

THE SELECTIONS OF  
ZADSPRAM  
(*VIZĪDAGĪHĀ Ī ZĀDSPRAM*)

TRANSLATED BY  
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## PREFACE

This ninth-century Pahlavi text:

“consists of excerpts from the Avesta and Zand on several themes: creation, legends about Zoroaster, the formation of man (from body, life, and soul), the deeds of the hero-prophets, and the restoration of the world of good.... The Selections of Zadspram provide in the main a plain and intelligent summary of some of the fundamental legends and beliefs of the Sasanian church” (quoted from Mary Boyce, “Middle Persian Literature”, *Handbuch der Orientalistik, 1. Abt., IV. Band, 2. Abschn., LFG.1*, p. 42.)

Zadspram’s *Selections* (or *Anthology*) covers many of the topics found in the *Bundahishn*, but the latter “shows less unity of thought and wording.”<sup>1</sup>

It includes quotations from the otherwise lost Commentary (Zand) of lost Avestan texts. Note that it also has some Heterodox elements, in that it draws on Zurvanite sources for its cosmology.

West’s translation only goes as far as the first two parts of the text. The third part (introduced by a separate title), goes on to describe the human anatomy (body, soul, etc.) and the after-life condition. The final part goes on to discuss the events of the end of time and Renovation (*frashegird*).

I have taken the liberty to [normalize the spelling](#) in this edition, in order to be consistent with other documents in this series, and to facilitate searches. Comments set in [], or marked “-JHP” have been added by me, mainly to facilitate searches.

For a more recent edition with translation in French, see Zatspram, Philippe Gignoux, and A. Tafazzoli. *Anthologie de Zādspram*. Paris: Association pour l’avancement des études iraniennes, 1993.

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1 Philippe Gignoux, “ZĀDSPRAM”, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2005.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Av.	Avesta
Bd.	Bundahishn
BYt	Bahman Yasht
Dd.	Dadestan-i Denig
Dk.	Denkard
MX	Menog-i Khrad
Pah.	Pahlavi
Pers.	Persian
Vd.	Vendidad
W	E.W. West
Y	Yasna.
ZZZ	Zaehner, R. C. <i>Zurvan, A Zoroastrian Dilemma</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.

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## **PART 1. About the meeting of the Beneficent Spirit and the Evil Spirit.**

### **CHAPTER 1. *The original state of the two spirits***

They call these memoranda and writings the Selections of Zadspram, son of Juwānjam.<sup>1</sup>

0. In propitiation of the creator Ohrmazd and all the angels – who are the whole of the heavenly and earthly sacred beings (yazdan) – are the sayings of Ervad Zadspram, son of Juwānjam, who is of the south, about the meeting of the beneficent spirit and the evil spirit.

1. It is in scripture thus declared, that light was above and darkness below, and between those two was open space. (2) Ohrmazd was in the light, and Ahriman in the darkness;<sup>2</sup> Ohrmazd was aware of the existence of Ahriman and of his coming for strife; Ahriman was not aware of the existence of light and of Ohrmazd.<sup>3</sup> (3) It happened to Ahriman, in the gloom and darkness, that he was walking humbly (fro-tanu) on the borders, and meditating other things he came up to the top, and a ray of light was seen by him; and because of its antagonistic nature to him he strove that he might reach it, so that it might also be within his absolute power. (4) And as he came forth to the boundary, accompanied by certain others,<sup>4</sup> Ohrmazd came forth to the struggle for keeping Ahriman away from His territory; and He did it through pure words, confounding witchcraft, and cast him back to the gloom.

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

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1 Otherwise “Gušn-Jam.” Compare with translation of R. C. Zaehner, *ZZZ* pp. 341-343. W: Zād-sparam, son of Yudan-Yim. “Zadspram appears to have been dastur of Shirkan, about thirty parasangs south of Kerman, and one of the most southern districts in Persia (see Ouseley’s *Oriental Geography*, pp. 138, 139, 141, 143-145).” - W

2 Bd. 1.2-4.

3 Or, “of the light of Ohrmazd” (compare Bd. 1.8, 9)

4 Reading *pavan chatārānō ham-tanū*, but the phrase is somewhat doubtful, and rather inconsistent with Bd. 1.10.

about them.”

7. Ohrmazd answered thus: “Thou art not a doer of everything, O fiend!”<sup>1</sup>

8. And, again, Ahriman retorted thus: “I will seduce all material life into disaffection to thee and affection to myself.”<sup>2</sup>

9. Ohrmazd perceived, through the spirit of wisdom, thus: “Even the blustering of Ahriman is capable of performance, if I do not allow disunion (*la barininam*) during a period of struggle.” (10) And he demanded of him a period for friendship,<sup>3</sup> for it was seen by him that Ahriman does not rely upon the intervention of any vigorous ones, and the existence of a period is obtaining the benefit of the mutual friendship and just arrangement of both; and he formed it into three periods, each period being three millenniums. (11) Ahriman relied upon it, and Ohrmazd perceived that, though it is not possible to have Ahriman sent down, ever when he wants he goes back to his own requisite, which is darkness; and from the poison which is much diffused endless strife arises.<sup>4</sup>

12. And after the period was appointed by him, he brought forward the Ahunwar formula;<sup>5</sup> and in his Ahunwar these<sup>6</sup> kinds of benefit were shown: – (13) The first is that, of all things, that is proper which is something declared as the will of Ohrmazd; so that, whereas that is proper which is declared the will of Ohrmazd, where anything exists which is not within the will of Ohrmazd, it is created injurious from the beginning, a sin of a distinct nature. (14) The second is this, that whoever shall do that which is the will of Ohrmazd, his reward and recompense are his own; and of him who shall not do that which is the will of Ohrmazd, the punishment at the bridge<sup>7</sup> owing thereto is his own; which is shown from this<sup>8</sup> formula; and the reward of doers of good works, the punishment of sinners, and the tales of heaven and hell are from it. (15) Thirdly, it is shown that the sovereignty of Ohrmazd increases that which is for the poor, and adversity is removed; by which it is shown that there are treasures for the needy

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1 Bd. 1.16.

2 Bd. 1.14.

3 Bd. 1.17, 18.

4 Or, “the poison of the serpent, which is much diffused, becomes endless strife.”

5 Bd. 1.21.

6 The word *ān*, “those,” however, is probably a miswriting of the cipher for “three.”

7 The Chinwad bridge. (see Bd. 12.7).

8 The MS. has *hūman*, “well-meditating,” instead of *denman*, “this;” but the two words are much alike in Pahlavi writing.



one, and treasures are to be his friends; as the intelligent creations are to the unintelligent, so also are the treasures of a wealthy person to a needy one, treasures liberally given which are his own. (16) And the creatures of the trained hand of Ohrmazd are contending and angry (ardik), one with the other, as the renovation of the universe must occur through these three things. (17) That is, first, true religiousness in oneself, and reliance upon a man's original hold on the truly glad tidings (nav-barham), that Ohrmazd is all goodness without vileness, and his will is a will altogether excellent; and Ahriman is all vileness without goodness. (18) Secondly, hope of the reward and recompense of good works, serious fear of the bridge and the punishment of crime, strenuous perseverance in good works, and abstaining from sin. (19) Thirdly, the existence of the mutual assistance of the creatures, or along with and owing to mutual assistance, their collective warfare; it is the triumph of warfare over the enemy which is one's own renovation.<sup>1</sup>

20. By this formula he (Ahriman) was confounded, and he fell back to the gloom;<sup>2</sup> and Ohrmazd produced the creatures bodily for the world first, the sky; the second, water; the third, earth; the fourth, plants; the fifth, animals; the sixth, mankind.<sup>3</sup> (21) Fire was in all, diffused originally through the six substances, of which it was as much the confiner of each single substance in which it was established, it is said, as an eyelid when they lay one down upon the other.

22. Three thousand years the creatures were possessed of bodies and not walking on their navels; and the sun, moon, and stars stood still. (23) In the mischievous incursion, at the end of the period, Ohrmazd observed thus: "What advantage is there from the creation

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1 This commentary on the Ahunawar, or Yatha ahu-vairyo formula, is rather clumsily interpolated by Zadspram, and is much more elaborate than the usual Pahlavi translation and explanation of this formula, which may be translated as follows:- "As is the will of the living spirit (as is the will of Ohrmazd) so should be the pastor (so excellent should he be) owing to whatsoever are the duties and good works of righteousness (the duties and good works should be as excellent as the will of Ohrmazd). Whose is the gift of good thought (that is, the reward and recompense good thought gives, it gives also unto him) which among living spirits is the work of Ohrmazd (that is, they would do that which Ohrmazd requires); there are *some* who say it is thus; Whose gift is through good thought (that is, the reward and recompense which they will give to good thought, they would give also unto him); Atarō-pāt son of Zaratūst said that by the gift of good thought, when among living spirits, they comprehend the doing of deeds. The sovereignty is for Ohrmazd (that is, the sovereignty which is his, Ohrmazd has kept with advantage) who gives necessities [or comfort, or clothing] to the poor (that is, they would make intercession for them)." Additional phrases are sometimes inserted, and some words altered, but the above is the usual form of this commentary.

2 Bd. 1.22.

3 Bd. 1.28.

of a creature, although thirstless, which is unmoving or mischievous?" (24) And in aid of the celestial sphere he produced the creature Time (zurvan);<sup>1</sup> and Time is unrestricted, so that he made the creatures of Ohrmazd moving, distinct from the motion of Ahriman's creatures, for the shedders of perfume (boi-dadhan) were standing one opposite to the other while emitting it. (25) And, observantly of the end, he brought forward to Ahriman a means out of himself, the property of darkness, with which the extreme limits (virunako) of Time were connected by him, an envelope (posto) of the black-pated and ash-colored kind. (26) And in bringing it forward he spoke thus: "Through their weapons the cooperation of the serpent (azho) dies away, and this which is thine, indeed thy own daughter, dies through religion; and if at the end of nine thousand years, as it is said and written, is a time of upheaval (madam kardano), she is upheaved, not ended."

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

## CHAPTER 2. *Ahriman assaults the good creation*

1. On the coming in of Ahriman to the creatures it is thus declared in revelation, that in the month Frawardin and the day Ohrmazd, at noon,<sup>3</sup> he came forth to the frontier of the sky. (2) The sky sees him and, on account of his nature, fears as much as a sheep trembles at a wolf; and Ahriman came on, scorching and burning into it. (3) Then he came to the water which was arranged below the earth,<sup>4</sup> and darkness without an eyelid was brought on by him; and he came on, through the middle of the earth, as a snake all-leaping comes on out of a hole; and he stayed within the whole earth. (4) The passage where he came on is his own, the way to hell, through which the demons make the wicked run.

5. Afterwards, he came to a tree, such as was of a single root, the

1 This is the Av. *zrvāna akarana*, "boundless time or antiquity," of Vd. 19.33, 44. He is a personification of duration and age, and is here distinctly stated to be a creature of Ohrmazd. This throws some doubt upon the statements of Armenian writers, who assert that the two spirits sprang from *Zrvāna*.

2 Compare Bd. 3.11.

3 Bd. 3.12.

4 Bd. 3.13.

height of which was several feet, and it was without branches and without bark, juicy and sweet; and to keep the strength of all kinds of trees in its race, it was in the vicinity of the middle of the earth; and at the self-same time it became quite withered.<sup>1</sup>

6. Afterwards, he came to the ox, the sole-created,<sup>2</sup> as it stood as high as Gayomard on the bank of the water of Daitya in the middle of the earth; and its distance from Gayomard being as much as its own height, it was also distant from the bank of the water of Daitya<sup>3</sup> by the same measure; and it was a female, white and brilliant as the moon. (7) As the adversary came upon it Ohrmazd gave it a narcotic, which is also called “bang,” to eat, and to rub the “bang” before the eye,<sup>4</sup> so that the annoyance from the assault of crimes may be less; it became lean and ill, and fell upon its right breast<sup>5</sup> trembling.

8. Before the advance to Gayomard, who was then about one-third the height of Zartosht, and was brilliant as the sun, Ohrmazd forms, from the sweat<sup>6</sup> on the man, a figure of fifteen years, radiant and tall, and sends it on to Gayomard; and he also brings his sweat<sup>7</sup> on to him as long as one Ahunwar<sup>8</sup> is being recited. (9) When he issued from the sweat, and raised his eyes, he saw the world when it was dark as night;<sup>9</sup> on the whole earth were the snake, the scorpion, the lizard (vazak), and noxious creatures of many kinds; and so the other kinds of quadrupeds stood among the reptiles; every approach of the whole earth was as though not as much as a needle’s point remained, in which there was no rush of noxious creatures. (10) there were the coming of a planetary star into planetary conjunction, and the moon

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1 Bd. 3.14, 16.

2 The primeval ox, or first-created representative of animals, as Gayomard was of mankind; from which two representatives all mankind and animals are said to have been afterwards developed. There seems to have been some doubt as to the sex of this mythological ox; here it is distinctly stated to have been a female, but from Bd. 10.1, 2, 14.3, it would appear to have been a male, and this seems to be admitted by Zadspram himself, in Chap. 9.7.

3 The Dāitk river (see Bd. 20.13).

4 This is a misunderstanding of the corresponding phrase in Bd. 3.18. The narcotic here mentioned is usually prepared from the hemp plant, and is well known in India and the neighbouring countries.

5 See Bd. 4.1.

6 The word which, as it stands in the MS., looks like hōmanāe, is here taken as a transposition of min khvāe, in accordance with Bd. 3.19; but it may be a variant of anumāe, “embryo,” in which case the translation should be, “forms an embryo into the shape of a man of fifteen years.”

7 Or it may be “sleep,” both here and in § 9.

8 See Bd. 1.21.

9 Bd. 3.20.

and planets at sixes and sevens;<sup>1</sup> many dark forms with the face and curls of Azi Dahak [Zohak] suffered punishment in company with certain non-Iranians; and he was amazed at calling the wicked out from the righteous.

11. Lastly, he (Ahriman) came up to the fire, and mingled darkness and smoke with it.<sup>2</sup>

### **CHAPTER 3. *The soul of the primeval ox cries to Ohrmazd***

1. And Goshorun, as she was herself the soul of the primeval ox, when the ox passed away, came out from the ox, even as the soul from the body of the dead, and kept up the clamor of a cry to Ohrmazd in such fashion as that of an army, a thousand strong, when they cry out together.<sup>3</sup> (2) And Ohrmazd, in order to be much more able to keep watch over the mingled creatures than in front of Gayomard, went from the earth up to the sky. (3) And Goshorun continually went after him crying, and she kept up the cry thus: "With whom may the guardianship over the creatures be left by thee?"

### **CHAPTER 4. *The reason why he was unable to destroy the primeval man for thirty years***

1. This was the highest predominance of Ahriman, for he came on, with all the strength which he had, for the disfigurement of the creatures; and he took as much as one-third of the base of the sky,<sup>4</sup> in a downward direction, into a confined and captive state, so that it was all dark and apart from the light, for it was itself, at the coming of the adversary, his enemy among the struggles for creation. (2) And this is opposing the renovation of the universe, for the greatest of all the other means of the fiend, when he has come in, are of like origin and strength this day, in the sleep<sup>5</sup> of the renovation, as on that when the enemy, who is fettered on coming in, is kept back.

3. Amid all this struggling were mingled the instigations of Ahriman, crying thus: "My victory has come completely, for the sky is split and disfigured by me with gloom and darkness, and taken by me as a stronghold; water is disfigured by me, and the earth, injured by

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1 Literally, "in fours and fives."

2 Bd. 3.24.

3 Bd. 4.2.

4 Compare Bd. 3.11. The involved style of Zadspram is particularly conspicuous in this chapter.

5 The word seems to be khvāpishnō.

darkness, is pierced by me; vegetation is withered by me, the ox is put to death by me, Gayomard is made ill by me, and opposed to those revolving<sup>1</sup> are the glooms and planets arranged by me; no one has remained for me to take and pervert in combat except Ohrmazd, and of the earth there is only one man, who is alone, what is he able to do?"

4. And he sends Astwihad<sup>2</sup> upon him with the thousand decrepitudes (aúzvarano) and diseases which are his own, sicknesses of various kinds, so that they may make him ill and cause death. (5) Gayomard was not secured by them, and the reason was because it was a decree of appointing Time (zurvan) in the beginning of the coming in of Ahriman, that: "Up to thirty winters I appoint Gayomard unto brilliance and preservation of life." (6) And his manifestation in the celestial sphere was through the forgiveness of criminals and instigators of confusion by his good works, and for that reason no opportunity was obtained by them during the extent of thirty years.

7. For in the beginning it was so appointed that the star Jupiter (Ohrmazd) was life towards the creatures, not through its own nature, but on account of its being within the control (band) of the luminaries;<sup>3</sup> and Saturn (Keyvan) was death towards the creatures. (8) Both were in their supremacy (bālist)<sup>4</sup> at the beginning of the creatures, as Jupiter was in Cancer on rising, that which is also called Jivan ('living'),<sup>5</sup> for it is the place in which life is bestowed upon it;

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1 Meaning probably the zodiacal signs, but the word is doubtful, being spelt vardishnānō instead of vardhishnānō. A very small alteration would change it into varōishnānō, "believers," but there were no earthly believers at the time alluded to.

2 See Bd. 3.21 and 28.35.

3 These luminaries are the fixed stars, especially the signs of the zodiac, to whose protection the good creation is committed (see Bd. 2.0-4); whereas Jupiter and all other planets are supposed to be, by nature, disturbers of the creation, being employed by Ahriman for that purpose (see MX. 8.17-21, 12.7-10, 24.8, 38.5).

4 The most obvious meaning of bālist is "greatest altitude," and this is quite applicable to Jupiter when it attains its highest northern declination on entering Cancer, but it is not applicable to Saturn in Libra, when it has only its mean altitude. At the vernal equinox, however, which was the time of the beginning mentioned in the text, when Ahriman invaded the creation (see Chap. 2.1), Libra is in opposition to the sun, and Saturn in Libra would be .at its nearest approach to the earth, and would, therefore, attain its maximum brightness; while Jupiter in Cancer would be at its greatest altitude and shining with four-fifths of its maximum brightness. Both planets, therefore, were near their most conspicuous position (which would seem to be the meaning of bālist here), and might each be supposed to be exercising its maximum astrological influence, so that the presumed deadly power of Saturn would be neutralised by the supposed reviving influence of Jupiter.

5 This reading suits the context best, but the name can also be read Snahan, and in many other ways. It may possibly be the tenth lunar mansion, whose name is read Nahn in Bd. 2.3, by Pazand writers, and which corresponds to the latter part of

and Saturn was in Libra, in the great subterranean, so that its own venom and deadliness became more evident and more dominant thereby. (9) And it was when both shall not be supreme that Gayomard was to complete his own life, which is the thirty years<sup>1</sup> Saturn came not again to supremacy, that is, to Libra. (10) And at the time when Saturn came into Libra, Jupiter was in Capricorn,<sup>2</sup> on account of whose own lowness,<sup>3</sup> and the victory of Saturn over Jupiter, Gayomard suffered through those very defects which came and are to continue advancing, the continuance of that disfigurement which Ahriman can bring upon the creatures of Ohrmazd.

### **CHAPTER 5. *The first battle, that of the sky with Ahriman.***

1. When in like manner, and equally oppressively, as his (Ohrmazd's) creatures were disfigured, then through that same deterioration his own great glory was exhibited; for as he came within the sky<sup>4</sup> he maintains the spirit of the sky, like an intrepid warrior who has put on metal armor;<sup>5</sup> and the sky in its fortress<sup>6</sup> spoke these hasty, deceitful words to Ahriman, thus: "Now when thou shalt have come in I will not let thee back;" and it obstructed him until Ohrmazd prepared another rampart, that is stronger, around the sky, which is called "righteous understanding" (ashok akasih). (2) And he arranged the guardian spirits<sup>7</sup> of the righteous who are warriors around that rampart, mounted on horses and spear in hand, in such manner as the hair on the head; and they acquired the appearance of prison guards who watch a prison from outside, and would not surrender the outer boundaries to an enemy descended from the inside.

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Cancer.

- 1 Saturn revolves round the sun in about 29 years and 167 days, so it cannot return into opposition to the sun (or to its maximum brightness), at or near the vernal equinox, in less than thirty years.
- 2 That is, while Saturn performs one revolution round the sun, Jupiter performs two and a half, which is very nearly correct, as Jupiter revolves round the sun in about 11 years and 315 days. Therefore, when the supposed deadly influence of Saturn has returned to its maximum, the supposed reviving influence of Jupiter is at its minimum, owing to the small altitude of Capricorn, and no longer counterbalances the destructive power of Saturn.
- 3 There seems to be no other reasonable translation, but the MS. has *lā* instead of *rāi*, and *nishkasp* instead of *nishiv*.
- 4 See Chap. 3.2.
- 5 Compare Bd. 6.2.
- 6 Or "zodiacal signs," for *būrjō* means both.
- 7 Bd. 6.3, 4.

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

4. As it is said in the Gathas, thus:<sup>1</sup> “So also both those spirits have approached together unto that which was the first creation – that is, both spirits have come to the body of Gayomard. Whatever is in life is so through this purpose of Ohrmazd, that is: So that I may keep it alive; whatever is in lifelessness is so through this purpose<sup>2</sup> of the evil spirit, that is: So that I may utterly destroy it; and whatever is thus, is so until the last in the world, so that they (both spirits) come also on to the rest of mankind. And on account of the utter depravity of the wicked their destruction is fully seen, and so is the perfect meditation of him who is righteous, the hope of the eternity of Ohrmazd.”

5. And this was the first contest,<sup>3</sup> that of the sky with Ahriman.

## **CHAPTER 6. *The second battle, that of the water.***

1. And as he (Ahriman) came secondly to the water, together with him rushed in, on the horse Cancer, he who is the most watery Tishtar; the equally watery one, that is called Avrak,<sup>4</sup> gave forth a cloud and went down in the day; that is declared as the movement of the first-comers of the creatures. (2) Cancer became a zodiacal constellation (akhtar); it is the fourth constellation of the zodiac for this reason, because the month Tishtar is the fourth month of the year.<sup>5</sup>

3. And as Tishtar begged for assistance, Vohuman and Haoma are therefore cooperating with him in command, Burj of the waters and the water in mutual aid, and the righteous guardian spirits in keeping the peace. (4) He was converted into three forms, which are the form of a man, the form of a bull, and the form of a horse; and each form was distinguished in brilliance for ten nights, and lets its rain fall on the night for the destruction of noxious creatures. (5) The drops

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1 This quotation from the Gathas is from the Pahlavi Y. 30.4, and agrees with the Pahlavi text, given in Dastur Jamaspji's old MS. of the Yasna in Bombay, very nearly as closely as Spiegel's edition does. It appears, therefore, that Zadspram used the same Pahlavi translation of the Yasna as the Parsis do at the present day.

2 The MS. here omits the words “through this purpose,” by mistake.

3 The word *ārdhik*, which Zadspram uses instead of the *kharah*, “conflict,” of Bd. 5.6, 6.1, etc., may be connected with Pers. *ārd*, “anger.”

4 The ninth lunar mansion (see Bd. 2.3, 7.1).

5 Bd. 7.2-6 is paraphrased in §§ 2-6.

became each separately like a great bowl in which water is drawn, and as to that on which they are driven, they kill all the noxious creatures except the reptiles,<sup>1</sup> who entered into the muddiness of the earth.

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

7. It (the ocean) keeps one-third of this earth,<sup>2</sup> and among its contents are a thousand sources and fountains, such as are called lakes (var); a thousand water-fountains, whose water is from the ocean, come up from the lakes and are poured forth into it. (8) And the size of some of all the lakes and all the fountains of water is as much as a fast rider on an Arab horse, who continually compasses and canters around them, will attain in forty days, which is 1900<sup>3</sup> long leagues (parasang-i akarik), each league being at least 20,000 feet.

9. And after the noxious creatures died,<sup>4</sup> and the poison therefrom was mixed up in the earth, in order to utterly destroy that poison Tishtar went down into the ocean; and Apaosh, the demon, hastened to meet him, and at the alarm of the first contest Tishtar was in terror (pard). (10) And he applied unto Ohrmazd, who brought such power unto Tishtar as arises through propitiation and praise and invoking by name,<sup>5</sup> and they call forth such power unto Tishtar as that of ten vigorous horses, ten vigorous camels, ten vigorous bulls, ten mountains when hurled, and ten single-stream rivers when together. (11) And without alarm he drove out Apaosh, the demon, and kept him away from the sources of the ocean.

12. And with a cup and measuring bowl, which possessed the diligence even of a guardian spirit (farohar), he seized many more handfuls of water, and made it rain down<sup>6</sup> much more prodigiously, for destruction, drops as large as men's heads and bulls' heads, great

1 Reading neksünd barā min khasandakānō instead of the MS. barā nasünd min khasandakānō.

2 Compare Bd. 13.1, 2.

3 Bd. 13.2 has 1700, but as neither number is a multiple of forty in round numbers, it is -probable that both are wrong, and that we ought to read 1600.

4 Bd. 7.7-14 is paraphrased in §§ 9-14.

5 The Av. aokhtō-nāmana yasna of Tishtar Yt. 11, 23, 24

6 Or perhaps "made the cloud rain," if madam vārānīnīd stands for avar vārānīnīd.



and small. (13) And in that cloud and rain were the chastisement and beating which Tishtar and the fire Vazisht inflicted on the opposition of Apaosh; the all-deciding (vispo-vicir) fire Vazisht struck down with a club of fire, all-deciding among the malevolent (kebarano).

14. Ten days and nights there was rain, and its darting<sup>1</sup> was the shooting of the noxious creatures; afterwards, the wind drove it to the shore of the wide-formed ocean, and it is portioned out into three, and three seas arose from it; they are called the Puitik, the Kamirid, and the Gehan-bun.<sup>2</sup> (15) Of these the Puitik itself is salt water, in which is a flow and ebb;<sup>3</sup> and the control of its flow and ebb is connected with the moon, and by its continual rotation, in coming up and going down, that of the moon is manifested. (16) The wide-formed ocean stands forth on the south side as to (pavan) Alburz,<sup>4</sup> and the Puitik stands contiguous to it, and amidst it is the gulf (var) of Sataves, whose connection is with Sataves, which is the southern quarter. (17) In the activity of the sea, and in the increase and decrease of the moon, whose circuit is the whole of Iran, are the flow and ebb; of the curving tails in front of the moon two issue forth, and have an abode in Sataves; one is the updrag and one the down-drag; through the up-drag occurs the flood, and through the down-drag occurs the ebb.<sup>5</sup> (18) And Sataves itself is a gulf (var) and side arm of the wide-formed ocean, for it drives back the impurity and turbidness which come from the salt sea, when they are continually going into the wide-formed ocean, with a mighty high wind,<sup>6</sup> while that which is clear through impurity goes into the Aredvisur sources of the wide-formed ocean. (19) Besides these four<sup>7</sup> there are the small seas.<sup>8</sup>

20. And, afterwards, there were made to flow from Alburz, out of its northern border, two rivers,<sup>9</sup> which were the Arvand<sup>10</sup> – that is, the

- 1 Reading partāv instead of the MS. patūtāv, “powerful fury.”
- 2 This is a variant of the Shahī-būn or Jāhī-būn of Bd. 13.7, 15; the other two names differ but little from those given in Bd. 13. In the MS. Pūitīk occurs once, and Puītik twice.
- 3 Compare §§ 15-18 with Bd. 13.8-14
- 4 Compare Bd. 13.1.
- 5 This is even a more mechanical theory of the tides than that detailed in Bd. 13. 13. Whether the “curving tails” (jajak dunbak) are the “horns” of the crescent moon is uncertain.
- 6 By an accidental transposition of letters the MS. has ātarō, “fire,” instead of vātō, “wind.”
- 7 The ocean and three principal seas.
- 8 Said to be twenty-three in number in Bd. 13.6.
- 9 Bd. 7.13, 16, 20.1.
- 10 This appears to be a later identification of the Arag, Arang, or Arēng river of Bd. 20

Diglat, and the flow of that river was to those of the setting sun (val frōd-yehevundhānō) – and the Veh<sup>1</sup> was the river of the first-comers to the sun; formed as two horns they went on to the ocean. (21) After them eighteen<sup>2</sup> great rivers came out from the same Alburz; and these twenty rivers, whose source is in Alburz go down into the earth, and arrive in Xwaniratha.

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

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

## CHAPTER 7. *The third battle, that of the earth*

1. And as he (Ahriman) came thirdly to the earth which arrayed the whole earth against him – since there was an animation of the earth through the shattering – Alburz grew up,<sup>8</sup> which is the boundary of

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with the Tigris, under its name Arvand, which is also found in the Bahman Yast (3.21, 38) and the Afrin of the Seven Ameshaspends (§ 9). The Bundahishn (20.8) seems to connect the Arag (Araxes?) with the Oxus and Nile, and describes the Diglat or Tigris as a distinct river (Bd. 20.12). This difference is one of the indications of the Bundahishn having been so old a book in the time of Zadspram that he sometimes misunderstood its meaning, which could hardly have been the case if it had been written by one of his contemporaries. As the Persian empire has several times included part of Egypt, the Nile must have then been well known to the Persians as the great western river of their world. The last time they had possession of part of Egypt was, for about half a century, in the reigns of Khusro Noshirvan, Auharmazd IV, and Khusro Parvīz; but since the early part of the seventh century the Tigris has practically been their extreme western limit; hence the change of the old Arag or Arang into the very similarly written Arvand, a name of the Tigris.

1 See Bd. 20.9.

2 Bd. 20.2, 7.

3 Bd. 7.14.

4 Bd. 22.2.

5 Written Gūshasp in Bd. 17.7, and Gūshnāsp in BYt. 3.30, 40, while the older form Vishnasp occurs in BYt. 3.10.

6 The Sōvbar of Bd. 7.14, 12.24, 22.3.

7 Bd. 17.8.

8 Bd. 8.1-4 is paraphrased in §§ 1-4.

the earth, and the other<sup>1</sup> mountains, which are amid the circuit of the earth, come up 2244 in number.<sup>2</sup> (2) And by them the earth was bound together and arranged, and on them was the sprouting and growth of plants, wherefrom was the nourishment of cattle, and therefrom was the great advantage of assistance to men.

3. Even so it is declared that before the coming of the destroyer to the creatures, for a thousand years the substance of mountains was created in the earth especially as antagonism came on the earth, and settled on it with injury – and it came up over the earth just like a tree whose branch has grown at the top, and its root at the bottom. (4) The root of the mountains is passed on from one to the other, and is arranged in connection with them, and through it is produced the path and passage of water from below to above, so that the water may flow in it in such manner as blood in the veins, from all parts of the body to the heart, the latent vigor which they possess. (5) And, moreover, in six hundred years,<sup>3</sup> at first, all the mountains apart from Alburz were completed. (6) Alburz was growing during eight hundred years;<sup>4</sup> in two hundred years it grew up to the star station, in two hundred years up to the moon station, two hundred years up to the sun station, and two hundred years up to the sky. (7) After Alburz the Aparsen mountain<sup>5</sup> is the greatest, as it is also called the Avarroyishn<sup>6</sup> (‘up-growth’) mountain, whose beginning is in Sagastan and its end unto Pars and to Cinistan.<sup>7</sup>

8. This, too, is declared, that after the great rain in the beginning of the creation,<sup>8</sup> and the wind’s sweeping away the water to the ocean, the earth is in seven portions<sup>9</sup> a little above it, as the compact earth, after the rain, is torn up by the noise and wind in various places. (9) One portion, moreover, as much as one-half the whole earth, is in the middle, and in each of the six portions around is as much as Sagastan; moreover, as much as Sagastan is the measure of what is called a

1 The MS. has *āvānō*, “waters,” instead of *avārik*, “other,” which alters the meaning into, “which is the boundary of the waters of the earth, and the mountains,” etc.

2 Bd. 12.2.

3 Bd. 8.5 and 12.1 have “eighteen years.” As both numbers are written in ciphers it would be easy for either to be corrupted into the other.

4 Bd. 12.1.

5 The *Apārsēn* of Bd. 12.9.

6 Written *Apū-rōyishn*, as if it were an Arabic hybrid meaning “father of growth.”

7 Bd. 12.9. 24.28, have *Khūjīstān* instead of *Chīnīstān*; the latter appears to be an old name of the territory of Samarkand (see note to Bd. 12.13).

8 Literally, “creature.”

9 Bd. 11.2-4 is paraphrased in §§ 8-11.

karshwar ('region') for the reason that one was defined from the other by a kesh ('furrow'). (10) The middle one is Xwaniratha, of which Pars is the center, and those six regions are like a coronet (avisar) around it. (11) One part of the wide-formed ocean wound around it, among those six regions; the sea and forest seized upon the south side, and a lofty mountain grew up on the north, so that they might become separate, one from the other, and imperceptible.

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

### **CHAPTER 8. *The fourth battle, that of the plants***

1. As he (Ahriman) came fourthly to the plants – which have struggled (kukhshi-aito) against him with the whole vegetation – because the vegetation was quite dry,<sup>1</sup> Amurdad, by whom the essence of the world's vegetation<sup>2</sup> was seized upon, pounded it up small, and mixed it up with the rain-water of Tishtar. (2) After the rain the whole earth is discerned sprouting, and ten thousand<sup>3</sup> special species and a hundred thousand<sup>4</sup> additional species (levatman sardako) so grew as if there were a species of every kind; and those ten thousand species are provided for<sup>5</sup> keeping away the ten thousand diseases.

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

5. And in its vicinity the tree was produced which is the white Haoma, the counteractor of decrepitude, the reviver of the dead, and the immortalizer of the living.

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

### **CHAPTER 9. *The fifth battle, that of the animals***

1. As he (Ahriman) came fifthly to cattle – which struggled against

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1 This chapter is a paraphrase of Bd. 9.

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

3 Written like "one thousand," but see the context and Bd. 9.4.

4 In Bd. 9.4. the MSS. have "120,000," which is probably wrong, as Bd. 27.2 agrees with the text above.

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

him with all the animals and likewise as the primeval ox<sup>1</sup> passed away, from the nature of the vegetable principle it possessed, fifty-five<sup>2</sup> species of grain and twelve species of medicinal plants grew from its various members; and forasmuch as they should see from which member each one proceeds, it is declared in the Damdad Nask.<sup>3</sup> (2) And every plant grown from a member promotes that member, as it is said that there where the ox scattered its marrow<sup>4</sup> on to the earth, grain afterwards grew up, corn<sup>5</sup> and sesame, vetches<sup>6</sup> and peas; so sesame, on account of<sup>7</sup> its marrow quality, is itself a great thing for developing marrow. (3) And it is also said that from the blood is the

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1 See Chaps. 2.6, 3.1, and Bd. 4.1, 10.1, 14.1.

2 The MS. has “fifty-seven” in ciphers, but Bd. 10.1, 14.1, 27.2 have “fifty-five” in words.

3 This was the fourth nask or “book” of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the *Denkard*, which gives a very short and superficial account of its contents. But, according to the Dini-vajarkard and the Rivayats of Kamah Bahrah, Nariman Hoshang, and Barzū Qiyāmu-d-dīn, it was the fifth nask, and was called Dvāzdah-hāmāst (or homāst). For its contents, as given by the Dini-vajarkard, see Haug's *Essays*, p. 127. The Rivayat of Kamah Bahrah, which has a few more words than the other Rivayats, gives the following account (for the Persian text of which, see “Fragmens relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre,” par Olshausen et Jules Mohl):- “Of the fifth the name is Dvāzdah-homāst, and the interpretation of this is “the book about help” (dar imdād, but this is probably a corruption of dāmdād). And this book has thirty-two sections (kardah) that the divine and omnipotent creator sent down, in remembrance of the beginning of the creatures of the superior world and inferior world, and it is a description of the, whole of them and of that which God, the most holy and omnipotent, mentioned about the sky, earth, and water, vegetation and fire, man and quadrupeds, grazing and flying animals, and what he produced for their advantage and use, and the like. Secondly, the resurrection and heavenly path, the gathering and dispersion, and the nature of the circumstances of the resurrection, as regards the virtuous and evil-doers, through the weight of every action they perform for good and evil.”

This description corresponds very closely with what the Bundahishn must have been, before the addition of the genealogical and chronological chapters at the end; and Zadspram mentions in his text here, and again in § 16, particulars regarding the Dāmdād which also occur in the Bundahishn (14.2, 14-18, 21-24). There can be very little doubt, therefore, that the Bundahishn was originally a translation of the Dāmdād, though probably abridged; and the text translated in this volume is certainly a further abridgment of the original Bundahishn, or Zand-ākāsh. Whether the Avesta text of the Dāmdād was still in existence in the time of Zadspram is uncertain, as he would apply the name to the Pahlavi text. At the present time it is very unusual for a copyist to write the Pahlavi text without its Avesta, when the latter exists, but this may not always have been the case.

4 Or “brains.”

5 Supposing the MS. galō lag is a corruption of gallak (Pers. ghallah).

6 Assuming the MS. alūnō or arvanō to be a corruption of alūm or arzanō.

7 Reading rāi instead of lā.

vine,<sup>1</sup> a great vegetable thing – as wine itself is blood – for more befriending the sound quality of the blood. (4) And it is said that from the nose is the pulse (maysh or masah),<sup>2</sup> which is called donak, and was a variety of sesame (shamaga),<sup>2</sup> and it is for other noses. (5) And it is also said that from the lungs are the rue-like herbs<sup>3</sup> which heal, and are for the lung-disease of cattle. (6) This, rooted amid the heart, is thyme, from which is Vohuman's thorough withstanding of the stench of Akoman,<sup>4</sup> and it is for that which proceeds from the sick and yawners.

7. Afterwards, the brilliance of the seed, seized upon, by strength, from the seed which was the ox's, they would carry off from it, and the brilliance was entrusted to the angel of the moon;<sup>5</sup> in a place therein that seed was thoroughly purified by the light of the moon, and was restored in its many qualities, and made fully infused with life (janvar-homand). (8) Forth from there it produced for Eranvej, first, two oxen, a pair, male and female,<sup>6</sup> and, afterwards, other species, until the completion of the 282 species;<sup>7</sup> and they were discernible as far as two long leagues on the earth. (9) Quadrupeds walked forth on the land, fish swam in the water, and birds flew in the atmosphere; in every two, at the time good eating is enjoyed, a longing (av-dahan) arose therefrom, and pregnancy and birth.

10. Secondly, their subdivision is thus: – First, they are divided into three, that is, quadrupeds walking on the earth, fish swimming in the water, and birds flying in the atmosphere. (11) Then, into five classes,<sup>8</sup> that is, the quadruped which is round-hoofed, the double-hoofed, the five-clawed, the bird, and the fish, whose dwellings are in five places, and which are called aquatic, burrowing, oviparous, wide-traveling, and suitable for grazing. (12) The aquatic are fish and every beast of burden, cattle, wild beast, dog, and bird which enters the water; the burrowing are the marten (samur) and musk animal, and all other dwellers and movers in holes; the oviparous are birds of

1 Compare Bd. 14.2.

2 Either this sentence is very corrupt in the MS. or it cannot be reconciled with the corresponding clause of Bd. 14.2. Altering *dōnak* and *gūnak* into *gandanak*, and *shamagā* into *shamashdar*, we might read, "from the nose is *māysh*, which is called the leek, and the leek was an onion;" but this is doubtful, and leaves the word *mays* unexplained.

3 The MS. has *gōspendānō*, "cattle," instead of *sipandānō*, "rue herbs."

4 See Bd. 1.24, 27, 28.7, 30.29.

5 See Bd. 10.2, 14.3.

6 Bd. 10.3, 14.4.

7 Bd. 10.3, 14.13.

8 Bd. 14.8-12.

every kind; the wide-traveling sprang away for help, and are also those of a like kind; those suitable for grazing are whatever are kept grazing in a flock.

13. And, afterwards, they were divided into genera, as the round-hoofed are one, which is all called “horse;” the double-hoofed are many, as the camel and ox, the sheep and goat, and others double-hoofed; the five-clawed are the dog, hare, musk animals, marten, and others; then are the birds, and then the fish. (14) And then they were divided into species,<sup>1</sup> as eight species of horse, two species of camel, ten<sup>2</sup> species of ox, five species of sheep, five species of goat, ten of the dog, five of the hare, eight of the marten, eight of the musk animals, 110 of the birds, and ten of the fish; some are counted for the pigs, and with all those declared and all those undeclared there were, at first, 282 species;<sup>3</sup> and with the species within species there were a thousand varieties.

15. The birds are distributed<sup>4</sup> into eight groups (ristako), and from that which is largest to that which is smallest they are so spread about as when a man, who is sowing grain, first scatters abroad that of heavy weight, then that which is middling, and afterwards that which is small.

16. And of the whole of the species, as enumerated a second time in the Damdad Nask,<sup>5</sup> and written by me in the manuscript (nīpīk) of “the summary enumeration of races”<sup>6</sup> – this is a lordly<sup>7</sup> summary – the matter which is shown is, about the species of horses, the first is the Arab, and the chief of them<sup>8</sup> is white and yellow-eared, and secondly the Persian, the mule, the ass, the wild ass, the water-horse, and others. (17) Of the camel there are specially two, that for the plain, and the mountain one which is double-humped. (18) Among the species of ox are the white, mud-colored, red, yellow, black, and

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1 Bd. 14.13-23, 27, 27.

2 Bd. 14.17 says “fifteen,” which is probably correct.

3 Only 181 species are detailed or “declared” here.

4 Bd. 14.25.

5 See § 1;j the particulars which follow are also found in Bd. 14.14-18, 21-24, showing that the Bundahishn must be derived from the Dāmdād.

6 The title of this work, in Pahlavi, is Tōkhm-aūshmarishnīh-i hangardīkō, but it is not known to be extant.

7 Reading marak (Chaldee MRA), but this is doubtful, though the Iranian final k is often added to Semitic Huzvarish forms ending with ā. It may be mināk, “thinking, thoughtful,” or a corruption of manīk, “mine,” in which last case we should translate, “this is a summary of mine.”

8 Bd. 24.6.

dappled, the elk, the buffalo, the camel-leopard,<sup>1</sup> the ox-fish, and others. (19) Among sheep are those having tails and those which are tailless, also the wether and the Kurishk which, because of its trampling the hills, its great horn, and also being suitable for ambling, became the steed of Manuschihar. (20) Among goats are the ass-goat, the Arab, the fawn (varikō), the roe, and the mountain goat. (21) Among martens are the white ermine, the black marten, the squirrel, the beaver (khaz), and others. (22) Of musk animals with a bag, one is the Bish-musk – which eats the Bish poison and does not die through it, and it is created for the great advantage that it should eat the Bish, and less of it should succeed in poisoning the creatures – and one is a musk animal of a black color which they desired (ayūftō) who were bitten by the fanged serpent – as the serpent of the mountain water-courses (makō) is called – which is numerous on the river-banks; one throws the same unto it for food, which it eats, and then the serpent enters its body, when his<sup>2</sup> serpent, at the time this happens, feeds upon the same belly in which the serpent is, and he will become clear from that malady. (23) Among birds two were produced of a different character from the rest, and those are the griffin bird and the bat, which have teeth in the mouth, and suckle their young with animal milk from the teat.

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

## CHAPTER 10. *The sixth battle, that of mankind*

1. As he (Ahriman) came sixthly to Gayomard<sup>3</sup> there was arrayed against him, with Gayomard, the pure propitious liturgy (Mahraspand), as heard from Gayomard; and Ohrmazd, in pure meditation, considered that which is good and righteousness as destruction of the fiend (druj). (2) And when he (Gayomard) passed away eight kinds of mineral of a metallic character arose from his various members; they are gold, silver, iron, brass, tin, lead, quicksilver (avginako) [mercury], and adamant; and on account of the perfection of gold it is produced from the life and seed.

3. Spandarmad received the gold of the dead Gayomard, and it was forty years in the earth. (4) At the end of the forty years, in the manner of a Rivas-plant, Mashye and Mashyane<sup>4</sup> came up, and, one

1 Literally, “camel-ox-leopard.”

2 This appears to be the meaning here of amat zak garzakō, but the whole sentence is a fair- sample of Zadspram’s most involved style of Writing. By feeding the black musk animal with snakes the effect of a snake-bite, experienced by the feeder, is supposed to be neutralized.

3 Compare Bd. 15.1.

4 The MS. nas Mashāi Mashāyē, but see Bd. 15.6. The Avesta forms were probably



joined to the other, were of like stature and mutually adapted;<sup>1</sup> and its middle, on which a glory came, through their like stature,<sup>2</sup> was such that it was not clear which is the male and which the female, and which is the one with the glory which Ohrmazd created. (5) This is that glory for which man is, indeed, created, as it is thus said in revelation: “Which existed before, the glory [\*soul]<sup>3</sup> or the body?” And Ohrmazd spoke thus: “The glory was created by me before; afterwards, for him who is created. the glory is given a body so that it may produce activity, and its body is created only for activity.” (6) And, afterwards, they changed from the shape of a plant into the shape of man,<sup>4</sup> and the glory went spiritually into them.

### CHAPTER 11. *The seventh battle, that of fire*

1. As he (Ahriman) came seventhly to fire, which was all together against him, the fire separated into five kinds,<sup>5</sup> which are called the Propitious, the Good diffuser, the Aurvzisht, the Vazisht, and the Supremely-benefiting. (2) And it produced the Propitious fire itself in heaven (garothman); its manifestation is in the fire which is burning on the earth, and its propitiousness is this, that all the kinds are of its nature. (3) The Good diffuser is that which is in men and animals,<sup>6</sup> and its business consists in the digestion of the food, the sleeping of the body, and the brightening of the eyes. (4) The Aurvzisht is that which is in plants, in whose seed it is formed, and its business consists in piercing the earth, warming the chilled water<sup>7</sup> and producing the

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mashya mashyōi (or mashyē), which are regular nominatives dual, masculine and feminine, of mashya, “mortal,” and indicate that they were usually coupled together in some part of the Avesta which is no longer extant. Pazand writers have found it easy to read Mashyanī instead of Mashyōi.

- 1 Reading ham-bashnō hain-dakhik, but whether this is more likely to be the original reading than the ham-badishn va ham-dasak of Bd. 15.2, is doubtful. The last epithet here might also be read ham-sabik, “having the same shirt,” but this is an improbable meaning.
- 2 It is evident that ham-bandishnīh, “mutual connection,” in accordance with Bd. 15.3 would be preferable to the ham-bashnōih, “like stature,” of this text.
- 3 The old word nismō, “soul” (see Bd. 15.3, 4), has become corrupted here (by the omission of the initial stroke) into gadman, “glory.” This corruption may be due either to Zadspram not understanding the word (in which case the Bundahishn must have been an old book in his time), or else to some later copyist confounding the old word for “soul” with the better-known “glory” of the Iranian sovereigns.
- 4 Bd. 15.5.
- 5 Bund 17.1. Three of the Avesta names are here translated, the first two being the Spēnisht and Vohu-fryan, which are the fifth and second in the Bundahishn, and the fifth being the Berezi-savang, which is the first in the Bundahishn.
- 6 See Bd. 17.2.
- 7 Reading mayā-i afsardīnīdō tāftanō instead of the seemingly unmeaning mayā

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

8. And in the beginning of the creation<sup>4</sup> the whole earth was delivered over into the guardianship of the sublime Farnbag fire, the mighty [Adar] Gushnasp fire, and the beneficial Burzin-Mihr fire,<sup>5</sup> which are like priest, warrior, and husbandman. (9) The place of the fire Farnbag was formed on the Gadman-homand ('glorious') mountain in Khvarizem,<sup>6</sup> the fire [Adar] Gushnasp was on the Asnavand mountain in Ataro-patakan, and the fire Burzin-Mihr on the Revand mountain which is in the Ridge of Vishtasp, and its material manifestation in the world was the most complete.

10. In the reign of Hooshang,<sup>7</sup> when men were continually going forth to the other regions (karshwar) on the ox Sruvo,<sup>8</sup> one night, half-way, while admiring the fires, the fire-stands which were prepared in three places on the back of the ox, and in which the fire was, fell into the sea, and the substance of that one great fire which was manifest, is

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ashardīnīdō āftanō of the MS.

- 1 The Verethrānō ātāsh, or sacred fire of the fire-temples.
- 2 Reading pavan instead of barā (see third note to 7.2).
- 3 Or "sea" (darīyāvō). This long-winded sentence is more involved and obscure in the original than in the translation.
- 4 Literally, "creature."
- 5 The epithets of these three sacred fires are, respectively, varjān, tagikō, and pūr-sūdō in Pahlavi.
- 6 See Bd. 17.5, 7, 8.
- 7 Bd. 17.4 says, "in the reign of Takhmorup," his successor.
- 8 Sarsaok or Srisaok in the Bundahishn.

divided into three, and they established it on the three fire-stands, and it became itself three glories whose lodgments are in the Farnbag fire, the [Adar] Gushnasp fire, and the Burzin-Mihr.

## **PART 2. The coming of the religion.**

### **CHAPTER 12. *Two old legends of Spandarmad and of the hero Srito***

1. About the coming of the religion at a given time being a resemblance such-like as the birth of a child through two united powers, which are the reception of semen by females in procreation, and delivering it back to the fathers, and a period of struggling and intermingling, especially by two means: a monarchy with<sup>1</sup> religion of the same tenets (ham-vac-denoih), and the existence of similar tenets to those of the monarchy in the custom of the religion. (2) The religion of the Mazda-worshippers, when the period of material organization is being converted again into a spiritual nature, became manifest on the earth, first through Spandarmad<sup>2</sup> and afterwards through Ohrmazd, like the reception of a child by mothers and delivering it back to the fathers.

3. The manifestation of the religion through Spandarmad was at that time when Frasiyav<sup>3</sup> kept back the water from the country of Iran, and brought the water again; in damsel form she was a speaker for its manifestation, in reply to foreigners, at the house of Manuschihar,<sup>4</sup> the monarch of the country of Iran. (4) She was also dressed, and wore radiant clothing which shone out on all sides for the length of a Hasar,<sup>5</sup> which is a distance, like a Parasang; and, tied on her waist, she wore a golden sacred girdle [kusti] which was the religion of the Mazda-worshippers itself.

5. As to the belt of the religion, it is that to which are connected the thirty-three fetters upon the thirty-three sins,<sup>6</sup> according to which all sin is divided; so that (ku) the damsels, by whom the tied sacred girdle [kusti] of Spandarmad was seen, have become impetuous (taftigo) after that for a tied girdle [kusti], on account of its seeming

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1 T has "devoid of."

2 The female archangel who has special charge of the earth and virtuous women (see Dk. VII, 2.19 n).

3 See Dk. VII, 1.31; and regarding his irrigation canals, see Bd. 20.17, 34; 21.6.

4 See Dk. VII, 1.29.

5 A thousand steps of the two feet, or Roman mile; see Bd. 26.1.

6 Thirty sins are detailed in MX. 36, and thirty-three good works in 37.

beautiful.

6. And this was the motherhood which is supplied through Spandarmad, as a gift, in the year 528 before Zartosht came out to his conference,<sup>1</sup> which is one of their statements from the annals of the religion in a manuscript of the ancients.

7. The name of Zartosht is also cited on the earth at 300 years before his conference.<sup>2</sup> (8) For Iran, at the supplication even of the priests in the land, and for the sake of the pacification of a dispute arisen, Ohrmazd produced a great ox, by whom the boundary of Iran next to Turan was intimated by pawing with his hoofs, and he was kept in a jungle. (9) Whenever contention arose, the boundary was fully made known by that ox, until it was the wish of Kay Us to take, fully covetously, a portion of the land of Turan back into Iran, and he saw that the ox is about to act very ill-naturedly, because it was not besought with forms which were prescribed for it, where a boundary was intimated by it.<sup>3</sup>

10. There were seven brothers, and he who was the seventh was called Srito<sup>4</sup> the Seventh, the largest in body and chief in strength, belonging to those instructed in many subjects for Kay Us, and he was among his princes. (11) Kay Us summoned him into his presence and ordered him thus: "Go and kill that ox in the jungle!"

12. Srito went, and the ox whom he wished to kill expostulated with him, in human words, thus: "Do not kill me! for though thou canst kill me, he whose guardian spirit is in the Haoma, the death-dispeller, will also become manifest on the earth, he whose name is

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1 If this coming to conference with the spirits be "the coming of the religion," in the thirtieth year of Vishtasp's reign, then, according to Bundahishn chronology, these 528 years will carry us back to twenty-eight years before the accession of Manushchihar. As any alteration in the date of Manushchihar's accession would disturb the millennial arrangement of Bd. 34, it is probable that some copyist has miswritten the ciphers, and we ought to read 428. This legend appears not to occur elsewhere.

2 According to Bd. 34.7, Kai-Us reigned from 360 to 210 years before "the coming of the religion." At this point a dislocation of the text occurs in all existing MSS., owing to the misplacement of a loose folio in some unknown copy written before 1530; the contents of this folio, §§ 8-16, are found in the existing MSS. three folios further on (after Chap. 14.14), and are here restored to their original position, as determined by the meaning of the text.

3 T has "by that ox." This legend is also told in Dk. VII, 2.62-66.

4 Srito, the seventh son (compare Dk. VII, 2.64), is not easy to identify. He could not have been Thritha the father of Keresaspa, because this Thritha the Saman is said to have been a third son in Pahl. Y. 9.30 (Sp.). He may have been Srito of the Visraps, whose soul visited Vishtasp in the latter part of his reign, about 350 years later, regarding which a legend is related in Dk. VII, 6.2-11, and again mentioned in Dk. V, 3.2; but there is a want of corresponding details for identification.

Zartosht of the Spitamas,<sup>1</sup> and will proclaim thy bad action in the world. (13) And the distress in thy soul becomes such as is declared in revelation thus: ‘As it occurs to him, so it does to Vadak,<sup>2</sup> when they mention his iniquity,’ and thy death becomes the like and, owing to death, it is mixed up with hers (that is, owing even to hers is the death of Srito).”

14. When those words were heard by him, Srito turned back, and went again to Kay Us; also by his manner, and even apart from this, he stated<sup>3</sup> what the ox had spoken with awfulness, and also thus: “I am more desirous than any one who is in the earth created by righteousness, that you should now order destruction for the ox.”

15. And Kay Us uttered his will, with the conviction of superior wisdom, thus: “It is not certain whether he whose guardian spirit is in the Haoma, the death-dispeller, is himself, or not; and if he be, and be born,<sup>4</sup> whether he will become manifest, or not;” and he commanded with severity, thus: “Go and kill it!”

16. And Srito spoke thus: “It is not that I am without strength to kill, because its reprieval by me was owing to its remonstrance, mentioned to me, that a high-priest is to arise.”<sup>5</sup>

17. So it is declared thus, in another revelation (*dēnō zagāi*),<sup>6</sup> when the Turanians were backward in heart, Kay Us spoke thus: “Go out to a certain jungle, in which dwell many chiefs of the witches, and they will cut thee up without any striving of heart.”

18. And Srito went up to the jungle, where many witches saw him, who kept their jaws open, and they spoke about the handsome man thus: “Slay and do not spare!” (19) And compassion having gone out of his heart, he went back to the other jungle and, with his fist, he broke the back of the ox in three places; and the ox, awfully convulsed (*skifto bar-hamako*), kept up an outcry.

20. After the slaughter of the ox, owing to its convulsed state which was heard by him, the remembrance of it then became grievous to Srito; and he went back to Kay Us, and informed him how it was, and

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1 This is the citation of his name mentioned in § 7.

2 The mother of Dahak [*Zohak*], whose iniquity is considered as equal to that of the evil spirit, see Dd. 72.5; Dk. IX, 10.3.

3 T has “also by his manner he intimated and separately stated.”

4 T omits “and be born.”

5 The misplaced folio, which begins with § 8, ends here, but it is not quite certain that a few lines of text are not still missing.

6 T has “at another time (*bēn zagāi*).”

begged him that he should finish off by slaying him,<sup>1</sup> because his life was not desirable.

21. Kay Us spoke thus: "Shall I slay thee, for it was not designed by thee?"

22. And Srito spoke thus: "If thou wilt not slay me, then I shall slay thee."

23. Again Kay Us spoke thus: "Do not thou slay me, for I am the monarch of the world."

24. Srito continued his discontent, until Kay Us ordered him thus: "Go out to a certain jungle, because a witch in the shape of a dog is in it, and she will slay thee."

25. Then Srito went out to that jungle, and that witch in the shape of a dog was seen by him; after he smote the witch, she became two; and he constantly smote them till they became a thousand, and the host (girdo) of them slew Srito on the spot.

### CHAPTER 13. *Parentage of Zartosht*

1. About the glory of Zartosht becoming manifest even before his birth, it is thus declared, that forty-five years before the time when Zartosht came out to his conference,<sup>2</sup> when Freno gave birth to the mother of Zartosht,<sup>3</sup> whom they called Dogdo, it came down from the endless light, in the manner of fire, and mingled with the fire which was before her; and from the fire it mingled with the mother of Zartosht.<sup>4</sup>

2. For three nights it was manifest, to all passers-by, as a species of fire in the direction of the house, and passers on the road always saw great radiance. (3) Also when she became fifteen years old, the radiance of that glory which was in her, was even such that, on the path she was walking along, its brightness was then shed by her.<sup>5</sup>

4. About the combination of Zartosht, whose guardian spirit is revered; that is, his guardian spirit, in the Haoma, and his glory

1 T has "that he should command the slaying of him."

2 That is, forty-five years before he was thirty years old (see Chap. 21.1-14).

3 It is necessary to translate in this manner, to agree with Dk. VII, 2.3, but the text, which is ambiguous, runs as follows:- "amat Frēnōg (Frēnō-ī?) Zaratūsht am, zyashān Dūkdakōg karītuntō, zerkhūntō;" which might also be translated thus: (when Frēnō, the mother of Zartosht, whom they called Dukdaub, was born." This Frēnō, whether mother or daughter, does not seem to correspond with any Freni mentioned in the Avesta.

4 See Dk. VII, 2.2, 3.

5 Ibid. 7, 8.

are given the cow's milk, by his father and mother drinking it up,<sup>1</sup> and his spiritual life (ahvo) came into the combination, as was proclaimed by his statements in the manuscript about the Guidance of the Ceremonial.<sup>2</sup>

5. About the backward connection of Zartosht with Ohrmazd, through the two who are Yim [Jamshed], the best of the worldly existences, and Neryosang of the spirits. (6) The enumeration of the lineage of Zartosht is Zartosht, son of Pourushasp,<sup>3</sup> of Purtaraspo, of Aurvadasp, of Haecadaspo, of Chikhshnush, of Paitiraspo, of Arejadarshi\*, of Kharedhar\*, of Spitaman, of Vaedishto, of Ayazem, of Frish, of Arij\*, of Durasrobo, of Manuschihar, of Manus-khurnar, of Manus-khurnak, whom Neryosang the messenger of Ohrmazd brought, and whose mother was Vizag, daughter of Aryag, of Sritak, of Bitak, of Frazushak, of Zushak, of Fraguzag, of Guzag, daughter of Airik, son of Faridoon of the Aspigans to the total of ten Aspigans, of Yim [Jamshed], of the Vivanghas, of the Ayanghas, of the Ananghas, of Hooshang, of Fravak, of Siyamak, of Mashye, of Gayomard.

#### **CHAPTER 14. *Demons try to injure him before and at his birth***

1. About the wonderful striving of the fiend for the destruction of Zartosht. (2) When it became near to his birth, the Fever demon, the Pain demon, and the Wind demon of Ahriman, each one with 150 demons, have come out to kill Zartosht, and from his spirit they have gone forth to his mother. (3) And she is hurried from there by Fever, Pain, and Wind; and at the distance of one league (parasang) there was a wizard, Impudent (Storko) by name, who was the most medical of wizards; in hope of practice he stood up from his seat, as she stopped in her progress.

4. A messenger of Ohrmazd uttered a cry thus: "Do not go to a wizard! for they are not healing (beshazinidar) for thee; but go back to the house, wash thy hands on the morrow with cow's butter held over the fire, also burn (tāpō)<sup>4</sup> firewood and incense for thy own self and thy progeny which is in thy womb." (5) And she acted accordingly and became well;<sup>5</sup> and the cooperators of the demon, and those of equal power, who had not obtained their remedy from her body, are again

1 Ibid. 46, 47.

2 Not identified, but probably like the Nirangistan.

3 This genealogy was, no doubt, derived originally from the same source as that in Dk. VII, 2.70, but there are several variations, especially in orthography, which are here preserved, unless clearly copyist's blunders. The names marked with an asterisk are written in Pazand.

4 T has "consume (vidāzō)."

exposed,<sup>1</sup> and spoke thus: “On account of the existence of fire from all sides we have not succeeded; it is a help for every one who is her friend more than opponent; therefore it was not for us, because of the power within her.”

6. The same night as she gave birth, Ahriman selected commanders and arrayed his champions (gurd); there are some who are with one thousand demons, and there are some who are with two thousand demons; pursuing and attacking they have contended. (7) The opposing stand of the sacred beings,<sup>2</sup> especially of the glory itself at the family<sup>3</sup> fire, was manifest at that birth; and for its splendor and brightness (padroko), settled opposite a distant place, they have then found no remedy.

8. At last, Ahriman sends Akoman<sup>4</sup> on, and spoke to him thus: “Thou canst be very spiritual, who canst be most intimate; thou canst go with deceit into the mind of Zartosht, and make him turn his mind to us who are demons.” (9) And Ohrmazd sends Vohuman on against him; Akoman advanced to the front, and had come forward to the door, and wished to go inside.

10. Vohuman schemingly (cārakōgarīhā) turned<sup>5</sup> back, and exclaimed to Akoman thus: “Go inside!” (11) Akoman imagined thus: “There is nothing to be accomplished by me of what was mentioned to me, for Vohuman has gone back.” (12) And Vohuman went inside, and mingled with the reason (varom) of Zartosht, and Zartosht laughed outright,<sup>6</sup> for Vohuman is a gratifying spirit.

13. Also seven wizards<sup>7</sup> were seated before him, and owing to the light in the dwelling, his having laughed at birth was conveniently seen, which is opposed to the habit of the rest of mankind who cry out at birth and are quite terrified.

14. Also, at the same time of birth, he authoritatively accepted the religion from Ohrmazd, as it is stated in revelation, that he spoke at

5 Compare Dk. VII, 2.53-55.

1 T has “and all the co-operators who had entered her body, and those of equal power who had reached them, returned helpless from them.”

2 Thus summarized in Dk. VIII, 14.2 :- “Also about the arrival of both spirits, the good one for developing, and the evil one for destroying; the victory if the good spirit, and the rearing of Zartosht.” The “rearing” is continued in Chaps. 15-20.

3 Assumin that Uxx stands for Etx dūdak.

4 The archdemon of “evil thought” (Bd. 28.7) and special opponent of Vohuman, the archangel of “good thought.”

5 Assuming that shtō stands for vashtō.

6 Compare Dk. VII, 3.2; V, 2.5. This laughing is not mentioned in Dk. IX, 24.

7 “Seven midwives” are mentioned in Dk. VII, 3.2.



birth thus: “As is the will of the spiritual lord (ahvo) mayst thou be who art the officiating priest (zot) (that is, mayst thou be the leader of the creatures).”<sup>1</sup>

15. As Zartosht, on account of his worldly body, spoke with a worldly voice, Ohrmazd spoke in reply to him, on account of the spirits, thus: “So mayst thou be the priestly authority (rad shae), and so mayst thou be virtuous, owing to whatsoever righteousness occurs; and I confidently proclaim thee righteous (that is, I am thy controller).”<sup>2</sup>

16. Another day, Pourushasp went and inquired of the wizards who kept in front at the place, thus: “What is the cause when infants cry out at birth, beyond that which occurs when they laugh outright?”<sup>3</sup> (17) And they replied thus: “Because those who are made to cry have seen mortality as their end, and those having laughed have seen their own righteousness.”

### **CHAPTER 15. *Five Karb brothers opposed to Zartosht and his four brothers***

1. About the brothers who were a band of opponents of Zartosht. (2) The Karbs and Ausikhshes<sup>4</sup> were brothers’ sons, and have become the devastation (gastaragih) of the Iranians; the devastators of the Iranians (Ērānān) were from Kokhared,<sup>5</sup> and Kokhared was born from Eshm and Manushak, the sister of Manuschihar.<sup>6</sup> (3) At the place where Zartosht was born, five brothers have been, whose names were Brad-ruksh, Brad-royishn, Brad-resh the Tur [Bradrok-resh], Hazan, and Vadast.<sup>7</sup> (4) Their brotherhood of five – of which the

1 This is one form of the Pahlavi Ahunawar (see Dk. IX, 24.4). At this point the text in the MSS. is interrupted by the erroneous insertion of Chap. 12.8-16, the contents of a loose folio in some former copy, which have been restored to their original position in this translation.

2 Compare Dk. IX, 24.4.

3 Compare Dk. VII, 3.24, 25.

4 Av. “Karapā Usikhsh-cā” of Y. 44.20c; the Kavā, a third class of pre-Zoroastrian priests, is also mentioned *ibid.* 20 d. Compare Dk. VII, 2.9 n.

5 Av. Kahvaredha, Y. 60.6, 7 (Sp.) where it is translated by *kāstār*, “diminisher, devastator,” of whom it is here said to be the father; see also Yt. 3.9, 12, 16.

6 Compare the legend of the descent of the ape and bear from a demon and Yimāk, sister of Yīm, in Bd. 23.1.

7 As these names do not occur in the Avesta, their pronunciation has to be guessed so as to give a probable meaning to the Pahlavi spelling. The writing of the last name is complicated; it is written ~gEn and HgE in the two MS. authorities, which forms can be most obviously read Vasam and Saman, but Saman can also be read as the Zvārish yadā=dast, “a hand;” this leads to the conclusion that the original name underlies the form Vadast, and this is confirmed by the name of the Karap

middle one was Brad-resh the Tur, who became more of an adversary of Zartosht – was a semblance of the brotherhood of five who were sons of Pourushasp, of whom the middle one was Zartosht.

5. Of the four brothers of Zartosht, the names of the two before Zartosht were Ratushtar and Rangushtar, and of the two after him Nodariga and Nivedish.<sup>1</sup> (6) The middle position of Zartosht is for the reason that he is so produced at that time, as an intermedium of the early narrators and the later narrators, that three millenniums came before him and three after. (7) So that he has prescribed to the creatures in what manner he would teach the ancients as to what had occurred, and in what manner it is also to be done as regards what will occur; as is stated in the Gathas<sup>2</sup> thus: “Both those I ask of thee, O Ohrmazd! even whatever has happened till now, and whatever shall happen henceforth?”

## CHAPTER 16. *One Karb tries to kill Zartosht five times*

1. About the trials (auzmayishno) which occurred to him whose practice was lawful, and the signs of prophecy that are seen therein, it is thus declared, namely; “Another day, when the child had been born, Pourushasp called one of those five brothers of the race of Karbs, and spoke thus: ‘Fully observe the marks and specks of my son Zartosht.’”

2. The Karb went and sat down before Zartosht, and the head of Zartosht was thereupon severely twisted by him, in order that he should be killed; but he, being fearless, watched the wizards whose terror was distressing.<sup>3</sup> (3) As it was in those ten nights for hospitality, Ohrmazd sent Spandarmad, Aredvisur, and Ardafrawash<sup>4</sup> down to the earth, by way of female care; thereupon no variation occurred to the child, and, further, the hand of that Karb was withered,<sup>5</sup> and that wizard demanded the life<sup>6</sup> of Zartosht from Pourushasp for the harm from him, which sprang upon himself from his own action.

4. At the same time Pourushasp took Zartosht, and gave him to the

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Vaēdvōisht written at full length in Dk. VII, 4.21-24. See *ibid.* ii, 9 n.

1 These brothers seem unmentioned elsewhere, and the existence of the elder two would imply another mother. The pronunciation of the names is guessed.

2 Pahl. Y. 31.14 a.

3 Assuming that vōshīg stands for vēshīg=bēshīg.

4 The three female spirits that represent the earth, pure water, and guardian spirits, respectively.

5 Compare Dk. VII, 3.4-7.

6 Assuming that the MS. dēnō stands for jān.

Karb, that he might do with him according to his own will. (5) He seized him and threw him out, at the feet of the oxen who were going on a path to the water; the leader of that drove of oxen stood still in his vicinity, and 150 oxen, which walked behind it, were kept away from him thereby; and Pourushasp took him, and carried him back to the house.<sup>1</sup>

6. Also the second day, the Karb threw him out at the feet of the horses; and the leader of the horses stood still in the vicinity of Zartosht, and 150 horses, which walked behind it, were kept away from him thereby; and Pourushasp took him, and carried him back to the house.<sup>2</sup>

7. Also the third day, firewood is gathered together by the Karb, and Zartosht is deposited on it by him, the fire is stirred up by him, yet with the same result (*ham-būn-ic*), the child is not burnt by it, and those marks, which existed and were made upon him, were a preservation from it.<sup>3</sup>

8. And the fourth day, he is thrown by the Karb into the lair (*ashyanako*) of a wolf; the wolf was not in the lair, and when it wished to go back to the den (*surako*), it stopped when it came in front of some radiance, in the manner of a mother, at the place where its cub was. (9) In the night, Vohuman and Srosh the righteous brought a woolly (*kurushako*) sheep with udder full of milk into the den, and it gave milk to Zartosht, in digestible draughts (*guvarako guvarako*), until daylight.<sup>4</sup>

10. In the dawn, the mother of Zartosht went to that place, in the expectation that it would be necessary to bring a skeleton out of the den, and the woolly sheep came out and ran away; his mother supposed that it was the wolf, and she spoke thus: "Thou hast devoured to repletion; mayst thou endure for ever without it!" She went farther, and when she saw Zartosht quite safe, she then took him up and spoke thus: "I will not give thee to any one during life, not though both the provinces of Ragh and Nodar should arrive here together."<sup>5</sup>

12. Because these princes were among the spiritual from two provinces which are in *Atur-padakan*, such as are at sixty leagues (*parasang*) from *Chist*; Zartosht arose from *Ragh*, and *Vishtasp* from

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1 Compare Dk. VII, 3.11, 12.

2 Compare Dk. VII, 3.13, 14.

3 Ibid. 9, 10.

4 Ibid. 15-17; V, 2.4.

5 Ibid. 18, 19.

Nodar. (13) And of these two provinces, Ragh was according to the name of Eriko, son of Durasrobo, son of Manuschihar,<sup>1</sup> from whom arose the race of Zartosht; and Nodar was according to the name of Nodar, son of Manuschihar, from whom arose the race of Vishtasp.

### **CHAPTER 17. *Another foretells his glorious destiny***

1. These were his tokens at birth: – One day, one of those five brothers of the Karbs saw Zartosht, and he looked a long while upwards, downwards, and on all sides around.

2. Pourushasp inquired thus; “What was there when thou lookedst upwards, what when thou lookedst downwards, and what when thou lookedst on all sides?”

3. And he replied thus, namely: “When I looked upwards, it was for this reason, when I saw that our souls<sup>2</sup> that go up to the sky, will go up to the best existence,<sup>3</sup> owing to the words of this soul of mankind. (4) When I looked downwards, I saw that, owing to the action of this one, the demon and fiend, the wizard and witch become buried below the earth, and fall paralyzed back to hell. (5) And when I looked on all sides, I saw that the words of this one will extend through the whole earth; and when they have become as the law of the seven regions, each person is kept clothed with a robe (kapah) of seven skins, in which the glory of the seven archangels has arisen.”

6. And Brad-ruksh the Tur went forth; when he went to the right side (arako), Zartosht hastened away to the left, and when he went to the left side, Zartosht hastened to the right, and he is thereby concealed from Brad-ruksh the Tur, who has not met with him.

### **CHAPTER 18. *His father disagrees with him***

1. About his diverse want of participation (gvid akhvesih) with his parents this also is declared, that the demons, at an assembly of wizards, produced an outcry for a conference (ham-vaco layishno) thus: “That son of Pourushasp is senseless and foolish and secretly corrupted; no one, man or woman, will consider or accept him as

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1 Compare Chap. 13.6; Dk. VII, 2.70.

2 Assuming that the MS. gadā, “glory, or destiny,” has lost an initial n, with which it was originally nismā= Chald. NShMA “the soul;” as the copyists have not been aware of the existence of this Zvaris equivalent for rūbān, “the soul,” for some centuries, it has been altered into gadā, by the omission of its first letter, in nearly all but the very oldest existing MSS., such as K20 and M6 in Bd. 15.3-5, and even there the medial m is really missing, though apparently existing in the final ā; the irregularity of using s for sh is common in Pahlavi.

3 The ordinary heaven, see Dd. 20.3.

exalted.”

2. The tidings came to Pourushasp, and Pourushasp spoke unto Zartosht thus: “I thought that I had begotten a son who would become a priest, a warrior, and a husbandman, and now thou wouldst be foolish and secretly corrupted; thou shouldst proceed to the Karbs, so that they may cure thee.”

3. Zartosht gave answer thus: “I am he that is thy son, a priest, warrior, and husbandman.” (4) And, by command of Pourushasp he harnessed two horses to a chariot (vardino), and he went with Pourushasp.

5. When they came to the place according to the decision of Pourushasp, into the presence of one Karb of those said five brethren, that wizard took a cup and made water, and spoke thus: “This he should drink who is a son of thine, so that he may become well;” and he acted with this conviction, that so he would change to the same nature as theirs.

6. Zartosht spoke to Pourushasp thus: “Thou mayst give it back to him who is thy protector and high-priest;” and he arose (ākhējīd)<sup>1</sup> and went back to their place.

7. On the way, Zartosht gave their two horses water, on account of their thirst; and he thought thus: “Unprofitable was my going to the residence of the Karbs, except in this manner, when, through giving water to the horses, my soul was then expanded.”

### **CHAPTER 19. *And he disagrees with his father and the chief Karb***

1. About his interfering talk (andarg-gobishnoih) with the iniquitous, this also is declared, that one day Durasrobo<sup>2</sup> the Karb, as it were from the same five brethren, came out to the house of Pourushasp; and Pourushasp placed a bowl (jamako) of mare’s milk before him, and spoke to him thus: “Consecrate it.”

2. Zartosht expostulated with Pourushasp thus: I will consecrate it.” (3) Pourushasp spoke thus: He should consecrate, and the grace is to be offered up by you;”<sup>3</sup> and as many as three times they mutually disputed.

4. Then up stood Zartosht, and his right foot struck at the bowl and

1 T has “he saluted (nīyāyīd).” This legend has not yet been found elsewhere.

2 Spelt dūrēsrōbō in Zs., but Dūrāsrōbō in Dk.; also the former has always Pōrūshaspō, out the latter Pōrūshāspō. Compare the same legend in Dk. VII, 3.34-45.

3 Pahl. “valā aē yazēdō, afēd vāj dahishnō.”

emptied it, and he spoke thus: "I reverence righteousness, I reverence the righteous and the poor, men and women; do thou, O Pourushasp! prepare a portion for him in whom there is worthiness."

5. And Durasrobo spoke unto Zartosht thus: "As some of my portion of daily food was first thrown away by thee, it is I who will bring it on both thy lives, and will utterly destroy thee." (6) Zartosht spoke interruptingly<sup>1</sup> thus: "With complete mindfulness I will look upon thee with both eyes, and will utterly destroy thee."

7. And, for a long time, they constantly looked, one at the other, with unshrinking gaze; but the divine nature of Zartosht is victorious over the witchcraft of that wizard, and Durasrobo is further disturbed; he also asked for his horse and spoke thus: "On account of this boy, it is impossible for me to stay."

8. He sat upon the horse, and when he had gone a little way, he fell off from the horse, through severe distress, and died; and the children of his children's children have died upon the same spot.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER 20. *Legends indicative of his good disposition*

1. About the righteousness of his desires it is thus declared, that when he became fifteen years old, the sons of Pourushasp demanded a portion from their father, and their portions are allotted out by him. (2) Among the clothes there was a girdle [kusti], the width of which was four finger-breadths; and of the four<sup>3</sup> portions around and the girdle, which it was possible to bring forth, Zartosht selected the latter and tied it on himself. (3) This was owing to the precepts (parvanakan) of Vohuman who came into his reason at birth; as to whatever is not the custom his mind was now quite closed, and in that which is the custom it was impetuously exercised by him.

4. About his compassionate disposition and the streams of the Arag province,<sup>4</sup> this also is declared, that there was a river, and from

1 Or "inwardly."

2 Probably meaning that he died childless.

3 The MSS. have "three," but there were five sons (Chap. 15.5), and the numbers are written in ciphers which are very easily corrupted.

4 Pahl. "Aragistān ōdhāvō (T dnā)" = "odhā-ī Arangistānō" of P. Vd. I, 77 (Sp.); compare Av. "upa aodhaēshu Rang, hayau," of Vd. 1.19; Yt. 12.18. In the Iranian Bd. 20.8 we are told that "the Arang river is that of which it is said that it comes out from Alburz in the land of Surak, which they call also Sham (Shām); and it passes on through the land of Egiptos, which they call also Misr, and there they call it the swift river Egiptōis." It is one of the two mythical rivers which were supposed to bound the Iranian world, and seems to represent the Aras as a northern and the Nile as a western boundary. Arang often becomes Arag in Pahlavi, just as sang

them the body of a naked woman floated, for the reason that, on account of the strength and swiftness of the river, a woman, except when she was quite naked while she was in it, was not able to pass; and an old person, such as he who is of seventy years and is called in revelation a Hano,<sup>1</sup> for want of power (apādiyāvandīh rāi), was not able to go back through it by his own strength. (5) Zartosht came on to the bank of the water, and of women and old people seven persons had come, and are passed on by him, in the manner of a bridge;<sup>2</sup> it was an emblem of the spiritual performers<sup>3</sup> of bridging work, that is, of those providing a passage to heaven.

6. About his liberal disposition it is declared, that the fodder of Pourushasp, which was stored for the beasts of burden, was not only for the beasts of Pourushasp in a scarcity, but also for distribution among the beasts of others, which, owing to their hunger on account of the scarcity, then constantly ate off the tails of each other; and it was given to them plentifully.

7. About his abandoning worldly desire, and his laying hold of righteousness of way, this, too, is declared, that when he became twenty years old, without the consent (ben akamakih) of his father and mother, he wandered forth and departed from their house, and openly inquired thus: "Who is most desirous of righteousness and most nourishing the poor?" (8) And they spoke thus: "He who is the youngest (kēhistō) son of Aurvaito-dih<sup>4</sup> the Tur, who every day gives an iron caldron (jamak), which is the height of a horse, full of bread and milk and other food, unto the poor." (9) Zartosht went on to that place, and with his cooperation, for the nourishment of the poor, some of the chief men performed duty by carrying forth food for the poor.

10. About his compassion, not only upon mankind, but also his other creatures, this, too, is declared, that a bitch was seen by him, which had given birth to five<sup>5</sup> puppies, and it was three days then that she had not obtained food.<sup>6</sup> (11) Whomever she saw, she then advanced her mouth towards him, and became as it were prostrated; Zartosht provided a remedy, by swiftly bringing up bread for her, but

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becomes sag.

1 Av. hanō in Vd. 3.19, 20; etc.

2 Probably holding each other's hands.

3 The sacred beings who assist the righteous souls to pass over the Chinwad bridge.

4 See Dk. VII, 4.7 n.

5 T has "seven," but this difference may have arisen from an erroneous mode of writing the ciphers in T.

6 T has "a bone for food."

when he was bringing it she had expired.

12. About his own desire for the good quality<sup>1</sup> of a wife, on account also of the will of his parents, and his not mingling his own seed before a suitable obtainment, this, too, is declared, that when his father sought a wife for him, Zartosht argued with the bride (nēshā) thus: “Show me thy face, so that may find out (barkhām) its kind of appearance, and this, too, whether its appearance be undesirable, or shall not be gratifying;” and the bride turned away her face from him. (13) And Zartosht spoke thus: “Whoever takes away a sight from me, does not practice respect for me.”

14. About his having accepted progress even from the iniquitous, that listened sinfully desirous, who accepted so much advantageousness as was manifest, this, too, is declared, that he came into an assembly who were well known in the place for much knowledge, and he inquired of them thus: “What is most favorable for the soul?” (15) And they spoke thus: “To nourish the poor, to give fodder to cattle, to bring firewood to the fire, to pour Haoma-juice into water, and<sup>2</sup> to worship many demons with words, with the words which are called revelation (deno).” (16) Then Zartosht nourished the poor, foddered the cattle, brought firewood to the fire, and squeezed Haoma into water, but never are any demons whatever worshipped with words by Zartosht.

## CHAPTER 21. *His going to confer with Ohrmazd*

1. About his coming to thirty years of age if is thus declared, that on the lapse of thirty years onwards from his appearance, on the day Anagran of the month Spandarmad,<sup>3</sup> he had proceeded in that direction in which there occurred the so-called festival of spring (jashno-i vahar),<sup>4</sup> forty-five days beyond new-year’s day, at a place become specially noted, where people went, from many quarters, out to the place of festival (jashnocar).

2. When Zartosht, for the sake of going off to the festival place, halted on the way in walking, he chanced upon a solitary (aevatak) plain, and he saw, in a vision, that mankind and a much-adorned

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1 T has “good child-bearing.”

2 T inserts “not” here, which is clearly wrong, and must have been introduced by some copyist who did not observe that the assembly, though learned, was sinful; and that the object of the anecdote is to exhibit Zartosht’s ability to distinguish between good works and sin, when still untaught by the sacred beings.

3 On the last day of the twelfth Parsi month.

4 The Maidhyozaremaya (maidyozairem) season-festival, held on the fifteenth day of the second Zoroastrian month.



worldly existence were kept away to the north, so that all the people in the earth have become fully manifest in the north. (3) And he at the head (pavan tekḥ) of them was Maidok-mah, son of Arastai,<sup>1</sup> even as Arastai was brother of Pourushasp;<sup>2</sup> Maidok-mah was the leader of all mankind who have gone out to the presence of Zartosht, and he became their guide, so that first Maidok-mah and afterwards the whole material existence are attracted.

4. And about his coming out to the conference, on the lapse of those forty-five days, at the place of festival at dawn on the day Dadvo<sup>3</sup>-pavan-Mitro [Day-pa-Adar] of the month Ardwhisht. (5) And Zartosht, for the purpose of squeezing the Haoma, went forth to the bank of the water of the Daitya, because it is the river<sup>4</sup> of the conference for the supremacy (patih) of Zartosht, and is the water of Aban<sup>5</sup> which has consisted of four channels (beta). (6) Zartosht also passed on through it; and its first channel was up to the ankle,<sup>6</sup> the second up to the knee, the third up to the parting of the two thighs, and the fourth up to the neck. (7) This was an indicator that his religion comes four times to supremacy; the manifestations of which are through Zartosht, Ushedar, Ushedarmah, and Soshyant.<sup>7</sup>

8. When he came up from the water, and put on his clothes, he then saw the archangel Vohuman<sup>8</sup> in the form (āyūinakō) of a man, handsome, brilliant, and elegant, who wore his hair curve-tailed,<sup>9</sup> because the curved tail is an indication of duality; who had put on and wore a dress like silk, than which there was no making anything superior, for it was light itself; and his height was nine times as much as of Zartosht.

9. He also inquired of Zartosht<sup>10</sup> thus: "Who mayst thou be, and from whom of them mayst thou be? also what is mostly thy desire,

1 See Yt. 13.95.

2 So Maidok-mah (or Mēdyōmah) was first cousin of Zartosht, and became his first convert; see also Chap. 23.1.

3 The Pahlavi letters represent Av. dadhvau, "creator;" compare the Khvarizmian name of the fifteenth day of the month in Sachau's Albiruni, p. 57, l. 35. The date here given is the fifteenth of the second month, as in § 1.

4 Assuming that rud stands for rūd.

5 Probably Anahita, the female spirit of pure water, mentioned by her title Aredvisur in Chap. 16.3.

6 Literally "up to the leg (zang)."

7 The past and future apostles of Zoroastrianism. For the last three, see Dk. VII, 9-11.

8 Compare Dk. VII, 3.51-54.

9 Assuming that vajdumak is a variant of the usual gajdūmak. The scorpion (vajdum) would be a sign of duality, as, being a noxious creature, it was produced by the evil spirit Ahriman.

and the endeavor in thy existence?" (10) And he replied thus: "I am Zartosht of the Spitamas; among the existences righteousness is more my desire, and my wish is that I may become aware of the will of the sacred beings, and may practice so much righteousness as they exhibit to me in the pure existence."

11. And Vohuman directed Zartosht<sup>1</sup> thus: "Do thou proceed to an assembly of the spirits!" (12) As much as Vohuman walked on in nine steps, Zartosht did in ninety steps, and when he had gone ninety steps farther than him, he saw the assembly of the seven archangels. (13) When he came within twenty-four feet of the archangels, he then did not see his own shadow on the ground, on account of the great brilliancy of the archangels; the position of the assembly was in Iran, and in the direction of the districts on the bank of the water of the Daitya. (14) Zartosht offered homage, and spoke thus: "Homage to Ohrmazd, and homage to the archangels!" and he went forward and sat down in the seat of the inquirers.

15. As to the asking of questions by Zartosht, he inquired of Ohrmazd thus: "In the embodied world which is the first of the perfect ones, which the second, and which the third?" (16) And Ohrmazd replied thus: "The first perfection is good thoughts, the second good words, and the third good deeds."

17. Zartosht also inquired thus: "Which thing is good, which is better,<sup>2</sup> and which is the best of all habits?" (18) And Ohrmazd replied thus: "The title<sup>3</sup> of the archangels is good, the sight of them is better, and carrying out their commands is the best of all habits."

19. Afterwards he demonstrated the duality of the original evolutions (būn gashtānō),<sup>4</sup> and the divergence in each control, and spoke thus: "Of those spirits, he who was wicked preferred the practice which is iniquitous (Ahriman's desire was for the practice which is iniquitous), and the spirit of righteousness, the propitious (Ohrmazd) prefers righteousness."<sup>5</sup> (20) Specially he demonstrated the divergence in each control of the exhibitors of light, and he spoke thus: "Neither our thoughts,<sup>6</sup> nor desires, nor words, nor deeds, nor

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10 Compare Dk. VII, 3.55-59.

1 Compare *ibid.* 3.60-62.

2 Both MSS. have "worse" here.

3 This title, ameshaspenta, is "immortal benefactor."

4 The two prime movers in creation.

5 Quoted from Pahl. Y. 30.5 ab. The words in parentheses are glosses inserted by the Pahlavi translator.

6 Both MSS. have "spirits" by inserting a stroke in the middle of the Pahlavi word.

religion, nor spiritual faculties agree;<sup>1</sup> he who is loving light, his place is with the luminaries; and he who is loving darkness is with the dark ones.”<sup>2</sup>

21. On the same day also, his omniscient wisdom appeared three times: as regards the same first questions, it pointed out the sky in great light and splendor, and in its exhibition of the prevention of darkness, at the sight of which it becomes an opposing existence as regards that darkness. (22) And it exhibited its own appearance proportionally to the sky, when it kept its head at the summit of the sky, its feet at the bottom of the sky, and its hands reached to both sides of the sky; the sky also kept it covered, in the manner of a garment.

23. The six archangels<sup>3</sup> were manifest by their similar stature (ham-bashnih), in such manner that it is obvious each one successively is apparently one finger’s breadth shorter than the other. (24) The archangels exhibited three kinds of achievement (pasākhtan)<sup>4</sup> for the religion; first, by means of fires, and Zartosht walked three steps on them, with the words, “good thoughts, good words, and good deeds,” and was not burnt; and secondly, hot metal is poured on to his chest, cooled thereby, and, grasping it with his hand, he held it for the archangels. (25) Ohrmazd spoke thus: “After the establishment of the pure religion, when a dispute occurs in the religion, those who are thy disciples will pour it on to a spiritual lord, they will take it up with the hand, and will thoroughly believe in him who is over the whole embodied existence.” (26) The third was cutting with a knife, and the vital parts (ahvon) becoming visible, which are inside the abdomen. with a flowing forth of blood; and, after the hands are rubbed over it, it became healed. (27) And this is pointed out, namely: “Thy and thy co-religionists” accepting of the pure religion is, as to the steadfast in other religions, such that, through such-like burning of fire, pouring of hot metal, and through an operation with a sharp instrument, there is no perversion from the good religion.”

## CHAPTER 22. *His conferences with the archangels*

1. About the seven questionings (7-frashnoih), with reference to religion, of the seven archangels, which occurred in seven places.<sup>5</sup>

1 An imperfect quotation, omitting glosses, from Pahl. Y. 44.2 cde (Sp.).

2 A similar idea is expressed in Vd. 19.30, but the Pahlavi version of half of it is lost.

3 Apart from Ohrmazd, their president.

4 By way of ordeal, a relic of the old faith in incantation.

5 Compare Dk. VIII, 14.5, 6, 9.

2. For the occurrence of the first questioning,<sup>1</sup> that of Ohrmazd, the person of Zartosht, who was the upholder of Ohrmazd, came out to a conference on the bank of the water of Daitya.<sup>2</sup>

3. For the occurrence of the second, which is Vohuman's, five animals out of the five species<sup>3</sup> which are the worldly tokens of Vohuman, have come with Zartosht to a conference on Hugar and Ausind;<sup>4</sup> and on that day also, before their coming out to the conference, their tongues are fully liberated and spoke with human words. (4) And among the rest<sup>5</sup> is a fish of one species, Arzuva<sup>6</sup> by name; of those in burrows (khanoigano) are the white ermine and white marten; of the flying creatures (vayan-dagan) is the Karshipt,<sup>7</sup> a bird like a species of water-fowl; of the wide-travelers (farakhvoraftarano) is the hare which is showing wild beasts the way to the water; and of those suitable for grazing (carako-arjanigan) is the white ass-goat; with human words they also accepted the religion from Ohrmazd. (5) With the chieftainship of the five species they are entrusted, so that the like animals also, with their own voices, and as much as their knowledge is capable, shall recount the powerfulness of the religion. (6) And freedom from assault, exemption from persecution, and proper maintenance of the five species of animals, were prescribed by him<sup>8</sup> to Zartosht with seemingly very awful admonition.

7. For the occurrence of the third questioning, which is Ardwhisht's, the spirits of the fires have come out with Zartosht to a conference at the Tojan water;<sup>9</sup> and, in that questioning, care for the proper maintenance of the Warharan fire,<sup>10</sup> and the propitiation of all fires, is explained to him.

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1 This has been narrated in the preceding chapter.

2 See Dk. VII, 3.51, 54.

3 These species, which are named in § 4, are those mentioned in the Avesta, Visp. 1.1.

4 Av. Hukairyā of Yt. 12.24, and Us-hindu of Yt. 8.32, described in Bd. 12.5, 6, as two neighbouring mountains, for the pure water of Aredvisur falls from the summit of Hugar to Aūsind which stands in the circumambient ocean.

5 The remainder of K 35, the MS. brought by Westergaard from Kirman, is lost; but an old copy of it (BK, see the Introduction) exists in Bombay, which supplies the missing text, as an authority independent of T.

6 See Bd. 14.26; apparently the same as the Ariz, or Kar, the chief of fish, *ibid.* 18.3, 5; 24.13.

7 See Bd. 14.23; 19.16; 24.11.

8 By Vohuman, as the protector of useful animals.

9 Possibly the Tejend river, the Zend or Zōndak of Bd. 20.7, 15.

10 The Bahrām, or sacred fire at places of worship.

8. For the occurrence of the fourth questioning, which is Shahrewar's, the spirits of the metals have come with Zartosht to a conference at Sarai, a settlement on the Mivan;<sup>1</sup> and he was fully admonished about various proper preservations of the metals, and as to not producing warlike accouterments of gold.

9. For the occurrence of the fifth questioning, which is Spandarmad's, the spirits of the regions, frontiers, stations (austaman), settlements (rudastakan), and districts, as many as were desirable, have come out with Zartosht to a conference where there is a spring (khanigo-ae) which comes out from the Asnavad mountain,<sup>2</sup> and goes into the Daitya, like those of Sataves who is blowing the Pairigs.<sup>3</sup> (10) And Zartosht was also thus admonished by her, about the care and propitiation of the earth: that each district is to be entrusted to a faithful testifier (gokas-i vavar), each settlement to a judge acquainted with the law, each station to an officiating priest (magopato = mobed) of just intentions, and each frontier to a pure priestly authority (rado); over all is proclaimed the councilor of the spirits, the supreme priest (magopatano magopato), and through him the sovereignty of Ohrmazd is provided.

11. For the occurrence of the sixth questioning, which is Hordad's, the spirits of seas and rivers have come with Zartosht to a conference at the Asnavad mountain,<sup>4</sup> and he was told about the care and propitiation of water.

12. For the occurrence of the seventh questioning, which is Amurdad's, the spirits of plants have come out with Zartosht to a conference on the precipitous bank of the Dareja,<sup>5</sup> on the bank (bar) of the water of Daitya, and different places; and he was informed about the care and propitiation of plants.

13. The seven questionings are explained within the length of these winters, which are of five months, and within ten years.<sup>6</sup>

1 Names not clearly identified, and readings uncertain.

2 In Atur-patakan, and the Gushnasp, fire was established upon it (see Bd. 12.2, 26; 17.7).

3 Pahl. "Sataves-i Pairig damānō ānō cīgūn." Referring probably to Yt. 8.8, 9. Sataves is the southern chieftain of the stars, as correctly stated in the Iranian Bundahishn (compare Bd. 2.7; 13.12); and the Pairigs [Av. pairika] are meteors. [Whence Pers. Pari, Peri "fairy".]

4 See § 9.

5 Pahl. "pavan Darejīn zbār" = A v. "Drejya paiti zbarahi" of Vd. 19.4; a mythical river in Airan-vej (Eranvej), where Pourushasp resided (Bd. 20.32).

6 The Pahlavi is rather vague, but it is clear that Zaratusht starts for his conference at thirty years of age (Chap. 21.1), returns from it ten years later (Chap. 23.1), and the conversion of Vishtasp occupies two years longer (Chap. 23.5), occurring when

## CHAPTER 23. *Dates of conversions, births, and deaths*

1. On the completion of revelation, that is, at the end of the ten years, Maidok-mah, son of Arastai, became faithful to Zartosht.

2. Afterwards, on having obtained his requests,<sup>1</sup> he came back to the conference of Ohrmazd, and he spoke thus: "In ten years only one man has been attracted by me." (3) And Ohrmazd spoke thus: "There will be days when so few are not attracted by you, who are themselves the occasion of the resurrection of the world; when, apart from Dahak [Zohak],<sup>2</sup> the beneficence of the formation of the renovation of the universe attracts every one besides, and the impenitence of Dahak [Zohak] is destroyed."

4. When he came out from the presence of Ohrmazd, with the same paradox, he thereby indicated his religion as complete to Spandarmad through his intelligence.

5. In the two years after that,<sup>3</sup> the Kavigs and Karbs of Vishtasp, in the manner of opponents (hamestaranih), propounded thirty-three inquiries (khvāstakō)<sup>4</sup> to him, so that by command of Vishtasp he became the explainer of those thirty-three inquiries. (6) Of the thirty-three habits<sup>5</sup> of iniquity, come for opposition to the religion of the sacred beings, of the declaration, by revelation, of those thirty-three indications of fetters;<sup>6</sup> and of the restraint of the thirty-three iniquitous practices by the thirty-three best good works, there are statements in revelation. (7) Including the acceptance of the religion

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Zartosht was forty-two years old and thirty-five years before his passing away at the age of seventy-seven (Chap. 23.9). At this point another dislocation of text occurs in all existing MSS., owing to the accidental interpolation of three loose folios of another text, between this chapter and the next, in some unknown copy written before 1530. In the MSS. the text is written continuously, without division into chapters. But the connection of this chapter with the next one, which is here restored to its proper position, is clearly shown by the reference to the "ten years" of conference, with which this chapter ends, and the next one begins. The accidentally interpolated text is here classified as Chaps. 24 and 25, but its real connections have not yet been traced.

- 1 That is, the replies of the archangels to his enquiries.
- 2 See Dk. VII, 1.26. He was chained by Faridoon in Mount Damawand, to escape in the latter days, to be slain by Keresasp, and to be specially punished at the resurrection (Bd. 12.31 ; 30.16; Byt. 3.55-61).
- 3 See Dk. VII, 4.2.
- 4 See Dk. VII, 4.67.
- 5 Reading shōn = Pers. sān; but the MSS. have dēnō, "religions." The thirty sins and thirty-three good works, detailed in MX. 36, 37, are certainly referred to at the end of this section.
- 6 Compare Chap. 12.5, and Dk. VII, 4.67.

by Vishtasp from Zartosht, after the redemonstration of its judicially multiform prophecy and spiritual character, which are looked into through the evidence of three speakers about them, the archangels who, with worldly manifestation, have become apparent unto Vishtasp and his councilors and mighty ones; they are Vohuman, Ardwhisht, and the Burzin-Mihr fire.<sup>1</sup>

8. About the reward which existed before the beneficence of Zartosht, and its being seen how, through guidance by Ohrmazd, it is demonstrated by him to those of the world, so that Maidok-mah is attracted in the tenth year in the forest of reedy hollows (*kanyāstānō<sup>2</sup> vēshakō*) which is the haunt of swine of the wild-boar species (*khazura-i varazo gas*); in the twentieth year the Kavig who is son of Kundah<sup>3</sup> is attracted; in the thirtieth year the Khyons<sup>4</sup> arrive, who make an incursion (*vardako*) into the countries of Iran, owing to the Kavigs, those who are more of their own race; and in the fortieth year Vohunem, son of Avaroshtar,<sup>5</sup> is born.

9. In the forty-seventh year Zartosht passes away, who attains seventy-seven years and forty days in the month Ardwhisht, on the day Khur [*Khwarshed*];<sup>6</sup> and for eight rectified (*vehicako*) months, till the month Dadvo [*Day*] and day Khur [*Khwarshed*], he should be brought forward as to be revered.

10. In the same month Ardwhisht, in the sixty-third<sup>7</sup> year, Frashostar<sup>8</sup> passed away, and in the sixty-fourth year Jamasp,<sup>9</sup> the same as became the priest of priests after Zartosht; in the seventy-third year Hangaurush, son of Jamasp;<sup>10</sup> in the eightieth year Asmok-

1 See Dk. VII, 4.74.

2 Hybrid Zvārish of Pers. *nayistān*.

3 Or *Kūnīh* which is the name of a demon (see Sg.16.13, 16, 18, 19); but such an identification is uncertain.

4 Av. *Hvyaona* of Yt. 9.30, 31; 17.50, 51. Compare Dk. VII, 4.77, 83, 84, 87-90; v, 7.

5 Av. gen. "Vohu-nemang, hō Avāraoshtrōis" of Yt. 13.104.

6 The eleventh day of the second month.

7 T has 43 d, and the date is lost in the other MS. authority. But 43 d is highly improbable for two reasons: first, it would make this date the only one out of chronological order in the series here given; secondly, it would render it inconsistent with the statement, in Dk. VII, 6.12, that two priests came, from other regions, to ask Frashostar about the religion, fifty-seven years after it had been accepted by Zartosht. By substituting 63 d (the Pahlavi cipher most likely to be corrupted into 43 d) both these inconsistencies are removed.

8 See Dk. VII, 6.12; V, 2.12.

9 See Dk. V, 2.12; 3.4.

10 Av. gen. "Hang-haurushō jāmāspanahē" of Yt. 13.104.

khanvato,<sup>1</sup> and also in the eightieth year Kated-ush-spae,<sup>2</sup> who is called also Akht the wizard, is killed.

11. Of the six great upholders of the religion there are the two daughters of Zartosht, whose names are Freno and Srito,<sup>3</sup> with Aharubo-stoto, son of Maidok-mah,<sup>4</sup> and another three, who are renowned for their religion for a hundred years, who are Vohunem<sup>5</sup> that is born in the fortieth year of the religion, Sheno<sup>6</sup> is afterwards born and passes away in the two-hundredth year, and as to his hundred-discipledom,<sup>7</sup> it exists day and night till the three-hundredth year. (12) Afterwards the religion is disturbed and the monarchy is contested (jangaio).

13. About the three customs (dado) which Zartosht prescribed as the best: – The first of them is this: “Do not go without others, except with magisterial authority (apatkar radiha);” the second is: “Though they shall proceed unlawfully as to you, consider your actions lawfully beforehand;” and the third is: “Next-of-kin marriage, for the sake of the pure progress of your race, is the best of the actions of the living, which are provided for the proper begetting of children.”<sup>8</sup>

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1 Av. gen. “Asmō-hvanvatō” of Yt. 13.96, and Westergaard’s Yt. 22.37.

2 As kated is Zvārish for “many,” we may assume that kated-ūs = Av. nom. pourush which usually becomes pouru in compounds; so that the compound name, or title, in the text, probably represents Av. Pouruspādha (Yt. 10.109, 111), “having many troops,” a suitable title for Akht the wizard (Av. Akhtya of Yt. 5.82) who is said, in Yavisht i Friyan 1.2, to have invaded a district with an army of seven myriads. He was killed, in Zoroastrian fashion, by the recital of a religious formula.

3 There was a third daughter, Pouruchasht (see Bd. 32.5), but she may not have survived her father.

4 Av. gen. “Ashastvō Maidhyōi-maung-hōish” of Yt. 13.106.

5 See § 8.

6 He was born in the 100<sup>th</sup> year; see Dk. VII, 7.6.

7 This seems to be the sixth upholder of the religion, the third of those lasting about a century.

8 This chapter ends the first series of Selections of Zadspram, and is immediately followed in the MSS. by a second series. It is evident from the extent of this chapter, as compared with the amount of text contained in the three misplaced folios (see Chap. 22.13 n), that this chapter could have occupied only about one folio and a half in the dislocated MS., so that the second series must have commenced on the same folio as contained the end of this chapter, and that Chaps. 24, 25 cannot have belonged to this series. The three misplaced folios contain two distinct texts; the first (Chap. 24) is an Iranian version of the Five Dispositions of priests and the Ten Admonitions, and is here translated; the second (Chap. 25) contains some details about the Nasks and Gathas.



## CHAPTER 24. *Five dispositions of priests and ten admonitions*

1. About the five dispositions of priests, and the ten admonitions with which all instruction as to religion is connected.<sup>1</sup>

2. Of those five dispositions the first is innocence.

3. The second is discrimination among<sup>2</sup> thoughts, words, and deeds; [to fully distinguish the particulars of destruction from indestructiveness, such as noxious creatures from cattle; and of production from unproductiveness, such as the righteous and worthy from the wicked and unworthy].

4. The third is authoritativeness, because that priestly master is always wiser and speaking more correctly who is taught wisely and teaches with more correct words.

5. The fourth is to<sup>3</sup> [understand and consider the ceremonial as the ceremonial of Ohrmazd, and the essentials with all goodness, beneficence, and authority; to be steadfast in his religion, and to consider the indications of protection (sāyag)<sup>4</sup> which are established for his religion. (6) To maintain the reverence of the luminaries prayerfully, also the reverence of the emanations<sup>5</sup> from the six<sup>6</sup> archangels, be they fire, be they earth, or be they of bodily form, and of the creatures which are formed by them; also the pure cleansing from dead matter, menstruation, bodily refuse, and other hurtfulness; this is in order that they may be characterized, and thereby constituted, as better-principled, more sensible,<sup>7</sup> and purer, and they may become less faulty. (7) The reverence of mankind is to consider authoritatively about knowledge and property; the reverence of cattle is about fodder, little hardship, and moderate maintenance; the reverence of plants is about sowing and ripening for the food of the

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1 This Iranian version of the Dispositions and Admonitions is more complete than the Indian version, which, like the Bundahishn, was brought from Iran five or six centuries ago, and is found in two MSS. (Pt. and J) written in India about 500 years ago, and now in the libraries of Dasturs Dr. Peshotan and Dr. Jamasp, respectively. Passages which occur only in the Iranian version are here enclosed in brackets, and other differences between the two versions are mentioned in the notes.

2 The Indian version has "of."

3 Ind. vers. has only: "to celebrate the ceremonial of the sacred beings with the correct words, inward prayers, and complete mastery of the text (narm-nasgihā) in the ritual." It omits §§ 6-8 altogether.

4 T has "limit (kūstak)."

5 T has "issue."

6 .T has "seven."

7 Or "more fragrant;" hū-bōdtaṛ has both meanings.

worthy. (8) The ceremonial which is glorifying all the sacred beings, praises the luminaries and worldly creations improperly, and is antagonistic to them, because complete glorification is proper through complete recitation of the ritual; and the ceremonial of any one whatever is his own proper duty professionally, so long as it is possible to keep proceeding with very little sinfulness].

9. The fifth is to struggle prayerfully,<sup>1</sup> day and night, with your own fiend,<sup>2</sup> and all life long not to depart from steadfastness, nor allow your proper duty<sup>3</sup> to go out of your hands.

10. And the first of those ten admonitions is to proceed with good repute, for the sake of occasioning approving remarks as to<sup>4</sup> the good repute of your own guardian and teacher, high-priest and master.<sup>5</sup>

11. The second is to become awfully refraining from evil repute, for the sake of evil repute not occurring to relations and guardians.

12. The third is not to beat your own teacher with a snatched-up stick, and not to bring scandal upon his name, for the sake of annoying him, by uttering that which was not heard from your own teacher.

13. The fourth is that whatever is taught liberally by your own teacher, you have to deliver back to the worthy, for the sake of not extorting a declaration of renown from the righteous.<sup>6</sup>

14. The fifth is that the reward of doers of good works and the punishment of criminals have to be established by law, for the sake of progress.<sup>7</sup>

15. The sixth is to keep the way of the good open to your house, for the sake of making<sup>8</sup> righteousness welcome in your own abode.

16. The seventh is that, for the sake of not developing the fiend insensibly in your reason, you are not to keep it with the religion of the good,<sup>9</sup> nor to remain in impenitence of sin.

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1 Ind. vers. has: "to remain in diligence intelligently."

2 Ind. vers. has: "opponent."

3 Ind. vers. has: "steadfastness in religion, and to be diligent in your proper duty." But it omits the rest of the sentence.

4 Ind. vers. has: "for the sake of the appropriateness of."

5 Or "father."

6 T has: "not extracting the purity of the righteous."

7 Ind. vers. adds: "of religion."

8 Ind. vers. inserts: "a token of;" and T has: "making the righteousness of the sacred beings in writing welcome."

9 Ind. vers. has: "not to maintain malice with the good," which is more probable, and

17. The eighth<sup>1</sup> is that, for the sake of severing the fiend from the reason, you have to force malice away from your thoughts, and to become quickly repentant of sin.

18. The ninth is to fully understand the forward movement<sup>2</sup> of the religion, also to keep the advancing of the religion further forwards, and to seek your share of duty therein; and on a backward movement, when adversity happens to the religion, to have the religion back again, and to keep your body in the continence (*makavadih*) of religion.

19. The tenth is that there is to be a period of obedience (*Sroshdarih*) towards the ruler and priestly authority, the high-priesthood of the religious.

## CHAPTER 25. *About the three divisions of revelation*

1. About the three divisions of revelation there is a condensed medium, beneficial and small, of whose subdivision one category (*rajistakō*) is collection together; that is, the *Ahunwar*<sup>3</sup> itself is a symbol of the Nasks.

2. First, the *Ahunwar* is apportioned into its three degrees (*padmān*), as shown in another chapter; and by a like system (*rajistak*) the *Gathas*,<sup>4</sup> too, are into three, which are the three-lined, four-lined, and five-lined;<sup>5</sup> even so the Nasks are denominated *Gathic*, *Hadha-mathric*, and *Law*. (3) Then the *Ahunwar* is apportioned into six: which they call half-lines (*nem-gas*); so, too, the *Gathas* are into six, which are called the *Ahunavaiti Gatha*, the *Yasna*, the *Ushtavaiti*<sup>6</sup> *Gatha*, the *Spenta-Mainyu* (*Spetamato*) *Gatha*, the *Vohu-khshathra Gatha*, and the *Vahishtoishti Gatha*; even so the Nasks are into six, as

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*kēnō*, “malice,” is easily corrupted into *dēnō*, “religion,” in Pahlavi writing.

- 1 This eighth admonition is omitted in the -Iranian MSS.
- 2 Ind. vers. adds: “and backward movement.”
- 3 See Dk. VIII, 1.7.
- 4 The word *gāsānō* is usually written like *dahishnō* in the MS.
- 5 The three-lined stanzas of the *Gathas* are 100 in the *Ahunawad* (Yas. 28-34), 40 in the *Yasna Haptanghaiti* (Yas. 35-41), and 22 in the *Wohukhshathra* (Yas. 51). altogether 162 three-lined stanzas; the four-lined are one in the *Ushtawad* (Yas. 46.15), 41 in the *Spentomad* (Yas. 47-50), and nine in the *Wahishtoishti* (Yas. 53), altogether 51 four-lined stanzas; and the five-lined stanzas are the remaining 65 in the *Ustawad* (Yas. 43-46); making the total of 278 stanzas mentioned in § 5. Yas. 42 is a later supplement to the *Yasna Haptanghaiti*, and, in the MSS. Pt4, Mf4, it is headed as follows :-*Avar vaharakō-i haft hādō Yastō yazishnīk būn*, “the beginning of worshipping as regards the portions of the *Yasna* of seven *hās*.”
- 6 The MS. corrupts these two names into the one word *asnavatō* by omitting the syllables *aūshta*.

the Gathas are into two, which are called one the Gathic creation – which is the Yasht<sup>1</sup> – and one the rest of the Gathic; also the Hadha-mathric into two, one the Mathra of the arranger – which is the Pacino and Rado-dado-aito<sup>2</sup> – and one the Mathra full of good tokens, which is the rest of the Hadha-mathra; and also the Law into two, one the law against the demons – which is the Vendidad<sup>3</sup> – and one the law of Zartosht, which is the rest of the Law. (4) Then it is apportioned into twenty-one, such as the twenty-one words (marik) of the Ahunwar; also the Gathas are into twenty-one, which are the Ahunwar, the praise of righteousness, the performance of the good, and from Yanim-mano unto Airyaman<sup>4</sup> which, being accomplished (akardo), are twenty-one; and the Nasks are twenty-one.

5. Then the Gathas are apportioned into 278<sup>5</sup> stanzas (vecesto); and the Nasks also into 278 categories, every single category having borne a form like a single verse,<sup>6</sup> as regards how much and how anything good is indicated, such as the Patkar-radistan,<sup>7</sup> in which what is legally disputable is reported (pedako); the Zakhmistan,<sup>8</sup> by which the penalty of assault (zakhm) is reported; the Storistan,<sup>9</sup> by which the sin and amount of penalty for a wound, as regard beasts of burden and cattle, are reported; the Arateshtaristan,<sup>10</sup> by which battle is reported; the Pasush-haurastan,<sup>11</sup> by which the customary keeping of sheep in control is reported; the Jurdai-zaritunistan (‘corn-sowing code’),<sup>12</sup> by which agriculture is reported; the Varistan,<sup>13</sup> by which an ordeal being accomplished is reported; and others of a like

- 1 The Stōd-yasht, or first of the Gathic Nasks (see Dk. VIII, Chap. 1.9).
- 2 The third and fourth of the Hadha-manthric Nasks (ibid. 10).
- 3 The fifth of the Legal Nasks (ibid. 11).
- 4 The three sacred formulas, Yatha-ahu-vairyo (Ahunwar), Ashem-vohu, and Yenghe-hatam, with the seventeen hās of the five real Gathas, and either the Yasna Haptanhaiti, counted as a single item, or the Airyaman, will make up the twenty-one divisions (compare the names applied to each fargard of the Sudgar, Warsht-mansr, Bag Nasks in Dk. IX).
- 5 See § 2 n; here the MS. has 288, by miswriting, in both occurrences of the ciphers.
- 6 Doubtful; the text appears to be as follows :-kolā rajistakō-aē bürdō shan mānāk ak gāh.
- 7 See Dk. VIII, Chap. 16.
- 8 Equivalent to Zatamistān (ibid. Chap. 17), see Darmesteter’s suggestion (ibid. Chap. 16.8 n).
- 9 Ibid. Chap. 24; here spelt Stōritān by mistake.
- 10 Ibid. Chap. 26.
- 11 Ibid. Chap. 23; here written Pasūsh-hauristān.
- 12 Ibid. Chap. 31.30-32.
- 13 Ibid. Chap. 42; here written Varistān.

description.

6. Then the Gathas are apportioned into 1016<sup>1</sup> metrical lines (gas), and the Nasks into 1000 Has and Fargards,<sup>2</sup> and, since the Hadokht<sup>3</sup> is the priestly master (rado) of the Nasks, and the remedy<sup>4</sup> (darmōn) which is a perfect statement about the master of the resurrection, the existence of its fargards about the other fargards is therefore 1000 remedies fully combined, being the corn and fodder that are shut up (bastako) when, over that thousand, they supply one that is great, which in every way protects them from hail and rain, from the wind which is hot and that which is cold.

7. Then the Gathas are apportioned into 6666 words (mārīk),<sup>5</sup> and as to the Nasks, too, their own 6666 ordinances (dadistano) are therein severed. (8) And the 6666 words, which are in the Gathas, are an indicator of the period from the adversary having come to the creatures, as far as unto the end of the six millenniums<sup>6</sup> – each millennium being ten centuries – which amount to 60 single centuries – a century being ten tens<sup>7</sup> – and up to the time when its<sup>8</sup> cold and distress arrive, which become awful; the 600, including the excess as far as one ten,<sup>9</sup> are years of the 6000 years which are the words of the

1 See Shayest ne-Shayest 13.50; that this number is correct may be seen from the details given in § 2 n.

2 See Dk. VIII, Chap. 1.20; here .the MS. has āyūinō instead of hātō, by miswriting.

3 The sixth of the Gathic Nasks (see Dk. VIII, Chap. 1.9).

4 See Dk. VIII, Chap. 45.13, where the word used is bēshāzō.

5 According to Shayest ne-Shayest 13.50 the six Gathas (including the Yasna Haptanghaiti) contain 5567 vācak, 9999 mārīk, and 16,554 khūrdak; which enumeration makes the meaning of mārīk doubtful. In our present text, however, it must have its usual meaning of “word,” as the number of 6666 words in the six Gathas can be obtained by including the customary repetition of the first stanza of each Hā of the five real Gathas, with the text of the Airyaman and of the introductions to Y. 28, 35, and probably the homage formula prefixed to each Gatha; also by considering each component of a compound as a separate word, and all verbal prefixes as separable; and by counting all enclitics except -ca, in accordance with the different modes of treating -cit and -cā in counting the words of the Ahunwar. If the three sacred formulas were included, and the Airyaman and five homage formulas were omitted, the total would be nearly the same.

6 The three millenniums during which Ohrmazd and Ahriman had nearly equal influence, and the last three millenniums during which the power of Ahriman diminishes (see Bd. 1.20).

7 Assuming that # b stands for ##.

8 Assuming that mūnash, “whose,” stands for amatash.

9 As the cipher for “one” precedes that for “ten,” it may possibly mean “one less than ten,” as in the Roman IX. At any rate, 6609 years with the 57 accounted for in § 9 make up the requisite total of 6666; but the mode of making this number correspond with the six millenniums is not very clear.

six Gathas that are the first indicator of the six millenniums; therefore of the 60 centuries are then the 600 and those which are added to them (zak-i ghal).

9. And after those 6000, which are the 6000 years, are the Airyaman<sup>1</sup> of Ardwahisht and the accompanying sayings (ham-vaco) which are at the end of the Gathas; those are the 57 years of Soshyant,<sup>2</sup> and for the sake of them, too, are the Airyaman and from the praise of righteousness at its end to the consecration of the Airyaman, originally 57 words (marik), because the praise of righteousness for the Airyaman is 12, and the consecration of the Airyaman is 21, of the original 57.<sup>3</sup>

### CHAPTER 34. On the final rehabilitation (frashgird).

1. It is revealed<sup>4</sup> in the Religion that Zartosht asked Ohrmazd (saying), "Shall bodily creatures who have passed away on earth, receive their bodies back at the final rehabilitation or shall they be like unto shades?"

2. Ohrmazd said, "They shall receive their bodies back and shall rise again."

3. And Zoroaster asked (saying), "He who hath passed away is torn apart by dog and bird and carried off by wolf and vulture: how shall (their parts) come together again?"

4. Ohrmazd said, "If thou who art Zartosht hadst to make a wooden casket, would it be easier to make it if thou hadst no wood and yet hadst to cut and fit it, or if thou hadst a casket and its parts were sundered one from the other and thou hadst to fit it together again?"

5. Zartosht said, "If I had a branch of wood, it would be easier than if I had no wood; and if I had a casket (and its parts were sundered one from the other), it would be easier ...."

6. Ohrmazd said, "When those creations were not, I had power to fashion them; and now when they have been and are scattered abroad, it is easier to fit them together again. (7) For I have five store-keepers who receive the bodily substance of those who have passed away. One is the earth which keeps the flesh and bone and sinews of men: one is the water which keeps the [flesh and] blood: one is the

1 Y. 54.1.

2 Or Sōshans. See Dk. VIII, Chap. 14.14; Bd. 30.7.

3 The Airyaman contains 24 words, its Ashem-vohu 12, and its consecration (Y. 54.2) 21 words, making altogether 57 words.

4 Tr. of this chapter is from ZZZ, pp. 348 ff.

plants which preserve the hair of the head and the hair of the body: one is the light of the firmament(?) which receives the fire: and yet another is the wind which [gives back] the spirit of my own creatures at the time of the rehabilitation.

8. I call upon the earth and ask of it the bone and flesh and sinews of Gayomard and the others. (9) The earth saith, "How shall I bring them, for I know not which is the [bone, flesh, and sinews] of the one [and which of the other]?"

10. I call upon the water of the Arang which is the Tigris among rivers (saying), "Bring forth the blood of those men who are dead." (11) [The water] saith, "How shall I bring it, for I know not which is the blood of the one and which of the other?"

12. I call upon the plants and ask of them the hair of the dead. (13) The plants say, "How shall we bring it, for we know not which is the hair of the one and which of the other?"

14. I call upon the wind and ask him for the spirit of those men who are dead. (15) The wind saith, "How shall I bring it, for I know not which is the spirit of the one and which of the other?"

16. When I who am Ohrmazd look down upon the earth, water, plants, light, and wind, in my clear sight I know and distinguish the one from the other: for in my omniscience and clear thought I distinguish the one from the other even as when a man milks the milk of female beasts and it runs down upon this earth in the same channel, one stream into the other, he knows of which of his beasts it is. I recognize them even as when a man hath thirty horses and each horse has a caparison with a mark on it (to show) to which horse it belongs, and those thirty caparisons stand together, and the man (then) wishes to know; he takes off the caparisons and knows by the mark on the caparison which of his horses is which.

17. I shall send forth Airyaman the Messenger among whose duties is the fulfilment of the end. (18) He will bring the bone and blood and hair and light and spirit of Gayomart and Mashye and Mashyane. (19) And first shall I fit together again the bones of Gayomart -- and the bones of Mashye and Mashyane lie together near him, to the right and to the left--these shall I bring forth.

20. And it is easier for me to fit together and create again the twelve creations that I created in the beginning: first when I created the sky without pillar or support which no material creature supports from any side; and second when I established the earth in the middle of the sky so that it was nearer to neither side, like the yolk of an egg in the middle of an egg; and third when I fashioned the Sun: fourth when I fashioned the Moon; [fifth when I fashioned the stars;] sixth

when I created many hues, colours, and tastes in the plants; seventh when I created fire within the plants and it did not burn; eighth when I brought corn to the earth, and when it is full grown, it bears fruit and serves as food for man and kine; ninth when I formed the embryo within female creatures and covered it up so that it did not die and, as it grew, I revealed one by one the bone, blood, hair, phlegm, sinews, and nails; tenth when I made birds in bodily form to fly in the air; eleventh when I gave the water feet moving forward like unto a hare(?); twelfth [when I created the clouds] that carry the water up and rain it down.”

21. The creating of creation, the progress of Religion, and the final rehabilitation are like unto the building of a house. (22) For a house can only be completed by means of three things, that is the foundation, the walls, and the roof. Creation is the foundation, the progress of Religion the walls, and the rehabilitation the roof. (23) As when a man desires to build a house, he chooses three men of whom one is most skilled in laying the foundation, one in raising the walls, and one in making the roof; and each is assigned to his proper work. Till the foundation was laid and the walls raised, it was not possible (to make the roof). (24) He who bade the house (be built) knows clearly how many things are needed to complete it~ and because he has no doubt concerning the skill of the maker of the roof, long does he confidently wait. When the walls are completed, it is as easy for him whose business is the roof, to roof (the house) in as (it is) for the other two in the work that is assigned to them.

25. And again the rehabilitation was like unto a dark night: when the night draws to its close, the Sun rises over three corners of the earth and returns to its proper place and completes its cycle and comes to shine anew and smites the darkness and gloom.

26. It was like unto the Moon which waxes for fifteen (nights) and for fifteen wanes. When it has completely disappeared, it is born anew and is manifest in the sheen (it has) from the Sun, the lord of lights: the restoration of the world of the resurrection is made manifest thereby.

27. It was like unto the year in which, in spring, the trees blossom, in summer they bear fruit, in autumn they bear the last fruits, and in winter they become dry and as if dead. (28) When the order of the years is fulfilled. Mihr (the Sun) returns to his first place, day and night are equal in measure. and the atmosphere (returns to) its original(?) equilibrium.

And the resurrection of the dead is like unto dry trees and shrubs that put forth new foliage and shoot forth tender saplings. (29) Since



stability must be restored the end of all natural things is in the same manner as their beginning, even as man whose coming to be springs from the semen or as the plants whose becoming is from seed; their perfection and end are in the selfsame seed.

30. In the Religion thus is it revealed -- When Ahriman rushed into creation, he had the brood of the demon Whore of evil religion as his companion even as a man has a whore woman as his bedfellow; for verily the whore is a demon: and he appointed the demon Whore queen of her brood, that is the chief of all the whore demons, the most grievous adversary of the Blessed Man.

31. And [the demon Whore] of evil religion joined herself [to the Blessed Man]; for the defilement of females she joined herself to him, that she might defile females; and the females, because they were defiled, might defile the males, and (the males) would turn aside from their proper work.

32. And he chose a captain of his commanders who is none other than Az (concupiscence): and he gave her four commanders to help her, who are Wrath and Winter and Old Age and Bane, like unto the East and West and South and North. (33) Az chose commanders, captains of the right and captains of the left, which are hunger and thirst: so too did Old Age (choose) lamentation and mourning: so too did Bane (choose) excess and deficiency.

34. At the final rehabilitation first a means of overcoming Az is sought, for she is the captain of the commanders of the other lies, and from her has Ahriman of evil religion most strength. (35) When first creation began to move and Zurvan for the sake of movement brought that form, the black and ashen garment to Ahriman, (he made) a treaty in this wise, "This is that implement like unto fire, blazing, harassing all creatures, that hath the very substance of Az. When the period of nine thousand years comes to an end, if thou hast not perfectly fulfilled that which thou didst threaten in the beginning, that thou wouldst bring all material existence to hate Ohrmazd and to love thee -- and verily this is the belief in the one principle, that the increaser and destroyer are the same -- then by means of these weapons Az will devour that which is thine, thy creation; and she herself will starve; for she will no longer obtain food from the creatures of Ohrmazd -- like unto a frog that liveth in the water; so long as it defileth the water, it liveth by it, but when the water is withdrawn from it, it dieth parched."

36. And Az because she had only one nature, had not the power to cause defilement as long as creatures were dispersed. That her powers might work together within creation, she divided them in three, that is

“that pertaining to natural functions,” “that pertaining to natural functions directed outward,” and “that outside the natural functions.” That pertaining to the natural functions consists in eating on which life depends: that pertaining to the natural functions directed outward is the desire to mingle (copulate) which is called lust (Varan) through which, by a glance outward, the inwards are excited and the natural functions of the body thrown into turmoil: that outside the natural functions is the yearning for whatever good thing one sees or hears.

37. Each part was divided into two: that pertaining to the natural functions is hunger and thirst; that pertaining to natural functions directed outward is the emitting and receiving (of seed); that outside the natural functions is hoarding by robbery and refusing to give through avarice.

38. This is she who comprises (all) evil. And it is revealed that at the end Ardwhisht will come to earth with the powerful help of Airyaman, the Messenger, to find a means of overcoming Az, and he will show to creatures that the slaughter of the divers kinds of cattle is a grievous sin and that the profit therefrom is small: and this will he command, “Ye are men; slaughter not the cattle even as hitherto ye have slaughtered them.”

39. When the time of the rehabilitation shall draw nigh, those who hearken to the command of Ardwhisht will turn from the slaughter of cattle and the eating of flesh, and one quarter of the power of Az will dwindle, and the strength that is in her body will be destroyed, and the darkness and gloom will be smitten in part: nature will be clad in spirit and intelligences will be more clearly grasped.

40. In the bodies of the children that are born to them Az shall be less strong and their bodies shall stink less, and their nature will be more closely bound to the gods. Instructed by the gods they will turn away from the drinking of milk; half the power of Az will dwindle. (41) And those who are born to them will be sweet-smelling, lacking darkness, spiritual in nature, without offspring, for they will not eat.

42. And then the demon Az, since she will derive no power from the creatures of Ohrmazd, will chide Ahriman who appointed her captain of his commanders (saying) in her greed to the judge of creatures, “Satisfy me, satiate me, for I derive nor food nor strength from the creatures of Ohrmazd.” (43) At the command of Ahriman she will destroy the lesser demons. At the last (only) those four commanders will remain, and the other two, even Ahriman and Az.

44. Forth to the earth come Ohrmazd and Ahriman, Srosh and Az. Ohrmazd smites Ahriman: so long as Az was in league with Ahriman, he found no means of overcoming him, for Ohrmazd is the all-creator

of light; and the darkness of Ahriman is his adversary: Srosh, the moderate and blessed, is the genius of the Mean and the excess and deficiency of Az are his adversary: they are of equal stature in the battle. (45) But when Az is [no longer] in league with (Ahriman), Ahriman is alone, and his adversaries are three -- two of a different substance, that is Ohrmazd and Sros, and one of the same substance, that is Az, his greatest ally (heretofore). When his helpmate turns to enmity, the Adversary will be vanquished.

46. When fifty-seven years have yet to pass till the final rehabilitation, the birth of Sosyans will come to pass, the consummation of that which was bestowed on Zartosht.

47. Concerning Zartosht thus is it revealed -- for thirty years he conferred with Ohrmazd, and he received the Religion and spread godliness abroad. In fifty-seven years the Religion reached the seven climes in part. When the Religion made progress, the Lie, once manifest and plain to see, [fled] beneath the earth and its power was partially destroyed.

48. When the Messenger of the consummation who is Sosyans, the envoy and Airyaman, appears on earth, in like manner will he confer for thirty years with the spiritual gods. The term allotted for the final rehabilitation is also fifty-seven years. The Religion will reach the seven climes in its plenitude, and by the wholeness of its propagation the Lie will be uprooted from creation.

49. When the Aggressor came upon creation, six thousand years of the "reckoned calendar" remained -- that is from the day of Ohrmazd in the month of Frawardin until the period returns to the day of Ohrmazd in the month of Frawardin. For the completion of six thousand years of the intercalating calendar the equivalent of four years (is needed): for in every four years there is one intercalated day, not more: in six thousand years that is the equivalent of four years. At that time will come the sign of the resurrection, and the firmament will move (from its course) and the course of the Sun, Moon, and stars will be \*like to the planets\* (?) ; and as the firmament turns, so will the atmosphere and the seas, the earth and the abodes (of men) turn from their natural [paths]. On the earth, in the likeness of springs of water, springs of fire will arise in many places. (So) For Ohrmazd created with water and will bring about the end with fire: for water has a nature that illumines the seed and causes it to grow, and fire (a nature) that burns and thwarts it: for when the seed of plants comes to water, it receives the power of growth and becomes moist.

51. When the fire appears on earth, the waters begin to sink and the rain ceases to rain till most of the waters on the earth are turned

into desert, and the colour of plants on earth turns to the colour of wine(?) because of their union with fire, and they are burnt up and the tillage will be of no effect.

52. When but three months have yet to pass before the Resurrection, it will come to the great battle even as in the beginning creation wrestled with the Lie. For ninety days and nights there was war, a battle of thirty days and nights by the rain that smites noxious beasts, of thirty days and nights by the streaming forth of the vapours through which the plants grow, of thirty days and nights by the wind which drives the water on and supports the earth below and above and makes hollows and heights.

53. But as the great battle in the beginning was by the raining of water and the wind that furthers water, so is the (battle) in the end by the burning and scorching of fire and the fearful wind that makes the fire to blaze.

54. As (first) for ninety days and nights the gods did battle with the demons and the Whore, so in the end, manifest and plain, there will be seen by night and in the atmosphere a form of fire in the shape of a man, conceived by the spiritual gods, riding, as it were, a fiery horse, and fearful (to behold): and they shall be freed from doubt.