasy will become a darting snake[4].

8. This, too, is revealed by the Avesta[5], that Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Give ye up the persons of all men, with the submissiveness of worshippers, to that man to whom the whole Avesta and Zand is easy[6], so that he may make you acquainted with duties and good works; because men go to hell for this reason, when they do not submit their persons to priestly control (aêrpatistân), and do not become acquainted with duties and good works.'

9. Query:--There is an action. which, according to the Avesta[7], is not good for a person to do, and the sentence of 'worthy of death' is set upon it; for one's better preservation is one not to do that action,

[1. That is, there is no resurrection for them.

2. And, therefore, not immortal according to the Parsi faith.

3. Compare Vend. VIII, 98-106.

4. Which being a creature of the evil spirit is doomed to destruction.

5. But it is doubtful if the passage be extant.

6. That is, the man who knows the whole scripture and commentary by heart.

7. Reading pavan Avistâk, instead of Avistâk pavan.]

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or to accomplish and urge it on, for the advance of religion in a state of uncertainty (var-hômandîh)? 10. The answer is this, that when they act well for their better preservation there is no fear, on account of acting well, but one is not to forsake that [1], too, though it be not goodness; a forsaken duty is very bad, for a contempt of it enters into one.

11. This, too, is declared, that Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'From what place do these people rise again? from that place where they first went into their mothers, or from that place where the mothers have given them birth, or from that place where their bodies happen to be (aûftêd)?' 12. Aûharmazd gave a reply thus: 'Not from that place where they have gone into their mothers, nor from that place where they have been born from their mothers, nor from that place where their bodies and flesh happen to be, for they rise from that place where the life went out from their bodies.' 13. And this, too, he asked, that is: 'Whence do they raise[2] him again who is suspended from anything, and shall die in the air?' 14. The reply was: 'From that place where his bones and flesh first fall to the ground; hence, except when he shall die on a divan (gâs) or a bed (vistarg), before they carry him away, whatever it

[1. The religion in a position of difficulty appears to be the meaning, but the reply to this question of casuistry is by no means clear.

2. Literally, 'they rise,' both here and in the next section, but the change to the plural number is perplexing, unless it refers to those who prepare the resurrection of the dead (Bund. XXX, 4, 7, 17), as here assumed by reading 'they raise.')

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is, a fragment[1] is to be taken and to be laid across his limbs; for when the usage is not so, they raise him again from that place where his body arrives at the ground.'

15. Completed in peace, pleasure, and joy[2].

#### CHAPTER XVIII[3].

1. It is said in revelation that Aêshm[4] rushed into the presence of Aharman[5], and exclaimed thus: 'I will not go into the world, because Aûharmazd, the lord, has produced three things in the world, to which it is not possible for me to do anything whatever.'

2. Aharman exclaimed thus: 'Say which are those three things.'

3. Aêshm exclaimed thus: 'The season-festival

[1. Apparently a fragment of the place whereon the death took place is meant by kadâm-I pârak.

2. The miscellaneous passages which follow SIs. in M6 terminate at this point, which is the end of the first volume of that MS. The next three chapters are taken from the latter end of the other volume of M6,

3. Both this chapter and the next are also found in K20, the first being placed before the first part of SIs., and the second before the second part. Chap. XVIII also occurs in Dastûr Jâmâspji's MS. of the Bundahis, just after Chap. XXXIV of that text (see Introduction, p. xxx), and a Pâzand version of it occupies the same position in L7 and L22, and is translated by Justi as the last chapter of the Bundahis, in his German translation of that work (see Introduction, p. xxvi).

4. The demon of wrath (see Bund. XXVIII, 15-17).

5. See Bund. I, 3. Aêshm, as the chief agent of the evil spirit in his machinations against mankind, rushes into his master's presence in hell to complain of the difficulties he encounters.]

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(gâsânbâr)[1], the sacred feast (myazd), and next-of-kin marriage (khvêtûk-das).'

[1. See Bund. XXV, 1, 3, 6. The six Gâhanbârs or season-festivals are held, respectively, on the 45th., 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th, and 365th days of the Parsi year. An explanation of the cause of the inequality of these intervals has been proposed by Mr. Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, which is well worthy of attention, and appears to have been first published in 1867 in Nos. 7 and 8 of his Zartosti Abhyas. His view is that the mediæval Zoroastrians, beginning their year at the vernal equinox (Bund. XXV, 6, 13, 21), recognised originally only two seasons, a summer of seven months and a winter of five (Bund. XXV, 7), and they held a festival, not only at the end of each season, that is, on the 210th and 365th days of their year, but also in the middle of each season, that is, on the 105th and 290th days of their year. That these two latter were mid-season festivals is proved by their Avesta names, Maidhyô-shema and Maidhyâiryâ, beginning with the word maidhya, 'middle.' Later on, the Zoroastrians divided their year into four equal seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter (Bund. XXV, 20), and without interfering with their old festivals, they would, no doubt, have wished to celebrate the end and middle of each of their new seasons. The ends of these four seasons occur on the 90th, 180th, 270th, and 365th days of the year, and their midpoints are the 45th, 135th, 225th, and 320th days; but the Zoroastrians already held a festival on the 365th day, and celebrated midsummer and midwinter (the 135th and 320th days of their new calendar) on the 105th and 290th days of their year, and they would consider the 90th, 225th, and 270th days too close to their old festivals of the 105th, 210th, and 290th days to allow of the former being held as new festivals; so that they would have only the midspring festival, on the 45th day, and that of the end of summer, on the 180th day, to add to their old festivals. It may be objected that the end of summer was already celebrated on the 210th day, and, for this reason, it is more probable that the festivals were intended to celebrate the beginnings and mid-points of the seasons, rather than their ends and mid-points. According to this view, the six season-festivals were intended, respectively, to celebrate midspring, midsummer, the beginning of autumn, the beginning of winter, midwinter, and the beginning of spring. That they were also intended to commemorate, respectively, the {footnote p. 389} creations of the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, and man, is a belief of later times, derived probably from a foreign source.]

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4. Aharman exclaimed thus: 'Enter into the season-festival! if one of those present shall steal a single thing the season-festival is violated, and the affair is in accordance with[1] thy wish; enter into the sacred feast[2]! if only one of those present shall chatter the sacred feast is violated, and the affair is in accordance with thy wish; but avoid next-of-kin marriage[3]! because I do not know a remedy for it; for whoever has gone four times near to it will not become parted from the possession of Aûharmazd and the archangels[4].'

[1. Reading pavan, 'with,' instead of barâ, 'beyond,' as in the next clause of the sentence (see p. 176, note 5).

2. By the sacred feast is meant the consecration of sacred cakes, with meat-offerings and the recital of the Âfrîngâns or blessings (see Chaps. III, 32, XI, 4).

3. By next-of-kin marriage Parsis nowadays understand the marriage of first cousins, which they consider a specially righteous act; and the passages in Pahlavi texts, which appear to approve of marriages between brother and sister, father and daughter, and mother and son, they explain as referring to the practices of heretics (see Dastûr Pêshôtan's English translation of the Dînkard, p. 96, note). How far this explanation may be correct has not been ascertained, for the passages in question are rather obscure, and have not been thoroughly examined. But it is quite conceivable that the Parsi priesthood, about the time of the Muhammadan conquest (when the practice of next-of-kin marriage was most extolled), were anxious to prevent marriages with strangers, in order to hinder conversions to the foreign faith; and that they may, therefore, have extended the range of marriage among near relations beyond the limits now approved by their descendants.

4. The object of this chapter is evidently to extol the religious merit of next-of-kin marriage. A Persian version of the passage, contained in M5, fols. 54, 55, adds the following details: 'Therefore it is necessary to understand, that the chief next-of-kin marriage is that of a sister's daughter and brother's son; a medium {footnote p. 390} next-of-kin marriage is that of a brother's son and a younger (dîgar) brother's daughter, or of a sister's son and a younger sister's daughter; and inferior to a medium next-of-kin marriage is that of a sister's son and a younger brother's daughter. It is necessary to know that any person who contracts a next-of-kin marriage, if his soul be fit for hell, will arrive among the ever-stationary (see Chap. VI, 2), if it is one of the ever-stationary it will arrive at heaven. Another particular is to be added; if any one, in departing settles and strives for the next-of-kin marriage betrothal (paîvand) of a next brother it is a good work of a thousand Tanâpûhars; if any one strives to break off a next-of-kin marriage betrothal he is worthy of death.'

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## CHAPTER XIX.

1. The Yathâ-ahû-vairyô[1] formulas that are necessary in each place, and how they are to be spoken in performing anything [2].

2. One by him who goes forth to an assembly, or before grandees and chieftains, or on any business; or when he goes to ask for what he wants (val khvahîsnö); also when he quits any business; in each of these situations he is to say only one formula, so that his business may proceed more promptly[3].

[1. See Bund. I, 21.

2. It appears from the ninth book of the Dînkard, that the contents of this chapter are derived from the first fargard of the Sûdkar Nask (see B. Yt. I, 1, note). The account given by the Dînkard contains fewer details, but, so far as it goes, it is in accordance with our text, except that it seems to transfer the object of § 10 to § 12, and removes the objects of §§ 12, 13 one step onwards; it also adds 'going on a bridge' to § 2. The Persian Rivâyat of Bahman Pûngyah gives further details, as will be mentioned in the notes below.

3. The Persian Rivâyat adds to these occasions, when he goes on the water, or a river, or goes to borrow, or to ask repayment of a loan, or goes out from his house, or comes into it.]

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3. That a blessing (âfrînô) may be more benedictory, for this reason one utters two formulas; for there are two kinds of blessing, one is that which is in the thoughts[1], and one is that which is in words.

4. Four are for coming out more thankfully when at a season-festival[2].

5. Five by him who goes to atone for sin, in order to expel the fiend; because it is necessary to undergo punishment by the decision (dastôbarîh) of these five persons, the house-ruler, the village-ruler, the tribe-ruler[3], the province-ruler, and the supreme Zaratûst; and five Ashem-vohûs[4] are to be uttered by him at the end.

6. Six by him who goes to seek power, and to battle, so that he may be more successful.

[1. The words pavan mînîsn are guessed, for this first clause is omitted by mistake in M6, and these two words are illegible in K20, except part of the last letter.

2. K20 substitutes for val, 'at,' the following mutilated phrase [. . . aNhau khshapô kadarkâi pavan kadarkâi] madam vazlûnêd râdih-i; the portion in brackets being evidently a fragment from the Hâdôkht Srôsh Yt. 5 with Pahlavi translation (a passage which treats of the efficacy of reciting the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô). If this fragment be not merely a marginal gloss, which has crept into the text by mistake, we must translate the whole section as follows: 'Four are for the more thankful coming out of the liberality of a season-festival, when the passage, "on that day nor on that night comes there anything whatever on any one," goes on.' The Dînkard has merely: "Four by him who is at the invocation of the chiefs of creation and the celebration of a season-festival.' The Persian Rivâyats omit the section altogether.

3. This person is omitted both in M6 and K20, but he is wanted to make up the five. This section is omitted by the Persian Rivâyats.

4. See Bund. XX, 2. These are to be recited after the punishment is over.]

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7. Seven by him who goes to perform the worship of God (yazdân), so that the archangels may come more forward[1] at the worship.

8. Eight by him who goes to perform the ceremonial of the righteous guardian spirit.

9. Nine by him who goes to sow corn; these he utters for this reason, because the corn will ripen (rasêd) in nine months, and so that the corn may come forward he will make the mischief of the noxious creatures less[2].

10. Ten by him who goes to seek a wife, so that the presents may be favourable for the purpose.
11. Ten by him who wishes to allow the male access to beasts of burden and cattle, so that it may be more procreative[3].
12. Eleven by him who goes to the lofty mountains, so that the glory of mountains and hills may bless him and be friendly[4].
13. Twelve by him who goes to the low districts, so that the glory of that country and district may bless him and be friendly [5].
14. Thirteen by him who shall become pathless; at that same place he shall utter them; or by him

[1. Or 'may arrive earlier;' there being seven archangels has suggested the number seven. This section and the next are omitted by the Persian Rivâyats.

2. The Persian Rivâyats add general cultivation, planting trees, and cohabitation with one's wife.
3. Instead of §§ 10, 11 the Persian Rivâyats have buying quadrupeds, and driving pegs into the ground for picketing them.
4. The Persian Rivâyats substitute conference with a maiden, seeking a wife, giving one's children in marriage, and obtaining anything from another.
5. The Persian Rivâyats add going up hills, mounting anything lofty, going on a bridge, and losing one's way.]

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who shall pass over a bridge and a river, so that the spirit of that water may bless him[1]; because the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô is greater and more successful than everything in the Avesta as to all rivers, all wholesomeness, and all protection.

15. Religion is as connected with the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô as the hair is more connected with the glory of the face; any one, indeed, would dread (samâd) to separate hairiness and the glory of the face.

#### CHAPTER XX[2].

1. In one place it is declared that it is said by revelation (dînô) that a man is to go as much as possible (kand vês-ast) to the abode of fires[1], and the salutation (nîyâyisnô) of fire[4] is to be performed with reverence; because three times every day the archangels form an assembly in the abode of fires, and shed good works and righteousness there; and then the good works and righteousness, which are shed there, become more lodged in the body of him who goes much thither, and performs many salutations of fire with reverence.

[1. The Persian Rivâyats substitute going to and entering a city or town; they also add twenty-one recitations on setting out on a journey, so that the angel Bahrâm may grant a safe arrival.

2. The contents of this chapter conclude the MS. M6; a few lines even having been lost at the end of that MS., though preserved in some of its older copies. A more modern copy, in the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, contains §§ 4-17, appended to the Bundahis. Complete Pâzand versions, derived from M6, occur in L7 and L22, immediately following the Pâzand of Chap. XVIII.

3. The fire-temple.

4. That is, the Âtâs Nyâyis is to be recited.]

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2. This, too, that the nature of wisdom is just like fire; for, in this world, there is nothing which shall become so complete as that thing which is made with wisdom; and every fire, too, that they kindle and one sees from far, makes manifest what is safe and uninjured (âîrâkht); whatever is safe in fire is safe for ever, and whatever is uninjured in fire is uninjured for ever.

3. This, too, that a disposition in which is no wisdom is such-like as a clear, unsullied (anâhûk) fountain which is choked (bastö) and never goes into use; and the disposition with which there is wisdom is such-like as a clear, unsullied fountain, over which an industrious man stands and takes it into use; cultivation restrains it, and it gives crops (bar) to the world.

4. This, too, that these three things are to be done by men, to force the demon of corruption (nasûs)[1] far away from the body, to be steadfast in the religion, and to perform good works. 5. To force the demon of corruption far away from the body is this, that before the sun has come up one is to wash the hands[2] and face with bull's urine and water; to be steadfast in the religion is this, that one is to reverence the sun[3]; and to perform good works is this, that one is to destroy several noxious creatures.

6. This, too, that the three greatest concerns of men are these, to make him who is an enemy a friend, to make him who is wicked righteous, and to make him who is ignorant learned. 7. To make

[1. See Chap. II, 1.

2. See Chap. VII, 7.

3. See Chap. VII, 1-6.]

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an enemy a friend is this, that out of the worldly wealth one has before him he keeps a friend in mind; to make a wicked one righteous is this, that from the sin, whereby he becomes wicked, one turns him away; and to make an ignorant one learned is this, that one is to manage himself so that he who is ignorant may learn of him.

8. This, too, that the walks of men are to be directed chiefly to these three places, to the abode of the well-informed, to the abode of the good, and to the abode of fires[1]. 9. To the abode of the well-informed, that so one may become wiser, and religion be more lodged in one's person; to the abode of the good for this reason, that so, among good and evil, he may thereby renounce the evil and carry home the good[2]; and to the abode of fires for this reason, that so the spiritual fiend may turn away from him.

10. This, too, that he whose actions are for the soul, the world is then his own, and the spiritual existence more his own; and he whose actions are for the body, the spiritual existence has him at pleasure, and they snatch the world from him compulsorily.

11. This, too, that Bakht-âfrîd[3] said, that every Gâtha (gâsân)[4] of Aûharmazd has been an opposition

[1. The fire-temple.

2. Assuming that the word sapîrîh, 'the good,' has been omitted by mistake; the sentence appearing to be unintelligible without it.

3. See B. Yt. I, 7.

4. The word gâsân being plural, Gâtha must be taken in its collective sense as an assemblage of hymns. The word can also be read dahîsn, 'creation,' but this meaning seems improbable here.]

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of the one adversary, and the renunciation of sin (patîtik)[1] for the opposition of every fiend.

12. This, too, that, regarding the world, anxiety is not to be suffered, it is not to be considered as anything whatever, and is not to be let slip from the hand. 13. Anxiety is not to be suffered for this reason, because that which is ordained will happen; it is not to be considered as anything whatever for this reason, because should it be expedient it is necessary to abandon it; and it is not to be let slip from the hand for this reason, because it is proper, in the world, to provide a spiritual existence for oneself.

14. This, too, that the best thing is truth, and the worst thing is deceit; and there is he who speaks true and thereby becomes wicked, and there is he who speaks false and thereby becomes righteous.

15. This, too, that fire is not to be extinguished[2], for this is a sin; and there is he who extinguishes it, and is good.

16. This, too, is declared, that nothing is to be given to the vile; and there is he by whom the best and most pleasant ragout (khûrdîk) is to be given to the vile.

17. On these, too, is the attention of men to be fixed, because there is a remedy for everything but death, a hope for everything but wickedness, everything will lapse[3] except righteousness, it is possible

[1. That is, the Patit or formula of renunciation (see Chap. IV, 14).

2. Literally, 'killed.'

3. M6 ends at this point, the next folio being lost. The remainder of the chapter has been recovered from a copy in Bombay, checked by the Pâz. MSS. L7 and L22, all of which must have {footnote p. 397} been derived from M6 before it lost its last folio; whereas the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection at Oxford, which ends at the same point, must have been written after the folio was lost.]

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to manage everything but temper (gôhar), and it is possible for everything to change but divine providence (bakô-bakhtô).

18. This, too, is declared, that Frêdûn[1] wished to slay Az-i Dahâk[2], but Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Do not slay him now, for the earth will become full of noxious creatures.'

#### CHAPTER XXI[3].

1. I write the indication of the midday shadow; may it be fortunate 1

2. Should the sun come[4] into Cancer the shadow is one foot of the man, at the fifteenth degree of Cancer it is one foot; when the sun is at Leo it is

[1. See Bund. XXXI, 7.

2. See Bund. XXIX, 9, XXXI, 6, B. Yt. III, 55-61.

3. The contents of this chapter, regarding the lengths of midday and afternoon shadows, immediately follow a tale of Gôst-i Fryânô, which is appended to the book of Ardâ-Vîrâf's journey to the other world, both in M6 and K20. As will be seen from the notes, these details about shadows were probably compiled at Yazd in Persia, as they are suitable only for that latitude.

4. Reading âyad-ae (a very rare form), or it may be intended for hômanâe, 'should it be,' but it is written in both MSS. exactly like the two ciphers for the numeral 5. Mullâ Fîrûz in his Avîgeh Dîn, p. 279 seq., takes 5 khadûk pâî as implying that the shadow is under the sole of the foot, or the sun overhead; but neither this reading, nor the more literal 'one-fifth of a foot,' can be reconciled with the other measures; though if we take 5 as standing for pangak, 'the five toes or sole,' we might translate as follows: 'When the sun is at Cancer, the shadow is the sole of one foot of the man.'

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one foot and a half, at the fifteenth of Leo it is two feet; when the sun is at Virgo it is two feet and a half, at the fifteenth of Virgo it is three feet and a half; at Libra it is four[1] feet and a half, at the fifteenth of Libra it is five feet and a half[2]; at Scorpio it is six feet and a half, at the fifteenth of Scorpio it is seven[3] feet and a half; at Sagittarius it is eight feet and a half, at the fifteenth of Sagittarius it is nine feet and a half; at Capricornus it is ten feet, at the fifteenth of Capricornus it is nine[4] feet and a half; at Aquarius it is eight[5] feet and a half, at the fifteenth of Aquarius it is seven feet and a half; at Pisces it is six feet and a half, at the fifteenth of Pisces it is five feet and a half; at Aries it is four feet and a half, at the fifteenth of Aries it is three feet and a half; at Taurus it is two feet and a half, at the fifteenth of Taurus it is two feet; at Gemini it is one foot and a half, at the fifteenth of Gemini it is one foot[6].

1. K20 has 'three' by mistake.
2. M6 omits 'and a half' by mistake.
3. K20 has 'six' by mistake.
4. Both MSS. omit one cipher, and have only 'six,' but the shadow must be the same here as at the fifteenth of Sagittarius.
5. Both MSS. have 'seven,' which is clearly wrong.
6. It is obvious that, as the length of a man's shadow depends upon the height of the sun, each of these observations of his noonday shadow determines the altitude of the sun at noon, and is, therefore, a rude observation for finding the latitude of the place, provided we know the ratio of a man's foot to his stature. According to Bund. XXVI, 3 a man's stature is eight spans (vitast), and according to Farh. Okh. p. 41 a vitast is twelve finger-breadths, and a foot is fourteen (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note), so that a man's stature of eight spans is equivalent to  $6\frac{6}{7}$  feet. Assuming this to have been the ratio adopted by the Observer, supposing the obliquity of the ecliptic to have been  $23^{\circ} 35'$  (as it {footnote p. 399} was about A. D. 1000), and calculating the latitude from each of the thirteen different lengths of shadow, the mean result is  $32^{\circ} 1'$  north latitude, which is precisely the position assigned to Yazd (the head-quarters of the small remnant of Zoroastrians in Persia) on some English maps, though some foreign maps place it 15' or 20' farther south. With regard to the rough nature of this mode of observation it may be remarked that, as the lengths of the shadows are noted only to half a foot, there is a possible error of a quarter-foot in any of them; this would produce a possible error of  $2^{\circ} 4'$  in the midsummer observation of latitude, and of  $39'$  in the midwinter one; or a mean possible error of  $1^{\circ} 22'$  in any of the observations; so that the possible error in the mean of thirteen observations is probably not more than  $6'$ , and the probable error is even less, provided the data have been assumed correctly.]

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3. The midday shadow is written[1], may its end be good!
4. I write the indication of the Aûzêrîn (afternoon)[2] period of the day; may it be well and fortunate by the help of God (yazdân)!
5. When the day is at a maximum (pavan afzûnô), and the sun comes unto the head[3] of Cancer, and one's shadow becomes six feet and two parts[4], he makes it the Aûzêrîn period (gâs). 6.

[1. Reading nipist, but only the first and last letters are legible in M6, and the middle letter is omitted in K20.

2. See Bund. XXV, 9.

3. The word sar, 'head,' usually means 'the end,' but it must be here taken as 'the beginning;' perhaps, because the zodiacal signs are supposed to come head-foremost.

4. What portion of a foot is meant by bâhar, 'part,' is doubtful. It can hardly be a quarter, because 'two quarters' would be too clumsy a term for 'a half.' But it appears from § 5-7 that the shadow, necessary to constitute the Aûzêrîn period, is taken as increasing uniformly from six feet and two parts to fourteen feet and two parts, an increase of eight feet in six months, or exactly one foot and one-third per month, as stated in the text. And, deducting this monthly increase of one foot and one-third from the seven and a half feet shadow at the end of the first month, we have six feet and one-sixth remaining for the shadow at the {footnote p. 400} beginning of the month. Hence we may conclude that the 'two parts' are equal to one-sixth, and each 'part' is one-twelfth of a foot.]

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Every thirty days it always increases one foot and one-third, therefore about every ten days the reckoning is always half a foot[1], and when the sun is at the head of Leo the shadow is seven[2] feet and a half. 7. In this series every zodiacal constellation is treated alike, and the months alike, until the sun comes unto the head of Capricornus, and the shadow becomes fourteen feet and two parts. 8. In Capricornus it diminishes again a foot and one-third[3]; and from there where it turns back, because of the decrease of the night and increase of the day, it always diminishes one foot and one-third every one of the months, and about every ten days the reckoning is always half a foot, until it comes back to six feet and two parts;

every zodiacal constellation being treated alike, and the months alike[4].

[1. Meaning that the increase of shadow is to be taken into account as soon as it amounts to half a foot, that is, about every ten days. Practically, half a foot would be added on the tenth and twentieth days, and the remaining one-third of a foot at the end of the month.

2. Both MSS. have 'eight,' but this would be inconsistent with the context, as it is impossible that 'six feet and two parts' can become 'eight feet and a half' by the addition of 'one foot and one-third,' whatever may be the value of the 'two parts' of a foot.

3. Both MSS. have 3 yak-I pâi, instead of pâi 3 yak-I.

4. This mode of determining the beginning of the afternoon period is not so clumsy as it appears, as it keeps the length of that period exceedingly uniform for the six winter months with some increase in the summer time. In latitude 32° north, where the longest day is about 13 hours 56 minutes, and the shortest is 10 hours 4 minutes, these observations of a man's shadow make the afternoon period begin about 3¾ hours before sunset at mid-summer, {footnote p. 401} diminishing to 2¾ hours at the autumnal equinox, and then remaining very nearly constant till the vernal equinox.]

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#### CHAPTER XXII[1].

1. May Aûharmazd give thee the august rank and throne of a champion[2]!

2. May Vohûman give thee wisdom! may the benefit of knowing Vohûman[3] be good thought, and mayest thou be acting well, that is, saving the soul!

3. May Ardavahist, the beautiful, give thee understanding and intellect!

4. May Shatvâirô grant thee wealth from every generous one!

5. May Spendarmad grant thee praise through the seed of thy body! may she give thee as wife a woman from the race of the great!

6. May Horvadam grant thee plenty and prosperity!

7. May Amerôdad grant thee herds of four-footed beasts!

[1. These last two chapters are found written upon some folios which have been added to the beginning of M6; but, though not belonging to that MS. originally, they are still very old. The first of these two chapters has not been found elsewhere; it is an elaborate benediction, in which the writer calls down, upon some one, a series of blessings from each of the thirty archangels and angels whose names are given to the days of the Parsi month in the order in which they here stand (compare the same names in Bund. XXVII, 24).

2. The meaning of the word pâdrôg or pâdrang (which occurs also in §§ 12, 26, and appears to be a title) may be guessed from the following passage in the Yâdkâr-i Zarîrân, or Vistâsp-shâh-nâmak: Pavan har razm va pâdrasm-i lak pîrôg va vêh pâdrôg sem yâitûnî-ae, 'in every attack and counter-attack of thine mayest thou bring away the title of conqueror and good champion!'

3. The reading is uncertain.]

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8. May Dînô always secure[1] thee the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

9. May the light of the sublime Âtarô[2] hold thy throne in heaven!

10. May Âvân grant thee wealth from every generous one!
11. May Khûr hold thee without mystery and doubt among the great and thy compeers (hambudîkân)!
12. May Mâh give thee an assistant, who is the assistant of champions!
13. May Tîstar hold thee a traveller in the countries of the seven regions!
14. Gôsûrvan the archangel[3] is the protection of four-footed beasts.
15. May Dînô always remain for thee as the support of the creator Aûharmazd!
16. May Mitrô be thy judge, who shall wish thy existence to be vigorous!
17. May Srôsh the righteous, the smiter of demons, keep greed, wrath, and want[4] far from thee! may he destroy them, and may he not seize thee as unjust!
18. May Rashnû be thy conductor[5] to the resplendent heaven!
- [1. This verb is doubtful; here and in § 23 it is netrûnâd, 'may she guard,' but in § 15 it is ketrûnâd, 'may she remain.'
2. Bûrz âtarô, 'the sublime fire,' seems to be a personification of the fire Berezi-savang of Bund. XVII, 1; 3, the Supremely-benefiting of SZS. XI, 1, 6.
3. She is usually called an angel. Either the verb is omitted in this section, or it is not a blessing; and the same may be said of §§ 20, 25.
4. These are the three fiends, Âz, Aeshm, and Nîyâz (see Bund. XXVIII, 15-17, 26, 27).
5. It is very possible that the verb should be yehabûnâd, {footnote p. 403} instead of yehevûnâd, in which case we should have 'give thee a passport.'
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19. May Fravardîn give thee offspring, which may bear the name of thy race!
20. Vâhrâm the victorious is the stimulator of the warlike.
21. May Râm, applauding the life of a praiser of the persistent[1] lord, keep thee perfect (aspar), that is, living three hundred years[2], undying and undecaying unto the end of thy days!
22. May Vâd bring thee peace[3] from the resplendent heaven!
23. May Dînô always secure thee the support of the creator Aûharmazd!
24. May Dînô become thy guest in thy home and dwelling!
25. Arshisang, the beautiful, is the resplendent glory of the Kayâns.
26. May Âstâd be thy helper, who is the assistant of champions!
27. May Âsmân bless thee with all skill and wealth!

[1. The meaning of khvâpar (Av. hvâpara) is by no means certain; it is an epithet of Aûharmazd, angels, and spirits, and is then often assumed to mean 'protecting;' but it is also a term applied to the earth and offspring; perhaps 'self-sustaining' would

suit both its etymology and its various applications best, but the root par has many other meanings.

2. That is, two great cycles. it is usual for the copyists of Pahlavi MSS. to wish, in their colophons, that the persons for whom the MSS. are written, whether themselves or others, may retain the MSS. for a hundred and fifty years before leaving them to their children; which period is mentioned because it is supposed to constitute a great cycle of the moon and planets.

3. Written drûd instead of drûd.]

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28. May Zamyâd destroy for thee the demon and fiend out of thy dwelling!

29. May Mâraspend hold thee a throne in the resplendent heaven!

30. May Anîrân the immortal, with every kind of all wealth, become thy desire! the horses of God (yazdân)[1] who shall come that he may go, and thou mayest obtain a victory.

31. May destiny give thee a helper! he is the guardian of the celestial sphere for all these archangels whose names I have brought forward; may he be thy helper at all times, in every good work and duty!

32. Homage to Srît[2] the teacher! may he live long! may he be prosperous in the land! may his be every pleasure and joy, and every glory of the Kayâns, through the will of the persistent Aûharmazd!

#### CHAPTER XXIII.

0. In the name of God and the good creation be health[3]!

1. Aûharmazd is more creative, Vohûman is more

[1. Both nouns are in the plural, and both verbs in the singular. Anîrân is a personification of Av. anaghra raokau, 'the beginningless lights,' or fixed stars (which, however, are said to have been created by Aûharmazd in Bund. II, 1), and these stars appear to have been considered as horses of the angels (Bund. VI, 3, SZS. VI, 1). There are several uncertain phrases in §§ 30-32.

2. This would appear to be the name of the person to whom the benediction is addressed, as it can hardly be meant for the ancient hero Thrîta, the Athrat of Bund. XXXI, 27, and the Srîtô of SZS. XI, 10, note.

3. Two versions of this chapter, detailing the qualities of the {footnote p. 405} thirty angels and archangels, are extant; one in M6, which has lost §§ 3-5, and the other in a very old MS. in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay. This latter, being complete, is here taken as the text, while the variations of M6, which occur in nearly every epithet, are given in the notes. Which version is the oldest can hardly be ascertained with certainty from the state of the MSS. M6 omits this opening benediction.]

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embellished[1], Ardavahist is more brilliant[2], Shatvaîrô is more exalted[3], Spendarmad is more fruitful[4], Horvadam is moister[5], Amerôdad is fatter[6]. 2. Din-pa-Âtarô is just like Aûharmazd[7], Âtarô is hotter[8], Âvân is more golden[9], Khûr is more observant[10], Mâh is more protective[11], Tîr is more liberal, Gôs is swifter[12]. 3. Dîn[13]-pa-Mitrô is just like Aûharmazd, Mitrô is more judicial, Srôsh is more vigorous, Rashn is more just, Fravardîn is more powerful, Vâhrâm is more victorious, Râm is more pleasing, Vâd is more fragrant. 4. Din-pa-Dînô just like Aûharmazd, Dînô is more valuable, Ard[14] is more beautiful, Âstâd is purer, Âsmân is more lofty, Zamyâd is more conclusive, Mâraspend is more

[1. M6 has 'more nimble.'

2. M6 has 'more discriminative.'

3. M6 has 'more active.'



4. M6 has 'more complete.'
5. M6 has 'fatter.'
6. M6 has 'more fruitful.'
7. M6 has 'Dînô is more desirous.'
8. M6 has 'more heating.'
9. Referring perhaps to the golden channels (Bund. XIII, 4, 5) through which the water of Arêdvîvsûr (a title of the angel Âvân, waters') is supposed to flow. M6 has 'more glittering.'
10. M6 has 'more embellished.'
11. M6 has varpântar, the meaning of which is uncertain.
12. M6 has 'more listening.'
13. The version in M6 ends here; the next folio being lost.
- 14 The same as Arshisang (see Bund. XXII, 4).]

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conveying the religion, Anîrân is the extreme of exertion and listening[1].

5. May it be completed in peace and pleasure!

[1. The reading of both these nouns is uncertain. The days of the Parsi month, which bear the names of these thirty angels, are divided, it will be observed, into four nearly equal divisions, resembling weeks, which are here separated in §§ 1-4. The first weekly period begins with a day dedicated to Aûharmazd, and called by his own name; and each of the three other weekly periods also begins with a day dedicated to Aûharmazd, but called by the name of Dîn, 'religion,' with the name of the following day added as a cognomen. The first week, therefore, consists of the day Aûharmazd followed by six days named after the six archangels respectively (see Bund. I, 23, 26). The second week consists of the day Dîn-with-Âtarô followed by six days named after the angels of fire, waters, the sun, the moon, Mercury, and the primeval ox. The third week consists of the day Dîn-with-Mitrô followed by seven days named after the angels of solar light, obedience, and justice, the guardian spirits, and the angels of victory, pleasure, and wind. And the fourth week consists of the day Dîn-with-Dînô followed by seven days named after the angels of religion, righteousness, rectitude, the sky, the earth, the liturgy, and the fixed stars.]

