

PAHLAVI TEXTS
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 PART I
 THE BUNDAHIS-BAHMAN YAST, AND SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST
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INTRODUCTION

TO

PAHLAVI TEXTS.

1. THE PARSI SCRIPTURES.

THOUGH we must look to the Avesta for information regarding the main outlines of the Parsi religion, it is to Pahlavi writings we must refer for most of the details relating to the traditions, ceremonies, and customs of this ancient faith, which styles itself emphatically 'the good religion of the Mazdayasnians,' and calls its laity bahdînân, or 'those of the good religion.' In the fragments of the Avesta which still exist, we may trace the solid foundations of the religion, laid by philosophic bards and lawgivers of old, with many a mouldering column and massive fragment of the superstructure. erected upon them by the ancient priesthood. These are the last remnants of the faith held by Cyrus, the anointed of the Lord (Isaiah xlv. 1), the righteous one (Is. xli. 2), or eagle (Is. xlvi. 11), whom He called from the east, and the shepherd who performed His pleasure (Is. xlv. 28); scattered fragments of the creed professed by Darius in his inscriptions, when he attributes his successes to 'the will of Aûramazdâ;' and mouldering ruins of the comparatively pure religion of oriental 'barbarism,' which Alexander and his civilising Greek successors were unable wholly to destroy, and replace by their own. idolatrous superstitions. While in the Pahlavi texts we, find much of the mediaeval edifice built by later Persian priest craft upon the old foundations, with a strange mixture of old and new materials, and exhibiting the usual symptom of declining powers, a strong insistence upon complex forms and minute details, with little of the freedom of treatment and simplicity of outline characteristic of the ancient bards.

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To understand the relationship between these two classes of Parsi sacred writings, it must be observed that the Avesta and Pahlavi of the same scripture, taken together, form its Avesta and Zand, terms which are nearly synonymous with 'revelation and commentary.' Both words are derived from verbal roots implying 'knowledge;' Avesta being the Pahlavi avistâk, which may most probably be traced to the past participle of â, 'to,' + vid, 'to know,' with the meaning of 'what is announced' or 'declaration;' and Zand, being the Pahlavi form of Av. zainti (traceable in the word âzaintis), must be referred to the root zan, 'to know,' with the meaning of 'knowledge, understanding[1].' European scholars, misled probably by Muhammadan writers, have converted the phrase 'Avesta and Zand' into 'Zend-Avesta,' and have further identified Zand with the language of the Avesta. This use of the word Zand is, however, quite at variance with the practice of all Parsi writers who have been independent of European influence, as they apply the term Zand only to the Pahlavi translations and explanations of their sacred books, the original text of which they call Avesta. So that when they use the phrase 'Avesta and Zand' they mean the whole of any scripture, both the Avesta text and Pahlavi translation and commentary. And the latter, being often their only means of understanding the former, has now become of nearly equal authority with the Avesta itself. It is probable, indeed, that the first Zand was really written in the Avesta language, as we find many traces of such Avesta commentaries interpolated both in the Avesta and Pahlavi texts of the Parsi scriptures; but this is rather a matter of, European inference than of Parsi belief. The later (or Pahlavi) Zand appears also, in many places, to be merely a translation of this earlier (or Avesta) Zand, with additional explanations offered by the Pahlavi translators.

Regarding the sacredness of these Pahlavi translations, in the eyes of the Parsis, there can be no manner of doubt, so far as they cannot be shown to be inconsistent with the

[1. See Haug's Essays, on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, second edition, London, 1878; pp. 121, 122.]

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original Avesta text. But besides these translations there is another class of Pahlavi religious writings whose authority is more open to dispute. These writings are either translations and Zands of Avesta texts no longer extant, or they contain the opinions and decisions of high-priests of later times, when the Pahlavi language was on the decline. Such writings would hardly be considered of indisputable authority by any Parsi of the present day, unless they coincided with his own preconceived opinions. But for outsiders they have the inestimable value either of supplying numerous details of religious traditions and customs which would be vainly sought for elsewhere, or of being contemporary records of the religious ideas of the Parsis in the declining days of their Mazdayasnian faith. It is with a few of such writings this volume has to deal; but before describing them more minutely it will be desirable to give some account of the Pahlavi language in which they are written.

2. THE PAHLAVI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

The term 'Pahlavi,' in its widest extent, is applied to all the varying forms of the mediæval Persian language, from the time when the grammatical inflexions of ancient Persian were dropped, till the period when the modern alphabet was invented, and the language became corrupted into modern Persian by the adoption of numerous Arabic words and phrases. Some traces of Pahlavi words and phrases, written in old Semitic characters, have been found in the legends of coins struck by certain kings of Persian provinces, subordinate to the Greek successors of Alexander, as early as the third century B.C.[1] Further traces have been discovered in the legends on some provincial coins of the time of the Arsacidan dynasty. But, practically, our acquaintance with Pahlavi commences with the inscriptions, on rocks and coins, of Ardakhshîr-i Pâpakân (A.D. 226-140), the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, and ends with certain religious

[1. See Levy's Beiträge zur aramäischen Münzkunde Eran's, und zur Kunde der ältern Pehlewi-Schrift, Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig, 1867; XXI, 421-465.]

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writings of priests and other devout Parsis of post-Muhammadan times, among the latest of which is one dated A.Y. 250 (A.D. 881). Any fragments of Pahlavi composition of later date than A.D. 1000, must be considered merely as modern imitations of a dead language, and cannot be quoted as authorities for the use of any particular Pahlavi words or construction.

With regard to the origin of the word Pahlavî, or language of Pahlav, many suggestions have been offered; but the most probable explanation[1] is that which connects it of with the Parthva, of the cuneiform inscriptions, the land the Parthians known to the Greeks and Romans, and of the Pahlavâs mentioned by Sanskrit writers; the change of Parthva into Pahlav being very similar to that of Av. Mithra into Pers. Mihr. No doubt the language of the Parthians themselves was not Pahlavi, but they were the actual rulers of Persia for some centuries at the time when the Pahlavi language was forming there; and, being formidable to their neighbours, it is not surprising that their name became identified with everything Persian, in the same way as the Roman name has been applied by the Persians, not only to the later Greek empire of Constantinople, but even to the earlier conqueror, Alexander the Great.

Strictly speaking, the mediæval Persian language is only called Pahlavi when it is written in one of the characters used before the invention of the modern Persian alphabet, and in the peculiarly enigmatical mode adopted in Pahlavi writings. Whenever it is transcribed, either in Avesta characters, or in those of the modern Persian alphabet, and freed from this peculiarity, it is called Pâzand.

The peculiar mode of writing Pahlavi, here alluded to long made the character of the language a standing puzzle for European scholars, and was first satisfactorily explained, by Professor Haug, of Munich, in his admirable Essay on the Pahlavi Language already cited.

Like the Assyrians of old, the Persians of Parthian times appear to have borrowed their writing from a foreign race.

[1. See Haug's Essay on the Pahlâvi language, Stuttgart, 1870; pp. 33-37.]

{p. xiii} But, whereas the Semitic Assyrians adopted a Turanian syllabary, these later Aryan Persians accepted a Semitic alphabet. Besides the alphabet, however, which they could use for spelling their own words, they also transferred a certain number of complete Semitic words to their writings, as representatives of the corresponding words in their own language. These Semitic representatives (the number of which might at any time be increased or diminished at the discretion of the writer) were probably never very numerous, and not more than four hundred of them are to be found in the Pahlavi, writings

now extant; but, as they represent nearly all the commonest words in the language (excepting those specially relating to religious matters), they often constitute more than half the bulk of a Pahlavi text.

The use of such Semitic words, scattered about in Persian sentences, gives Pahlavi the motley appearance of a compound-language; more especially as Persian terminations are often added to the Semitic words. But there are good reasons for supposing that the language was never spoken as it was written. The spoken language appears to have been purely Persian; the Semitic words being merely-used, as written representatives, or logograms, of the Persian words which were spoken. Thus the Persians would write *malkân malkâ*, 'king of kings,' but they would read *shâhân shâh*. This is still the mode in which most Parsis read their Pahlavi literature; and it is only by assuming it to have been their universal practice, in former times, that we can account for the total and immediate disappearance of the Semitic portion of the Pahlavi, from their language, when the Persians adopted their modern alphabet. As the Semitic words were merely a Pahlavi mode of writing their Persian equivalents (just as 'viz.' is a mode of writing 'namely' in English), they disappeared with the Pahlavi writing, and the Persians began at once to write all their words, with their new alphabet just as they pronounced them.

In the meantime, the greater part of the nation had become Muhammadans, and a new influx of Semitic words commenced, but of a very different character. The Semitic

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portion of the Pahlavi writing was nearly pure Chaldee, and was confined (as already stated) to the graphic representation of most of the simplest and commonest words unconnected with religion; but it seems to have formed no part of the spoken language, at all events in later times. Whereas the Semitic portion of modern Persian is borrowed from Arabic, and includes most words connected with religion, science, and literature; in fact, every class of words except that which was usually Semitic in Pahlavi writings; and these Arabic words form an essential part of the spoken language, being as indispensable to the modern Persian as words of Norman-French origin are to the English.

In Pahlavi writings, moreover, besides the four hundred Semitic logograms already mentioned, we also find about one hundred obsolete forms of Iranian words used as logograms; much in the same way as 'ye' may be used for 'the,' and 'Xmas' for 'Christmas' in English. The use of all these logograms was, however, quite optional, as their usual Persian equivalents might, be substituted for any of them at any time, according to each particular writer's taste and discretion. But whenever they are employed they form what is called the Huzvâris portion of the Pahlavi; while the other words, intended to be pronounced as they are spelt, form the Pâzand portion.

Many attempts have been made to explain the word Huzvâris, but it cannot be said that any satisfactory etymology has yet been proposed. Like the word Pahlavî it seems hardly to occur in any old Pahlavi text, but only in colophons, chapter-headings, and similar notes of modern writers; it seems, therefore, more reasonable to trace it to modern Persian than direct to any more ancient source. Its Pahlavi form, *hûzvâris* or *aûzvârisn*, appears to represent the modern Persian *uzvâris*, which is rarely used; the usual Persian form of the word being *zuvâris*. Now *zuvâris* is precisely the form of an abstract noun derived from the crude form of a verb *zuvârîdan*, which has been admitted into some Persian dictionaries on the authority of Golius [1].

[1. See Castelli *Lexicon Heptaglotton, Pars altera*, London, 1669.]

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with the meaning 'to grow old, to become thread-bare.' If such a verb really exists in Persian, although its meaning may imply 'decrepitude or decay' rather than 'antiquity or obsolescence,' yet its abstract noun would not be altogether inapplicable to the logograms used in Pahlavi, which are, in fact, last remnants of older writings.

The word Pâzand is probably derived from Av. *paitizanti*, with the meaning 're-explanation,' that is, a further interpretation of the Pahlavi Zand in the Persian vernacular. This term is applied not only to the purely Persian words in Pahlavi texts, but also (as already noticed) to transliterations of the said texts, either in Avesta or modern Persian characters, in which all the Huzvâris words are replaced by their Pâzand equivalents. These transliterations form what are called Pâzand texts; they retain the exact idiom and construction of the Pahlavi original, and represent the mode in which it was read. It may be remarked, however, that all such Pâzand texts, as have been examined, seem to have been written in India, so that they may be suspected of representing some corrupt Gugarâti pronunciation of Persian, rather than the peculiar orthography of any period of the Persian language.

This theory of the origin and development of Pahlavi writing could hardly be upheld, unless we could trace the same artificial mixture of Huzvâris and Pâzand in all accessible Pahlavi records, from their earliest appearance to the present time. This we are able to do, even in the scanty materials afforded by the legends on the provincial Persian coins of the third century B.C. and second century A.D. already mentioned. But we can trace it with greater certainty not only in the coin legends, but also in the rock inscriptions of the earlier Sasanian kings (A.D. 226-388), in the latest of which we find the written language differing very slightly from that contained in the manuscripts preserved by the Parsis of the present day, although the characters differ very much in form. And, finally, in the legends on the coins of the later Sasanian kings (A.D. 388-651) and on seals of their times, we find even this difference in the shapes of the letters disappearing by degrees. In

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fact, all the materials at our disposal tend to show that Huzvâris has been an essential constituent of all Pahlavi writings from the time of Alexander's successors to that of the disuse of Pahlavi characters; but we have no reason to suppose that the spoken language of the great mass of the Persian people ever contained the Semitic words which they thus used as Huzvâris in their writings.

Although the use of Huzvâris, until explained recently, rendered the nature of the Pahlavi language very obscure, it added very little to the difficulty of understanding the Pahlavi texts, because the meaning of nearly every Huzvâris logogram was well known; being recorded in an old glossary preserved by the Parsis, in which every logogram is explained by its proper Pâzand equivalent. The extant copies of this old glossary generally contain the Huzvâris and Pâzand words written in the Pahlavi character, together with their traditional pronunciation, either in Avesta or modern Persian letters; there is, therefore, no particular difficulty in reading or translating the Huzvâris portion of a Pahlavi text, although doubts may often be entertained as to the accuracy of the traditional pronunciation.

The real difficulty of reading Pahlavi texts lies in the Pâzand portion (so far as it may be unexplained by existing vocabularies), and is chiefly occasioned by the ambiguity of some of the Pahlavi letters. The alphabet used in Pahlavi books contains only fourteen distinct letters, so that some letters represent several different sounds; and this ambiguity is increased by the letters being joined together, when a compound of two letters is sometimes exactly like some other single letter. The complication arising from these ambiguities may be understood from the following list of the sounds, simple and compound, represented by each of the fourteen letters of the Pahlavi alphabet respectively:--

a, â, h, kh. ### b. ### p, f, ### t, d. ### k, g, z, v. ### r, l. ### z. ### s, yî, yad, yag, yag, dî, dad, dag, dag, gî, gad, gag, gag, gî, gad, gag, gag. ### sh, s, yâ, yah, yakh, îh, îkh,

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dâ, dah, dakh, gâ, gah, gakh, gâ, gah, gakh. ### gh. ### k. ### m. ### n. v, w, û, ô, r, l. ### y, î, ê, d, g, g.

From this list it is easy to see the confusion produced by the letter ### s being exactly like the letter ### y doubled, and by the letter ### sh being identical with a compound of ### y and ### â; and there are, in fact, some compounds of two letters which have from ten to fifteen sounds in common use, besides others which might possibly occur. If it be further considered that there are only three letters (which are also consonants, as in most Semitic languages) to represent five long vowels, and that there are probably five short vowels to be understood, the difficulty of reading Pahlavi correctly may be readily imagined.

When Pahlavi writing was in common use this difficulty was probably no more felt by the Persians, than the complexity of Chinese characters is felt as an evil by a Chinese mandarin, or the corrupt system of English orthography by an educated Englishman. It is only the foreigner, or learner, who fully appreciates the difficulty of understanding such cumbrous systems of writing.

With regard, however, to their Huzvâris logograms the Persians seem to have experienced more difficulty. As the actual sounds of these Semitic words were rarely pronounced, in consequence of their Pâzand equivalents being substituted in reading, there must have been some risk of their true pronunciation being forgotten. That this risk was understood by the Persians, or Parsis, is proved by the existence of the Huzvâris-Pâzand glossary already described, which was evidently compiled as a record both of the pronunciation and meaning of the Huzvâris logograms. But its compilation does not appear to have been undertaken until the true pronunciation of some of these logograms had been already lost. Thus, although the traditional readings of most of the Semitic portion of the Huzvâris can be readily traced to well known Chaldee words, there are yet many other such readings which are altogether inexplicable as Semitic

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words. In most such cases, however, European scholars have found that the Huzvâris word can be easily read in some other way which at once connects it with some ordinary Chaldee equivalent. It may, therefore, be reasonably assumed that the compilers of the glossary had in some instances lost the correct pronunciation of these old Semitic words, and that, in such cases, they adopted (as a Parsi would probably do at the present day) the most obvious reading of the letters before them, which thenceforth became an artificial word to, be handed down to posterity, by successive generations of writers, with all the authority of old tradition.

In the same manner the artificial pronunciation of the Iranian portion of the Huzvâris may be explained. The compilers of the glossary found a number of words in the Pahlavi texts, which were written in some obsolete or contracted manner; they knew the meanings of these words, but could not trace the true readings in the altered letters; they, therefore, adopted the most obvious readings of the written characters, and thus produced another series of artificial words, such as anhômâ for aûharmazd, vahân for yazdân, madônad for maïnôk, shatan for shatrô, &c.

Naturally enough the Parsis are loth to admit the possibility of any error in their traditional readings of Huzvâris, and very few of them have yet adopted the views of European scholars further than to admit that they are ingenious hypotheses, which still require satisfactory proof. They are quite right in demanding such proof, and they may reasonably argue that the conflicting opinions of various European scholars do not tend to increase the certainty of their explanations. But, on the other hand, they are bound to examine all proofs that may be offered, and to consider the arguments of scholars, before utterly rejecting them in favour of their own preconceived notions of traditional authority.

Fortunately, we possess some means of ascertaining the ancient pronunciation of a few Huzvâris words, independent of the opinions of comparative philologists, in the inscriptions

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already mentioned as having been engraved on rocks, and impressed on coins, by the earlier kings of the Sasanian dynasty in Persia. The earliest of these rock inscriptions records the name and titles of Artakshatar son[1] of Pâpak, the first Sasanian monarch (A. D. 226-240); it is engraved in Greek and two kinds of old Pahlavi characters, which have been called Chaldæo-Pahlavi and Sasanian-Pahlavi, because the one bears more resemblance to Chaldee, both in its letters and the language they express, and the other is more frequently used by the subsequent Sasanian monarchs. A similar tri-lingual inscription records the names and titles of his son and successor Shahpûhar I (A.D. 240-271), who has also left a long bi-lingual inscription, in Chaldæo and Sasanian-Pahlavi, in a cave near Persepolis. Another long bi-lingual inscription, fragments of which have been found on stones among the ruins of Pâh Kûlî, is attributed to his early successors, who have also left us several uni-lingual inscriptions in Sasanian-Pahlavi, two of which are of great length, but none later than the end of the fourth century.

The language of the earlier of these inscriptions differs from that of the manuscripts preserved by the Parsis, chiefly in the use of several Semitic words unknown to the manuscript Huzvâris, the non-existence of Iranian Huzvâris (which is evidently a growth of later times), and the less frequent use of Persian terminations affixed to Semitic words. These differences, however, are hardly greater than those which distinguish the English of Chaucer from that of our own day. Moreover, they gradually disappear in process of time, as we find the later inscriptions of the fourth century approaching much closer, in language, to the manuscripts.

As the alphabets of these inscriptions are less imperfect and ambiguous than that of the Pahlavi manuscripts, they render the pronunciation of many words much more certain. They consist of eighteen letters, having the following sounds:--

[1. So stated in the inscription, but Pahlavi MSS. call him the son of Pâpak's daughter and of Sâsân (see Bund. XXXI. 30).]

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1. a, â. 2. b. 3. p, f. 4. t, d. 5. k, g, ###. 6. kh, h. 7. d. 8. r, v, w, û, ô. 9. z. 10. s. 11. sh, s. 12. k. 13. g. 14. l, r. 15. m. 16. n. 17. y, î, ê. 18. doubtful, being equivalent to Chaldee ###, and to Pahl. MS. -man[1].

Comparing this list of sounds with that of the sounds of the manuscript alphabet (pp. xvi, xvii) it is evident that the inscriptions must afford a means of distinguishing â from kh, s from any binary compound of y, d, g, or g, sh from any compound of y, d, g, or g with â, h, or kh, n from v, r, or l, and y, d, g from each other; all which letters and compounds are left in doubt by the manuscript alphabet. Unfortunately we do not possess trustworthy copies of some of the inscriptions

which are evidently the most important from a linguistic point of view[2] but such copies as have been obtained supply corrections of traditional misreadings of about twenty-five Huzvâris logograms, and at the same time they confirm the correctness of three traditional readings which have been called in question by most European scholars. So far, therefore, the inscriptions would teach the Parsis that the decisions of comparative philologists are not likely to be right more than seven times out of eight, even when they are tolerably unanimous.

The Chaldæo-Pahlavi character appears to have soon

[1. Whether the sound of this letter can ever be satisfactorily settled remains doubtful. Levy, in his *Beiträge*, cited on p. xi, considers it to be the Semitic ###, on palæographical grounds; but there are serious objections to all the identifications that have been proposed.

2. The Sasanian inscriptions, of which new and correct copies are most urgently wanted, are:--1. An inscription of thirty-one lines high up in the left side-compartment (behind the king) of the centre bas-relief of Naqs-i Ragab, near Persepolis. 2. Two inscriptions, of eleven and twelve lines respectively, on the stones of the edifice near the south-west corner of the great platform at Persepolis, south of the Hall of Columns (see Ouseley's *Travels in Persia*, vol. ii. p. 237 and plate 42). 3. All the fragments of the Pâi Kûlî inscription, of which probably not more than half have yet been copied.

Of the very long inscription behind the king's horse in the bas-relief of Naqs-i Rustam, containing more than seventy lines very much damaged, a copy taken by Westergaard in 1843 with his usual accuracy, probably gives nearly all that is legible. And of the Hâgâbâd and shorter inscriptions, little or nothing remains doubtful.]

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gone out of use, after the establishment of the Sasanian dynasty, as the latest known inscription, in which it occurs, is that of Pâi Kûlî, which contains the name of Aûharmazd I (A.D. 271-272); while the long inscriptions of Naqs-i Ragab and Naqs-i Rustam, which contain the name of Varahrân II (A.D. 275-283), are engraved only in Sasanian-Pahlavi. From these facts it seems probable that Chaldæo-Pahlavi went out of use about A.D. 275. The Sasanian characters continue to appear, with very little alteration, upon the coins until the end of the fifth century, when most of them begin to assume the cursive form of the manuscript Pahlavi, which appears to have altered very slightly since the eighth century.

The oldest Pahlavi manuscript known to be extant, consists of several fragments of papyrus recently found in a grave in the Fayûm district in Egypt, and now in the Royal Museum at Berlin; it is supposed to have been written in the eighth century. Next to this, after a long interval, come four manuscripts written on Indian paper, all by the same hand, in A.D. 1323-1324; they are two copies of the *Yasna* and two of the *Vendidad*, containing the *Avesta* with its Zand, or Pahlavi translation and commentary; two of these old MSS. are now preserved in Kopenhagen, one in London, and one in Bombay. Next to these in age are two MSS. of miscellaneous Pahlavi texts, written probably about fifty years later; one of these is now in Kopenhagen and one in Bombay. Another MS. of nearly the same age is also a miscellaneous collection of Pahlavi texts, written in A. D. 1397, and now in Munich; where there is also one of the oldest Pâzand-Sanskrit MSS., a copy of the *Ardâ-Vîrâf-nâmak*, written in A.D. 1410. Another Pâzand-Sanskrit MS., a copy of the *Khurdah Avesta*, of about the same age, exists in Bombay. Pahlavi and Pâzand manuscripts of the sixteenth century are rather more numerous.

Pahlavi literature reached the zenith of its prosperity about thirteen centuries ago, when it included the whole literature of Persia. Seventy years later its destruction commenced with the fall of the Sasanian dynasty (A.D.

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636--651); and the subsequent adoption of the modern Persian alphabet gave it its death-blow. The last remnants of Pahlavi writings are now contained in the few manuscripts, still preserved by the Parsis in Western India, and their almost-extinct brethren in Persia. A careful estimate of the length of these remnants, so far as they are known to Europeans, has shown that the total extent of existing Pahlavi literature is about thirty-six times that of the *Bundahis*, as translated in this volume. One-fifth of this, literature consists of translations accompanying *Avesta* texts, and the remaining four-fifths are purely Pahlavi works which are nearly all connected with religion. How much of this literature may have descended from Sasanian times can hardly be ascertained as yet; in fact, it is only very recently that any trustworthy data, for determining the age of a few Pahlavi writings, have been discovered, as will be explained hereafter, when considering the age of the *Bundahis*.

3. THE BUNDAHIS.

The term *Bundahis*, 'creation of the beginning,' or 'original creation,' is applied by the Parsis to a Pahlavi work[1] which, in

its present state, appears to be a collection of fragments relating to the cosmogony, mythology, and legendary history taught by Mazdayasnian tradition, but which cannot be considered, in any way, a complete treatise on these subjects. This term is applicable enough to much of the earlier part of the work, which treats of the progressive development of creation under good and evil influences; but it is probably not the original name of the book. Its adoption was no doubt partly owing to the occurrence of the word *bûn-dahisn*, or *bûn-dahisnîh*, twice in the first sentence, and partly to its appropriateness to the subject. But the same sentence seems to inform

- [1. When this work forms part of a collection of Pahlavi texts, the whole manuscript is sometimes called 'the great Bundahis.' There also exists a *Saddar Bundahis*, or *Bundahis* of a hundred chapters, 'which is a comparatively modern compilation, detailing the chief customs and religious laws of the Parsis; in a hundred sections.]

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us that the actual name of the treatise was *Zand-âkâs*, 'knowing the tradition.'

The work commences by describing the state of things in the beginning; the good spirit being in endless light and omniscient, and the evil spirit in endless darkness and with limited knowledge. Both produced their own creatures, which remained apart, in a spiritual or ideal state, for three thousand years, after which the evil spirit began his opposition to the good creation under an agreement that his power was not to last more than nine thousand years, of which only the middle three thousand were to see him successful. By uttering a sacred formula the good spirit throws the evil one into a state of confusion for a second three thousand years, while he produces the archangels and the material creation, including the sun, moon, and stars. At the end of that period the evil spirit, encouraged by the demons he had produced, once more rushes upon the good creation, to destroy it. The demons carry on conflicts with each of the six classes of creation, namely, the sky, water, earth, plants, animals represented by the primeval ox, and mankind represented by *Gâyômar*: producing little effect but movement in the sky, saltness in the water, mountains in the earth, withering in plants, and death to the primeval ox, and also to *Gâyômar* after an interval.

Then follows a series of chapters describing the seven regions of the earth, its mountains and seas, the five classes of animals, the origin of mankind, generation, the five kinds of fire and three sacred fires, the white *Hôm* tree and the tree of many seeds, the three-legged ass, the ox *Hadhayôs*, the bird *Kâm-rôs*, and other birds and animals opposed to the evil creation, the rivers of the world, the seventeen species of liquids, the lakes, the origin of the ape and bear, the chiefs of the several kinds of creatures and creations, the calendar, lineal measures, trees and plants, the characteristics of various demons, the spiritual chiefs of the various regions of the earth, and the resurrection and future existence; all which descriptions are given on the authority of the *Dîn*, which may have been some particular

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book, or revelation generally. The concluding chapters give the genealogies of the legendary Persian kings and heroes, and of *Zaratûst* and certain priests, together with an epitome of Persian chronology from the creation to the Muhammadan conquest.

As the work now stands it is evidently of a fragmentary character, bearing unmistakable marks both of omissions and dislocations; and the extant manuscripts, as will be seen, differ among themselves both as to the extent and arrangement of the text. Many passages have the appearance of being translations from an Avesta original, and it is very probable that we have in the *Bundahis* either a translation, or an epitome, of the *Dâmidâd Nask*, one of the twenty-one books into which the whole of the Zoroastrian scriptures are said to have been divided before the time of Darius. This may be guessed from a comparison of the contents of the *Bundahis* with those of the *Dâmdâd Nask*, which are detailed in the *Dîmî-vagarkard* as follows[1]:--It contained an explanation of the spiritual existence and heaven, good and evil, the material existence of this world, the sky and the earth, and everything which *Aûharmazd* produced in water, fire, and vegetation, men and quadrupeds, reptiles and birds, and everything which is produced from the waters, and the characteristics of all things. Secondly, the production of the resurrection and future existence; the concourse and separation at the *Kinvad* bridge; on the reward of the meritorious and the punishment of sinners in the future existence, and such-like explanations. Moreover, the *Dâmdâd Nask* is twice quoted as an authority in the *Selections of Zâd-spâram* (IX, i, 16), when treating of animals, in nearly the same words as those used in the *Bundahis*.

The first manuscript of the *Bundahis* seen in Europe was brought from Surat by Anquetil Duperron in 1761, and he published a French translation of it in his great work on the *Zend-Avesta* in 1771[2]. This manuscript,

[1. See Haug's *Essays*, &c., second edition, pp. 127, 128.

2. Zend-Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre, &c., par Anquetil Duperron; Paris, 1771. Tome seconde, pp. 343-422, Boun-dehesch.]

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which is now in the National Library at Paris, was a modern copy, written A.D. 1734, and contained a miscellaneous collection of Pahlavi writings besides the Bundahis. And Anquetil's translation, though carefully prepared in accordance with the information he had obtained from his Parsi instructor, is very far from giving the correct meaning of the original text in many places.

In 1820 the very old codex from which Anquetil's MS. had been copied was had been brought to Europe, from Bombay, by the Danish scholar Rask, and was subsequently deposited in the University Library at Copenhagen. This most important codex, which will be more particularly described under the appellation of K20, appears to have been written during the latter half of the fourteenth century; and a facsimile of the Pahlavi text of the Bundahis, which it contains, was very carefully traced from it, lithographed, and published by Westergaard in 1850.[1]

In a review of this lithographed edition of the Pahlavi text, published in the Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen in 1854, Haug gave a German translation of the first three chapters of the Bundahis. And Spiegel, in his Traditional Literature of the Parsis [3], published in 1860 a German translation of many passages in the Bundahis, together with a transcript of the Pahlavi text of Chaps. I, II, III, and XXX in Hebrew characters. But the complete German translation of the Bundahis by Windischmann, with his commentary on its contents, published in his Zoroastrian Studies 4 in 1863, was probably the most important step in advance since the time of Anquetil, and the utmost

[1. Bundelesh, Liber Pehlvicus. E vetustissimo codice Hayniensi descriptis, duas inscriptiones regis Saporis Primi adjecit, N. L. Westergaard; Havniæ, 1851.

2. Ueber die Pehlewi-Sprache und den Bundelesh, von Martin Haug; Göttingen, 1854.

3. Die Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen in ihrem Zusammenhange mit den angränzenden Literaturen, dargestellt von Fr. Spiegel; Wien, 1860.

4. Zoroastrische Studien. Abhandlungen zur Mythologie und Sagengeschichte des alten Iran, von Fr. Windischmann (nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben von Fr. Spiegel); Berlin, 1863.]

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that could be done on the authority of a single MS. which is far from perfect.

In 1866 another very old codex, containing the Pahlavi texts of the Bundahis and other works, was brought to Europe by Haug, to whom it had been presented at Surat in 1864. It is now in the State Library at Munich, and will be more minutely described under the appellation of M6. In this codex the Bundahis is arranged in a different order from that in K20, and Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI-XXXIII are omitted.

A second complete German translation of the Bundahis, with a lithographed copy of the Pahlavi text, a transliteration of the text in modern Persian characters, and a glossary of all the words it contains, was published by Justi in 1868.[1] Its author, having had access to other MSS. (descended from M6) at London and Oxford, was able to rectify many of the deficiencies in Windischmann's translation; but, otherwise, he made but little progress in elucidating difficult passages.

Other European writers have published the result of their studies of particular parts of the Bundahis, but it does not appear that any of them have attempted a continuous translation of several chapters.

Whether the existence of previous translations be more of an assistance than a hindrance in preparing a new one, may well be a matter of doubt. Previous translations may prevent oversights, and in difficult passages it is useful to see how others have floundered through the mire; but, on the other hand, they occasion much loss of time, by the necessity of examining many of their dubious renderings before finally fixing upon others that seem more satisfactory. The object of the present translation is to give the meaning of the original text as literally as possible, and with a minimum of extra words; the different renderings of other translators being very rarely noticed, unless there be some probability of their being of service

[1. Der Bundelesh, zum ersten Male herausgegeben, transcribirt, übersetzt, und mit Glossar versehen, von Ferdinand Justi; Leipzig; 1868.]

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to the reader. Some doubtful words and passages still defy all attempts at satisfactory solution, but of these the reader is warned; and, no doubt, a few oversights and mistakes will be discovered.

With regard to the original text, we have to recover it from four manuscripts which are, more or less, independent authorities, and may be styled K20, K20b, M6, and TD. The first three of these have evidently descended, either directly or through one or more intermediate copies, from the same original; but the source of TD, so far as it can be ascertained, seems to have been far removed from, that of the others. All the other MSS. of the Bundahis, which have been examined, whether Pahlavi or Pâzand, are descended either from K20 or M6, and are, therefore, of no independent authority.

K20 is the very old codex already mentioned as having been brought from Bombay by Rask in 1820, and is now No. 20 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Copenhagen. It consists now of 173 folios of very old and much-worn Indian paper of large octavo size, but five other folios are certainly missing, besides an uncertain number lost from the end of the volume. This MS. contains twenty Pahlavi texts, written twenty lines to the page, and some of them, accompanied by Avesta; the Bundahis is the ninth of these texts, and occupies fols. 88-129, of which fol. 121 is missing. Three of the texts, occurring before the Bundahis, have dated colophons, but the dates are A.Y. 690, 720, and 700, all within 36 folios; it is, therefore, evident that these dates have been copied from older MSS.; but at the same time the appearance of the paper indicates that the actual date of the MS. cannot be much later than A.Y. 720 (A.D. 1351), and there are reasons for believing that it was written several years before A.Y. 766 (A.D. 1397), as will be explained in the description of M6. Owing to its age and comparative completeness this MS. of the Bundahis is certainly the most important one extant, although comparison with other MSS. proves that its writer was rather careless, and frequently omitted words and phrases. The

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loss of fol. 121, though it has hitherto left an inconvenient gap in the text (not filled up by other MSS.), is more than compensated by the three extra chapters which this MS. and its copies have hitherto alone supplied. The text on the lost folio was supposed by Anquetil to have contained a whole chapter besides portions of the two adjacent ones; this is now known to be a mistake, Anquetil's Chap. XXVIII being quite imaginary; the end of Chap. XXVII has long been supplied from other MSS., but the beginning of the next chapter has hitherto been missing.

Only two copies of K20 appear to be known to Europeans; the best of these is the copy brought from Surat by Anquetil, No. 7 of his collection of manuscripts, now in the National Library at Paris; this was written in A. D. 1734, when K20 appears to have been nearly in its present imperfect state, though it may have had some 15 folios more at the end. This copy seems to have been carefully written; but the same cannot be said of the other copy, No. 21 in the University Library at Copenhagen, which is full of blunders, both of commission and omission, and can hardly have been written by so good a Pahlavi scholar as Dastûr Dârâb, Anquetil's instructor, although attributed to him.

K20b consists of nineteen loose folios[1], found by Westergaard among some miscellaneous fragments in the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Copenhagen, and now forming No. 20b in that collection, The first two folios are lost, but the third folio commences with the Pahlavi equivalent of the words 'knew that Aharman exists' (Bund. Chap. 1, 8), and the text continues to the end of Chap. XI, i, where it leaps at once (in the middle of a line on the fifteenth folio) to Chap. XXX, 15, 'one brother who is righteous,' whence the text continues to the end of Chap. XXXI, 15, which is followed by Chaps. XXXII, XXXIV, as in K20. This

[1. I am indebted to the late Professor N. L. Westergaard for all information about this MS., and also for a tracing of the Pahlavi text of so much of Chap. XXXI as is contained in it.]

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MS. is not very old, and contains merely a fragment of the text; but its value consists in its not being a descendant of either K20 or M6, as it clearly represents a third line of descent from their common original. It agrees with K20 in the general arrangement of its chapters, so far as they go, and also in containing Chap. XXXI; but it differs from it in some of the details of that chapter, and agrees with M6 in some verbal peculiarities elsewhere; it has not, however, been collated in any other chapter. The omission of nearly twenty chapters, in the centre of the work, indicates that some one of the MSS. from which it

is descended, had lost many of its central folios before it was copied, and that the copyist did not notice the deficiency; such unnoticed omissions frequently occur in Pahlavi manuscripts.

M6 is the very old codex brought to Europe by Haug in 1866, and now No. 6 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich. It consists of 240 folios of very old, but well-preserved, Indian paper of large octavo size (to which thirteen others, of rather later date, have been prefixed) bound in two volumes. This MS. contains nineteen Pahlavi texts, written from seventeen to twenty-two lines to the page, and some of them accompanied by Avesta; eleven of these texts are also found in K20, and the Bundahis is the fourteenth of the nineteen, occupying fols. 53-99 of the second volume. Two of the other texts have dated colophons, the dates being fifty days apart in A.Y. 766 (A.D. 1397), and as there are 150 folios between the two dates there is every probability that they are the actual dates on which the two colophons were written. The arrangement of the Bundahis in this MS. is different from that in K20, giving the chapters in the following order:--Chaps. XV-XXIII, I-XIV, XXIV-XXVII, XXX, XXXII, XXXIV, and omitting Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI. These omissions and the misplacement of Chaps. I-XIV render it probable that the MS., from which the Bundahis in M6 was copied, was already in a state of decay; and this supposition is confirmed by upwards of fifty peculiar mistakes, scattered over most parts of the

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text in M6, which are evidently due to the illegibility of the original from which it was copied, or to its illegible words having been touched up by an ignorant writer, instances of which are not uncommon in old Pahlavi MSS. Eliminating these errors, for which the writer of M6 cannot be held responsible, he seems to have been a more careful copyist than the writer of K20, and supplies several words and phrases omitted by the latter. The close correspondence of K20 and M6 in most other places, renders it probable that they were copied from the same original, in which case K20 must have been written several years earlier than M6, before the original MS. became decayed and difficult to read. It is possible, however, that K20 was copied from an early copy of the original of M6; in which case the date of K20, is more uncertain, and may even be later than that of M6.

Several MSS. of the Bundahis descended from M6 are in existence. One is in the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and contains the chapters in the following order:--Chaps. XV-XXIII, I-VII, 17 (to 'Arag river'), XII-XIV, XXIV-XXVII, XXX, VII, 12-XI; followed by Sls. Chap. XX, 4-17, also derived from M6. Another is in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji at Bombay, and contains the chapters also in a dislocated state (due to the misplacement of folios in some former MS.) as follows:--Chaps. XV-XXIII, I-XI, 5 (to 'and the evil spirit'), XII, 2 (from 'Sikidâv')--XII, 2 (first word), XI, 5 (from 'produced most for Khvanîras')--XII, 2 (to 'and Kôndras, Mount')--XXX, 32 (from 'the renovation arises in')--XXX, 33, XXXII, XXXIV, Sls. Chap. XVIII, Bund. Chaps. XII, 12 (from 'Aîrak')--XIV, XXIV-XXVII, XXX. A third is in the library of Dastûr Nôshirvânji Jâmâspji at Poona, and contains the text in the same order as M6. A fragment of the Pahlavi text of the Bundahis, also descended from M6, occupies eight folios in the Additional Oriental MS. No. 22,378 in the Library of the British Museum; it contains Chaps. XVIII, XIX, 17, and XX, 1-2 (to 'one from the other').

There are also several Pâzand manuscripts of the Bundahis,

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written in Avesta characters, and likewise derived from M6. One of the best of these is No. 22 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the India Office Library at London; it is old, and has the date A.Y. 936 (A.D. 1567) in a Pahlavi colophon on fol. III, but this may have been copied from an older MS.; its contents are arranged as follows:--Chaps. XVIII-XXIII, I-XIV, XXIV-XXVII, XXX, XXXII, XXXIV, followed by several short Pâzand texts, only part of which are derived from M6, and the last of them being left incomplete by the loss of the folios which originally formed the end of the volume; instead of these lost folios others, containing Chaps. XV-XVII, have been added and bound up with the rest. Another MS., No. 7 in the same collection, which is dated A.Y. 1174 (A.D. 1805), is a modern copy derived from No. 22 through one or more intervening MSS.[1]; it contains precisely the same text, but with many variations in orthography, indicative of the very uncertain character of Pâzand spelling. Two fragments of the Pâzand text are also contained in the MSS. No. 121 at Oxford, already mentioned; they consist of Chaps. V, 3-7 (to 'would have known the secret') and XXV, 18-22. Another fragment, evidently copied from an old MS., is found on fols. 34, 35 of the Rivâyât MS. No. 8 of the collection in the India Office Library; it consists of Chap. XVIII, 1-8.

The Pâzand text of the Bundahis, derived from M6, is also written in Persian characters in M7 (No. 7 of the Haug collection at Munich), dated A.Y. 1178 (A.D. 1809). It is interlined by Persian glosses, word for word, and consists of Chaps. XVIII-XXIII, I-XIV, XXIV-XXVII, and XXX on fols. 81-119, with Chaps. XV-XVII on fols. 120-126, a repetition of Chap. XV and part of XVI on fols. 223-227, and Chap. XXXII on fol. 232.

Thus far, it will be noticed, we have two good independent authorities, K20 and M6, for ascertaining the text of the Bundahis in the fourteenth century, so far as Chaps. I-

[1. This is proved by an omission in fol. 40, which clearly indicates the loss of a folio in an intermediate MS.]

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XXVII, XXX, XXXII, and XXXIV are concerned; and we have also, in K20b, a second authority for so much of Chap. XXXI as occurs in K20; but for Chaps. XXVIII and XXIX we have nothing but K20 to rely on, and part of Chap. XXVIII is lost in that manuscript. Such was the unsatisfactory state of that part of the text until Dec. 1877, when information about the MS. TD was received, followed by further details and a copy of Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI-XXXIII in Oct. 18781.

TD is a manuscript of the Bundahis which contains a much more extensive text than the MSS. already described, but whether it be an extension of the hitherto-received text, or the received text be an abridgement of this longer one, is likely to be a matter of dispute among Pahlavi scholars until the whole of the new text has been thoroughly examined. At any rate, the contents of this MS., combined with those of some MSS. of the Dâdistân-i Dînik, afford a means of fixing the date of this recension of the Bundahis, as will be seen hereafter.

This MS. belongs to a young Mobad named Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria in Bombay, and was brought from Persia a few years ago by a Mobad named Khodabakhsh Farod Abadan. It occupies the first 103 folios of the volume containing it, and is followed by 112 more folios containing the Nîrangistân. The first original folio, which contained the text as far as Chap. I, 5 (to 'endless light'), has been lost and replaced by another (which, however, is now old) containing some introductory sentences, besides the missing text. The last original folio of the Bundahis, containing the last five lines of the last chapter, has also been lost and replaced by another modern folio, which contains the missing text followed by two colophons, both expressing approval of the text, and asserting that the MS. was written by Gôpatshah Rûstâm Bôndâr. The first of these colophons

[1. I am indebted to Mr. Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, of Bombay (who is well known for the interest he takes in all matters relating to the ancient customs and history of his fellow-countrymen), for obtaining this information, and to the owner of the MS. for his liberality in supplying me with all the details and extracts mentioned in the text.]

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is undated, but gives the testimony of Dastûr Rûstâm[1] Gûstâsp Ardashîr, who is known to have written another MS. dated A.Y. 1068 (A.D. 1699). The second colophon is by Dastûr Jamshêd Jâmâsp Hakim, and is dated A.Y. 1113 (A.D. 1743), which was probably the date when this last folio was supplied to complete the old defective MS.

With regard to the age of the older part of. this MS. we can arrive at an approximation in the following manner:--A valuable MS. of the Dâdistân-i Dînik, which also belongs to Tehmuras Dinshawji, was written (according to a colophon which it contains) by Gôpatshah Rûstôm[2] Bândâr Malkâ-mardân in the land of Kirmân, who was evidently the same person as the writer of TD. Another MS. of the Dâdistân-i Dînik was written by Marzapân Frêdûn Vâhrôm Rûstâm Bôndâr Malkâ-mardân Dîn-ayâr, also in the land of Kirmân, in A.Y. 941 (A.D. 1572). Comparing these two genealogies together it seems evident that Gôpatshah was a brother of Vâhrôm, the grandfather of Marzapân, and, therefore, a grand-uncle of Marzapân himself.

Allowing for these two generations, it is probable that Gôpatshah wrote TD about A.Y. 900 (say A. D. 1530); although instances have occurred in which a son has written a MS. at an earlier date than that of one written by his father.

The introductory sentences on the first restored folio are evidently a modern addition to the text, after it had acquired the name of Bundahis; but they seem to have been copied from some other MS., as the copyist appears to have hardly understood them, having written them continuously with the beginning of the text, without break or stop. The spelling is modern, but that may be due to the copyist; and the language is difficult, but may be translated as follows[3]:--

"The propitiation of the creator Aûharmazd, the radiant,

[1. This Dastûr is said to have sprung from the laity, and not from a priestly family.

2. The vowels â and ô (or û) often interchange in Pahlavi MSS. from Persia, probably owing to peculiarities of dialect, and the very broad sound of Persian â, like English a in call.

3. English words in italics are additions to complete the sense.]

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glorious, omniscient, wise, powerful, and supreme, by what is well-thought, well-said, and well-done in thought, word, and deed, and the good augury of all the celestial angels and terrestrial angels upon the virtuous creation, I beseech.

'Written at the second fortunate conjunction (akhtar) in the high-priestship (dastûrîh) of the God-devoted, all-sagacious cultivator of righteousness, the lover of good works who is God-discerning, spirit-surveying, and approved by the good, the high-priest of the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, the glorified[1] Spendyâd son of Mâh-vindâd, son of Rûstâm, son of Shatrôyâr.

'The writing[2] of the Bûdahis was set going by the coming of the Arabs to the country of Iran, whose heterodoxy (dûs-dînîh) and ignorance have arisen from not understanding the mysteries of Kayân[3] orthodoxy (hû-dînôîh) and of those revered by the upholders of the religion. From their deep seats it draws the purport of benedictions, and from dubious thinking of actions it draws words of true meaning, the disclosure of which is entertaining knowledge.

'On account of evil times, even he of the undecayed family of the Kayâns and the Kayân upholders of the religion are mingled with the obedient and just of those heterodox; and by the upper class the words of the orthodox, uttered in assembled worship, are considered as filthy vice. He also whose wish was to learn propriety (varâg) through this treatise (farhâng), might provide it for himself, from various places, by trouble and day and night painstaking, but was not able.'

The text of Chap. I then commences (without any intermediate stop) with the words zak zand-âkâsîh, 'that knowledge of tradition.' As the whole text of the Bundahis occupies about 203 pages in TD, and each page contains

[1. Literally, 'immortal-souled,' a term implying generally that the person is dead; but it seems to have been applied to King Khûsrô I (Nôshirvân) during his lifetime. The time when this priest lived has yet to be discovered.

2. Reading zektîbûn-i, equivalent to Pâz. nivîs-i; the MS. has zak tîbnâ.

3. The hero tribe or princely race of the Kayânian dynasty, from which later Persian rulers have fancied themselves descended.]

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seventeen lines rather longer than those in K20, it is evident that the text in TD must be more than twice the length of that in K20, which occupied originally about eighty-three pages of twenty lines each. This additional text consists not only of additional matter in many of the chapters, but also of extra chapters, which give the work a more complete appearance than it presents in the manuscripts hitherto known. The whole number of chapters in TD appear to be forty-two, the general character of the contents of which may be gathered from the following list of the headings of each chapter, with the space it occupies in TD, and a reference to the corresponding chapter of the translation in this volume (such chapters as seem to be entirely wanting in K20 being marked with an asterisk):-

1. The knowledge of tradition, first about Aûharmazd's original creation and the antagonism of the evil spirit, afterwards about the nature of the creatures of the world, from the original creation till the end; 19 pages; see Chap. I.

2. On the formation of light; 11 pages; see Chap. II.

3. The rush of the destroyer at the creatures; 6 pages; see Chaps. III, IV.

4. On the opposition of the two spirits, that is, in what manner the arch-fiends have come spiritually in opposition to the celestial angels; 10 pages; see Chap. V for two of the middle pages.

5. On the waging of the conflict (ârdîk) of the creations of the world, encountering the evil spirit; 1 page; see Chap. VI.

6. The second conflict the water waged; 3 pages; see Chap. VII.

7. The third conflict the earth waged; I page; see Chap. VIII.

8. The fourth conflict the plants waged; ½ page; see Chap. IX.

9. The fifth conflict the primeval ox waged; 1/3 page; see Chap. X.

* 10. The sixth conflict Gâyôward waged; 1 1/3 page.

* 11. The seventh conflict the fire waged; 1/3 page.

* 12. The eighth conflict the constellations waged; 1/3 page.

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* 13. The ninth conflict the celestial angels waged with the evil spirit; three lines.

* 14. Tenth, the stars practised non-intermeddling (agûmêgîsn) ½ page.

15. On the species of those creations; 2 1/3 pages.

16. On the nature of lands; 1 1/3 page; see Chap. XI.

17. On the nature of mountains; 4½ pages; see Chap. XI.

18. On the nature of seas; 2½ pages; see Chap. XIII.

19. On the nature of rivers; 5 1/3 pages; see Chaps. XX, XXI.

20. On the nature of lakes; 1¼ page; see Chap. XXII.

21. On the nature of the five classes of animals; 5 1/3 pages; see Chap. XIV.

22. On the nature of men; 7½ pages; see Chap. XV

23. On the nature of generation of every kind; 5 pages; see Chap. XVI.

24. On the nature of plants; 3½ pages; see Chap. XXVII.

25. On the chieftainship of men and animals and every single thing; 2 1/3 pages; see Chap. XXIV.

26. On the nature of fire; 4 2/3 pages; see Chap. XVII.

* 27. On the nature of sleep; 2 1/3 pages.

* 28. On the nature of wind and cloud and rain; 9 2/3 pages.

* 29. On the nature of noxious creatures; 4½ pages[2].

* 30. On the nature of the wolf species; 2 pages.

31. On things of every kind that are created by the spirits[3], and the opposition which came upon them; 7¾ pages; see Chaps. XVIII, XIX.

32. On the religious year; 4 pages; see Chaps. XXV, XXVI.

*33. On the great exploits of the celestial angels; 17½ pages.

34. On the evil-doing of Aharman and the demons; 7 pages, as in Chap. XXVIII.

[1. TD contains half a page more near the beginning, and a page and a half more at the end.

2. Probably Chap. XXIII of the translation forms a part either of this chapter or the next.

3. This word is doubtful.]

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35. On the body of man and the opinion of the world[1]; 7 pages.

36. On the spiritual chieftainship of the regions of the earth; 3½ pages, as in Chap. XXIX.

* 37. On the Kinvad bridge and the souls of the departed; 5 2/3 pages.

* 38. On the celebrated provinces of the country of Iran, the residence of the Kayâns; 5 pages[2].

* 39. On the calamities of various millenniums happening to the country of Iran; 8 2/3 pages[3].

40. On the resurrection and future existence; 6 2/3 pages; see Chap. XXX.

41. On the race and offspring of the Kayâns; 8 2/3 pages, as in Chaps. XXXI-XXXIII.

42. On the computation of years of the Arabs; 2¼ pages; see Chap. XXXIV.

Comparing this list of contents with the text in K20, as published in Westergaard's lithographed facsimile edition, it appears that TD contains, not only fifteen extra chapters, but also very much additional matter in the chapters corresponding to Chaps. I, II, V, XVI, XXVIII, and XXXI of the translation in this volume, and smaller additions to those corresponding to Chaps. III, IV, XV, XVII, and XXXIV. The arrangement of the chapters in TD is also much more methodical than in the Indian MSS., especially with regard to Chaps. XX, XXI, XXII, and XXVII, which evidently occupy their proper position in TD; and so far as Chap. XX is concerned, this arrangement is confirmed by the insertion of its first sentence between Chaps. XIII and XIV in the Indian MSS., which indicates that the whole chapter must have been in that position in some older copy.

In fact, the Indian MSS. must probably be now regarded merely as collections of

[1. The meaning is doubtful and must depend upon the context.

2. This chapter begins with a translation of the first fargard of the Vendidad, and concludes with an account of buildings erected by various kings.

3. Containing an account of the kings reigning in the various millenniums, and concluding with prophecies similar to those in the Bahman Yast.]

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extracts from the, original work; this has been long suspected from the fragmentary character of the text they contain, but it could hardly be proved until a more complete text had been discovered.

Whether TD may be considered as a copy of the text as it stood originally, or merely of an after recension of the work, can hardly be determined with certainty until the whole contents of the manuscript have been carefully examined; it is, therefore, to be hoped that its owner will be induced to publish a lithographed facsimile of the whole, after the manner of Westergaard's edition. So far as appears in the lengthy and valuable extracts, with which he has kindly favoured me, no decided difference of style can be detected between the additional matter and the text hitherto known, nor any inconsistencies more striking than such as sometimes occur in the Indian MSS. On the other hand, it will be noticed that heading No. 25 in the list of contents

seems to be misplaced, which is an argument against the text being in its original state; and the style of the Bundahis is so much less involved and obscure than that of the Selections of Zâd-sparam (see Appendix to the Bundahis), which treat of some of the same subjects, that it may be fairly suspected of having been written originally in a different age. But the writer of the text, as it appears in TD, calls Zâd-sparam[1] one of his contemporaries (see Chap. XXXIII, 10, 11 of the translation); it may, therefore, be suspected that he merely re-edited an old text with some additions of his own, which, however, are rather difficult to distinguish from the rest. No stress can be laid upon peculiarities of orthography in TD, as they are, in all likelihood, attributable to copyists long subsequent to Zâd-sparam's contemporaries.

Any future translator of the Bundahis will probably have to take the text in TD as the nearest accessible approach to the original work; but the present translation is based, as heretofore, upon the text in K20, corrected in many places from M6, but with due care not to adopt

[1. He writes the name Zâd-sparham.]

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readings which seem due to the illegibility of the original from which M6 was copied, as already explained. In Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, XXXI, XXXII, and XXXIII, however, TD has been taken as a principal authority, merely checked by K20, and having its additional passages carefully indicated; and in Chap. XXXI, K20b has also been consulted.

Since the present translation was printed, any lingering doubts, as to the genuineness of the text in TD, have been, in a great measure, dissipated by the discovery that a small fragment[1] of an old MS. of the Bundahis, which has long been in Europe, is evidently a portion of a text of similar character to TD, and of exactly the same extent. This small fragment consists of two folios belonging to an old MS. brought from Persia by the late Professor Westergaard in 1843-44, and which is evidently the codex mentioned by him in the preface to his Zend-Avesta, p. 8, note .3. These two folios, which are numbered 130 and 131 in Persian words, now form the commencement of this old mutilated MS., of which the first 129 folios have been lost. They contain very little more than one page of the Bundahis text, namely, the last sentences of the last chapter (corresponding to

Bund. XXXIV, 7-9), followed by a colophon occupying less than two pages. This fragment of the text contains some additional details not found in the Indian MSS., as well as a few other variations of no great importance. It may be translated as follows:--

'[. . . Sâhm[2] was in those reigns of Aûzôbô, Kavâd, and Mânûskîhar.] Kai-Kâyûs, till his going to the sky, seventy-five years, and after that, seventy-five years, altogether a hundred and fifty years; Kaî-Khûsrôbô sixty

[1. I am indebted to Professor G. Hoffmann, of Kiel, for directing my attention to this fragment, and also for kindly sending me a facsimile of it. It had been recognised as a portion of the Bundahis by Dr. Andreas some years ago, and probably by the owner of the MS., the late Professor Westergaard, long before that.

2. See Bund. XXXI, 27. As the beginning of this sentence is lost in translation is uncertain. Details not found in K20 and M6 are here enclosed in brackets, and words added by the translator to complete the sense are printed in italics.]

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years; Kai-Lôharâsp a hundred and twenty years; Kai-Vistâsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years; [total (mar) one thousand years[1]. Then the millennium reign came to Capricornus, and Zaratûhast[2] the Spîtâmân, with tidings (pêtkhambarth) from the creator Aûharmazd, came to King Vistâsp; and Vistâsp was king,] after receiving the religion, ninety years.

'Vohûman, son of Spend-dâd, a hundred and twelve years; Hûmâi, daughter of Vohûman, thirty years; Dârâi, son of Kîhar-âzâd, that is, of the daughter of Vohûman, twelve years; Dârâi, son of Dârâi, fourteen years; and Alexander the Rûman[3] fourteen years.

'The Askânians should bear the title in an uninterrupted sovereignty two hundred and so many[4] years; and Artakhshatar, son of Pâpak, and the number of the Sâsânians bear it four hundred and sixty years, until the withering Arabs obtained a place [5] [as far as the year 447 of the Persians; now it is the Persian year 527][6].'

The colophon, which follows, states that the MS. was finished on the thirteenth day of the ninth month A.Y. 936 (A. D. 1567), and was written by Mitrô-âpân, son of Anôshakrûbân, son of Rûstâm. This MS. is, therefore, of nearly the same age as

TD; but there has been no opportunity of collating the fragment of it, which is still extant, with the corresponding portion of TD. That it was a MS. of the same character as TD (that is, one containing the same text as K20, but with much additional matter) appears clearly

[1. From the beginning of Frêdûn's reign, when the millennium of Sagittarius commenced.

2. The usual way of spelling Zaratûst in old MSS; excepting K20 and a few others.

3. Here written correctly Alaksandar-i Arûmâh.

4. Reading va and; as the final letter is d and not d it cannot be read nâvad as a variant of navad, 'ninety.'

5. The words are, vad gînâk ayâft khûskô-i Tâzîkânô, but the exact meaning is rather doubtful.

6. The last date is doubtful, as the Pahlavi text gives the ciphers only for 'five and twenty-seven,' omitting that for 'hundred.' These Persian dates must either have been added by some former copyist, or Chap. XXXIV must have been appended to the Bundahis at a later date than the ninth century, when the preceding genealogical chapters were probably added to the original work (see p. xliii). The Persian year 627 was A.D. 1158.]

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from the fragment translated above. Regarding its original extent, it is possible to make an approximate estimate, by calculating the quantity of text which the 129 lost folios must have contained, from the quantity actually existing on folio 130. According to this calculation, the original extent of the text of the Bundahis in this MS. must have been very nearly 30,000 words; and it is remarkable that a similar calculation of the extent of the text in TD, based upon the actual contents of ten folios Out of 103, gives precisely the same result. This coincidence is a strong argument in favour of the absolute identity of the text lost from Westergaard's MS. with that actually existing in TD; it shows, further, that the original extent of the Bundahis may now be safely estimated at 30,000 words, instead of the 13,000 contained in K20 when that MS. was complete.

That this fragment belonged to a separate MS., and is not the folio missing from the end of TD, is shown not only by its containing more of the text than is said to be missing, but also by the first folio of the fragment being numbered 130, instead of 103, and by its containing fifteen lines to the page, instead of seventeen, as would be necessary in order to correspond with TD.

Regarding the age of the Bundahis many opinions have been hazarded, but as they have been chiefly based upon minute details of supposed internal evidence evolved from each writer's special misinterpretation of the text, it is unnecessary to detail them. The only indication of its age that can be fairly obtained from internal evidence, is that the text of the Bundahis could not have been completed, in its present form, until after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia (A.D. 651). This is shown not only by the statements that the sovereignty 'went to the Arabs' (Chap. XXXIV, 9), that 'now, through the invasion of the Arabs, they (the negroes) are again diffused through the country of Iran' (Chap. XXIII, 3), and that 'whoever keeps the year by the revolution of the moon mingles summer with winter and winter with summer' (Chap. XXV, 19, referring probably to the Muhammadan year not corresponding with the seasons), but also, more positively

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by the following translation of an extract from Chap. 39 in TD:--

'And when the sovereignty came to Yazdakard he exercised sovereignty twenty years, and then the Arabs rushed into the country of Iran in great multitude. Yazdakard did not prosper (lâ sâkaftö) in warfare with them, and went to Khûrâsân and Türkistân to seek horses, men, and assistance, and was slain by them there. The son of Yazdakard went to the Hindûs and fetched an army of champions; before it came, conducted unto Khûrâsân, that army of champions dispersed. The country of Iran remained with the Arabs, and their own irreligious law was propagated by them, and many ancestral customs were destroyed; the religion of the Mazdayasnians was weakened, and washing of corpses, burial of corpses, and eating of dead matter were put in practice. From the original creation until this day evil more grievous than this has not happened, for through their evil deeds--on account of want, foreign habits (Anîrânîh), hostile acts, bad decrees, and bad religion--ruin, want, and other evils--have taken lodgment.'

None of these passages could have been written before the Muhammadan conquest; but the writer, or editor, of the text as it appears in TD, supplies the means of approximating much more closely to the date of his work, in a passage in Chap. 41 of TD, in which he mentions the names of several of his contemporaries (see Chap. XXXIII, 10, 11). Among these, as already noticed, he mentions 'Zâd-sparham son of Yûdân-Yim,' who must have been the writer of the Selections of Zâd-sparam, a translation of which is added as an appendix to the Bundahis in this volume. This writer was the brother of Mânûskîhar son of Yûdân-Yim, who wrote the Dâdistân-i Dînîk[1], and from colophons found in certain MSS. of the Dâdistân (which will be more particularly described in the next section of this introduction) it appears that this Mânûskîhar was

[1. It is quite possible that Mânûskîhar was also the reviser of the Bundahis; see the note on Dâdakîh-i Ashôvahistô in Chap. XXXIII, 10.]

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high-priest of Pârs and Kîrmân in A.Y. 250 (A. D. 881). This date may, therefore, be taken as a very close approximation to the time at which the Bundahis probably assumed the form we find in TD; but that MS., having been written about 650 years later, can hardly have been copied direct from the original. Whether that original was merely a new edition of an older Pahlavi work, as may be suspected from the simplicity of its language, or whether it was first translated, for the most part, from the Avesta of the Dâmdâd Nask, in the ninth century, we have no means of determining with certainty. Judging, however, from Chap. I, 1, the original Bundahis probably ended with the account of the resurrection (Chap. XXX), and the extra chapters, containing genealogical and chronological details (matters not mentioned in Chap. I, i), together with all allusions to the Arabs, were probably added by the revising editor in the ninth century. The last, or chronological, chapter may even have been added at a later date.

A Gugarâti translation, or rather paraphrase, of the Bundahis was published in 1819 by Edal Dârâb Jamshêd Jâmâsp Âsâ, and a revised edition of it was published by Peshutan Rustam in 1877[1]. In the preface to the latter edition it is stated that the translator made use of two MSS., one being a copy of a manuscript written in Iran in A.Y. 776 by Rustamji Meherwanji Margabân Sheheriâr[2], and the other a MS. written in India by Dastûr Jamshêdji Jâmâspji in A.Y. 1139[3]. It is also mentioned that he was four years at work upon his translation. The editor of the new edition states that he has laboured to

[1. Bundeheh ketâb, iâne duniâ-ni awal-thi te âkher sudhi pedâes-ni sahrûât-ni hakikat; bigi-vâr sudhârîne khapâwanâr, Peshutan bin Rustam; Mumbai, 1877.

2. There is no doubt whatever that the writer of the preface is referring to M6, although his description is incorrect. M6 was written at Bhrôk in India A.Y. 766 by Pêshôtan Râm Kâmdîn Shaharyâr Nêryôsang Shâhmard Shaharyâr Bâhrâm Aûrmazdâyr Râmyâr; but some portion of it (probably not the Bundahis) was copied from a MS. written A.Y. 618 (A.D. 1249) by Rûstam Mihirâpân Marzapân Dahisni-ayâr, who must be the copyist mentioned in the preface to the Gugarâti translation.

3. This is probably the copy derived from M6, and mentioned in p. xxx as being now in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji.]

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improve the work by collecting all the further information he could find, on the various subjects, in many other Pahlavi works. The result of all this labour is not so much a mere translation of the Bundahis, as a larger work, upon the same subject, or a paraphrase more methodically arranged, as may be seen from the following summary of its contents:--

The headings of the fifty-nine chapters, which form the first part of the work, are:--Ahuramazd's covenant, account of the sky, of the first twelve things created, of Mount Alborg, of the twelve signs of the zodiac, of the stars, of the soul, of the first practices adopted by the creatures of the evil spirit Ahereman, of Ahereman's first breaking into the sky, of Ahereman's coming upon the primeval ox, of Ahereman's arrival in the fire, of Ahereman's coming upon Gaiomard, of the coming of Ahuramazd and Ahereman upon Gaiomard at the time of his creation, of the lustre residing in both spirits; further account of the arrangement of the sky, another account of all the mountains, of depressions for water, of great and small rivers, of the eighteen rivers of fresh water, of the seven external and seven internal liquids in the bodies of men, of the period in which water falling on the earth arrives at its destination, of the three spiritual rivers, of the star Tehestar's destroying the noxious creatures which Ahereman had distributed over the earth, of the prophet Zarathost's asking the creator Ahuramazd how long these noxious creatures will remain in the latter millenniums, of driving the poison of the noxious creatures out of the earth, of the divisions of the land, of the creator Ahuramazd's placing valiant stars as club-bearers over the heads of the demons, of all the things produced by the passing away of the primeval ox, of the 282 species of beasts and birds, of the bird named

Kamros, of the bird named Karsapad and the hollow of Vargamkard, of the birds who are enemies opposed to the demons and fiends, of the bitter and sweet plants among the fifty-five kinds of grain and twelve kinds of herbs, of the flowers of the thirty days, of the revolution of the sun and moon and stars, and how

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night falls, and how the day becomes light, of the seven regions of the earth, of depressions, of the creatures of the sea, of the flow and, ebb of the tide, of the three-legged ass, of the Gâhambârs, of Rapithvan, of the revolution of the seasons, of the production of mankind from the passing away of Gaiomard, of the production of offspring from the seed of men, of all fires, of all the clever work produced in the reign of King Jamshed and the production of the ape and bear, of the production of the Abyssinian and negro from Zohâk, of the splendour and glory of King Jamshed, of the soul of Kersâsp, of Kersâsp's soul being the first to rise, of the names of the prophet Zarathost's pedigree, of his going out into the world, of his children, of the orders given by Ahereman to the demons when the creator Ahuramazd created the creatures, of the weeping and raging of the evil spirit Ahereman, of the weeping of the demon of Wrath in the presence of Ahereman when the prophet Zarathost brought the religion, of the computation of twelve thousand years.

The headings of the thirteen chapters, which form the second part, are:--Account of the last millenniums, of the appearance of Hosedar-bâmi, of his going out into the world, of the appearance of Hosedar-mâh, of Sosios, of the fifty-seven years, of giving the light of the sun to men on the day of the resurrection, of the rising again of the whole of mankind on that day, of the resurrection, of the means of resurrection, of the annihilation of the evil spirit Ahereman and the demons and fiends on the day of resurrection, of the creator Ahuramazd's making the earth and sky one after the resurrection, of the proceedings of all creatures after the resurrection.

The third part contains an abstract of the contents of the hundred chapters of the Sad-dar Bundahis, and concludes with an account of the ceremonial formula practised when tying the kusti or sacred thread-girdle.

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4. THE SELECTIONS OF ZÂD-SPARAM.

In some manuscripts of the Dâdistân-i Dînik the ninety-two questions and answers, which usually go by that name, are preceded and followed by Pahlavi texts which are each nearly equal in extent to the questions and answers, and treat of a variety of subjects, somewhat in the manner of a Rivâyat. Of the texts which follow the questions and answers the following are the principal:--

Incantations for fever, &c.; indications afforded by natural marks on the body; about the hamîstakân ('the ever-stationary,' or neutral state of future existence) and the different grades in heaven; copy of an epistle[1] from Herbad Mânûskîhar son of Yûdân-Yim[2], Which he addressed to the good people of Sîrkân[3], about the decisions pronounced by Herbad Zâd-sparam son of Yûdân-Yim; copy of a letter from Herbad Mânûskîhar son of Yûdân-Yim to his brother, Herbad Zâd-sparam, on the same subject, and replying to a letter of his written from Nîvshâpûhar; copy of a notice by Herbad Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim and high-priest (rad) of Pârs and Kîrmân, of the necessity of fifteen-fold ablution on account of grievous sin, written and sealed in the third month A.Y. 250 (A.D. 881); memoranda and writings called 'Selections of Zâd-sparam son of Yûdân-Yim,' the first part treating of many of the same subjects as the Bundahis, together

[1. This long epistle contains one statement which is important in its bearing upon the age of certain Pahlavi writings, It states that Nîshahpûhar was in the council of Anôshak-rûbân Khûsrô, king of kings and son of Kavâd, also that he was Mobad of Mobads and a commentator. Now this is the name of a commentator quoted in the Pahlavi Vend. III, 151, V, 112, VIII, 64, and very frequently in the Nîrangistân; it is also a title applied to Ardâ-Vîrâf (see AV. I. 35). These facts seem to limit the age of the last revision of the Pahlavi Vendidad, and of the composition of the Pahlavi Nîrangistân and Ardâ-Vîrâf-nâmak to the time of King Khûsrô Nôshirvân (A.D. 531-579). The statement depends, of course, upon the accuracy of a tradition three centuries old, as this epistle must have been written about A. D. 880.

2. Some Parsis read this name Gôshnajam, others Yûdân-dam.

3. Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji thinks this is the place now called Sîrgan, about thirty parasangs south of Kirmân, on the road to Bandar Abbâs, which is no doubt the case.]

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with legends regarding Zaratûst and his family; the second part about the formation of men out of body, life, and soul; and the third part about the details of the renovation of the universe. The last part of these Selections is incomplete in all known MSS., and is followed by some fragments of a further series of questions and answers regarding the omniscient wisdom, the evil spirit, Kangdes, the enclosure formed by Yim, &c.

A translation of so much of the Selections of Zâd-sparam as treats of the same subjects as the Bundahis, has been added as an appendix to the translation of that work in this volume, because the language used in these Selections seems to have an important bearing upon the question of the age of the Bundahis. The time when the Selections themselves were written is fixed with considerable precision by the date (A. D. 881), when their author's brother, Mânûskîhar, issued his public notice, as mentioned above. But Zâd-sparam uses, in many places, precisely the same words as those employed in the Bundahis, interspersed with much matter written in a more declamatory style; it is, therefore, evident that he had the Bundahis before him to quote from, and that work must consequently have been written either by one of his contemporaries, or by an older writer. So far the Selections merely confirm the information already obtained more directly from TD (see p. xxxviii); but the involved style of their language seems to prove more than this. In fact, in none of the text of the Dâdistân-i Dînik and its accompaniments is there much of the simplicity of style and directness of purpose which are the chief characteristics of most of the language of the Bundahis. So far, therefore, as style can be considered a mark of age, rather than a mere personal peculiarity of a contemporary writer, the contrast between the straightforward language of the Bundahis and the laboured sentences of Mânûskîhar and Zâd-sparam, sons of Yûdân-Yim, tends to prove that the bulk of the Bundahis was already an old work in their days, and was probably saved from oblivion through their writings or influence. That this original Bundahis or Zandâkâs was an abridged translation of the Avesta of the

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Dâmdâd Nask appears pretty evident from Zâd-sparam's remarks in Chap. IX, I, 16 of his Selections.

The first part of these Selections consists of 'sayings about the meeting of the beneficent and evil spirits,' and, the first portion of these 'sayings' (divided into eleven, chapters in the translation) is chiefly a paraphrase of Caps. I-XVII of the Bundahis (omitting Chaps. II, V, and XVI). It describes the original state of the two spirits, their meeting and covenant, with a paraphrase of the Ahânavar formula; the production of the first creatures, including time; the incursion of the evil spirit and his temporary success in deranging the creation, with the reason why he was unable to destroy the primitive man for thirty years; followed by the seven contests he carried on with the sky, water, earth, plants, animals, man, and fire, respectively, detailing how each of these creations was modified in consequence of the incursion of the evil spirit. In the account of the first of these contests the Pahlavi translation of one stanza in the Gâthas is quoted verbatim, showing that the same Pahlavi version of the Yasna was used in the ninth century as now exists. The remainder of these 'sayings,' having no particular connection with the Bundahis, has not been translated.

With regard to the Pahlavi text of the Selections, the present translator has been compelled to rely upon a single manuscript of the Dâdistân-i Dînik, brought by Westergaard from Kirmân[1] in 1843, and now No. 35 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Kopenhagen; it may, therefore, be called K35. This MS. is incomplete, having lost nearly one-third of its original bulk, but still contains 181 folios of large octavo size, written fifteen to seventeen lines to the page; the first seventy-one folios of the work have been lost, and about thirty-five folios are also missing from the end; but the whole of the ninety-two questions and answers, together with one-third of the

[1. That is, so far as the late Professor Westergaard could remember in 1878, when he kindly lent me the MS. for collation with my copy of the text, already obtained from more recent MSS. in Bombay, the best of which turned out to be, a copy of K35.]

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texts which usually precede them, and three-fifths of those which usually follow them, are still remaining. This MS. has lost its date, but a copy[1] of it exists in Bombay (written when it was complete) which ends with a colophon dated A.Y. 941 (A.D. 1572), as detailed in p. xxxiii; this may either be the actual date of that copy, or it may have been merely copied from K35, which cannot be much older. The latter supposition appears the more probable, as this colophon seems to be left incomplete by the loss of the last folio in the Bombay copy, and may, therefore, have been followed by another colophon giving a later date.

This copy of K35 was, no doubt, originally complete, but has lost many of its folios in the course of time; most of the missing text has been restored from another MS., but there are still twelve or more folios missing from the latter part of the work; it contains, however, all that portion of the Selections which is translated in this volume, but has, of course, no authority

independent of K35. The other MS. in Bombay, from which some of the missing text was recovered, is in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji; it is a modern copy, written at different periods from forty to sixty years ago, and is incomplete, as it contains only one-fourth of the texts which usually follow the ninety-two questions and answers, and includes no Portion of the Selections of Zâd-sparam.

Another MS. of the Dâdistân-i Dînîk and its accompaniments, written also at Kirmân, but two generations earlier than K35 (say, about A.D. 1530), has been already mentioned (see p. xxxiii). It is said still to contain 227 folios, though its first seventy folios are missing; it must, therefore, begin very near the same place as K35, but extends much further, as it supplies about half the text still missing from the

[1. The fact of its being a copy of K35 is proved by strong circumstantial evidence. In the first place, it contains several false readings which are clearly due to mis-shapen letters and accidental marks in K35, so that it is evidently descended from that MS. But it is further proved to have been copied direct from that MS., by the last words in thirty-two of its pages having been marked with interlined circles in K35; the circle having been the copyist's mark for finding his place, when beginning a new page after turning over his folios.]

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Bombay copy of K35, though it has lost about fourteen folios at the end. This MS. must be either the original from which K35 was copied, or an independent authority of equal value, but it has not been available for settling the text of the Selections for the present translation.

5. THE BAHMAN YAST.

The Bahman Yast, usually called the 'Zand of the Vohûman Yast,' professes to be a prophetic work, in which Aûharmazd gives Zaratûst an account of what was to happen to the Iranian nation and religion in the future.

It begins with an introduction (Chap. I) which states that, according to the Stûdgar Nask, Zaratûst having asked Aûharmazd for immortality, was supplied temporarily with omniscient wisdom, and had a vision of a tree with four branches of different metals which were explained to him as symbolical of four different periods, the times of Vistâsp, of Ardakhshîr the Kayânian, of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, and of certain demons or idolators who were to appear at the end of a thousand years. It states, further, that the commentaries of the Vohûman, Horvâdad, and Âstâd Yasts mentioned the heretic Mazdak, and that Khûsrô Nôshirvân summoned a council of high-priests and commentators, and ordered them not to conceal these Yasts, but to teach the commentary only among their own relations.

The text then proceeds (Chap. 11) to give the details of the commentary on the Vohûman Yast as follows:--Zaratûst, having again asked Aûharmazd for immortality, is refused, but is again supplied with omniscient wisdom for a week, during which time he sees, among other things, a tree with seven branches of different metals, which are again explained to him as denoting the seven ages of the religion, its six ages of triumph in the reigns of Vistâsp, of Ardakhshîr the Kayânian, of one of the Askânian kings, of Ardakhshîr Pâpakân and Shahpûr I and II, of Vâhrâm Gôr, and of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, and its seventh age of adversity when

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Iran is to be invaded from the east by hordes of demons or idolators with dishevelled hair, who are to work much mischief, so as to destroy the greater part of the nation and mislead the rest, until the religion becomes nearly extinct. The details of this mischief, written in a tone of lamentation, constitute the greater part of the text, which also notices that the sovereignty will pass from the Arabs, Romans, and these leathern-belted demons (Tûrks) to other Tûrks and non-Tûranians who are worse than themselves.

Distressed at this narrative Zaratûst asks Aûharmazd (Chap. III, 1) how the religion is to be restored, and these demons destroyed? He is informed that, in the course of time, other fiends with red banners, red weapons, and red hats, who seem to be Christians, will appear in the northwest, and will advance either to the Arvand (Tigris) or the Euphrates, driving back the former demons who will assemble all their allies to a great conflict, one of the three great battles of the religions of the world, in which the wicked will be so utterly destroyed that none will be left to pass into the next millennium.

Zaratûst enquires (III, 12) how so many can perish, and is informed that, after the demons with dishevelled hair appear, Hûshêdar, the first of the last three apostles, is born near Lake Frazdân; and when he begins to confer with Aûharmazd a Kayân prince is born in the direction of Kînistân (Samarkand), who is called Vâhrâm the Vargâvand, and when he is thirty

years old he collects a large army of Hindu (Bactrian) and Kîmî (Samarkandian) troops, and advances into Iran, where he is reinforced by a numerous army of Iranian warriors, and defeats the demon races with immense slaughter, in the great conflict already mentioned, so that there will be only one man left to a thousand women.

The writer then proceeds to describe the supernatural agencies employed to produce this result: how the evil spirit (III, 24) comes to the assistance of the demon-worshippers; how Aûharmazd sends his angels to Kangdez, to summon Pêshyôtanû, the immortal son of Vistâsp, with his disciples, to re-establish the sacred fires and restore the

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religious ceremonies; and how the angels assist them against the evil spirits, so that Vâhrâm the Vargâvand is enabled to destroy the fiendish races, as already detailed, and Pêshyôtanû becomes supreme high-priest of the Iranian world.

Finally, the writer gives some details regarding the missions of the last three apostles, returning for that purpose (III, 44) to the birth of Hûshêdar, the first of the three, whose millennium witnesses both the invasion and the destruction of the fiendish races. Hûshêdar proves his apostolic authority, to the satisfaction of Vargâvand and the people, by making the sun stand still for ten days and nights. His mission is to 'bring the creatures back to their proper state;' and it is not till near the end of his millennium that Pêshyôtanû appears, as before described. As this millennium begins with the invasion of the fiendish races and the fall of the Sasanian dynasty, it must have terminated in the seventeenth century, unless it was to last more than a thousand years. A very brief account is then given of the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh, the second of the three apostles, whose mission is to make 'the creatures more progressive' and to destroy 'the fiend of serpent origin' (Az-i Dahâk). During his millennium (which appears to be now in progress) mankind become so skilled in medicine that they do not readily die; but owing to their toleration of heretics the evil spirit once more attains power, and releases Az-i Dahâk, from his confinement in Mount Dimâvand, to work evil in the world, till Aûharmazd sends his angels to rouse Keresâsp the Sâmân, who rises from his trance and kills Az-i Dahâk with his club at the end of the millennium. Afterwards, Sôshyans, the last apostle, appears to 'make the creatures again pure;' when the resurrection takes place and the future existence commences.

Whether this text, as now extant, be the original commentary or zand of the Vohûman Yast admits of doubt, since it appears to quote that commentary (Chap. II, 1) as an authority for its statements; it is, therefore, most probably, only an epitome of the original commentary. Such an epitome would naturally quote many passages verbatim

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from the original work, which ought to bear traces of translation from an Avesta text, as its title zand implies a Pahlavi translation from the Avesta (see p. x). There are, in fact, many such traces in this epitome, as indicated by the numerous sentences beginning with a verb, the mode of addressing Aûharmazd, the quotation of different opinions from various commentators, and other minor peculiarities. Some of these might be the result of careful imitation of other commentaries, but it seems more likely that they are occasioned by literal translation from an original Avesta text. In speculating, therefore, upon the contents of the Bahman Yast it is necessary to remember that we are most probably dealing with a composite work, whose statements may be referred to the three different ages of the Avesta original, the Pahlavi translation and commentary, and the Pahlavi epitome of the latter; and that this last form of the text is the only old version now extant.

With regard to the age of the work we have the external evidence that a copy of it exists in a manuscript (K20) written about five hundred years ago, and that this copy is evidently descended from older manuscripts as it contains several clerical blunders incompatible with any idea of its being the original, manuscript, as witness the omissions noted in Chaps. II, 10, 13, 14, 22, 27, 45, III, 30, 32, the misplacement of II, 18, and many miswritings of single words. Owing to the threefold character of the work, already noticed, the internal evidence of its age can only apply to its last recension in the form of an epitome, as an oriental editor (to say nothing of others) generally considers himself at liberty to alter and add to his text, if he does not understand it, or thinks he can improve it. That this liberty has been freely exercised, with regard to these professed prophecies, is shown by the identification of the four prophetic ages of the Stûdgar Nask in the first chapter of the Bahman Yast being different from that given in the Dînkard. The Dînkard quotes the Stûdgar Nask (that is, its Pahlavi version) as identifying the iron age with some period of religious indifference subsequent to the time of Atarô-pâd son of Mâraspend, the supreme high-priest and

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prime minister of Shahpûr II (A.D. 309-379); but the Bahman Yast (Chap. I, 5) quotes the Nask as identifying the same age with the reign of an idolatrous race subsequent to the time of Khûsrô Nôshirvân (A.D. 531-579). This example is sufficient to show that the compiler of the extant epitome of the Bahman Yast commentary largely availed himself of his editorial license,

and it indicates the difficulty of distinguishing his statements from those of the former editors. At the same time it proves that the epitome could not have been compiled till after Iran had been overrun by a foreign race subsequent to the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân. It is remarkable that the compiler does not mention any later Sasanian king, that he does not allude to Muhammadanism, and speaks of the foreign invaders as Turanians and Christians, only mentioning Arabs incidentally in later times; at the same time the foreign invasion (which lasts a thousand years) is of too permanent a character to allow of its having reference merely to the troublous times of Nôshirvân's successor.

Perhaps the most reasonable hypotheses that can be founded upon these facts are, first, that the original zand or commentary of the Bahman Yast was written and translated from the Avesta in the latter part of the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, or very shortly afterwards, which would account for no later king being mentioned by name; and, secondly, that the epitome now extant was compiled by some writer who lived so long after the Arab invasion that the details of their inroad had, become obscured by the more recent successes of Turanian rulers, such as the Ghaznavîs and Salgûqs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is hardly possible that the epitomist could have lived as late as the time of Gîngîz Khân, the great Mongol conqueror (A.D. 1206-1227), as that would bring him within 150 years of the date of the extant manuscript of his work, which has no appearance of being an immediate copy of the original; but the rule of the Salgûqs would certainly have afforded him sufficient materials for his long description of the iron age. The Avesta of the Bahman Yast was probably compiled from older sources (like the rest of the Avesta) during

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the reigns of the earlier Sasanian monarchs but it was, no doubt, very different in its details from the epitome of its commentary which still exists.

These hypotheses, regarding the threefold origin of the present form of this Yast, derive some confirmation from the inconsistencies in its chronological details; especially those relating to the periods of the invaders' reign and of Hûshêdar's birth. The Zoroastrians have for ages been expecting the appearance of Hûshêdar, the first of their last three apostles, but have always had to postpone their expectations from time to time, like the Jews and other interpreters of prophecy; so that they are still looking forward into the future for his advent, although his millennium has long since expired according to the chronology adopted in the Bahman Yast. This chronology, of course, represents the expectations of Zoroastrians in past times, and seems to express three different opinions. First, we have the statement that the last great battle of the demon-races is to take place at the end of Zaratûst's millennium (see Chap. III, 9), when the wicked will be so destroyed (compare III, 22, 23) that none will pass into the next millennium (III, 11), which is that of Hûshêdar (III, 43). And that the reign of evil is to precede the end of Zaratûst's millennium is evidently assumed also in Chap. II, 41, 63. Such opinions may reasonably be traced to the original Avesta writer, who must have expected only a short reign of evil to arise and fall near the latter end of Zaratûst's millennium, which was still far in the future, and to be followed by the appearance of Hûshêdar to restore the 'good' religion. Secondly, we are told (I, 5, II, 22, 24, 31) that the invasion of the demon-races, with its attendant evils, is to take place when Zaratûst's millennium is ended; on their appearance Hûshêdar is born (III, 13), and when he is thirty years old (compare III, 14 with III, 44) Vâhrâm the Vargâvand is also born, who at the age of thirty (III, 17) advances into Iran with an innumerable army to destroy the invaders. Such statements may be attributed to the original Pahlavi translator and commentator who, writing about A.D. 570-590, would have before his eyes the disastrous

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reign of Aûharmazd IV, the son and successor of Khûsrô Nôshirvân, together with the prowess of the famous Persian general Bahrâm Kôpîn, which drove out all invaders. This writer evidently expected the reign of the demon-races to last less than a century, but still at some period in the near future; merely illustrating his theme by details of the disasters and wars of his own time. Thirdly, we find it stated (III, 44) that Hûshêdar will be born in 1600, which seems to mean the sixteen hundredth year of Zaratûst's millennium, or six hundredth of his own (say A.D. 1193-1235),--also that the reign of the demon-races is to last a thousand years (III, 34), and that Pêshyôtânû does not come to restore the religion till near the end of the millennium (III, 51); it also appears (III, 49) that Vargâvand occupies a prominent position when Hûshêdar comes from his conference with Aûharmazd at thirty years of age (III, 44, 45). Such details were probably inserted by the compiler of the epitome, who had to admit the facts that the reign of the demon-races had already lasted for centuries, and that Hûshêdar had not yet appeared. To get over these difficulties he probably adopted the opinions current in his day, and postponed the advent of Hûshêdar till the beginning of the next century in his millennium, and put off the destruction of the wicked, as a more hopeless matter, till near the end of the millennium. Both these periods are now long since past, and the present Zoroastrians have still to postpone the fulfilment of the prophecies connected with their last three apostles, or else to understand them in a less literal fashion than heretofore.

For the Pahlavi text, of the Bahman Yast the translator has to rely upon the single old manuscript K20, already described (p.

xxvii), in which it occupies the 131 folios immediately following the Bundahis; these folios are much worn, and a few words have been torn off some of them, but nearly all of these missing-words can be restored by aid of the Pâzand version. The Pahlavi text is also found in the modern copies of K20 at Paris and Kopenhagen, but these copies (P7 and K21) have no authority independent of K20. In India this text has long been exceedingly rare,

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and whether any copy of it exists, independent of K20, is doubtful.

The Pâzand version is more common in Parsi libraries, but contains a very imperfect text. of this version two modern copies, have been consulted; one of these occupies fols. 38-62 of a small manuscript, No. 22 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich; the other is a copy of a manuscript in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis in Bombay. Both these MSS. are evidently descended from the same original, which must have been a very imperfect transliteration of a Pahlavi text closely resembling that of K20, but yet independent of that MS., as a few words omitted in K20 are supplied by these Pâzand MSS. (see B.Yt. II, 13, 14, 22, &c.) To a certain extent, therefore, these Pâzand MSS. are of some assistance in settling the text of a few sentences, but the greater part of their contents is so imperfect as to be utterly unintelligible; they not only omit Chaps. I, 1-8, II, 17, 30-32, 40, III, 9, 12, 17-44, 58-63 entirely, but also words and phrases from nearly every other section of the text. Adhering scrupulously to the Pahlavi original for a few consecutive words, and then widely departing from it by misreading or omitting all difficult words and passages, this Pâzand version is a complete contrast to the Pâzand writings of Nêryôsang, being of little use to the reader beyond showing the extremely low ebb to which Pahlavi learning must have fallen, among the Parsis, before such unintelligible writings could have been accepted as Pâzand texts.

There is also a Persian version of the Bahman Yast, a copy of which, written A.D. 1676, is contained in a large Rivâyat MS. No. 29, belonging to the University Library at Bombay. According to the colophon of this Persian version it was composed in A.D. 1496 by Rustam Isfendiyâr of Yazd, from an Avesta (Pâzand) MS. belonging to his brother Jamshêd. This Persian version contains less than three per cent of Arabic words, and is more of a paraphrase than a translation, but it adheres very closely to the meaning of the Pahlavi text from Chaps. I, I to III, 9, where a dislocation occurs, evidently owing either to the displacement

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of two folios in an older MS., or to the second page of a folio being copied before the first, so that §§10-14 follow §§15-22. From the middle of §22 the folios of the older MS. seem to have been lost as far as the end of Hûshêdar's millennium (§ 51), to which point the Persian version leaps, but the remainder of this paraphrase is much more diffuse than the Bahman Yast, and is evidently derived from some other Pahlavi work.

This conclusion of the Persian version describes how adversity departs from the world, and ten people are satisfied with the milk of one cow, when Hûshêdar-mâh appears and his millennium commences. On his coming from his conference with Aûharmazd the sun stands still for twenty days and nights, in consequence of which two-thirds of the people in the world believe in the religion. Meat is no longer eaten, but only milk and butter, and a hundred people are satisfied with the milk of one cow. Hûshêdar-mâh destroys the terrible serpent, which accompanies apostasy, by means of the divine glory and Avesta formulas; he clears all noxious creatures out of the world, and wild animals live harmlessly among mankind; the fiends of apostasy and deceit depart from the world, which becomes populous and delightful, and mankind abstain from falsehood.

After the five-hundredth year of Hûshêdar-mâh has passed away, Sôshyans (Sâsân) appears, and destroys the fiend who torments fire. The sun stands still for thirty days. and nights, when all mankind believe in the religion, and the year becomes exactly 360 days. Dahâk escapes from his confinement, and reigns for a day and a half in the world with much tyranny; when Sôshyans, rouses Sâm Narîmân, who accepts the religion and becomes immortal. Sâm calls upon Dahâk to accept the religion, but the latter proposes that they should together seize upon heaven for themselves, whereupon Sâm kills him. All evil having departed from the world mankind become like the archangels, and the resurrection takes place, which is described with many of the same details as are mentioned in Bund. XXX.

Accompanying. this Persian version in B29 is another

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fragment from the same source, which treats of the same subjects as the third chapter of the Bahman Yast, but is differently arranged. It confines itself to the millennium of Hûshêdar, and may possibly be some modification of the contents of the folios missing from the version described above. After some introductory matter this fragment contains a paraphrase (less accurate than the preceding) of Chap. III, 2,3-49 of the Bahman Yast; it then proceeds to state that Hûshêdar destroys the

wolf race, so that wolves, thieves, highway robbers, and criminals cease to exist. When Hûshêdar's three-hundredth year has passed away the winter of Malkôs arrives and destroys all animals and vegetation, and only one man survives out of ten thousand; after which the world is repopled from the enclosure made by Yim. Then comes the gathering of the nations to the great battle on the Euphrates, where the slaughter is so great that the water of the river becomes red, and the survivors wade in blood up to their horses' girths. Afterwards, the Kayân king, Vargâvand, advances from the frontiers of India and takes possession of Iran to the great delight of the inhabitants, but only after a great battle; and then Pêshyôtanû is summoned from Kangdez to restore the religious ceremonies.

A German translation of some passages in the Bahman Yast, with a brief summary of the greater part of the remainder, was published in 1860 in Spiegel's *Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, pp. 128-135.

6. THE SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST.

Another treatise which must be referred to about the same age as the Bundahis, though of a very different character, is the Shâyast lâ-shâyast or 'the proper and improper.' It is a compilation of miscellaneous laws and customs regarding sin and impurity, with other memoranda about ceremonies and religious subjects in general. Its name has, no doubt, been given to it in modern times[1], and has probably

[1. But perhaps before the compilation of the prose Sad-dar Bundahis, or Bundahis of a hundred chapters, which seems to refer to the Shâyast lâ-shâyast {footnote p. lx} in its opening words, as follows:--'This book is on "the proper and improper" which is brought out from the good, pure religion of the Mazdayasnians;' though this term may possibly relate to its own contents. There is also a Persian treatise called Shâyast na-shâyast, which gives a good deal of information obtained from the Persian Rivâyats, and copies of which are contained in the MSS. Nos. 56 and 116 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.]

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arisen from the frequent use it makes of the words shâyad, 'it is fit or proper,' and lâ shâyad, 'it is not fit or proper.' And, owing to its resemblance to those Persian miscellanies of traditional memoranda called Rivâyats, it has also been named the Pahlavi Rivâyat, though chiefly by Europeans.

It consists of two parts, which are often put together in modern MSS., and bear the same name, but are widely separated in the oldest MSS. These two parts, consisting respectively of Chaps. I-X and XI-XIV in the present translation, are evidently two distinct treatises on the same and similar subjects, but of nearly the same age. That they were compiled by two different persons, who had access to nearly the same authorities, appears evident from Chaps. XI, 1, 2, XII, 11, 13-16, 18, 20 being repetitions of Chaps. I, 1, 2, X, 4, 20-23, 7, 31, with only slight alterations; such repetitions as would hardly be made in a single treatise by the same writer. Minor repetitions in the first part, such as those of some phrases in Chaps. II, 65, IV, 14, repeated in Chap. X, 24, 33, might readily be made by the same writer in different parts of the same treatise. To these two parts of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast a third part has been added in the present translation, as an appendix, consisting of a number of miscellaneous passages of a somewhat similar character, which are found in the same old MSS. that contain the first two parts, but which cannot be attributed either to the same writers or the same age as those parts.

The first part commences with the names and amounts of the various degrees of sin, and the names of the chief commentators on the Vendidad. It then gives long details regarding the precautions to be taken with reference to corpses and menstruous women, and the impurity they occasion; besides mentioning (Chap. II, 33-35) the pollution

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caused by a serpent. It next describes the proper size and materials of the sacred thread-girdle and shirt, giving some details about the sins of running about uncovered and walking with one boot, and thence proceeding to the sin of unseasonable chatter. Details are then given about good works, and those who can and cannot perform them; in which reference is made to Christians, Jews, and those of other persuasions (Chap. VI, 7). The next subjects treated of are reverencing the sun and fire, the sin of extinguishing fire, confession and renunciation of sin, atonement for sins, especially mortal sins, both those affecting others and those only affecting one's own soul; with a digression (Chap. VIII, 3) prohibiting the rich from hunting.

The remainder of this first treatise is of a miscellaneous character, referring to the following subjects:--The Hâsar of time, priests passing away in idolatry, the discussion of religion, ceremonies not done aright, throwing a corpse into the sea, evil of eating in the dark, the four kinds of worship, when the angels should be invoked in worship, the ephemeral nature of life, proper looseness for a girdle, when the sacred cake set aside for the guardian spirits can be used, maintaining a fire where a woman is pregnant, providing a tank for ablution, the Gâthas not to be recited over the dead, food and drink not to be thrown away to the north at night, unlawful slaughter of animals, how the corpse of a pregnant woman should be carried, forgiveness

of trespasses, evil of walking without boots, when the sacred girdle is to be assumed, breaking the spell of an inward prayer, ten women wanted at childbirth, and how the infant is to be treated, sin of beating an innocent person, evil of a false judge, men and women who do not marry, a toothpick must be free from bark, acknowledging the children of a handmaid, advantage of offspring and of excess in almsgiving, prayer on lying down and getting up, Avesta not to be mumbled, doubtful actions to be avoided or consulted about, evil of laughing during prayer, crowing of a hen, treatment of a hedgehog, after a violent death corruption does not set in immediately, necessity of a dog's gaze, putrid meat and hairy cakes or butter unfit for ceremonies, when a woman can do priestly duty, &c.

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The second part also commences with the names and amounts of the various degrees of sin, followed by the proper meat-offerings for various angels and guardian spirits. Next come miscellaneous observations on the following subjects:--The simplest form of worship, necessity of submitting to a high-priest, advantage of a fire in the house, sin of clothing the dead, presentation of holy-water to the nearest fire after a death, nail-parings to be prayed over, advantage of light at childbirth, offerings to the angels, maintaining a fire where a woman is pregnant and a child is born, a toothpick must be free from bark, acknowledging the children of a handmaid, advantage of offspring and of excess in almsgiving, evil of drawing well-water at night, food not to be thrown away to the north at night, advantage of prayer at feasts, treatment of a hedgehog, praying when washing the face, the proper choice of a purifying priest, no one should be hopeless of heaven, necessity of a wife being religious as well as her husband, the ceremonies which are good works, and the cause of sneezing, yawning, and sighing. These are followed by a long account of the mystic signification of the Gâthas, with some information as to the errors which may be committed in consecrating the sacred cakes, and how the beginning of the morning watch is to be determined.

The third part, or appendix, commences with an account of how each of the archangels can be best propitiated, by a proper regard for the particular worldly existence which he specially protects. This is followed by a statement of the various degrees of sin, and of the amount of good works attributed to various ceremonies. Then come some account of the ceremonies after a death, particulars of those who have no part in the resurrection, the duty of submission to the priesthood, whether evil may be done for the sake of good, the place where people will rise from the dead, Aêshm's complaint to Aharman of the three things he could not injure in the world, the occasions on which the Ahunavar formula should be recited, and the number of recitals that are requisite, &c. And, finally, statements of the lengths of midday and afternoon shadows, blessings invoked

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from the thirty angels and archangels who preside over the days of the month, and the special epithets of the same.

With regard to the age of this treatise we have no precise information. All three parts are found in a MS. (M6) which was written in A.D. 1397 (see p. xxix), and nearly the whole is also found in the MS. K20, which may be a few years older (see p. xxvii), and in which the first part of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast is, followed by a Persian colophon dated A.Y. 700 (A.D. 1331), copied probably from an older MS. The text in both these old MSS. seems to have been derived almost direct from the same original, which must have been so old when M6 was written that the copyist found some words illegible (see notes on Chaps. VIII, 19, X, 34, XII, 14, 15, &c.) Now it is known from a colophon that a portion of M6, containing the book of Ardâ-Vîrâf and the tale of Gôst-i Fryânô, was copied from a MS. written in A.D. 1249; and we may safely conclude that the Shâyast lâ-shâyast was copied, either from the same MS., or from one fully as old. So far, therefore, as external evidence goes, there is every reason to suppose that the whole of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, with its appendix[1], was existing in a MS. written about 630 years ago.

But internal evidence points to a far higher antiquity for the first two parts, as the compilers of those treatises evidently had access, not only to several old commentaries, but also to many of the Nasks, which have long been lost. Thus, the first treatise contains quotations from the commentaries of Afarg, Gôgôsasp, Kûshtanö-bûgêd, Mêdôkmâh, Rôshan, and Sôshyans, which are all frequently quoted in the Pahlavi translation of the Vendidad (see Sls. I, 3, 4, notes); besides mentioning the opinions of Mardbûd, Nêryôsang, Nôsât Bûrz-Mitrô, and Vand-Aûharmazd, who are rarely or never mentioned in the Pahlavi Vendidad. It also quotes no less than eleven of the twenty Nasks or books of the complete Mazdayasnian literature which are no longer extant, besides the Vendidad, the only Nask that still survives in the full extent it had in Sasanian times.

[1. Except Chaps, XXII, XXIII (see the note on the heading of Chap. XXII).]

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The Nasks quoted are the Stûdgar (Sls. X, 8), the Bagh (X, 26), the Dâmdâd (X, 22), the Pâzôn (IX, 9), the Ratûstâtûh (X,

29), the Kîdrast (X, 28), the Spend (X, 4), the Nihâdûm (X, 3, 22, 23), the Dûbâsrûgêd (X, 13), the Hûspâram (X, 21), and the Sakâdûm (X, 25), very few of which are mentioned even in the Pahlavi Vendidad. The second treatise mentions only one commentator, Vand-Aûharmazd, but it quotes eight of the Nasks no longer extant; these are the Stûdgar (Sls. XII, 32), the Dâmdâd (XII, 5, 15), the Spend (XII, 3, 11, 15, 29), the Bâg-yasnô (XII, 17), the Nihâdûm (XII, 15, 16), the Hûspâram (XII, 1, 7, 14, 31, XIII, 17), the Sakâdûm (XII, 2, 10, 12, XIII, 30), and the Hâdôkht (XII, 19, 30, XIII, 6, 10).

Of two of these Nasks, the Bagh and Hâdôkht, a few fragments may still survive (see notes on Sls. X, 26, Haug's Essays, p. 134, B.Yt. III, 25), but those of the latter Nask do not appear to contain the passages quoted in the Shâyast lâ-shâyast. With regard to the rest we only know that the Dâmdâd, Hûspâram, and Sakâdûm must have been still in existence about A.D. 881, as they are quoted in the writings of Zâd-sparam and Mânûskîhar, sons of Yûdân-Yim, who lived at that time (see pp. xlii, xlvi); and the Nihâdûm and Hûspâram are also quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad. It is true that the Dînkard gives copious information about the contents of all the Nasks, with two or three exceptions; and the Dînkard seems to have assumed its present form about A.D. 900 (see Bund. XXXIII, 11, notes); but its last editor was evidently merely a compiler of old fragments, so there is no certainty that many of the Nasks actually existed in his time.

Thus far, therefore, the internal evidence seems to prove that the two treatises called Shâyast lâ-shâyast, which constitute the first two parts of the present translation, are more than a thousand years old. On the other hand, they cannot be more than three centuries older, because they frequently quote passages from the Pahlavi Vendidad which, as we have seen (p. xlvi, note 1), could not have assumed its present form before the time of Khûsrô Nôshirvân (A.D. 531-579). As they contain no reference to any

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interference of the governing powers with the religion or priesthood, it is probable that they were written before the Muhammadan conquest (A.D. 636-651), although they do not mention the existence of any 'king of the kings,' the usual title of the Sasanian monarchs. And this probability is increased by there being no direct mention of Muhammadanism among the contemporary religions named in Chap. VI, 7, unless we assume that passage to be a quotation from an earlier book. We may, therefore, conclude, with tolerable certainty, that the Pahlavi text of the first two parts of the present translation of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast was compiled some time in the seventh century; but, like the Bundahis and Bahman Yast, it was, for the most part, a compilation of extracts and translations from far older writings, and may also have been rearranged shortly after the Muhammadan conquest.

The fragments which are collected in the appendix, or third part of the present translation, are probably of various ages, and several of them may not be more than seven centuries old. The commentator Bakht-âfrid, whose work (now lost) is quoted in Chap. XX, 11, may have lived in the time of Khûsrô Nôshirvân (see B.Yt. I, 7). And Chap. XXI must certainly have been written in Persia, as the lengths of noonday shadows which it mentions are only suitable for 32° north latitude. As regards the last two chapters we have no evidence that they are quite five centuries old.

For the Pahlavi text of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast and its appendix we have not only the very old codex M6 (see p. xxix) for the whole of it, but also the equally old codex K20 (see p. xxvii) for all but Chaps. XV-XVII, XX, XXII, and XXIII in the appendix. In M6 the first two parts are separated by twenty folios, containing the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, and the second part is separated from the first three chapters of the appendix by four folios, containing the Patit-i Khûd; the next three chapters of the appendix are from the latter end of the second volume of M6, Chap. XXI is from the middle of the same, and the last two chapters are from some additional folios at the beginning of the

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first volume. In K20 the first two parts are separated by ninety-two folios, containing the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, Bundahis, Bahman Yast, and several other Pahlavi and Avesta texts; Chap. XVIII precedes the first part, Chap. XIX precedes the second part, and Chap. XXI is in an earlier part of the MS.

Derived from K20 are the two modern copies P7 and K21 (see p. xxviii). Derived from M6 are the modern copy of the first two parts in M9 (No. 9 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich), a copy of Chaps. XIV, XV in L15 (No. 15 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the India Office Library at London), a copy of Chap. XX, 4-17 in O121 (No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, see p. xxx), and a copy of Chap. XVIII in Dastûr Jâmâspji's MS. of the Bundahis at Bombay. While an independent Pahlavi Version of Chap. XXIII occurs in a very old codex in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay, which version has been used for the text of the present translation, because that chapter is incomplete in M6.

Pâzand versions of some of the chapters, chiefly in the appendix, are to be found in some MSS., but all derived apparently from M6. Thus, in the Pâzand MSS. L7 and L22 (Nos. 7 and 22 in the India Office Library at London, see p. xxxi), written in Avesta characters, Chaps. XVIII, XX, XV follow the last chapter of the Bundahis, and Chap. XIV occurs a few folios further on. And in the Pâzand MS. M7 (No. 7 of the Haug collection in the State Library at Munich), written in Persian characters, the following detached passages occur in a miscellaneous collection of extracts (fols. 126-133):--Chaps. XX, 14-16, X, 18, 19, IX, 9, 10, XX, 12, 13, 4, 5, VIII, 2, 4-14, XX, 11. A Persian version of Chap. XVIII also occurs in M5 (No. 5 of the same collection) on fol. 54.

It does not appear that the Shâyast lâ-shâyast has ever been hitherto translated into any European language[1], nor

[1. Except Chap. XVIII, which was translated into German by Justi, as the last chapter of his translation of the Bundahis (see p. xxvi).]

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is any Persian or Gugarâti translation of it known to the present translator, though a good deal of the matter it contains may be found in the Persian Rivâyats, but generally given in a different form. Owing to the technical character of the treatise, it is hazardous for any one but a Parsi priest to attempt to translate it, so that errors will, no doubt, be apparent to the initiated in the present translation. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the laws and customs mentioned in the text were those current in Persia twelve centuries ago, which may be expected to differ, in many details, from those of the Parsis in India at the present day. This is a consideration which a Parsi translator might be too apt to ignore; so that his thorough knowledge of present customs, though invaluable for the decipherment of ambiguous phrases, might lead him astray when dealing with clear statements of customs and rules now obsolete and, therefore, at variance with his preconceived ideas of propriety.

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The Pahlavi texts selected for translation in this volume are specimens of three distinct species of writings. Thus, the Bundahis and its appendix, which deal chiefly with cosmogony, myths, and traditions, may be roughly compared to the book of Genesis. The Bahman Yast, which professes to be prophetic, may be likened unto the Apocalypse. And the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, which treats of religious laws regarding impurity, sin, ritual, and miscellaneous matters, bears some resemblance to Leviticus. But, though thus dealing with very different subjects, these texts appear to have all originated in much the same manner, a manner which is characteristic of the oldest class of the Pahlavi writings still extant. All three are full of translations from old Avesta texts, collected together probably in the latter days of the Sasanian dynasty, and finally rearranged some time after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia; so that, practically, they may be taken as representing the ideas entertained of their prehistoric religion by Persians in the

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sixth century, but modified so far as to suit the taste and exigencies of the tenth.

But, notwithstanding the wide range of subjects embraced by these texts, it would be rash for the reader to assume that they afford him sufficient information for forming a decided opinion as to the character of the Parsi religion. The texts translated in this volume contain barely one-eleventh part of the religious literature extant in the Pahlavi language, without taking the Pahlavi versions of existing Avesta texts into account, which latter are even more important than the former, from a religious point of view, as they are considered more authoritative by the Parsis themselves. What proportion the literature extant may bear to that which is lost it is impossible, to guess; but, omitting all consideration of the possible contents of the lost literature, it is obvious that the remaining ten-elevenths of that which is extant may contain much which would modify any opinion based merely upon the one-eleventh here translated. What the untranslated portion actually contains no one really knows. The best Pahlavi scholar can never be sure that he understands the contents of a Pahlavi text until he has fully translated it; no amount of careful reading can make him certain that he does not misunderstand some essential part of it, and were he to assert the contrary he would be merely misleading others and going astray himself. How far the translations in this volume will enable the reader to judge of the Parsi religion may perhaps be, best understood by considering how far careful perusal of the books of Genesis, Leviticus, and the Revelation, which constitute one-eleventh part of the Protestant Bible, would enable him to judge of Christianity, without any further information.

But, though these translations must be considered merely as a contribution towards a correct account of mediæval Zoroastrianism, the Bundahis does afford some very definite information upon one of the fundamental doctrines of that faith. The Parsi religion has long been represented by its opponents as a dualism; and this accusation, made in good faith by Muhammadan writers, and echoed more

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incautiously by Christians, has been advanced so strenuously that it has often been admitted even by Parsis themselves, as regards the mediæval form of their faith. But neither party seems to have fairly considered how any religion which admits the personality of an evil spirit, in order to account for the existence of evil, can fail to become a dualism to a certain extent. If, therefore, the term is to be used in controversy, it behoves those who use it to define the limits of objectionable dualism with great precision, so as not to include most of the religions of the world, their own among the number.

If it be necessary for a dualism that the evil spirit be omnipresent, omniscient, almighty, or eternal, then is the Parsi religion no dualism. The Bundahis distinctly asserts that the evil spirit is not omniscient and almighty (Chap. I, 16); that his understanding is backward (I, 3, 9), so that he was not aware of the existence of Aûharmazd till he arose from the abyss and saw the fight (I, 9); that he is unobservant and ignorant of the future (I, 19) till it is revealed to him by Aûharmazd (I, 21); that his creatures perish at the resurrection (I, 7, 21), and he himself becomes impotent (I, 21, III, 1) and will not be (I, 3, XXX, 32). Nowhere is he supposed to be in two places at once, or to know what is occurring elsewhere than in his own presence. So far, his powers are considerably less than those generally assigned by Christians to the devil, who is certainly represented as being a more intelligent and ubiquitous personage. On the other hand, Aharman is able to produce fiends and demons (Chap. I, 10, 24), and the noxious creatures are said to be his (III, 15, XIV, 30, XVIII, 2); in which respects he has probably rather more power than the devil, although the limits of the latter's means of producing evil are by no means well defined.

The origin and end of Aharman appear to be left as uncertain as those of the devil, and, altogether, the resemblance between these two ideas of the evil spirit is remarkably close; in fact, almost too close to admit of the possibility of their being ideas of different origin. The only important differences are that Zoroastrianism does not believe in an

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eternity of evil as Christianity does, and that Christianity has been content to leave all its other ideas about the devil in a very hazy and uncertain form, while Zoroastrianism has not shrunk from carrying similar ideas to their logical conclusion. If, therefore, a belief in Aharman, as the author of evil, makes the Parsi religion a dualism, it is difficult to understand why a belief in the devil, as the author of evil, does not make Christianity also a dualism. At any rate, it is evident from the Bundahis that a Christian is treading on hazardous ground when he objects to Zoroastrianism on the score of its dualism.

Another misrepresentation of the Parsi religion is shown to have no foundation in fact, by a passage in the Selections of Zâd-sparam. Several writers, both Greek and Armenian, contemporaries of the Sasanian dynasty, represent the Persians as believing that both Aûharmazd and Aharman were produced by an eternal being, who is evidently a personification of the Avesta phrase for 'boundless time.' This view was apparently confirmed by a passage in Anquetil Duperron's French translation of the Vendidad (XIX, 32-34), but this has long been known to be a mistranslation due to Anquetil's ignorance of Avesta grammar; so that the supposed doctrine of 'boundless time' being the originator of everything is not to be found in the Avesta; still it might have sprung up in Sasanian times. But the Selections of Zâd-sparam (I, 24) distinctly state that Aûharmazd produced the creature Zôrvân (precisely the term used in the phrase 'boundless time' in the Avesta). Here 'time,' although personified, is represented as a creature of Aûharmazd, produced after the first appearance of Aharman; which contradicts the statement of the Greek and Armenian writers completely, and shows how little reliance can be placed upon the assertions of foreigners regarding matters which they view with antipathy or prejudice.

With reference to the general plan of these translations of Pahlavi texts a few remarks seem necessary. In the first place, it will be obvious to any attentive reader of this introduction that a translator of Pahlavi has not merely to translate, but also to edit, the original text; and, in some

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cases, he has even to discover it. Next, as regards the translation, it has been already mentioned (p. xxvi) that the translator's object is to make it as literal as possible; in order, therefore, to check the inevitable tendency of free translation to wander from the meaning of the original text, all extra words added to complete the sense, unless most distinctly understood in the original, are italicised in the translation. And in all cases that seem doubtful the reader's attention is called to the fact by a note, though it is possible that some doubtful matters may be overlooked.

The notes deal not only with explanations that may be necessary for the general reader, but also with various readings and other details that may be useful to scholars; they are, therefore, very numerous, though some passages may still be left without sufficient explanation. References to the Vendidad, Yasna, and Visparad are made to Spiegel's edition of the original

texts, not because that edition is superior, or even equal, in accuracy to that of Westergaard, but because it is the only edition which gives the Pahlavi translations, because its sections are shorter and, therefore, reference to them is more definite, and because the only English translation of the Avesta hitherto existing[1] is based upon Spiegel's edition, and is divided into the same sections.

No attempt has been made to trace any of the myths or traditions farther back than the Avesta, whence their descent is a fact that can hardly be disputed. To trace them back to earlier times, to a supposed Indo-Iranian personification or poetic distortion of meteorological phenomena, would be, in the present state of our knowledge, merely substituting plausible guesses for ascertained facts. In many cases, indeed, we have really no right to assume that an Avesta myth has descended from any such Indo-Iranian origin, as there have been ample opportunities for the infiltration of myths from other sources, yet unknown,

[1. Bleek's Avesta; the Religious Books of the Parsees; from Professor Spiegel's German Translation; London, 1864. Not much reliance can be placed upon the correctness of this translation, owing to defects in the German one.]

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among the many nations with which the religion of the

Avesta has come in contact, 'both before and since the' time of Zaratûst. For, notwithstanding the ingenious rhetoric of the expounders of myths, it is still as unsafe, from a scientific point of view, to disbelieve the former existence of Zaratûst as it is to doubt that of Moses, or any other practically prehistoric personage, merely because mythic tales have gathered about his name in later times, as they always do about the memory of any individual who has become famous or revered.

In many cases the original Pahlavi word is appended, in parentheses, to its English equivalent in the translation. This has been done for the sake of explanation, when the word is technical or rare, or the translation is unusual. For, with regard to technical terms, it has been considered best, in nearly all cases, to translate them by some explanatory phrase, in preference to filling the translation with foreign words which would convey little or no distinct meaning to the general reader. Some, of these technical terms have almost exact equivalents in English, such as those translated 'resurrection' and 'demon,' or can be well expressed by descriptive phrases, such as 'sacred twigs' and 'sacred cakes? Other terms are only approximately rendered by such words as 'archangel' and 'angel;' others can hardly be expressed at all times by the same English words, but must change according to the context, such as the term variously rendered by 'worship, ceremonial, prayer, or rites.' While the meaning of some few terms is so technical, complicated, or uncertain, that it is safer to use the Pahlavi word itself, such as Tanâpûhar, Frasast, Gêtîkharid, Dvâzdah-hômâst, &c.

The following is a list of nearly all the technical terms that have been translated, with the English equivalents generally used to express them:--Âfrin, 'blessing;' aharmôk, 'apostate, heretic;' aharûbö, 'righteous;' aharûbö-dâd, 'calms, almsgiving;' akdîfô, 'infidel;' ameshôspend, 'archangel;' armêst, 'helpless;' ast-hômand, 'material;' aûsôfrîd, 'propitiation, offering;' baghō-bakhtō, 'divine providence;' baresôm, 'sacred twigs or twig-bundle;'

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baresômdân, 'twig stand;' dakhmak (Huz. khazân), 'depository for the dead;' dashtânistân, 'place for menstruation;' dîfô, 'religion, revelation, religions rites;' drâyân-gûyisnîh, 'unseasonable chatter;' drevand, 'wicked;' drônô, 'sacred cake;' drûg, 'fiend;' frashakard, 'renovation of the universe;' fravâhar, 'guardian spirit;' fravardîkân, 'days devoted to the guardian spirits;' ganrâk maînôk, 'evil spirit;' garzîsn, 'confession of sin;' gâs, 'period of the day, time;' gâsânbâr, 'season-festival;' gasnô, 'feast;' gâûs-dâk (Av. gâus hudhau), 'meat-offering, sacred butter;' gavîd-rastakân, 'the heterodox;' gîv (Av. gâus gîvya), 'sacred milk;' gômèz, 'bull's urine;' hamêmâl, 'accuser;' hamrêd, 'direct pollution, contagion;' hazârak, 'millennium;' hîkhar, 'bodily refuse;' kâr, 'duty;' kêshvar, 'region;' khayebît, 'destroyer;' khrafstar, 'noxious creature;' khvêtûk-das, 'next-of-kin marriage;' kirfak, 'good works;' kûstîk, 'sacred thread-girdle;' magh, 'stone ablution-seat;' maînôk, 'spirit;' marg-argân, 'worthy of death, mortal sin;' myazd, 'feast, sacred feast;' nasâi, 'corpse, dead matter;' nasâi katak, 'corpse chamber;' nîrang, 'religious formula, ritual;' nîrangistân, 'code of religious formulas;' nîyâyisn, 'salutation;' padâm, 'mouth-veil;' pâdîyâvîh, 'ablution, ceremonial ablution;' pâhlûm ahvân, 'best existence;' pâitrêd, 'indirect pollution, infection;' parâhôm, 'hôm-juice;' parîk, 'witch;' patîfîh, 'renunciation of sin;' patîyârak, 'adversary;' poryôdkêshîh, 'primitive faith;' rad, 'chief, spiritual chief, primate, high-priest;' rîstâkhêz, 'resurrection;' satûîh, 'the three nights;' sêdâ, 'demon;' shapîk, 'sacred shirt;' shnâyisn, 'propitiation, gratification;' shnûman, 'dedication formula, propitiation;' spênâk maînôk, 'beneficent spirit;' tanû-i pasînô, 'future existence;' tôgîsn, 'retribution;' tôrâ-i khadû-dâd, 'primeval ox;' vâg, 'inward prayer;' vigârîsn, 'atonement for sin;' vîshâd-dûbârisnîh, 'running about uncovered;' yasnô, 'ritual;' yast, 'prayers, ritual, form of prayer, worship, consecration;' yastanô, 'to consecrate, solemnize, propitiate, reverence;' yâtûk, 'wizard;' yazdân, 'angels, sacred beings, celestial beings, God;' yazisn,

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'ceremonial, ceremony, sacred ceremony, ceremonial worship, worship, reverence, rites, prayer;' yêdatô, 'angel;' zand, 'commentary;' zôhar or zôr, 'holy-water;' zôt, officiating priest.'

With regard to the orthography of Pahlavi names and words, advantage has been taken of the system of transliteration adopted for this series of Translations of the Sacred Books of the East, by making use of italics for the purpose of distinguishing between certain Pahlavi letters which were probably pronounced very nearly alike. Thus besides the usual letters ### for v and ### for z, the Pahlavi letter ### is often used to denote those same sounds which, in such cases, are represented by the italic letters v and z. An extension of the same mode of distinction to the letters l and r would be desirable, but has not been attempted in this volume; these two letters are usually written ###, but in a few words they are represented by ### or by ### in which cases they would be better expressed by the italics l and r. Some attempt has been made to adhere to one uniform orthography in such names as occur frequently, but as there is no such uniformity in the various languages and writings quoted, nor even in the same manuscript, some deviations can hardly be avoided.

In conclusion it may be remarked that a translator of Pahlavi generally begins his career by undervaluing the correctness of Pahlavi texts and the literary ability of their authors, but he can hardly proceed far without finding abundant reason for altering his opinion of both. His depreciatory view of Pahlavi literature is generally due partly to want of knowledge, and partly to his trusting too much to the vile perversions of Pahlavi texts usually supplied by Pâzand writers. But as his knowledge of Pahlavi increases he becomes better able to appreciate the literary merits of the texts. If the reader should have already formed some such low estimate of the ability of Pahlavi writers, it may be hoped that these translations will afford him sufficient reason for changing his opinion; if not, they will have signally failed in doing those writers justice.

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BUNDAHIS
OR
THE ORIGINAL CREATION.

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OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions into chapters and sections the translator is responsible, as the original text is written continuously, with very few stops marked.
2. Italics are used for any English words which are not expressed, or fully understood, in the original text, but are added to complete the sense of the translation.
3. Oriental words are usually 'spaced.' Italics occurring in them, or in names, are intended to represent certain peculiar Oriental letters. The italic consonants d, n, v may be pronounced as in English; but g should be sounded like j, hv like wh, k like ch in 'church,' N like ng, s like sh, z like French j. For further information, see 'Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Translations of the Sacred Books of the East' at the end of the volume.
4. In Pahlavi words all circumflexed vowels and any final ö {o macron in original--jbh} are expressed in the Pahlavi original, but all other vowels are merely understood.
5. In the translation, words in parentheses are merely explanatory of those which precede them.
6. Abbreviations used are:-Av. for Avesta. Dâd. for Dâdistân-i Dînik. Huz. for Huzvâris. Mkh. for Mainyô-i-khard, ed. West. Pahl. for Pahlavi. Pâz. for Pâzand. Pers. for Persian. Sans. for Sanskrit. Vend. for Vendîdâd, ed. Spiegel. Visp. for Visparad, ed. Sp. Yas. for Yasna, ed. Sp. 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 Kopenhagen.

K20b (uncertain date), a fragment of the text, No. 20b in the same library.

M6 (written A.D. 1397), No. 6 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

TD (written about A.D. 1530), belonging to Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria at Bombay.

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BUNDAHIS.
CHAPTER I.

0. In the name of the creator Aûharmazd.

1. The Zand-âkâs ('Zand-knowing or tradition-informed[1]), which is first about Aûharmazd's original creation and the antagonism of the evil spirit[2] and afterwards about the nature of the creatures from the original creation till the end, which is the future existence (tanû-i pasinö). 2. As revealed by the religion of the Mazdayasnians, so it is declared that Aûharmazd is supreme in omniscience and goodness,

[1 The Pâzand and most of the modern Pahlavi manuscripts have, 'From the Zand-âkâs,' but the word min, 'from,' does not occur in the old manuscript K20, and is a modern addition to M6. From this opening sentence it would appear that the author of the work gave it the name Zand-âkâs.

2 The Avesta Angra-mainyu, the spirit who causes adversity or anxiety (see Darmesteter's Ormazd et Ahriman, pp. 92-95); the Pahlavi name is, most probably, merely a corrupt transliteration of the Avesta form, and may be read Ganrâk-maînök, as the Avesta Spenta-mainyu, the spirit who causes prosperity, has become Spênâk-maînök in Pahlavi. This latter spirit is represented by Aûharmazd himself in the Bundahis. The Pahlavi word for 'spirit,' which is read madônad by the Parsis, and has been pronounced mînavad by some scholars and mînôî by others, is probably a corruption of maînök, as its Sasanian form was minô. If it were not for the extra medial letter in ganrâk, and for the obvious partial transliteration of spênâk, it would be preferable to read ganâk, 'smiting,' and to derive it from a supposed verb gandan, 'to smite' (Av. ghna), as proposed by most Zendists. A Parsi would probably suggest gandan, 'to stink.')

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and unrivalled[1] in splendour; the region of light is the place of Aûharmazd, which they call 'endless light,' and the omniscience and goodness of the unrivalled Aûharmazd is what they call 'revelation[2].' 3. Revelation is the explanation of both spirits together; one is he who is independent of unlimited time[3], because Aûharmazd and the region, religion, and time of Aûharmazd were and are and ever will be; while Aharman[4] in darkness, with backward understanding and desire for destruction, was in the abyss, and 'it is he who will not be; and the place of that destruction, and also of that darkness, is what they call the 'endlessly dark.' 4. And between them was empty space, that is, what they call 'air,' in which is now their meeting.

5. Both are limited and unlimited spirits, for the supreme is that which they call endless light, and the abyss that which is endlessly dark, so that between them is a void, and one is not connected with

[1. Reading aham-kaî, 'without a fellow-sovereign, peerless, unrivalled, independent.' This rare word occurs three times in §§ 2, 3, and some Pâzand writers suggest the meaning 'everlasting' (by means of the Persian gloss hamîsah), which is plausible enough, but hâmakî would be an extraordinary mode of writing the very common word hamâî, 'ever.'

2. The word dînô (properly dêhô), Av. daêna, being traceable to a root dî, to see,' must originally have meant a vision' (see Haug's Essays on the Religion of the Parsis, 2nd ed. p. 152, note 2), whence the term has been transferred to 'religion' and all religious observances, rules, and writings; so it may be translated either by 'religion' or by 'revelation.'

3. This appears to be the meaning, but the construction of § 3 is altogether rather obscure, and suggestive of omissions in the text.

4 The usual name of the evil spirit; it is probably an older corruption of Angra-mainyu than Ganrâk-maînök, and a less technical term. Its Sasanian form was Aharmanî.]

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the other; and, again, both spirits are limited as to their own selves. 6. And, secondly, on account of the omniscience of Aûharmazd, both things are in the creation of Aûharmazd, the finite and the infinite; for this they know is that which is in the covenant of both spirits. 7. And, again, the complete sovereignty of the creatures of Aûharmazd is in the future existence, and that also is unlimited for ever and everlasting; and the creatures of Aharman will perish at the time when[1] the future existence occurs, and that also is eternity.

8. Aûharmazd, through omniscience, knew that Aharman exists, and whatever he schemes he infuses with malice and greediness till the end; and because He accomplishes the end by man), means, He also produced spiritually the creatures which were necessary for those means, and they remained three thousand years in a spiritual state, so that they were unthinking[2] and unmoving, with intangible bodies.

9. The evil spirit, on account of backward knowledge, was not aware of the existence of Aûharmazd; and, afterwards, he arose from the abyss, and came in unto the light which he saw. 10. Desirous of destroying, and because of his malicious nature, he

[1. Substituting amat, 'when,' for mûn, 'which,' two Huzvâris forms which are frequently confounded by Pahlavi copyists because their Pâzand equivalents, ka and ke, are nearly alike.

2. Reading aminîdâr in accordance with M6, which has amînîdâr in Chap. XXXIV, 1, where the same phrase occurs. Windischmann and Justi read amûitâr, 'uninjured, invulnerable,' in both places. This sentence appears to refer to a preparatory creation of embryonic and immaterial existences, the prototypes, fravashis, spiritual counterparts, or guardian angels of the spiritual and material creatures afterwards produced.]

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rushed in to destroy that light of Aûharmazd unassailed by fiends, and he saw its bravery and glory were greater than his own; so he fled back to the gloomy darkness, and formed many demons and fiends; and the creatures of the destroyer arose for violence.

11. Aûharmazd, by whom the creatures of the evil spirit were seen, creatures terrible, corrupt, and bad, also considered them not commendable (bûrzišnîk). 12. Afterwards, the evil spirit saw the creatures of Aûharmazd; they appeared many creatures of delight (vâyah), enquiring creatures, and they seemed to him commendable, and he commended the creatures and creation of Aûharmazd.

13. Then Aûharmazd, with a knowledge[1] of which way the end of the matter would be, went to meet the evil spirit, and proposed peace to him, and spoke thus: 'Evil spirit! bring assistance unto my creatures, and offer praise! so that, in reward for it, ye (you and your creatures) may become immortal and undecaying, hungerless and thirstless.'

14. And the evil spirit shouted thus[2]: 'I will not depart, I will not provide assistance for thy creatures, I will not offer praise among thy creatures, and I am not of the same opinion with thee as to good things. I will destroy thy creatures for ever and everlasting; moreover, I will force all thy creatures into disaffection to thee and affection for myself.' 15. And the explanation thereof is this, that the evil spirit reflected in this manner, that

[1. The Huz. khavîtûnast stands for the Pâz. dânist with the meaning, here, of 'what is known, knowledge,' as in Persian.

2. Literally, 'And it was shouted by him, the evil spirit, thus:' the usual idiom when the nominative follows the verb.]

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Aûharmazd was helpless as regarded him[1], therefore He proffers peace; and he did not agree, but bore on even into conflict with Him.

16. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'You are not omniscient and almighty, O evil spirit! so that it is not possible for thee to destroy me, and it is not possible for thee to force my creatures so that they will not return to my possession.'

17. Then Aûharmazd, through omniscience, knew that: If I do not grant a period of contest, then it will be possible for him to act so that he may be able to cause the seduction of my creatures to himself. As even now there are many of the intermixture

of mankind who practise wrong more than right. 18. And Aûharmazd spoke to the evil spirit thus: 'Appoint a period! so that the intermingling of the conflict may be for nine thousand years.' For he knew that by, appointing this period the evil spirit would be undone.

19. Then the evil spirit, unobservant and through ignorance, was content with that agreement; just like two men quarrelling together, who propose a time thus: Let us appoint such-and-such a day for a fight.

20. Aûharmazd also knew this, through omniscience, that within these nine thousand years, for three thousand years everything proceeds by the will of Aûharmazd, three thousand years there is an intermingling of the wills of Aûharmazd and Aharman, and the last three thousand years the evil spirit is disabled, and they keep the adversary away[2] from the creatures.

[1. The words dên val stand for dên valman.

2. That is, 'the adversary is kept away.' In Pahlavi the third {footnote p. 8} person plural is the indefinite person, as in English. These 9000 years are in addition to the 3000 mentioned in § 8, as appears more clearly in Chap. XXXIV, 1.]

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21. Afterwards, Aûharmazd recited the Ahunavar thus: Yathâ ahû vairyô ('as a heavenly lord is to be chosen'), &c.[1] once, and uttered the twenty-one words[2]; He also exhibited to the evil spirit His own triumph in the end, and the impotence of the evil spirit, the annihilation of the demons, and the resurrection and undisturbed future existence of the creatures for ever and everlasting. 22. And the evil spirit, who perceived his own impotence and the annihilation of the demons, became confounded, and fell back to the gloomy darkness; even so as is declared in revelation, that, when one of its (the Ahunavar's) three parts was uttered, the evil spirit contracted his body through fear, and when two parts of it were uttered he fell upon his knees, and when all of it was uttered he became confounded

[1. This is the most sacred formula of the Parsis, which they have to recite frequently, not only during the performance of their ceremonies, but also in connection with most of their ordinary duties and habits. It is neither a prayer, nor a creed, but a declaratory formula in metre, consisting of one stanza of three lines, containing twenty-one Avesta words, as follows:--

Yathâ ahû vairyô, athâ ratus, ashâd kîd hakâ,
Vangheus dazdâ mananghô, skyaothnanâm angheus mazdâi,
Khshathremkâ ahurâi â, yim dregubyô dadad vâstârem.

And it may be translated in the following manner: 'As a heavenly lord is to be chosen, so is an earthly master (spiritual guide), for the sake of righteousness, to be a giver of the good thoughts of the actions of life towards Mazda; and the dominion is for the lord (Ahura) whom he (Mazda) has given as a protector for the poor' (see Haug's Essays on the Religion of the Parsis, 2nd ed. pp. 125, 141).

2. The word mârik must mean 'word' here, but in some other places it seems to mean 'syllable' or 'accented syllable.')

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and impotent as to the harm he caused the creatures of Aûharmazd, and he remained three thousand years in confusion[1].

23. Aûharmazd created his creatures in the confusion of Aharman; first he produced Vohûman ('good thought'), by whom the progress of the creatures of Aûharmazd was advanced.

24. The evil spirit first created[2] Mîtôkht ('falsehood'), and then Akôman ('evil thought').

25. The first of Aûharmazd's creatures of the world was the sky, and his good thought (Vohûman), by good procedure[3], produced the light of the world, along with which was the good religion of the Mazdayasnians; this was because the renovation (frashakard)[4], which happens to the creatures was known to him. 26. Afterwards arose Ardavahist,

[1. This is the first third of the 9000 years appointed in §§ 18, 20, and the second 3000 years mentioned in Chap. XXXIV, 1.

2. It is usual to consider dâdan (Huz. yehabûntan), when traceable to Av. dâ = Sans. dhâ, as meaning 'to create,' but it can

hardly be proved that it means to create out of nothing, any more than any other of the Avesta verbs which it is sometimes convenient to translate by 'create.' Before basing any argument upon the use of this word it will, therefore, be safer to substitute the word 'produce' in all cases.

3. Or it may be translated, 'and from it Vohûman, by good procedure,' &c. The position here ascribed to Vohûman, or the good thought of Aûharmazd, bears some resemblance to that of the Word in John i. 1-5, but with this essential difference, that Vohûman is merely a creature of Aûharmazd, not identified with him; for the latter idea would be considered, by a Parsi, as rather inconsistent with strict monotheism. The I light of the world' now created must be distinguished from the I endless light' already existing with Aûharmazd in § 2.

4. The word frashakard, 'what is made durable, perpetuation,' is applied to the renovation of the universe which is to take place about the time of the resurrection, as a preparation for eternity.]

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and then Shatvaîrô, and then Spendarmad, and then Horvadam, and then Amerôdad[1].

27. From the dark world of Aharman were Akôman and Andar, and then Sôvar, and then Nâkahêd, and then Tâîrêv and Zâîrîk[2].

28. Of Aûharmazd's creatures of the world, the first was the sky; the second, water; the third, earth; the fourth, plants; the fifth, animals; the sixth, mankind.

CHAPTER II.

0. On the formation of the luminaries.

1. Aûharmazd produced illumination between the sky and the earth, the constellation stars and those also not of the constellations[3], then the moon, and afterwards the sun, as I shall relate.

[1. These five, with Vohûman and Aûharmazd in his angelic capacity, constitute the seven Ameshaspendis, 'undying causers of prosperity, immortal benefactors,' or archangels, who have, charge of the whole material creation, They are personifications of old Avesta phrases, such as Vohû-manô, 'good thought;' Asha-vahista, 'perfect rectitude;' Khshathra-vairyâ, desirable dominion;' Spenta-ârmaiti, 'bountiful devotion;' Haurvatâd, 'completeness or health;' and Ameretâd, 'immortality.'

2. These six. demons are the opponents of the six archangels respectively (see Chap. XXX, 29); their names in the Avesta are, Akem-manô, 'evil thought;' Indra, Sauru, Naunghaithya, Tauru, Zairika (see Vendîdâd X, 17, 18 Sp., and XIX, 43 W.), which have been compared with the Vedic god Indra, Sarva (a name of Siva), the Nâsatyas, and Sans. tura, 'diseased,' and garas, 'decay,' respectively. For further details regarding them, see Chap. XXVIII, 7-13.

3. The word akhtar is the usual term in Pahlavi for a constellation of the zodiac; but the term apâkhtar, 'away from the akhtar,' means not only 'the north,' or away from the zodiac, but also 'a, {footnote p. 11} planet,' which is in the zodiac, but apart from the constellations. The meaning of akhtar, most suitable to the context here, appears to be the general term I constellation.]

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2. First he produced, the celestial sphere, and the constellation stars are assigned to it by him; especially these twelve whose names are Varak (the Lamb), Tôrâ (the Bull), Dô-patkar (the Two-figures or Gemini), Kalakang (the Crab), Sêr (the Lion), Khûsak (Virgo), Tarâzûk (the Balance), Gazdûm (the Scorpion), Nîmâsp (the Centaur or Sagittarius), Vahîk[1] (Capricornus), Dûl (the Waterpot), and Mâhîk (the Fish); 3. which, from their original creation, were divided into the twenty-eight subdivisions of the astronomers[2], of which the names are Padêvar, Pêsh-Parvîz, Parviz, Paha, Avêsar, Besn, Rakhvad, Taraha, Avra, Nahn, Miyân, Avdem, Mâshâha, Spûr, Husru, Srob, Nur, Gêl, Garafsa, Varant, Gau, Goî, Muru, Bunda, Kahtsar, Vaht, Miyân, Kaht[3]. 4. And all his original creations,

[1. Written Nahâzîk here, both in K20 and M6, which may be compared with Pers. nahâz, 'the leading goat of a flock;' but the usual word for 'Capricornus' is Vahîk, as in Chap. V, 6. None of the other names of the signs of the zodiac are written here in Pâzand, but it may be noted that if the ah in Vahîk were written in Pâzand (that is, in Avesta characters), the word would become the same as Nahâzîk in Pahlavi.

2. Literally, 'fragments of the calculators,' khurdak-i hāmârikân. These subdivisions are the spaces traversed daily by the moon among the stars, generally called 'lunar mansions.'

3 All these names are written in Pâzand, which accounts for their eccentric orthography, in which both K20 and M6 agree very closely. The subdivision Parviz is evidently the Pers. parvên, which includes the Pleiades, and corresponds therefore to the Sanskrit Nakshatra Krittikâ. This correspondence leads to the identification of the first subdivision, Padêvar, with the Nakshatra Asvinî. The Pâzand names are so corrupt that no reliance can be placed upon them, and the first step towards recovering the true {footnote p. 12} Pahlavi names would be to transliterate the Pâzand back into Pahlavi characters. The ninth subdivision is mentioned in Chap. VII, 1 by the name Avrak.]

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residing in the world, are committed to them[1]; so that when the destroyer arrives they overcome the adversary and their own persecution, and the creatures are saved from those adversities.

5. As a specimen of a warlike army, which is destined for battle, they have ordained every single constellation of those 6480 thousand small stars as assistance; and among those constellations four chieftains, appointed on the four sides, are leaders. 6.

On the recommendation of those chieftains the many unnumbered stars are specially assigned to the various quarters and various places, as the united strength and appointed power of those constellations. 7. As it is said that Tîstar is the chieftain of the east, Satavês the chieftain of the west, Vanand the chieftain of the south, and Haptôk-rîng the chieftain of the north[2]. 8. The great one which they

[1. That is, to the zodiacal constellations, which are supposed to have special charge of the welfare of creation.

2. Of these four constellations or stars, which are said to act as leaders, there is no doubt that Haptôk-rîng, the chieftain of the north, is Ursa Major; and it is usually considered that Tîstar, the chieftain of the east, is Sirius; but the other two chieftains are not so well identified, and there may be some doubt as to the proper stations of the eastern and western chieftains. It is evident, however, that the most westerly stars, visible at any one time of the year, are those which set in the dusk of the evening; and east of these, all the stars are visible during the night as far as those which rise at daybreak, which are the most easterly stars visible at that time of the year. Tîstar or Sirius can, therefore, be considered the chieftain of the eastern stars only when it rises before daybreak, which it does at the latter end of summer; and Haptôk-rîng or Ursa Major is due north at midnight (on the meridian below the pole) at about the same time of the year. These stars, therefore, {footnote p. 13} fulfil the conditions necessary for being chieftains of the east and north at the end of summer, and we must look for stars capable of being chieftains of the south and west at the same season. Now, when Ursa Major is near the meridian below the pole, Fomalhaut is the most conspicuous star near the meridian in the far south, and is probably to be identified with Vanand the chieftain of the south. And when Sirius rises some time before daybreak, Antares (in Scorpio) sets some time after dusk in the evening, and may well be identified with Satavês the chieftain of the west assuming that there has been a precession of the equinoxes equivalent to two hours of time, since the idea of these chieftains (which may perhaps be traced to Avesta times) was first formed, it may be calculated that the time of year when these leading stars then best fulfilled that idea was about a month before the autumnal equinox, when Ursa Major would be due north three-quarters of an hour after midnight, and Fomalhaut due south three-quarters of an hour before midnight, Sirius would rise three hours before the sun, and Antares would set three hours after the sun. In the Avesta these leading stars are named Tistrya, Satavaêsa, Vanant, and Haptôi-rînga (see Tîstar Yt. 0, 8, 9, 12, 32, &c., Rashnu Yt. 26-28, Sîrôz. 13).]

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call a Gâh (period of the day), which they say is the great one of the middle of the sky, till just before the destroyer came was the midday (or south) one of the five, that is, the Rapîtvin[1].

[1. This translation, though very nearly literal, must be accepted with caution. If the word mas be not a name it can hardly mean anything but 'great;' and that it refers to a constellation appears from Chap. V, i. The word khômśâk is an irregular form of the Huz. khômśyâ, 'five,' and may refer either too the five chieftains (including 'the great one') or to the five Gâhs or periods of the day, of which Rapîtvin is the midday one (see Chap. XXV, 9). The object of the text seems to be to connect the Rapîtvin Gâh with some great mid-sky and midday constellation or star, possibly Regulus, which, about B. C. 960, must have been more in the daylight than any other important star during the seven months of summer, the only time that the Rapîtvin Gâh can be celebrated (see Chap. XXV, 7-14). Justi has, 'They call that the great one of the place, which is great in the middle of the sky; they say that before the enemy came it was always midday, that is, Rapîtvin. {footnote p. 14} Windischmann has nearly the same, as both follow the Pâzand MSS. in reading hômśak (as a variant of hamśak), 'always,' instead of khômśâk.]

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9. Aûharmazd performed the spiritual Yazisn ceremony with the archangels (ameshêspendân) in the Rapîtvin Gâh, and in the Yazisn he supplied every means necessary for overcoming the adversary[1]. 10. He deliberated with the consciousness (bôd) and guardian spirits (fravâhar) of men[2], and the omniscient wisdom, brought forward among men, spoke thus: 'Which seems to you the more advantageous, when[3] I shall present you to the world? that you shall contend in a bodily form with the fiend (drûg), and the fiend shall perish, and in the end I shall have you prepared again perfect and immortal, and in the end give you back to the world, and you will be wholly immortal, undecaying, and undisturbed; or that it be always necessary to provide you protection from the destroyer?'

11. Thereupon, the guardian spirits of men became of the same opinion with the omniscient wisdom about going to the world, on account of the evil that comes upon them, in the world, from the fiend (drûg) Aharman, and their becoming, at last, again unpersecuted by the adversary, perfect, and immortal, in the future existence, for ever and everlasting.

[1. Or 'adversity.'

2. These were among the fravashis already created (sec Chap. I, 8).

3. Reading amat, when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see note to Chap. I, 7).]

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CHAPTER III.

1. On the rush of the destroyer at the creatures it is said, in revelation, that the evil spirit, when he saw the impotence of himself and the confederate[1] (hâm-dast) demons, owing to the righteous man[2], became confounded, and seemed in confusion three thousand years. 2. During that confusion the archfiends[3] of the demons severally shouted thus: 'Rise up, thou father of us! for we will cause a conflict in the world, the distress and injury from which will become those of Aûharmazd and the archangels.'

3. Severally they twice recounted their own evil deeds, and it pleased him not; and that wicked evil spirit, through fear of the righteous man, was not able to lift up his head until the wicked Gêh[4] came, at the completion of the three thousand years. 4. And she shouted to the evil spirit thus: 'Rise up, thou father of us! for I will cause that conflict in the world wherefrom the distress and injury of Aûharmazd and the archangels will arise.' 5. And she twice recounted severally her own evil deeds, and it pleased him not; and that wicked evil spirit

[1. The Pâzand MSS. have garôist, for the Huz. hêmnunast, trusted.' Windischmann and Justi have 'all.'

2 Probably Gâyômard.

3. The word kamâarakân is literally 'those with an evil pate,' and is derived from Av. kameredha, 'the head of an evil being,' also applied to 'the evil summit' of Mount Arezûra (Vend. XIX, 140, 142), which is supposed to be at the gate of hell (see Chap. XII, 8). That the chief demons or arch-fiends are meant, appears, more clearly in Chap. XXVIII, 12, 44, where the word is kamârikân.

4. The personification of the impurity of menstruation.]

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rose not from that confusion, through fear of the righteous man.

6. And, again, the wicked Gêh shouted thus: 'Rise up, thou father of us! for in that conflict I will shed thus much vexation[1] on the righteous man and the labouring ox that, through my deeds, life will not be wanted, and I will destroy their living souls (nismô)[2]; I will vex the water, I will vex the plants, I will vex the fire of Aûharmazd, I will make the whole creation of Aûharmazd vexed.' 7. And she so recounted those evil deeds a second time, that the evil spirit was delighted and started up from that confusion; and he kissed Gêh upon the head, and the pollution which they call menstruation became apparent in Gêh.

8. He shouted to Gêh thus: 'What is thy wish? so that I may give it thee.' And Gêh shouted to the evil spirit thus: 'A man is the wish, so give it to me.'
9. The form of the evil spirit was a log-like lizard's (vazak) body, and he appeared a young man of fifteen years to Gêh, and that brought the thoughts of Gêh to him[3].

[1 The word vêsh or vîsh may stand either for bêsh, 'distress, vexation,' as here assumed, or for vish, 'poison,' as translated by Windischmann and Justi in accordance with the Paz. MSS.

2. That this is the Huzvâris of rûbân, 'soul,' appears from Chap. XV, 3-5, where both words are used indifferently; but it is not given in the Huz.-Pâz. Glossary. It is evidently equivalent to Chald. nismâ, and ought probably to have the traditional pronunciation nisman, an abbreviation of nismman.
3. This seems to be the literal meaning of the sentence, and is confirmed by Chap. XXVIII, i, but Windischmann and Justi understand that the evil spirit formed a youth for Gêh out of a toad's body. The incident in the text may be compared with Milton's idea of Satan and Sin in Paradise Lost, Book II, 745-765.]

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10. Afterwards, the evil spirit, with the confederate demons, went towards the luminaries, and he saw the sky; and he led them up, fraught with malicious intentions. 11. He stood upon one-third[1] of the inside of the sky, and he sprang, like a snake, out of the sky down to the earth.

12. In the month Fravardîn and the day Aûharmazd[2] he rushed in at noon, and thereby the sky was as shattered and frightened by him, as a sheep by a wolf. 13. He came on to the water which was arranged[3] below the earth, and then the middle of this earth was pierced and entered by him. 14. Afterwards, he came to the vegetation, then to the ox, then to Gâyôpard, and then he came to fire[4]; so, just like a fly, he rushed out upon the whole creation; and he made the world quite as injured and dark[5] at midday as though it were in dark night. 15. And noxious creatures. were diffused by him over the earth, biting and venomous, such as the snake, scorpion, frog (kalvâk), and lizard (vazak),--so that not so much as the point of a needle remained free from noxious creatures. 16. And blight[6] was diffused by him over the

[1. Perhaps referring to the proportion of the sky which is overspread by the darkness of night. The whole sentence is rather obscure.

2. The vernal equinox (see Chap. XXV, 7).

3. Literally, 'and it was arranged.'

4. For the details of these visitations, see Chaps. VI-X.

5. Reading khûst tôm; but it may be hangîdtûm, most turbid, opaque.'

6. The word makhâ, 'blow, stroke,' is a Huzvâris logogram not found in the glossaries; M6 has dâr, 'wood,' but this may be a misreading, due to the original, from which M6 was copied, being difficult to read.]

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vegetation, and it withered away immediately. 17. And avarice, want, pain, hunger, disease, lust, and lethargy were diffused by him abroad upon the ox and Gâyôpard.

18. Before his coming to the ox, Aûharmazd ground up the healing fruit[1], which some call 'bînâk,' small in water openly before its eyes, so that its damage and discomfort from the calamity (zanisn) might be less; and when it became at the same time lean and ill, as its breath went forth and it passed away, the ox also spoke thus: 'The cattle are to be created, and their work, labour, and care are to be appointed.'

19. And before his coming to Gâyôpard, Aûharmazd brought forth a sweat upon Gâyôpard, so long as he might recite a prayer (vâg) of one stanza (vikast); moreover, Aûharmazd formed that sweat into the youthful body of a man of fifteen years,

radiant and tall. 20. When Gâyôbard issued from the sweat he saw the world dark as night, and the earth as though not a needle's point remained free from noxious creatures; the celestial sphere was in revolution, and the sun and moon remained in motion: and the world's struggle, owing to the clamour of the Mâzinâkân demons[2], was with the constellations.

21. And the evil spirit thought that the creatures of Aûharmazd were all rendered useless except

[1. The word mîvang is an unusual form of mîvak, 'fruit.' It is probably to be traced to an Av. mivangh, which might mean 'fatness,' as Windischmann suggests.

2. The Mâzainya daêva of the Avesta, and Mâzendarân demons, or idolators, of Persian legends.]

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Gâyôbard; and Astô-vîdâd[1] with a thousand demons, causers of death, were let forth by him on Gâyôbard, 22. But his appointed time had not come, and he (Astô-vîdâd) obtained no means of noosing (âvizî-danö) him; as it is said that, when the opposition of the evil spirit came, the period of the life and rule of Gâyôbard was appointed for thirty years. 23. After the coming of the adversary he lived thirty years, and Gâyôbard spoke thus: 'Although the destroyer has come, mankind will be all of my race; and this one thing is good, when they perform duty and good works.'

24. And, afterwards, he (the evil spirit) came to fire, and he mingled smoke and darkness with it. 25. The planets, with many demons, dashed against the celestial sphere, and they mixed the constellations; and the whole creation was as disfigured as though fire disfigured every place and smoke arose over it. 26. And ninety days and nights the heavenly angels were contending in the world with the confederate demons of the evil spirit, and hurled them confounded to hell; and the rampart of the sky was formed so that the adversary should not be able to mingle with it.

27. Hell is in the middle of the earth; there where the evil spirit pierced the earth[2] and rushed in upon it, as all the possessions of the world were

[1. The demon of death, Astô-vîdhôtu in the Avesta (Vend. IV, 137, V, 25, 31), who is supposed 'to cast a halter around the necks of the dead to drag them to hell, but if their good works have exceeded their sins they throw off the noose and go to heaven' (Haug's Essays, 2nd ed. p. 321). This name is misread Asti-vihâd by Pâzand writers.

2. See § 13.]

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changing into duality, and persecution, contention, and mingling of high and low became manifest.

CHAPTER IV.

1. This also is said, that when the primeval ox[1] passed away it fell to the right hand, and Gâyôbard afterwards, when he passed away, to the left hand. 2. Gôsûrvan[2], as the soul of the primeval ox came out from the body of the ox, stood up before the ox and cried to Aûharmazd, as much as a thousand men when they sustain a cry at one time, thus: 'With whom is the guardianship of the creatures left by thee, when ruin has broken into the earth, and vegetation is withered, and water is troubled? Where is the man[3] of whom it was said by thee thus: I will produce him, so that he may preach carefulness?'

3. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'You are made ill 4, O Gôsûrvan! you, have the illness which the evil spirit brought on if it were proper to produce that man in this earth at this time, the evil spirit would not have been oppressive in it.'

[1. Literally, 'the sole-created ox' from whom all the animals and some plants are supposed to have proceeded (see Chaps. X and XIV), as mankind proceeded from Gâyôbard. It is the ox of the primitive creation, mentioned in Chap. III, 14, 18.

2. The spiritual representative of the primeval ox, called Geusurvâ, 'soul of the bull,' in the Avesta, of which name Gôsûrvan is a corruption. The complaint of Gôsûrvan is recorded in the Gâthas, the oldest part of the Avesta (see Yas, XXIX).

3. Referring to Zaratûst.

4. In K20, 'You are ill.')

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4. Forth Gôsûrvan walked to the star station (pâyak) and cried in the same manner, and forth to the moon station and cried in the same manner, and forth to the sun station, and then the guardian spirit of Zaratûst was exhibited to her, and Aûharmazd said thus[1]: 'I will produce for the world him who will preach carefulness.' 5. Contented became the spirit Gôsûrvan, and assented thus: 'I will nourish the creatures;' that is, she became again consenting to a worldly creation in the world.

CHAPTER V.

1. Seven chieftains of the planets have come unto the seven chieftains of the constellations[2], as the planet Mercury (Tîr) unto Tîstar, the planet Mars (Vâhrâm) unto Haptôk-rîng, the planet Jupiter (Aûharmazd) unto Vanand, the planet Venus (Anâhîd) unto Satavês, the planet Saturn (Kêvân) unto the great one of the middle of the sky, Gôkîhar[3]

[1 As the text stands in the MSS. it means, 'and then the guardian spirit of Zaratûst demonstrated to her thus;' but whether it be intended to represent the fravâhar as producing the creature is doubtful. The angel Gôs, who is identified with Gôsûrvan, is usually considered a female, but this is hardly consistent with being the soul of a bull (see Chap. X, 1, 2), though applicable enough to a representative of the earth. In the Selections of Zâd-sparam, II, 6, however, this mythological animal is said to have been a female (see Appendix to Bundahis).

2. Five of these are mentioned in Chap. II, 7, 8, to which the sun and moon are here added.

3. As this name stands in the MSS. it may be read Gûrgdâr (as in the Pâz. MSS), Gûrkîhar, or Dûrkîhar; the reading is very uncertain, and Windischmann suggests Gûrg-kîhar, 'wolf progeny' (compare vehrkô-kithra in Ardabahist Yast 8). A shooting star, {footnote p. 22} or meteor, is probably meant (see Chap. XXX, 18, 3 1), and as it is the special disturber of the moon, it may be Gô-kîhar (Av. gao-kithra, of ox-lineage'), a common epithet of the moon; the Pahlavi letter k being often written something like the compound rk; and this supposition is confirmed by the Gôk-kîhar of TD in Chap. XXVIII, 44.]

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and the thievish (dûggun) Mûspar[1], provided with tails, unto the sun and moon and stars. 2. The sun has attached Mûspar to its own radiance by mutual agreement, so that he may be less able to do harm (vinâs).

3. Of Mount Albûrz[2] it is declared, that around the world and Mount Têrak[3], which is the middle of the world, the revolution of the sun is like a moat[4] around the world; it turns back in a circuit[5] owing to the enclosure (var) of Mount Albûrz around Têrak. 4. As it is said that it is the Têrak of Albûrz from behind which my sun and moon and stars return again [6]. 5. For there are a hundred

[1. This is written Mûs-parîk in TD in Chap. XXVIII, 44, and seems to be the mûs pairika of Yas. XVII, 46, LXVII, 23, as noticed by Windischmann; it is probably meant here for a comet, as it is attached to the sun. The zodiacal light and milky way have too little of the wandering character of planets to be considered planetary opponents of the sun and moon.

2. The hara berezaiti, 'lofty mountain-range,' of the Avesta, which is an ideal representative of the loftiest mountains known to the ancient Iranians, the Alburz range in Mâzendarân, south of the Caspian. See Chaps. VIII, 2, XII, 1, 3.

3. The Taêra of Yas. XLI, 24, Râm Yt. 7, Zamyâd Yt. 6. See Chap. XII, 2, 4.

4. The word mayâ-gîr is a Huz. hybrid for âv-gîr, 'a water-holder, or ditch.'

5. The word may be either âvêgak or khavîgak, with this meaning.

6. This appears to be a quotation from the Rashnu Yast, 26. The Huz. word for 'month' is here used for the 'moon.'

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and eighty apertures (rôgîn) in the east, and a hundred and eighty in the west, through Albûrz; and the sun, every day, comes in through an aperture, and goes out through an aperture[1]; and the whole connection and motion of the moon and constellations and planets is with it: every day it always illumines (or warms) three regions (kêshvar)[2] and a half, as is evident to the eyesight. 6. And twice in every year the day and night are equal, for on the original attack[3], when[4] it (the

sun) went forth from its first degree (khûrdak), the day and night were equal, it was the season of spring; when it arrives at the first degree of Kalakang (Cancer) the time of day is greatest, it is the beginning of summer; when it arrives at the sign (khûrdak) Tarâgûk (Libra) the day and night are equal, it is the beginning of autumn; when it arrives at the sign Vahîk (Capricorn) the night is a maximum, it is the beginning of winter; and when it arrives at Varak (Aries) the night and day have again become equal, as when it

[1. This mode of accounting for the varying position of sunrise and sunset resembles that in the Book of Enoch, LXXI, but only six eastern and six western gates of heaven are there mentioned, and the sun changes its gates of entrance and exit only once a month, instead of daily.

2. See s 9 and Chap. XI.

3. The reading of this word is doubtful, although its meaning is tolerably clear. The Pâz. MSS. read har dô, 'both;' Justi reads ardab, 'quarrel;' and in the Selections of Zâd-sparam it is written ârdîk. It seems probable that the word is kharah, 'attack,' which being written exactly like ardê (Av. ashya, see Yas. LVI, 1, 1) has had a circumflex added to indicate the supposed d, and this false reading has led to the more modern form ârdîk (Pers. ârd, 'anger'). But probabilities in obscure matters are often treacherous guides.

4. Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which,' throughout the sentence (see note to Chap. I, 7).]

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went forth from Varak. 7. So that when it comes back to Varak, in three hundred and sixty days and the five Gâtha days[1], it goes in and comes out through one and the same aperture; the aperture is not mentioned, for if it had been mentioned the demons would have known the secret, and been able to introduce disaster.

8. From there where the sun comes on on the longest day to where it comes on on the shortest day is the east region Savah; from there where it comes on on the shortest day to where it goes off on the shortest day is the direction of the south regions Fradadafsh and Vîdadafsh; from there where it goes in on the shortest day to where it goes in on the longest day is the west region Arzah; from there where it comes in on the longest day to there where it goes in on the longest day are the north regions Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst[2]. 9. When the sun comes on, it illumines (or warms) the regions of Savah, Fradadafsh, Vîdadafsh, and half of Khvanîras[3]; when it goes in on the dark side, it illumines the regions of Arzah, Vôrûbarst, Vôrûgarst, and one half of Khvanîras; when it is day here it is night there.

[1. The five supplementary days added to the last of the twelve months, of thirty days each, to complete the year. For these days no additional apertures are provided in Albûrz, and the sun appears to have the choice of either of the two centre apertures out of the 180 on each side of the world. This arrangement seems to indicate that the idea of the apertures is older than the rectification of the calendar which added the five Gâtha days to an original year of 360 days.

2. This sentence occurs, without the names of the kêshvars or regions, in the Pahl. Vend. XIX, 19. For the kêshvars see Chap. XI.

3. Often corrupted into Khantras in the MSS.]

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CHAPTER VI.

1. On the conflict[1] of the creations of the world with the: antagonism of the evil spirit it is said in revelation, that the evil spirit, even as he rushed in and looked upon the pure bravery of the angels and his own violence[2], wished to rush back. 2. The spirit of the sky is himself like one of the warriors who has put on armour; he arrayed the sky against the evil. spirit, and led on in the contest, until Aûharmazd had completed a rampart around, stronger than the sky and in front of the sky. 3. And his guardian spirits (fravâhar) of warriors and the righteous, on war horses and spear in hand, were around the sky; such-like as the hair on the head is the similitude (ângunî-aîtak) of those who hold the watch of the rampart. 4. And no passage was found by the evil spirit, who rushed back; and he beheld the annihilation of the demons and his own impotence, as Aûharmazd, did his own final triumph, producing the renovation of the universe for ever and everlasting.

CHAPTER VII.

1. The second conflict was waged with the water, because, as the star Tîstar was in Cancer, the water which is in the

subdivision they call Avrak[3] was

[1. This is the doubtful word translated 'attack' in Chap. V, 6 (see the note there); it also occurs at the beginning of each of the following four chapters.

2. Reading zôrîh; but it may be zûrîh, 'falsity.'

3. The ninth lunar mansion (see Chap. II, 3) corresponding with the middle of Cancer. Tîstar (Sirius) being in Cancer probably {footnote p. 26} means that it rises about the same time as the stars of Cancer, as is actually the case.]

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pouring, on the same day when the destroyer rushed in, and came again into notice for mischief (âvârak) in the direction of the west. 2. For every single month is the owner of one constellation; the month Tîr is the fourth month[1] of the year, and Cancer the fourth constellation from Aries, so it is the owner of Cancer, into which Tîstar sprang, and displayed the characteristics of a producer of rain; and he brought on the water aloft by the strength of the wind. 3. Co-operators with Tîstar were Vohûman and the angel Hôm, with the assistance of the angel Bûrg and the righteous guardian spirits in orderly arrangement.

4. Tîstar was converted into three forms, the form of a man and the form of a horse and the form of a bull[2]; thirty days and nights he was distinguished in brilliance[3], and in each form he produced rain ten days and nights; as the astrologers say that every constellation has three forms. 5. Every single drop of that rain became as big as a bowl, and the water stood the height of a man over the whole of this earth; and the noxious creatures on the earth being all killed by the rain, went into the holes of the earth[4].

[1. See Chap. XXV, 20.

2. See Tîstar Yt. 13, 16, 18, where it is stated that Tîstar assumes the form of a man for the first ten nights, of a bull for the second ten nights, and of a horse for the third ten nights. Also in Vend. XIX, 126 Tîstar is specially invoked in his form of a bull.

3. Or it may be translated, 'he hovered in the light,' as Windischmann and Justi have it.

4. In comparing the inundation produced by Tîstar, with the Noachian deluge, it must be recollected that the former is represented as occurring before mankind had propagated on the earth.]

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6. And, afterwards, the wind spirit, so that it may not be contaminated (gûmîkht), stirs up the wind and atmosphere as the life stirs in the body; and the water was all swept away by it, and was brought out to the borders of the earth, and the wide-formed[1] ocean arose therefrom. 7. The noxious creatures remained dead within the earth, and their venom and stench were mingled with the earth, and in order to carry that poison away from the earth Tîstar went down into the ocean in the form of a white horse with long hoofs[2].

8. And Apâôsh[3], the demon, came meeting him in the likeness of a black horse with clumsy (kund) hoofs; a mile (parasang) [4] away from him fled Tîstar, through the fright which drove him away. 9. And Tîstar begged for success from Aûharmazd, and Aûharmazd gave him strength and power, as it is said, that unto Tîstar was brought at once the strength of ten vigorous horses, ten vigorous camels, ten vigorous bulls, ten mountains, and ten rivers[5]. 10. A mile away from him fled Apâôsh, the demon, through fright at his strength; on account of this they speak of an arrow-shot with Tîstar's strength in the sense of a mile.

[1. The term farâkû-kard, 'wide-formed,' is a free Pahlavi translation of Av. vouru-kasha, 'wide-shored,' or 'having wide abysses,' applied to the boundless ocean (see Chap. XIII, 1).

2. For the Avesta account of this expedition of Tîstar, see Tîstar Yt. 20-29.

3. Miswritten Apavs or Apavas in Pâzand, by all MSS. in this chapter, but see Chap. XXVIII, 39.

4. The word parasang is here used for Av. hâthra, which was about an English mile (see Chap. XXVI, 1).

5. A quotation from Tîstar Yt. 25.]

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11. Afterwards, with a cloud for a jar (khûmb)--thus they call the measure which was a means of the work--he seized upon the water and made it rain most prodigiously, in drops like bull's heads and men's heads, pouring in handfuls and pouring in armfuls, both great and small. 12. On the production of that rain the demons Aspengargâk[1] and Apâôsh contended with it, and the fire Vâzist[2] turned its club over; and owing to the blow of the club Aspengargâk made a very grievous noise, as even now, in a conflict with the producer of rain, a groaning and raging[3] are manifest. 13. And ten nights and days rain was produced by him in that manner, and the poison and venom of the noxious creatures which were in the earth were, all mixed up in the water, and the water became quite salt, because there remained in the earth some of those germs which noxious creatures ever collect.

14. Afterwards, the wind, in the same manner as before, restrained the water, at the end of three days, on various sides of the earth; and the three great seas and twenty-three small seas[4] arose therefrom, and two fountains (kashmak) of the sea thereby became manifest, one the Kêkast lake, and one the Sôvbar[5], whose sources are connected with the

[1. Mentioned in Vend. XIX, 135, thus: thou shouldst propitiate the fire Vâzista, the smiter of the demon Spengaghra.' It, is also written Spêngargâk in Chap. XVII, 1, and Aspengarôgâ in Chap. XXVIII, 39.

2. That is, the lightning (see Chap. XVII, 1).

3. Or, 'a tumult and flashing.' Justi has 'howling and shrieking;' the two words being very ambiguous in the original.

4. See Chap. XIII, 6.

5. See Chap. XXII, 1-3.]

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fountain of the sea. 15. And at its north side[1] two rivers flowed out, and went one to the east and one to the west; they are the Arag river and the Vêh river; as it is said thus: 'Through those finger-breadth tricklings do thou pour and draw forth two such waters, O Aûharmazd!' 16. Both those rivers wind about through all the extremities of the earth, and intermingle again with the water of the wide-formed ocean. 17. As those two rivers flowed out, and from the same place of origin as theirs, eighteen[2] navigable rivers flowed out, and after the other waters have flowed out from those navigable streams they all flow back to the Arag[3] river and Vêh river, whose fertilization (khvâpardârîh) of the world arises therefrom.

CHAPTER VIII.

0. On the conflict which the evil spirit waged with the earth.

1. As the evil spirit rushed in, the earth shook[4], and the substance of mountains was created in the earth. 2. First, Mount Albûrz arose; afterwards,

[1. Probably meaning the north side of the Arêdvîvsûr fountain of the sea, which is said to be on the lofty Hûgar, a portion of Albûrz, from the northern side of which these two semi-mythical rivers are said to flow (see Chaps. XII, 5, XX,

2. See Chap. XX, 2.

3. Here written Arêng, but the usual Pahlavi reading is Arag; the nasal of the Av. Rangha being generally omitted in Pahlavi, as other nasals are sometimes; thus we often find sag for sang, 'stone.'

4. The word gudnîd is a transposition of gundîd, a graphical variant of gunbîd, 'shook.')

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the other ranges of mountains (kôfânîhâ) of the middle of the earth; for as Albûrz grew forth all the mountains remained in motion, for they have all grown forth from the root of Albûrz. 3. At that time they came up from the earth, like a tree which has grown up to the clouds and its root[1] to the bottom; and their root passed on that way from one to the other, and they are arranged in mutual connection. 4. Afterwards, about that wonderful shaking out from the earth, they say that a great mountain is the knot of lands; and the passage for the waters within the mountains is the root which is below the mountains; they forsake the upper parts so that they may flow into it, just as the roots of trees pass into the earth; a counterpart (âgunî-âitak) of the blood in the arteries of men, which gives strength to the whole body. 5. In numbers[2], apart from Albûrz, all the mountains grew up out of the earth in eighteen years[3], from which arises the perfection[4] of men's advantage.

CHAPTER IX.

1. The conflict waged with plants was that when[5] they became quite dry. 2. Amerôdad the arch-angel,

[1. M6 has rakâk, but this and many other strange words are probably due to the copyist of that MS. having an original before him which was nearly illegible in many places.

2. Or, 'as it were innumerable;' the word amar meaning both 'number' and 'innumerable.'

3. See Chap. XII, 1.

4. The word must be farhâkhtagân, 'proprieties,' both here and in Chap. IX, 6, as farhâkhtisn is an ungrammatical form.

5. Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see the note to Chap. 1, 7).]

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as the vegetation was his own, pounded the plants small, and mixed them up with the water which Tîstar seized, and Tîstar made that water rain down upon the whole earth. 3. On the whole earth plants grew up like hair upon the heads of men. 4. Ten thousand[1] of them grew forth of one special description, for keeping away the ten thousand species of disease which the evil spirit produced for the creatures; and from those ten thousand, the 100,000 species[2] of plants have grown forth.

5. From that same germ of plants the tree of all germs[3] was given forth, and grew up in the wide-formed ocean, from which the germs of all species of plants ever increased. 6. And near to that tree of all germs the Gôkard tree[4] was produced, for keeping away deformed (dûspad) decrepitude; and the full perfection of the world arose therefrom.

CHAPTER X.

0. On the conflict waged with the primeval ox.

1. As it passed away[5], owing to the vegetable principle (kîharak) proceeding, from every limb of the ox, fifty and five species of grain[6] and twelve species of medicinal plants grew forth from the earth, and their splendour and strength were the

[1. See Chap. XXVII, 2.

2. Here 120,000 are mentioned, but see Chap. XXVII, 2, and Selections of Zâd-sparam, VIII, 2.

3. Or, 'of all seeds' (see Chap. XVIII, 9).

4. The white-Hôm tree (see Chaps. XVIII, 1-6, XXVII, 4).

5. See Chap. IV, 1.

6. See Chaps. XIV, 1, XXVII, 2.]

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seminal energy (tôkhmîh) of the ox. 2. Delivered to the moon station[1], that seed was thoroughly purified by the light of the

moon, fully prepared in every way, and produced life in a body. 3. Thence arose two oxen, one male and one female; and, afterwards, two hundred and eighty-two species of each kind[2] became manifest upon the earth. 4. The dwelling (mânîst) of the birds is in the air, and the fish are in the midst of the water.

CHAPTER XI.

1. On the nature of the earth it says in revelation, that there are thirty and three kinds[3] of land. 2. On the day when Tistar produced the rain, when its seas arose therefrom, the whole place, half taken up by water, was converted into seven portions; this portion[4], as much as one-half, is the middle, and six portions are around; those six portions are together as much as Khvanîras. 3. The name

[1. See Chap. XIV, 3. In the Mâh Yt. 0, 7, blessings are invoked for 'the moon of ox lineage' (gaokithra) in conjunction with the sole-created ox and the ox of many species.' In the Avesta the gender of these two primeval oxen appears doubtful, owing probably to the dual gen. masc. of their epithets being of the same form as a sing. gen. fem.

2. That is, of each sex. See Chap. XIV, 13, 27. In all three occurrences of this number K20 has 272, but all other MSS. have 282 (except M6 in this place only).

3. K20b has 'thirty-two kinds.'

4. That is, Khvanîras; or it may be 'one portion,' as hanâ, 'this,' is often used for aê, 'one,' because the Pâzand form of both words is e.]

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kêshvar ('zone or region') is also applied to them, and they existed side by side (kash kash)[1]; as on the east side of this portion (Khvanîras) is the Savah region, on the west is the Arzah region; the two portions on the south side are the Fradadafsh and Vidadafsh regions, the two portions on the north side are the Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst regions, and that in the middle is Khvanîras. 4. And Khvanîras has the sea, for one part of the wide-formed ocean wound about around it; and from Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst a lofty mountain grew tip; so that it is not possible for any one to go from region to region[2].

5. And of these seven regions every benefit was created most in Khvanîras, and the evil spirit also produced most for Khvanîras, on account of the superiority (sarîh)[3] which he saw in it. 6. For the Kayânians and heroes were created in Khvanîras; and the good religion of the Mazdayasnians was created in Khvanîras, and afterwards conveyed to the other regions; Sôshyans[4] is born in Khvanîras, who makes the evil spirit impotent, and causes the resurrection and future existence.

[1. Possibly an attempt to connect the term kêshvar with kash; but the sentence may also be translated thus: 'and they formed various districts like this portion; on the east side is the Savah region,' &c.

2. In the Pahlavi Vend. I, 4a, and in the Mainyô-i-khard, IX, 6, it is added, 'except with the permission of the angels' or the demons.

3. So in M6; but K20 has zadârîh, which would imply, 'for the destruction of what he saw of it.'

4. Always spelt so in the Bundahis MSS. K20 and M6, and corrupted into Sôshyôs in Pâzand; but it is more usually written Sôshâns in other Pahlavi works, and its Avesta form is Saoshyâs (see Chap. XXXII, 8).]

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CHAPTER XII.

1. On the nature of mountains it says in revelation, that, at first, the mountains have grown forth in eighteen years; and Albûrz ever grew, till the completion of eight hundred years; two hundred years up to the star station (pâyak), two hundred years to the moon station, two hundred years to the sun station, and two hundred years to the endless light[1]. 2. While the other mountains have grown out of Albûrz, in number 2244 mountains, and are Hûgar the lofty[2], Têrak of Albûrz, Kakâd-i-Dâitîk, and the Arezûr ridge, the Aûsîndôm mountain, Mount Apârsên which they say is the mountain of Pârs, Mount Zarid also which is Mount Mânûs, Mount Aîrak, Mount Kaf, Mount Vâdgês, Mount Aûshdâstâr, Mount Arezûr-bûm, Mount Rôyisn-hômand, Mount Padashkhvârgar which is the greatest in Khvârîh, the mountain which they call Kînö, Mount Rêvand, Mount Dârspêt the Bakyr mountain, Mount Kabeds-ikaft, Mount Sîyâk-mûîmand, Mount Vafar-hômand, Mount Spendyâd

and Kôndrâsp, Mount Asnavand and Kôndras, Mount

[1. These are the four grades of the Mazdayasnian heaven.

2. In all the geographical details, mentioned in the Bundahis, there is a strange mixture of mythical tradition with actual fact. The author of the work finds names mentioned in the Avesta, by old writers of another country, and endeavours to identify them with places known to himself; much in the same way as attempts have been made to identify the geographical details of the garden of Eden. Most of the names of these mountains occur in the Zamyâd Yast, or in other parts of the Avesta, as will be noticed in detail further on. The number 2244 is also mentioned in § 7 of that Yast. A very able commentary on this chapter will be found in Windischmann's Zoroastrische Studien, pp. 1-19.]

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Sikidâv[1], a mountain among which are in Kangdez[2], of which they say that they are a comfort and delight of the good creator, the smaller hills.

3. I will mention them also a second time; Albûrz[3] is around this earth and is connected with the sky. 4. The Têrak[4] of Albûrz is that through which the stars, moon, and sun pass[5] in, and through it they come back. 5. Hûgar the lofty[6] is that from which the water of Arêdvîvsûr[7] leaps down the height of a thousand men. 6. The Aûsîndôm[8] mountain is that which, being of ruby

[1. The Av. Sikidava of Zamyâd Yt. 5.

2. See Chap. XXIX, 4, 10; the name is here written Kandez in R20. In M6 the word is kôf, 'mountain,' which is almost identical in form; if this be the correct reading, the translation will be, 'a mountain among those in the mountain which they say is agreeable and the delight,' &c. This mountain is, however, probably intended for the Av. Antare-kangha, 'within Kangha,' of Zamyâd Yt. 4.

3. The Haraiti-bares of Zamyâd Yt. r; but it is more usually called Hara berezaiti (see Chap. V, 3).

4. A central peak of the mythic Albûrz, around which the heavenly bodies are said to revolve (see Chap. V, a). It is the Av. Taêra, mentioned in Yas. XLI, 24, Râm Yt. 7, Zamyâd Vt. 6.

5. So in M6, but K20 has 'go in.'

6. This appears to be another peak of the mythic Albûrz, probably in the west. as it is connected with Satavês, the western chieftain of the constellations (see Chaps. XXIV, 17 and II, 7), It is the Av. Hukairya berezô, of Yas. LXIV, 14, Âbân Yt. 3, 25, 96, Gôs Yt. 8 Mihir Yt. 88, Rashnu Yt. 24, Fravardîn Yt. 6, Râm Yt. 15.

7. See Chap. XIII, 3-5.

8. In Aûharmazd Yt. 3x and Zamyâd Yt. 2, 66, an Ushidhâo mountain is mentioned as having many mountain waters around it, but this seems to be a near neighbour of the Ushidarena mountain (see § 15). The details in the text correspond with the description of the Hindva mountain, given in Tîstar Yt. 32, thus: us Hindvad paiti garôid yô histaiti maidhîm zrayanghō vouru-kashahê, 'up on the Hindva mountain, which stands amid the wide-shored {footnote p. 36} ocean;' and the Pahlavi name, Aûsîndôm, has probably arisen from the us Hindvad of this passage, as suggested by Justi. (See Chaps. XIII, 5, and XVIII, 10, 11.)

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(khûn-âhinô), of the substance of the sky[1], is in the midst of the wide-formed ocean, so that its water, which is from Hûgar, pours down into it (the ocean). 7. Kakâd-i-Dâtîk ('the judicial peak') is that of the middle of the world, the height of a hundred men, on which the Kînvar bridge[2] stands; and they take account of the soul at that place. 8. The Arezûr[3] ridge [of the Albûrz mountain] is a summit at the gate of hell, where they always hold the concourse of the demons. 9. This also is said, that, excepting Albûrz, the Apârsên[4] mountain is the

[1. The sky is considered to be a true firmament, or hard and indestructible dome.

2. The Kinvatô-peretu of the Avesta, mentioned even in the Gâthas. In the Pahlavi Vend. XIX, 101, it is stated that 'they pass across by the Kinvad bridge, whose two extremities are their own heavenly angels, one stands at Kakâd-i-Dâîtîk, and one at Albûrz;' the former mountain seems not to be mentioned in the Avesta, but the bridge is the path of the soul to the other world if righteous the soul passes by it easily over Albûrz (the confines of this world) into paradise, but if wicked it drops off the bridge into hell.

3. See Vend III, 23, XIX, 140. The words in brackets may perhaps be inserted by mistake, but they occur in. all MSS. examined, and there is nothing inconsistent with tradition in supposing Arezûr to be the extreme northern range of the mythic Albûrz which surrounds the earth, being the place where demons chiefly congregate.

4. Justi adopts the reading Harpârsên, which occurs in K20 four times out of eleven, but is corrected thrice. Windischmann suggests that this mountain is the Av. skyata (or iskatâ) upairi-saêna of Yas. X, 29, and Zamyâd Yt. 3, which the Pahlavi translator of the Yasna explains as 'the Pârsên crag.' It seems to be a general name for the principal mountain ranges in the south and east of Iran, as maybe seen on comparing this passage and Chap. XXIV, {footnote p. 37}2 8, with Chap. XX, 16, 17, 21, 22, where the Haro, Hêtûmand, Marv, and Balkh rivers are said to spring from Mount Apârsên; but its application to the southern range is perhaps due to the etymological attempt, in the text, to connect it with Pârs. The Selections of Zâd-spâram, VII, 7, have Kînistân for Khûgîstân.]

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greatest; the Apârsên mountain they call the mountain of Pars, and its beginning is in Sagastân[1] and its end in Khûgîstân.

10. Mount Manûs[2] is great; the mountain on which Mânûskîhar was born.

11. The remaining mountains have chiefly grown from those; as it is said that the elevation (afsârîh) of the districts had arisen most around those three mountains[3]. 12. Mount Aîrak[4] is in the middle from Hamadân to Khvârizem, and has grown from Mount Apârsên. 13. Mount [Kînô][5], which is on its east, on the frontier of Tûrkîstân, is connected also with Apârsên.

14. Mount Kaf[6] has grown from the same Mount Apârsên. 15. Mount

[1. This name can also be read Sîstân.

2. In § 2 it is also called Zarid, but in Zamyâd Yt. 1 Zeredhô and Aredhô-manusha are mentioned as neighbouring mountains. The word 'great' is omitted in M6.

3. That is, around the ranges of Albûrz, Apârsên, and Mânûs.

4 Perhaps intended for the Erezîshô of Zamyâd Yt. 2. The description would apply to any of the mountains near Nîsâpûr.

5. This name is omitted in the MSS., but is taken from § 2 as suggested by Justi. Perhaps it maybe connected with the country of Sênî' (Chap. XV, 29), which is explained as being Kînistân, probably the land of Samarkand, which place was formerly called Kîn, according to a passage in some MSS. of Tabari's Chronicle, quoted in Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 298.

6. Not Kâf, nor is it mentioned in the Pahlavi Vend. V, 57, as supposed by Justi; the kâf kôp ârâyad of Spiegel's edition of the Pahlavi text being a misprint for kâfakô pârayad, 'it traverses a fissure' (see Haug's Essays. 2nd ed. p. 326, note 2).]

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Aûshdâstâr[1] is in Sagastân. 16. Mount Arezûr[2] is that which is in the direction of Arûm. 17. The Padashkhvârgar[3] mountain is that which is in Taparîstân and the side of Gîlân. 18. The Rêvand[4] mountain is in Khûrâsân[5], on which the Bûrzîn fire[6] was established; and its name Rêvand means this, that it is glorious. 19. The Vâdgês[7] mountain is that which is on the frontier of the Vâdgêsians; that quarter is full of timber and full of trees. 20. The Bakyîr[8] mountain is that which Frâsiyâv of Tûr used as a stronghold, and he made his residence within it; and in the days of Yim[9] a myriad towns and cities were erected on its pleasant and prosperous territory. 21. Mount Kated-sikaft[10] ('very rugged')

[1 The Av. Ushi-darena of Yas. I, 41, II, 54, III, 65, IV, 45, XXII, 31, XXV, 22, Aûharmazd Yt. 31, Zamyâd Yt. 0, 2, 97.

2. Called Arezûr-bûm in § 2, which name stands for the sixth and seventh mountains, Erezurô and Bumyô, in Zamyâd Yt. 2. The land of Arûm was the eastern empire of the Romans.

3. Evidently the mountain range south of the Caspian, now called Albûrz; but whether this actual Albûrz is to be considered a part of the mythic Albûrz is not very clear.
4. The Av. Raêvaus, 'shining,' of Zamyâd Yt. 6. It is also called the Ridge of Vistâsp (see § 34).
5. Or, 'the east.'
6. See Chap. XVII, 8.
7. The Av. Vâiti-gaêsô, the twelfth mountain in Zamyâd. Yt. 2; Bâdghês in Persian.
8. In § 2 it is Bakyr, which Justi thinks is another name for Mount Dârspêt ('white poplar'); the latter name not being repeated here makes this supposition probable.
9. K20 has rûm and M6 has lanman, but both explained by the Pâz. gloss Yim, which is also the reading of the Pâz. MSS. If the gloss be rejected the most probable translation would be, 'and in our days Shatrô-râm (or râmîsn), the victorious, erected on it a myriad towns and cities.'
10. Windischmann suggests that this may be intended for the Av. skyata or iskatâ mentioned in the note on Apârsên in § 9.]

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is that in Pârs, out of the same Mount Apârsên. 22. Mount Sîyâk-hômand ('being black') and Mount Vafar-hômand ('having snow')[1], as far as their Kâvûl borders, have grown out of it (Apârsên) towards the direction of Kînô. 23. The Spendyâd[2] mountain is in the circuit (var) of Rêvand[3]. 24. The Kôndrâsp[4] mountain, on the summit of which is Lake Sôvbar[5], is in the district (or by the town) of Tûs. 25. The Kondrâs[6] mountain is in Âirân-vêg[6]. The Asnavand[7] mountain is in Âtarô-pâtakân. 27. The Rôyîsn-hômand[8] ('having growth') mountain is that on which vegetation has grown.

28. Whatever[9] mountains are those which are in every place of the various districts and various

[1. The Av. Syâmaka and Vafrayau of Zamyâd Yt. 5; and probably the Sîyâh-kôh and Safêd-kôh of Afghânistân. With regard to Kînô, see the note on § 13. The former mountain is called Sîyâk-mûî-mand, 'having black hair,' in § 2, which is certainly a more grammatical form than Sîyâk-hômand.

2. The Av. Spentô-dâta of Zamyâd Yt. 6.

3. The term var often means 'lake,' but we are not informed of any Lake Rêvand, though a mountain of that name is described in § 18; so it seems advisable to take var here in its wider sense of 'enclosure, circuit, district.'

4. The Av. Kadrva-aspa of Zamyâd Yt. 6.

5. See Chap. XXII, 3. All MSS. have Sôbar here.

6. If the circumflex be used in Pahlavi to indicate not only the consonant d, but also the vowel î, ê when it follows a vowel, as seems probable, this name can be read Kôîrâs; in any case, it is evidently intended for the Av. Kaorisa in Zamyâd Yt. 6. It is written Kôndras in § 2.

7. The Av. Asnavau of Zamyâd Yt. 5, Âtash Nyây. 5, Sîrôz. 9. See also Chap. XVII, 7.

8. The Av. Raoidhitô, the eighth mountain of Zamyâd Yt. 2.

9. So in M6 and the Pâz. MSS., but K20 has, 'The country mountains.']

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countries, and cause the tillage and prosperity therein, are many in name and many in number, and have grown from these

same mountains. 29. As Mount Ganâvad, Mount Asparôg, Mount Pâhargar, Mount Dimâvand, Mount Râvak, Mount Zarîn, Mount Gêsbakht, Mount Dâvad, Mount Mîgîn, and Mount Marak[1], which have all grown from Mount Apârsên, of which the other mountains are enumerated. 30. For the Dâvad[2] mountain has grown into Khûgîstân likewise from the Apârsên mountain. 31. The Dimâvand[3] mountain is that in which Bêvarâsp is bound. 32. From the same Padashkhvârgar mountain unto Mount Kûmîs[4], which they call Mount Madôfryâd ('Come-to-help')--that in which Vistâsp routed Argâsp--is Mount Mîyân-i-dast ('mid-plain')[5], and was broken off from that mountain there. 33. They say, in the war of the religion, when there was confusion among the Iranians it broke off from that mountain, and slid down into the middle of the plain; the Iranians were saved by

[1. This list is evidently intended to include the chief mountains known to the author of the Bundahis, which he could not identify with any of those mentioned in the Avesta.

2. This is the Pâzand reading of the name, on which very little reliance can be placed; the Pahlavi can also be read Dânad, and it may be the Deana mountain, 12,000 feet high, near Kaski-zard.

3. See Chap. XXIX, 9. This volcanic mountain, about 20,000 feet high and near Teheran, still retains this ancient Persian name, meaning 'wintry.' It is the chief mountain of the Padashkhvârgar range, which the Bundahis evidently considers as an offshoot of the Apârsên ranges.

4. The present name of a mountain between Nîsâpûr and the desert.

5. The name of a place about midway between Astarâbâd and Nîsâpûr. This mountain is called Mîgîn in § 29, probably from a place called Mezinan in the same neighbourhood.]

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it, and it was called, 'Come-to-help' by them. 34. The Ganâvad[1] mountain is likewise there, on the Ridge of Vistâsp (pûst-i Vistâspân)[2] at the abode of the Bûrzîn-Mitrô fire, nine leagues (parasang) to the west. 35. Râvak Bîsan[3] is in Zrâvakad; this place, some say, is Zravad, some call it Bîsan, some Kalâk; from this the road of two sides of the mountain is down the middle of a fortress; for this reason, that is, because it is there formed, they call Kalâk a fortress this place they also call within the land of Sarak. 36. Mount Asparôg[4] is established from the country of Lake Kêkast unto Pârs. 37. Pâhargar ('the Pâhar range') is in Khûrâsân. 38. Mount Marak[6] is in Lârân. 39. Mount Zarîn is in Tûrkîstân. 40. Mount Bakht-tan[7] is in Spâhân.

41. The rest, apart from this enumeration, which they reckon as fostering hills of the country in the religion of the Mazdayasnians, are the small hills, those which have grown piecemeal in places.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. On the nature of seas it says in revelation, that the wide-formed ocean keeps one-third of this earth on the south side of the border of Albûrz[8], and so

[1. The Pers. Kanâbad, or Gunâbad, is near Gumin.

2. Another name for Mount Rêvand (§ 18). See Chap. XVII, 8.

3. Probably in Kirmân.

4. The mountain ranges of western Persia, including the Mount Zagros of classical writers.

5. See Chap. XXII, 2.

6. Probably the Merkhinah range in northern Lâristân.

7. The Bakhtiyârî range in the province of Ispahân.

8. Or perhaps better thus: 'the wide-formed ocean is, in the {footnote p. 42} direction of the south limit of Albûrz, and possesses one-third of this earth.'

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wide-formed is the ocean that the water of a thousand lakes is held by it, such as the source Arêdvîvsûr[1], which some say is the fountain lake. 2. Every particular lake is of a particular kind[2], some are great, and some are small; some are so large that a man with a horse might compass them around in forty days[3], which is 1700 leagues (parasang) in extent.

3. Through the warmth and clearness of the water, purifying more than other waters, everything continually flows from the source Arêdvîvsûr. 4. At the south of Mount Albûrz a hundred thousand golden channels are there formed, and that water goes with warmth and clearness, through the channels, on to Hûgar the lofty[4]; on the summit of that mountain is a lake[5]; into that lake it flows, becomes quite purified, and comes back through a different golden channel. 5. At the height of a thousand men an open golden branch from that channel is connected with Mount Aûsîndôm[6], amid the wide-formed ocean; from there one portion flows forth to the ocean for the purification of the sea, and one portion drizzles in moisture upon the whole of this earth, and all the creations of Aûharmazd acquire

[1. The Av. Ardvî sûra of Âbân Yt. 1, &c.

2. Literally, 'for every single lake there is a single kind;' but we may perhaps read lâ, 'not,' instead of the very similar râf, 'for,' and translate as follows: 'every single lake is not of one kind;' which expresses very nearly the same meaning.

3. Compare Âbân Yt. 101.

4. See Chap. XII, 5.

5. Lake Urvis (see Chap. XXII, 11).

6. See Chaps. XII, 6, and XVIII, 10, 11.]

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health from it, and it dispels the dryness of the atmosphere.

6. Of the salt seas three are principal, and twenty-three are small. 7. of the three which are principal, one is the Pûtîk, one the Kamrûd, and one the Sahî-bûn. 8. of all three the Pûtîk[1] is the largest, in which is a flow and ebb, on the same side as the wide-formed ocean, and it is joined to the wide-formed ocean. 9. Amid this wide-formed ocean, on the Pûtîk side, it has a sea which they call the Gulf (var) of Satavês[2]. 10. Thick and salt the stench[3] wishes to go from the sea Pûtîk to the wide-formed ocean; with a mighty high wind therefrom, the Gulf of Satavês drives away whatever is stench, and whatever is pure and clean goes into the wide-formed ocean and the source Arêdvîvsûr; and that flows back a second time to Pûtîk[4]. 11. The control[5] of this sea (the Pûtîk) is connected with the

[1. The Av. Pûtîka of Vend. V, 52, 57, and evidently the Persian Gulf.

2. So called from the constellation Satavês (§ 12), see Chap. 11, 7. The details given in the text are applicable to the Gulf and Sea of `Umân, the Arabian Sea of Europeans. The description of this Gulf, given in the Pahl. Vend. V, 57, which is rather obscure, is as follows: 'In purification the impurities flow, in the purity of water, from the sea Pûtîk into the wide-formed ocean; at the southernmost side the water stands back in mist, and the blue body of Satavês stands back around it. Pûtîk stands out from the side of Satavês, this is where it is. From which side it stands is not clear to me. The water comes to Satavês through the bottom; some say that it traverses a fissure.'

3. Perhaps a better reading would be stûrg sûr-i gôndakîh, 'the intense saltness which is stench.' The author appears to have had some vague idea of the monsoon.

4. Or, perhaps, 'the other (the stench) flows back to Pûtîk.'

5. Reading band; but it may be bôd, 'consciousness, sensitiveness.'

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moon and wind; it comes again and goes down, in increase and decrease, because of her revolving. 12. The control[1] also of the Gulf of Satavês is attached to the constellation Satavês, in whose protection are the seas of the southern quarter, just as those on the northern side are in the protection of Haptök-ring[2]. 13. Concerning the flow and ebb it is said, that everywhere from the presence of the moon two winds continually blow, whose abode is in the Gulf of Satavês, one they call the down-draught, and one the up-draught; when the up-draught blows it is the flow, and when the down-draught blows it is the ebb[3]. 14. In the other seas there is nothing of the nature of a revolution of the moon therein, and there are no flow and ebb. 15. The sea of Kamrûd[4] is that which they pass by, in the north, in Taparîstân; that of Sahî-bûn[5] is in Arûm.

16. Of the small seas that which was most

[1. See p. 43, note 5.

2. See Chap. II, 7.

3. This is not a confused attempt to explain the tides as the effect of the land and sea breezes, as might be suspected at first, but is a reasonable conclusion from imaginary facts. Assuming that the wind always blows eastward and westward from the moon, it follows that as the moon rises an easterly wind must blow, which may be supposed to drive the flood tide westward into the Persian Gulf; until the moon passes the meridian, when the wind, changing to the west, ought to drive the ebb tide eastward out of the Gulf thus accounting for one flow and ebb every day, dependent on the position of the moon.

4. Evidently the Caspian, which lies north of Taparîstân, a province including part of Mâzendarân.

5. Or perhaps Gâhî-bûn, meaning probably the Mediterranean or Euxine, if not both of them; the author appears merely to have heard of the existence of such a sea in Asia Minor (Arûm). In the Selections of Zâd-spâram, VI, 14, it is called Gêhân-bûn.]

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wholesome[1] was the sea Kyânsîh[2], such as is in Sagastân; at first, noxious creatures, snakes, and lizards (vazagh) were not in it, and the water was sweeter than in any of the other seas; later (dadîgar) it became salt; at the closest, on account of the stench, it is not possible to go so near as one league, so very great are the stench and saltiness through the violence of the hot wind. 17. When the renovation of the universe occurs it will again become sweet[3].

CHAPTER XIV.

1. On the nature of the five classes of animals (gôspend) it says in revelation, that, when the primeval ox passed away[4], there where the marrow came out grain grew up[5], of fifty and five species, and twelve[6] species of medicinal plants grew; as it says, that out of the marrow is every separate creature, every single thing whose lodgment is in the marrow[7]. 2. From the horns arose peas (mîgûk),

[1. Comparing nîstûm with Pers. nîst, 'healthy.'

2. The Av. Kâsu of Vend. XIX, 18, and Zamyâd Yt. 66, 92 (see also Chaps. XX, 34, and XXI, 7). A brackish lake and swamp now called Hâmûn, 'the desert,' or Zarah, 'the sea,' and which formerly contained fresher water than it does now.

3. The MSS. here add the first sentence of Chap. XX, and there is every reason to believe that Chaps. XX-XXII originally occupied this position, between XIII and XIV, (see the list of the contents of TD in the Introduction.).

4. See Chaps. IV, 1, and X, 1.

5. All MSS. have lakhvâr, 'again,' but this is probably a blunder . for lâlâ, 'up.'

6. K20 has 'fifteen' here, but 'twelve' in Chaps. X, 1, and XXVII, 2.

7. K20 has 'of every single thing the lodgment is in the marrow.'

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from the nose the leek, from the blood the grapevine[1] from which they make wine--on this account wine abounds with blood--from the lungs the rue-like herbs, from the middle of the heart[2] thyme for keeping away stench, and every one of the others as revealed in the Avesta.

3. The seed of the ox was carried up to the moon station[3]; there it was thoroughly purified, and produced the manifold species of animals[4]. 4. First, two oxen, one male and one female, and, afterwards, one pair of every single species was let go into the earth, and was discernible in Airân-vêg for a Hâsar ('mile'), which is like a Parasang ('league')[5]; as it says, that, on account of the valuableness of the ox, it was created twice, one time as an ox, and one time as the manifold species of animals. 5. A thousand days and nights they were without eating, and first water and afterwards herbage (aûrvar) were devoured by them.

6. And, afterwards, the three classes (kardak) of animals were produced therefrom, as it says that first were the goat and sheep, and then the camel

[1. Probably kadûk-i raz may mean 'the pumpkin and grape.'

2. Reading dîl; but the word may also be read sar, 'the head,' or jigar, 'the liver.'

3. See Chap. X, 2.

4. This translation suits both text and context very well but gôspend pûr-sardak is evidently intended for the Av. gâus pouru-saredhō, 'the ox of many species,' of Mâh Yt. 0, 7, and Sîrôz. 12.

5. Reading mûn aê parasang humânâk; if 3 be read for aê the translation must be, 'three of which are like a Parasang,' for a Hâsar cannot be equal to three Parasangs (see Chaps. XVI, 70 and XXVI). The phrase in the text probably means merely that a Hâsar is a measure for long distances, just as a Parasang is.]

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and swine, and then the horse and ass. 7. For, first, those suitable for grazing were created therefrom, those are now kept in the valley (lâi); the second created were those of the hill summits (sar-i dêz)[1], which are wide-travellers, and habits (nihâdak) are not taught to them by hand; the third created were those dwelling in the water.

8. As for the genera (khadûinak), the first genus is that which has the foot cloven in two, and is suitable for grazing; of which a camel larger than a horse is small and new-born. 9. The second genus is ass-footed, of which the swift[2] horse is the largest, and the ass the least. 10. The third genus is that of the five-dividing paw, of which the dog is the largest, and the civet-cat the least. 11. The fourth genus is the flying, of which the griffon of three natures[3] is the largest, and the chaffinch [4] the least. 12. The fifth genus is that of the water, of which the Kar fish[5] is the largest, and the Nemadu[6] the least.

13. These five genera are apportioned out into

[1. Justi reads gîrîsak, the Av. gairishâkō, 'mountain-frequenting,' of Tîstar Yt. 36; but this is doubtful.

2. Pahl. zibâl = Pers. zîbâl.

3. The Paz. sin-i se avinâ is the Pahl. sên-i 3 khadûinak of Chap. XXIV, II, 29, the Sîn bird or Sîmurgh of Persian legends, the Av. saêna. The word avinâ is a Pâz. misreading either of âinak, 'kind, sort,' or of anganâk, 'dividing.' The mixture of Pâzand and Pahlavi in this and some other chapters is rather perplexing, but the Pâzand misreadings can usually be corrected after transliterating them back into Pahlavi characters.

4. Reading va taru (Pers. tar).

5. See Chaps. XVIII, 3, and XXIV, 13.

6. If this Pâzand word be written in Pahlavi letters it may be read va magan, which may stand for va magil, 'and the leech;', but this is very uncertain.]

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two hundred and eighty-two[1] species (sardak). 14. First are five species of goat, the ass-goat[2], the milch-goat, the mountain-goat, the fawn, and the common goat. 15. Second, five species of sheep, that with a tail, that which has no tail, the dog-sheep, the wether, and the Kûrisk sheep, a sheep whose horn is great; it possesses a grandeur[3] like unto a horse, and they use it mostly for a steed (bâra), as it is said that Mânûskîhar kept a Kûrisk as a steed. 16. Third, two species of camel, the mountain one and that suitable for grazing; for one is fit to keep in the mountain, and one in the plain; they are one-humped and two-humped. 17. Fourth, fifteen species of ox, the white, mud-coloured[4], red, yellow, black, and dappled, the elk, the buffalo, the camel-leopard ox, the fish-chewing[5] ox, the Fars ox, the Kagau, and other species of ox. 18. Fifth, eight species of horse, the Arab, the Persian, the mule[6], the ass, the wild ass (gôr), the hippopotamus (asp-i âvî), and other species of horse. 19. Sixth, ten species of dog, the shepherd's dog, the village-dog which is the house-protector, the blood-hound, the slender hound[7], the

[1. K20 alone has 272 (see Chap. X. 3).

2. The khar-bûz (see Chap. XXIV, 2).

3. Supposing se koh to be a Pâz. misreading of Pahl. sukûh. Justi's translation is: 'it inhabits the three mountains, like the horse.'

4. Pâz. ashgun is evidently for Pahl. hasgûn.

5. Transcribing the Pâz. mâhi khu ushân into Pahlavi it may be read mâhîkân-khvasân (khashân?).

6. Instead of these first three species M6 has 'the white, black, yellow, bay, and chestnut.' K20 omits 'the ass' by mistake.

7. These first four species are the Av. pasus-haurvô, vis-haurvô, vôhunazgô, and taurunô of Vend. V, 92-98, XIII, 21, 26-74, 117, 164, 165.]

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water-beaver[1] which they call the water-dog, the fox, the ichneumon (râsu), the hedgehog which they call 'thorny-back,' the porcupine[2], and the civet-cat; of which, two species are those accustomed[3] to burrows, one the fox and one the ichneumon; and those accustomed to jungle are such as the porcupine which has spines on its back, and the hedgehog which is similar. 20. Seventh, five species of the black[4] hare; two are wild species, one dwelling in a burrow[5] and one dwelling in the jungle. 21. Eighth, eight species of weasel; one the marten, one the black marten, the squirrel, the Bez ermine[6], the white ermine, and other species of weasel. 22. Ninth, eight species of musk animals; one is that which is recognised by its musk[7], one

[1. The Av. bawris upâpô of Âbân Yt. 129.

2. The word indra has usually been taken as a Pâz. misreading of the Pahl. âdrak (Av. udra, 'otter,' of Vend. XIII, 48, 167, 169, XIV, 2), but this would be more probably read andra. The Pahl. sîgar, 'porcupine,' is just as likely to be misread indra, and its meaning suits the context better.

3. The Paz. âmokhtesn, which is an ungrammatical form, is evidently a misreading of the Pahl. âmûkhtagân.

4. K20 has seyâ, M6 has zyâgi hest. Perhaps some old copyist has corrected siyâk-gôsh into khar-gôsh, and so both the epithets have crept into the text, the word 'black' being superfluous.

5. Reading khan-mânist, the Pâz. khu being an obvious misreading of khan.

6. The Pâz. bez is written bedh in the Pâzand MS. (the z in M6 being shaped something like dh), and Justi supposes it represents the Arabic abyadh or baïdhâ, 'white,' and is explained by the Pers. sapêd, 'white,' which follows; but there is nothing in the text to indicate that the second name is an explanation of the first. It is more probable that bez represents the Pers. bîgâd, 'reddish, rufous, variegated,' an epithet quite applicable to the ermine in its summer fur.

7. Or, 'is known as the musk animal.']

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the musk animal with a bag in which is their pleasant scent, the Bis-musk[1] which eats the Bis-herb, the black musk which is the enemy of the serpent that is numerous in rivers, and other species of musk animals. 23. Tenth, one hundred and ten species of birds; flying creatures (vey = vâi) such as the griffon bird[2], the Karsipt[3], the eagle, the Kahrkâs[4] which they call the vulture, the crow, the Ardâ, the crane, and the tenth[5] is the bat. 24. There are two of them which have milk in the teat and suckle their young, the griffon bird and the bat which flies in the night; as they say that the bat is created of three races (sardak), the race (âyina) of the dog, the bird, and the musk animal; for it flies like a bird, has many teeth like a dog, and is dwelling in holes like a musk-rat. 25. These hundred and ten species of birds are distributed into eight groups (khadûinak), mostly as scattered about as when a man scatters seed, and drops the seed in his fingers to the ground, large, middling, and small. 26. Eleventh[6], fish were created of ten

[1. A kind of musk-rat; the bîs it eats is said to be the Napellus Moysis.

2. Pahl. sênô mûrûk, the sîmurgh of Persian tradition, and Av. mereghô saênô of Bahrâm Yt. 41.

3. See Chap. XIX, 16.

4. See Chap. XIX, 25.

5. Counting the 'flying creatures' and 'the vulture' as distinct species, 'the bat' is the tenth. It has been generally supposed that we should read 'eleventh,' and consider the bats as an eleventh group, especially as the MSS. call the next group (the fish) the 'twelfth;' but this view is contradicted by the remarks about the bats being mingled with those about the birds, and also by Zâd-sparam in his Selections, Chap. IX, 14 (see App. to Bund.), not mentioning any group of bats among the other animals.

6 All the MSS. have 'twelfth,' but they give no 'eleventh' nor 'thirteenth,' though they have I fourteenth' in § 29. These irregularities seem to indicate that part of this chapter has been omitted by some old copyist.]

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species; first, the fish Ariz[1], the Arzuvâ, the Arzukâ, the Marzukâ, and other Avesta names[2]. 27. Afterwards, within each species, species within species are created, so the total is two hundred and eighty-two species[3].

28. Of the dog they say that out of the star station, that is, away from the direction of the constellation Haptôk-rîng, was given to him further by a stage (yôgist)[4] than to men, on account of his protection of sheep, and as associating with sheep and men; for this the dog is purposely adapted[5], as three more kinds of advantage are given to him than to man, he has his own boots, his own clothing[6], and may wander about without self-exertion. 29. The twelfth[7] is the sharp-toothed beast of

[1. See Chaps. XVIII, 5, and XXIV, 13.

2. None of these names are found in the portion of the Avesta now extant.

3. K20 alone has 272 (see Chap. X, 3). The actual total number of species mentioned is 186, leaving ninety-six for the 'species within species.' Zâd-sparam in his Selections, Chap. IX,

14, differs from the numbers given in the text merely in giving ten species of ox, instead of fifteen; so the total of his details is 181, leaving 101 sub-species to make up his; grand total of 282 (see App. to Bund.)

4. A yôgist (compare Sans. yogana) was probably from fifteen to sixteen English miles, as it consisted of sixteen hâsar, each of one thousand steps of the two feet (see Chap. XXVI, 1). This sentence seems to imply that on account of the useful qualities of the dog he has a part of the lowermost grade of paradise allotted to him, further from the demon-haunted north than that allotted to the men whose inferior order of merit does not entitle them to enter the higher grades of paradise.

5. Reading âhang-hômand, 'having a purpose.'

6. Compare Vend. XIII, 106.

7. All the MSS. have 'fourteenth,' but they give no 'thirteenth.']

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which the leader of the flock is in such great fear, for that flock of sheep is very badly maintained which has no dog.

30. Aûharmazd said when the bird Vâresha[1] was created by him, which is a bird of prey, thus: 'Thou art created by me, O bird Vâresha! so that my vexation may be greater than my satisfaction with thee, for thou doest the will of the evil spirit more than that of me; like the wicked man who did not become satiated with wealth, thou also dost not become satiated with the slaughter of birds; but if thou be not created by me, O bird Vâresha! thou wouldst be created by him, the evil spirit, as a kite [2] with the body of a Varpa[3], by which no creature would be left alive.'

31. Many animals are created in all these species for this reason, that when one shall be perishing through the evil spirit, one shall remain.

CHAPTER XV.

1. On the nature of men it says in revelation, that Gâyômar, in passing away[4], gave forth seed; that seed was thoroughly purified by the motion of

[1. No doubt 'a hawk' (Pers. vâsah or bâsah), as mentioned by Justi; Av. vâre would become vâ or bâ in Persian.

2. Compare gûrîk with Pers. varik, varkâ, varkâk, varkak, vargâh, 'an eagle, falcon, kite, or hawk.'

3. Transcribing the Pâz. varpa êyi into Pahlavi we have varpak-aê, which is very nearly the same in form as varîkak-aê, 'a hut or cottage' (Pers. gurîkah-ê); so the formidable bird which the evil spirit might have created was 'a kite with a body like a cottage.'

4. See Chap. IV, 1.]

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the, light of the sun, and Nêryôsang[1] kept charge of two portions, and Spendarmad[2] received one portion. 2. And in forty years, with the shape of a one stemmed Rîvâs-plant[3], and the fifteen years of its fifteen leaves, Matrô and Matrôyâô[4] grew up from the earth in such a manner that their arms rested behind on their shoulders (dôsh), and one joined to the other they were connected together and both alike. 3. And the waists of both of them were brought close and so connected together that it was not clear which is the male and which the female, and which is the one whose living soul (nismô) of Aûharmazd is not away[5]. 4. As it is said thus: 'Which is created before, the soul (nismô) or the body? And Aûharmazd said that the soul is created before, and the body after, for him who was

[1. Av. Nairyô-sangha of Yas. XVII, 68, LXX, 92, Vend. XIX, 111, 112, XXII, 22, &c.; the angel who is said to be Aûharmazd's usual messenger to mankind.

2. The female archangel who is supposed to have special charge of the earth (see Chap. I, 26).

3. A plant allied to the rhubarb, the shoots of which supply an acid juice used by the Persians for acidulating preserves and drinks.

4. These names are merely variants of the Mâshya and Mâshyôî of the latter part of this chapter (nom. dual, m. and f., of Av. mashya, 'mortal'). This is shown by the Pandnâmak-i Zaratûst, saying: 'and my human nature is from Matrôîh and Matrô-yâôîh, from which first generation and seed from Gâyômar I have sprung.' And the names are also found in the more Persian forms Maharîh and Maharîyâôyîh (see the note to § 22). Windischmann considered the meaning to be that 'they grew up on the day Mitrô of the month Mitrô,' that is, the sixteenth day of the seventh month of the Parsi year; this is not confirmed, however, by Zâd-sparam in his Selections, Chap. X, 4 (see App. to Bund.)

5. That is, whether they had souls or not. That nismô is the Huzvâris for rûbân, 'soul,' appears clearly in § 4, where both

words are used for the same thing.]

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created; it is given into the body that it may produce activity, and the body is created only for activity;' hence the conclusion is this, that the soul (rûbân) is created before and the body after. 5. And both of them changed from the shape of a plant into the shape of man, and the breath (nismô) went spiritually into them, which is the soul (rûbân); and now, moreover, in that similitude a tree had grown up whose fruit was the ten varieties of man[1].

6. Aûharmazd spoke to Mashya and Mashyôh thus: 'You are man, you are the ancestry of the world, and you are created perfect in devotion[2] by me; perform devotedly the duty of the law, think good thoughts, speak good words, do good deeds, and worship no demons!' 7. Both of them first thought this, that one of them should please the other, as he is a man for him; and the first deed done by them was this, when they went out they washed[3] themselves thoroughly; and the first words spoken by them were these, that Aûharmazd created the water and earth, plants and animals, the stars, moon, and sun, and all prosperity whose origin and effect are from the manifestation of righteousness[4]. 8. And, afterwards, antagonism rushed into their minds, and their minds were

[1. This evidently refers to another tree, which is supposed to have produced the ten varieties of human monstrosities (see § 31).

2. This would be a translation of the Avesta phrase, 'the best of Ârmaiti (the spirit of the earth).'

3. Comparing mêgîd with Pers. magîd; but the verb is very ambiguous, as it may mean, 'they feasted themselves,' or 'they made water.'

4. The last phrase appears to be quoted from the Pahlavi Hâdôkht Nask, I, 2.]

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thoroughly corrupted, and they exclaimed that the evil spirit created the water and earth, plants and animals, and the other things as aforesaid. 9. That false speech was spoken through the will of the demons, and the evil spirit possessed himself of this first enjoyment from them; through that false speech they both became wicked, and their souls are in hell until the future existence.

10. And they had gone thirty days without food[1], covered with clothing of herbage (giyâh); and after the thirty days they went forth into the wilderness, came to a white-haired goat, and milked the milk from the udder with their mouths. 11. When they had devoured the milk Mâshya said to Mâshyôh thus: 'My delight was owing to it when I had not devoured the milk, and my delight is more delightful now when it is devoured by my vile body.' 12. That second false speech enhanced the power of the demons, and the taste of the food was taken away by them, so that out of a hundred parts one part remained.

13. Afterwards, in another thirty days and nights they came to a sheep, fat[2] and white-jawed, and they slaughtered it; and fire was extracted by them out of the wood of the lote-plum[3] and box-tree, through the guidance of the heavenly angels, since both woods were most productive of fire for them;

[1. Reading akhûrisn instead of the khûrisn of all MSS. which is hardly intelligible. Perhaps âv-khûrisn, 'drinking water,' ought to be read, as it is alluded to in Chap. XXX, 1.

2. Comparing gefar with Av. garewa and Pers. garb, but this identification may not be correct.

3. The kûnâr, a thorny tree, allied to the jujube, which bears a small plum-like fruit.]

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and the fire was stimulated by their mouths; and the first fuel kindled by them was dry grass, kendâr, lotos, date palm leaves, and myrtle; and they made a roast of the sheep. 14. And they dropped three handfuls of the meat into the fire, and said: 'This is the share of the fire[1].' One piece of the rest they tossed to the sky, and said: 'This is the share of the angels.' A bird, the vulture, advanced and carried some of it away from before them, as a dog ate the first meat. 15. And, first, a clothing of skins

covered them; afterwards, it is said, woven garments were prepared from a cloth woven[2] in the wilderness. 16. And they dug out a pit in the earth, and iron was obtained by them and beaten out with a stone, and without a forge they beat out a cutting edge[3] from it; and they cut wood with it, and prepared a wooden shelter from the sun (pês-khûr).

17. Owing to the gracelessness which they practised, the demons became more oppressive, and they themselves carried on unnatural malice between themselves; they advanced one against the other, and smote and tore their hair and cheeks[4]. 18. Then the demons shouted out of the darkness

[1. Most of this sentence is omitted in K20 by mistake.

2. Reading khês-i-i tad, which Pahlavi words might be easily misread ashâbê tad, as given in Pâzand in the text. That Pâz. tadha stands for Pahl. tadak (Pers. tadah, I spun, woven') is quite certain.

3. Or 'an axe,' according as we read têkh or tash. The order of the foregoing words, barâ tapâk-I, 'without a forge,' appears to have been reversed by mistake.

4. Reading rôd as equivalent to Pers. rûf, 'face,' but it ought to be rôd. Perhaps the word is lût, 'bare,' and the translation should be, 'tore their hair bare.']

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thus: 'You are man; worship the demon! so that your demon of malice may repose.' 19. Mâshya went forth and milked a cow's milk, and poured it out towards the northern quarter; through that the demons became more powerful, and owing to them they both became so dry-backed that in fifty winters they had no desire for intercourse, and though they had had intercourse they would have had no children. 20. And on the completion of fifty years the source of desire arose, first in Mâshya and then in Mâshyôî, for Mâshya said to Mâshyôî thus: 'When I see thy shame my desires arise.' Then Mâshyôî spoke thus: 'Brother Mâshya! when I see thy great desire I am also agitated[1].' 21. Afterwards, it became their mutual wish that the satisfaction of their desires should be accomplished, as they reflected thus: 'Our duty even for those fifty years was this.'

22. From them was born in nine months a pair, male and female; and owing to tenderness for offspring[2] the mother devoured one, and the father one. 23. And, afterwards, Aûharmazd took tenderness for offspring away from them, so that one may nourish a child, and the child may remain.

24. And from them arose seven pairs, male and

[1. This is merely a paraphrase of the original.

2. Or, 'the deliciousness of children' (shîrînîh-i farzand). Justi has, 'owing to an eruption on the children the mother deserted one,' &c.; but the legend of devouring the first children is still more clearly mentioned in the Pahlavi Rivâyat, which forms the first book of the Dâdistân-i Dînik (preceding the ninety-two questions and answers to which that name is usually applied) as follows: Maharîh va Maharîyâdyîh dûshâram râi nazdistô farzand-i nafsman barâ vastamûnd, 'Mashya and Mâshyôî, through affection, at first ate up their own offspring.'

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female, and each was a brother and sister-wife; and from every one of them, in fifty years, children were born, and they themselves died in a hundred years. 25. of those seven pairs one was Sîyâkmaq, the name of the man, and Nasâk[1] of the woman; and from them a pair was born, whose names were Fravâk of the man and Fravâkaîn of the woman. 26. From them fifteen pairs were born, every single pair of whom became a race (sardak); and from them the constant continuance of the generations of the world arose.

27. Owing to the increase (zâyisn) of the whole fifteen races, nine races proceeded on the back of the ox Sarsaok[2], through the wide-formed ocean, to the other six regions (keshvar), and stayed there; and six races of men remained in Khvanîras. 28. of those six races the name of the man of one pair was Tâz and of the woman Tâzak, and they went to the plain of the Tâzîkân (Arabs); and of one pair Hôshyang[3] was the name of the man and Gûzak of the woman, and from them arose the Airânakin (Iranians); and from one pair the Mâzendarân[4] have arisen. 29. Among the number (pavan aê mar) were those who are in the countries

[1. Or 'Vasâk.'

2. See Chaps. XVII, 4, XIX, 13; the name is here written Srisaok in the MSS., and is a Pâzand reading in all three places.

3. Av. Haoshyangha of Âbân Yt. 21, Gôs Yt. 3, Fravardîn Yt. 137, Râm Yt. 7, Ashi Yt. 24, 26, Zamyâd Yt. 26. His usual epithet is paradhâta (Pahl. pês-dâd), which is thus explained in the Pahlavi Vend. XX, 7: 'this early law (pês-dâdîh) was this, that he first set going the law of sovereignty.' For this reason he is considered to be the founder of the earliest, or Pêsdâdian, dynasty. See Chaps. XXXI, 1, XXXIV, 3, 4.

4. The people of the southern coast of the Caspian, the Mâzainya daêva, 'Mâzainyan demons or idolators,' of the Avesta.]

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of Sûrâk[1], those who are in the country of Anêr[2], those who are in the countries of Tûr, those who are in the country of Salm which is Arûm, those who are in the country of Sênî, that which is Kînîstân, those who are in the country of Dâî[3], and those who are in the country of Sînd[4]. 30. Those, indeed, throughout the seven regions are all from the lineage of Fravâk, son of Sîyâkmaq, son of Mâshya.

31. As there were ten varieties of man[5], and fifteen races from Fravâk, there were twenty-five races all from the seed of Gâyômar; the varieties are such as those of the earth, of the water, the breast-eared, the breast-eyed, the one-legged, those also who have wings like a bat, those of the forest, with tails, and who have hair on the body[6].

[1. Not Syria (which is Sûristân, see Chap. XX, 10), but the Sûrîk of the Pahlavi Vend. I, 14, which translates Av. Sughdha, the land east of the Oxus (see Chap. XX, 8). Windischmann reads it as Pâz. Erâk.

2. Probably for Av. anairya, 'non-Aryan,' which seems specially applied to the lands east of the Caspian.

3. The countries of Tûr, Salm, Sênî, and Dâî are all mentioned successively in Fravardîn Yt. 143, 144, in their Avesta forms Tûirya, Sairima, Sâini and Dâhi. The country of Tûr was part of the present Turkistân, that of Salm is rightly identified with Arûm (the eastern Roman Empire, or Asia Minor) in the text; the country of Sênî (miswritten Sênd), being identified with Kînîstân, was probably the territory of Samarkand, and may perhaps be connected with Mount Kînö (see Chap. XII, 2, 13); and the land of Dâî must be sought somewhere in the same neighbourhood.

4. Bactria or any part of north-western India may be intended; wherever Brahmans and Buddhists existed (as they did in Bactria) was considered a part of India in Sasanian times.

5. Grown on a separate tree (see § 5).

6. Only seven varieties of human monsters are here enumerated, {footnote p. 60} for the last three details seem to refer to one variety, the monkeys. The Parsi MS. of miscellaneous texts, M7 (fol. 120), says, 'The names of the ten species of men are the breast-eyed, the three-eyed, the breast-eared, the elephant-eared, the one-legged, the web-footed, the leopard-headed, the lion-headed, the camel-headed, and the dog-headed.'

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CHAPTER XVI.

1. On the nature of generation it says in revelation, that a woman when she comes out from menstruation, during ten days and nights, when they go near unto her, soon becomes pregnant. 2. When she is cleansed from her menstruation, and when the time for pregnancy has come, always when the seed of the man is the more powerful a son arises from it; when that of the woman is the more powerful, a daughter; when both seeds are equal, twins and triplets. 3. If the male seed comes the sooner, it adds to the female, and she becomes robust; if the female seed comes the sooner, it becomes blood, and the leanness of the female arises therefrom.

4. The female seed is cold and moist, and its flow is from the loins, and the colour is white, red, and yellow; and the male seed is hot and dry, its flow is from the brain of the head, and the colour is white and mud-coloured (hasgûn). 5. All[1] the seed of the females which issues beforehand, takes a place within the womb, and the seed of the males will remain above it, and will fill the space of the womb; whatever refrains therefrom becomes blood again, enters into the veins of the females,

and at the time any one is born it becomes milk and'

[1. M6 has 'always.']

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nourishes him, as all milk arises from the seed of the males, and the blood is that of the females.

6. These four things, they say, are male, and these female: the sky, metal, wind, and fire are male, and are never otherwise; the water, earth, plants, and fish are female, and are never otherwise; the remaining creation consists of male and female.

7. As regards the fish[1] it says that, at the time of excitement, they go forwards and come back in the water, two and two, the length of a mile (hâsar), which is one-fourth of a league (parasang), in the running water; in that coming and going they then rub their bodies together, and a kind of sweat drops out betwixt them, and both become pregnant.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. On the nature of fire it says in revelation, that fire is produced of five kinds, namely, the fire Berezi-savang[2], the fire which shoots up before Aûharmazd the lord; the fire Vohu-fryân[3], the fire which is in the bodies of men and animals; the fire Urvâzist[4], the fire which is in plants; the fire

[1. K20 has 'the male fish,' which is inconsistent with the preceding sentence.

2. These Avesta names of the five kinds of fire are enumerated in Yas. XVII, 63-67, and the Pahlavi translation of that passage interchanges the attributes ascribed to the first and fifth in the text, thus it calls the first 'the fire of sublime benefit in connection with Varahrân (Bahrâm).' See also Selections of Zâd-spâram, XI, 1.

3. 'The fire of the good diffuser (or offerer), that within the bodies of men' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 64).

4. 'The fire of prosperous (or abundant) life, that within plants' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 65).]

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Vâzist[1], the fire which is in a cloud which stands opposed to Spêngargâk in conflict; the fire Spênist[2], the fire which they keep in use in the world, likewise the fire of Vâhrâm[3]. 2. of those five fires one consumes both water and food, as that which is in the bodies of men; one consumes water and consumes no food, as that which is in plants, which live and grow through water; one consumes food and consumes no water, as that which they keep in use in the world, and likewise the fire of Vâhrâm; one consumes no water and no food, as the fire Vâzist. 3. The Berezi-savang is that in the earth and mountains and other things, which[4] Aûharmazd created, in the original creation, like three breathing souls (nismô); through the watchfulness and protection due to them the world ever develops (vakhshêd).

4. And in the reign of Takhmôrup[5], when men continually passed, on the back of the ox Sarsaok[6], from Khvanîras to the other regions, one night

[1. 'The fire Vâzist, that which smites the demon Spêngargâ' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 66). See Chap. VII, 12.

2. The propitious fire which stands in heaven before Aûharmazd in a spiritual state' (Pahl. Yas. XVII, 67).

3. The Bahrâm fire, or sacred fire at places of worship.

4. M6 has min, instead of mûn, which alters the translation, but not the meaning. This appears to be a different account of the fire Berezi-savang to that given in § 1, but it merely implies that it is fire in its spiritual state, and the name can, therefore, be applied to any natural fire which can be attributed to supernatural agency, such as burning springs of petroleum, volcanic eruptions, ignis fatuus, phosphorescence of the sea, &c.

5. The second Pêsdâdian monarch (see Chaps. XXXI, 2, 3, XXXIV, 4).

6. Written Srisaok in the MSS. in Chap. XV, 27; where it also appears that the sea was 'the wide-formed ocean.' See likewise Chap. XIX, 13.]

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amid the sea the wind rushed upon[1] the fireplace--the fireplace in which the fire was, such as was provided in three places on the back of the ox--which the wind dropped with the fire into the sea; and all those three fires, like three breathing souls, continually shot up in the place and position of the fire on the back of the ox, so that it becomes quite light, and the men pass again through the sea. 5. And in the reign of Yim[2] every duty was performed more fully through the assistance of all those three fires; and the fire Frôbak[3] was established by him at the appointed place (dâd-gâs) on the Gadman-hômand ('glorious') mountain in Khvârizem[4], which Yim constructed for them; and the glory of Yim saves the fire Frôbak from the hand of Dahâk[5]. 6. In the reign of King Vistâsp, upon revelation from the religion[6], it was established, out of Khvârizem, at the Rôshan ('shining') mountain in Kâvulistân, the country of Kâvul (Kâbul), just as it remains there even now.

7. The fire Gûsasp, until the reign of Kaî-Khûsrôb[7] continually afforded the world protection in the manner aforesaid; and when Kaî-Khûsrôb[7] was

[1. Compare staff with Pers. sitâftan, 'to hasten.'

2. The third Pêsdâdian monarch (see Chaps. XXXI, 3, 4, XXXIV, 4).

3. Also written Frôbö, Frôbâ, Frôbâk, or Frôbâg.

4. The Av. Hvârizem of Mihir Yt. 14, a province east of the Caspian.

5. It is doubtful whether va gadman, 'and the glory,' or nismô, 'the soul, reason' (see Chaps. XXIII, 1, XXXIV, 4), should he read. And it may even be that I the fire Frôbak saves the soul of Yim,' &c. For Dahâk see Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

6. Or, I upon declaration from revelation!

7. Here written Kai-Khûsrôbî.

8 In § 3. The 'three breathing souls' of spiritual fire are supposed {footnote p. 64} to be incorporated in its three earthly representatives, the fires Frôbak, Gûsasp, and Bûrzîn-Mitrô respectively.]

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extirpating the idol-temples of Lake Kêkast[1] it settled upon the mane of his horse, and drove away the darkness and gloom, and made it quite light, so that they might extirpate the idol-temples; in the same locality the fire Gûsasp was established at the appointed place on the Asnavand mountain[2].

8. The fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô, until the reign of King Vistâsp, ever assisted[3], in like manner, in the world, and continually afforded protection; and when the glorified[4] Zaratûst was introduced to produce confidence in the progress of the religion, King Vistâsp and his offspring were steadfast in the religion of God.[5], and Vistâsp established this fire at the appointed place on Mount Rêvand, where they say the Ridge of Vistâsp (pûst-i Vistâspân) is[6].

9. All those three fires are the whole body of the fire of Vâhrâm, together with the fire of the world, and those breathing souls are lodged in them; a counterpart of the body of man when it forms in the womb of the mother, and a soul from the spirit-world settles within it, which controls the body while living; when that body dies, the body mingles with the earth, and the soul goes back to the spirit.

[1. That is, of the province around that lake (see Chap. XXII, 2).

2. See Chap. XII, 26. Compare Selections of Zâd-sparam, VI, 22.

3. Taking vagîd as equivalent to Pers. guzîd; but it may be equivalent to Pers. vazîd, 'grew, shot up.'

4. The epithet anôshak-rûbân (Pers. nôshirvân) means literally 'immortal-souled.'

5. Or, 'of the angels,' which plural form is often used to express 'God.'

6. See Chap. XII, 18, 34.]

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CHAPTER XVIII.

1. On the nature of the tree they call Gôkard[1] it says in revelation, that it was the first day when the tree they call Gôkard grew in the deep mud[2] within the wide-formed ocean; and it is necessary as a producer of the renovation of the universe, for they prepare its immortality therefrom. 2. The evil spirit has formed therein, among those which enter as opponents, a lizard[3] as an opponent in that deep water, so that it may injure the Hôm[4]. 3. And for keeping away that lizard, Aûharmazd has created there ten Kar fish[5] which, at all times, continually circle around the Hôm, so that the head of one of those fish is continually towards the lizard. 4. And together with the lizard those fish are spiritually fed[6], that is, no food is necessary for them; and till the renovation of the universe they remain in contention. 5. There are places where that fish is

[1. A corruption of the Av. gaokerena of Vend. XX, 17, Aûharmazd Yt. 30, Haptân Yt. 3, Sîrôz, 7. In the old MSS. of the Bundahis the form gôkard occurs thrice, gôkarn once, and gogrv once.

2. Reading gil, 'mud.' Windischmann and Justi prefer gar, 'mountain,' and have 'depth of the mountain.'

3. That the writer of the Bundahis applies the term vazagh to a lizard, rather than a frog, appears from the 'log-like lizard's body' of Chap. III, 9.

4. That is, the Gôkard tree, which is the white Hôm (see Chap. XXVII, 4).

5. The Av. karô masyô of Vend. XIX, 140, Bahrâm Yt. 29, Din Yt. 7; see also Chap. XXIV, 13.

6. Windischmann and Justi prefer translating thus: 'Moreover, the lizard is the spiritual food of those fish;' but this can hardly be reconciled with the Pahlavi text.]

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written of as 'the Ariz[1] of the water;' as it says that the greatest of the creatures of Aûharmazd is that fish, and the greatest of those proceeding from the evil spirit is that lizard; with the jaws of their bodies, moreover, they snap in two whatever of the creatures of both spirits has entered between them, except that one fish which is the Vâs of Pankâsadvarân[2]. 6. This, too, is said, that those fish are so serpent-like[3] in that deep water, they know the scratch (mâlisn) of a needle's point by which the water shall increase, or by which it is diminishing.

7. Regarding the Vâs of Pankâsadvarân it is declared that it moves within the wide-formed ocean, and its length is as much as what a man, while in a swift race, will walk from dawn till when the sun goes down; so much that it does not itself move[4] the length of the whole of its great body. 8. This, too, is said, that the creatures of the waters live also specially under its guardianship.

9. The tree of many seeds has grown amid the wide-formed ocean, and in its seed are all plants; some say it is the proper-curing, some the energetic-curing, some the all-curing[5].

[1. See Chaps. XIV, 26, and XXIV, 13.

2. The Av. vâsîm yâm pankâsadvarâm of Yas. XLI, 27.

3. Transcribing the Pâz. mârâdu into Pahlavi we have mâr âyin, 'snake's manner.' Compare the text with Bahrâm Yt. 29.

4. K20 omits the words from 'walk' to 'move.'

5. This is the tree of the saēna or Simurgh, as described in Rashnu Yt. 17, and these three epithets are translations of its three titles, hubis, eredhwô-bis, and vîspô-bis. See also Chap. XXVII, 2, 3.]

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10. Between[1] these trees of such kinds[2] is formed the mountain with cavities, 9999 thousand myriads in number, each myriad being ten thousand. 11. Unto that mountain is given the protection of the waters, so that water streams forth from there, in the rivulet channels, to the land of the seven regions, as the source of all the sea-water in the land of the seven regions is from there[3].

CHAPTER XIX.

1. Regarding the three-legged a ass[4] they say, that it stands amid the wide-formed ocean, and its feet are three, eyes six, mouths[5] nine, ears two, and horn

[1. This must have been the original meaning of the Huz. dên (dên in the Sasanian inscriptions) before it was used as a synonym of Pâz. andar, 'within.' The mountain is between the white-Hôm tree and the tree of many seeds.

2. Transcribing the Pâz. oînoh into Pahlavi we have ân-gûnak, 'that kind;' or the word may be a miswriting of Pâz. ânô, 'there.'

3. This description of the mountain seems to identify it with the Aûsîndôm mountain of Chaps. XII, 6, and XIII, 5.

4. The Av. khara, 'which is righteous and which stands in the middle of the wide-shored ocean' (Yas. XLI, 28). Darmesteter, in his Ormazd et Ahriman (pp. 148-151), considers this mythological monster as a meteorological myth, a personification of clouds and storm; and, no doubt, a vivid imagination may trace a striking resemblance between some of the monster's attributes and certain fanciful ideas regarding the phenomena of nature; the difficulty is to account for the remaining attributes, and to be sure that these fanciful ideas were really held by Mazdayasnians of old. Another plausible view is to consider such mythological beings as foreign gods tolerated by the priesthood, from politic motives, as objects worthy of reverence; even as the goddess Anâhita was tolerated in the form of the angel of water.

5. This is the traditional meaning of the word, which (if this {footnote p. 67} meaning be correct) ought probably to be read yông, and be traced to Av. eeaungh (Yas. XXVIII, ii). In the MSS. the word is marked as if it were pronounced gûnd, which means 'a testicle.'

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one, body white, food spiritual, and it is righteous. 2. And two of its six eyes are in the position of eyes, two on the; top of the head, and two in the position of the hump[1]; with the sharpness of those six eyes it overcomes and destroys. 3. Of the nine mouths three are in the head, three in the hump, and three in the inner part of the flanks; and each mouth is about the size of a cottage, and it is itself as large as Mount Alvand[2]. 4. Each one of the three feet, when it is placed on the ground, is as much as a flock (gird) of a thousand sheep comes under when they repose together; and each pastern[3] is so great in its circuit that a thousand men with a thousand horses may pass inside. 5. As for the two ears it is Mâzendarân which they will encompass. 6. The one horn is as it were of gold and hollow, and a thousand branch horns[4] have grown upon it, some befitting[5] a camel, some befitting a horse, some befitting an ox, some befitting an ass, both great and small. 7. With that horn it will vanquish and dissipate all the vile corruption due to the efforts of noxious creatures.

[1. The hump is probably supposed to be over the shoulders, as in the Indian ox, and not like that of the camel.

2. Near Hamadân, rising 11,000 feet above the sea, or 6000 above Hamadân. It may be one of the Av. Aurvantô of Zamyâd Yt. 3. The Pâzand MSS. read Hunavand.

3. Literally, 'the small of the foot,' khûrdak-i ragelman.

4. Or, 'a thousand cavities (srûbö, Pers. surub, 'cavern') have grown in it.'

5. Reading ziyâk; compare Pers. ziyâdan, 'to suit, benefit.'

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8. When that ass shall hold its neck in the ocean its ears will terrify (asahmêd), and all the water of the wide-formed ocean will shake with agitation, and the side of Ganâvad[1] will tremble (shîvanêd). 9. When it utters a cry all female water-creatures, of the creatures of Aûharmazd, will become pregnant; and all pregnant noxious water-creatures, when they hear that cry, will cast their young. 10. When it stales in the ocean all the sea-water will become purified, which is in the seven regions of the earth--it is even on that account when all asses which come into water stale in the water-as it says thus: 'If, O three-legged ass! you were not created for the water, all the water in the sea would have perished from the contamination which the poison of the evil spirit has brought into its water, through the death of the creatures of Aûharmazd.'
11. Tîstar seizes the water[2] more completely from the ocean with the assistance of the three-legged ass. 12. Of ambergris also (ambar-ik) it is declared, that it is the dung of the three-legged ass; for if it has much spirit food, then also the moisture of the liquid nourishment goes through the veins pertaining to the body into the urine, and the dung is cast away.
13. Of the ox Hadhayôs[3], which they call Sarsaok[4], it says, that in the original creation men passed from region to region upon it, and in the

[1. A mountain (see Chap. XII, 29, 34).

2. See Chap. VII, 11.

3. Written Hadayâvs in the MSS. in Chap. XXX, 25, and Hadhayâs in the Dâdistân-i Dînîk, Part II, reply 89; it is a Pâzand reading in all three places.

4. See Chaps. XV, 27, XVII, 4.]

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renovation of the universe they prepare Hûsh (the beverage producing immortality) from it. 14. It is said, that life is in the hand of that foremost man, at the end of his years[1], who has constructed the most defences around this earth, until the renovation of the universe is requisite.

15. Regarding the bird Kâmôrôs[2] it says, that it is on the summit of Mount Albûrz; and every three years many come from the non-Iranian districts for booty (gird)[3], by going to bring damage (zîyân) on the Iranian districts, and to effect the devastation of the world; then the angel Bûrg[4], having come up from the low country of Lake Arag[5], arouses that very bird Kâmôrôs, and it flies upon the loftiest of all the lofty mountains, and picks up all those non-Iranian districts as a bird does corn.

16. Regarding Karsipt[6] they say, that it knew how to speak words, and brought the religion to the enclosure which Yim made, and circulated it; there they utter the Avesta in the language of birds.

[1. Transcribing the Pâz. svadyi into Pahlavi we have snâfîh, 'term of years.' The whole sentence is very obscure.

2. Written Kamôrôs in Chap. XXIV, 29. It is the Av. Kamraos (gen. of Kamru) of Fravardîn Yt. 109. See also Chap. XVII, 3.

3. Or, 'to an assembly.'

4. The Av. Beregya of Yas. I, 21, II, 27, III, 35, 'a spirit cooperating with the Ushahina Gâh, who causes the increase of herds and corn.'

5. Or, 'of the district of Arag'(see the note on Chap. XII, 23). Although no Lake Arag is described in Chap. XXII, some of the epithets referring to its Avesta equivalent Rangha are more applicable to a Like titan to a river, as in Bahrâm Yt. 29. Possibly the low lands between the Caspian and Aral, or on the shores of the Caspian, are meant.

6. The Av. vis karsipta of Vend. II, 139, where, however, vis {footnote p. 71} does not mean 'bird,' and the Pahlavi translator calls it 'a quadruped.' In the Pahl. Visp. I, 1, 'the Karsipt is the chief of flying creatures,' and the Bundahis also takes it as a bird (see Chaps. XIV, 23, XXIV, 11).]

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17. Regarding the ox-fish they say, that it exists in all seas; when it utters a cry all fish become pregnant, and all noxious water-creatures cast their young.

18. The griffon bird[1], which is a bat, is noticed (kard) twice in another chapter (babâ).

19. Regarding the bird Ashôzust[2], which is the bird Zobara[3]-vahman and also the bird Sôk[4], they say that it has given an Avesta with its tongue; when it speaks the demons tremble at it and take nothing away there; a nail-paring, when it is not prayed over (afsûd), the demons and wizards seize, and like an arrow it shoots at and kills that bird. 20. On this account the bird seizes and devours a nail-paring, when it is prayed over, so that the demons may not control its use; when it is not prayed over it does not devour it, and the demons are able to commit an offence with it.

21. Also other beasts and birds are created all in opposition to noxious creatures, as it says, that when the birds and beasts are all in opposition to noxious creatures and wizards, &c.[5] 22. This, too, it says, that of all precious[6] birds the crow (valâgh) is the most precious. 23. Regarding the white falcon it

[1. See Chaps. XIV, 11, 23, 24, XXIV, 11, 29.

2. The Av. Ashô-zusta of Vend. XVII, 26, 28.

3. Compare Pers. zûlah, 'a sparrow or lark.'

4. Compare Pers. sak, 'a magpie.'

5. This quotation is evidently left incomplete.

6. The Pahlavi word is ambiguous; it may be read zîl, 'cheap, common,' or it may be zagâr = yakar, 'dear, precious,' but the {footnote p. 72} latter seems most probable, although the crow is perhaps as 'common' as it is 'precious,' as a scavenger in the East. Singularly enough Pers. arzân is a synonym to both words, as it means both 'cheap' and 'worthy.'

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says, that it kills the serpent with wings. 24. The magpie (kâskînak) bird kills the locust, and is created in opposition to it. 25. The Kahrkâs[1], dwelling in decay, which is the vulture, is created for devouring dead matter (nasâl); so also are the crow (valâk)[2] and the mountain kite.

26. The mountain ox, the mountain goat, the deer, the wild ass, and other beasts devour all snakes. 27. So also, of other animals, dogs are created in opposition to the wolf species, and for securing the protection of sheep; the fox is created in opposition to the demon Khava; the ichneumon is created in opposition to the venomous snake (garzak) and other noxious creatures in burrows; so also the great musk-animal is created in opposition[3] to ravenous intestinal worms (kadûk-dânak garzak). 28. The hedgehog is created in opposition to the ant which carries off grain[4], as it says, that the hedgehog, every time that it voids urine into an ant's nest, will destroy a thousand ants; when the grain-carrier travels over the earth it produces

[1. The Av. kahrkâsa of Vend. III, 66, IX, 181, Âbân Yt. 61, Mihir Yt. 129; its epithet zarmân-mânîsn, 'dwelling in decay,' is evidently intended as a translation of the Av. zarenumainîs, applied to it in Bahrâm Yt. 33, Dîn Yt. 13.

2. The text should probably be valâk-i sîyâk va sâr-i gar, 'the black crow and the mountain kite,' which are given as different birds in Shâyast-lâ-shâyast, II, 5.

3. K20 omits the words from this 'opposition' to the next one.

4. The môr-i dânak-kash is the Av. maoiris dâno-karsô of Vend. XIV, 14, XVI; 28, XVIII, 146.]

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a hollow track[1]; when the hedgehog travels over it the track goes away from it, and it becomes level. 29. The water-beaver is created in opposition to the demon which is in the water. 30. The conclusion is this, that, of all beasts and birds and fishes, every one is created in opposition to some noxious creature.

31. Regarding the vulture (karkâs) it says, that, even from his highest flight, he sees when flesh the size of a fist is on the ground; and the scent of musk is created under his wing, so that if, in devouring dead matter, the stench of the dead matter comes out from it, he puts his head back under the wing and is comfortable again. 32. Regarding the Arab horse they say, that if, in a dark night, a single hair occurs on the ground, he sees it.

33. The cock is created in opposition to demons and wizards, co-operating with the dog; as it says in revelation, that, of the creatures of the world, those which are co-operating with Srôsh[1], in destroying the fiends, are the cock and the dog. 34. This, too, it says, that it would not have been managed if I had not created the shepherd's dog, which is the Pâsus-haurva[3], and the house watchdog, the Vis-haurva[3]; for it says in revelation, that the dog is a destroyer of such a fiend as covetousness,

[1. Comparing sôrâk with Pers. surâgh in preference to sôrâkh or sôrâkh, 'a hole.'

2. Av. Sraosha, the angel who is said specially to protect the world from demons at night; he is usually styled 'the righteous,' and is the special opponent of the demon Aêshm, 'Wrath' (see Chap. XXX, 29).

3. These are the Avesta names of those two kinds of dog (see Chap. XIV, 19).]

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among those which are in the nature (âitîh) of man and of animals. 35. Moreover it says, that, inasmuch as it will destroy all the disobedient, when it barks it will destroy pain[1]; and its flesh and fat are remedies for driving away decay and pain from men[2].

36. Aûharmazd created nothing useless whatever, for all these (kolâ aê) are created for advantage; when one does not understand the reason of them, it is necessary to ask the Dastûr ('high-priest'), for his five dispositions (khûk)[3] are created in this way that he may continually destroy the fiend (or deceit).

CHAPTER XX.

1. On the nature of rivers it says in revelation, that these two rivers flow forth from the north, part from Albûrz and part from the Albûrz of

[1. Or it may be thus: 'For it says thus: Wherewith will it destroy? When it barks it will destroy the assembly (gird) of all the disobedient.'

2. This is the most obvious meaning, but Spiegel (in a note to Windischmann's Zoroastrische Studien, p. 95) translates both this sentence and the next very differently, so as to harmonize with Vend. XIII, 78, 99.

3. The five dispositions (khîm) of priests are thus detailed in old Pahlavi MSS.: 'First, innocence; second, discreetness of thoughts, words, and deeds; third, holding the priestly office as that of a very wise and very true-speaking master, who has learned religion attentively and teaches it truly; fourth, celebrating the worship of God (yazdân) with a ritual (nîrang) of rightly spoken words and scriptures known by heart (narm naskîhâ); fifth, remaining day and night propitiatingly in his vocation, struggling with his own resistance (hamêstâr), and, all life long, not turning away from steadfastness in religion, and being energetic in his vocation.']

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Aûharmazd[1]; one towards the west, that is the Arag[2], and one towards the east, that is the Vêh river. 2. After them eighteen rivers flowed forth from the same source, just as the remaining waters have flowed forth from them in great multitude; as they say that they flowed out so very fast, one from the other, as when a man recites one Ashem-vohû[3] of a series (padîsâr). All of those, with the same water, are again mingled with these rivers, that is, the Arag river and Vêh river. 4. Both of them continually circulate through the two extremities of the earth, and pass into the sea; and all the regions feast owing to the discharge (zahâk) of both, which, after both arrive together at the wide-formed ocean, returns to the sources whence they flowed out; as it says in revelation, that just as the light comes in through Albûrz and goes out through Albûrz

[4], the

[1. So in K20, and if correct (being only partially confirmed by the fragment of this chapter found in all MSS. between Chaps. XIII and XIV) this reading implies that the rivers are derived partly from the mountains of Albûrz, and partly from the celestial Albûrz, or the clouds in the sky. M6 has 'flow forth from the north part of the eastern Albûrz.'

2. For further details regarding these two semi-mythical rivers see §§ 8, 9.

3. The sacred formula most frequently recited by the Parsis, and often several times in succession, like the Pater-noster of some Christians; it is not, however, a prayer, but a declaratory formula in 'praise of righteousness' (which phrase is often used as its name in Pahlavi). It consists of twelve Avesta words, as follows:

Ashem vohû vahistem astî,
ustâ astî; ustâ ahmâi
hyad ashâi vahistâi ashem.

And it may be translated in the following manner. 'Righteousness is the best good, a blessing it is; a blessing be to that which is righteousness to perfect rectitude' (Asha-vahista the archangel).

4. See Chap. V, 5.]

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water also comes out through Albûrz and goes away through Albûrz. 5. This, too, it says, that the spirit of the Arag begged of Aûharmazd thus: 'O first omniscient creative power[1]! from whom the Vêh river begged for the welfare that thou mightest grant, do thou then grant it in my quantity!' 6. The spirit of the Vêh river similarly begged of Aûharmazd for the Arag river; and on account of loving assistance, one towards the other, they flowed forth with equal strength, as before the coming of the destroyer they proceeded without rapids, and when the fiend shall be destroyed[2] they will again be without rapids.

7. Of those eighteen principal rivers, distinct from the Arag river and Vêh river, and the other rivers which flow out from them, I will mention the more famous[3]: the Arag river, the Vêh river, the Diglat[4] river they call also again the Vêh river [5], the Frât river, the Dâîtk river, the Dargâm river, the Zôndak river, the Harôî river, the Marv river, the Hêtûmand river, the Akhôshir river, the Nâvadâ[6] river, the Zîsmand river, the Khvegand river, the Balkh river, the Mehrvâ river they call the Hendvâ river, the Spêd[7] river, the Rad[8] river which they call also the Koir, the Khvaraê river which they call

[1. So in M6, but K20 has, 'First is the propitiation of all kinds.'

2. Literally, 'when they shall destroy the fiend.'

3. For details regarding these rivers see the sequel.

4. The Pâz. Deyrid is evidently a misreading of Pahl. Diglat or Digrat, which occurs in § 12.

5. So in K20, but M6 (omitting two words) has, 'they call also the Didgar.'

6. No further details are given, in this chapter, about this river, but it seems to be the river Nâhvtâk of Chap. XXI, 6, the Nâîvtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4. 5.

7. K20 has 'Spend.'

8. Called Tort in § 24.]

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also the Mesrgân, the Harhaz[1] river, the Teremet river, the Khvanaîdis[2] river, the Dârâga river, the Kâsîk river, the Sêd[3] ('shining') river Pêdâ-meyan or Katru-meyan river of Mocarstân.

8. I will mention them also a second time: the Arag[4] river is that of which it is said that it comes out from Albûrz in the land of Sûrâk[5], in which they call it also the Âmi; it passes on through the land of Spêtos, which they also call Mesr, and they call it there the river Niv[6]. 9. The Vêh[7] river

[1. Miswritten Araz in Pâzand, both here and in § 27.

2. M6 has Khvanañidis, but in K20 it is doubtful whether the extra syllable (which is interlined) is intended to be inserted or substituted; the shorter form is, however, more reconcilable with the Pahlavi form of Vendeses in § 29.

3. As there is no description of any Sêd river it is probably only an epithet of the Pêdâ-meyan or Katru-meyan (pêdâk being the usual Pahlavi equivalent of Av. kithrô). Justi suggests that Mocarstân (Mokarsta rûd in M6) stands for Pers. Moghulstân, 'the country of the Moghuls,' but this is doubtful.

4. Sometimes written Arang or Arêng, but the nasal is usually omitted; it is the Av. Rangha of Âbân Yt. 63, Rashnu Yt. 18, Râm Yt. 27, which is described more like a lake or sea in Vend. I, 77, Bahrâm Yt. 29. This semi-mythical river is supposed to encompass a great part of the known world (see Chap. VII, 16), and the Bundahis probably means to trace its course down the Âmû (Oxus) from Sogdiana, across the Caspian, up the Aras (Araxes) or the Kur (Cyrus), through the Euxine and Mediterranean, and up the Nile to the Indian Ocean. The Âmû (Oxus) is also sometimes considered a part of the Vêh river or Indus (see §§ 22, 28).

5. Sogdiana (see Chap. XV, 29), the country of the Âmû river.

6. The combination of the three names in this clause, as Justi observes, renders it probable that we should read, 'the land of Egypt,' which is called Misr, and where the river is the Nile. The letter S in Pâz. Spêtos is very like an obsolete form of Av. g, or it may be read as Pahl. îk or îg, so the name may originally have been Gpêtos or Ikpêtos; and the Pâz. Niv, if transcribed into Pahlavi, can also be read Nîl.

7. The good river, which, with the Arag and the ocean, completes {footnote p. 78} the circuit of the known world, and is evidently identified with the Indus; sometimes it seems also to include the Âmû (Oxus), as Bactria was considered a part of India; thus we find the Balkh and Teremet rivers flowing into the Vêh (see §§ 22, 28).]

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passes on in the east, goes through the land of Sînd[1], and flows to the sea in Hindûstân, and they call it there the Mehrâ[2] river. 10. The sources of the Frât[3] river are from the frontier of Arûm, they feed upon it in Sûristân, and it flows to the Diglat river; and of this Frât it is[4] that they produce irrigation over the land. 11. It is declared that Mânûskîhar excavated the sources, and cast back the water all to one place, as it says thus 'I reverence the Frât, full of fish, which Mânûskîhar excavated for the benefit of his own soul, and he seized the water and gave to drink[5],' 12. The Diglat[6] river comes out from Salmân[7], and flows to the sea in Khûgistân. 13. The Dâtîk[8] river is the river

[1. See § 30.

2. No doubt the Mehrvâ or Hendvâ river of § 7, and the Mihrân of Ouseley's Oriental Geography of the pseudo Ibn 'Haûqal, pp. 148-155, which appears to combine the Satlig and lower Indus. The final n is usually omitted by the Bundahis after â in Pâzand words. This river is also called Kâsak (see § 30).

3. The Euphrates, which rises in Armenia (part of the eastern empire of the Romans), traverses Syria, and joins the Tigris.

4. Or, 'and its convenience is this;' a play upon the words farhat and Frât, which are identical in Pahlavi.

5. Referring probably to canals for irrigation along the course of the Euphrates.

6. The Tigris (Arabic Diglat), Hiddekel of Gen. ii. 14, Dan. x. 4, and perhaps the Av. tighris of Tîstar Yt. 6, 37; misread Dêîrid in Pâzand.

7. The country of Salm (see Chap. XV, 29), son of Frêdûn (see Chap. XXXI, 9, 10). The name can also be read Dîlmân, which is the name of a place in the same neighbourhood.

8. The Av. Dâitya of Vend. XIX, 5, Aûharmazd Yt. 21, Âbân Yt. 112, Gôs Yt. 29. The 'good dâitya of Airyana-vaêgô' is also {footnote p. 79} mentioned in Vend. I, 6, II, 42, 43, Âbân Yt. 17, 104, Râm Yt. 2, but this may not be a river, though the phrase has, no doubt, led to locating the river Dâitîk in Aîrân-vêg.]

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which comes out from Aîrân-vêg, and goes out through the hill-country[1]; of all rivers the noxious creatures in it are most, as it says, that the Dâitîk river is full of noxious creatures. 14. The Dargâm river is in Sûde. 15. The Zend[2] river passes through the mountains of Pangistân, and flows away to the Haro river. 16. The Haro[3] river flows out from the Apârsên range[4]. 17. The Hêtûmand[5] river is in Sagastân, and its sources are from the Apârsên range; this is distinct from that which Frâsfyâv conducted away[6]. 18. The river Akhôshir is in Kûmîs[7]. 19. The Zîsmand[8] river, in the direction

[1. Pâz. gopestân in K20, which is evidently Pahl. kôfistân, but not the Kôhistân of southern Persia. M6 has 'the mountain of Pangistân,' which must be incorrect, as according to §§ 15, 16, this is in north-east Khurâsân, and too far from Aîrân-vêg in Âtarô-pâtakân (Âdar-bîgân), see Chap. XXIX, 12. Justi proposes to read Gurgistân (Georgia), and identifies the Dâitîk with the Araxes, but, adhering to the text of K20, the Dâitîk rises in Âdar-bîgân and departs through a hill-country, a description applicable, not only to the Araxes, but also more particularly to the Safêd Rûd or white river; although this river seems to be mentioned again as the Spêd or Spend river in § 23.

2. Written Zôndak in § 7. This can hardly be the Zendah river of Ispahan, but is probably the Tegend river, which flows past Meshhed into the Heri river.

3. This is the Heri, which flows past Herat.

4. See Chap. XII, 9.

5. The Etymander of classical writers, now the Hêlmand in Afghânistân. The Av. Haêtumat of Vend. I, 50, XIX, 130, Zamyâd Yt. 66, is the name of the country through which it flows.

6. See § 34 and Chap. XXI, 6.

7. The district about Dâmaghân.

8. Perhaps the Zarafsân.]

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of Soghd, flows away towards the Khvegand river. 20. The Khvegand[1] river goes on through the midst of Samarkand and Pargâna, and they call it also the river Ashârd. 21. The Marv[2] river, a glorious river in the east[3], flows out from the Apârsên range. 22. The Balkh river comes out from the Apârsên mountain of Bâmîkân[4], and flows on to the Vêh[5] river. 23. The Spêd[6] river is in Âtarô-pâtakân; they say that Dahâk begged a favour[7] here from Aharman and the demons. 24. The Tort[8] river, which they call also the Koir, comes out from

[1. This is evidently not the small affluent now called the Khugand, but the great Syr-darya or Iaxartes, which flows through the provinces of Farghânah and Samarkand, past Kokand, Khugand, and Tashkand, into the Aral. The Pâz. Ashârd represents Pahl. Khshârt, or Ashârt (Iaxartes).

2. The Murghâb.

3. Or, 'in Khûrâsân.'

4. Bâmian, near which the river of Balkh has its source.

5. Justi observes that it should be 'the Arag river;' but according to an Armenian writer of the seventh century the Persians called the Oxus the Vêh river, and considered it to be in India, because Buddhists occupied the country on its banks (see Garrez in *Journal Asiatique* for 1869, pp. 161-198). It would seem, therefore, that the Oxus was sometimes (or in early times) considered a part of the Arag (Araxes), and sometimes (or in later times) a part of the Vêh (Indus).

6. So in M6, but K20 has 'Spend,' both here and in § 7. The name of this river corresponds with that of the Safêd Rûd, although the position of that river agrees best with the account given of the Dâîtîk in § 13.

7. Compare Râm Yt. 19, 20. K20 has 'there,' instead of 'here.'

8. Called Rad in § 7 (by the loss of the first letter of the original Pahlavi name); by its alternative name, Koir, Justi identifies it as the Kûr in Georgia, flowing into the Caspian, or sea of Vergân, the Av. Vehrâna (Hyrcania) of Vend. I, 42, which is Gûrgân in Pahlavi.]

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the sea of Gîklân[1], and flows to the sea of Vergân[2]. 25. The Zahâvayi[3] is the river which comes out from Âtarô-pâtakân, and flows to the sea in Pârs. 26. The sources of the Khvaraê[4] river are from Spâhân[5]; it passes on through Khûgîstân, flows forth to the Diglat[6] river, and in Spâhân they call it the Mesrkân[7] river. 27. The Harhaz[8] river is in Taparîstân, and its sources are from Mount Dimâvand. 28. The Teremet[9] river flows away to the Vêh river. 29. The Vendeses[10] river is in that part of Pârs which they call Sagastân. 30. The Kâsak[11] river comes out through a ravine (kâf) in the province of Tûs[12], and they call it there the Kasp river; moreover,

[1. M6 has Pâz. Keyâseh, but this is in Sagastân (see Chap. XIII, 16).

2. The MSS. have Vergâ, but the final nasal after i is often omitted in Pâzand reading in the Bundahis.

3. Not mentioned in § 7. Possibly one of the rivers Zâb, which rise on the borders of Âdarbîgân, flow into the Tigris, and so reach the Persian Gulf, the sea on the coast of Pârs. Or it may be the Shirvân, another affluent of the Tigris, which flows through the district of Zohab.

4. The Kuran, upon which the town of Shûstar was founded by one of the early Sasanian kings, who also dug a canal, east of the town, so as to form a loop branch of the river; this canal was called Nahr-i Masrûqân by Oriental geographers (see Rawlinson, journal Roy. Geogr. Soc. vol. ix. pp. 73-75).

5. Ispahân in Persian.

6. Miswritten Dayrid in Pâzand (see § 12).

7. Written in Pâzand without the final n, as usual. This is the old name of the canal forming the eastern branch of the Kuran at Shûstar, it is now called Âb-i Gargar.

8. Flows into the Caspian near Amûl.

9. Probably the river which flows into the Âmû (Oxus) at Tarmaz; but, in that case, the Oxus is here again identified with the Vêh (Indus) as in § 22, instead of the Arag (Araxes) as in § 8.

10. Called Khvanaîdis, or Khvanaînidis, in § 7.

11. Called Kâsik in § 7.

12. Close to Meshhed.]

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the river, which is there the Vêh, they call the Kâsak[1]; even in Sînd they call it the Kâsak. 31. The Pêdâk-mîyân[2], which is the river Katru-mîyân, is that which is in Kangdez[3]. 32. The Dâraga river is in Airân-vêg, on the bank (bâr) of which was the dwelling of Pôrûshasp, the father of Zaratûst[4]. 33. The other innumerable waters and rivers, springs and channels are one in origin with those[5]; so in various districts and various places they call them by various names.

34. Regarding Frâsîyâv[6] they say, that a thousand springs were conducted away by him into the sea Kyânsîh[7], suitable for

horses, suitable for camels, suitable for oxen, suitable for asses, both great and small[8]; and he conducted the spring Zarînmând (or golden source), which is the Hêtûmand[9] river they say, into the same sea; and he conducted the seven navigable waters of the source of the Vakaêni[10] river into the same sea, and made men settle there.

- [1. Or, 'this same Vêh river they call there the Kâsak; even in Sênî they call it the Kâsak; Sênî is apt to be miswritten Sênd or Sînd (see Chap. XV, 29).
2. See § 7. The latter half of both names can also be read mâhan, mâhō, or mahân. Pêshyôtan, son of Vistâsp, seems to have taken a surname from this river (see Chap. XXIX, 5).
3. See Chap. XXIX, 10.
4. See Chaps. XXIV, 15, XXXII, 1, 2.
5. Or, 'are from those as a source.'
6. The MSS. have 'Pôrûshasp,' but compare § 17 and Chap. XXI, 6. The two names are somewhat alike in Pahlavi writing.
7. See Chap. XIII, 16.
8. Compare Chap. XIX, 6. K20 Omits the words 'suitable for asses' here.
9. Another Hêtûmand according to § 17. Possibly a dried-up bed of that river.
10. K20 has Vataêni; k and t being much alike in Pâzand. The {footnote p. 83} 'navigable (nâvtâk) waters' may be 'the Nâvadâ river' of § 7, 'the river Nâîvtâk' of Chap. XXI, 6, and Nâîvtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.]

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CHAPTER XXI[1].

1. In revelation they mention seventeen[2] species of liquid (mâyâ), as one liquid resides in plants [3]; second, that which is flowing from the mountains, that is, the rivers; third, that which is rain-water; fourth, that of tanks and other special constructions; fifth, the semen of animals and men; sixth, the urine of animals and men[4]; seventh, the sweat of animals and men; the eighth liquid is that in the skin of animals and men; ninth, the tears of animals and men; tenth, the blood of animals and men; eleventh, the oil in animals and men, a necessary in both worlds[5]; twelfth, the saliva of animals and men, with which they nourish the embryo[6]; the thirteenth is that which is under the bark[7] of plants, as it is said that every bark has a liquid, through which a drop appears on a twig (têkh) when placed four finger-breadths before a fire[8]; fourteenth, the milk of animals and men. 2. All these, through growth, or

[1. This chapter is evidently a continuation of the preceding one.

2. Only fourteen are mentioned in the details which follow.

3. Most of these details are derived from the Pahl. Yas. XXXVIII, 7-9, 13, 14; and several varieties of water are also in Yas. LXVII, 15.

4 This sixth liquid is omitted by K20.

5. Departed souls are said to be fed with oil in paradise.

6. K20 omits the word pûs, 'embryo.'

7. The meaning 'bark' for Pâz. ayvan is merely a guess; Anquetil has 'sap' (compare Pers. âvînâ, 'juice'), but this is hardly consistent with the rest of the sentence.

8. See Chap. XXVII, 25.]

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the body which is formed, mingle again with the rivers, for the body which is formed and the growth are both one.

3. This, too, they say, that of these three rivers, that is, the Arag river, the Marv river, and the Vêh[1] river, the spirits were dissatisfied, so that they would not flow into the world, owing to the defilement of stagnant water (armêst) which they beheld, so that they were in tribulation through it until Zaratûst was exhibited to them, whom I (Aûharmazd) will create, who will pour sixfold holy-water (zôr) into it and make it again wholesome; he will preach carefulness[2]. 4. This, too, it says, that, of water whose holy-water is more and pollution less, the holy-water has come in excess, and in three years it goes back to the sources[3]; that of which the pollution and holy-water have both become equal, arrives back in six years; that of which the pollution is more and holy-water less, arrives back in nine years. 5. So, also, the growth of plants is connected, in this manner, strongly with the root[4]; so, likewise, the blessings (âfrîn). which the righteous utter, come back, in this proportion, to themselves.

6. Regarding the river Nâhvtâk[5] it says, that Frâsfyâv of Tûr conducted it away; and when

[1. K20 has 'Hêlmand,' but M6 has 'Sapîr,' the Huz. equivalent of 'Vêh,' which is more probable.

2. Or, 'abstinence from impurity.'

3. The source Arêdvîvsûr (see Chap. XIII, 3, 10).

4. That is, by the sap circulating like the waters of the earth. The greater part of this sentence is omitted in K20.

5. Probably 'the Nâvadâ' and 'navigable waters' of Chap. XX, 7, 34, and Nâivtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.

6. Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see note to Chap. I, 7).]

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Hûshêdar[1] comes it will flow again suitable for horses; so, also, will the fountains of the sea Kyânsîh[2]. 7. Kyânsîh[2] is the one where the home (ginâk) of the Kayân race is.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. On the nature of lakes it says in revelation, that thus many fountains of waters have come into notice, which they call lakes (var); counterparts of the eyes (kashm) of men are those fountains (kashmak) of waters; such as Lake Kêkast, Lake Sôvbar, Lake Khvârizem[3], Lake Frazdân, Lake Zarînmand, Lake Âsvast, Lake Husru, Lake Satavês, Lake Urvis.

2. I will mention them also a second time: Lake Kêkast is in Âtarô-pâtakân, warm is the water and opposed to harm, so that nothing whatever is living in it; and its source is connected with the wide-formed ocean[5]. 3. Lake Sôvbar is in the upper district and country on the summit of the mountain of Tûs[6]; as it says, that the Sûd-bâhar[7] ('share of benefit') is propitious and good from which abounding

[1. Written Khûrshêdar, as usual in Bundahis (see Chap. XXXII, 8).

2. Written Kayâseh in Pâzand (see Chap. XIII, 16).

3. Pâz. Khvârazm both here and in s 4.

4 Av. Kaêkasta of Âbân Yt. 49, Gôs Yt. 18, 21, 22, Ashi Yt. 38, 41, Sîrôz. 9. The present Lake Urumiyah in Âdarbîgân, which is called Khegest, or Kegeest, by 'Hamdu-l-lâh Mustâûfî.

5. Implying that the water is salt.

6. The Kôndrâsp mountain (see Chap. XII, 24). This lake is probably a small sheet of water on the mountains near Meshhed.

7. Evidently a punning etymology of the name of this lake.]

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liberality is produced. 4. Regarding Lake Khvârizem[1] it says that excellent benefit is produced from it, that is, Arshisang[2] the rich in wealth, the well-portioned with abounding pleasure. 5. Lake Frazdân[3] is in Sagastân; they say, where a generous man, who is righteous, throws anything into it, it receives it; when not righteous, it throws it out again; its source also is connected with the wide-formed ocean. 6. Lake Zarînmand is in Hamadân[4]. 7. Regarding Lake Âsvast it is declared that the undefiled[5] water which it contains is always constantly flowing into the sea, so bright and copious[6] that one might say that the sun had come into it and looked at Lake Âsvast, into that water which is requisite for restoring the dead in the renovation of the universe. 8. Lake Husru[7] is within fifty[8]

[1. The province of Khvârizem was between the Aral and Caspian, along the ancient course of the Oxus (see Chap. XVII, 5). This lake has been identified with the Aral.

2. Av. ashis vanguhi, 'good rectitude,' personified as a female angel whose praises are celebrated in the Ashi Yast; in later times she has been considered as the angel dispensing wealth and possessions. She is also called Ard (Av. areta, which is synonymous with asha), see Chap. XXVII, 24.

3. The 'Frazdânava water' of Âbân Yt. 108 and Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, p. 17. Justi identifies it with the Âb-istâdah ('standing water') lake, south of Ghaznî. It is here represented as a salt lake.

4. K20 adds, 'they say.' This lake cannot be the spring Zarînmand of Chap. XX, 34.

5. Pâz. avnasti transcribed into Pahlavi is avinastag, 'unspoiled,' the equivalent of Av. anâhita in Yas. LXIV, 1, 16, Visp. I, 18.

6. K20 has 'glorious' as a gloss to 'copious.'

7. The Av. Haosravangha of Sîroz. 9, 'the lake which is named Husravau' of Zamyâd Yt. 56. It may be either Lake Van or Lake Sevan, which are nearly equidistant from Lake Urumiyah.

8. M6 has 'four leagues.')

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leagues (parasang). of Lake Kêkast. 9. Lake (or, rather, Gulf) Satavêš[1] is that already written about, between the wide-formed ocean and the Pûtîk. 10. It is said that in Kamîndân is an abyss (zafar), from which everything they throw in always comes back, and it will not receive it unless alive (gânvar); when they throw a living creature into it, it carries it down; men say that a fountain from hell is in it. 11. Lake Urvis is on Hûgar the lofty[2].

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. On the nature of the ape and the bear they say, that Yim, when reason (nismô) departed from, him[3], for fear of the demons took a demoness as wife, and gave Yimak, who was his sister, to a demon as wife; and from them have originated the tailed ape and bear and other species of degeneracy.

2. This, too, they say, that in the reign of Az-i Dahâk[4] a young woman was admitted to a demon, and a young man was admitted to a witch (parîk), and on seeing them they had intercourse; owing to that one intercourse the black-skinned negro arose from them. 3. When Frêdûn[5] came to them they fled from the country of Iran, and settled upon the sea-coast; now, through the invasion of the Arabs, they are again diffused through the country of Iran.

[1. See Chap. XIII, 9-13.

2. See Chaps. XII, 5, XIII, 4.

3. See Chap. XXXIV, 4. This is the Jamshêd of the Shâhnâmah. Perhaps for 'reason' we should read 'glory.'

4. See Chaps, XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

5. See Chap. XXXIV, 6.]

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CHAPTER XXIV.

1. On the chieftainship of men and animals and every single thing it says in revelation, that first of the human species Gâyôward was produced, brilliant and white, with eyes which looked out for the great one, him who was here the Zarâtûstrôtûm (chief high-priest); the chieftainship of all things was from Zarâtûst[1]. 2. The white ass-goat[2], which holds its head down, is the chief of goats, the first of those species created[3]. 3. The black sheep which is fat and white-jawed is the chief of sheep; it was the first of those species created[3]. 4. The camel with white-haired knees and two humps is the chief of camels. 5. First the black-haired ox with yellow knees was created; he is the chief of oxen. 6. First the dazzling white (artûs) horse, with yellow ears, glossy hair, and white eyes, was produced; he is the chief of horses. 7. The white, cat-footed [4] ass is the chief of asses. 8. First of dogs the fair (arûs) dog with yellow hair was produced; he is the chief of dogs. 9. The hare was produced brown

[1. So in all MSS., but by reading mûn, 'who,' instead of min, 'from,' we should have, 'him who was here the chief high-priest and chieftainship of all things, who was Zarâtûst.' The Pahlavi Visp. I. 1, gives the following list of chiefs: 'The chief of spirits is Aûharmazd, the chief of worldly existences is Zarâtûst, the chief of water-creatures is the Kar-fish, the chief of land-animals is the ermine, the chief of flying-creatures is the Karsipt, the chief of the wide-travellers is the . . . , the chief of those suitable for grazing is the ass-goat.'

2. See Chap. XIV, 14.

3. It is doubtful whether the phrase, 'the first of those species created,' belongs to this sentence or the following one.

4. Or, 'cat-legged.'

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(bûr); he is the chief of the wide-travellers. 10. Those beasts which have no dread whatever of the hand are evil. 11. First of birds the griffon of three natures[1] was created, not for here (this world), for the Karsipt[2] is the chief, which they call the falcon (kark), that which revelation says was brought to the enclosure formed by Yim. 12. First of fur animals the white ermine was produced; he is the chief of fur animals; as it says that it is the white ermine which came unto the assembly of the archangels. 13. The Kar-fish, or Ariz[3], is the chief of the water-creatures. 14. The Dâîtîk[4] river is the chief of streams. 15. The Dârâga[5] river is the chief of exalted rivers, for the dwelling of the father of Zarâtûst was on its banks[6], and Zarâtûst was born there. 16. The hoary forest[7] is the chief of forests. 17. Hûgar the lofty[8], on which the water of Arêdvîvsûr flows and leaps, is the chief of summits, since it is that above which is the revolution of the constellation Satavê[9], the chief of

[1. The Sîmurgh (see § 29 and Chap. XIV, 11, 23, 24). In Mkh. LXII, 37-39, it is mentioned as follows: 'And Sînamrû's resting-place is on the tree which is opposed to harm, of all seeds; and always when he rises aloft a thousand twigs will shoot forth from that tree; and when he alights he will break off the thousand twigs, and he sheds their seed therefrom.'

2. See Chap. XIX, 16. In § 29 Kamrôs is said to be the chief.

3. See Chaps. XIV, 12, 26, XVIII, 3-6.

4. See Chap. XX, 13

5. See Chap. XX, 32.

6. The MSS. have 'in Balkh' instead of 'on the banks.'

7. The arûs-i razur is the Av. spaêtitem razurem of Râm Yt. 31.

8. See Chap. XII, 5.

9. See Chap. II, 7.]

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reservoirs[1]. 18. The Hôm which is out-squeezed is the chief of medicinal plants[2]. 19. Wheat is the chief of large-seeded [3] grains. 20. The desert wormwood is the chief of unmedicinal[4] plants. 21. The summer vetch, which they also call 'pag' (gâvirs), is the chief of small-seeded grains[5]. 22. The Kûstik (sacred thread-girdle) is the chief of clothes. 23. The Bâzâyvâna[6] is the chief of seas. 24. Of two men, when they come forward together, the wiser and more truthful is chief.

25. This, too, it says in revelation, that Aûharmazd created the whole material world one abode, so that all may be one; for there is much splendour and glory of industry in the world. 26. Whatsoever he performs, who practises that which is good, is the value of the water of life[7]; since water is not created alike[8] in value, for the undefiled water of Arêdvîvsûr 'is worth the whole water of the sky and earth of Khvanîras[9], except the Arag river[10], created by Aûharmazd. 27. Of trees the myrtle and date,

[1. The meaning of Pâz. gobarâ is doubtful, but it is here taken as standing for Pahl. gôbalân, equivalent to the plural of Pers. gôl or kôl, 'a reservoir;' Satavês being a specially 'watery' constellation (see Tîstar Yt. 0). Justi traces gobarân to Av. gufra, and translates it by 'protecting stars.'

2. Pâz. khvad and bakagâ evidently stand for Pahl. hûd (Av. huta) and bezashk.

3. Compare Av. as-dânunâm-ka yavananâm (Tîstar Yt. 29).

4. Pâz. abakagâ stands for Pahl. abezashk.

5. Compare Av. kasu-dânunâm-ka vâstranâm (Tîstar Yt. 29).

6. Justi identifies this with Lake Van, but perhaps Lake Sevan may be meant.

7. Or, 'its value is water.' K20 omits the word 'water.'

8. Reading ham instead of hamâk, 'all.'

9. See Chap. XI, 2-6.

10. See Chap. XX, 8.]

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on which model, it is said, trees were formed, are worth all the trees of Khvanîras, except the Gôkard tree[1] with which they restore the dead.

28. Of mountains Mount Apârsên's beginning is in Sagastân and end in Khûgistân, some say it is all the mountains of Pârs, and is chief of all mountains except Albûrz. 29. Of birds Kamrôs[2] is chief, who is worth all the birds in Khvanîras, except the griffon of three natures. 30. The conclusion is this, that every one who performs a great duty has then much value.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. On matters of religion[3] it says in revelation thus: 'The creatures of the world were created by me complete in three hundred and sixty-five days,' that is, the six periods of the Gâhanbârs which are completed in a year. 2. It is always necessary first to count the day and afterwards the night, for first the day goes off, and then the night comes on[4]. And from the season (gâs) of Mêdôk-shêm[5],

[1. See Chap. XVIII, 1-4.

2. See Chap. XIX, 115, where it is written Kâmrôs. This § is at variance with § 11, which gives the chieftainship to Karsipt.

3. That is, 'on the periods for observance of religious duties.'

4. The Jewish and Muhammadan practice is just the contrary.

5. The Av. maidhyô-shema of Yas. I, 27, II, 36, III, 41, Visp. I, 3, II, 1, Âfrîngân Gâhanbâr 2, 8. It is the second season-festival, held on the five days, ending with the 105th day of the Parsi year, which formerly corresponded approximately to midsummer, according to the Bundahis. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of water.]

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which is the auspicious[1] day Khûr of the month Tir[2], to the season of Mêdîyârêm[3], which is the

[1. A dispute as to the meaning of this word formed no small part of the Kabîsah controversy, carried on between the leaders of the two rival sects of Parsis in Bombay about fifty years ago. Dastur Edalji Dârâbji, the high-priest of the predominant sect (who adhered to the traditional calendar of the Indian Parsis), insisted that it meant 'solar,' or 'belonging to the calendar rectified for solar time by the intercalation of a month every 120 years;' Mullâ Firûz, the high-priest of the new sect (who had adopted the calendar of the Persian Parsis, which is one month in advance of the other), asserted that the word had no connection with intercalation, but meant 'commencing,' or 'pertaining to New-year's day,' as translated into Sanskrit, by Nêryôsang, in Mkh. XLIX, 27. Anquetil translates it either as 'inclusive' or 'complete;' Windischmann simply skips it over; and Justi translates it everywhere as 'inclusive.' Dastur Edalji reads the word vehîgakî or vehîgak; Nêryôsang has vahesa, Mullâ Firûz reads nâîkakîk in the Bundahis, but vehîgakîk in the Dînkard, where the word also occurs; Justi has nâîkakîk. The meaning 'inclusive' suits the context in nearly all cases in the Bundahis, but not elsewhere; if it had that meaning the most probable reading would be vikhêgakîk or nikhêgakîk, 'arising, leaping over, including.' It is nearly always used in connection with dates or periods of time, and must be some epithet of a very general character, not only applicable to intercalary periods, but also to New-Year's day and dates in general; something like the Arabic epithet mubâarak, 'fortunate,' so commonly used in Persian dates. Dastur Edalji compares it with Pers. bîhrak or bihtarak, 'intercalary month,' which is probably a corruption of it; and this suggests veh, 'good,' as one component of the epithet. The word may be read veh-yazakîk, 'for reverencing the good,' but as veh, 'good,' is an adjective, this would be an irregular form; a more probable reading is veh-îkakîk, 'for anything good,' which, when applied to a day, or any period of time, would imply that it is suitable for anything good, that is, it is 'auspicious.' Sometimes the word is written vehîkak, vehîkakîk, or vehîkô; and epithets of similar forms in Pahlavi are applied by the writers of colophons to themselves, but these should be read vakhêzak or nisîvak, 'lowly, abject.'

2. The eleventh day of the fourth month, when the festival commences.

3. The Av. maidhyâiryâ of Yas. I, 30, II, 39, III, 44, Visp. I, {footnote p. 93} 6, II, 1, Âf. Gâhan. 2, 11. It is; the fifth season-festival, held on the five days ending with the 290th day of the Parsi year, which formerly corresponded approximately to midwinter, according to the Bundahis. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of animals.]

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auspicious day Vâhrâm of the month Dîn[1]--the shortest day--the night increases; and from the season of Mêdîyârêm to the season of Mêdôk-shêm the night decreases and the day increases. 4. The summer day is as much as two of the shortest[2] winter days, and the winter night is as much as two of the shortest summer nights[3]. 5. The summer day is twelve Hâsars, the night six Hâsars; the winter night is twelve Hâsars, the day six; a Hâsar being a measure of time and, in like manner, of land[4]. 6. In the season of Hamêspamadâyêm[5], that is, the

[1. The twentieth day of the tenth month, when the festival ends.

2. The word kah-aît is merely a hybrid Huzvâris form of kahist, 'shortest,' which occurs in the next phrase.

3. This statement must be considered merely as an approximation. The longest day is twice the length of the shortest one in latitude 49°, that is, north of Paris, Vienna, and Odessa, if the length of the day be computed from sunrise to sunset; and, if twilight be included, it is necessary to go still further north. In Âdarbîgân, the northern province of Persia, the longest day is about 14½ hours from sunrise to sunset, and the shortest is about 9½ hours.

4. According to this passage a hâsar of time is one hour and twenty minutes; it is the Av. hâthra of the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (P. 43, ed. Hoshangji), which says, 'of twelve Hâsars is the longest day, and the day and night in which is the longest day are

twelve of the longest Hâsars, eighteen of the medium, and twenty-four of the least--an enumeration of the several measures of the Hâsar.' For the hâsar measure of land, see Chap. XXVI.

5. So in K20, but this name is rarely written twice alike; it is the Av. hamaspathmaêdaya of Yas. I, 31, II, 40, III, 45, Visp, I, 7, II, 1, Âf. Gâhan. 2, 12. It is the sixth season-festival, held on the five Gâtha days which conclude the Parsi year, just before {footnote p. 94} the vernal equinox, according to the Bundahis. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of man.]

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five supplementary days at the end of the month Spendarmad, the day and night are again equal.

7. As from the auspicious day Aûharmazd of the month Fravardîn to the auspicious day Anîrân of the month Mitrô[1] is the summer of seven months, so from the auspicious day Aûharmazd of the month Âvân to the auspicious month Spendarmad, on to the end of the five supplementary days[2], is winter of five months. 8. The priest fulfils the regulation (vakar) about a corpse and other things, by this calculation as to summer and winter. 9. In those seven months[3] of summer the periods (gâs) of the days and nights are five--since one celebrates the Rapîtvîn--namely, the period of daybreak is Hâvan, the period of midday is Rapîtvîn, the period of afternoon is Aûzêrîn, when the appearance of the stars has come into the sky[4] until midnight is the period of Aîbisrûtêm, from midnight until the stars become imperceptible is the period of Aûshahîn[5]. 10. In winter are four periods, for from daybreak till Aûshahîn is all Hâvan, and the rest as I have said; and the reason of it is this, that the appearance[6] of winter is in the direction of the

[1. That is, from the first day of the first month to the last day of the seventh month.

2. That is, from the first day of the eighth month to the last of the five Gâtha days, which are added to the twelfth month to complete the year of 365 days.

3. All MSS. have 'five months' here.

4. K20 has 'when the stars have come into sight.'

5. The Avesta names of the five Gâhs are Hâvani, Rapithwina, Uzayêirina, Aiwisrûthrema, and Ushahina.

6. Pâz. ashâris is evidently a misreading of Pahl. âshkârîh.]

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north, where the regions Vôrûbarst[1] and Vôrûgarst are; the original dwelling of summer, too, is in the south, where the regions Fradadafsh and Vidadafsh are; on the day Aûharmazd of the auspicious month Âvân the winter acquires strength and enters into the world, and the spirit of Rapîtvîn goes from above-ground to below-ground, where the spring (khânî) of waters is, and diffuses[2] warmth and moisture in the water, and so many roots of trees do not wither with cold and drought. 11. And on the auspicious day Âtarô of the month Dîn[3] the winter arrives, with much cold, at Airân-vêg; and until the end, in the auspicious month Spendarmad, winter advances through the whole world; on this account they kindle a fire everywhere on the day Âtarô of the month Dîn, and it forms an indication that winter has come. 12. In those five months the water of springs and conduits is all warm[4], for Rapîtvîn keeps warmth and moisture there, and one does not celebrate the period of Rapîtvîn. 13. As the day Aûharmazd of the month Fravardîn advances it diminishes the strength which winter possesses, and summer comes in from its own original dwelling, and receives strength and dominion. 14. Rapîtvîn comes up from below-ground, and ripens the fruit of the trees; on this account

[1. See Chaps. V, 8, XI, 3. The north, being opposed to the south or midday quarter, is opposed to the midday period of Rapîtvîn, which, therefore, disappears as winter approaches from the north.

2 If, instead of khânî for khânîk, 'spring,' we read ahû-i, 'lord of,' the translation will be, 'so that the angel of waters may diffuse,' &c.

3. The ninth day of the tenth month.

4. That is, warmer than the air, as it is cooler in summer.]

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the water of springs is cold in summer[1], for Rapîtvin is not there; and those seven[2] months one celebrates the Rapîtvin, and summer advances through the whole earth. 15. And yet in the direction of Hindûstân, there where the original dwelling of summer is nearer, it is always neither cold nor hot; for in the season which is the dominion of summer, the rain always dispels most of the heat, and it does not become perceptible; in the winter rain does not fall, and the cold does not become very perceptible[3]. 16. In the northern direction, where the preparation of winter is, it is always cold[4]; for in the summer mostly, on account of the more oppressive winter there, it is not possible so to dispel the cold that one might make it quite warm. 17. In the middle localities the cold of winter and heat of summer both come on vehemently.

18. Again, the year dependent on the revolving moon is not equal to the computed year on this account, for the moon[5] returns one time in twenty-nine, and one time in thirty days, and there are four

[1. K20 has 'winter' by mistake.

2. K20 has 'six,' and M6 'five,' instead of 'seven.'

3. This is a fairly accurate account of the effect of the monsoons over the greater part of India, as understood by a foreigner unacquainted with the different state of matters in a large portion of the Madras provinces.

4. M6 has khûrâsân instead of ârâyisn, 'preparation,' which alters the sense into I that is, Khûrâsân, of which the winter is always cold.'

5. The MSS. have the Huzvâris term for 'month,' which is sometimes used, by mistake, for 'moon.' It is doubtful which word the author intended to use here, but it is usual to count the days of a lunar month from the first actual appearance of the new moon, which usually occurs a full day after the change of the moon.]

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hours (zamân) more than such a one of its years[1]; as it says, that every one deceives where they speak about the moon (or month), except when they say that it comes twice in sixty days. 19. Whoever keeps the year by the revolution of the moon mingles summer with winter and winter with summer[2].

20. This, too, it says, that the auspicious month Fravardîn, the month Ardavahist, and the month Horvâdad[3] are spring; the month Tîr, the month Amerôdad, and the month Shatvaîrô are summer; the month Mitrô, the month Âvân, and the month Âtarô are autumn; the month Dîn, the month Vohûman, and the month Spendarmad are winter[4]. 21. And the sun comes from the sign (khûrdak) of Aries, into which it proceeded in the beginning, back to that same place in three hundred and sixty-five days and six short times (hours), which are one year. 22. As every three months it (the sun) advances through three constellations, more or less, the moon comes, in a hundred and eighty days, back to the place out of which it travelled in the beginning[5].

[1. Meaning, probably, that the lunar year is four hours more than twelve months of 29 and 30 days each, alternately. It should be 8 hours, 48 minutes, and 37 seconds. The sentence seems defective, but it is evident from § 21 that zamân means 'hour.'

2. That is, the lunar year being eleven days shorter than the solar one, its months are constantly retrograding through the seasons.

3. Generally written Avardâd in Pâzand, and Khurdâd in Persian.

4. The names of the months are selected from the names of the days of the month (see Chap. XXVII, 24), but are 'arranged in a totally different order.

5. Probably meaning, that the new moon next the autumnal {footnote p. 98} equinox is to be looked for in the same quarter as the new moon nearest the vernal equinox, the moon's declination being nearly the same in both cases.]

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CHAPTER XXVI.

1. A Hâsar[1] on the ground is a Parasang of one thousand steps of the two feet. 2. A Parasang[2] is a measure as much as a far-seeing man may look out, see a beast of burden, and make known that it is black or white. 3. And the measure of a man is eight medium spans[3].

[1. Av. hâthra of Vend. II, 65, VIII, 280, 287, 291, Tîstar Yt. 23, 29. The statements regarding the length of a Hâsar are rather perplexing, for we are told that it is like a Parasang' (Chap. XIV, 4), that 'the length of a Hâsar is one-fourth of a Parasang' (Chap. XVI, 7), and that 'a medium Hâsar on the ground, which they also call a Parasang, is a thousand steps of the two feet when walking with propriety' (Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, ed. Hosh. p. 42). To reconcile these statements we must conclude that the Hâsar is like a Parasang merely in the sense of being a long measure of distance, that it is really the mille passus or mile of the Romans, and that it is a quarter of the actual Parasang. At the same time, as it was usual to call a Hâsar by the name of a Parasang, we are often left in doubt whether a mile or a league is meant, when a Hâsar or Parasang is mentioned. The Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 41) also mentions other measures of distance, such as the takar (Av. takara) of two Hâsars, the asvâst (or aêast) of four Hâsars, the dashmêst (Av. dakhshmaiti) of eight, Hâsars, and the yôgêst (Av. yigaiasti or yugaiasti) of sixteen Hâsars.

2. A Parasang is usually from 3½ to 4 English miles, but perhaps a Hâsar is meant here.

3. Reading vitast-i miyânak instead of vitast damânak. The Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 41) mentions three kinds of spans, the Av. vitasti (Vend. VIII, 243, 245, XVII, 13) of twelve finger-breadths (angûst), or about 9 inches, which is a full span between the thumb and little finger (the one mentioned in the text); the Av. disti (Vend. XVII, 13) of ten finger-breadths, or about 7½ inches, which is a span between the thumb and middle finger; and the {footnote p. 99} Av. uzasti (Pahl. lâla-ast) of eight finger-breaths, or about 6 inches which is a span between the thumb and fore-finger. Other measures mentioned by the same authority are the pâi (Av. padha, Vend. IX, 15, 20, 29), 'foot,' of fourteen finger-breadths, or about 10½ inches; the gâm (Av. gâya, Vend. III, 57, &c.), 'step,' which 'in the Vendîdâd is three pâi,' or about 2 feet 7½ inches, 'and in other places is said to be two frârâst' (Av. frârâthni in Vend. VII, 76, 79, 87); so the frârâst, which is probably the distance from the neck to the extended elbow, is half a gâm, or from 15 to 16 inches. Two other measures are mentioned in Vend. VII, 7 9, 87, 90, IX, 8, the Av. frâbâzu, 'fore-arm or cubit' from elbow to finger-ends, which is about 18 inches (or it may be a half fathom); and Av. vîbâzu, which is probably the 'fathom,' or extent of the two arms out-stretched, from 5½ to 6 feet.]

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CHAPTER XXVII.

1. On the nature of plants it says in revelation, that, before the coming of the destroyer, vegetation had no thorn and bark about it; and, afterwards, when the destroyer came, it became coated with bark and thorny[1], for antagonism mingled with every single thing; owing to that cause vegetation is also much mixed with poison, like Bis the height of hemp (kand)[2], that is poisonous, for men when they eat it die.

2. In like manner even as the animals, with grain of fifty and five species and twelve species of medicinal plants, have arisen from the primeval ox[3], ten thousand[4] species among the species of principal

[1. M6 has 'poisonous,' but is evidently copied from an original almost illegible in some places.

2. Perhaps 'hemp the height of Bîs' would better express the Pahlavi words, but Bîs (Napellus Moysis) is often mentioned as a poisonous plant. The phrase may also be translated 'like Bîs and tall hemp.'

3. See Chap. XIV, 1.

4. M6 has 'a thousand,' but marks an omission. See Chap. IX. 4.]

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plants, and a hundred thousand species among ordinary plants have grown from all these seeds of the tree opposed to harm [1], the many-seeded, which has grown in the wide-formed ocean. 3. When the seeds of all these plants, with those from the primeval ox, have arisen upon it, every year the bird[2] strips that tree and mingles all the seeds in the water; Tîstar seizes them with the rain-water and rains them on to all regions. 4. Near to that tree the white Hôm, the healing and undefiled, has

grown at the source of the water of Arêdvîvsûr[3]; every one who eats it becomes immortal, and they call it the Gôkard[4] tree, as it is said that Hôm is expelling death[5]; also in the renovation of the universe they prepare its immortality therefrom [6]; and it is the chief of plants[7].

5. These are as many genera of plants as exist: trees and shrubs, fruit-trees, corn, flowers, aromatic herbs, salads, spices, grass, wild plants, medicinal

[1. See Chaps. IX, 5, XVIII, 9, XXIX, 5.

2. The apparently contradictory account in Chap. IX, 2, refers only to the first production of material plants from their spiritual or ideal representative. The bird here mentioned is Kamrôs (see Chaps. XIX, 15, XXIV, 29), as appears from the following passage (Mkh. LXII, 40-42): 'And the bird Kamrôs for ever sits in that vicinity; and his work is this, that he collects that seed which sheds from the tree of all seeds, which is opposed to harm, and conveys it there where Tistar seizes the water, so that Tistar may seize the water with that seed of all kinds, and may rain it on the world with the rain.'

3. See Chaps. XII, 5, XIII, 3-5.

4. Here written Gôkarn in all MSS. See Chaps. IX, 6, XVIII, I, 2.

5. That is, in Yas. IX, where Haoma is entitled dûraosha. See Chap. XXIV, 27.

6. See Chap. XXIV, 18.]

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plants, gum plants, and all producing[1] oil, dyes, and clothing. 6. I will mention them also a second time: all whose fruit is not welcome as food of men, and are perennial (sâlvar), as the cypress, the plane, the white poplar, the box, and others of this genus, they call trees and shrubs (dâr va dirakht). 7. The produce of everything welcome as food of men, that is perennial, as the date, the myrtle, the lote-plum[2], the grape, the quince, the apple, the citron, the pomegranate, the peach, the fig, the walnut, the almond, and others in this genus, they call fruit (mîvak). 8. Whatever requires labour with the spade[3], and is perennial, they call a shrub (dirakht). 9. Whatever requires that they take its crop through labour, and its root withers away, such as wheat, barley, grain, various kinds[4] of pulse, veches, and others of this genus, they call corn (gûrdâk). 10. Every plant with fragrant leaves, which is cultivated by the hand-labour of men, and is perennial (hamvar), they call an aromatic herb (siparam). 11. Whatever sweet-scented blossom arises at various seasons through the hand-labour of men, or has a perennial root and blossoms in its season with new shoots and sweet-scented blossoms, as the rose, the narcissus, the jasmine, the dog-rose (nêstarûn),

[1. Comparing this list with the subsequent repetition it appears probable that hamâk barâ is a corruption of aesam bôd (see §§ 19, 21), and that we ought to read 'gum plants, woods, scents, and plants for oil, dyes, and clothing.' M6 has 'oil and dyes for clothing.'

2. The kûnâr (see Chap. XV, 13).

3. The Pâz. pêhani (which is omitted in K20) is evidently a misreading of Pahl. pashang, 'a hoe-like spade.'

4 M6 adds Pâz. gavina (Pahl. gûnak) to gvîd gvîd mungân, without altering the meaning materially.]

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the tulip, the colocynth (kavastîk), the pandanus (kêdi), the kamba, the ox-eye (hêri), the crocus, the swallow-wort (zarda), the violet, the kârda, and others of this genus, they call a flower (gûl). 12. Everything whose sweet-scented fruit, or sweet-scented blossom, arises in its season, without the hand-labour of men, they call a wild plant (vahâr or nihâl). 13. Whatever is welcome as food of cattle and beasts of burden, they call grass (giyâh). 14. Whatever enters into cakes (pês-pârakîhâ) they call spices (âvzârîhâ). 15. Whatever is welcome in eating of bread, as torn shoots[1] of the coriander, water-cress (kakîg), the leek, and others of this genus, they call salad (têrak)[2]. 16. Whatever is like spinning[3] cotton, and others of this genus, they call clothing plants (gâmak). 17. Whatever lentil[4] is greasy, as sesame, dûshdâng, hemp, zandak[5], and others of this genus, they call an oil-seed (rôkanô). 18. Whatever one can dye clothing with, as saffron, sapan-wood, zakava, vaha, and

others of this genus, they call a dye-plant (rag). 19. Whatever root, or gum[6], or wood

[1. Reading stâk darîd; Justi has 'baked shoots;' Anquetil has the three following;' M6 has stâk va karafs, 'shoots and parsley.'

2. Or târak in § 5, Pers. tarah.

3. Reading Huz. neskhunân, 'twisting,' but the word is doubtful. Justi has 'sitting on the plant,' which is a rather singular description for cotton.

4. Reading makag; Anquetil, Windischmann, and Justi read mazg, 'marrow,' but this is usually written otherwise.

5. Perhaps for zêtô, 'olive,' as Anquetil supposes, and Justi assumes.

6. Reading tûf (compare Pers. tuf, 'saliva').]

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is scented, as frankincense[1], varâst[2], kust, sandalwood, cardamom[3], camphor, orange-scented mint, and others of this genus, they call a scent (bôd). 20. Whatever stickiness comes out from plants[4] they call gummy (zadak). 21. The timber which proceeds, from the trees, when it is either dry or wet, they call wood (kîbâ). 22. Every one of all these plants which is so, they call medicinal (dârûk)[5].

23. The principal fruits are of thirty kinds (khadûnak), and ten species (sardak) of them are fit to eat inside and outside, as the fig, the apple, the quince, the citron, the grape, the mulberry, the pear, and others of this kind; ten are fit to eat outside, but not fit to eat inside, as the date, the peach, the white apricot, and others of this kind; those which are fit to eat inside, but not fit to eat outside, are the walnut, the almond, the pomegranate, the coconut[6], the filbert[7], the chesnut[8], the pistachio nut, the vargân, and whatever else of this description are very remarkable.

24. This, too, it says, that every single flower is appropriate to an angel (ameshôspond)[10], as the

[1. Pâz. kendri for Pahl. kundur probably.

2. Justi compares Pers. barghast.

3. Pâz. kâkura may be equivalent to Pers. qaqulah, 'cardamoms,' or to Pers. kâkul or kâkûl, 'marjoram.'

4. K20 omits a line, from here to the word 'either.'

5. The line which contained this sentence is torn off in K20.

6. Pâz. anârsar is a misreading of Pahl. anârgîl (Pers. nârgîl, 'cocoa-nut').

7. Pâz. pendak, a misreading of Pahl. funduk.

8. Pâz. shahbrôd, a misreading of Pahl. shahbalût; omitted in M6.

9. M6 begins a new chapter here.

10. These are the thirty archangels and angels whose names are applied to the thirty days of the Parsi month, in the order in {footnote p. 104} which they are mentioned here, except that Aûharmazd is the first day, and Vohûman is the second.]

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white[1] jasmine (saman) is for Vohûman, the myrtle and jasmine (yâsmin) are Aûharmazd's own, the mouse-ear (or sweet marjoram) is Ashavahist's[2] own, the basil-royal is Shatvaîrô's own, the musk flower is Spendarmad's, the lily is Horvadad's,

the kamba is Amerôdad's, Dîn-pavan-Âtarô has the orange-scented mint (vâdrang-bôd), Âtarô has the marigold[3] (âdargun), the water-lily is Âvân's, the white marv is Khtûrshêd's, the ranges[4] is Mâh's, the violet is Tîr's, the mêren[5] is Gôs's, the kârda is Dîn-pavan-Mitrô's, all violets are Mitrô's, the red chrysanthemum (khêr) is Srôsh's, the dog-rose (nestran) is Rashnû's, the cockscomb is Fravardîn's, the sisebar is Vâhrâm's, the yellow chrysanthemum is Râm's, the orange-scented mint is Vâd's[6], the trigonella is Dîn-pavan-Dîn's, the hundred-petalled rose is Dîn's, all kinds of wild flowers (vahâr) are Ard's[7], Âstâd has all the white Hôm[8], the bread-baker's basil is Asmân's, Zamyâd has the crocus, Mâraspend has the flower[9] of Ardashîr,

[1. M6 has 'yellow.'

2. Synonymous with the Ardavahist of Chap. I, 26.

3. Anquetil, Windischmann, and Justi have 'the poppy.'

4. M6 has Pâz. lg as only the first part of the word, and Justi translates it by 'red lac,' which is not a plant. Transcribing the Pâzand into Pahlavi, perhaps the nearest probable word is rand, 'laurel.'

5. M6 has Pâz. mênr; Anquetil has 'vine blossom,' and is followed by Windischmann and Justi, but the word is very uncertain.

6. The remainder of this chapter is lost from K20.

7. This female angel is also called Arshisang (see Chap. XXII, 4). See § 4.

8. M6 leaves a blank space for the name of the flower; perhaps it is the marv-i Ardashîrân.]

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Anîrân has this Hôm of the angel Hôm[1], of three kinds.

25. It is concerning plants that every single kind with a drop of water on a twig (teh) they should hold four finger-breadths in front of the fire[2]; Most of all it is the lotos (kûnâr) they speak of.

CHAPTER XXVIII[3].

[1. On the evil-doing of Aharman and the demons it says in revelation, that the evil which the evil spirit has produced for the creation of Aûharmazd it is possible to tell by this winter[4]; and his body is that of a lizard (vazagh)[5] whose place is filth (kalk). 2. He does not think, nor speak, nor act for the welfare (nadûkîh) of the creatures of Aûharmazd; and his business is unmercifulness and the destruction of this welfare, so that the creatures which Aûharmazd shall increase he will destroy; and his eyesight (kashm mîkîsn)[6] does not refrain from doing the creatures harm. 3. As it says that, 'ever

[1. Reading, in Pahlavi, Hôm yêdatô aê hôm.

2. See Chap. XXI, 1. Referring to the necessity of drying firewood before putting it on the fire. The kûnâr is specially mentioned, as one of the first fire-woods used by mankind, in Chap. XV, 13.

3. Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI are omitted in M6 and all MSS. descended from it, whether Pahlavi or Pâzand; and, owing to the loss of a folio from K20 before any of its extant copies were written, the first quarter of Chap. XXVIII has hitherto been missing, but is here supplied (enclosed in brackets) from TD, a MS. belonging to Mobad Tahmuras Dinshaw (see Introduction).

4. Winter being one of the primary evils brought upon creation by Angra-mainyu (see Vend. I, 8-12).

5. See Chap. III, 9.

6. Referring to 'the evil eye.'

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since a creature was created by, us, I, who am Aûharmazd, have not rested at ease, on account of providing protection for my own creatures; and likewise not even he, the evil spirit, on account of contriving evil for the creatures.' 4. And by their devotion to witchcraft (yâtûk-dînôîh) he seduces mankind into affection for himself and disaffection to Aûharmazd[1], so that they forsake the religion of Aûharmazd, and practise that of Aharman. 5. He casts this into the thoughts of men, that this religion of Aûharmazd is nought, and it is not necessary to be steadfast in it. 6. Whoever gives that man anything, in whose law (dâd) this saying is established, then the evil spirit is propitiated by him, that is, he has acted by his pleasure.

7. The business of Akôman[2] is this, that he gave vile thoughts and discord to the creatures. 8. The business of the demon Andar is this, that he constrains the thoughts of the creatures from deeds of virtue, just like a leader who has well-constrained (sardâr-i khûp afsârdö); and he casts this into the thoughts of men, that it is not necessary to have the sacred shirt and thread-girdle. 9. The business of the demon Sâvar[3], that is a leader of the demons, is this, that is, misgovernment, oppressive anarchy, and drunkenness. 10. The business of the demon Nâikîyas[4] is this, that he gives discontent to the creatures; as it says, that should this one

[1. Compare Chap. I, 14.

2. The six arch-fiends of this paragraph are those mentioned in Chaps. I, 27, XXX, 29.

3. Written Sôvar in Chap. I, 27.

4. Written Nâkahêd in Chap. I, 27, Nâikîyas when repeated in this sentence, and Pâz. Nâûnghas in Chap. XXX, 29.]

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give anything to those men whose opinion (dâd) is this, that it is not necessary to have the sacred shirt and thread-girdle, then Andar, Sâvar, and Nâikîyas are propitiated by him. 11. The demon Taprêv[1] is he who mingles poison with plants and creatures; as it says thus: 'Taprêv the frustrater, and Zâîrîk the maker of poison.' 12. All those six, it is said, are arch-fiends[2] of the demons; the rest are cooperating and confederate with them. 13. This, too, it says, that][3] should one give [anything to] a man who says [that it is proper to have one boot], and in his law walking with one boot [is established, then][4] the fiend Taprêv is propitiated [by him].

14. The demon Tarômat[5] [is he who] produces disobedience; the demon Mîtôkht[6] is the liar (drôgan) of the evil spirit[7]; the demon Arask[8] ('malice') is the spiteful fiend of the evil eye. 15. Theirs are the same appliances as the demon Aeshm's [10], as it

[1. Written Tâîrêv in Chap. I, 27.

2. See Chap. III, 2.

3. From this point the Pahlavi text is extant in K20, except some illegible words, the translation of which (supplied from TD) is here enclosed in brackets.

4. Anquetil, misled by the lacuna in his MS., thought that there was a change of subject here, and began a new chapter at this point. On this account the numbers of his chapters are henceforth one in excess of those in this translation.

5. Written Tarôkmatö in TD, and identified with Nâûnghas (Nâikîyas) in Chap. XXX, 29; a personification of the Av. tarômaiti, 'disobedience,' of Yas. XXXIII, 4, LIX, 8.

6. A personification of the Av. mithaokhta, 'false-spoken,' of Yas. LIX, 8, Vend. XIX, 146, Visp. XXIII, 9, Zamyâd Yt. 96.

7. TD has drûg gûmânîkîh, the fiend of scepticism.'

8. Av. araska of Yas. IX, 18, Râm Yt. 16, personified.

9. The word hômanam in K20 is a false Huzvâris reading of ham, owing to the copyist reading am, 'I am;' TD has hamafzâr,

'having like means.'

10. Or Khashm, 'wrath;' so written in K20, but it is usually {footnote p. 108} Aêshm elsewhere; the Av. aêshma of Vend. IX, 37, X, 23, 27, &c. The Asmodeus of the Book of Tobit appears to be the Av. Aêshmô daêvô, 'demon of wrath.']

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says that seven powers are given to Aeshm[1], that he may utterly destroy the creatures therewith; with those seven powers he will destroy seven[2] of the Kayân heroes in his own time, but one will remain. 16. There where Mîtokht ('falsehood') arrives, Arask ('malice') becomes welcome, [and there where Arask is welcome][3] Aeshm lays a foundation[4], and there where Aeshm has a foundation[5] many creatures perish, and he causes much non-Iranianism[6]. 17. Aeshm mostly contrives all evil for the creatures of Aûharmazd, and the evil deeds of those Kayân heroes have been more complete through Aeshm, as it says, that Aeshm, the impetuous assailant, causes them most[7].

18. The demon Vîzarêsh[8] is he who struggles with the souls of men which have departed, those

[1. TD has 'there were seven powers of Aêshm.'

2. TD has 'six,' which looks like an unlucky attempt to amend a correct text. Tradition tells us that only five Kayâns reigned (see Chap. XXXIV, 7), and the Shâhnâmah also mentions Sîyâwush (Pahl. Kaî-Sîyâvakhsh), who did not reign; but eight Kayâns, besides Lôharâsp and Vistâsp, who were of collateral descent (see Chap. XXXI, 28), are mentioned in the Avesta, whence the author of the Bundahis would obtain much of his information (see Fravardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, 74).

3. The phrase in brackets occurs only in TD.

4. Reading bunak as in TD; K20 has 'sends down a root.'

5. So in TD; K20 has 'where Aeshm keeps on.'

6. That is, 'many foreign customs.'

7. The word vêsh, 'most,' is only in TD.

8. So in TD; K20 has Vigêsh. He is the Av. Vîzaresha of Vend. XIX, 94, who is said to convey the souls of the departed to, the Kinvad bridge.]

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days and nights[1] when they remain in the world; he carries them on, terror-stricken, and sits at the gate of hell. 19. The demon Uda[2] is he who, when a man sits in a private place, or when he eats at meals, strikes his knee spiritually on his back [3], so that he bawls out [and looks out, that chattering he may eat, chattering] he may evacuate (rîed), and chattering he may make water (mêzêd), so that he may not attain [unto the] best existence[4].

[20. The demon Akâtâsh[5] is the fiend of perversion (nikîrâyîh), who makes the creatures averse (nikîrâî) from proper things; as it says, that whoever has given anything to that person (tanû) whose opinion (dâd) is this, that it is not necessary to have a high-priest (dastôbar), then the demon Aeshm is propitiated by him. 21. Whoever has given anything to that person whose opinion is this, and who says, that it is not necessary to have a snake-killer (mâr-van), then Aharman, with the foregoing demons, is propitiated by him; this is said of him who, when he sees a noxious creature, does not kill it. 22. A snake-killer (mâro-gnô)[6] is a stick on the end of which a leathern thong is

[1. TD has 'those three nights,' referring to the period that the soul is said to remain hovering about the body after death (see Hâdôkht Nask, ed. Haug, II, 1-18, III, 1-17).

2. So in K20; TD has Aûdak (see Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 70).

3. TD has merely strikes a slipper (padîn-pôsh) spiritually,' that is, invisibly, for the purpose of startling the man.

4. The short phrases in brackets are taken from TD to supply words torn off from K20, which passes on to Chap. XXIX at this point, but TD supplies a continuation of Chap. XXVIII, which is added here, and enclosed in brackets.

5. The Av. Akatasha of Vend. X, 23 Sp., XIX, 43 W.

6. See Pahlavi Vend. XVIII, 5, 6.]

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provided; and it is declared that every one of the good religion must possess one, that they may strike and kill noxious creatures and sinners more meritoriously with it.

23. Zarmân[1] is the demon who makes decrepit (dûspad), whom they call old age (pirîh). 24. Kîshmâk[2] is he who makes disastrous (vazandak), and also causes the whirlwind[3] which passes over for disturbance. 25. The demon Varenô[4] is he who causes illicit intercourse, as it says thus: 'Varenô the defiling (âlâi).' 26. The demon Bûshâsp[5] is she who causes slothfulness; Sêg is the fiend (drûg) who causes annihilation; and the demon Nîyâz is he who causes distress.

27. The demon Âz[6] ('greediness') is he who swallows everything, and when, through destitution, nothing has come he eats himself; he is that fiendishness which, although the whole wealth of the world be given up to it, does not fill up and is not satisfied; as it says, that the eye of the covetous is a noose (gamand), and in it the world is nought. 28. Pûs[7] is the demon who makes a hoard, and

[1. A personification of the Av. zaurva of Vend. XIX, 43 W., Yas. IX, 18 Sp., Gôs Yt. 10, Râm Yt. 16.

2. The reading of this name is uncertain.

3. The small whirlwinds, which usually precede a change of wind in India, are commonly known by the name of shaîTân, which indicates that such whirling columns of dust are popularly attributed to demoniacal agency.

4. A personification of Av. varena, 'desire,' in an evil sense.

5. Av. Bûshyâsta of Vend. XI, 28, 29, 36, 37, XVIII, 38, &c. The names of the three demons in this sentence are Persian words for 'sloth,' 'trouble,' and 'want.'

6 Av. Âzi of Vend. XVIII, 45, 50, Yas. XVII, 46, LXVII, 22, Âstâd Yt. 1.

7. Compare Pers. payûs, 'covetous,' and piyûs, 'avarice.' Pûs is evidently the demon of misers, and Âz that of the selfish.]

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does not consume it, and does not give to any one; as it says, that the power of the demon Âz is owing to that person who, not content with his own wife, snatches away even those of others.

29. The demon Nas[1] is he who causes the pollution and contamination (nistrûstih), which they call nasâi ('dead matter'). 30. The demon Frîftâr ('deceiver') is he who seduces mankind. 31. The demon Spazg[2] ('slander') is he who brings and conveys discourse (milayâ), and it is nothing in appearance such as he says; and he shows that mankind fights and apologizes (avakhshînêd), individual with individual. 32. The demon Arâst[3] ('untrue') is he who speaks falsehood. 33. The demon Aîghâsh[4] is the malignant-eyed fiend who smites mankind with his eye. 34. The demon Bût[5] is he whom they worship among the Hindûs, and his growth is lodged in idols, as one worships the horse as an idol[6]. 35. Astô-vîdâd is the evil flyer (vâê-i saritar) who seizes the life; as it says that, when

[1. Av. Nasu of Vend, V, 85-106, VI, 65, 72, 74, 79, VII, 2-27, 70, VIII, 46, 48, 132-228, IX, 49-1 7, &c.

2. Av. spazga of Ardabahist Yt. 8, 11, 15.

3. Always written like anâst.

4. Av. aghashi of Vend. XX, 14, 20, 24, which appears to be 'the evil eye;' but see § 36.

5. Av. Bûiti of Vend. XIX, 4, 6, 140, who must be identified with Pers. but, 'an idol,' Sans. bhûta, 'a goblin,' and not with Buddha.

6. Reading afas vakhsh pavan bûtîhâ mâhmânö, kîgûn bût asp parastêdö, which evidently admits of many variations, but the meaning is rather obscure.

7. Here written Astî-vîdâd (see Chap. III, 21). Vend. V, 25, 31 says, 'Astö-vîdhötu binds him (the dying, man); Vayö (the flying demon) conveys him bound;' from which it would appear that Astî-vîdâd and 'the evil flyer' were originally considered as distinct demons.]

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his hand strokes a man it is lethargy, when he casts it on the sick one it is fever, when he looks in his eyes he drives away the life, and they call it death. 36. The demon of the malignant eye (sûr-kashmîh) is he who will spoil anything which men see, when they do not say 'in the name of God' (yazdân).

37. With every one of them are many demons and fiends co-operating, to specify whom a second time would be tedious; demons, too, who are furies (khashmakân), are in great multitude it is said. 38. They are demons of ruin, pain, and growing old (zvârân), producers of vexation and bile, revivers of grief (nîvagîh), the progeny of gloom, and bringers of stench, decay, and vileness, who are many, very numerous, and very notorious; and a portion of all of them is mingled in the bodies of men, and their characteristics are glaring in mankind.

39. The demon Apâôsh[1] and the demon Aspengargâk[2] are those who remain in contest with the rain. 40. Of the evil spirit [3] are the law of vileness, the religion of sorcery, the weapons of fiendishness, and the perversion (khâmîh) of God's works; and

[1. Av. Apaosha of Tistar Yt. 21, 22, 27, 28, Âstâd Yt. 2, 6; see also Chap. VII, 8, 10, 12.

2. Here written Aspengarögâ, but see Chaps. VII, 12, XVII, 1. He is the Av. Spengaghra of Vend. XIX, 135, and, being a demon, is not to be confounded with the demon-worshipper, Spingauruska, of Gôs Yt. 3 1, Ashi Yt. 51.

3. The 'evil spirit,' Ganrâk-mâinök, seems to be here treated as a demon distinct from Aharman, which is inconsistent with what is stated in §§ 1-6, and is contrary to general opinion. This inconsistency would indicate the possibility of this continuation of Chap. XXVIII in TD, or a portion of it, having been added by an editor in later times (although it is difficult to discover any difference of style in the language), if we did not find a similar confusion of the two names in Chap. XXX, 29, 30.]

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his wish is this, that is: 'Do not ask about me, and do not understand me! for if ye ask about and understand me, ye will not come after me[1].' 41. This, too, it says, that the evil spirit remains at the distance of a cry, even at the cry of a three-year-old cock (kûlêng), even at the cry of an ass, even at the cry of a righteous man when one strikes him involuntarily and he utters a cry[2]. 42. The demon Kûndak[3] is he who is, the steed (bârak) of wizards.

43. Various new demons arise from the various new sins the creatures may commit, and are produced for such purposes; who make even those planets rush on which are in the celestial sphere, and they stand very numerous in the conflict. 44. Their ringleaders (kamârîkân) are those seven planets, the head and tail of Gökîhar, and Mûspar[4]

[1. Compare Mkh. XL, 24-28: "The one wish that Hôrmezd, the lord, desires from men is this, that "ye shall understand me (Hôrmezd), since every one who shall understand me comes after me, and strives for my satisfaction." And the one wish that Aharman desires from men is this, that "ye shall not understand me (Aharman), since whoever shall understand me wicked, his actions proceed not after me, and, moreover, no advantage and friendship come to me from that man.""

2. The sentence is rather obscure, but it seems to imply that such cries keep the evil spirit at a distance; it is, however, just possible that it means that the cry of the evil spirit can be heard as far as such cries.

3. Av. Kunda of Vend. XI, 28, 36, XIX, 138.

4. TD has Gôk-kihar and Mûs-parîk here, but see Chap. V, 1, where these beings are included among the seven planetary leaders, and not counted in addition to them. This is another inconsistency which leads to the suspicion that this continuation of the chapter may have been written by a later hand. According to this later view, the sun and moon must be included among those malevolent orbs, the planets.]

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provided with a tail, which are ten. 45. And by them these ten worldly creations, that is, the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, metals, wind, light, fire, and mankind, are corrupted with all this vileness; and from them calamity, captivity, disease, death, and other evils and corruptions ever come to water, vegetation, and the other creations which exist in the world, owing to the fiendishness of those ten. 46. They whom I have enumerated are furnished with the assistance and crafty (afzar-hômand) nature of Aharman.

47. Regarding the cold, dry, stony, and dark interior of mysterious (târîk dên afrâg-pêdâk) hell it says, that the darkness is fit to grasp with the hand[1], and the stench is fit to cut with a knife; and if they inflict the punishment of a thousand men within a single span, they (the men) think in this way, that they are alone; and the loneliness is worse than its punishment[2]. 48. And its connection (band) is with the seven planets, be it through much cold like Saturn[3] (Kêvân), be it through much heat like Aharman; and their food is brimstone (gandak), and of succulents the lizard (vazagh), and other evil and wretchedness (patyân).]

[1. Compare Mkh. VII, 31: 'and always their darkness is suchlike as though it be possible to grasp with the hand.'

2. Compare Ardâ-Vîrâf-nâmak (LIV, 5-8): 'As close as the ear to the eye, and as many as the hairs on the mane of a horse, so close and many in number, the souls of the wicked stand, but they see not, and hear no sound, one from the other; every one thinks thus, "I am alone."'

3. Or, 'with more cold than Saturn.']

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CHAPTER XXIX[1].

1. On [the spiritual chieftainship[2] of the regions of the earth] it says in revelation, that every one of those six chieftainships [3] has one spiritual chief; as the chief of Arzah is Ashâshagahad-ê Hvandkân[4], the chief of Savah is Hoazarôdathhri-hanâ Parêstyarô[5], the chief of Fradadafsh is Spîtôid-i Aûspôsînân[6], [the chief of Vîdadafsh is Aîrîz-râsp Aûspôsînân[7],] the chief of Vôrûbarst is Huvâsp[7], the chief of Vôrûgarst is Kakhravâk[9]. 2. Zaratûst is

[1. For this chapter, which is numbered XXX by previous translators, we have to depend only on K20 and TD (see the note on the heading of Chap. XXVIII); and the words enclosed in brackets are supplied from TD, being either illegible or omitted in K20.

2. Perhaps 'patriarchate' or 'episcopate' would be a better translation of radîh, and 'patriarch' or 'bishop' of rad, in this chapter, as the chief high-priest (dastûr-i dastûrân) and his office are evidently meant by these words.

3. Of the six other regions, distinct from this one of Khvanîras, see Chap. XI, 2-4.

4. TD has Ashashâghd-ê aîgh Nêvandân; both MSS. giving these names in a barbarous Pâzand form which cannot be relied on. Perhaps this Dastûr is the Av. Ashâvanghu Bivandangha of Fravardîn Yt. 110.

5. TD has Hôazarôkakhhr-hanâ Parêstyarô, all in Pâzand in both MSS., except Huz. hanâ, which stands for Pâz. ê, here used for the idhâfat i. Perhaps this Dastûr is the Av. Garô-danghu Pairistîra of Fravardîn Yt. 110.

6. So in TD; K20 has Pâz. Spaitanid-i Huspâsnyân. This Dastûr is, no doubt, the Av. (gen.) Spîtôis Uspâsnaos of Fravardîn Yt. 121.

7. Omitted in K20, but, no doubt, this Dastûr is the Av. Erezrâspa Uspâsnu of Fravardîn Yt. 121.

8. Av. Hvaspa of Fravardîn Yt. 122.

9. So in both MSS. As in the case of each of the preceding two pair of regions, two consecutive names of Dastûrs have been taken from the Fravardîn Yast, it may be supposed that the names {footnote p. 116} taken for this third pair of regions will also be consecutive, and this Dastûr must, therefore, be identified with the Av. Kathwaraspa of Fravardîn Yt. 122.]

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spiritual chief of the region of Khvanîras, and also of all the regions; he is chief of the world of the righteous, and it is said that the whole religion was received by them from Zaratûst[1].

3. In the region of Khvanîras are many places, from which, in this evil time of violent struggling with the adversary, a passage (vidarg) is constructed by the power of the spiritual world (mainôkîh), and one calls them the beaten tracks[2] of Khvanîras.

4. Counterparts of those other regions[3] are such places as Kangdez, the land of Saukavastân, the plain of the Arabs (Tâzîkân), the plain of Pêsyânsâi, the river Nâivtâk[4], Aîrân-vêg, the enclosure (var) formed by Yim, and Kasmîr in India [5]. 5. And one immortal chief acts in the government of each

[1. TD has 'Zaratûst is chief of this region of Khvanîras, and also of the whole world of the righteous; all chieftainship, also, is from Zaratûst, so that the whole religion,' &c.

2. Justi has 'zones, climates;' but transcribing Pâz. habâvanhâ back into Pahlavi we have a word which may be read khabânôhâ, pl. of khabân, 'a trampling-place' (comp. Pers. khabîdan). TD has khvabîsnö-gâs, which has the same meaning.

3. Meaning, probably, that they resemble the six smaller regions in being isolated and difficult of access; in other words, either mythical, or independent of Iranian rule.

4. So in TD, which also omits the second, third, and fourth of these isolated territories. In K20 we might read rad va khûdâk, 'chief and lord,' as an epithet of Aîrân-vêg. This river must be the Nâhvtâk of Chap. XXI, 6.

5. Reading Kasmîr-i andar Hindû, but TD has Kasmîr-i andarûnô; perhaps the last word was originally anîrânak, in which case we should read 'the not-Iranian Kasmîr.'

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of them; as it says, that Pêshyôtanû[1] son of Vistâsp, whom they call Kîtrô-mâinô[2], is in the country of Kangdez[3]; Aghrêrad[4] son of Pashang is in the land of Saukavastân[5], and they call him Gôpatshah[6]; Parsadgâ[7] Hvembya is in the plain of

[1. The Av. Peshôtanu of Vistâsp Yt. 4, where he is described as free from disease and death. TD has Pêshyök-tanû. See also Chaps. XXXI, 29, XXXII, 5.

2. TD has Kîtrô-mâônô, and it may be doubted whether the latter portion of the name be derived from Av. mainyu, 'spirit,' or maunghô, 'moon.' The Dâdistân-i-Dînik (Reply 89) calls him 'Patshâyôtanû who is called from the Kîtrök-mâhanô (or mîyânô),' the Katru-mîyân river of Chap. XX, 7, 31.

3. See § 10. TD has Kangdez-i bâmîk, 'Kangdez the splendid.'

4. The Av. Aghrêratha Narava of Gôs Yt. 18, 22, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Ashi Yt. 38, Zamyâd Yt. 77; he is Aghrîrath, brother of Afrâsiyâb, in the Shâhnâmah; see also Chap. XXXI, 15.

5. TD has Pahl. Sakîkstân here, but Sôkapastân in § 13 (the letters îk and p being often much alike in Pahlavi writing). K20 has Pâz. Sâvkavatân, Saukâvasta, and Sâvkavastân.

6. TD has Gôpat-malkâ, 'king of Gôpat;' and Dâd. (Reply 89) states that 'the reign of Gôpatshah is over the country of Gôpatô, coterminous with Aîrân-vêg, on the bank of the water of the Dâitîk; and he keeps watch over the ox Hadhayâs, on

whom occurred the various emigrations of men of old.' Mkh. (LXII, 31-36) says, 'Gôpatshâh remains in Airân-vêg, within the region of Khvanîras; from foot to mid-body he is a bull, and from mid-body to top he is a man; at all times he stays on the sea-shore, and always performs the worship of God, and always pours holy-water into the sea; through the pouring of that holy-water innumerable noxious creatures in the sea will die; for if he should not mostly perform that ceremonial, and should not pour that holy-water into the sea, and those innumerable noxious creatures should not perish, then always when rain falls the noxious creatures would fall like rain.' In Chap. XXXI, 20, he is said to be a son of Aghrêrad.

7. So in K20; and Av. Parshadgau occurs in Fravardîn Yt. 96, 127; but TD has Fradakhstar Khûmbîkân, and Dâd. (Reply 89) mentions 'Fradakhstô son of Khûmbîkân' as one of the seven {footnote p. 118} immortal lords of Khvanîras, which name corresponds with the Av. Fradhâkhsti Khunbya of Fravardîn Yt. 138.]

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Pêsyânsaî[1], and he is Hvembya for this reason, because they brought him up in a hvemb ('jar') for fear of Khashm ('Wrath'); [Asâm-i[2] Yamâhust is in the place which they call the River Nâîvtâk]; the tree opposed to harm[3] is in Airân-vêg; Urvatadnar[4] son of Zaratûst is in the enclosure formed by Yim. 6. Regarding them it says, they are those who are immortal, as are Narsih[5] Son of Vîvanghâû, Tûs[6] son of Nôdar[7], Gîw[8] son of Gûdarz, Ibairaz[9] the causer of strife, and Ashavazd son of Pourudhâkhst[10]; and they will all[11] come forth, to the

[1. TD has always Pahl. Pêsansih. No doubt the Pisîn valley is meant (see § 11).

2. Or it may be read Aêshm-i. This phrase occurs only in TD, but Dâd. (Reply 89) mentions 'the Avesta Yakhmâyîsad, son of the same Fryânô,' as one of the seven immortal lords of Khvanîras.

3. See Chap. XXVII, 2.

4. See Chap. XXXII, 5.

5. Or Narsâe in TD; K20 has Paz. Narêi, but see Chap. XXXI, 3, 5.

6. Av. Tusa of Âbân Yt. 53, 58, and an Iranian warrior in the Shâhnâmah.

7. Av. Naotara, whose descendants are mentioned in Âbân Yt. 76, 98, Fravardîn Yt. 102, Râm Yt. 35.

8. Av. Gaêvani of Fravardîn Yt. 115 is something like this name of one of the Iranian warriors in the Shâhnâmah.

9. TD has Pâz. Bairazd. Perhaps it is not a name but a Pâzand corruption of Pahl. aêvarz, 'warrior, trooper' (traditionally); in which case we should have to read 'the warrior who was a causer of strife.'

10. So in TD; K20 has 'Ashavand son of Porudakhst' and Dâd. (Reply 89) mentions 'Ashavazang son of Pôrûdakhstôih' as one of the seven immortal lords of Khvanîras. He is the Av. 'Ashavazdangh the Pourudhâkhstiyân' of Âbân Yt. 72, Fravardîn Yt. 112.

11. So in TD, but K20 has 'always.'

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assistance of Sôshyans, on the production of the renovation of the universe.

7. Regarding Sâm[1] it says, that he became immortal, but owing to his disregard of the Mazdayasnian religion, a Tûrk whom they call Nihâg[2] wounded him with an arrow, when he was asleep there, in the plain of Pêsyânsaî; and it had brought upon him the unnatural lethargy (bûshasp) which overcame him in the midst of the heat[3]. 8. And the glory (far) of heaven stands over him[4] for the purpose that, when Az-i Dahâk[5] becomes unfettered (arazak), he may arise and slay him; and a myriad guardian spirits of the righteous are as a protection to him. 9. Of Dahâk, whom they call Bêvarâsp, this, too, it says, that Frêdûn when he captured Dahâk was not able to kill him, and afterwards confined him in Mount Dimâvand[6]; when he becomes unfettered, Sâm arises, and smites and slays him.

10. As to Kangdez, it is in the direction of the east, at many leagues from the bed (var)[7] of the

[1. This is not Sâma the grandfather of Rustam, but the Av. Sâma, who appears to have been an ancestor of Keresâspa (see Yas. IX, 30), called Sam, grandfather of Garsâsp, in a passage interpolated in some copies of the Shâhnâmah (compare Chap. XXXI, 26, 27). Here, however, it appears from the Bahman Yast (III, 59, 60) that Keresâspa himself is meant, he being called Sâma Keresâspa in Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136.

2. It can also be read Nihâv or Nîyâg in K20, and Nihâv or Nihân in TD.

3. TD has 'as he lay in the midst of the heat.'

4. TD has 'and the snow (vafar) has settled (nishast) over him.'

5. See Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

6. See Chap. XII, 31.

7. TD has agvar, 'above,' instead of min var, 'from the bed.'

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wide-formed ocean towards that side. 11. The plain of Pêsyânsaî is in Kâvulistân, as it says, that the most remarkable upland (bâlist) in Kâvulistân is where Pêsyânsaî is; there it is hotter, on the more lofty elevations there is no heat[1]. 12. Airân-vêg is in the direction of Âtarô-pâtakân[2]. 13. The land of Saukavastân is on the way from Tûrkistân to Kînistân, in the direction of the north. 14. [The enclosure][3] formed by Yim is in the middle of Pârs, in Sruvâ[4]; thus, they say, that what Yim formed (Yim-kard) is below Mount Yimakân[5]. 15. Kasmîr is in Hindûstân.

CHAPTER XXX[6].

1. On the nature: of the resurrection and future existence it says in revelation, that, whereas Mâshya and Mâshyôî, who grew up from the earth[7], first fed upon water, then plants, then milk, and then meat, men also, when their time of death has come, first desist from eating meat, then milk, then from

[1. Or, 'the hottest there, through the very lofty elevation, is not heat.'

2. Pers. Âdarbîgân.

3. The word var is omitted in K20.

4. TD has Pahl. Srûbâk.

5. Or it may be read Damakân, but TD has Kamakân. It can hardly be Dâmaghân, as that is a town and district in Khurâsân; Justi also suggests the district of Gamagân in Pârs, and thinks Sruvâ means 'cypress wood,' there being a Salvastân between Shîrâz and Fasâ.

6. This chapter is found in all MSS., and has been numbered XXXI by former translators.

7. See Chaps. XV, 2-16, XXXIV, 3.]

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bread, till when[1] they shall die they always feed upon water. 2. So, likewise, in the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh[2], the strength of appetite (âz) will thus diminish, when men will remain three days and nights in superabundance (sîrîh) through one taste of consecrated food. 3. Then they will desist from meat food, and eat vegetables and milk; afterwards, they abstain from milk food and abstain from vegetable food, and are feeding on water; and for ten years before Sôshyans[3] comes they remain without food, and do not die.

4. After Sôshyans comes they prepare the raising of the dead, as it says, that Zaratûst asked of Aûharmazd thus: 'Whence does a body form again, which the wind has carried and the water conveyed (vazîd)[4]? and how does the resurrection occur?' 5. Aûharmazd answered thus: 'When through me the sky arose from the substance of the ruby[5], without columns, on the spiritual support of far-compassed light; when through me the earth arose, which[6] bore the material life, and there is
no

[1. Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn,' which' (see the note on Chap. 1, 7).

2. Written Khûrshêdar-mâh, or Khûrshêd-mâh, in the Bundahis; see Chap. XXXII, 8, and Bahman Yt. III, 52, 53.

3. See Chaps. XI, 6, X XXII, 8, Bahman Yt. III, 62.

4. Compare (Vend. V, 26) 'the water carries him up, the water carries him down, the water casts him away.'

5. Compare Mkh. IX, 7.

4. All MSS. have min, 'out of,' but translators generally suppose it should be mûn, 'which,' as the meaning of brought out of 'material life' is by no means clear. Perhaps the two phrases might be construed together, thus: 'there is no other maintainer of the worldly creation, brought from the material life, than it.' Windischmann refers to Fravardîn Yt. 9.]

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maintainer of the worldly creation but it; when by me the sun and moon and stars are conducted in the firmament (andarvâi) of luminous bodies; when by me corn was created so that, scattered about in the earth, it grew again and returned with increase; when by me colour[1] of various kinds was created in plants; when by me fire was created in plants and other things [2] without combustion; when by me a son was created and fashioned[3] in the womb of a mother, and the structure (pîsak) severally of the skin, nails, blood, feet, eyes, ears, and other things was produced; when by me legs were created for the water, so that it flows away, and the cloud was created which carries the water of the world and rains there where it has a purpose; when by me the air was created which conveys in one's eyesight, through the strength of the wind, the lowermost upwards according to its will, and one is not able to grasp it with the hand out-stretched; each one of them, when created by me, was herein more difficult than causing the resurrection, for[4] it is an assistance to me in the resurrection that they exist, but when they were formed it was not forming the future out of the past[5]. 6. Observe that when that which was not was then produced, why is it not possible to

[1. Former translators all read rag, 'vein, pore;' but it probably stands for rang, 'colour, dye,' as in Chap. XXVII, 5, 18.

2. See Chap. XVII, 1, 2.

3. Pâz. srahtîd is evidently a misreading of Pahl. srîstîd, 'formed, shaped.' Windischmann compares Fravardîn Yt. 11, 22, 28.

4. Here kîm is the Pâzand of Huz. mamanam, 'for to me;' being a different word from the interrogative kîm, 'why?' of the next §.

5. Literally, 'what becomes out of what was.'

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produce again that which was? for at that time one will demand the bone from the spirit of earth, the blood from the water, the hair from the plants, and the life from fire, since they were delivered to them in the original creation.'

7. First, the bones of Gâyômard are roused up then those of Mâshya and Mâshyôî, then those of the rest of mankind; in the fifty-seven years of Sôshyans[1] they prepare all the dead, and all men stand up; whoever is righteous and whoever is wicked, every human creature, they rouse up from the spot where its life departs. 8. Afterwards, when all material living beings assume again their bodies and forms, then they assign (barâ yehabûnd) them a single class[2]. 9. Of the light accompanying (levatman) the sun, one half will be for Gâyômard, and one half will give enlightenment among the rest of men, so that the soul and body will know that this is my father, and this is my mother, and this is my brother, and this is my wife, and these are some other of my nearest relations.

10. Then is the assembly of the, Sadvâstarân[3] where all mankind will stand at this time; in that assembly every one sees his own good deeds and his own evil deeds; and then, in that assembly, a wicked man becomes as conspicuous as a white sheep among those which are black. 11. In that

[1. K20 omits 'Sôshyans.'

2. The phrase is obscure, and K20 omits the numeral 'one' (the idhâfat of unity); but the meaning is probably that all former distinctions of class, or caste, are abolished.

3. Windischmann suggests that it may be 'the assembly of Isadvâstar,' the eldest son of Zaratûst (see Chap. XXXII, 5); perhaps supposed to be presided over by him as the first supreme high-priest after Zaratûst's death.]

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assembly whatever righteous man was friend of a wicked one in the world, and the wicked man complains of him who is righteous, thus: 'Why did he not make me acquainted, when in the world, with the good deeds which he practised himself?' if he who is righteous did not inform him, then it is necessary for him to suffer shame accordingly in that assembly[1].

12. Afterwards they set the righteous man apart from the wicked; and then the righteous is for heaven (garôdmân), and they cast the wicked back to hell. 13. Three days and nights they inflict punishment bodily in hell, and then he beholds bodily those three days' happiness in heaven[2]. 14. As it says that, on the day when the righteous man is parted from the wicked, the tears of every one, thereupon, run down unto his legs. 15. When, after they set apart a father from his consort (hambâz), a brother from his brother, and a friend from

[1. In the Ardâ-Vîrâf-namak (Chap. LXVIII) it is related that Ardâ-Vîrâf saw the souls of a husband and wife, that of the husband destined for heaven, and that of the wife for hell; but the wife clung to her husband and asked why they should be separated, and he told her it was on account of her neglect of religious duties; whereupon she reproached him for not teaching and chastising her. 'And, afterwards, the man went to heaven and the woman to hell. And owing to the repentance of that woman she was in no other affliction in hell but darkness and stench. And that man sat in the midst of the righteous of heaven in shame, from not converting and not teaching the woman, who might have become virtuous in his keeping.'

2. As an aggravation of his punishment in hell. It has generally been supposed that this last phrase refers to the reward of the righteous man, but this cannot be the case unless akhar be taken in the sense of 'other,' which is unlikely; besides, beholding the happiness of others would be no reward to an Oriental mind.]

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his friend, they suffer, every one for his own deeds, and weep, the righteous for the wicked, and the wicked about himself; for there may be a father who is righteous and a son wicked, and there may be one brother who is righteous and one wicked. 16. Those for whose peculiar deeds it is appointed, such as Dahâk and Frâsîyâv of Tûr, and others of this sort, as those deserving death (marg-argânân), undergo a punishment no other men undergo; they call it 'the punishment of the three nights'[1].'

17. Among his producers of the renovation of the universe, those righteous men of whom it is written[2] that they are living, fifteen men and fifteen damsels, will come to the assistance of Sôshyans. 18. As Gôkîhar[3] falls in the celestial sphere from a moonbeam on to the earth, the distress of the earth becomes such-like as that of a sheep when a wolf falls upon it. 19. Afterwards, the fire and halo[4] melt the metal of Shatvaîrô, in the hills and mountains, and it remains on this earth like a river.

[1. According to the Pahlavi Vend. VII, 136 (p. 96, Sp.) it appears that a person who has committed a marg-argân or mortal sin, without performing patîf or renunciation of sin thereafter, remains in hell till the future existence, when he is brought out, beheaded three times for each mortal sin unrepented of, and then cast back into hell to undergo the punishment tishrâm khshafnâm ('of the three nights') before he becomes righteous; some say, however, that this punishment is not inflicted for a single mortal sin. This period of three nights' punishment is quite a different matter from the three nights' hovering of the soul about the body after death.

2. See Chap. XXIX, 5, 6. As the text stands in the MSS. it is uncertain whether the fifteen men and fifteen damsels are a portion of these righteous immortals, or an addition to them.

3. Probably a meteor (see Chap. V, 1).

4. Reading khîrman; M6 has 'the fire and angel Aîrman (Av. Airyaman) melt the metal in the hills,' &c.]

{p. 126} 20. Then all men will pass into that melted metal and will become pure; when one is righteous, then it seems to him just as though he walks continually in warm milk; but when wicked, then it seems to him in such manner as though, in the world, he walks continually in melted metal.

21. Afterwards, with the greatest affection, all men come together, father and son and brother and friend ask one another thus: 'Where has it[1] been these many years, and what was the judgment upon thy soul? hast thou been righteous or wicked?' 22. The first soul the body sees, it enquires of it with those words (gûft). 23. All men become of one voice and administer loud praise to Aûharmazd and the archangels.

24. Aûharmazd completes his work at that time, and the creatures become so that it is not necessary to make any effort about them; and among those by whom the dead are prepared, it is not necessary that any effort be made. 25. Sôshyans, with his assistants, performs a Yazisn ceremony in preparing the dead, and they slaughter the ox Hadhayôs[2] in that Yazisn; from the fat of that ox and the white Hôm[3] they prepare Hûsh, and give it to all men, and all men become immortal for ever and everlasting. 26. This, too, it says, that whoever has been the size of a man, they restore him then with an age of forty years; they who have been little when not dead, they restore then with an age of fifteen years; and they give every one his wife, and

[1. K20 has 'have I;' probably hômanîh, 'hast thou,' was the original reading.

2. See Chap. XIX, 13.

3. See Chap. XXVII, 4.]

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show him his children with the wife; so they act as now in the world, but there is no begetting of children.

27. Afterwards, Sôshyans and his assistants, by order of the creator Aûharmazd, give every man the reward and recompense suitable to his deeds; this is even the righteous existence (aît) where it is said that they convey him to paradise (vahist), and the heaven (garôdmân) of Aûharmazd takes up the body (kerp) as itself requires; with that assistance he continually advances for ever and everlasting. 28. This, too, it says, that whoever has performed no worship (yast), and has ordered no Gêtf-kharîd [1], and has bestowed no clothes as a righteous gift, is naked there; and he performs the worship (yast) of Aûharmazd, and the heavenly angels[2] provide him the use of his clothing.

[1. The Sad-dar Bundahis says that by Gêtf-kharîd 'heaven is purchased in the world, and one's own place brought to hand in heaven.' The Rivâyat of Dastûr Barzû (as quoted in MS. 29 of Bombay University Parsi Collection) gives the following details in Persian: 'To celebrate Gêtf-kharîd it is necessary that two hêrbads (priests) perform the Nâbar, and with each khshnûman which they pray it is fit and necessary that both hêrbads have had the Nâbar; and the first day they recite the Nônâbar yast, and consecrate the Nônâbar drôn and the Nônâbar âfrîngân which they recite in each Gâh; in the Hâvan Gâh it is necessary to recite fravarânê (as in Yas. III, 24 W. to end), ahurahê mazdau raêvatô (as in Aûharmazd Yt. 0, to) frastayaêka, then Yas. III, 25 W., XVII. 1-55 Sp., ashem vohû thrice, âfrînâmi khshathryân (as in Âfrîngân I, 14, to end). The second day the Srôsh yast and Srôsh drôn and âfrîngân are to be recited; and the third day it is necessary to recite the Sîrôzah yast, the Sîrôzah drôn and âfrîngân dahmân; and it is needful to recite the second and third âfrîngâns in each Gâh, and each day to consecrate the barsom and drôn afresh with seven twigs, so that it may not be ineffective.'

2. Pâz. gehân is probably a misreading of Pahl. yazdân, as {footnote p. 128} neither 'the spirit of the world,' nor 'the spirit of the Gâhs' is a likely phrase. It is possible, however, that maînôk gehân is a misreading of min aîvyahân, 'from the girdle,' and we should translate as follows: 'and out of its girdle (that is, the kûstî of the barsom used in the ceremony) he produces the effect of his clothing.'

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29. Afterwards, Aûharmazd seizes on[1] the evil spirit, Vohûman on Akôman[2], Ashavahist on Andar[3], Shatvaîrô on Sâvar, Spendarmad on Tarômat who is Nâûnghas[4], Horvadad and Amerôdad on Tâîrêv and Zâîrîk[5], true-speaking on what is evil-speaking, Srôsh[6] on Aeshm[7] 30. Then two fiends remain at large, Aharman[8] and Âz[9]; Aûharmazd comes

to the world, himself the Zôta and Srôsh the Râspî[10], and holds the Kûstî in his hand;

- [1. Instead of vakhdûnd, 'seize on,' we should probably read vâvend, 'smite,' as in the parallel passages mentioned below.
2. Compare Zamyâd Yt. 96. Each archangel (see Chap. I, 25, 26) here seizes the arch-fiend (see Chaps. I, 27, XXVIII, 7-12) who is his special opponent.
3. Here written Pâz. Inder. Compare Pahlavi Yas. XLVII, 1: 'When among the creation, in the future existence, righteousness smites the fiend, Ashavahist smites Indar.'
4. Written Nâkahêd in Chap. I, 27, and Nâikîyas in Chap. XXVIII, 20, where he is described as a distinct demon from Tarômat in XXVIII, 14.
5. Here written Târêv and Zârîk.
6. Av. Sraosha, a personification of attentive hearing and obedience, who is said to watch over the world and defend it from the demons, especially at night; see Vend. XVIII, 48, 51, 70, &c., Yas. LVI, Srôsh Yt. Hâdôkht, &c.
7. See Chap. XXVIII, 15-17.
8. Comparing § 29 with § 30 it is not very clear whether the author of the Bundahis considered Aharman and the evil spirit as the same or different demons; compare also Chap. XXVIII, 1-6 with 40, 41.
9. See Chap. XXVIII, 27.
10. The Zôta is the chief officiating priest in all ceremonies, and the Râspî is the assistant priest.]

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defeated by the Kûstî[1] formula the resources of the evil spirit and Âz act most impotently, and by the passage through which he rushed into the sky[2] he runs back to gloom and darkness. 31. Gôkîhar[3] burns the serpent (mâr)[4] in the melted metal, and the stench and pollution which were in hell are burned in that metal, and it (hell) becomes quite pure. 32. He (Aûharmazd) sets the vault[5] into which the evil spirit fled, in that metal; he brings the land of hell back for the enlargement of the world[6]; the renovation arises in the universe by his will, and the world is immortal for ever and everlasting.

33. This, too, it says, that this earth becomes an iceless[7], slopeless plain[8]; even the mountain[9],

[1. The words zak ghâni, for ân gehâni, are probably a misreading of aîvyahân, 'the kûstî or sacred thread-girdle,' which is tied round the waist in a peculiar manner, during the recital of a particular formula, in which Aûharmazd is blessed and Aharman and the demons are cursed.

2. See Chap. III, 10-12.

3. See § 18 and Chap. V, 1.

4. Probably referring to Âz, which means both 'greediness' and 'serpent.' It is, however, possible to read 'Gôkîhar the serpent burns in' &c., and there can be no doubt that Gôkîhar is represented as a malevolent being.

5. Or, perhaps, 'hiding-place.' Comparing K20 and M6 together the word seems to be alôm, which may be compared with Heb. ### 'a vault,' or Chald. ### 'a porch;' it may, however, be vâlôm, which may be traced to {Hebrew} ### 'to conceal.' In the old MSS. it is certainly not shôlman, 'hell,' which is an emendation due to the modern copy in Paris.

6. Or, 'to the prosperity of the world.'

7. Former translators read anhîkhar, 'undefiled,' but this does not suit the Pahlavi orthography so well as anhasâr, 'iceless' (compare Pers. hasar, khâsar, or khasâr, 'ice'); cold and ice, being produced by the evil spirit, will disappear with him.

8. Pâz. âmâvan is a misreading of Pahl. hârnûn, so the reading is ansîp (compare Pers. sîb) hârnûn. Mountains, being the work of the evil spirit, disappear with him.

9. Kakâd-i-Dâitîk, see Chap. XII, 17.]

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whose summit is the support of the Kînvar bridge, they keep down, and it will not exist.

CHAPTER XXXI[1]

0. On the race and genealogy of the Kayâns.

1. Hôshyang[2] was son of Fravâk, son of Sîyâkmak[3], son of Mâshya [4], son of Gâyômard. [2. Takhmôrup[5] was son of Vîvanghâû[6], son of Yanghad[7], son of Hôshyang. 3. Yim,][8] Takhmôrup, Spîtûr[9], and Narsih[10], whom they also call 'the Rashnû of Kînö[11].'

[1. For this chapter, which is numbered XXXII by previous translators, we have to depend only on K20, TD, and K20b (a fragment evidently derived from the same original as K20 and M6, but through some independent line of descent).

2. So in K20, but usually Hôshâng (see Chaps. XV, 28, XXXIV, 3, 4).

3. See Chap. XV, 25,30.

4. See Chaps. XV, 2-24, 30, XXXIV, 3.

5. Av. Takhmô-urupa of Râm Yt. 11, Zamyâd Yt. 28, Âfrîn Zarat. 2; written Tâtkhmôrup in TD, which is the only MS. in which the passage enclosed in brackets is found, the omission of which by K20 was suspected by Windischmann (Zoroastrische Studien, p. 199). This king is the Tahmûras of the Shâhnâmah. See also Chaps. XVII, 4, XXXIV, 4.

6. Av. Vîvanghau of Yas. IX, 11, 20, XXXII, 8, Vend. II, 8, 28, 94, Fravardîn Yt. 130, Zamyâd Yt. 35.

7. As this Pâzand name or title begins with a medial y, its initial vowel is probably omitted (see p. 141, note 8).

8. Av. Yima or Yima khshaêta of Vend. II, &c., the Jamshêd of the Shâhnâmah (see Chaps. XVII. 5, XXXIV, 4).

9. Av. Spityura of Zamyâd Yt. 46.

10. Here written Nârsî in K20, and K20b, and Nôsinh in TD; but see § 5 and Chap. XXIX, 6. Windischmann suggests that he may be the Av. Aoshnara pouru-gîra of Fravardîn Yt. 131, Âf. Zarat. 2.

11. An epithet equivalent to 'the Minos of China;' Rashnû being the angel of justice, who is said to weigh the meritorious deeds of {footnote p. 131} the departed soul against its sins. Neither word is, however, quite certain, as rashnûk may stand for rasnik, 'spear,' and has also been translated by 'light' and 'hero;' Kînö, moreover, was probably not China, but Samarkand (see Chaps. XII, 13, 22, XV, 29).]

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were all brothers 4. From Yim and Yimak[1], who was his sister, was born a pair, man and woman, and they became husband and wife together; Mîrak the Âspiyân[2] and Zîyânak Zardâhim were their names, and the lineage went on. 5. Spîtûr was he who, with Dahâk, cut up Yim[3]; 3; Narsih[4] lived then[5] also, whom they call Nêsr-gyâvân[6]; they say that such destiny (gadman) is allotted to him[7], that he shall pass every day in troubles, and shall make all food purified and pure.

6. Dahâk[8] was son of Khrûtâsp, son of Zâînîgâv,

[1. See Chap. XXIII, 1.

2. Av. Âthwyâna of Âbân. Yt. 33, Gôs Yt. 13, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Zamyâd Yt. 36, &c., where it is the family name of Thraêtaona, who is said to be a son of Âthwya in Yas. IX, 23, 24. In the text this name seems to be used rather as a title than a patronymic, and in § 7 it appears to be a family surname.

3. As stated in Zamyâd Yt. 46.

4. Here written Nârsak in K20 and K20b, and Nôsinh in TD.

5. TD has 'together,' instead of 'then.'

6. So in K20, but K20b has Narst-gyâvân, and TD has Nôsinh-vîyâvânîk (or nîyâzânîk). Perhaps we may assume the epithet to have been nîgîr-vîyâvânîk (or nîyâzânîk), 'one with a bewildering (or longing) glance.'

7. Justi supposes this clause of the sentence refers to Yim and the disease which attacked his hand. If this be the case it may be translated as follows: 'they say aîghash is produced on his hand (yadman), so that,' &c.; aîghash being a disease, or evil, mentioned in Vend. XX, 14, 20, 24; compare Chap. XXVIII, 33.

8. Or Az-i Dahâk, the Av. Azi Dahâka, 'destructive serpent,' of Yas. IX, 25, Vend. I, 69, Âbân Yt. 29, 34, Bahrâm Yt. 40, Zamyâd Yt. 46-50. A name applied to a foreign dynasty (probably Semitic) personified as a single king, which conquered the dominions of Yim (see Chap. XXXIV, 5).]

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son of Virafsang, son of Tâz, son of Fravâk, son of Sîyâkmak[1]; by his mother Dahâk was of Udaî[2], son of Bayak, son of Tambayak, son of Owokhm[3], son of Pairi-urvaêsm[4], son of Gadhwithw[5], son of Drûgâskân[6], son of the evil spirit.

7. Frêdûn the Âspiyân[7] was son of Pûr-tôrâ[8] the Âspiyân, son of Sôk-tôrâ[9] the Âspiyân, son of Bôrtôrâ the Âspiyân, son of Sîyâk-tôrâ the Âspiyân, son of Spêd-tôrâ the Âspiyân, son of Gefar-tôrâ the Âspiyân, son of Ramak-tôrâ the Âspiyân,
son of

[1. For the last three names, see Chap. XV, 25, 28.

2. Pahl. Aûd in TD; compare 'the demon Uda' of Chap. XXVIII, 19. The following two names look like 'fear' and 'gloom-fear,' both appropriate names for demons.

3. TD has Pâz. Owôikh; compare Av. aoiwra, 'a species of nightmare,' observing that r and ô are often written alike in Pahlavi.

4. TD and K20b have Paz. Pairi-urva-urvaêsm, and K20 has Pai-urvaêsm.

5. TD has Pâz. Gawithw.

6. So in TD, but K20 has Pâz. Druz-i ayaskâ, and K20b has Drug-i ayaskâ. It corresponds to Av. drugaska in Vend. XIX, 139, Vistâsp Yt. 26. This genealogy appears to trace Dahâk's maternal descent through a series of demons.

7. Av. Thraêtaona, son of Âthwya, but generally called 'the Âthwyânian,' who slew the destructive serpent (azi dahâka), see Yas. IX, 24, 25, Vend. I, 69, Âbân Yt. 33, 61, Gôs Yt. 13, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Bahrâm Yt. 40, Râm Yt. 23, Ashi Yt. 33, Zamyâd Yt. 36, 92, Âf. Zarat. 2. In the Shâhnâmah he is called Ferîdûn son of Abfîn.

8. This name is omitted in K20, but occurs in the other two MSS.; it is a Huzvâris hybrid equivalent to Pâz. Pûr-gau and Av. Pouru-gau which is a title of an Âthwyânian in Âf. Zarat. 4, Vistâsp Yt. 2. This genealogy consists almost entirely of such hybrid names, which have a very artificial appearance, though suitable enough for a race of herdsmen, meaning, as they severally do, 'one with abundant oxen, with useful oxen, with the brown ox, with the black ox, with the white ox, with the fat ox, and with a herd of oxen.'

9. So in TD, but the other two MSS. have Sîyâk-tôrâ, which is probably wrong, as the same name occurs again in this genealogy.]

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Vanfraghesn[1] the Âspiyân, son of Yim, son of Vîvanghâû; as these, apart from the Âspiyân Pûr-tôrâ, were ten generations, they every one lived a hundred years, which becomes one thousand years; those thousand years were the evil reign of Dahâk.

8. By the Âspiyân Pûr-tôrâ was begotten Frêdûn, who exacted vengeance for Yim; together with him[2], also were the sons Barmâyûn and Katâyan, but Frêdûn was fuller of glory than they.

9. By Frêdûn three sons were begotten, Salm and Tûg and Aîrîk[3]; and by Aîrîk one son and one pair[4] were begotten; the names of the couple of sons were Vanîdâr and Anastokh[5], and the name of the daughter was Gûzak[6]. 10. Salm and Tûg slew them all, Aîrîk and his happy sons, but Frêdûn kept the daughter in concealment, and from that daughter a daughter was born[7]; they became aware of it, and the mother was slain by them. 11. Frêdûn provided for the daughter[8], also in concealment, for

[1. In TD this name can be read Vanfrôkîsn or Vanfrôkgân.

2. TD has 'as well as him.' K20b omits most of this sentence by mistake.

3. These sons, as Windischmann observes, are not mentioned in the extant Avesta, but their Avesta names, Sairima, Tûirya or Tûra, and Airya or Airyu, may be gathered from the names of the countries over which they are supposed to have ruled (see Fravardîn Yt. 143).

4. TD has 'two sons and one daughter.'

5. TD has Anîdâr and Anastabö.

6. Or Gûgak, in TD; the other MSS. have Pâz. Ganga here, but Guzak in § 14; it is identical with the name of Hôshyang's sister and wife in Chap. XV, 28. in the Pâzand Gâmâsp-nâmah the name of Frêdûn's daughter is written Vîrak.

7. Reading min zak dûkht dûkht-i zâd, as in K20b and TD; some uncertainty arises here from the words dûkht, 'daughter,' and dvâd, 'pair,' being written alike in Pahlavi.

8. TD has bartman, 'daughter,' indicating that the word in K20 must be read dûkht, and not dvâd, 'pair.')

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ten generations, when Mânûs-i Khûrshêd-vînik was born from his mother, [so called because, as he was born, some of][1] the light of the sun (khûrshêd) fell upon his nose (vînik). 12. From Mânûs-i Khûrshêd-vînik and his sister[2] was Mânûs-khûrnar, and from Mânûs-khûrnar [and his sister] was Mânûskîhar born[3], by whom Salm and Tûg were slain in revenge for Aîrîk[4].

13. By Mânûskîhar were Fris, Nôdar[5], and Dûrâsrôb[6] begotten.

14. Just as Mânûskîhar was of Mânûs-khûrnar, of Mânûs-khûrnâk[7], who was Mâm-sozak[8], of Aîrak, of Thritak, of Bîtak, of Frazûsak, of Zûsak[9], of Fragûzak, of Gûzak, of Aîrîk, of Frêdûn, so Frâsîyâv[10] was

[1. The phrase in brackets occurs only in TD; and the whole passage from 'vînik' to 'sun' is omitted in K20, evidently by mistake.

2. TD has 'from Manûs and his sister,' and K20b 'has from Mânûs-hûkîhar and Mânûs-khûrshêd.'

3. The words in brackets occur only in TD, and K20b has 'from Mânûs-khûrnar also was Mânûs-khûrnâk, from Mânûs-khûrnâk was Mânûskîhar born,' but this introduction of an extra generation is not confirmed by the list of names in § 14. The term khûrnâk (or khûrnak) seems to be merely a transcript of the Avesta word of which khûrshêd-vînik, 'sun-nose,' is a translation. The other term khûrnar can also be read khûrvar, but K20 has Pâz. hvarnar. Mânûskîhar is the Av. Manuskihra of Fravardîn Yt. 131, where he is styled the Airyavan, or descendant of Airyu (Aîrîk).

4 TD has 'and vengeance exacted for Aîrîk.'

5. See Chap. XXIX, 6.

6. Pâz. Durâsro, but the Pahlavi form, given in the text, occurs in § 31 and Chap. XXXII, 1 in TD, which MS. omits this § by mistake.
7. The same as Mânûs-i khûrshêd-vînîk, as noted above.
8. This Pâzand epithet seems to mean 'mother-burning,' and may have some connection with the legend mentioned in § 11. TD has mûn am Gûgak, 'whose mother was Gûgak.'
9. K20b omits the five names from Aîrak to Zûsak.
10. Av. Frangrasyan, the Tûryan, of Yas. XI, 21, Âbân Yt. 41, {footnote p. 135} Gôs Yt. 18, 22, Ashi Yt. 38, 42, Zamyâd Yt. 56-63, 62, 93; called Afrâsiyâb in the Shâhnâmah.]

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of Pashang, of Zaêsm[1], of Tûrak, of Spaêniasp, of Dûrôshasp, of Tûg, of Frêdûn. 15. He (Frâsiyâv) as well as Karsêvaz[2], whom they call Kadân[3], and Aghrêrad[4] were all three brothers.

[16[5]. Pashang and Vîsak were both brothers. 17. By Vîsak were Pîrân[6], Hûmân, Sân[7], and other brothers begotten. 18. By Frâsiyâv were Frasp-i Kûr, Sân, Shêdak[8], and other sons begotten; and Vispân-fryâ[9], from whom Kaî-Khûsrôb was born, was daughter of Frâsiyâv, and was of the same mother with Frasp-i Kûr. 19. From Frasp-i Kûr were Sûrak, Asûrîk, and other children; and by them were Khvâst-airikht, Yazdan-airikht, Yazdân-sarâd, Frêh-khûrd, Lâ-vahâk[10], and others begotten, a recital of whom would be tedious.

20. By Aghrêrad was Gôpatshah[11] begotten. 21. When Frâsiyâv made Mânûskîhar, with the Iranians, captive in the mountain-range (gar) of

[1. Zâdsam in the Shâhnâmah.

2. Garsîvaz in the Shâhnâmah.

3. TD has Pahl. Kîdân.

4. See Chap. XXIX, 5.

5. The remainder of this chapter is found only in TD.

6. Pîrân Vîsah is Afrâsiyâb's chief general in the Shâhnâmah and Hûmân and Pîlsam are his brothers.

7. This name is very ambiguous in Pahlavi, as it can be read many other ways.

8. Shêdah in the Shâhnâmah.

9. She is called Farangîs in the Shâhnâmah.

10. The reading of several of these names is more or less uncertain, but the object of the author is evidently to apply opprobrious epithets to all the male descendants of Afrâsiyâb.

11. TD has Gôpat-malkâ here, as also in Chap. XXIX, 5, where it is said to be a title of Aghrêrad (always written Agrêrad in TD).]

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Padashkh-vâr[1], and scattered ruin and want among them, Aghrêrad begged a favour of God (yazdân), and he obtained the benefit that the army and champions of the Iranians were saved by him from that distress. 22. Frâsiyâv slew Aghrêrad for that fault; and Aghrêrad, as his recompense, begat such a son as Gôpatshah.

23. Aûzôbô the Tûhmâspian[2], Kanak-i Barzist, Arawisanasp, and Vaêtand-i Râghinôid were the three sons and the daughter of Agâimasvâk[3], the son of Nôdar, son of Mânûskîhar, who begat Aûzôbô. 24. Kavâd[4] was a child in a waist-cloth (kuspûd) they abandoned him on a river, and he froze upon the door-sills (kavâdakân); Aûzôbô perceived and took him, brought him up, and settled the name of the trembling child.

25. By Kavâd was Kaî-Apîvêh begotten; by Kaî-Apîvêh were Kaî-Arsh, Kaî-Vyârsh, Kaî-Pisân, and Kaî-Kâûs begotten; by Kaî-Kâûs was Sîyâvakhsh begotten; by Sîyâvakhsh was Kaî-Khûsrôb[5]

[1. The mountains south of the Caspian (see Chap. XII. 17).

2. Av. Uzava Tûmâspana of Fravardîn Yt. 131, called Zav, or Zâb, son of Tahmâsp, in the Shâhnâmah.

3. None of these names, which TD gives in Pâzand, are to be found in the portion of the Avesta yet extant.

4. Av. Kavi Kavâta of Fravardîn Yt. 13 2, Zamyâd Yt. 7 1, called Kaî-Qubâd in the Shâhnâmah. There appears to be an attempt, in the text, to derive his name from the 'door-sill'. on which he is said to have been found.

5. The Avesta names of these seven other Kayâns are, respectively, Kavi Aipi-vanghu, Kavi Arshan, Kavi Byârshân, Kavi Pisanangh, Kavi Usadhan, Kavi Syâvarshân, and Kavi Husravangh (see Fravardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, 74); omitting the third, they are called, respectively, Armîn, Aris, Pasîn, Kaî-Kâvûs, Sîyâvush, and Kaî-Khusrô in the Shâhnâmah. TD, omitting the first letter, has Sâno for Pisân; it also writes Kaî-Kâyûks and Kei-Khûsrôvî.]

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begotten. 26. Keresâsp[1] and Aûrvakhsh[2] were both brothers. 27. Athrat[3] was son of Sâhm, son of Tûrak, son of Spaênypasp, son of Dûrôshasp[4], son of Tûg, son of Frêdûn. 28. Lôharâsp[5] was son of Aûzâv[6], son of Mânûs, son of Kaî-Pisîn[7], son of Kaî-Apîvêh, son of Kaî-Kavâd. 29. By Kaî-Lôharâsp were Vistâsp, Zarîr[8], and other brothers begotten; by Vistâsp were Spend-dâd[9] and Pêshyô-tanû[10] begotten; and by Spend-dâd were Vohûman[11], Âtarô-tarsah, Mitrô-tarsah, and others begotten.

30. Artakhshatar descendant of Pâpak--of whom his mother was daughter--was son of Sâsân[12], son of

[1. Av. Keresâspa of Yas. IX, 31, 36, 39, Vend. I, 36, Âbân Yt. 37, Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136, Râm Yt. 27, Zamyâd Yt. 38-44, Âf. Zarat. 3; he is called Garsâsp in the Shâhnâmah.

2. Av. Urvâkshaya of Yas. IX, 31, Râm Yt. 28, Âf. Zarat. 3. These brothers were sons of Thrîta or Athrat, mentioned in the next §.

3. Av. Thrîta of the Sâma race (see Yas. IX, 30, Vend. XX, 11) and father of Keresâspa, whose genealogy is given in a passage interpolated in some copies of the Shâhnâmah as follows: Garsâsp, Atrat, Sam, Tûrag, Sîdasb, Tûr, Jamshêd.

4. Written Dûrôshap in TD, both here and in § 14.

5. Av. Aurvad-aspa of Âbân Yt. 105, Vistâsp Yt. 34, 46, called Luhrâsp in the Shâhnâmah.

6. Reading doubtful.

7. Written Ka-Pisîn here, but he is the same person as Kaî-Pisân of § 25; the latter part of the name is written both Pisanangh and Pisina in the Avesta.

8. Probably Zargar (being Av. Zairivairi of Âbân Yt. 112, 117, Fravardîn Yt. 101), but called Zarîr in the Shâhnâmah.

9. Av. Spentô-dâta of Fravardîn Yt. 103, Vistâsp Yt. 25, called Isfendiyâr in the Shâhnâmah.

10. See Chaps. XXIX, 5, XXXII, 5.

11. Called Bahman in the Shâhnâmah, and Ardashîr the Kayânian in Bahman Yt. II, 17; the successor of his grandfather Vistâsp (see Chap. XXXIV, 8).
12. The text is rather obscure, but the Kârnâmak of Ardashîr-i Pâpakân states clearly that Ardashîr was son of Sâsân by the {footnote p. 138} daughter of Pâpak, a tributary ruler of Pârs under Ardavân, the last of the Askâniyân monarchs.]

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Vêh-âfrîd and[1] Zarîr, son of Sâsân, son of Artakhshatar who was the said Vohûman son of Spend-dâd.

31. The mother of Kaî-Apîvêh was Farhank[2], daughter of him who is exalted on the heavenly path[3], Urvad-gâi-frâst[4], son of Râk, son of Dûrâsrôb, son of Mânûskîhar. 32. This, too, it says, that the glory[5] of Frêdûn settled on the root of a reed (kanyâ) in the wide-formed ocean; and Nôktargâ[6], through sorcery, formed a cow for tillage, and begat children there; three years he carried the reeds there, and gave them to the cow, until the glory went on to the cow; he brought the cow, milked her milk, and gave it to his three sons; as their walking was on hoofs, the glory did not go to the sons, but to Farhank. 33. Nôktargâ wished to injure[7] Farhank, but Farhank went with the glory away from

[1. So in the Pahlavi text, which therefore makes Vêh-âfrîd a woman's name (like Pers. Beh-âfrîn); but this is doubtful, as the MSS. often confound va, 'and,' and i, 'son of.'

2. In the Shâhnâmah Farhang is mother of Kaî-Kâvûs. The Pahlavi name can also be read Farânak, the name of the mother of Ferîdûn in the Shâhnâmah.

3. Pâz. vîdharg-âfrârstaka, which looks more like an epithet than a name.

4 Or, perhaps, 'Urvad-gâ son of Frâst.'

5. The divine glory which was supposed to accompany all legitimate sovereigns of Iran, from the time of Hôshyang even to that of the Sasanian dynasty; it is the Av. hvarenangh of the Zamyâd Yast, and is said to have fled to the ocean for refuge during the reign of foreign dynasties and wicked kings (see Âbân Yt. 42, Zamyâd Yt. 51, 56, 59, 62).

6. The last syllable is so written, in Pâzand, in § 33.

7. Reading hangîdanö, to injure,' instead of khungdanö, which may mean 'to embrace;' the difference between the two words being merely the letter î.]

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the fierce (tîb) father, and made a vow (patyastâk) thus: 'I will give my first son to Aûshbâm[1].' 34. Then Aûshbâm saved her from the father; and the first son, Kaî-Apîvêh, she bore and gave to Aûshbâm, was a hero associating with Aûshbâm, and travelled in Aûshbâm's company.

35. The mother of Aûzôbô was the daughter of Nâmûn the wizard, when Nâmak[2] was with Frâsîyâv.

36. And, moreover, together with those begotten by Sâm[3] were six children in pairs, male and female; the name of one was Damnak, of one Khûsrôv, and of one Mârgandak, and the name of each man and woman together was one. 37. And the name of one besides them was Dastân[4]; he was considered more eminent than they, and Sagânsîh[5] and the southern quarter were given to him; and Avar-shatrô[6] and the governorship were given by him to Avarnak. 38. of Avar-shatrô this is said, that it is the district of Avarnak, and they offered blessings to Srôsh and Ardavahist in succession; on this account is their possession of horses and possession of arms; and on account of firm religion, purity, and manifest joy, good estimation and extensive fame are greatly

[1. This name means 'the dawn;' perhaps it may be identified with Av. Usinemangh or Usenemangh of Fravardîn Yt. 113, 1401 whose wife Freni may possibly be the Farhank (or Frânak) of the text.

2. So in TD, but it is probably only a variant of Nâmûn.

3. The grandfather of Rustam (see § 41). In the Avesta he is usually called Sâma Keresâspa with the title Nairimanau; while in the Shâhnâmah Sâm is son of Narîmân.
4. Another name for Zâl, the father of Rustam, in the Shâhnâmah.
5. The same as Sagastân.
6. Or, perhaps, 'the upper district.'

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among them. 39. To Damnak the governorship of Asûristân was given; sovereignty and arranging the law of sovereignty, wilfulness and the stubborn defects they would bring, were among them. 40. To Sparnak[1] the governorship of Spâhân[2] was given; to Khûsrôv the governorship of Râi[3] was given; to Mârgandak the kingdom, forest settlements, and mountain settlements of Padashkhvârgar were given; where they travel nomadically, and there are the forming of sheep-folds, prolificness, easy procreation, and continual triumph over enemies. 41. From Dastân proceeded Rûdastâm[4] and Hûzavârak [5].]

CHAPTER XXXII[6]

1. On the kindred of Pôrûshasp[7], son of Paîtîrâsp[8], son of Aurvadasp[9], son of Hâêkadâsp [10], son of

[1. He would seem not to have been a son of Sâm, as he is not mentioned before. The reading of all these names is uncertain.

2. The Pahlavi form of Ispahân.
3. Av. Ragha of Yas. XIX, 51, Vend. I, 60, whose ruins are near the modern Teherân.
4. The usual Pahlavi form of Rustam.
5. Or Aûzvârak; Rustam's brother is called Zavârah in the Shâhnâmah.
6. This chapter, which is numbered XXXIII, by previous translators, is found in all MSS., but in TD it forms a continuation of the preceding chapter, beginning with the name Pôrûshasp.
7. Av. Pourushaspa of Yas. IX, 42, 43, Vend. XIX, 15, 22, 143, Âbân Yt. 18, &c.
8. K20 has Pâz. Spitarsp, and M6 has Pâz. Piruasp (see note on Chap. XXXIII, 1). The reading in the text is doubtful.
9. Omitted in K20 and TD.
10. Av. Haêkadaspa of Yas. XLI, 15, LII, 3.]

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Kakhshnûs[1], son of Pâîtîrâsp, son of Hardarsn[2], son of Hardâr[3], son of Spîtâmân[4], son of Vîdast[5], son of Ayazem, son of Ragan[6], son of Dûrâsrôb[7], son of Mânûskîhar[8]. 2. As Paîtîrâsp had two sons, one Pôrûshasp and one Ârâsti[9], by Pôrûshasp was Zaratûst begotten for a sanctuary of good religion[10], and by Ârâsti was Mêdyôk-mâh[11] begotten. 3. Zaratûst, when he brought the religion, first celebrated

[1. Windischmann suggests Av. Kâkhshnôis (gen.) of Fravardîn Yt. 114.

2. K20 has Pâz. Harsn and TD has Harakîdârsnô.

3. TD has Harâidâr, or Arâidâr.

4. Or Spîtâm (as the last syllable is the patronymical suffix), Av. Spitâma, the usual patronymic of Zaratûst.

5. May be read Vâdist in TD.

6. Possibly the same person as Râk in Chap. XXXI, 31; but see XXXIII, 3.

7. So in TD, but Pâz. Durâsrûn in K20, M6.

8. This genealogy is somewhat differently given in the Vagarkard-i Dînîk (pp. 28, 29), as published in Bombay by Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjânâ in 1848; and is extended back, through the generations mentioned in Chap. XXXI, 1, 2, 7, 14, to Gâyômar, as follows: 'Pôrûshâspô son of Paîtîrâsp, and Arâspô son of Paîtîrâsp, Urvandas, Haêkadasp, Kikhshnus, Paêtîrasp, Hardrsn, Haridâr, Spîtâmânö, Vaêdist, Nayâzem, Ragisn, Dûrâsrôb, Mânûskîhar sovereign of Iran, Mânus-khûrnar, Mânus-khûrnâk, Nêryôsang, Varzîd-dîn, Vîzak, Airyak, Aithritak, Ibitak, Frazîsak, Zisak, Frasizak, Izak, Aîrîk, Frêdûn lord of Khvanîras, Pûr-tôrâ the Âspîkân, Nêvak-tôrâ the Âspîkân, Sôg-tôrâ the Âspîkân, Gêfar-tôrâ the Âspîkân, Vanô-i-fravisn the Âspîkân, Yim lord of the seven regions, Vîvanghâû, Ayanghad, Ananghad, Takhmôrup, Hôshâng the Pêsdâd, lord of the seven regions, Fravâk, Sîyâmak, Mashyô whose wife was Mashyâk, Gâyôkmard the first man, and father of all mankind in the material world.'

9. Av. Âkrâstaya of Fravardîn Yt. 95; TD has Ârâstih.

10. The Pâzand words dargâ hidainis appear to be merely a misreading of Pahl. dargâs-i hûdînôih.

11. Av. Maidhyô-maungha of Yas. L, 19, Fravardîn Yt. 95, 106. He is said to have been Zaratûst's first disciple.]

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worship[1] and expounded in Aîrân-vêg, and Mêdyôkmâh received the religion from him. 4. The Môbads[2] of Pârs are all traced back to this race of Mânûskîhar.

5. Again, I say, by Zaratûst[3] were begotten three sons and three daughters[4]; one son was Isadvâstar[5], one Aûrvatad-nar [6], and one Khûrshêd-kîhar[7]; as Isadvâstar was chief of the priests he became the Môbad of Môbads, and passed away in the hundredth year of the religion; Aûrvatad-nar was an agriculturist, and the chief of the enclosure formed by Yim[8], which is below the earth; Khûrshêd-kîhar was a warrior, commander of the army of Pêshyôtanû, son of Vistâsp, and dwells in Kangdez[8]; and of the three daughters the name of one was Frên, of one Srît, and of one Pôrukîst[9]. 6. Aûrvatad-nar and Khûrshêd-kîhar were from a serving (kakar) wife[10], the rest were from a privileged (pâdakhshah) wife.

[1. Reading frâg yast; but it may be frâg gast, 'wandered forth.'

2. The class of priests whose special duty is to perform all religious rites and ceremonies.

3. This paragraph is quoted, with a few alterations, in the Vagarkard-i Dînîk, pp. 21-23.

4. K20 omits the 'three daughters' here, by mistake.

5. Av. Isad-vâstra of Yas. XXIII, 4, XXVI, 17, Fravardîn Yt. 98.

6. Av. Urvatad-nara of Vend. II, 143, Fravardîn Yt. 98. K20 and A16 have Aûrvartad-nar, and TD has Aûrvâtad-nar.

7. Av. Hvare-kithra of Fravardîn Yt. 98; TD has Khûr-kîhar.

8. See Chap. XXIX, 5. Windischmann and Justi consider the clause about Pêshyôtanû as inserted by mistake, and it is omitted in the Vagarkard-i Dînîk (p. 21); it is found, however, in all MSS. of the Bundahis.

9. These daughters are the Av. Freni, Thriti, and Pouru-kista of Fravardîn Yt. 139; the last is also mentioned in Yas. LII, 3.

10. The following is a summary of the Persian descriptions of the five kinds of marriage, as given in the Rivâyats:--

A pādshâh ('ruling, or privileged') wife is when a man marries, {footnote p. 143} with the parents' consent, an unbetrothed maiden out of a family, and she and her children remain his in both worlds.

A yûkan or ayûk ('only child') wife is an only child, married with the parents' consent, and her first child belongs to them; after its birth she becomes a pādshâh wife. She is entitled to one-third of her parents' property for giving up the child.

A satar ('adopted') wife is when a man over fifteen years of age dies childless and unmarried, and his relatives provide a maiden with a dowry, and marry her to another man; when half her children belong to, the dead min, and half to the living, and she herself is the dead man's wife in the other world.

A kakar or kâkar ('serving') wife is a widow who marries again; if she had no children by her first husband she is acting as a satar wife, and half her children by her second husband belong to her first one; and she herself, in any case, belongs to her first husband in the other world.

A khûd-sarâi or khûd-sarâi ('self-disposing') wife is one who marries without her parents' consent; she inherits no property from her parents until her eldest son has given her as a pādshâh wife to his father.]

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7[1]. By Isadvâstar was begotten a son whose name was Urvviga[2], and they call him Arang-i Bîrâdân[3] ('fore-arm of brothers') for this reason, that, as they

[1. Instead of this sentence the Vagarkard-i Dînik (pp. 21, 22) has the following, which appears to rest upon a misinterpretation of the text:--

'And Zaratûst the righteous had three wives; all three were in the lifetime of Zaratûst, and all three wives were living throughout the lifetime of Zaratûst; the name of one was Hvôv, of the second Urvig, of the third Arnig-baredâ. And from Urvig, who was a privileged wife, four children were born; one was the son Isadvâstar, and the three daughters, namely, Frên, Srîtak, and Pôrukist; these four were from Urvig. And from the wife Arnig-baredâ two sons were born, one Aûrvart-nar, and the second Khûrshêd-kîhar; and Arnig-baredâ was a serving wife, and the name of the former husband of Arnig-baredâ was Mitrô-ayâr. And from Hvôv, who was a privileged wife, were three sons, namely, Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshâns, as it says,' &c. (as in § 8).

2. TD has Pahl. Aûrvarvîgak or Khûrûrûpak.

3. So in TD.]

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were from a serving wife, she then delivered them over to Isadvâstar through adoption. 8. This, too, one knows, that three sons of Zaratûst, namely, Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh[1], and Sôshyans[2], were from Hvôv[3]; as it says, that Zaratûst went near unto Hvôv three times, and each time the seed went to the ground; the angel Nêryôsang[4] received the brilliance and strength of that seed, delivered it with care to the angel Anâhîd[5], and in time will blend it with a mother. 9. Nine thousand, nine hundred, and ninety-nine, and nine myriads[6] of the guardian spirits of the righteous are intrusted with its protection, so that the demons may not injure it[7].

10. The name of the mother of Zaratûst was Dughdâ[8], and the name of the father of the mother, of Zaratûst was Frâhimravâ [9].

[1. Av. Ukhshyad-ereta and Ukhshyad-nemangh of Fravardîn Yt. 128.

2. Av. Saoshyâs of Vend. XIX, 18, Fravardîn Yt. 129, &c. See Chaps. XI, 6, XXIX, 6, XXX, 3, 4, 7, 17, 25, 27.

3. Av. Hvôvi of Fravardîn Yt. 139, Dîn Yt. 15; the Pahlavi form of the name, as given once in TD, is Hûvâôbö.

4. See Chap. XV, 1.

5. Av. anâhita of Âbân Yt. 1, &c.; a female personification of 'unsullied' water, known generally by the epithet ardvî sûra (the Arêdvîvsûr of Chap. XIII), and whose name is also applied to the planet Venus (see Chap. V, 1).

6. So in M6; other MSS. have '9,999 myriads,' but see Fravardîn Yt. 62.

7. This last phrase, about the demons, is omitted in TD and the Vagarkard-i Dînîk.

8. The Avesta word for 'daughter.'

9. TD has Pâz. Fereâhimruvânâ.]

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[CHAPTER XXXIII[1].

0. The family of the Môbads ('priests').

1. Bahak[2] was son of Hubakht, son of Âtarô-bondak, son of Mâhdad, son of Mêdyôk-mâh, son of Frâh-vakhsh-vindâd[3], son of Mêdyôk-mâh, son of Kâd[4], son of Mêdyôk-mâh, son of Ârâstih, son of Paîtirâsp[6]. 2. As Bahak was Môbad of Môbads (high-priest) unto Shâhpûhar[6], son of Aûharmazd, so Kâd was the great preceptor (farmâdâr) unto Dârâi[7].

3. Âtarô-pâd[8] was son of Mâraspend, son of Dâdardâ, son of Dâdfrâd, son of Hûdînô, son of Âtarôdâd, son of Mânûskîhar, son of Vohûman-kîhar, son of Fryânô[9], son of Bâhak[10], son of Frêdûn, son of

[1. This chapter is found only in TD, where it forms a continuation of the preceding, and affords a means (see §§ 10, 11) for determining the age of the recension of the text contained in that MS. As nearly all the names are written, in Pahlavi letters, the pronunciation of many of them is merely a matter of guess.

2. Here written Bôhak, but it is Bahak or Bâk in § 2; compare Bâhak in § 3, and Av. Baungha of Fravardîn Yt. 124.

3. Compare Av. Frashâvakhsha of Fravardîn Yt. 109.

4. Compare Av. Kâta of Fravardîn Yt. 124.

5. See Chap. XXXII, 2, for the last three generations; TD has Pîrtarâsp here, like the variant of M6 in Chap. XXXII, 1.

6. The Sasanian king Shâpûr II, who reigned A.D. 309-379.

7. According to the chronology of the Bundahis (Chap. XXXIV, 8, 9), Dârâi lived only some four centuries before Shâpûr II, for which period only seven generations of priests are here provided. This period, moreover, is certainly about three centuries less than the truth.

8. This priest was prime minister of Shâpûr II.

9. Compare Av. Fryâna of Yas. XLV, 12.

10. This name is repeated in TD, probably by mistake (compare Bahak in §§ 1, 2).]

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Frashâitar[1], son of Pôrûshasp, son of Vînâsp, son of Nivar, son of Vakhsh, son of Vahidhrôs, son of Frast, son of Gâk[2], son of Vakhsh, son of Fryân, son of Ragan, son of Dûrâsrôb, son of Mânûskîhar[3].

4. Mitrô-varâz was son of Nîgâs-afzûd-dâk, son of Shîrtashôsp, son of Parstva, son of Urvad-gâ, son of Tâham, son of Zarîr, son of Dûrâsrôb, son of Mânûs[4]. 5. Dûrnâmîk was son of Zâgh, son of Masvâk, son of Nôdar[5], son of Mânûskîhar.

6. Mitrô-akâvîd is son of Mardân-vêh[6], son of Afrôbag-vindâd, son of Vindâd-i-pêdâk, son of Vâê-bûkht[7], son of Bahak, son of Vâê-bûkht. 7. The mother from whom I was born is Hûmâi, daughter of Freh-mâh, who also was the righteous daughters[8]

[1. This is probably a semi-Huzvâris form of Frashôstar.

2. Perhaps this name should be read along with the next one, so as to give the single Pâzand name Skinas or Skivas.

3. See Chap. XXXII, 1, for the last three generations. According to this genealogy Âtarôpâd-i Mâraspendân was the twenty-third in descent from Mânûskîhar, whereas his contemporary, Bahak (§ 1), was twenty-second in descent from the same.

4. No doubt Mânûskîhar is meant; if not, we must read Mânûs-dûrnâmîk in connection with § 5.

5. Here written Nîdar, but see Chaps. XXIX, 6, XXXI, 13.

6. Here written Mard-vêh, but see § 8.

7. Here written Aê-vûkht, but see § 8; it may be Vîs-bûkht, or Vês-bûkht.

8. The text is amîdar mûnas li agas zerkhûnd Hûmôî dûkht-i Freh-mâh-ik aharôb vûkht (dûkht?). We might perhaps read 'Freh-mâh son of Kahârôb-bûkht,' but it seems more probable that §§ 7, 8 should be connected, and that the meaning intended is that Hûmâi was daughter of Freh-mâh (of a certain family) and of Pûyisn-shâd (of another family); she was also the mother of the editor of that recension of the Bundahis which is contained in TD; but who was his father? The singularly unnecessary repetition of the genealogy of the two brothers, Mitrô-akâvîd and Pûyisn-shâd, in §§ 6, 8, leads to the suspicion that if the latter {footnote p. 147} were his mother's father, the former was probably his own father or grandfather. Unfortunately the text makes no clear statement on the subject, and § 10 affords further material for guessing otherwise at his name and connections.]

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of Mâh-ayâr son of Mâh-bôndak, son of Mâh-bûkht. 8. Pûyisn-shâd is son of Mardân-vêh, son of Afrôbag-vindâd, son of Vindâd-i-pêdâk, son of Vâê-bûkht, son of Bahak, son of Vâê-bûkht.

9. All the other Môbads who have been renowned in the empire (khûdâyih) were from the same family it is said, and were of this race of Mânûskîhar[1]. 10. Those Môbads, likewise, who now exist are all from the same family they assert, and I, too, they boast, whom they call[2] 'the administration of perfect rectitude' (Dâdakîh-i Ashôvahistô)[3]. 11. Yûdân-Yim son of Vâhrâm-shâd, son of Zaratûst, Âtarô-pâd son of Mâraspend, son of Zâd-sparham[4],

[1. Compare Chap. XXXII, 4.

2. Reading va lîk laband-i karîtûnd.

3. This looks more like a complimentary title than a name, and if the editor of the TD recension of the Bundahis were the son or grandson of Mitrô-akâvîd (§ 6) we have no means of ascertaining his name; but if he were not descended from Mitrô-akâvîd it is possible that §§ 10, 11 should be read together, and that he was the son of Yûdân-Yim. Now we know, from the heading and colophon of the ninety-two questions and answers on religious subjects which are usually called the Dâdistân-i Dînîk, and from the colophons of other writings which usually accompany that work, that those answers were composed and certain epistles were written by Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, who was high-priest of Pârs and Kirmân in A.Y. 250 (A.D. 881), and apparently a more important personage than his (probably younger) brother Zâd-sparham, who is mentioned in § 11 as one of the priests contemporary with the editor of the TD recension. If this editor, therefore, were a son of Yûdân-Yim (which is a possible interpretation of the text) he was most probably this same Mânûskîhar, author of the Dâdistân-i Dînîk (see the Introduction. § 4).

4. The last name is very probably superfluous, Zâd-sparham {footnote p. 148} having been written twice most likely by mistake. This Âtarô-pâd son of Mâraspend was probably the one mentioned in the following extract from the old Persian Rivâyat MS., No. 8 of the collection in the Indian Office Library at London (fol. 142 a):--

'The book Dīnkard which the dastūrs of the religion and the ancients have compiled, likewise the blessed Âdarbâd son of Mahrasfend, son of Asavahist of the people of the good religion, in the year three hundred of Yazdagard Shahryâr, collected some of the more essential mysteries of the religion as instruction, and of these he formed this book.' That is, he was the last editor of the Dīnkard, which seems to have remained unrevised since his time, as the present copies have descended from the MS. preserved by his family and first copied in A.Y. 369.]

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Zâd-sparham son of Yûdân-Yim[1], Âtarô-pâd son of Hâmîd[2], Ashôvahist son of Freh-Srôsh, and the other Môbads have sprung from the same family.

12. This, too, it says, that 'in one winter I will locate (gâkīnam) the religion of the Mazdayasnians, which came out into the other six regions.'

[1. Zâd-sparham was brother of the author of the Dâdistân-i Dīnīk; he was high-priest at Sīrkân in the south, and evidently had access to the Bundahis, of part of which he wrote a paraphrase (see Appendix). His name is usually written Zâd-sparam.

2 In the history of the Dīnkard, given at the end of its third book (see Introd. to Farhang-i Oīm-khadûk, p. xxxiv), we are told as follows:--

'After that, the well-meaning Âtarô-pâd son of Hêmîd, who was the leader of the people of the good religion, compiled, with the assistance of God, through inquiry, investigation, and much trouble, a new means of producing remembrance of the Mazdayasnian religion.' He did this, we are further told, by collecting all the decaying literature and perishing traditions into a work 'like the great original Dīnkard, of a thousand chapters' (mânâk-i zak rabâ bûn Dīnô-kartô 1000-darakô). We thus learn from external sources that the group of contemporary priests, mentioned in the text, was actively employed (about A.D. 900) in an attempted revival of the religious literature of the Mazdayasnians, to which we owe either the revision or compilation of such works as the Dīnkard, Dâdistân-i Dīnīk, and Bundahis.]

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CHAPTER XXXIV[1].

0. On the reckoning of the years[2].

1. Time was for twelve thousand years; and it says in revelation, that three thousand years was the duration of the spiritual state, where the creatures were unthinking, unmoving, and intangible[3]; and three thousand years[4] was the duration of Gâyôpard, with the ox, in the world. 2. As this was six thousand years series of millennium reigns[5] of Cancer, Leo, and Virgo had elapsed, because it was six thousand years when the millennium reign came to Libra, the adversary rushed in, and Gâyôpard lived thirty years in tribulation[6]. After the thirty years[7] Mâshya and Mashyôî grew up; it was fifty years while they were not wife and husband[8], and they were ninety-three years together as wife and husband till the time when Hôshyang[9] came.

4. Hôshyang was forty years[10], Takhmôrup[11] thirty years, Yim till his glory[12] departed six hundred and

[1. This chapter is found in all the MSS.

2. TD adds 'of the Arabs (Tâzīkân).'

3. See Chap. I, 8.

4. See Chaps. I, 22, III, 1.

5. This system of a millennium reign for each constellation of the zodiac can hardly have any connection with the precession of the equinoxes, as the equinoxes travel backwards through the zodiac, whereas these millennium reigns travel forwards.

6. See Chap. III, 21-23.

7. That is, forty years after the thirty (see Chap. XV, 2).

8. See Chap. XV, 19, 20.

9. See Chaps. XV, 28. XXXI, 1.

10. K20 omits, by mistake, from 'together' in § 3 to this point.

11. See Chap. XXXI, 2.

12. So in K20, but M6 has nismô, 'soul, reason,' as in Chap. XXIII, 1; the word 'glory' would refer to the supposed divine glory of the Iranian monarchs (see Chap. XXXI. 32).]

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sixteen years and six months, and after that he was a hundred years in concealment. 5. Then the millennium[1] reign came to Scorpio, and Dahâk[2] ruled a thousand years. 6. After the millennium reign came to Sagittarius, Frêdûn[3] reigned five hundred years; in the same five hundred years of Frêdûn were the twelve years of Aîrîk; Mânûskîhar[4] was a hundred and twenty years, and in the same reign of Mânûskîhar, when he was in the mountain fastness (dûshkhvâr-gar)[5], were the twelve years of Frâsîyâv; Zôb[6] the Tûhmâspian was five years.

7. Kaî-Kabâd[7] was fifteen years; Kaî-Kâûs, till he went to the sky, seventy-five years, and seventy-five years after that, altogether a hundred and fifty years; Kai-Khûsrôv sixty years; Kaî-Lôrâsp[8] a hundred and twenty years; Kaî-Vistâsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years[9], altogether a hundred and twenty years.

8. Vohûman[10] son of Spend-dâd a hundred and

[1. The seventh millennium, ruled by Libra, is computed by Windischmann as follows: $30 + 40\frac{1}{2} + 50 + 93 + 40 + 30 + 616\frac{1}{2} + 100 = 1000$. The eighth millennium, ruled by Scorpio, is the thousand years of Dahâk.

2. See Chap. XXXI, 6.

3. See Chap. XXXI, 7-11.

4. See Chap. XXXI, 12-14.

5. See Chap. XXXI, 21.

6. Written Aûzôbô in Chap. XXXI, 23, 24.

7. Usually written Kai-Kavâd in Pahlavi (see Chap. XXXI, 24,25).

8. Also written Kaî-Lôharâsp (see Chap. XXXI, 28, 29).

9. This is the end of the ninth millennium, ruled by Sagittarius, which is computed by Windischmann as follows, $500 + 120 + 5 + 15 + 150 + 60 + 120 + 30 = 1000$.

10. See Chap. XXXI, 29, 30, where he is said to have been also called Artakhshatar, which seems to identify him with Artaxerxes Longimanus and his successors down to Artaxerxes Mnemon; so that Hûmâi may perhaps be identified with Parysatis, and Dârâi Kihar-âzâdân with Artaxerxes Ochus, as Dârâi Dârâyân must be {footnote p. 151} Darius Codomannus, while the reign of Kai-Vistâsp seems intended to cover the period from Cyrus to Xerxes.]

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twelve years; Hûmâi, who was daughter of Vohûman, thirty years; Dârâi son of Kîhar-i-âzâd[1], that is, of the daughter of Vohûman, twelve years; Dârâi son of Dârâi fourteen years; Alexander the Rûman[2] fourteen years.

9. The Askânians bore the title in an uninterrupted (a-arûbâk) sovereignty two hundred and eighty-four years[3], Ardashîr son

of Pâpak and the number of the Sâsânians four hundred and sixty years[4], and then it went to the Arabs.

[1. A surname of Hûmâi.

2. Sikandar-i Arûmâk, that is, Alexander the Roman (of the eastern or Greek empire), as Pahlavi writers assume.

3 This period is nearly two centuries too short.

4. The actual period of Sasanian rule was 425 years (A. D. 226-651). According to the figures given in the text, the tenth millennium, ruled by Capricornus, must have terminated in the fourth year of the last king, Yazdakard. This agrees substantially with the Bahman Yast, which makes the millennium of Zaratûst expire some time after the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân; probably in the time of Khûsrô Parvîz, or some forty years earlier than the fourth year of Yazdakard. According to the text we must now be near the end of the first quarter of the twelfth and last millennium.]

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[APPENDIX TO THE BUNDAHIS](#)