THE BOOK OF
ARDA VIRAF.

THE PAHLAVI TEXT

PREPARED BY

DESTUR HOSHANGJI JAMASPJI ASA,

REVISED AND COLLATED WITH FURTHER MSS., WITH AN ENGLISH
TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION, AND AN APPENDIX CONTAINING
THE TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE

GOSHT-I FRYANO, AND HADOKHT-NASK

BY

MARTIN HAUß, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF SANSCRIT AND COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MUNICH,

ASSISTED BY

E. W. WEST, PH. D.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY.

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Richard Budge
Kensington
London, W.

THE BOOK OF

ARDA VIRAF.

Read in board the Deccan
Feb. 27. Found very little popular stuff, as is usual in mostly
compositions, such as Buddhist
sermons and legends, and such
like. A lot of popular mythology,
spells and Canterbury of sort, appear
incidentally, and bits of other
religions in which trees, bees,
water and other such things
are sacred. That which here
appears in the ceremonial of the
trees and time, and things which
were held to be good or evil by
Arda Viraf.
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AT STUTTGART, WÜRTTEMBERG.
Preface.

The book of Ardâ-Virâf is one of the most interesting works of Pahlavî literature, as it contains the account of an imaginary journey of a pious Pârsî priest through heaven and hell, which often reminds one of Dante’s Divina Commedia. Since its contents have been hitherto very imperfectly known in Europe through Pope’s English translation which was based only on modern Persian and Gujarâtî versions, I recommended the Government of Bombay, before my departure from India, in the year 1866, to intrust Destur Hoshangji Jamaspji Asa, among other works, with the preparation of an edition of the original Pahlavî text of this work with a glossary. My request was readily acceded to, and the MS. which the Destur had prepared, was forwarded to me early in 1870, by the Director of Public Instruction, for revision and publication.

As it will probably be a very long time before another edition of the original text will come out, I thought it advisable to make this editio princeps as correct as possible, by subjecting the Destur’s MS. to a thorough revision, and making use of all the materials which were available in Europe, but inaccessible to the Destur. He had used five MSS., besides several Pâzand versions, in preparing the Pahlavî text, but none of them was particularly old. And as the two oldest and most valuable MSS. of the Ardâ Virâf nâmak are in Europe, the one being deposited in the University Library at Copenhagen (No. 20), the other being in my
own possession (H₆), it was incumbent on an editor to collate them carefully. In order to accomplish this task, I went in the autumn of 1871, in company with my friend Dr. E. W. West, to Copenhagen, where we found further useful materials in the splendid collection of Zand and Pahlavî MSS. which had been made by E. Rask during his stay at Bombay.

To facilitate the reading of the complicated and ambiguous Pahlavî character, a complete transliteration of the whole text has been added, which we have based on a kind of regular system, as may be learnt from the second of the introductory Essays. It is true, Destur Hoshangji had sent, along with his text, a complete transliteration which was of great use to us; but as the text we prepared, differed in many points from that which he had sent, as well as our system of transliteration from that which he had followed, we thought it expedient, for the sake of uniformity, to adhere to our own system.

As the Pahlavî language is but very little understood in Europe, I deemed it advisable to add a complete translation with notes for the general reader. It is as literal as possible, and since great care has been bestowed on it, it may be relied upon.

The Ardâ–Vinãf nãnak being, in the two oldest MSS., joined to the Gosht-i Fryânó, which interesting tale has been as yet wholly unknown in Europe, I resolved upon adding an edition of it, with a transliteration and translation, in the form of an appendix. This has been prepared by Dr. West with his usual care.

Since several long passages in the Book of Ardâ Vinãf, on the fate of the soul after death, are taken from original Avesta texts, such as are to be found in the fragments of the Hadõkht Nask which are still extant, I thought it expedient to add, in a
second appendix, an edition of both the Zand and Pahlavi texts of those fragments (the latter being here published for the first time), with a transliteration of the Pahlavi, an English translation of the Zand text, and notes.

For the introductory Essays I made largely use of the notes and remarks which had been forwarded to me by Destur Hoshangji to whom my best thanks are due.

During the preparation of this work, I have received great assistance from Dr. E. W. West, without which its publication would have been much delayed. My best thanks are due to him for his most valuable services.

I have also to acknowledge the great liberality and friendliness with which the librarians at the University Library at Copenhagen allowed us free access to their valuable Zand and Pahlavi MSS. during our stay in that city.

The Glossary to all the texts contained in this volume will be published separately, next year.

Munich, 8th September 1872.

M. Haug.
Introductory Essays

by

M. Haug, Ph. D.

and

E. W. West, Ph. D.
The MSS. used in preparing the texts, with an account of the versions of the Ardâ-Virâf nâmak.

The text of the Arđâ-Virâf nâmak, originally prepared by Destur Hoshangji from the Pahlavi MSS. B., N., P. and some Pâzand MSS. hereinafter described, has been carefully collated with Dr. Haug’s MSS. H6, H17, H18 and the Kopenhagen MSS. K20 and K26, and several additions and corrections have been derived from these sources.

The text of the tale of Gôsht-i Fryânô has been prepared from three of the same MSS., H6, K20 and K26, and collated with H7 and a copy of L15. While the text of the Hâdôkht Nask has been taken from H6 and K20; with a few various readings of the Zand version from P7, which are given by Westergaard in his notes to the Yasht Fragments XXI. and XXII. The following is a detailed description of all the MSS. used.

H6 is a very old and correct codex in Dr. Haug’s collection, carefully written, very legible, and in good preservation. It contains the series of Pahlavi works commonly known to the desturs as the ‘greater Bundehesh’, in two volumes, large octavo, comprising, respectively, 17 and 13 dastak, jâzû, or bundles, of eight folios each, written 17 lines to the page, except the last 5 folios of the first volume, and the last 32 of the second, which are written closer.

The first volume has 13 extra folios of equally old paper, but more carelessly written, prefixed to the 136 already mentioned; and three more of the extra folios (Nos. 12, 13 and 16) are missing. The contents of these extra folios are: the Khurshêd Nyâyish and Khurshêd
Yasht in Zand and Pahlavi, the gifts and qualities of the thirty Yazads (imperfect), the Zand alphabet, and a fragment of the first chapter of the Artha-Virâf nâmak, I. 1—38, which is designated Hôs in the notes to the text. And the contents of the 136 folios, properly belonging to the first volume, are as follows:


2. Selections from the Gâthas (Chôdak avistâk-i gásân-i afzûnî-kîh), Z.-Pahl., comprising Yasna 45, 1-6. 46, 6, 7, 17. 48, 3. 51, 8-9. 52, 1-4. 53, 1, 2, s. 28, t. 30, 1. 31, 6, 21. 33, 11. 34, 8, 10. and 59, 39, 31. either wholly, or in part.


5. Pahlavi Rivâyat, part I.; Destur Hoshangji states that this is the work which is also called Shâyist-lâ-shâyist.


7. Pahlavi Rivâyat, part II.


9. The duties of the seven Amesháspends, in Pahlavi.

10. Valuation of sins, in Pahlavi.

11. Miscellaneous passages, in Pahlavi, as to when meat must not be eaten; the three heinous sinners, for whom there is no resurrection; the respect due to a man who knows the scriptures by heart; and the place where a man will rise from the dead, which is the spot on which he died, or the first spot his corpse touched, if he died suspended in the air.

The contents of the 104 folios of the second volume, are as follows:


13. The tale of Gôsht-i Fryânô, in Pahlavi, with colophons, the latest of which is dated the 19th day of the eleventh month A.Y. 766
Introductory Essays.

(corning to the 20th of November A.D. 1397). This tale is published in this volume, p. 207—246.

14. The lengths of shadows at noon, and at the aûzûirînô gâh; in Pahlavi.

15. Bundehesh in Pahlavi, containing 30 of Anquetil's chapters in the following order: ch. 15—23, 1—14, 24—27, 31, 33 and 34.

16. Yasht of the seven Ameshâspends v. 11—15, in Zand.

17. Khurad Yasht in Zand.

18. Akharman's directions to Aûshm, regarding the Gahanbârs, Myazd and Khvačtvadath; in Pahlavi.

19. When the formula Yathâ ahû vairyô is to be recited, from once to thirteen times; in Pahlavi.

20. Miscellaneous sentences, in Pahlavi, containing advice on religious subjects, and breaking off incomplete, at the end of the volume.

The texts in this MS. are more correct than in any of those which follow, and supply many omissions in the other old codex K20. In the Arûdâ-Vîrûf nâmak, it supplies a sentence in ch. 53, which is missing in all other MSS., including those copied from itself; but it also omits sentences in ch. 5, 32 and 34, which are found in K20, K26 and H18. There is every reason to believe, from the apparent age of the paper, and the relative positions and dates of the colophons, that these latter have not been copied from an older MS., as sometimes happens, but that this codex was actually written in A.D. 1397, by the Pêshyûtan Râm Kâmdîn whose name occurs in the colophons; the 50 days difference in their dates, being necessary for writing the 151 folios which intervene between them.

K20 is also a very old codex, No. 20 of Rask's collection in the university library at Kopenhagen; it is a contemporary of H8, but is not so well preserved; several folios being lost, and many others torn and much worn. It is a large octavo, written 20 lines to the page, of

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1 A Pûzand version of these sentences, and of article 18, occurs in the London MS., India office library, Z. and P. XXII., appended to the Bundehesh, fol. 105—110; and most of that MS. is derived from H4.
which 173 folios remain, the last one being blank; the folios supposed to be missing are fol. 1, 121, 145, 154, 155 and several which followed 177. The contents of this codex are as follows:

1, 2. The same as 12 and 13 in Hœ, with a colophon (see notes on p. 245) dated the 18th of the tenth month A.Y. 690 (corresponding to the 8th of November A.D. 1321); the first folio is missing.

3, 4, 5, 6. The same as 14, 3, 4 and 18 in Hœ, followed by a colophon dated the 18th of the ninth month A.Y. 720 (corresponding to the 2d of October A.D. 1351).

7. The same as 5 in Hœ, followed by a Persian colophon dated the 9th of the seventh month A.Y. 700 (corresponding to the 30th of July A.D. 1331).

8. The same as 6 in Hœ.

9. Bundehesh in Pahlavi, as published, in fac-simile, by Westergaard in 1851; one folio is missing. This is the text translated by Anquetil, and differs in arrangement from that in Hœ, besides supplying the extra matter contained in Anquetil's ch. 28—30 and 32.


11. Answers of یشلوج, the sage, to his pupil, in Pahlavi; of which one or two folios are missing.

12. The tale of the accursed Abâlish, in Pahlavi.

13. Replies of Âtarôpâd-i Mârspendân, a Greek and a Hindû, to the Persian king; in Pahlavi.

14. Yasht fragment XXII. 39—42 of Westergaard, Z.-Pahl., which breaks off incomplete at the end of a folio, the next two being lost.

15. Srôsh Yasht Hâdôkht, v. 6—22, Z.-Pahl.; the beginning is lost with the missing folios.


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1 This part of the codex wants re-arrangement; the proper order of the folios (as they were numbered last year) seems to be as follows: 142, 147, 146, then probably two missing folios, 143, 144, 148 and thence onwards.
17, 18, 19. The same as 19, 7 and 8 in $H_6$; but the latter portion (about one-seventh) of the concluding Patit is lost.

It appears from the above lists of contents, that each of the old codexes contains articles which are not in the other, although nearly three-fourths of their contents are common to both; thus, the articles 1, 2, 9, 10, 11, 16, 17 and 20 in $H_6$ are wanting in $K_{20}$, and the articles 10—16 in $K_{20}$ are wanting in $H_6$, while the Bundehesh in $K_{20}$ differs from that in $H_6$.

The three dates, found in the codex $K_{20}$, follow one another in the irregular order A.Y. 690, 720, 700; and although extending over a period of thirty years, they occur within a space of 36 folios, in which every fresh article begins on the same page as that on which the preceding one ends, with hardly any interval and no change in the handwriting. The colophons must, therefore, have been copied, by the writer of this codex, from the original MSS. which he was copying. Judging, however, from the state of the paper, the codex must be about 500 years old, or nearly contemporary with $H_6$. It is worthy of notice that Mihrbân Kai-Khusrû, the writer of the original MSS., from which the articles 1—7 were copied, appears to have been a great grand-nephew of Rustam Mihrbân, the writer of the original MS. whence the articles 12—13 in $H_6$ were copied; this may be clearly inferred from the genealogies given in the colophons (see p. 245, 266). Furthermore, it appears from their colophons, that the same Mihrbân Kai-Khusrû copied the old Yasna and Vendidâd, $K_5$ and $K_1$, now at Kopenhagen, from MSS. written by the same Rustam Mihrbân, his great grand-uncle.

The actual writer of $K_{20}$, whose name is unknown, is probably responsible for the numerous omissions of words with which it abounds; and he must, therefore, have been a rather careless copyist. But his trivial blunders are thrown altogether into the shade by those of the writer of $K_{21}$, which is a copy of $K_{20}$ made about a century ago, in the handwriting of Destur Dârâb, as Rask believed, but this is doubtful, as the writer often makes nonsense of his text by misreading the ori-
original. K₂₁ contains 158 folios written 17 lines to the page (except the first), followed by 14 extra folios which contain a repetition of part of the text. As it very rarely supplies anything more than is now legible, in the defective parts of K₂₀, it must have been written when that MS. was, very nearly, in its present state; it omits words, phrases and even folios (such as fols. 133—141, 146 and 147 of K₂₀), and misreads words which are still plainly legible.

Another copy of K₂₀, written by Káûs Frédûn in A.D. 1737, is P₇, No. 7 in Anquetil's collection at Paris. This seems to contain the same matter as K₂₀ in its present state, with the addition of the Nám-stâyishnâ and Sîròzah, which follow the Patit.

N. represents two MSS. used by Destur Hoshangji, which agree very closely in the text of the Arda-Vîrâf nâmak, and have both been chiefly derived from H₆. One was written by Destur Asâji Nôshîrwânji, of the family of Destur Jâmâsp Asâ, some fifty or sixty years ago, but is not dated; it consists of the articles 2—13 in H₆. The other was written by Destur Nôshîrwânji Jâmâspji Asâji Frédûnji Bagaryâ¹, and consists of the following treatises: article 1 from H₆, four Nîrangs in Pâzand, articles 2, 3, 4, 15 and 6 from H₆, Patît-i pashîmânâ, Nâm-stâyishnâ, Kâr-nâmak-i Ardashîr Pâpakân (all three in Pahlavī), and articles 12, 13, 5 and 9 from H₆. According to a colophon at the end of article 6, that portion was completed on the 7th day of the third month A. Y. 1108 (corresponding to the 29th of December A.D. 1738).

K₂₆ is an imperfect, but very carefully written, MS. of the Pahlavī tales of Arda Vîrâf and Gôsht-i Fryânô, No. 26 in the university library at Kopenhagen; its date is lost with its last folios, but the paper seems more than two centuries old. Only 53 octavo folios remain, written 15 lines to the page; the missing folios are 1—7, 41—48, 51—54 and those which followed 72, and the missing text is Ard. Vîr. ch. 1, 1—4, 6, 64, 8, 83, 8, 89, 10—100, 4, and Gô. Far. ch. 4, 23. to end.

¹ Bagaryâ, or Bhagadyâ, is the surname of all the Parsi priests having their share in the panthak, or diocese, of Nausârf. It is from bhâga, Z. bagha. [Dest.]
This MS. has not been derived from either Hs, or K20, but is probably descended from the same original as the very old Pâzand MS. H18, hereafter described. That it has not come from Hs, is proved by its supplying the phrases omitted by Hs in Ard. Vir. ch. 4, 35. 5, 4-5. 32, 2-6. and 34, 5-6. And that it has not come from K20, is pretty clear from the variations noted in Ard. Vir. ch. 8, 4. 10, 2. 11, 3. 12, 1. 14, 3. 17, 12. 18, 3, 8. and 54, 11. While some connection with H18 is proved by that MS. sharing in all these differences from the others.

B. is a Pahlavî MS. of the Ardā-Virāf nāmak, used by Destur Hoshangji; the name of its writer is unknown, and it is not dated, but is supposed to be about a century old, having been corrected through-out, and interlined with Persian, in the handwriting of Destur Bahmanji Jamshêdji Jâmâsp Asâ. This MS. omits ch. 41 and 42.

P. is another Pahlavî MS. of the same, belonging to Destur Pêshôtanji Behramji Sanjânâ of Bombay, and written by his ancestor Mobâd Nawrûzji Sanjânâ at Surat; it has been corrected by Destur Pêshôtanji, and a copy of it seems to have been used by Destur Hoshangji.

H17 is a modern MS. on European paper, No. 17 in Dr. Haug's collection; it is hastily written, but tolerably correct, and contains the Pahlavî texts of the Pand-nāmak-i Âtarôpād Mârâspend, and the Ardâ-Virâf nāmak, ch. 1, 1. — 44, 3. The latter seems to be copied from a revision of the text in H6, as many small alterations are introduced, like those in ch. 7, 1. 8, 1, 2. and 17, 9., which are often judicious, but must be received with caution, being merely modern guesses of some one well-versed in Pahlavî; as it closely resembles P., in ch. 12, 11-12. 15, 9. 16, 9, 10. etc., it may possibly be a copy of the revised text in that MS.; it also agrees with B. in omitting ch. 41.

L15 is the London MS., India office library, Z. and P. XV.; containing 119 folios, octavo, written 10 to 12 lines to the page; its contents are as follows:

1. Rules regarding the Drôn ceremonial, in Pahlavî; being the conclusion of article 7 in H6.
2, 3, 4. The same as 8, 9 and 13 in H6, and evidently derived from that codex.

5. Patit-i Ataropād Māraspend in Pāzand, by another hand, and on different paper; with a Persian colophon dated on the evening of the 5th of the tenth month, but no year is mentioned, and the writer’s name has been carefully blotted out.

6. Shikand-gumāni in Pahlavi, by the same writer as the first four subjects, but containing only the first three-eighths of the text.

This MS. was one of the collection of Dr. Samuel Guise, and its age can be approximately ascertained from the fact that the MS. L26 (which is in the same peculiar handwriting as the Pahlavi portion of L15) contains a colophon on fol. 62, dated the 17th of the tenth month A.Y. 1106 (corresponding to the 6th of August A.D. 1737); but the name of the writer is not mentioned.

H18 is a very old Pāzand-Sanskrit MS. of the Ardā-Virāf nāmak, No. 18 in Dr. Haug’s collection. It is a square duodecimo of 103 folios, the first 98 containing the alternating Pāz.-Sans. text, written 11 to 17 lines to the page, and concluding with the following Sanskrit colophon:

Sanvat 1466 varsha Chaitra’sūdi 13 bhaume navina Ardā-Virāya-nāma pustakam erwada-Rāmeṇa erwada-Kāmulina-sutena sun-dareṇa samādhiṇena likhitam: ‘In the Samvat year 1466, on the 13th of the light half of Chaitra, early on Tuesday (?), the book of the Ardā-Virāf nāmak was written, with suitable devotion, by the herbad Rām, the son of herbad Kāmdin’.

This date corresponds to the 18th of March A.D. 1410; and the writer may possibly have been the Rām Kāmdin who was the father of Pēshyōtan, the writer of H6, although his writing is dated 12½ years later than that of his son.

The Pāzand text of this MS. corresponds pretty closely with the

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It must be observed that the Samvat year, in Gujarāt and the Konkan, begins with Kārttik s’ud, or seven months later than in northern India.
Pahlavi of the old codices, and especially with K26 as already noticed; but it differs from them, in supplying a passage, in Arḍ. Vir. ch. 87,1-5., which seems necessary to complete the sense, and some others in the last two chapters, which are not so requisite; its orthography, moreover, is bad, and its misreadings numerous.

Among the Pāzand MSS. used by Destur Hoshangji, is one without Sanskrit, which also corresponds very closely with the Pahlavi text, though very corrupt in orthography and minor details. It is neatly written and partially interlined with Pahlavi, and has the following date appended: Saṅvat 1838, S'ake 1704 pravartmāne, Phālguṇavadi chaturdas'ī: 'The fourteenth of the dark half of Phālguṇ, Samvat 1838, in the course of S'āka 1704' (corresponding to about the 13th of March A.D. 1782).

A third Pāzand version of the Arḍā-Virāf nāmak is accompanied by a translation both in Sanskrit and old Gujarāti, the three versions of each sentence being written successively. Of this version, Destur Hoshangji possesses two copies. The first is in a very old MS., containing the Khurshēd, Mihir, Māh and Ātash Nyāyishes, the Auḥarmazd Yasht, the Dahman, Arḍāfravash and Gahaṅbār Āfrīṅgāns, the Dhup Nirang, a Patit and Āshīrvād, all with a Sanskrit version; also the Arḍā-Virāf nāmak and Bahman Yasht, both with Sanskrit and Gujarāti versions. The date A.Y. 784 (A.D. 1415) is appended to the Āshīrvād, and the Arḍā-Virāf nāmak has the following colophon: yāḍris'am pustake drisṭaṅ tāḍris'auṅ likhitam mayā; yadi s'uddham as'uddhauṅvā mama dosho na diyate; ervada-Rāṇā (Rāmeṇa?) ervada-Kāṁdīnasuta likhitam: 'As seen in the book, so it was written by me; whether correct, or incorrect, no blame is attributable to me; written by herbad Rām (?) son of herbad Kāmdīn' (probably the same as he who wrote His five years before).

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1 This can be correct only if Chaitra vad of the S'āka year (which is the same as Phālguṇ vad of the Samvat year) be taken as belonging to the same year as Chaitra s'ud; which is not the general rule.
The other copy is described by Destur Hoshangji as being well written, and exactly similar to the first, but the copyist seems to have been unaccustomed to Sanskrit. It concludes with two colophons in Prakrit, one from the original MS. whence it was copied, and the other mentioning the actual writer of the copy; these may be translated as follows: 1. 'Written by the priest Bahirām, son of the priest Lakshmīdhā; in the Samvat year 1507, on Monday, the 12th lunar day of Mārgasīrsh, in the course of the Vārīyān yoga, in the Asʿvīni nakshatra (corresponding to about the 16th of November A. D. 1450); in the lands of Nāgasārakā (the old name of Nausārī). — 2. 'On Wednesday the 4th of the dark half of Sʿrāvān in the Samvat year 1844 (corresponding to the 21st of August A. D. 1788) the 14th day of the 11th [Parsi] mouth; on this day the book of Ardā-Gvīrā-nāma is made complete; written by herbad Ṣhāpūrji [son of] Šrēdūnji [son of] the heaven-residing mobad Māṇekji Ḵomji Kekabād Kāvasji Hirārāṇā of Surat'.

This third Pāzand version commences with a Pāzand transliteration of the following couplets from the Shāhnāmāh:

कौतिष्ठ वर्तर अंदितेश वर न्याढ्रि
ख़ारवंड नाम औं ख़ारवंड ग्या

It is also remarkable for great alterations in the introduction, which make Ardā Vīrāf a contemporary of king Gushtāsp. The following is a translation of this introduction, prepared from a copy of the text supplied by Destur Hoshangji; its late date is proved by the use of the word khashm, Ar. خصم, for 'husband'.

In the name and honor of the good creator of all those who behave well (vasām vazāvalād), and with the assistance and blessing of the good pure religion of the Mazdayasnians, the words of this narrative of Ardā Vīrāf1 are recounted.

At the time when king Gushtāsp received the good religion of the Mazdayasnians from Aūhmazd, the lord; and the pious Zarattusht Spitama

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1 Written Ardā Vīrā, Sans. Arddā Gvīrā purusha, throughout.
Introductory Essays.

was gone to glory; as Gushtâsp, Dalag, Gôspadasht, Frashôshtar, Maidyômâh and other Mazdayasnians were seated together, and happily influenced, they said thus: 'Let us select, from the Mazdayasnians, one who is very free from sin; and let us give him a narcotic to eat, so that his soul may go to the other world, that it may see the soul of the descendant of Spi-tama, the pious Zaratusht; that it may see the thrones of Aûharmazd and the archangels; that it may see heaven, and the Chinvat bridge, and Rashn the just; and that it may see hell, and the souls of the wicked in hell. 'And it will know whether these good works, which we Mazdayasnians perform, are effectual, or not; and it will bring us intelligence, if the endeavours we make be effectual, and if those we dont make be ineffectual'. And they were unanimous about it, and said thus: 'Ardâ Virâf is the most innocent and best of us Mazdayasnians'. [Then as in the Pahl. text of ch. I. 36—41; nearly verbatim.]

Then king Gushtâsp and the other Mazdayasnians arose, and went into the abode of the sacred fires; and they cast lots among themselves, and the lot came to Ardâ Virâf.

Afterwards, seven sisters, the seven wives of Ardâ Virâf (as all of them were his wives, and had learnt the religion by heart, and recited the prayers), when they heard those tidings, they were as grievous to them as if they had come upon them most severely; and they went before king Gushtâsp and the other Mazdayasnians, and bowed and stood upon their feet, and they spoke thus: [as in the Pahlavi version, II. 8—12; nearly verbatim.]

Then king Gushtâsp, when he heard those words, became angry and said to them thus: 'May the wind carry you away, and the wolf devour you and tear off your bones'.

Then Ardâ Virâf, as he saw that Gushtâsp was angry, appeased them; and he went before Gushtâsp, joined his hands on his breast, paid his respects, and said thus: 'If it be customary, let me eat food, and pray to the departed souls, and make a will (andarz); and afterwards, give me the 'narcotic'. Then king Gushtâsp said thus: 'Act accordingly'.

 Afterwards, Ardâ Virâf went to his own sacred fire, and performed the Yazishn ceremony, and prayed to the departed souls, and ate food.
And the sisters prepared a narcotic, and flavored it with a cup of wine, and dressed Ardā Virāf with other clothes, and gave notice to king Kai Gush-tāsp and the other Mazdayasnians.

Then king Gush-tāsp and the other Mazdayasnians came, and they gave Ardā Virāf the narcotic, and he slept upon the carpet. And they instructed the herbads, intrusted with the place, that they should protect the body of Ardā Virāf, by watching, and should recite the Nasks. And those seven sisters sat around the carpet of Ardā Virāf, and repeated the Avesta during seven days and nights. [Then as in the Pahlavī version, III. 1—4.]

And those sisters, as they saw that Ardā Virāf looked up, became as joyful as if they were in heaven during life; and the herbads offered salutation to Ardā Virāf, and went before king Gush-tāsp, Dalag, Gōspadasht, Frashōshtar, Maidyōmāh and the other Mazdayasnians, and gave them notice; and they went towards Ardā Virāf. And Ardā Virāf, as he saw king Gush-tāsp, went to meet him, and spoke thus: 'A blessing from [as in the Pahlavī version, III. 8—11; nearly verbatim.]

Then king Gush-tāsp said thus: 'A perfect heart hast thou, Ardā Virāf, who art the messenger of us Mazdayasnians, and may the blessing be thine; tell us truly about that which thou hast seen'. And having taken his hand, all the Mazdayasnians sat down together, and spoke thus: 'Say what thou hast seen in heaven and hell, and at the Chinvat bridge; of these speak truly, so that we also may know of those who have possession of Garōdmān'.

Then Ardā Virāf said thus: 'I am hungry and thirsty; first food is to be given to the body, and afterwards questions are to be asked, and work appointed'. Then king Gush-tāsp ordered that they should bring, for Ardā Virāf, nice food, well-cooked and savory broth, and cold water, and pleasant wine. Then Ardā Virāf consecrated the Drōn and Baresman, and ate the food, and completed the sacred repast with sweet basil (ocymum) and wine, and said grace. [Then as in the Pahlavī version, III. 21, etc.]

Destur Hoshangji observes that the Pāzand orthography of this introduction is 'horrible'; it is however scarcely so bad as that of some other modern MSS. The remainder of this Pāzand text differs but little from the Pahlavī version, and that chiefly in certain omissions, and alterations in the order of the chapters.
Besides the Pahlavi, Pāzand, Sanskrit and old Gujarāti versions of the Arda-Virāf namak, there exist versions in Persian prose and verse, and in modern Gujarāti, which all differ materially from the original Pahlavi, especially in the introduction which is referred to the time of Ardashīr Pāpakān. Of the Persian prose versions, one is contained in H₂₈, No. 2₈ in Dr. Hang's collection, an incomplete octavo MS., apparently more than two centuries old, consisting of 9₁ folios, written 7 and 8 lines to the page, and mostly in a very large handwriting; from 3 to 5 other folios are missing (viz. either fol. 4₈, 9₀ and 9₄, or fol. 4₈, 4₉, 9₁, 9₅ and 9₆), which must have contained the text corresponding to the Pahlavi ch. ₁₄, ₁₉-₂₁. ₅₀, ₄.—₅₁, ₅. and ₁₀₁, ₂₀ to end. The introduction, which forms about one-eighth of the whole, combines the Pahlavi account of Arda Yiraf, as Destur Hoshangji remarks, with the earlier tradition of Ardashīr Pāpakān's proceedings for re-establishing the religion. The following is a complete translation of this introduction:

I maintain praise for the One God who created us just as he willed and wills, and unto our prophet.

They say that when Ardashīr Bâbagân was king, as he settled himself in the monarchy, he slew ninety kings (some say he slew ninety-six kings), and cleared the world of enemies, and restored it to tranquillity. He summoned before him all the Desturs and Mobads who existed at that time, and said thus: 'The true and correct religion which Almighty God revealed to Zaratusht (peace be unto him), and Zaratusht made current in the world, no longer remains with me, so that I would make a collection of tenets and assertions and sayings, from the world, and place confidence in only one'. And he sent people through all the provinces, and every place where learning and priestcraft existed, and summoned all to his court. A multitude of forty thousand men went up to court.

Afterwards, he demanded and said: 'Which are those who are the wisest of these?' Then they inquired, and selected four thousand of the wisest, out of that assembly, and informed the king of kings. And he said, a second time: 'Be careful a second time, and separate from that assembly,
'such persons as are discerning and wise, and possess a better recollection of the Avesta and Zand'. Four hundred men appeared who possessed a better recollection of their Avesta and Zand. Another time they were careful, and from the midst of these, they selected forty men, who possessed a recollection of the whole of their Avesta. Again, among these select, were a certain seven men, in whom no sin had appeared, from their earliest years till the age at which they had arrived; and they were excessively careful, and pure-hearted in thoughts and words and deeds, and their hearts clave unto God. Afterwards, they conducted the whole seven to king Ardashir.

Then the king directed thus: 'It is necessary that I should dispel these suspicions and doubts from the religion, and all men should be of the religion of Aûharmazd and Zaratusht, and adopt the assertions and sayings of the religion; so that it may become clear to me and the learned and wise, 'what the religion is,' and that these suspicions and doubts may disappear from the religion'. Then they replied thus: 'No one is able to give this information, except one who has committed no sin, from the early age of eight years, unto the time which has arrived; and this man is Virâf, than whom there is no one purer, or more spiritually enlightened, or more true-speaking; and on this account, it is necessary to make choice of him. And we six others will carry on, in some place, the Yazishn ceremonies and Nirang prayers which are appointed, in the religion, for all such matters; until God, the revered and glorious, shall reveal the facts to Virâf, and Virâf shall give us information of them, so that everyone may become free from doubts about Aûharmazd and Zaratusht'.

Virâf himself undertook this affair; and king Ardashir welcomed those words. Then they said, this affair would not be rightly accomplished, unless they went into the precincts of the sacred fire. Then they arose and performed their design and went away.

Afterwards, those six men, who were desturs, performed the Yazishn ceremonies on one side of the place of fire, and on the other sides, those forty, with the forty thousand men of the desturs who had come into the precincts, all performed the Yazishn ceremonies. And Virâf washed his head and body, and put on clean clothes, and perfumed himself with sweet scent; he stood before the fire, and repented of all sins.
Viraf had seven sisters, and as they received those tidings, all the seven came, weeping and lamenting, and said thus: 'We are seven veiled heads at home, and have no brother but this one; and our trust is all in him; now you wish to send him to the other world, and we know not whether we shall see his face again, or not, for you will leave us unprotected; we are without father and mother, and you will also leave our home without a brother. We shall not permit it, for we have only one brother; choose some one else, and let this brother remain with us.'

The desturs, as they heard these words, said: 'Suffer and fancy no anxiety, for we will deliver Viraf to you again, safe and sound, in the course of seven days.' And they swore an oath; and the sisters were satisfied, and returned.

Afterwards, Ardashir, the king of kings, with horsemen clothed in armor, kept watch around the place of fire, so that no heresy should do anything, with concealed enmity, against Viraf; and that no danger should approach him, nor anything occasion evil in the midst of the Yazishn ceremony, during which prayers were offered up.

Afterwards, in the midst of the place of fire, they placed a throne, and threw clean clothes upon it; and they seated Viraf upon that throne, and let down a face-veil upon him. And those forty thousand men stood performing the Yazishn ceremony, and consecrated the Drón cakes, and placed a little fat upon one of those Drôns, as they consecrated the whole. They gave one cup of wine to Viraf with well-thought thoughts, and they gave him one cup with well-spoken words, and they gave him one cup with well-done deeds. Afterwards, Viraf, when he had drunk the three cups, dropped his head on to the cushion at once, and slept.

Then during seven nights and days they performed the Yazishn ceremony on the spot. Those six desturs were seated by the cushion of Viraf; and those thirty-three other men, who were selected, performed the Yazishn ceremony around the throne; and those three hundred and sixty additional men who were selected, performed the Yazishn ceremony around these; and those thirty-six thousand performed the Yazishn ceremony around the cupola

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1 This sentence is abbreviated, as well as the two which follow, owing to a folio being torn in the MS.
of the place of fire. And the king of kings, clothed in armor and seated on horseback, with his troops, encircled the outside of the cupola, and allowed no passage there for the air; and in every place where they sat performing the Yazishn ceremony, a company of people were stationed with drawn swords and clothed in armor, so that the troops themselves were in every place, and no one else mingled with them; and at that place where the throne of Virāf was, infantry in armor were stationed around the throne, and allowed no passage, to the throne, to anyone else but those six desturs. Whilst the king of kings went in and came out of that place, and kept watch around the place of fire, and disturbed with this responsibility, he remained watching Virāf whilst seven nights and days elapsed.

After the seven nights and days, Virāf moved again and revived and sat up. And the people and desturs, when they saw that Virāf returned from sleep, were glad and joyful, and received pleasure; and standing on their feet, they bowed and said: ‘Thou art welcome, Ardā Virāf; look back again at that which is the holy heaven; how hast thou come? and how didst thou go? and what didst thou see? tell us too, that we also may know the description of the other world’.

Ardā Virāf said: ‘First bring something, that I may eat; for it is seven nights and days, since this one has obtained anything, and I am hungry. Afterwards, ask whatever you wish, so that I may inform you’.

Immediately, the desturs consecrated a Drōn cake; and Ardā Virāf muttered grace, ate a little with water, and said grace. Then he said: ‘Now fetch a skilful writer, so that I may relate whatever I have seen; and you will send it, early, into the world, so that a knowledge of spiritual matters and heaven and hell may extend to everyone, and they may know the value of virtuous actions, and may abstain from bad ac-

1 It is evident that the text has omitted the 3600 who must have been stationed between the 360 and the 36,000. It will be observed that Virāf and the 6 others are the 7 last selected; these and the 33 of the first circuit, are the 40 previously selected; these and the 360 of the second circuit, are the 400 of the earlier selection; these and the 3600 of the third circuit, which have been omitted, are the 4000 of the first selection; and these, with the 36,000 of the outer circuit, constitute the whole 40,000 priests.
Introductory Essays.

This introduction, which corresponds to the first three chapters of the Pahlavī text, closely resembles Pope's English translation ¹, p. 1—9, but gives more details. The same resemblance continues throughout the remainder of this Persian prose version, which corresponds, more or less, to the Pahlavī text of ch. 4—33, 44—48, 34, 35, 38—41, 49—52, 101; it omits the additional details given in Pope's translation p. 14, 15, 37—40, but contains the long homily in p. 41—48 of the same. Pope states, in his preface, that his translation is made from three Persian versions, the first in prose, by Nţshirvān Kirmānī; the second in verse, by Zaratusht Bahirām (which will be shortly mentioned); and the third in prose, by the same, (which may possibly be that in H28). His translation contains all that is in H28 (except the equivalent of ch. 14, 1-5, 19-21.), in a rather condensed form, together with the additional matter in his p. 14, 15, 37—40 and 93—101.

Destur Hoshangji mentions another Persian prose version, without an introduction, which is contained in the Rivāyat of Rāmā Khambāyatī, and in other respects, does not differ much from those in verse.

Of the versions of the Ardā-Virāf nāmāk in Persian verse, mentioned by Destur Hoshangji, the principal one is that by destur Zaratusht Bahirām, which was composed in A.Y. 900 (A.D. 1530—1531) from an anonymous prose version (possibly that in H28), which destur Zaratusht states he has closely followed.

A second version in Persian verse was written, in A.Y. 902 (A.D. 1532—1533), by the celebrated Parsi traveller Kāūs ², who had come

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² It appears from the story of Kāūs and Afshād (translated from Persian into Gujarāti, in the Hādesā Nāmu, by Frāmjī Aspendiārji, Bombay, A.D. 1831), that they were two Parsi merchants of Yazd in Persia, who made a trading voyage to India in A.Y. 900 (A.D. 1531), and were wrecked near Dīv, losing all their goods,
from Persia, with his companion Afshād, to Nausāri, where he had thrown much light upon religious matters. His work is more condensed than that of destur Zaratusht, but appears to be derived from the same sources, as it agrees with it in referring the introduction to the time of Ardashīr Pāpakān.

A third version in Persian verse was composed by destur Nōshirvān Marzbān Kirmānī, and a copy of it is contained in fol. 46—50 of the Rivāyat No. 29a in the collection of the Bombay Govt., written in A.Y. 1048 (A.D. 1679) by herbad Dārāb Hormazyār, who extracted it from the Rivāyat of Bahman Pūnjyah, who brought it from Iran. It consists of 398 couplets, of which 32 are introductory, 110 are descriptive of heaven, 236 of hell, and 20 contain the author’s peroration; it is preceded by a treatise, of which only the last 187 couplets remain, giving a tedious explanation of his reasons for undertaking the work. The introduction merely mentions that Arḍā Vīrāf was sent to the other world by Ardashīr Pāpakān, and refers to Zaratusht Bahīrām’s work for further particulars; the author further states that, on reading a prose version of Zaratusht Bahīrām’s verses, and comparing it with the xavārish, in company with two desturs, he determined to write his poem. In this version, Vīrāf’s first vision is that of the dog Zarīngōsh, as given in Pope’s translation p. 14—15, but which does not occur in the Pahlavi and Pāzand versions, nor in H28; then follows a short general description of heaven, and an account of hell condensed into fourteen visions, all differing considerably from the original. In the same Rivāyat No. 29a, fol. 275—276, is a repetition of 30 of the

except a few pearls. At Div they received an invitation from Mānekshāh Chāngāshāh, an influential Parsi of Nausāri, then 70 years old, who wanted information about religious customs. They travelled by the circuitous land route, through Khambāyat, Bhroch, Oklasīr and Surat, at all of which places they found the Parsis very ignorant of their religious customs. Arriving at Nausāri, they were entertained by Mānekshāh who consulted them about several religious observances which had fallen into disuse, and especially about building a new dakhma for the dead. Finally, these two Iranian Parsis quarreled and separated.
couplets referring to Zarin-gósh, with an addition of 58 couplets about the duty of well-treating dogs, otters and hedgehogs.

Besides the old Gujaráti translation attached to the third Pázand version of the Arslá-Viráf námak, Destur Hoshangji mentions another, which is separate and by an anonymous translator, based upon Zarâtusht Bahiránum's Persian text; judging from its language, this translation must be fully 150 years old. A free modern Gujaráti translation of the same Persian text, was published in Bombay, some twenty years ago, at the ‘Jám-i Jamshéd’ press; and it has been re-published since.

The only other MS. which remains to be mentioned is H?, a Pârsí-Persian MS. No. 7 in Dr. Haug's collection, which has been used in preparing the text of the tale of Gósht-i Fryánó. It consists of 235 folios, octavo, neatly written by Dârásháh Mihrbánji, 15 lines to the page, the Persian equivalent of the Pârsí texts being often interlined; and its contents are as follows:


By 'Pârsí' is here meant what Parsi writers call 'Pázand' written in the Persian character.

II.

The system of transliteration adopted for the Pahlavi texts.

Although the correct reading of the words may be the most difficult task of an editor of a Pahlavi text, the most perplexing question for his consideration is the settlement of a satisfactory system of transliteration, and his most troublesome duty is to adhere strictly to the system he has adopted. How far these difficulties have been overcome, in the present instance, the reader will be able to judge, after he has carefully considered the rules which the editors have adopted and endeavoured to carry out, together with their reasons for adopting such rules.

With regard to the correct reading of texts, it is only necessary to mention that the difficulty of identifying Pahlavi words rapidly diminishes as the student extends his reading and enlarges his vocabulary. The number of words which really admit of more than one identification is small, and Pahlavi orthography is quite as fixed as that of modern Persian. So long as the reader confines his attention to old MSS., he seldom meets with serious grammatical, or orthographical difficulties; the old copyists often omit words and phrases, by mistake, but they are satisfied with copying the text as they find it, to the best of their ability, and very rarely insert emendations of their own; so their language does not differ much from that of the original writer, and is generally grammatical and intelligible. Modern
copyists, including most of those of the last two centuries and many of the present day, are generally more ambitious; they are not satisfied with simply copying the old copies as they find them, which would limit their errors to a few omissions and miswritings, but they make numerous emendations, which are rarely improvements, but almost always corruptions of the text. That this is no exaggeration, may be inferred from the fact that the editors of the Ardā-Virāf Nāmak have had to consider many such modern emendations of difficult passages, and in nine cases out of ten they have found the old reading preferable to the emendation.

Having identified the words, the question of transliteration next arises, and may be solved by reference to three authorities. First, the Sasanian inscriptions which, being records nearly contemporary with most of the Pahlavī works, are especially valuable for fixing the original pronunciation of such words as can be identified with certainty; unfortunately, the existing copies of the longer Sasanian inscriptions are so imperfect, that comparatively few words have been satisfactorily identified, and the pronunciation of some of the Sasanian letters is ambiguous. The second authority is the traditional pronunciation preserved by the Parsis in their Pāzand versions of the Pahlavī texts,

1 Any traveller in Persia who would obtain and publish correct copies of any of the following Sasanian inscriptions, would do much towards settling many disputed points in Pahlavī pronunciation and construction:

a) An inscription of 31 lines in a side compartment of the central bas-relief of Naksh-i Rajab.

b) Two inscriptions of 11 and 12 lines in the inner chamber of the Hall of Columns at Persepolis.

c) An imperfect inscription of 70 lines behind Shāpūr’s horse at Naksh-i Rūstam.

d) Fragments of a long bi-lingual inscription on the detached stones of Pāt Kūlf in latitude 35 deg. 7 min. and longitude 45 deg. 35 min.

When these inscriptions have been fully deciphered, considerable modifications will have to be made in any system of transliteration of Pahlavī which can now be proposed.
which, unless it can be traced back to Sasanian times, can be used as a guide only so long as it is not contradicted by better authority. The third authority is an etymological comparison of the words with their known equivalents in other languages, which must be conducted with great care not to transgress the bounds of probability, and unless confined to the three, or four, languages which are known to contribute most of the Pahlavi words, the results of such an enquiry must be extremely doubtful, if they are not confirmed by one of the other authorities. In the transliterations of Pahlavi texts, contained in this volume, the following fundamental rule has been adopted, with reference to these three authorities, and every endeavour has been made to carry it out, with a due regard to the precautions indicated above:

1) The orthography of the Sasanian inscriptions, so far as it can be reconciled with the Pahlavi letters, is to be considered indisputable, whenever it can be ascertained with certainty; in other cases, the traditional pronunciation is to be followed, so long as it is not inconsistent with the Pahlavi orthography, and is not clearly contradicted by etymology.

Before proceeding into further details, it is necessary to adopt some general rule with regard to the vowels, as they are indispensable for articulation. The Pahlavi writings, like the Sasanian inscriptions, cuneiform and modern Persian, and nearly all Semitic languages, have only three characters to represent vowels; but it would be hazardous to assume (as has been rashly done in the case of ancient Persian) that the language possessed only four simple vowel sounds, three expressed and one understood; such an assumption would be contrary to all analogies, whether Arian, or Semitic. Arabic has fewer simple vowel sounds than any other Semitic language, but it assumes that three vowels (a, i, u) are understood, in addition to the three (ā, ʾ, ʿ) which are expressed. Other Semitic languages add, to these six vowels, the sounds of e, ē, o, ơ; and the sounds of e, ē and ơ are also added in modern Persian, as pronounced in India. Sanskrit has eight simple vowel sounds, a, ā, i, ʾ, u, ʿa, e and o; to which Zand has added three
additional (č, ě and ŗ). Now as ancient Persian is closely allied to Zand, and Pahlavi is a lineal descendant of ancient Persian, with a limited admixture of some Semitic language resembling Chaldee, it is reasonable to suppose that Pahlavi must have inherited most of the vowel sounds of those languages, to which so many of its words can be traced; more especially those vowels which are again found in its own descendant, modern Persian. In accordance with these views, the following general rule has been adopted, which secures the use of a circumflex with all vowels expressed in the original characters, except an initial short a:

2) The Pahlavi letters u, ι, 3, when they are vowels, must be read either a or ō, i or ē, ū or ŗ, and the short vowels a, e, i, o, u may be inserted, wherever etymology can show good reasons for the existence of such vowels.

As the authority of the Sasanian inscriptions is accepted as paramount, it is now necessary to consider how far this authority is available. The Sasanian characters are quite as ambiguous as the Pahlavi, in some cases; thus, both characters use only three letters to express the vowels, Ν = w, Ω = ι, 2 = 2, and both use the same character Ω = w for h and kh, and Ω = 2 for f and p; in many cases also, the Sasanian confounds r and l, and when it does not, the 2 r and 2 w, v are identical; 3 d and 3 t are also used very indiscriminately, and the consonants y and 2 w, v, being also used to express the vowels ē, ě and ū, ŗ, are indistinguishable from them.

These ambiguities also occur in Pahlavi; but in addition to these, there is a special practical difficulty of distinguishing between the Sasanian

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1. In the Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, p. 246, it was proposed to use e and o for any unexpressed vowel corresponding to i, i, or ū, ū, in the cognate languages; and to use i and u only when those vowels were expressed in Pahlavi, and merely understood in the cognate languages. This is the usual plan of the Pâzand writers, but when rigidly followed, it leads to such unnatural results that it has been abandoned for the more natural and regular system adopted in the text.
sh and 22 v, ù, r + v, ù, r. It follows from these remarks that, in Sasanian words, the consonants 3 d, ç f, p, ñ h, kh, l, r,
22 sh, ñ t, 2 v, r, ñ y and all the vowels are more, or less, ambiguous; and only the consonants b, ç ch, ñ g, ñ k, ñ m, n, ñ s and ñ z can be transliterated with certainty. As compared with the Pahlavi ambiguities, however, the Sasanian readings afford means of distinguishing between ñ = ñ a and ñ = ñ h, kh; between ñ = ñ g and ñ = 3 d and ñ = 2 v, ù, r; between the Semitic suffix ç = ñ man 1 and the ordinary syllable ç = ñ O man; and between such compounds as ñ = ñ I az, or ñ ñ ach, and ñ = ñ ñ af, or ñ p; ñ = ñ ñ dā, ñ = ñ ñ gā, ñ = ñ ñ yā, ñ = 22 sh, etc.

The words already identified in the Sasanian inscriptions, confirm the transliteration attached to each of the following Pahlavi words, subject to such ambiguities as are mentioned above; the vowels being supplied in accordance with rule 2:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ñ} & \quad \text{akhar.} & \text{ñ} & \quad \text{hatimūn.} \\
\text{ñ} & \quad \text{hat.} & \text{ñ} & \quad \text{afash.} \\
\text{ñ} & \quad \text{khitayā.} & \text{ñ} & \quad \text{afam.}
\end{align*}
\]

1 Mr. Thomas, in his latest remarks on this letter (Journal R.A.S. n.s. vol. V. p. 410—413), still adheres to his opinion that it represents the sound ï, because ñ resembles the ï in the Phoenician and some other old alphabets, and also ñ in Zand and Pāzand, and because in one word (out of twelve identified) ñ 2j corresponds to ñ ñ barī in Chaldean-Pahlavi. These arguments would have some weight if there were no facts to contradict them; but it has been shown, with tolerable certainty, (Journal R.A.S. n.s. vol. IV. p. 364—368) that the Sasanian ñ corresponds to the Pahlavi ç, and it has also been shown, in Hang's Essay on Pahlavi, p. 112—114, that the pronunciation man can be etymologically explained, and the word ñ ñ (Hājīabād inscrip. lin. S. 9, C. 8) actually occurs in Chaldee, in the form ñ ñ which fully confirms the reading tanman of the Parsis.
It will be explained, hereafter, that $\ddagger$ is used to express a Pahlavi $\ddagger$ when it has, probably, the sound of $\ddagger$; therefore, $\ddagger$ and $\ddagger$ express the same Pahlavi letter.
The correct transliteration of the following Pahlavi words can also be easily settled from that of the Sasanian equivalent, which is attached to each, although the latter differs slightly from the Pahlavi orthography, and is subject to the ambiguities mentioned above:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pahlavi</th>
<th>Sasanian Equivalent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ܐܬܪܐ</td>
<td>Atarī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ܗܡܓܢܟܝ</td>
<td>ham-gānakī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ܐܘܗܪܡܡܕܝ</td>
<td>Aūharmazdī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ܐܝܛܝ</td>
<td>aīti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ܐܝܟ</td>
<td>aik.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ܒܘܟܗܛܟܝ</td>
<td>būkhtakī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ܒܝܪܘܢܝ</td>
<td>birūnī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ՊԲՊԿԻ</td>
<td>Pāpaki.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ܠ</td>
<td>li.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ܪܛԻ</td>
<td>rāti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ܪՍՏԻ</td>
<td>rastī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ԼՎԻ</td>
<td>levīnī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ܙܛԻ</td>
<td>zāti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ܫܗܒܗܪܐ</td>
<td>Shahpūharī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ܝܙܕܢ</td>
<td>yazdān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ܫܛܛܪ</td>
<td>shatarī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ܟܐܠ</td>
<td>kal in Ch. Pahl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ܟܝܪՖ</td>
<td>kirf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ܟܪܛԻ</td>
<td>kartī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ܡܢܐ</td>
<td>minū.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ՎԱՂԻՍԽԹԻ</td>
<td>vahīshti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ܢԱՄԱԿԻ</td>
<td>nāmaki.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ՆԻՊԻՍԽԹԻ</td>
<td>nipishti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ܕԲԻՐ</td>
<td>dabir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ܕԱՍܗܗՈՒԻ</td>
<td>dāshahūnī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ԶԵՄܢԱՆ</td>
<td>zeman.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following words, the orthographies are not quite correspondent: ܐܕܬԎܝ Sas. ātashī, ܣܬܚܬܐ Sas. aḥharpat, ܒܢܕܝ Sas. Mazdayasn, ܝ܀ܡܛܘܢ (etymologically yāmtūn) Sas. yahmtūn. And the plural suffix ܐܢ elides a final ā in Sasanian, but not in Pahlavi; as in ܡܠܟܕܢ, Sas. ܡܠܟܢ malkān; ܐܒܕܘܬܐ shēdān, Sas. ܫܗܕܢ shēdān.

A cursory comparison would lead one to suppose that the common Sasanian final ܝ 恚 was equivalent to the equally common Pahlavi
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Of the 22 Sasanian words ending in \( ? i \), which are detailed above, five never have a final \( ? \) in Pahlavi, fifteen have it only sometimes; and only two have it constantly. On the other hand, the Pahlavi final \( ? \) is often found in words which never have a Sasanian final \( ? i \); such as all plural nouns (of which nine have been recognized in Sasanian) and the following: \( \text{Sas. } adin, \text{Sas. } Aniran, \text{Sas. } Airan, \text{Sas. } ruban, \text{Sas. } yazdan, \text{Sas. } kin, \text{Sas. } dabir; \) so the correspondence of these two finals cannot be considered as proved, although the frequent occurrence of final \( ?t \) and \( ?t k \) in Sasanian inscriptions, and of \( t \) and \( t \) in certain rare Pahlavi books, is an argument in its favor.

Next to the contemporary evidence of the Sasanian inscriptions, it is necessary to consider what amount of reliance can be placed upon the so-called traditional readings of the Pâzand, the second authority we have adopted. A very little examination discovers that every writer of Pâzand has his own system of orthography with regard to some words, and no system at all with regard to others; thus, in three MSS. of the Mainyô-i Khard, we find \( \text{ameshaspéndā } \) spelt eight ways; \( hīzvā, \) seven ways; \( Hórmêzd, \) six ways; and \( qadāe, \) eleven ways. All idea of ascertaining the traditional pronunciation of the vowels, must vanish when it is found that the writers not only differ from each other, but also from themselves, in most words; and where they are consistent, they may be reasonably suspected of exhibiting rather the orthographical ideas of their own time, than any old traditional usage. Among the simpler words, Destur Hoshangji writes, at the present time, \( \text{bor-zashn, chêm, dō, dorast, dosh, doshman, e, goplan, yomékhtan, etc.; } \) while MSS., 350 years old, have \( \text{burzhishn, chêm, du, durust, dush, dushman, i, guftan, yomékhtan, etc.} \)

Admitting that modern Pâzand readings can have no traditional authority, when they differ from those of old Pâzand, it remains to be seen what reliance can be placed upon the Pâzand of 350 years ago. Comparing this old Pâzand with Sasanian, we find such inconsistencies
as the following: \( \text{Páz. aigin, Sas. adin}; \) \( \text{Páz. vash}; \) Sas. afash; \( \text{Páz. vačm, Sas. afam}; \) Páz. \( \text{Erā}; \) Sas. Airán (Z. Airyana). Comparing it with the Pahlavi orthography, we find several inconsistencies, such as \( \text{Páz. hamē}; \) Sas. \( \text{Amerdād}; \) Páz. \( \text{Awerdād}; \) Sas. \( \text{avā}; \) Páz. \( \text{e}; \) Sas. \( \text{Eraz}; \) (Z. Airyana); Sas. \( \text{rá}; \) Páz. \( \text{dāéstā}. \) Comparing it with the Zand equivalents, we also find many inconsistencies, such as \( \text{Páz. avē}; \) Z. \( \text{vī}; \) Páz. \( \text{aratishtár}, \) Z. \( \text{rathaeshtárō}; \) Páz. \( \text{tukhm}, \) Z. \( \text{taokhma}; \) Páz. \( \text{dīn}, \) Z. \( \text{daēna}. \)

The only safe conclusion that can, therefore, be drawn from a careful examination of Pázand, is that, although it probably preserves many old traditional readings of the Pahlavi, it is impossible to distinguish these, with any certainty, from the mere mannerism of the writer, or that of his time. However valuable, therefore, the Pázand may be as an interpreter of the ambiguous Pahlavi, in a general way, it cannot be accepted as an authority in the smaller details of transliteration, unless confirmed by careful etymology, when the Sasanian reading is unknown, or ambiguous.

These remarks apply, of course, specially to the orthography of Iranian words which, with a few exceptions, are all that the Pázand actually transliterates. For the sounds of the Huzvāresh words, which the Pázand nearly always translates, the traditional guide is the Pahlavi-Pázand Glossary, and Destur Peshotan, in the preface to his useful Pahlavi Grammar, argues that this Glossary, being more than 1200 years old, must have been compiled at a time when the pronunciation of the Huzvāresh words was well known; he cannot, therefore, recommend any deviation from the pronunciation so recorded, and he attributes its variations from other Semitic languages to corruption when the foreign words were first adopted by the Persians (Gram. p. 40).

\(^1\) A Grammar of the Pahlavi Language, by Peshotun Dustoor Behramjee Sunjana, Bombay, 1871.
This argument depends upon three assumptions: first, that the correct pronunciation was known when the Glossary was compiled; second, that it was written down in Pâzand at that time; and third, that it has never been altered by subsequent copyists. It is not easy to prove any of these assumptions, but it is perfectly easy to compare the possibly contemporary pronunciation of the Glossary with the undoubtedly contemporary authority of the Sasanian inscriptions; and the result of such a comparison is that out of the 51 Huzvâresh words identified in the Sasanian inscriptions, as given in the lists on p. xxvi–viii, the pronunciation of 25 differs from that given in the traditional Glossary; while, on the other hand, only three, or four, of the Sasanian readings present any serious etymological difficulties. The inevitable conclusion from these facts, is that careful etymology is a safer guide to the correct pronunciation of Huzvâresh words, than the Pâzand transliterations of the Glossary.

Having thus examined the principles upon which a systematic transliteration of Pahlavi may be based, it remains to be explained how these principles have been carried out, in the transliteration of the Pahlavi texts contained in this volume. And in doing this, it is necessary, in the first place, to define the limits of careful etymology, on which so many of the details are found to depend.

As the Huzvâresh portion of the Pahlavi appears to be a remnant of some dialect of the Assyrian 1, differing from that of the cuneiform inscriptions, but closely allied to Chaldee and Syriac, those languages afford the safest basis for etymology, and the more distantly connected Semitic dialects, such as Hebrew, Arabic and Ethiopic should be used only in cases of difficulty, and with great caution. The Iranian portion of the Pahlavi, which is identical with the Pâzand, being a descendant of ancient Persian, and one of the parents of modern Persian, can be best explained from those languages, but with some special exceptions. Nearly all the extant Pahlavi writings are either translations from the

Zand, or are closely connected with the Zoroastrian religion; the translator would, naturally, be much influenced by the orthography of his text in all words except those in constant colloquial use; and the religious writer would have to draw his inspiration from such translations; the influence of the Zand orthography upon the Iranian portion of the Pahlavi must, therefore, have been greater than would be supposed from the distant relationship between the two languages. The ancient Persian is of little use in distinguishing between the vowels ē and ē, ő and ť; and the pronunciation of these vowels, given in dictionaries of modern Persian, appears to be merely that current in India, where the vernaculars have a special tendency to corrupt ē into ē and ť into ő; in Persia itself, the vowels ē and ő are said to have nearly disappeared under the predominating influence of Arabic; under these circumstances, the most obvious course is to refer to the Zand, whose elaborate vowel system is likely to afford assistance in determining these vowels. In accordance with these remarks, the limits of careful etymology may be defined by the following rules:

3) Semitic words should be traced, if possible, to Chaldean and Syriac; and derivations from Hebrew, Arabic and Ethipoic should be treated with great caution.

4) Iranian words, relating specially to the Parsis, or their religion, should be traced direct to Zand, even when they also occur in Persian; but when they are not specially Parsi words, they should be traced to

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1 This tendency is particularly strong in Parsi Gujarati, and leads to such pronunciations as Angrez, behesht, bojorg, del, dojakh, chesán, ekhtiar, ensaf, golam, goso, hokam, keam, ked, saheb, Zaratosht, etc.

2 It is necessary to guard against the idea that the Persians pronounced the Semitic words whilst reading, or used them in conversation; for they appear to have always translated them into Persian, and used the Persian equivalent; as the English write viz. and lbs., and read namely and pounds. This habit accounts for the total disappearance of these Semitic words, as soon as the Pahlavi character was disused; see Haug's Essay on Pahlavi, p. 127, 130.
Persian, merely referring to the Zand equivalent to ascertain if e, ē, o, or ō should be used instead of a, i, u, or ū.

In applying these rules, many doubtful cases occur, which can only be settled, somewhat arbitrarily, on their several merits; thus the Zand prepositional prefix hañ- generally becomes an- in modern Persian (hangám being one of the exceptions), so that ەک and ژک would be read hanjaman and handám if traced to Zand, or anjaman and andám if traced to Persian; with a due regard, however, for rule 4, the Zand reading has been adopted for hanjaman, and the Persian reading for anbár, andéshíd, andázíd, angárd, andám, andarz, andókt, etc.

The transliteration of ە, چ, and ژ is beset with many complications, as they stand for both vowels and consonants, and for more than one of each.

The letter ە represents the consonants h and kh in many words, of which the following are a few instances; it stands for h in ەا hat, ەا hazár, ەا hasht, ەام ham, ەا hangám, ەا hámát; ەا chahár, ەا zahabá, ەا dahishn, ەا mahmán, ەا vah- isht; ەز zreh, ەس stih, ەش shukáh, ەم málh, ەو véh; and it stands for kh in ەک khár, ەک khák, ەک khán, ەک khrafstar, ەک khvást, ەک khúd, ەک khán; ەک akhar, ەک apákhtar, ەب bakht, ەل lakhmá, ەس sakht; ەک akh, ەک míkh; when the h, or kh, is final, the ە is often enlarged into ە. There is a tendency in Pahlavi to preserve the consonant ە before ە sh, in cases where it has nearly, or entirely, disappeared in Persian, as in ەا Zaratúhasht and ەا pādákhsah; for this reason, it is doubtful whether ەا (Z. ۆtarsh) should be read ۆtakhsh, or ۆtash, but the latter reading has been adopted, as the more probable; the words ە22s, ە22s and ە22s occur in the Naksh-i Rústam inscription, lin. 17, 34, 36, but owing to the practical difficulty of distinguishing between ە22 sh and ە22 ró, ör, it is doubt-
ful whether these words are to be read ātashī and ātashān, or ātaroī and ātaroān, or Ātūrī and Ātūrān.

The initial vowel ā is generally a short a, like ā and ą, there being no other way of expressing the short initial a; in some cases however, the initial vowel is lengthened in the cognate languages, and then the initial ā should be read ā, as in ātāsh, ātārō, āvādān, āzard, āzarm, āvikht, āzār, or āzvar, āvord, āpūstanō, āfrinō, ālādak, ās, āsān, āsrūk, āsyāv, āsmān, āsn, āštīh, āshāp, ākās; ākūst, āmākht, āmūrzishn, āngān, etc. With a few doubtful exceptions, ā is the only initial vowel in Pahlavi, like ā in Persian and Arabic, and ą in Hebrew and Chaldee; but it forms initial diphthongs with the other two vowels, ĵ and ū, as in Āharmazd, āubahsh, āupārd, āūftīnand, āupast, āūzdīstār, āūrvar, āūzīr (Z. uzayara), āūstād, āūstūrdak, āūsūfrīd, āūshbām; āūt, āūld, Āūrān, Āūrīch, or Āūrīv, āūgh, āνūf, ānīman, etc. It may be observed that in none of these words, can the initial diphthong be traced to an original ă or ē, although the Pāzand writers often use o or ē, to represent such diphthongs, which practice 1 is justifiable in only a few cases, such as the following: āoį, āe, āētūn, āeĉhand, āeṟpat, āešm, or ākhēn. Excepting the idhāfat ă i, the only available instances of words com-

1 This practice has, no doubt, a close connection with the aversion of Parsi Gujarāti to the diphthongs āi and āu, which it always changes, if possible, into e and o, as in eb, Ar. eșh, Ar. eșīm; ojār, Ar. ețar; olūd, Ar. 使用者或; okhād, oshād, Sans. aushādha; etc.
mencing with any other vowel but ʿ, are the rare and uncertain forms ʿuṣ̱iḏahisnīh, ʿ in ʿayn ʿayn, ʿayn ċıstālak ċaṣ̱tālak, and ʿIsāṭwāṭar; when ʿayn yazisn is intended to commence with a vowel, it is written ʿaṣ̱iḏahn, as often occurs in the Din-kard.

The medial, or final, vowel ʿ is always a long ā, but it is sometimes used where only the short a occurs in the cognate languages, as in ʿalāsh ċaṣ̱tālak amāvand, Z. amavāntem, which is sometimes further lengthened into ʿbāḥar Bāḥrām; ʿpāhrēj Bahram; ʿpāḥnāi ʿbāḥar; ʿpāḥnāi pāṇāk pāṇāk; ʿtāḥt Tākhamorāpō, Z. Takhmō-urupa; ʿcāshīd ʿzāḥar zākham; ʿsāhmān dānār, Z. dānāre; ʿGāyōmārō, Z. Gāyō māreṭa; and ʿmāzdayasnān, Z. mazdayasnā; etc.

The letter ʿ often represents the consonants n and v, and sometimes r and l; when initial, it seems to be always a consonant, like ʿ, and ʿ, except in the doubtful instance mentioned above, and is limited to the sounds n and v, being often the conjunction va, which is nearly always joined to the following word in MSS., though sometimes to the preceding one, if it end in ʿ or ʿ. The letter ʿ stands for n in ʿnāmak, ʿnafshman, ʿnād, ʿnasak; ʿanāk, ʿranj, ʿsang; ʿāsān, ʿrāshan, ʿkīn, etc.; and it stands for v in ʿva, ʿvād, ʿvarīd, ʿvishtāsp; ʿharvīsp ʿkhvīd, ʿzivast, etc.; as a final v it is rare, though it can be found in the rather doubtful forms ʿnīv ʿnīv, and ʿjav ʿjav. When ʿ represents the Chaldee v, it seems best to follow the Semitic

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1 More probably the English v.
practice and consider it a consonant, as in \textit{pavan}, \textit{levin}, \textit{kevan}, \textit{mandavam}, \textit{vadun}, \textit{val}, \textit{varikan}, \textit{vad}, etc.; and the same rule may be reasonably adopted when \(=\) Chald. \(\kappa\), as in \textit{vakdun}, \textit{valman}, \textit{vazliin}, etc.

The occasional use of \(\) for \(r\) and \(l\), in addition to its common sounds of \(n\), \(v\), \(\dot{a}\), \(\dot{o}\), is best explained by the history of the Sasanian characters representing those letters\(^1\). On the earliest Sasanian coins, the character for \(n\) is like \(\) \(,\) while a letter like \(2\) is used for \(r\), \(l\), \(v\) and \(\dot{a}\); somewhat later coins and the earliest rock inscriptions have \(\) for \(n\), \(2\) for \(r\), \(v\) and \(\dot{a}\), and \(\) for \(l\) and \(r\); and later inscriptions make still more use of \(\) for \(r\). In the course of time, \(\) \(n\) and \(2\) \(r\), \(l\), \(v\), \(\dot{a}\), both changed into \(\) which thus inherited the sounds \(r\), \(l\), \(n\), \(v\) and \(\dot{a}\); and \(\) \(l\), \(r\) changed into \(\) and \(\), both of which retained the sounds of \(l\) and \(r\); thus we find both \(\) and \(\) karti, in the inscriptions, for \(\) and \(\) karto. In Pahlavi writings, the following words have been noticed, in which \(\) stands for \(r\): \textit{ataro}, \textit{avarik}, \textit{afarinagan}, \textit{afirinou}, \textit{khamra}, \textit{Amerodaq}, \textit{Abumazd}, \textit{Artakhshatar}, \textit{Artakhshir}, \textit{kharsand}, \textit{Horvadaq}, \textit{barad}, \textit{beratman}, \textit{barman}, \textit{fraz}, \textit{farzand}, \textit{parashayu}, \textit{parsid}, \textit{fardand}, \textit{toru}, \textit{spandarmao}, \textit{sardar}, \textit{shatro}, \textit{shatvero}, \textit{kirfak}, \textit{kord}, \textit{karitun}, \textit{kira}, \textit{Marspend}, \textit{Mitro}, \textit{maranu}, \textit{marandu}, \textit{gabra}, \textit{dapiro}, \textit{Gavrak}, \textit{drist}, \textit{gurd}, etc. And \(\) stands for \(l\) in \textit{pelag}, \textit{shlam}, \textit{ghul} (Chaldæo-Pahl. \textit{kul}, a harsher pronunciation of \(\) \(val\)), \textit{kola}, \textit{milayu}, \textit{gamlu}, \textit{yemaledu} (also written \textit{jal}), etc.

When medial ı is a vowel, it may be read either ʊ, or ı, according to the etymology of the word; thus we read it ʊ in all cases where it cannot be traced to any other vowel but ʊ, or ʊ, in the cognate languages, as well as in those cases where the etymology is quite uncertain; a few instances, in which it corresponds to ʊ, are khefrün and other Huz. verbs, ʃərəskı əshnaļ, ʃərık hükht, ʃərık khan, ʃərık birün, ʃərık pəmmən, etc. It corresponds to a short ʊ in other languages, in such words as ʃərık hə- ʊ̄, ʃərık āmərizhən, ʃərık angəst, ʃərık bərdər, ʃərık bərz, ʃərık bələnəl, ʃərık pər, ʃərık pərsəd, ʃərık kənənən, ʃərık nakəşt, ʃərık daregəsh, ʃərık ɡəst, ʃərık ɡərbək, ʃərık ɡərd, ʃərık ɡəry, ʃərık dəş- ʊ̄, ʃərık ɡəmən, ʃərık dəmbək, ʃərık drəst, etc.; also in the superlative suffix ʃərık təm, and the ordinal suffix ʃərık -əm. The medial vowel ı is transliterated ʊ̄, first, when it corresponds to ao, or ı̄, in Zand, or Chaldee, as in ʃərık hə-rost, ʃərık anəşak, ʃərık bəl, ʃərık pərəhəm, ʃərık pərəyə, ʃərık təkhm, ʃərık tərə, ʃərık rəst, ʃərık rəshan, ʃərık Srəsh, ʃərık shəlnən, ʃərık kəf, ʃərık kəkbə, ʃərık nər, ʃərık dənən, ʃərık gəşpən, ʃərık tərə, ʃərık ɡəsh, ʃərık yəşələsər, ʃərık yəm, etc.; secondly, when it appears to correspond to any other vowel, or diphthong, in the same languages, besides those already mentioned 1, as in ʃərık afsəs, ʃərık əwərd, ʃərık əskəmbə, ʃərık Amerədadəl, ʃərık andəkht, ʃərık bərəsom, ʃərık bəndək ‘a slave’, ʃərık pədəkhəshəh, ʃərık frəd, ʃərık pəst, ʃərık pəsht, ʃərık təhik, ʃərık təhik, ʃərık təbənəm, ʃərık təmik, ʃərık rəsidəm, ʃərık zəfər, ʃərık məstər, ʃərık məsələ, ʃərık məzə, ʃərık məg, ʃərık mədə, ʃərık əvəiştən, ʃərık əviəmən, ʃərık əviəgəhər, ʃərık dəst (anc. Pers. daustər), ʃərık əgənək, etc.

1 This is the general rule of the Pəzənd writers, so far as can be judged from their very irregular readings; its adoption, therefore, prevents any very wide departure from the Pəzənd, with regard to this vowel; and the same remarks apply to the similar rule regarding the vowel ʊ̄ ı.
The transliteration of final  is complicated with a question of orthography which leads to much uncertainty and requires careful consideration. There is no difficulty when the final  is clearly  or , as in the examples already given (p. xxxv), to which may be added such words ending in  as  barijan,  lajan, levín,  mín and  man, and many words ending in  -án,  -ishn and  -ín, -én; also such words ending in  as  apígán,  bán,  pavan,  chán,  shévan,  kevan and  kún,  mán,  drón, all crude Huz. verbs in  -án, and many words ending in  -rún,  -án, and  -gán. In a few words, the final  appears to be  ü, as in  abú,  tanú, Rashnú,  rú,  mú, dínshahú,; but of these we also find the forms  and  and  . And in some cases, a final  can be readily identified with a Zand  ö, or  ā, as in  Átaró (Z. gen. áthró, pl. nom. acc. átaró),  dínó (Z. pl. nom. acc. daénáo),  shatró and  Mitró (Z. nom. Mithró); but this explanation is not applicable to the infinitive suffix  , which seems to be the only remaining case where the final  is constant.

The chief difficulty, however, in transliterating a final , arises in those cases where it seems to be an optional final, either added, or omitted, by the writer, without any apparent reason, but according to some vague rule which practically divides the MSS. into three classes. First, the modern MSS., in which the writer is not satisfied with copying his text, but revises it with doubtful success; such writers generally add an extra  to every final  n, except that of the Semitic suffix  man, and often to the syllables  án, shn and  ín, when they are medial; but they rarely add the optional final  to  or any other letter. Second, the very old MSS., which are much more sparing in the use of  after , and after  they generally separate it, and read it as the conjunction  va beginning the next sentence; from a careful examination of 3 chapters of the Bundehesh and 16 of the Ardá-Viráf
nâmak in the MSS. Hô and K20 (which are nearly 500 years old), it
appears that the old writers used the optional final ı only once in an
average of nine occurrences of the plural suffix ном - án, the pronom-
inal suffixes ном - tân, ном - shân, ном - mân, and most words end-
ing in ном - án; while they used it after the abstract suffix ном - ishu
and the word yclerview(rúbán), nearly as often as they omitted it. Third,
the MSS. which seem to have been rarely copied, such as the Din-kard
and Nirangistân, but of which only modern copies have been examined;
these add the extra ı to a final ı n oftener than they omit it, but they
also add it to most words ending in ın t, ın k, ın p, ı, and ın ch, ı.
When a suffix is added to the word, it generally elides the optional
final ı; but there are many exceptions to this general rule, in all class-
es of MSS. Turning to the Pahlavi legends on coins ¹, we find the
optional final ı sparingly used on the coins of the Arab governors of
Persia, and the rulers of Tabaristân, shortly after the downfall of
the Sasanian dynasty in A.D. 651; it is added occasionally to ın in
several numerals ending in ın shast, ın navad and ın saq, in
the names ın Khârshâd, ın, ın, ın Khârshâd, ın, ın, ın, and in ın afzâd; it is added to ın in ın, to ın in
ı, and to final ın in ın, ın Kir-
mân and other more doubtful readings; but the merely optional char-
acter of this final ı is as evident on the coins as in the books, by the
numerous instances in which it is omitted; it is also worthy of note
that it is added to the same letters, ın, ın, ın and ı, in both cases,
while the remaining letter ın, which takes the extra ı in some books,
does not occur as a final on these coins, so far as has been observed;
and the only certain instance of a plural in ın - án (which occurs in

¹ See Mordtmann's essays in the Zeitschrift der D. M. G., and Thomas's in
the Journal of the R. A. S.
the khalif's title amir-i varóishnikán, 'commander of the believing') does not take the optional final, although it occurs several times.

If this final \( j \) were a consonant, or indicated a change of sound in the preceding consonant, it would be so essential a part of the word, that its frequent omission would be difficult to explain; and if it merely indicated the end of a word, or the suppression of a final short vowel, it ought to be much more frequently used. But its optional character indicates that it is no essential part of the word. Destur Hoshangji considers it as a representative of any final vowel, in the same way as \( f \) and \( x \) are representatives of a short initial vowel, and he extends this hypothesis to many cases where medial \( j \) takes the place of \( a \) and \( i \) in the cognate languages; this was evidently the opinion of most of the writers of modern MSS., in many cases; and also of the older writers, with regard to \( j \). That certain Pahlavi words retained an original final vowel, in a modified form, is evident from the frequent occurrence of the final \( j \) in the Sasanian inscriptions, which seems to be used in a similar manner to the final \( j \) in Pahlavi, although it cannot be shown to be quite equivalent to it (see p. xxix). And there is nothing impossible in the hypothesis that the Pahlavi, whilst generally dropping the complex terminations of the languages whence it derived its words, may occasionally have retained such a termination; in fact, we know this was done in such cases as the termination \( j -\ddot{u}n \) of the crude Huzváresh verbs, the word \( \text{atásh} \) (Z. nom. \( \text{átarsh} \)), etc.; and we have only to extend this hypothesis, by supposing that some writers rejected all vowel terminations, while others occasionally retained a vowel to represent them, and we obtain an explanation of the optional use of a final vowel.

That the Zand terminations \( \text{b} \, \dot{o} \) and \( \text{w} \, \dot{a} \) often become \( j \) in Pahlavi, instead of being dropped, is proved by the compound words \( \text{ameshóspend} \), Z. pl. nom. acc. \( \text{amesháo spenta} \); \( \text{póryó-dkésh} \), Z. \( \text{paóiryó-dkaésha} \); \( \text{peshytanú} \), Z. \( \text{peshátanu} \); \( \text{Tákhmórápó} \), Z. \( \text{Takhmó-urupa} \); \( \text{sróshó-cha-} \)
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ranâm, Z. sraoshô-charana; Gâyômard, Z. gayô + mareta; vâstryôsh, Z. vâstryô-fshuyâs; Néryósang, Z. Naivyô-sanha; garôdmân, Z. garô-demâna; etc. We are, therefore, prepared to find that the optional final ɒ, as well as the constant final (in the words quoted in p. xxxviii), sometimes represents the same Zand terminations, and may therefore be read ó, as in áfrînô; arashkô, Z. araskô; rûbânô, Z. pl. nom. acc. urvânô; rôshanô, Z. raochanê; zarînô, Z. zairînô; srûbô, 'horn', Z. pl. acc. srvâo; yêdatô, Z. yazatô; vahishtô; nubánazdishtô; drônô; dastô; dashinô; dûmbô; all past participles ending in -tô, as kartô, Z. keretô; etc. With a due consideration for these facts, and for the obscurity in which the identification of this letter still lies, the following general rule has been adopted for its transliteration; while care has been taken not to admit this optional final ɒ into the texts, except where it occurs in the old MSS.

5) Whenever it is possible that the optional final ɒ may be the equivalent of the termination ó, or ò, in some form of the word in Zand, it should be transliterated by ó; in all other cases it is supposed to represent some obscure vowel sound which can be represented by ó.

The same obscure vowel ó can also be used for the final of the infinitive suffix -tanô, and of a few other words, where the final ɒ is constant, but cannot be traced to an original ó, ò, u, or û.

The letter ɔ often represents the consonants y, d and g, and sometimes ʃ; when initial it seems to be always a consonant, like ʃ and ʒ, except in the doubtful instances mentioned in p. xxxv. It stands for y in yazishn, ʃom; rûjîn, ziyân, mûyak, etc.; it stands for d in dastô, denman; andéshîd, shêdâ; hômand, pazd, etc.; it stands for g in gibrâ, garm; ângûn, sadîgar; pelag, ta-
karg, etc.; and it stands for  in  jih,  jam,  Jamasp,  jamak,  jân,  jânük,  jald,  javíd and a few others.

When medial  is a vowel, the rules adopted for reading it ₁, or ₂, are similar to those for reading ₁, or ₂, for ₁. A few instances, in which it corresponds to ₁, in the cognate languages, are  áfrinó avirán,  aító,  bím,  tíná,  niz, etc. It corresponds to a short ₁ in other languages, in such words as  hikhar,  há-chihkar,  Tishtar,  tishgá,  tishn,  chágún,  chim,  Chínávat,  rapítávin,  zísht,  döl,  náirik,  nihán,  nihíp, etc. The medial vowel  is transliterated ₂, when it corresponds to ₃, ₂, or ₂, in Zand, or Chaldee, as in  ákhészid,  aratéshtár,  khúrshéd,  andéshíd,  khvé-tókías,  khvés,  aérpat,  késhm,  bétá,  bés,  bévar,  Frédían,  pésúl,  zén,  gés,  kés,  mézúl,  més,  neshman,  námak,  géhán, etc.; an exception has been made in the case of the word  dinó, as the Pázand writers adhere strictly to that Arabic pronunciation, although the original Zand word daéna, pl. nom. acc. daénáo, indicates that denó ought to be the old Persian pronunciation. The medial vowel  is also transliterated ₂, when it appears to correspond to any other vowel, or diphthong, in the same languages, besides those already mentioned, as in  péstún,  pés,  dér,  yédató,  Shatvéró,  kéf,  késvar,  véh,  Néryósang,  vésh, etc.; exceptions have been made in the words  míníd,  mínishn,  minavad and others from the same root, in which  ought to be read  min-, according to the general rule, as it represents the Zand main-. It would,
no doubt, be more satisfactory, in all cases, to depart from the general rule of the Pāzand writers, which substitutes ē for ai, as they have themselves done in minīl and mainyō; and the various Pahlavi equivalents of the Zand prefix paiti, indicate that there is no very good reason for condensing the diphthong into a single vowel; thus, Z. paiti becomes in padash, patkār, patkūft, padmānak, padmūkht, padvast, padvand, etc., and in patiyārak, padīraft, padīrak, etc.; it becomes in padakhshah, padafrās, pūdadahishtn, etc., and in pād- yāv, etc.; it becomes in pēdāk, pēlkham, etc., and in petishtán, etc.; besides the further modified forms of pa- and pāh-, in a few words. Now it is evident that, if we admit the principle of the short vowel i being understood as well as a, all these forms closely approximate in sound, thus we can read paiti-, paiti-, paiti-, paiti-, and paiti-; it has been thought, however, too wide a departure from 'tradition', to adopt such readings in the transliteration of the texts.

There are several words which occur in two forms, one in which the vowel i, or ē, is expressed, and the other in which it is omitted; this variation in orthography indicates clearly that the short vowel u, o, i, or e, must be understood in the latter forms, thus, we find both anāmūrz and anāmūrz, humat and humat, tūkhshīd and tūkhshīd, sakhūn and sakhūn, vazūrg and vazūrg, drūkht and drūkht, gazdūm and gazdūm; rōst and rōst, mōzd (Z. mīzhdem) and mōzd; avistāk and avistāk, harvisp and harvisp, rist (Z. irista) and rist, dahishn and dahishn,
vahēsh and vahisht, nīhān and nīhān, dīlār and dīlār, the suffix e - ich (Z. cha) and e - ich; khēshm and rēsh and rēsh, kēm and kēm, gajēstak and gajēstak, etc.

But besides these, there are many other words in which the same short vowels occur in the cognate languages, and may therefore, be reasonably inserted in the transliteration of Pahlavi; such are afsurd, astukhvān, aūsturī, burīd, burīd, pasukhō, shukūh, nukūm, numūd, Horvadaī, colā, Vohāman; khākistar, khīrad, harvīst, stīh, shikast, all abstracts in -ishn, kīrm, kirī, Kirī, Mitrō, min, nipīshī, Vishtāsp, nīshast, nikās, nikān, nikī, gird, girīyān, dashīn, Yīm; aperenāyik, lekūm, kābed, kerī, kērp, Keresāspō, marenchīnūd, varenō, daregūsh, gospīnd, denman, etc.

As many Zand verbs have a different vowel in the crude form of the present, to that in the past participle, a difficulty arises in determining, according to rule 4, whether the vowel of the Pahlavi verb should be ɨ or e, ō or o. The simplest solution of this question, is to adopt the Zand practice, and use both forms, as is already done in Persian in other instances, such as pāhrīkht and pāhrējēd, rīkht and rējēd, sūkht and sūjēd, gūmīkht and gūmējēd, etc.

Next to the vowels, one of the most uncertain points in Pahlavi
is the sound of \( \sigma \) in many words; and the confusion of its two sounds, \( t \) and \( d \), dates from Sasanian times, as the inscriptions have both \( yazt\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!\!
In a few cases, the termination -gân is added to a final k, as in rûbânîkgân and rûdîkgân, which forms indicate the influence of modern Persian on the copyist. The final  is sometimes substituted for a final 1, chiefly in modern MSS., as in the suffix of the past participle  -tak; Pers.  for  -tô;  for  -î;  for  -î;  for  -î; etc.; and it is occasionally substituted for a final 0, as in  for  -î. It may also be noticed that a final Persian  is not always the modern representative of a Pahlavi 0, especially when the former follows a long vowel; thus we find panâh, panjâh, tapâh, châh, sipâh, mâh, giyâh; shukhûh, gûh; vêh, zrêh, etc.

Comparing the Pahlavi abstract suffix 0 with the terminations of the words just quoted, and especially with that of 0 vêh, it may be suspected that the modern Persian abstract suffix  0 has dropped an original final h, in the same manner as the adjective suffix  0 has dropped the final k of the Pahlavi 0 -îk. This suspicion is confirmed, to some extent, by the occurrence of several words ending in  -îhî, in the Sasanian inscriptions, which appear to be abstract nouns. It may further be noticed that the Pahlavi suffixes 0 and 0 sometimes interchange, as in 0 and 0, 0 and 0. With a due regard for these facts and probabilities, the Pahlavi abstract suffix  has been transliterated

1 Some of the Sasanian legends on gems supply further confirmation, see No. 58 and 60 of Thomas's catalogue of Sasanian gems, in the Journal R. A. S. vol. XIII, p. 424, on both which gems the word  râstîhi occurs, which can hardly be any other word than the Pahlavi  râstîh; the legend on No. 54 is also probably  râstîh.
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Some of the old Pâzand writers read this suffix as -ash, probably mistaking it for the other Persian abstract suffix -ish, Pahl. yet but this latter is added merely to crude verbs, whereas -ih, Pers. is a general abstract suffix.

The Pahlavi suffix just mentioned as forming abstract nouns from crude verbs, is still found occasionally in Persian, as in prîsh, manîsh, rôsh, etc.; but in most cases the final n has been dropped. In accordance with the Persian pronunciation, this suffix is transliterated -ish; or -ishn when the vowel is expressed in Pahlavî, as in dahîshn and a few others.

The suffix is used for two purposes. First, for forming adverbs from adjectives (like the English suffix -ly), in which case, it is transliterated -yish, being taken as a Semitic suffix, see Haug's Essay on Pahlavî, p. 116; the Pâzand writers read it -ihâ, and might quote the Persian adverb tanîhâ, Pahl. tanîhâ, as a confirmation of their reading; but it may be noticed that this adverb is derived from a substantive, and not from an adjective like other adverbs ending in -ish. Secondly, a suffix of the same shape is used to form the plural of a few nouns; this is also transliterated -ihâ by the Pâzand writers, and as it is -hâ in Persian, their reading has been followed in the texts; the following are instances of this plural form, which is rare in Pahlavî khîstārîhâ, khâdînâkihâ, bandâkihâ, pôstîhâ, zakarîhâ, jâmâkihâ, kûstîhâ, naskîhâ, etc.

The verbal suffix of the 2nd person singular, which is variously written -s, -th, or -yih, on the assumption that it bears the same relation to the Zand suffix -hi, as the suffixes -am and -êd, of the 1st and 3rd persons singular, bear to the Zand suffixes -mi and -ti, the final vowel i being dropped in the Pahlavî suffixes; thus we read homanih for and homanih for hómanih and hómanyih
In yehevanāsh, the suffix -āsh is merely the termination of the Pāz. bāsh = Pers. bash.

The Pahlavi ə often corresponds to the Persian ب, as in əshāp, k háp, bāp, ə charp, ə shap, naparto, nihāp, dāpīrō, etc. Some of these words have an alternative form in Persian, in which ə is substituted for ب, and in such cases, it might be better to read ə for ب, as has been done in əvāv, kārvānīh, etc.

The two letters ə often correspond to the Persian ب, and when the word is a compound ending in ə-bār, ə-bān, or ə-bar, the ə is assumed to be the Zand final ə of the first member of the compound, as in astobān, asobār, hāstobār, dastōbar, etc. The letters ə sometimes also correspond to the Zand » v, and are then generally transliterated ūb, in accordance with the Persian example of zāban (Z. hizva); thus, we read yashārūbō, tūbān, rūbān, zūbān, dūbārast, etc.; and the same reading has been adopted in rūbāk, rūbīshn, dātōgūbān, ġūbīshn, etc., although the last two words might perhaps be preferably read dātōgūbān and ġūbīshn, in accordance with the vowels in the ancient Persian forms gaubataiy and agaubatā. In ūhāsh and ūhāshā, where ə corresponds to Z. av, the reading ūb has been preferred to ūb.

The two letters ə also correspond to the Zand » v, and are then transliterated ūv, as in Chināvat, zrūvānō, zavānih, etc.; and they correspond occasionally to the Zand w, as in rapītūvin.

It would appear from these examples, and from ūhāvarsht, Z. hvarsht, that the Pahlavi writers considered the Zand » v as a double letter. In a similar manner, they usually take the Zand
y as a double letter, and represent it by ی or ی ی, as in یاپیُی‌ریِه, یپیُی‌رک, یزیُی‌نی, یٞ ییی‌ز, ییًاذ, etc.

The letter ی is used as a final in a few words of Semitic origin; it represents ی in یاکھ یاکھ, یزکار, and sometimes in یمکُه یمکُه; and it represents ی in یاً یاً and یِ یِ. When a suffix is added to these words, the ی remains unaltered, as in یاکھ یاکھ, یزکار, etc.; and the same remark may be made with regard to the final ی s, as in یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغمَٗی یَکُلُسَغ
The compound $\text{ŋy}$ is sometimes written $\text{ŋy}$, when it occurs in the Huzvāresh verb $\text{ŋy vādân}$, 'do, make', in order to distinguish it from the verb $\text{ŋy vakhdân}$, 'hold, take'; and the same kind of tail is occasionally added to $\text{ŋy}$, probably indicating that it is to be pronounced $\text{čd}$, like the Zand letters $\text{ŋy}$. It may be further remarked that the letter $\text{ŋ} \text{ch}$ is sometimes written in Persian $\text{ŋ}$ in order to distinguish it from the verb $\text{ŋ} \text{vakhdân}$, 'hold, take'; and the same kind of tail is occasionally added to $\text{ŋ}$, probably indicating that $\text{ŋ}$ is to be pronounced $\text{čd}$, like the Zand letters $\text{ŋy}$.

The words $\text{ŋy}$ and $\text{ŋy}$ are read $\text{yēdatō}$ and $\text{yadadân}$, because the $\text{z}$ in Z. $\text{yazatō}$ is more likely to become $\text{d}$ than $\text{j}$ in Pahlavi, as  Z. $\text{azem} = \text{anc. Pers. adam}$, etc., and some words are written in Pahlavi with either $\text{d}$, or $\text{z}$, indifferently, as $\text{ŋy} \text{farzand}$ and $\text{ŋy} \text{fardand}$, $\text{ŋy zamán}$ and $\text{ŋy damán}$, $\text{ŋy zamastán}$ and $\text{ŋy damastán}$, $\text{ŋy zamik}$ and $\text{ŋy damik}$, etc.

In $\text{ŋy} \text{Aūharmazd}$ and $\text{ŋy} \text{Yazdakard}$, it is doubtful whether the $\text{u}$ is merely a contraction, or whether the original $\text{ŋy} \text{zd}$, corrupted into $\text{dd}$ $\text{dd}$, has finally become $\text{u}$. The reading $\text{zd}$ has been retained in accordance with the Sasanian orthography $\text{ŋy} \text{Aūharmazdē}$ and $\text{ŋy} \text{Yazdakarti}$.

The preposition $\text{ŋy}$ is read $\text{yīn}$; and when the same compound character occurs as a verbal suffix, it is read $\text{yēn}$, being identified as the Zand suffix $\text{yen}$ of the $3^\text{rd}$ person plural of the optative mood.

In some words, $\text{d}$ appears to have been substituted for $\text{b}$, thus we find both $\text{ŋy} \text{mekadān}$ and $\text{ŋy} \text{mekablān}$; $\text{ŋy} \text{neked}$, Heb. $\text{ŋy}$; and $\text{ŋy} \text{yezderān}$, Chald. $\text{ŋy}$. It would be hazardous to assume that this substitution has arisen from any regular phonetic change; but it can be readily explained as a mere misreading of ill-formed letters, the $\text{b}$ being easily mistaken for a large $\text{d}$ which is a common final form of $\text{d}$ in old MSS.; when medial, the $\text{b}$ has
probably first become \( v \) (as in \( زون \) for \( زون \), etc.) and this \( v \) has been turned at the bottom to join the following letter, which would change it into \( د \), as occurs thrice in the MS. He in the word for \( ببتن \). This mechanical change of \( v \) into \( د \), also explains the derivation of \( ی‌دان \) from \( ز‌وان \), the regular form of which would be \( ی‌دبر \), according to the rule whereby the Zand \( و \) becomes \( د \) in Pahlavî.

A final \( ی \), in Persian nouns, is often traceable to a Zand \( د \), as in \( بون \) ‘scent’ Z. \( باودها \), \( پنیز \) ‘foot’ Z. \( پذیدا \), \( پنیز \) ‘face’ Z. \( راوذها \), etc. In Pahlavî, such words end in \( د \) which is often circumflexed and must then be read \( د \), in accordance with the Zand form rather than the Persian, as in \( بود \) and \( روید \). And these examples have been considered sufficient authority for reading \( د \) in other cases, where \( ی \) corresponds to Pers. \( ی \) and the Zand equivalent is unknown, as in \( روید \) ‘brass’, \( مود \) ‘hair’, \( ندک \) ‘good’, etc.

As all the Pahlavî numerals, from ‘two’ to ‘ten’, are Semitic, it is natural to suppose that the numeral ‘one’ must be also of Semitic origin and traceable to Chald. \( م \); this assumption is further confirmed by the traditional reading of the word, the circumflex with which it is often written, and its Sasanian orthography, all of which indicate that it contains the letter \( د \), and \( یوش = یوش \) ‘one’ is therefore read \( خدادک \). When this numeral is the first member of a compound word, its final \( ی \) is often omitted, as in \( خدادبیار \), \( خدادتیک \), \( خدادمیک \), etc. In \( خداده \) ‘anyone’, and \( خداده \) \( خداده \) ‘any people’ (traditionally \( اداسح \) and \( اداسهان \)), the numeral appears to be further abbreviated into \( م \) \( خداد \). When the numeral ‘one’ is appended to a noun, like the Persian ‘idhafat of unity’, it is generally represented by the cypher \( ی \) in old MSS., which is transliterated by the Roman numeral \( I \), as in \( گابرا-I \) ‘a man’, \( نیشمان-I \) ‘a woman’, etc.; in modern MSS., this cypher is usually corrupted into the common idhafat \( د \) \( ی \); sometimes, in old
MSS. "ac" is substituted for "r", especially in "chand" for "chand", Pers. "yekhand", 'several'; and "hich", Pers. "ay = heem" 'any', may perhaps also have been "r" originally. The Pāzand writers read "c" for this cypher, as well as for "u", but whether it should be read "ac", or "khad", is very uncertain.

The habit of reading the Pāzand yuk, or "c", for the Huzvāresh "khaduk", appears to have led Pahlavi writers to the conclusion that "u" was a proper representative of any initial "ya", "aya", or "ai"; thus we find "u", or "u", substituted for "u" in "khaduf", "khadukának", "khadúínak", etc. It is also possible that the use of the compound "sr" for an initial "y", or "uy", (see p. xlix) may have arisen from this substitution of "u" khadū, or "u" khadú-I, for "u" ay. In "uy" giyāh, Pers. "giya", the cypher "r" appears to have been substituted for "u" y.

It will be observed that most of the words beginning with "u" khadū and "u" khadūk, are hybrids, partly Semitic and partly Aryan; so also are all the forms of Huzvāresh verbs with the Aryan suffixes "u", "u", "u", "u", "u", "u", "u", "u", "u", etc. Other hybrid words are "ubídar", "amídar", "barmanar", "akhtmanar" and "sr" gabráüm, in which the superfluous finals "u" and "u" can only be explained as the finals of the Pāzand equivalents and "u"; and in "u" tanid and "u" dyin, the superfluous circumflex can be best explained as merely indicative of the "d" in "dikr" and "dikr". In the hybrids "shédayyá-yazakih" and "javid-shédayyá-dái", the Huz. "shédayyá" is merely substituted for the Pāz. dēv. In "yashar-

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1 This rare form occurs in the MS. K20, in the tale of Gosht-i Fryânō, II. 45; and it may be merely a blunder, as the proper Huzvāresh of marḏem is anshútā, rather than gabrá.
dish, yasharmok, yasharub, fravyashar and similar words, the i in can hardly be satisfactorily explained, unless we assume that a Huzvaresh form yashar, Heb. יָשָׁר, has been substituted for the Zand ash, asha, ashe, or ashi; whether this explanation can be extended to £ = Z. vahishtcm, is yet doubtful.

A few Pahlavi words can be read either as Semitic, or Aryan, thus may be hano (Z. anya), or akharan (Chald. אָקָהְרוֹ); may be ana (Z. ana, anā), or hanā (Syr. حَنَّا); *‘this’ may be ač (Z. ačm, aya), or hī (Syr. حَيِّ); ‘one’ may be ač (Pāz. չ), or khad (Chald. خَد); may be shnom (Z. khshnaoma), or shlam (Chald. ܫܠܡ); etc.

Of the Huzvaresh verbs formed with the prefix ye, only two retain the sound ye uncorrupted in the Pahl.-Paz. Glossary, namely, yezbekhun (which owes the preservation of the ye sound, probably to its Pāzand equivalent commencing with the same sound) and yezderun. In fourteen of these verbs, the y has been corrupted into j in the Glossary, as often happens in modern Persian (as in for Z. yatu, for Z. Yima khshaḷṭa, etc.), although the y is always found in such of them as occur in the Sasanian inscriptions (see p. xxvii); these verbs, with their corrected pronunciations, are ydtun, yakhscnun, yamtun, yecheūn, yāttun, yāityun, yetibun, yektelun, yektibun, yekavimun, yemtelelun, yemīṭūn and yansegūn. Three of these verbs are also found with the initial zek further corrupted from jak into zek, which corruption is retained in the transliteration, because the Pahlavi letter is changed; these verbs are zektelun, zektibun and, more rarely, zekavimun. In four other Huzvaresh verbs, the prefix ye has been corrupted into da in the Glossary; these verbs, with their corrected
pronunciations, are yekhabkhün, yehban, yezbemün and yedrün; in the circumflex may perhaps have been introduced to indicate that its Pâzand equivalent, yekhabkhiin, yehbân, yezbemûn, begins with a d; but the corruption of y into d, in the other three verbs is not readily explained, unless we assume that the y, corrupted into j, was further altered into z, whence the final step to d is easy, either by phonetic change, or by misreading the letter.

It may further be noticed, with regard to Huzvaresh verbs, that the u in the final syllable of the crude verb, is not always expressed; thus, we always find hêmnu and yakhserenun, and very often yemalelun. In the Din-kard, several of the other verbs occur with the short u unexpressed in the last syllable; and the same is the case, in the Sasanian inscriptions, with regard to Semitic verbs ending in -itun, such as ramitun, sazîtun, shadîtun, khazîtun and havîtun.

It has been already mentioned that v is the usual representative of the Chaldee y (see p. xxxv-vi), but in a few cases, the Pahlavi g, or gh, appears to be used for the same purpose, as in tishgâ, 'nine', Chald. tishgâ; and ghal, 'to', Chald. ghal; see also zoppamaman, Pahl.-Paz. Glos. p. 243.

These remarks will probably be sufficient to point out the difficulties which any systematic transliterator must be prepared to overcome, and to show the mode of treating them adopted in this volume. The only exceptions which have been made to the general rules, are in the following words: the idhâfat i instead of î, dînô instead of dêno, gûnak instead of gônak, minishn instead of mênishn, and other words in which mâîn, standing for Z. main, ought to be read men according to the Pâzand rule usual in other words,
The Arda-Virâf nâmak, its contents, and probable age.

The visions in heaven and hell which are related in the book of Arda Virâf, the pious Pârsî priest who is said to have gone, when still living, from this world to the realm of the dead, to bring an account of the fate of our souls after death, are still read with the greatest interest by the Pârsî community, and firmly believed in, especially by the female part of it. This is evidenced by the fact that there exist several Persian versions of the work in prose as well as in verse, and Gujarâtî translations to make it accessible to all classes of the Zoroastrian community (see p. xxi). It was occasionally read before large assemblies of Zoroastrians, the effect of which is thus described by Destur Hoshangji: 'It speaks volumes both for the effective style of the Arda-Virâf nâmak and for the implicit faith which the Pârsîs placed in what was written therein, that a few years ago, when the book used to be read before them, overpowered by consciousness of guilt, the punishment for which was so terrifically described, they, but especially the gentler sex, used to weep. It was a most affecting spectacle to witness the awakening conscience exhibiting itself in trickling tears.' At the same time Destur Hoshangji, contrasting the present state of the Pârsî community, regarding matters of religious belief, with that in which it was about twenty-five years ago, remarks: 'The feelings of Pârsîs, even a century ago, would have been much offended, had they been told that the Arda-Virâf nâmak was nothing else but a mythological work. In our days of progress, not only a professor of another creed and religion, but even a Pârsî Destur is permitted to say so.'

In Europe it also excited considerable interest when its principal contents were, however imperfectly, first made known by J. A. Pope's English translation in 1816, which was not based upon the original
Pahlavi text, but on some of the later Persian versions (see p. xix). It is principally the description of hell and of some of the punishments awarded to the wicked which bears occasionally a striking resemblance to the accounts to be found in Dante’s Inferno, though it cannot be supposed for a moment, that the book was actually known to the great Italian poet. As the Arḍā-Vīrāf nāmāk contains, on the whole, much that corresponds to Christian notions of paradise and hell, some scholars have not hesitated to trace it to a Christian source. This they thought to have discovered in the so-called ‘Ascensio Isajae vatis, i.e. the ascension of the prophet Isaiah, one of the many apocryphal works which have reached our time only in an Ethiopian version as preserved by the Christian church in Abyssinia. But since the comparison which had been made between this Christian work and the book of Arḍā Vīrāf, was based only on Pope’s translation of the latter, which is by no means an adequate rendering of the original, wholly erroneous conclusions were drawn from it. There is, in fact, not a single circumstance which would justify us in deriving the visions of Arḍā Vīrāf from those contained in the Ascension of the prophet Isaiah; but all tends to show that there exists not the slightest historical connection between them. The only points in which they coincide are that Isaiah, as well as Arḍā Vīrāf, journeyed through the heavenly regions, the splendor of which gradually increases, and that there are thrones, crowns and beautiful clothing awarded to the souls of the pious. But in all the numerous other particulars there is a great difference. In the

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1 The Ethiopic version has been published, along with Latin and English translations, under the title: ‘Ergata Isayeyas nabije Ascensio Isaiæ vatis, opusculum pseudepigraphum, multis abhinc seculis, ut videtur, deperditum, nunc autem apud Aethiopas compertum, et cum versione latina anglicanaque publici juris factum a Ricardo Laurence LL. D. etc. Oxonii 1819.

2 This has been shown at full length in Haug’s Essay ‘Über das Ardâi Vîrâf nâmeh und seinen angeblichen Zusammenhang mit dem christlichen Apocryphon, die Himmelfahrt des Jesaia betitelt. Sitzungsberichte der kgl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Jahrgang 1870. I 3. pag. 327–364.
visions of the Jewish prophet, there are seven heavens mentioned, which are situated one above the other, the seventh being the uppermost and highest; but in the Pahlavi text of the Arḍā Virāf there are only four heavens mentioned, the first three being the abode of those good and pious souls who had not professed the Zoroastrian religion, whereas the fourth, the Garōdmān, is reserved for the Zoroastrians. It is true, in one of the Persian versions and in Pope's English translation which is based upon it, there are seven heavens mentioned; but this is an adaptation to Mohamedan and Jewish notions which were strange to the Sasanian times in which alone, as we shall see, the book of Arḍā Virāf was composed. In the Ascension of Isaiah, there are rulers mentioned over each heaven; but in the Arḍā-Virāf nothing of this kind is found, nor are the angels on the right and the left side of the throne, which constantly occur in the former, mentioned in the latter. Isaiah does not descend to hell, nor does he give any description of the infernal regions; he only sees how diabolical powers fight with one another on the firmament, but he does not mention the particular punishment of any crimes and sins committed on earth. Besides, the religious ideas in the two books differ widely. In the Ascension all is thoroughly Christian, in the book of Virāf all is Zoroastrian. If the Ascension had been the source of the visions of Virāf, we should find some allusions to the Christian religion; but as not the slightest trace of them can be discovered, we may take it for granted that both works are quite independent of one another, and that the book of Virāf has certainly not been derived from any Christian source.

We shall arrive at the same result, if we compare this book with other works treating of visions in the other world, whether they be of Jewish, or Christian, origin. In the old Jewish literature, the most remarkable production of this kind is the 'History of Rabbi Joshua ben Levi (וֹאַיִּיתֵו יְהוֹשָׁעׁ בֶּן לֵי) ¹, which describes a journey undertaken by the said Rabbi (in the third century of our era) through heaven

¹ See A. Jellinek Bet-hamidrash II. pag. XVIII—XXI and pag. 48—53.
and hell. In paradise there are seven houses mentioned, in which the different classes of the souls of the pious reside; but they do not correspond, in any way, to the heavens mentioned in the book of Virâf; neither does the description he gives of the houses in hell, in which the souls of the wicked are confined, bear any resemblance to the punishments in Virâf’s hell.

The originality of the visions of Arđâ Virâf may be regarded as being beyond doubt. They are so thoroughly Zoroastrian that only a professor of that religion can have seen them. This will appear from a brief summary of the contents of the work, with such remarks as will be necessary for illustrating them.

The Arđâ-Virâf nâmak which has been divided, in this edition, into 101 chapters, begins with a long and detailed introduction which occupies the first three chapters. It is just this part in which some of the Pâzand and Persian versions differ so considerably from the Pahlavi original as published here (see pag. xii-xix). The account which is here given of the state of the Zoroastrian religion in the times previous to the mission of Arđâ Virâf, and of the reasons which induced the Magian priesthood to send him to the other world, is highly interesting. The Zoroastrian religion was during the first three centuries after its foundation by Zarathuṣtra Spitama, in its purity. After the lapse of this period, the devil induced the wicked and accursed Alexander, who came from the west to destroy the residence of the Persian kings, to burn the sacred books which had been preserved in the archives of the residence and to kill the priests and learned men and other men of distinction. In consequence of this invasion by Alexander the Macedonian, and his destruction of Persepolis, the whole political order of Iran was reversed; many wars ensued, and the Zoroastrian religion decayed. Many religious creeds and sects arose, and there was none who knew the religion until, under Shâpûr II, the celebrated Adarbâd Mahrespand appeared, who proved the truth of the Zoroastrian religion by undergoing the ordeal of having melted brass poured upon his breast without being burnt by it. But notwithstanding such a
miracle, the doubts which existed as to the truth of the Zoroastrian religion, were not wholly removed. Then the spiritual guides of the Zoroastrian community, the Desturs, assembled to devise a new means for testing the truth of their religion and re-establishing it on a firm base. They resolved upon sending one from among them 'from the land of the living to the land of the dead', to ask the heavenly spirits whether, or not, the different religious ceremonies performed by the priests had the desired effect. Now a large assembly was convened at the celebrated temple of the Frobag fire. From the number of the priests who were assembled, the sum total of which is not stated in the original, seven were elected. These seven selected three out of their number, and these three, one by the name of Vîrâf who is also called the Nishapurian. Vîrâf accepted the dangerous and unpleasant mission to the other world only upon the condition that they should cast lots to ascertain whether he should be destined to enter on such an errand.

Vîrâf had seven sisters who were married to him according to the Zoroastrian custom of the next-of-kin marriage which was regarded as one of the most meritorious works to be achieved by a Zoroastrian. These came crying and weeping before the assembly to beseech the desturs not to send their brother and husband, their only support, on such a dangerous errand. They were comforted and promised that he should be delivered to them after the lapse of seven days. Then a place was selected for him at a certain distance from water, fire, etc. on which occasion he was treated as if he were already dead. After all preparations for the great journey had been made by washing his hands, putting on new clothes, etc., Vîrâf drank three cups filled with a narcotic, called mang (baâqa in Zand), and fell asleep on the carpet on which he was sitting. Destur Hoshangji makes the following remarks on this draught:

'The administration of these doses of Mang mixed up with wine, 'causing a supernatural sleep of seven days duration, reminds one of 'the custom of Dhattûra, or stramonium, eating in India, which is well
known in this country, particularly in Gujarát. It is believed there that when on a weekday, particularly on Saturday which is sacred to Hanumân, a few seeds of Dhattûra are given to a child of about seven years of age (it being then considered innocent), he or she will, if asked, prophesy all future events through its effect, and will even prescribe remedies for any difficulty. For instance, if a woman should be desirous of knowing whether she would ever be in the family way, and were to ask the Dhattûra eater about it, he would reply to her, that she would give birth to a child, if she did such and such a thing, or if she performed Yâtrâ (pilgrimage), or offered sacrifice, or that she would never become a mother, as the case might be.

'The child to whom the Dhattûra is given, must be one who is born in an extraordinary manner. Thus, instead of being born with the head first, as is usual with the birth of children, it must be born with the feet first. One evening previous to taking the Dhattûra seed, two, or more, women go to the tree from which the seed is to be taken, and give it an invitation thus: 'come to-morrow into the body of such and such a one and give all answers truly'; whereupon they pour some water on the tree. On the next day, early in the morning, they go and take the seeds off the tree, and give them to the child. Some times, if they be afraid of giving such a poisonous drug to a child, they administer it to an idiotic credulous man.'

'It is remarkable to note here, that the notion of seeing a celestial orb through the medium of somniferous or narcotic drugs, was prevalent amongst the ancient Persians for a long time, as we find in later books. For instance, in the Zartosht námeheh there is mentioned amongst other miracles of the prophet Zoroaster that he once consecrated a cup of wine, and milk and fruit, and gave the consecrated wine to king Gushtásp to drink; the king, then, was asleep for three days, during which he saw in heaven, amongst others, his own paradise and met there other celestial bodies at which he greatly rejoiced'.

All the time Vîrâf was sleeping, his seven sisters and the Desturs kept watch around him, recited Avesta and Zand and chanted the
Gáthas to protect him on his perilous journey. On the seventh day Víráf awoke. He ordered a skilful writer to write down all he saw, in heaven and hell, during a seven days' journey.

The account of the journey commences with the fourth chapter. In the first night Víráf was received by Sraosha and the angel of the fire, Āтарó Yazad, who acted as his guides during the whole journey. Being regarded as dead, he had two guides, and not only one; since a corpse is, according to the Zoroastrian law, always to be carried by two men. Taking three steps, he reached the Chinvat bridge, which separates heaven from hell, and this world from the other world. Here he saw the soul of a pious man sitting, whose fate he now describes. The description is identical with that one to be found in the Hādókht Nask (see Appendix II, pag. 279—293), the Vishtásp Nask and the Mainyó-i Khard, and is evidently taken from the first, or some similar Zand source. The most prominent feature in it, is the appearance of a beautiful virgin who represents the good thoughts, words and deeds of the soul. This virgin appears to be the better half of the soul which remains in the invisible regions whilst the other part resides, endowed

1 This beautiful maid has probably given origin to the Huris, or celestial virgins, of the Mohamedan paradise. It is true, the good works appear, according to Mohamedan notions, in the shape of a man who is splendidly dressed and perfumed (Mohamedanische Eschatologie, übersetzt von Dr. M. Wolff. Leipzig 1872, pag. 64). But the Huri, who exists in heaven long before the arrival of her husband, and is ready to receive him as soon as he has reached his destination, does also represent nothing but the better half of the soul. She conducts her husband to his celestial abode, where he then finds thousands of virgins who do not appear to be regarded as proper Huris (Mohomedan. Eschatologie pag. 201—203). As the idea of the appearance of a virgin to the soul of the deceased had been very common among the Zoronastrians already in ancient times, it is not to be wondered at, if Mohamed on his travels heard something about it. Such a virgin suited exactly his paradise; but as celestial joys and pleasures appeared rather dull to the Arabian prophet without sensual enjoyments, he converted this better half of the soul, its invisible root and counterpart, into a wife!
with a body, in the corporeal world. It is probably identical with the Fravashi. That this virgin was believed to exist, before the soul entered the body, clearly follows from the circumstance of her telling the pious man that her original beauty had been increased by his good works.

Virâf passed the Chinvat bridge with the assistance of his two guides and under the protection of some other angels, such as Mithra, Rashnu razista, etc. His guides declared themselves ready to show him the pleasures of paradise, and the terrors of hell (ch. 5). The first place he came to, after having passed the bridge, was the abode of the Hamêstagân i.e. the ever stationary. As their good and evil works are equal, they must always remain in the same condition, until the day of resurrection; for their good works are strong enough to prevent them from going to hell, and the evil ones too strong to permit their passage to heaven (ch. 6).

Now he arrives at the different paradises. Their number in the Zoroastrian writings is generally four. The first which is called Hûmat is in the star track; the second called Hûkht in the moon track, and the third called Huvarsht in the atmosphere of the sun; the fourth is Garôdman (garô-demâna in Zand). The souls which Virâf met in the first three paradises, were sitting on thrones and shining with the radiance of the stars, the moon and the sun, respectively. In the first two places are those who have done much good without having been devout and pious Zoroastrians. In the atmosphere of the sun are those monarchs and rulers who do not appear to have been professors of the Zoroastrian creed (ch. 7—9).

The Garôdman is more fully described than the three preceding heavens. It is the abode of the pious Zoroastrians of all classes, who had recited the prescribed prayers, and completely conformed to the Zoroastrian law. On entering this heaven, he is called upon to taste 'immortality', or better, the draught which imparts immortality and makes the soul oblivious of all worldly cares (see note 1 on pag. 159 of the translation). Here the angel of the fire reproached him for having put green wood on the fire, which is forbidden in the Zoroastrian religion,
as all the wood, with which the sacred fire is fed, must be quite dry (ch. 10).

Now the archangel Vohuman received him, and brought him before Ahuramazda, the Ameshaspentas, and the Fravashis of Zarathustra Spitama, Kavi Vishtâspa, and other promoters of the Zoroastrian religion. Ahuramazda then ordered his two guides to show him heaven and hell (11). He is now led through the different sections of Garôd-mân. In the first place he meets the souls of the liberal, since liberality is regarded as the highest virtue by the Zoroastrians (comp. Mainyô-i Khard 37, 4.), which circumstance explains the princely donations made by the Pârsis, up to the present day, for public purposes. Next to the souls who practised liberality when living, come those who had chanted the Gâthas, and repeated the prescribed prayers; then follow those who had contracted next-of-kin marriages, which is regarded as one of the most meritorious works by the Zoroastrians. After these come the souls of pious rulers, and monarchs (probably of the Zoroastrian creed), then those of the speakers of truth, since truthfulness is regarded as one of the greatest virtues (12).

After having seen the rewards given for liberality, piety, next-of-kin marriages, just ruling and headship, and truthful speaking, he was shown a number of female souls who seem to have been kept apart from the males. They had honoured water, fire, earth, trees, in short, the good creation, and behaved in every respect as pious Zoroastrians (13).

Now follows the bulk of Zoroastrians divided into four classes, or castes: priests, the performers of the Izeshne ceremony; warriors, with whom those are classed who killed many noxious animals, such as frogs, lizards, serpents, ants, flies, etc., which is considered a very meritorious work by the Zoroastrians; the agriculturists and artizans (14). A separate abode is assigned to shepherds who fed sheep and quadrupeds, and protected them. There are further especially noticed the souls of householders and justices who had made a desolate place prosperous, and carried out works of irrigation; the souls of the faithful, the teachers and inquirers, and those of interceders and peace-seekers,
since intercession and mediation is a very meritorious work with the Parsis (15).

The rewards of all these classes of happy and blessed souls are not specified. They are all in great splendour, sit on thrones, or walk in pleasure and joyfulness, are dressed in clothing embroidered with gold and silver, etc.

Virâf, after having thus wandered through the various sections of Garôômân, was led by his two guides to a great gloomy river, which was the tears of those who make lamentation for the departed; for it is not allowed to lament the dead, as it does them harm (16).

Virâf was led back to the Chinvat bridge. Here he saw the wicked soul which wandered over the place where the life went forth. It was accompanied by a very ugly damsels representing its evil thoughts, words and deeds. She appears to have been its counterpart before entering the body, a kind of evil Fravashi, since her original ugliness had been increased by the wickedness of the soul to which she belonged (compare the same idea regarding the soul of the good). This soul then took three steps through the place of evil thought (dushmat), that of evil word (dushâkht), and that of evil deeds (dush-hâvarsht), and reached hell by the fourth step (17).

Now he describes hell. It is dark and gloomy, cold and hot, and full of stench, and noxious creatures. No one sees the other; everyone thinks he is alone (18).

After this first preliminary description of hell, or rather of a part of it, there follow a series of punishments which were inflicted for various crimes and offences, many of them being described in great detail. The following crimes are deemed worthy of punishment: sodomy (19); approaching water and fire on the part of a woman during her menstruation (20); murder of a pious man i.e. a Zoroastrian (21); intercourse with a menstruous woman (22); talking when dining, since this is strictly forbidden in the Zoroastrian religion (23); adultery on the part of a woman (24); walking without shoes (25); scorning her husband on the part of a woman (26); cheating in weight and measure
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(27); misrule (28); slander (29); unlawful slaughtering of cattle and sheep, since these animals are only to be slaughtered according to a certain rite (30); greediness and avarice (31).

In all these chapters no particular person is mentioned, on whom the punishment is inflicted; but now follows the name of a lazy man, Davânôs, who had much wealth and power, and whose only good work was that he once cast a bundle of grass, with his right foot, before a ploughing ox (32).

Now follow again various punishments for particular crimes and offences, such as: lying (33); throwing hairs into the fire (34); sorcery (35); apostacy (36); neglect of water and fire (37); polluting water and fire by bringing bodily refuse and dead matter to it (38); defrauding labourers of their hire (39); speaking falsehood (40); use of public warm baths (41).

The series of punishments for particular crimes and sins is again interrupted by the account of people who were always crying because they had no legitimate father (42); and then continues as follows: not acknowledging one's own children, on the part of a father (43); infanticide (44); perjury and extortion (45); acquisition of wealth by dishonest means (46); apostacy and deceit (47); killing, ill-treating and neglecting of dogs (48); false measuring of land (49); removal of boundary stones (50); making of false covenants (51); breach of promise (52).

After having witnessed the severe punishments which were inflicted in hell for the crimes and offences mentioned, Vîrâf was carried back to the mountain Chakât-i-Dâïtih below which the Chinvat bridge is situated, into a desert, and shown hell in the earth (53). Whether this hell is identical with that one already described in the preceding chapters, or different from it, does not seem to be very clear. But it appears from the description which is given in the 54th chapter, that it was considered as somewhat different, as may be concluded from the designation 'darkest hell', whereas that hell which was described pre-

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1 See Pand-nâmak-i Adarbâd Mâraspand, by Sheriarjee Dadabhoy, pag. 80.
viously may be taken as hell in general. This 'darkest hell' is described as a very dark pit full of stench, and filled with an endless number of souls, everyone of which itself to be alone. This description agrees, on the whole, very well with that one given of hell in ch. 18. In the 'darkest hell' one expects to find the greatest criminals and sinners; but the crimes and offences for which punishments are inflicted are frequently the same, as those which were punished in hell in general; some are however different. The crimes here mentioned are the following: mortal sins, such as extinction of the Bahram fire (which is the most sacred of all), destruction of a bridge over a rapid river, speaking falsehood and false evidence, rebellion and anarchy (55); misappropriation of religious endowments (56); lamentation and weeping (57); washing oneself in large standing waters, fountains and streams (58); giving no milk to an infant, on the part of a woman (59); adultery on the part of man (60); unbelief (61); faithlessness and spitefulness on the part of a woman (62); disobeying to, and abusing a husband (63); pregnancy from other men, and destruction of the child (64); distressing the parents, and asking for no forgiveness (65); slander (66); bad administration of a city (67).

Now follows an account of a husband and his wife; the husband went to heaven, the wife to hell for having practised idolworship; she reproached him that he did not guide her to heaven; her only punishment in hell is to be in darkness and stench, whilst he sits in heaven full of shame (68).

Then are again punishments mentioned for the following crimes and offences: adultery on the part of a woman (69); abandoning the husband (70); sodomy, and seduction of the wives of others (71); not heeding menstruation (72); beautifying of faces and wearing of the hair of others (73); unlawful slaughtering of beasts, cattle and sheep (74); muzzling of the mouths of beasts and ploughing cattle (75); preparing of food during the time of menstruation (76); overworking and ill-treating of beasts (77); pregnancy from a strange man (78); taking bribes, and false justice (79); keeping short weights, bushels and other small
measures (80); adultery on the part of a woman (81); abusiveness (82); concealing of meat from the husband and eating it (83); poisoning (84); adultery on the part of a woman (85); violation of a next-of-kin marriage, on the part of a woman (86); nursing other children and not giving milk to one's own child (87); seduction of the wives of others (88); selfishness (89); telling lies (90); false judgment (91); keeping back benefits from mankind (92); inhospitality towards travellers, and charging money for what they use (93); emaciating of children by not giving them milk (94); leaving one's own child without milk, and running after a strange man (95); defrauding the earth of the seed which is due to her (96); speaking of falsehood (97); eating of dead refuse, and killing of a water-otter (98); rebellion and revolution (99).

At last Virāf saw Anrō-mainyus', the Evil spirit, who always mocked and ridiculed the wicked (100). He was then carried back to Ahura-mazda, admonished by him, and entrusted with a message to the Mazdayasnians, that the only way to heaven was the keeping of the Zoroastrian religion, and that all is perishable and becomes dust except he who, in the world, repeats the Ashem-vohū formula, and performs duties and good works, that is to say, he alone is privileged to rise on the day of resurrection. Thereupon was Virāf carried back to his place (101).

Regarding the nature of the punishments which are described, there is considerable variety. Darkness and stench are shared by all the inhabitants of the infernal regions; but there are particular means of punishment besides, such as: noxious animals of all kinds, like frogs, snakes, ants, worms; rain, snow, hail, heat and cold; devouring and drinking of nasty, filthy and impure matter, such as dead refuse, menstrual discharge, blood, eating of one's own flesh and brains. Further dreadful corporal punishments are employed, many of which are probably only an imitation of those which were actually used in Persia. Such ones are the following: hanging with the head down-

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1 On its importance see the 1st chapter of the Hádôkht Nask.
wards; cutting out the tongue; flogging with darting serpents; breaking and separating of limbs; being torn by dogs, pricked by arrows, spurs, stones, etc.; cooking and frying of the body; plunging in mud and stench; eyes scooped out; trampled upon by demons; tongue scraped with a wooden peg; being dashed from side to side; etc. Many sinners are sentenced to useless and painful occupations, such as carrying a mountain on the back through snow; measuring dust and ashes, and eating them; standing up in hell with the body of a serpent and a human head; digging into a hill with the breasts, or with the fingers; scraping one's own body and face, and gashing the breast with an iron comb; licking a hot oven, and burning the hand under it.

In many cases there is a combination of punishments. For instance, scraping one's own body and face with an iron comb, and digging an iron hill with the breasts, as a punishment for a woman who gave no milk to her own infant, but nursed other children through a desire for wealth (87).

Very frequently the punishments are in accordance with the crimes and offences which have been committed by the sinners who are punished. Those who cheated in weight and measure, are measuring dust and ashes, and eating them (27). Those who muzzled the mouths of beasts, are lying under the feet of cattle, their bellies being torn and their bones being broken (75). Those who slaughtered unlawfully cattle and sheep, have their limbs broken and separated (30). Those who spoke false, have their tongues cut out (97). Slanderers have their tongues gnawed by serpents (66). Those who had improper sexual intercourse and seduced women, are suspended from a gibbet with the head downwards, having sexual intercourse in this posture, whilst semen is being poured into the mouth, ears and nose (88). The judge who gave false decisions, is sentenced to slay his own child and eat its brains (91). The wife who has been disobedient to her husband and abused him, is licking a hot oven, and has her hand burnt under it (63). Women who were starving their own children by giving them no milk, or killing them, have generally to dig a hill with their breasts (44. 78. 87). Those who have
been much lamenting and weeping, have the head cut off, and the tongue keeps crying (57). Adulterous women have their bodies gnawed by noxious animals (24); or have their tongues cut away, and eyes scooped out, being at the same time infested by noxious creatures (81); or have an iron coating on the body, the mouth being turned back to a hot oven (85). Unbelievers eat their own excrement (61).

These instances may suffice to show that the numerous punishments which are described, are not chosen at random, but bear some relation to the crimes and offences for which they are inflicted. It is the idea of the strictest justice which pervades the whole description of hell. No crime or offence, let it be moral, or ceremonial, or a mere misdemeanour, according to Zoroastrian notions, is left unpunished; but at the same time, no good work, however trifling it might have been, is left unrewarded even in hell. The lazy Davânôs who suffers in hell for not having used his great wealth and power for the relief of others, is rewarded for the single good work he did when living. With his right foot he cast once a bundle of grass before a ploughing ox; hence it was free from punishment, whilst his body was gnawed by a noxious creature (32). A lustful man who had often gone to married women, had with his right foot killed frogs, ants, snakes and scorpions; whilst his sinful body was placed into a brazen caldron, his right foot remained outside (60).

Regarding the arrangement of the crimes and offences mentioned, there is nowhere any system, or plan, perceptible. All are thrown together, the most heinous crimes may be followed by trifling offences. Several crimes and offences are mentioned more than once, for instance adultery (24, 60, 62, 69, 81, 85, 88, 95.), infanticide (44, 64, 78.), nursing other children (87, 94.); but each time the wording is different as well as the punishment.

The contents of the Arda-Viráf námak exhibit a fair specimen of the practical working of the Zoroastrian religion and code of law. We learn from it that the Zoroastrian morality differs in many points from the Jewish and Christian one, although those actions which are con-
sidered crimes according to our codes of law, are in almost all cases viewed in the same light by the Zoroastrians. We may thus divide all the crimes and sins which are mentioned, into two principal classes, viz. 1) those which are regarded as such by the Christians also; 2) those which are taken for sins only from a Zoroastrian point of view, being a violation of the precepts of the Zoroastrian religion.

1. Of the crimes and offences of the first class, which have been, or are still, punished according to our codes of law, are the following enumerated: 1) murder which is, however, confined to the killing of a Zoroastrian, as it is left undecided whether the slaughter of a man of another creed, especially of an idol-worshipper, is regarded as a punishable crime 1 (21); 2) adultery on the part of men, as well as on that of women (24. 60. 62. 69. 81. 85. 88. 95.); 3) infanticide (44. 64. 78.); 4) poisoning (84); 5) sorcery (35); 6) sodomy (19. 71.); 7) cheating in weight and measure (27. 80.); 8) breach of promise, whereof it is expressly stated that it makes no difference whether the promise should have been made to a Zoroastrian, or a non-Zoroastrian (52); 9) telling lies and deceiving (33. 55. 90. 97.); 10) false covenants (51); 11) slander and calumny (29. 40. 66.); 12) perjury (45); 13) dishonest appropriation of wealth (46); 14) taking bribes (79. 91.); 15) keeping back the wages of laborers (39); 16) misappropriation of religious property (56); 17) removal of a boundary-stone (50); 18) turning people out of their property (49); 19) misadministration and defrauding (67); 20) apostacy and heresy (36. 47.); 21) rebellion (99). There are further condemnnable from a religious point of view: 1) abandoning the husband (70); 2) not acknowledging one's children, on the part of a father (43); 3) cruelty towards subjects, on the part of a ruler (28); 4) avarice (31); 5) laziness (32); 6) illiberality and egotism (89); 7) envy (92).

1 According to the genuine Zoroastrian doctrine, which may be gathered from the Gâthas, it appears to have been meritorious to kill those who did not conform to the Zoroastrian religion, the so-called dregvântô (Yas. 31, 18.). But the Zoroastrians do not appear to have converted as many by the sword as the Mohamadans; though the Magian priesthood has always been more or less fanatical.
2. The following actions are regarded as sins, punishable in hell, from a merely Zoroastrian point of view: 1) not heeding the laws regarding menstruation, on the part of women (72), by touching water or fire (20), or preparing food (76); 2) pollution of water and fire by washing in standing, or running waters, or throwing impure matter into it, as well as into fire (34. 37. 38. 58.); 3) intentional extinction of fire in general (37), and that of the most sacred fire in particular (55); 4) use of public warm baths (41); 5) unlawful and unnecessary slaughter of cattle and sheep (30. 74.); 6) ill-treatment of animals of the good creation, such as cattle, sheep, dogs, water-otters, by starving, beating, or killing them (48. 75. 77. 98.); 7) carrying a dead body alone (38); 8) destruction of a bridge over a rapid river (55); 9) intercourse with a menstruous woman (22); 10) eating when talking, and muttering no grace (23); 11) eating the grain which is destined to be sown (96); 12) devouring dead refuse (98); 13) disregard of the poor and good (68), principally to travellers by not granting them what they ask for, or charging for what is given them (93); 14) distressing parents, and obstinacy (65); 15) lamentation and weeping (57); 16) disobedience of a wife to her husband, stealing property from him (63), concealing meat from him and eating it (83), and abusing him (26); 17) beautifying of faces, and wearing the hair of others (73); 18) nursing other children (87. 94.), and leaving her own child without milk (59. 95.); 19) violation of a next-of-kin marriage, on the part of a woman (36); 20) walking without shoes (25); 21) unbelief in the religion of Ahuramazda (61); 22) idol-worship (68).

After having mentioned all the crimes and evil actions which are rewarded with a place in hell, we may also cast a summary glance on the virtues and good actions by which heaven is gained (12—15). There are the following to be noticed: 1) liberality; 2) piety and observance of the religious rites; 3) next-of-kin marriages; 4) just government; 5) truth; 6) obedience; 7) keeping of fire, water, etc.; 8) killing of noxious creatures; 9) tending of sheep; 10) making desolate places prosperous; 11) irrigation; 12) teaching; 13) intercession and mediation for friends,
Of the meritorious works which are here enumerated there is one at which a Christian reader may be rather startled to find among their number. This is the next-of-kin marriage, which was in ancient times contracted not only between cousins, but between brothers and sisters, and fathers and daughters (see pag. 149, note 1). In our codes of law, marriages of this kind are strictly forbidden, as sexual intercourse between the nearest relatives is a punishable crime. The circumstance that it is so much recommended to the Zoroastrians, and such high merit attached to it, seems to indicate, that it has been revolting to the feelings of many Zoroastrians, and that they obeyed the religious commandment rather against their own will. Now it has fallen into disuse altogether, as there are only marriages between cousins permitted. This institution appears to be closely connected with the foundation of the religion. The purity in thoughts, words and deeds, which is the chief principle of Zoroastrian morality, was best preserved and propagated in the race, as they believed, when those who had a common origin were joined together for the same purpose.

Now the question arises as to the author of the book and the time in which it was written. From the notice contained in 3, 22—24. and 4, 1., one may conclude that there existed an account of the visions of Arḍā Viraf which was believed to have been dictated by himself. But the whole contents and the wording of the introduction, at the end of which the passages in question are to be found, are such as to exclude the assumption that our work might be that original account. It is, however, not improbable that it may be based on a more original account. The introduction, which in the present work fills three chapters of some length, is certainly a later addition. Besides this one there exist two others which differ considerably from it in some points. The one which is prefixed to a Pāzand and Sanskrit version (see Introduction I. pag. xii-xiv), connects Arḍā Viraf with the King Gushtâsp under whose reign Zoroaster flourished, and places the event after the prophet’s death. The other opens one of the Persian versions (see Introduction I. pag. xv-xix), and connects Arḍā Viraf with an event in the reign of Ardashîr.
Bâbagân, viz. the restoration of the Zoroastrian religion, which is described with such detail that we may safely trace this account to an old historical, or legendary, source.

From these different introductions to our work, it appears to follow that the original account of the visions themselves had, in all probability, no introduction at all, and since no time was stated at which they took place, each subsequent author thought himself justified in connecting them with any of the great meetings of the Zoroastrian priesthood which had been convened for the purpose of settling matters of faith and ceremony, or reviving the religion.

If we consider the introduction which opens the Pahlavi text as published here, as that one which was prefixed to the earliest edition of the work, there can be no doubt that Arûdâ Virâf must have been living after the time of Ādarbâd Mâhraspand; for he is mentioned as being anterior to Virâf (1, 16, 33, 34.). Now the celebrated Zoroastrian divine lived at the time of Shâpûr II, the son of Hormazd (A. D. 309—379)\(^1\), as we learn from a statement contained in the Din-kard (see the note on pag. 144, 145). Virâf might, therefore, have been flourishing in the 5\(^{th}\) or 6\(^{th}\) century A.D., or at least before the downfall of the Sasanian dynasty in the seventh century. As he is called 'the Nishapurian' (1, 35.), and there is several times a commentator on the Avesta mentioned by the same name (see pag. 148, note 1), it is not improb-able that both are the same.

At whatever time Virâf may have been living, the book containing his visions belongs undoubtedly to the Sasanian times. There is absolutely nothing in it which might be adduced as an argument against this assertion, though we cannot exactly settle the time when it was written, nor the name of the author who wrote it.

\(^1\) See Mordtmann 'Die Chronologie der Sasaniden' in the Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der k. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1871, pag. 11.
IV.

Gôsht-i Fryânô.

The tale of Gôsht-i Fryânô gives the details of the story of the Yôishtô yô Fryananâm mentioned in the Âbân Yasht 81—83, and the Fravardin Yasht 120. It relates that Akht, the sorcerer, went to the city of Enigma-expounders, and threatened to destroy it and its inhabitants, unless some of them were able to solve thirty-three enigmas which he would ask them. Gôsht-i Fryânô was recommended as the best solver of enigmas, and after Akht had vainly endeavoured to get him to defile himself by involuntary contact with dead matter, whereby he would have lost the assistance of the holy spirits, Gôsht-i Fryânô prepares to solve the thirty-three enigmas, most of which are of a trivial character.

By deciding that a worldly paradise is better than a heavenly one, he avoids a snare set by the sorcerer, who was prepared to dispatch him at once to the heavenly paradise, if he considered it preferable, as had been already done in the case of nine hundred of the Magi, and the nine daughters of Spitâma. His further replies are: that a dog is taller sitting than standing; that a sparrow walks without stepping; that a cock's tooth is horny and its horn fleshy; that a small knife is better than little eating; that wealth with piety is full, poverty with piety is half full, and poverty with wickedness is empty; that men wish to conceal old age, but cannot; that the man who neglects his duties, wishes to return to life when he meets the demon of death; what are the periods of gestation of various animals; that a man who is safe, contented and rich, lives in the greatest pleasure and comfort; that a king is like unto Aûharmazd and the archangels; that food acquired by honest exertion is the most savory; what things are the One, the Two, and so on, up to the Ten; that the coldest thing is the mind of
a wicked man (to prove which, he induces the sorcerer to kill his own brother); that the hottest thing is the hand of a pious man; that water is good when it subsides, fire when it cools, and a tyrant when he dies; that falsehood is heavier than a mountain, a tongue sharper than a knife, a fortunate child sweeter than honey, the earth fatter than a sheep's tail, Tishtar the most liberal, and Vâyó the most just; that the foot of the angel of water is handsomer than that of Hû-parsh, his own sister and Akht's wife; that women have more pleasure from being with their husbands, than from dress and housewifery, which Akht denies and refers to his wife, Hû-parsh, who decides in favor of her brother, and is killed, in consequence, by her husband. The next enigma, which appears to describe some animal monster, puzzles Gôsht-i Fryânô, who obtains time for consideration, until Aûharmazd sends the angel Néryosang to inform him that the monster is a man ploughing with a yoke of oxen. His remaining answers are: what is the best horse; that dust is dry and will not burn, while grease is damp and will burn; what is a good king; and that his own riches are what he eats and wears and gives to the poor.

Having solved the thirty-three enigmas, Gôsht-i Fryânô, in his turn, propounds three enigmas to Akht, on pain of death. Akht takes time to consider, and goes to hell to consult Akharman, who refuses to give the solutions, for fear of injuring his own creatures. Akht returns from hell in despair, and is destroyed by Gôsht-i Fryânô.

With regard to the age of the work there are no indications. The name Mârspend in ch. 1, 7. can have no reference to the celebrated Ādarbâd Mârspend; and it is unlikely that the name Parvîz in ch. 2, 60. has any reference to Khusrî Parvîz, although one may be rather inclined to attribute many of the extant Pahlavi writings to his time, or that of Khusrî Nôshîrvân. Very little reliance can be placed upon the style of the language, as the style of the writers of such late works as the Bahman yasht, Gujastah Abâlish, long after the Mohamedan conquest, looks older, and is less like modern Persian, than that of the Din-kard.
Since the subject matter of the tale of Gősht-i Fryânô is already mentioned in the Zand texts, we may presume that a book, containing the enigmas of Akht, the sorcerer, and those of his opponent, Gősht-i Fryânô, was in existence even long before the Sasanian times, perhaps as early as the latter end of the Achæmenian period. Whatever may be the age of the present work, it is, on the main, certainly based on ante-Sasanian sources.
Appendix.

I.

Introduction to the Pāzand-Sanskrit Arḍā-Virāf Nāmah, translated in p. xii-xiv; transliterated from a copy supplied by Destur Hoshangji¹.

[Pāzand.] 1 Pa nāmi shanâishni dâdharî vahê i vîspaêsâm vasâm vazâvaâñê, 2 avâî u váfrengâmni avîzh vahi din i Mazdayasnâ, 3 â mà-dagâ Aradâ Vîrâ wazhâ khvâneîñê.

[Sanskrit.]² Athedânimatra Arddâ-Gvîrá-nâma pustakañ likhyate. 1 Nâmamânyatacha dâtuḥ uttamasya sarvesthâncha sakarmmavatâtâm, 2 asya prabodha'cha uttamâyâ nirmmalâyâ dinermmâjdaîasnyâñ, 3 idam mahattarâ Arddâ-Gvîrá iti nāma âkârayanti.

¹ In the original, the Pāzand and Sanskrit alternate in sentences, indicated here by the numbers, and a Gujarâti version follows the Sanskrit. The text is very corrupt, and none but the most obvious blunders of copyists have been corrected here.

² The cerebrals, visarga, and seventh vowel are represented by ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṅ, ḷ and ṛi. A medial anusvāra is resolved into ŋ, before gutturals, palatals and dentals; into ṃ, before cerebrals; into ṁ, before labials and vowels; and into ŋ, before semivowels, sibilants and ṛ. A final anusvāra is resolved into ŋ, unless it is followed by a vowel, labial, or pause, in which cases ṁ is used. The palatal nasal, after ḷ, is represented by ṃ; the first sibilant is a dental English sh, but is here represented by s'; the second, or cerebral, sibilant is here represented by sh, though elsewhere it has been printed sh with the usual distinctive dot of cerebrals; the elision of an initial a is indicated by ', and words connected by a compound consonant are not separated.
4 O ā gāh darak Gushtāspa shāh dīnī vahē Mazdayasnā ezh Hōrmizda khvadhāi padarafta, 5 va ashō Zarathushtra Spentamā pa bakhta shūd, 6 ki Gushtāspa u Dalag u Gōspardashta u Feresaushtra u Maidiomāh awarē Mazdayasnā pa agānī nīshhasha haṇḍ, 7 khshkārd guft heṇḍ 8 ku: Vazōshāum ezh Mazdayasnā yakē agunāhtara, 9 maŋgi o khardan dahōm, 10 aḏād rva o ānaṅbām shahod, 11 vīned rvāni Spetamā ashō Zarathushtra, 12 vīned u gāhā u Hōrmazda u ameshāspendān, 13 vīned vahēshta u Chinuwaḏ puhal u Rasna i rāsht, 14 u vīned dhōzhakha u rvā i darvaṇdān pa dōzhakh; 15 bē dāneš ku īn kerba i ēmā Mazdayasnān kunōm, hasht ayāo nē; 16 awmā āgahī āwered, 17 agar hasht tukhshasni kunōm, agar nēsht kē¹ kunōm. 18 Vashā padash ham dāishtā būḍ hend, 19 vashā guft 20 ku: Ezāh ēmā Mazdayasna Ardā agunāhatar u vahētar. 21 Pash Ardāī Virā chuī shn² ā

4 Tasmin samaye chattataṅ yadā Gustāspo rājā dīnīm uttamām Majdaṇasṇām Ahurmajdāt svāmīnaḥ pratyakaroti, 5 puṇyātmā Jarathuṣṭro yaḥ Spintamaputro bhāgyo gataḥ, 6 rājna-Gustāspa-Dalagas’cha Gospadastas’cha Pharasa’nus’tras’cha Majdiomāḥāś’cha aparecha Majdaṇasyā ekatra sannivishtā āsan, 7 satā samālochya avochat 8 yat: Sodhāyāmāḥ Majdaṇasnebhyaḥ ekam apāpataram uttamatarancha, 9 mangīchā khādītuṇi dadāmi, 10 yāvat ātmā tasmin prades’e prayāti, 11 nirikshayati ātmanānī yō Spitamaputrasya puṇya-ātmano Jarathuṣṭrasya, 12 nirikshayatichā dhyānam Ahurmmajdasya amaranāṇeḥa gurūtarāṇam, 13 nirikshayatichā svargabhuvana-Chandorapuhulancha setuṇ Rasna-īajnaṇi satyam, 14 nirikshayatichā narakabhuvanam ātmanās’cha ye durgatimatāṇi narakabhuvanam; 15 vis’eshtas’cha jānāti idam puṇyaṇ yat voyam Majdaṇsanā kurmmahe, asti kiūvā nahi; 16 asmākam prabodhatāyāṇi samānayati, 17 yadyasti adhyavasāyaṇi kurmmahe, yadi nāsti no kurmahe. 18 Techa tatra ekamatāḥ sanjātāḥ, 19 tais’cha uktaṇ 20 yattasmāt Majdaṇasnebhyaḥ Arddā-Gvirā-purushaḥ apāpataṇi puṇyavantaḥ uttamataras’cha. 21 Pas’chāt Arddā-Gvirā-purushaḥ yathaiva tadvachanamas’riṇot päda-

¹ Should perhaps be nē.
² Probably shān.
shakhun āshnuḏ, awar o pāe ēshtād, 22 vash dasht pa kash kard, guft 23 ku: Agaratā manishni shīheḏ, aignonum maṯi ma dahēḏ aŭdā nāhīcha awaganūm; 24 agar nāhīcha o men āed, kām ma_gatewaye{int}dahā shavom ʿā aŭbām ashōā darvaṇdā, 22 in pēdām o durushtihā barom, u rāshtihā awāzh āwarom.

26 Pash Gushtāspa shāha u awarē Mazdayasnā ākhesht heńd, 27 u aṇdar mān ātashā shuḏ heńd; 28 awashā aganīn nāhīcha avagend heńd; 29 nāhīcha o Arḍā Vīrā maḏ.

30 Pash ā haptā khvāhar hafta zan i Arḍā Vīrā chuṇ ish hamā zan i ūi būḏ heńd, vashā din narm u yasht kard eshtād heńd; 31 kashā ā shakhun āshnuḏ, aigashā awā garā būḏ chūn dashā ugarātūm maḏ hāče. 32 Vashā pēsh i Gushtāspa shāha u awarē Mazdayasnā shuḏ heńd, 33 namāza burd heńd, 34 be pāe eshtād hend, 35 vashā gufta

bhyām ērddhasthitāh, 22 tenachā hastauca kakshāyān kritau, ukta ṇa 23 yat: Yadi bhavatām manasāḥ sprihyati, tadbānaṃ mahyam mingim mā dataṭh yāvat ḍangarakam ḍ āspḥālayati; 24 yadi ḍangarako mayī samāyāti, kāmavān prayāmi pradesʿān yat muktāmānān durgatimātāncha, 25 idancha dūtakāryaṇ sundaratayā nayāmi, satyatayācha vyāvṛityaṃ samānayati.

26 Paṣʿchāt Gustāsparājā aparecha Majdaṭasnā samuttastahun, 27 antasʿcha āgniḥbhuvane samāyān; 28 techa samavāyena ḍangarakaṇ samāspḥālayan; 29 ḍangarakam Arḍā-Gvīrā-purushaṇ samāyat.

30 Paṣʿchāt tāḥ sapta bhaginyo yā Arḍā-Gvīrā-purushasya sarvāpi bhāryāḥ asya sambhūtāḥ santi, tāsaṇī dinikomalaṇāṽvarācha kritā āste; 31 yat tābhiḥ etadvachaḥ sʿrutam evaṇ duṭkhinyaṇ sanjātāḥ yathā kila tāsaṇi tat yat mahābhāritaraṇ duṭkhaṇ samprāptam. 32 Tāʿchā puraṇ Gustāsparajno apāreshaṇcha Majdāṭasnāṇānī samāyayuḥ, 33 praṇāmancha akurvyan, 34 pādābhyaṃ ērddhasthitā, 35 tābhīṣṭa uktaṇ yat: Mā

1 Perhaps kashā i, some words being omitted between them.
2 Probably a miswriting of tadbānām.
3 So in Hīs; here it is variously written ḍugaraka, ḍunguraka, ḍanguraka and ḍangaraka.
ku: Ma kunëd shumà Mazdayasnà in thesh, 36 chi émâ haft zan khváhar hóm, òi yaké khashma; 37 har haft zan khváhar khvashm dád jani hóm; 38 chûñ khvánaç ke haft frëshw1, 39 ëshâ frëspâ shtûnaç azhër andâ kard eshtaç, 40 ka a shtûn bë shtâneñû, ëshâ haft frëspâ bë ëfteñû.

41 Pash Gushtáspa shâha, kash ã sakwhun ñshnûł, khsham kard, 42 ò ëshâ gufta 43 ku: Shumà râ vád bë barâd, 44 guraga bë khvarâd, 45 vâta agasht bë duñjâd2.

46 Pash Ardà Virâ, chuñsh ã did ku Gushtáspa shâha khsha kard, ëshâ râ khvareñañdí dád; 47 vash ò pësh i Gushtáspa shûûl, 48 dasht pa kash kard, 49 shtâisni vash kard, 50 vash gufta ku: Agar dashtûr hëd, khvaresni khvarôm, 51 u rûñi yazôm, 52 aïdarj kunôm; 53 mañg pas dihëd. 54 Pas Gushtáspa shâh guft ku: Hâmagûna kun.

55 Pas Ardà Virâ ãdarô i khvësha shûûl, 56 vash yazasni kard,

kuru yûyam Majdañasnà ñ idañ kinchîdapi, 36 yato vayañ sapta bhâryañh smâh, asau ekas’cha bharttâ; 37 saptacha bhaginyo asya bharttuñ bhâryañh asmi; 38 yatha griñamekani sapta kshanâli, 39 teshàñ kshanànûm adhastambha eko madhya vibhâgakrite ãste, 40 yadi adhastambañh samâtutûshyât saptañi kshanàñh sãmpantari.

41 Pas’çhat Gustásparâjà, yat tadvachananam’srinot, kopañ chakâra, 42 tâsâñcha, uktañ 43 yat: Yushmân mahâvåto nayet, 44 vyâghrâñh kândantu, 45 bhavatinên sviye asthîni svâsanâkarshatu.

46 Pas’çhat Arddâ-Gvirâ-purushena, yathaiva ðrisheñî tât Gustâspo râjà kopañ chakre, santoshañh pradattañ; 47 sacha purato Gustásparâjà agachchet, 48 hastau kakshâyân vyadhât, 49 stuticha prachurâñ chakâra, 50 techa avochat: Yadi âdes’o bhavati khâdyam bhakhshayîmi, 51 âtmanañ ñrâdhyayîmi, 52 samarthyañanche karûmi; 53 mangim pas’çhat dattañ. 54 Pas’çhat Gustásparâjà avochat yat: Itevañ kuru.

55 Pas’çhat Arddâ-Gvirâ-purushañh agnibhuvane sviye avrajat, 56

1 For frësp.

2 Perhaps for aîgusht bë bañjâd (or dañjâd).
Appendix 1.

u rvân yazid, khvaresni khvard. 57 Ėshâ khvâharâ mańga shâkhta, 58 ō zâm i mai khvar kard; 59 ô Ardâ Virâ awaré vastarg kard; 60 Kâi Gushtâspa shâh awaré Mazdayasñâ ágahî dâd.

61 Pash Gushtâspa shâha u awaré Mazdayasñâ ámad heîd, 62 vashâ ôi Ardâ Virâ mańgi dâd, 63 pa avar vashtarg anâvînîd. 64 Ėrawadâ gumârd gahê ámokhtênd, 65 ku tan ôi Ardâ Virâ pa pâsh pâiînd, u naska góûd. 66 Â haft khvâhar pêrámûn i vashtarg i Ardâ Virâ nîshasht heîd, 67 awashtâ góûd 68 aûdå haftem rûza shawâ.

69 Rvân i Ardâ Virâ ezh tan shuî ô Chikâiti Dâhitî Chinvaḍ pahul, 70 ô haftem rûz awâz ámad, 71 u aûdar tan gumêkhta. 72 Ardâ Virâ awar âkhesht, 73 chûm ki ezh âi khvash khvâw âkhesht, 74 Valman maneshni u hurma.

sachâ ijisnî chakâra, átmânancha samârádhayat, khâdyancha ákhâdayat. 57 Tâbbis'êcha bhâryâbbîhî manga-ushadhî praganî kritâ, 58 pûtrecha madhubhaksâñã nikshiptam; 59 Arđdâ-Gvîrâ-purushas'êcha adhastad-vastrânâñã nivasati; 60 rájno Gustâspas'êcha apareshânîcha Majdaiasñânâm prabodhâh kâritaḥ.

61 Pas'êchât Gustâspo rájâ aparecha Majdaiasñâ samâyâtuñh, 62 techa Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushasya manga-ushadhî dadatuñh, 63 vastras-yopari asvâpayat. 64 Ervadâ's'rijantah, 65 yathâ vapustasya Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushasya praharakêna rakshanti, naskancha samuchcharantî. 66 Atas'êcha sapta bhâryâñh parivartulam Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushâvarstrasya upavivis'ûñh, 67 avasthâvâñîcha samuchcharantî 68 yâvat saptamam ahorâttram.

69 Átmâcha tasya Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushasya kâyât agachehhat Châkâita-Dâhitî-nâmni girau Chandora-puhalecha setau, 70 sapatmachea ahû avyâvritya samâgachehhat, 71 antas'êcha tanau milatañh. 72 Arddâ-Gvîrâ-purushâh uparishûtât udatishthat, 73 yathâ kila tasya sukhi nidrâyâñh samuchchatañh, 74 uttamamâna úttamânândasya.

1 A misreading of the Pahl. khvâpinîd = Pers. خوارانید.
Appendix I.

75 U ēsā khvāharā chuṅshā Arādā Vīrā did kush awar nigarūḍ, 76 aigishā awā hūram būḍ heṅḍ chūṃ kashā pa zendagū pa vahēsht būḍ heṅḍ; 77 ēsā ērawādā pēsh i Arādā Vīrā ā namāzh buraḍ heṅḍ, 78 shuḍ bīṅḍ pēsha i Gushtāspa shāha u Dilag u Gospadasht u Fereshashaoshtar u Mādyomah u awarē Mazdayasnā āgahī dāḍ; 79 ēsā nazdik i Arādā Vīrā shuḍbīṅḍ. 80 U Arādā Vīrā chuṅash Gushtāspa shāha did, padīra shuḍ, 81 guft ku: Drūḍ ezh Hūrmazda i bag u ameshāspeṇḍān, 82 u drūḍ ezh asho Zarathushtra Spetamā, 83 u drūḍ ezh Shrōsh asho, 84 u drūḍ ezh Ādra yazda, 85 u drūḍ ezh dīmī vahē Mazdayasnā, 86 u drūḍ ezh nēkī u āshānī i ashōē pa vahisht.

87 Pash Gushtāspa shāha guft 88 ku: Durasht dil thō, Arādā Vīrā, i ēmā Mazdayasnā pēdāmbar, 89 vat drūḍ bāḍ; 90 thōīeça ezh ā dīḍ haē rāshtihā ā ēmā göē. 91 Vash dasht garaft, hamā Mazdayasnā

75 Tābhīṣ'cha bhārīabhīḥ yathāsau Arddā-Gvīrā-purushāḥ drīṣṭaḥ kila upari nirikshataḥ, 76 anvata evam uttamānanandaḥ samabhavat, yathā kila jivantya evaṁ svargabhuvane praṇītā santi; 77 techa ērvadāḥ puraṭaḥ Arddā-Gvīrā-purushāsya prapaṃaṇē chakruḥ, 78 jagmubhya purastāt Gustāspasya rājno Dalagaš'čena Gospadas'čena Pharisustras'čena Majḍi- māhas'čena apareshānche Majḍaiāsnanām prabodhanche adaduḥ; 79 techa āsannataram Arddā-Gvīrāmāyayuḥ. 80 Arddā-Gvīrā-purushāḥ tathaiva Gustāsparājānāṁ dadars'ā, pratyabhimukham prachalitaḥ, 81 uvāča yat: Praṇāmaḥ Ahurmmajdāddātāuḥ amarebhyaś'čena gurūtarebhyaḥ, 82 prāṇāmaṁś'čena puṇyātmāno Jarathus'strāt Spītamaputṛāt, 83 prāṇāmaṁś'čena Śrōṣāt puṇyātmakāt ādes'apatī, 84 prāṇāmaṁś'čena Ādarāt iajdāt, 85 prāṇāmaṁś'čena uttamadiner-Majḍaiāsnyāḥ, 86 prāṇāmaṁś'čena s'ubhāt samadhiānācheḥ ca yat muktātmamanāṁ svargaloke.

87 Pas'čat Gustāsparājā uvāča 88 yat: Arogyaḥ hridayaḥ te, he Arddā-Gvīrā-purushāḥ, āsmākām Majḍaiāsnanāṁ dyut, 89 namostu tubhyam; 90 tvamāpi tasmāt yat drīṣṭamasti satyataya āsmāki brūhi. 91 Techa haste vidhritya, sarve Majḍaiāsna ekatā upavīvīśuḥ, 92 techa

1 Or perhaps āiḍ, the writing being ambiguous.
aganin nisashth heud, 92 vashā gufta ku: Gō ān i yat diḍ pa vahēsht u dōzhakh u Čhinād̄ puhaṭ; 93 āœum rāshtiḥā gōi aūdā ēmāiça dānōm iū i Grūḍāmān grīft eshtād.

94 Pash Ardā Virā gōid 95 ku: Varsh u tarsh hōm; 96 nukhusht tan khvarsni dahishni, pas purasashni kunasni, kāra framāisni. 97 Pash Gushtāspa shāha framūd̄, 98 ku ḍish Ardā Virā khvash kharsni, khubapukht hū-bōi khvardi, u shard āw, khvash maē khvash gōspeṇḍ. 99 Pash Ardā Virā drūn barasman yasht, 100 khvarsni khvard, 101 myazda rāiṇid̄ 102 pa sparhm u mai, vāzh bē guft. 103 U stāishni i Hōrmazda u ameshāspeṇḍān spāsh aūgārd̄, u Averedād̄ u Ameredād̄ aūgārd̄, 104 u āfresāgā guft.

avochan yat: Brūhi tat yattvayā drishṭaṇ svargaloke narakalokecha Chandorapuhalecha setau; 93 evaṇ satyatayā brūhi yathā vayam vi-jānīmaḥ tat yat samaye grihitamasti.

94 Paś'chāt Arddā-Gvīrā-purushaḥ brūte 95 yat: Bubhkshita-trishita’s’cha asmi; 96 prathamāṇi tanoḥ khādyāṇ dādata, paś’chāt prashnakuruta, kāryancha ādes’āt. 97 Paś’chāt Gustāsparājā samādis’āt, 98 yat etasmai susvādu khādyāṇ sūddhapakvaṇi sugandhavyanjanāṇi s’ita-ancha salilaṇi susvādanaḥ madhuṇi samayān. 99 Paś’chāt Arddā-Gvīrā-purushena drūna ejataḥ, 100 bhājyancha bhuktam, 101 miajda’s’cha prachārat 102 sugandhaiḥ pushpaiḥ madhunācha, maunavisarjātām. 103 Stuti Ahurmnajdasyachā svāmināḥ amis’āspintānāncha tridhāpaharakasya jalamūrttecha vanaspamūrttecha saṃsmṛitaḥ.

1 These two words must be a misreading of some Pahlavi phrase, including the verb, perhaps aūbash yansegūnā.
II.


In accordance with the MS., this text is not divided into sentences, and no distinction is made between the letters $g$ and $k$. A few words, which are hardly intelligible, are transcribed as they appear to be written.
رسیده بودنده نبرد ایران عیبی کننده بی‌نماده‌بودن و بی‌غایت عظیم

پهپادن‌های بودنده و پاک‌ترین دل در منشی و کوشش و کنش و دل در ان‌دیده بودنده بعد ازشنای فرمودن که ترا می‌باشد که این شک و کلام از‌دین بر خبرد و مردمان عمه بر دین اورمزد و زشت بسانند و کفت و کوی از دین بر خبرد و چنانه‌کنرا نعمت عالمان و دانیالان را روشش شود که دین‌کدامست و این شک و کلام از‌دین بیفتدن بعد ازشنای ایران بسالم دادن که کسا این خبر باز نتواندن دادن الاآنکسی که از اول عمر هشتم سالکی تا بدان وقت که رسیده باشد هیچ‌کننده نکرده بانش و این مرد و پرفاستن که از پاک‌ترین و سخت‌ترین راست‌کوی‌تر کس نبست و این قسه اختیار برزوی باید کردند و ما شش کانه دیگر برخی‌ها و نیرگنگ‌ها که در دینی که از بهر این کار کفت‌است ببجای آوریم نا ایزد عز و جل احوالیا دیوانان و بورفماار از‌شنای خبر دهد تا عمه کس بدنین اورمزد و زشت بیکمان شوند و ویفا این کار در خویشتن پدیده‌رتن و شاه ازله‌ردن آن سکسی را خوش‌آمد و پس کفت‌ند این کار راست نکرده‌الا که بددرک آدران شوند و پس بر حاضرتند و عزم کردند و برفنند و بعد از‌شنای آن شش مرد که دستوران بودنده از چهار سوی انتشکا برخی‌ها پساختنند و آن چهل دیگر سوی‌ها با چهل عمار مرد دستوران که بددرک آمده بودند عمه برخی‌ها پساختنند و ویفا سر و تی بهشت و جامه سفید در پوشید و بی‌خوش بر خویشتن کرد بیتش آتش بیستند و از عمه کننده‌ی پیتیت بکرند.

ویفا را هفت خواب‌های بودنده و چون آن خبر بدانستند هر هفت بی‌پایان و زاری و غریه کردند و کفتند که ما هفت سر پوشیده‌دند در خانه‌ایم و برادر خود بجی این نداریم و امید ما عمه بلویست اکنون شما او را بدان جهان خوایی فرستاد و ما نداریم که دیگر
Appendix II.

A phrase, referring to the remaining 3600 of the 4000 first selected, is evidently omitted here.
شکافته سلاح پوشیدن و در این نشسته با سپاه از بیرون کنبد میکریدند و باد را آنجا راه نمیدادند و به‌جانی که این پیشند کنن نشسته بودند بهتر قومی جمعیتی شمشیر کشیده و سلاح پوشیده و استاده بودند نا کروهای همه بر جایها خوشبختی باشند و همچنین کس بدان دیکر نیامیدند و آنجاییکه که تخت و ویراک بود از کرد بر کرد نخست پیادکان با سلاح استاده بودند و همچنین کس دیکر را بکنی آن شش دستور بدنگی تخت رها نمیکردند چون شاهنشاه در آمیدی از آنجا بیرون آمدی و کرد بر کرد آتشکاه نگاه میداشتی و درین سختی کالبد ویراک نگاه میداشتی شستند نا هدف شبان روز بر آمد.

بعد از هدف شبان روز ویراک بیان بین سبید و بار شست و مردمان و دستوران چون بدریدنند که ویراک از خاوه در آمید خوبی کردند و شاد شدنند و رامش پدیدنگند و بر پای استادنند و نماز بردند و کفتند شاد آمید ویراک و به بار بیننی آن بلند که بهشتی امش انگیچه آمید و چون رستی و چه دیدی ما را بار کوی تا ما نیز احوال آن جهان بدانیم اردا ویراک کفته اول چیز بیاواری نا چن بکورد که هدف شبانرز است تا این بر هیچ چنژنیبفتی است و سنت شد ام بعد از اردن همه خوانین بیشتر نا شما را معلوم کنند دستوران ساختی درونی بیاشفت بیاز ویراک واج کردن چیزی اندک ماید بیکورد و واج بکفت پس بکفت این زمان دیبری دانا را بیاوردند نا نبرد چه من دیده ام کویم و ناهست آن در جهان پیشستی نا همه تا کس را کار مینو و بهشت و ذروخ معلوم شود و قیمت نیکی کردن بدانند و از باد کردن دور باشن پس دیبری دانا بیاوردند در پیش اردا ویراک بنشست.
Errata.

The reader must be prepared to meet with a few type broken in the press, of which the following have been noticed: in p. 11, lin. 5, 12, 21, 15, 6, 24, 5, 23, 1. 35, 22. 36, 9, 37, 6, 39, 6. 43, 4. 50, 6. 69, 1, 6. 82, 3. 85, 6. 109, 4. 136, 8. 231, 7. 299, 3. in 9, 6. 29, 29. 42, 21. in 77, 6. 111, 22. 208, 7. 291, 10. in 83, 8. in 282, 8. in 289, 9. 295, 9.


In Arđ-Vîr. ch. 62, 6. ârást may be a better reading, and the translation will be: '6 and having adorned herself', etc.
Arda-Viraf Namak.

The Pahlavī text

with Transliteration and

the various readings of several MSS.
Observations.

The divisions into chapters, paragraphs and sentences, are innovations, as the MSS. are written continuously, and with little attention to stops. Whenever a Huvvāresh word occurs in any of the MSS. consulted, it is used instead of its Pāzand equivalent, although the latter may occur in the older MSS. The idhāfat  is joined to the preceding word, as in the MSS.; but the conjunction  is separated, for the convenience of the reader, although it is generally joined, in the MSS., either to the following, or the preceding, word. The extra final  is inserted only when it occurs in H₆; and the variations of K₂₀, with regard to this final, are the only ones noticed. The diacritical marks are those found in H₆, which are given so far as the available type would admit.

The transliteration is kept to a uniform system, which is explained in the Introduction. Roman letters are used to represent all Pahlavi numeral signs (less than 1000) to avoid confusion with the numbers of the sentences. Words italicized in the transliteration, are those referred to in the various readings, at the foot of each page.

In the various readings:

All variations that are evidently clerical blunders, are unnoticed. The numbers refer to the sentence in the text, and to the number of the word in the sentence; two, or more, words connected by hyphens in the transliteration, being counted separately, unless they are joined together in the Pahlavi text.

B. — MS. corrected by Destur Bahmanji Jamshedji Jāmāsp Asā.
D. — MS. prepared by Destur Hoshangji from B. P. N. etc.
Dest. — Destur Hoshangji.
H₆. — Dr. Haug's MS. No. 6, dated A.Y. 766.
H₆ᵃ. — A fragment from the same MS., extending from ch. 1, 1 to 1, 36 ofh. H₁₇. — Dr. Haug's MS. No. 17; extending from ch. 1, 1 to 44, 3 hūmāndak; undated and modern.
H₁₈. — Dr. Haug’s MS. No. 18, Pāz. — Sans., dated Samvat 1466.
K₂₀. — the Kopenhagen MS. No. 20, beginning with Airūn, ch. 1, 9; dated A.Y. 690, 700 and 720, but written rather later.
K₂₅. — the Kopenhagen MS. No. 25, containing ātarō, ch. 4, 6, to khadithan, ch. 64, 8; adinam, ch. 84, 1, to khadih, ch. 89, 10; and minid, ch. 100, 4, to end.
N. — two MSS. written respectively by Destur Asāji Nushirvānji and by Destur Nushirvānji Jāmāspji Asā; the latter dated A.Y. 1108.
P. — MS. belonging to Destur Peshutansi Behramji Sanjāna, and written by Mobad Naurozji Sanjāna.
Chapter I.

Pavan shem-i Yadadânô.


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1. 4. P. 1, 7. O only in Hô. 2, 3. all omit the idhâfât d, but perhaps d (a variant of d) + d. 3, 3. D. 3, 5. d only in Hô. 3, 6. only in B. Hô, Hôhô. 4, 3. B. 4, 4. d only in Hô.
7 Va denman dīnō, chīgūn hamāk avistāk va zand, madam tūrā pōstihā-i virūstak va pavan maŋā-i zahābā nipishtak, yīn Stākhar Pāpakānō pavan karītā-nipist hankhetūnd yekavīmūnd; 8 va valman patfīārak-i saryā-bakht-i yasharmōk-i darvand-i anāk-kardār Alaksagdar-i Arūmāyik-i Mūjráyik-mānīshnō madam yāītyūnd; va barā sūkht. 9 Va chand dastōbarān va dātōbarān va āerpatān va magōpatān va dīnō-bārdārān va afzār-homandān va dānākān-i Afrān shatrō rāt barā nēksūnd. 10 Va masān va kādāk-khūḍāān-i Afrān shatrō, khadūk levatman tanid, kīn va anāshīh val mēyān ramītūnd; 11 va benafshman tebrūnāst, val dūshahū dūbārast.

12 Va akhar mīn zak, marāldūmān-i Afrān shatrō, khadūk levatman tanid, āshūp
va patkár yehevûnd. 13 Va chígánshân khûdâ va dâhyûpat va sardâr va dastôbar-i dinô-âkâs là yehevûnd; 14 va pavan mandavam-i Yadadân gûmân yehevûnd hûmand; 15 va kâbed khâdûnak kësh, va varôîshn javîd rastâkîh, va gûmânîh, va javîd dâdistânîh yîn gêhân barâ val pêdâkîh yáñdû. 16 Vad zak amat zerkhûnd hû-farvard anôshak-rûbân Ātârô-pâd-i Mârspendân mûn pâdash, pavan sâkht-i pavan Dinô-kartô, râ-i vaďâkhtak madam var rikht. 17 Va chand dâdistân va dâtobarîh levatman javîd keshân va javîd varôîshnânî barâ kard; 18 va denman dinô yîn Shaspígâñî marûdûmân yîn gûmân yehevûnd hûmand.

19 Va akhar, magôi-mardân va dastôbarân-i dinô zakâf yehevûnd hûmand; 20 min
21 zak mar khūḍā-hōmand va pūr-pīm yehevūnd hōmand. 21 Afshān pavan babā-i pīrūzkar Ātarō-i Frōbāg, hanjaman khvāst; 22 va kaped kha-
dāːnako milayā va hā-sikāl madam denman yehevūnd, 23 aighmān chārak
bavīhūnastunū avāyād, 24 vadmān khādīh-I vazlūnēd, va min mina-
vadānū ākāsīh yāītyūnēd; 25 aigh mardūmān-i yīn denman anbām
hōmand, barā khavītūnd 26 aigh denman yazīslūn, va drōn, va āfī-
nagān, va nīrang, va pādāvīh, va yōshdāsārīh-i lanman pavan kardāk
yāītyūnēm, val Yadadān yāmtūnēd, ayūf val shēdāān; 27 va val frāyād-i
rūbān-i lanman yāmtūnēd, ayūf lá.

28 Afshān akhar pavan ham-dādīstānīh-i min dinū dastōbarān hamāk

24, 2. H₆, H₆a, K₂₀ 10. 24, 4. all omit . 25, 2.

in all but K₂₀. 26, 3. K₂₀ 10. 26, 6. all omit . 26, 13. H₆,
مَرْدِمَمَ وَالبَابَ-يِ أَطْرَافُ-فَرَبَاغُ کَرِیْبْانِدَ هُوْمَانَد. ۲۹ آفْشَانِمَنَنَّ اَمَامِنَدَنَ جَمِیدَکَ کَرَدِ ۷۷ گَیْبَرَ مُنَ پَوَانْ یَادَادَانَ وَکَنَّى اَوْىَ غَیْمَانْتَارَ یَهَهْوُندَ هُوْمَانَد; ۳۰ اَفْشَانِمَنَنَ نَافْشَانِ مَینِیْشْنَ وَکَنَّى غَیْبَیْشْنَ وَکَنَّى وَرْعَائْتَکَّیْتَرَ وَفاَرَْرَیْنَتَّرَ; ۳۱ وَکَنَّى عَیْشَ کَرَ شَرِیْفَ وَکَنَّى وَرْعَائْتَرَ وَکَنَّى مَسْروَبَّتَرَ وَباَرََیدَ; ۳۲ وَکَنَّى عَیْشَ کَرَ شَرِیْفَ وَکَنَّى وَرْعَائْتَرَ وَکَنَّى مَسْروَبَّتَرَ وَباَرََیدَ;

۳۳ وَکَنَّی عَیْشَ کَرَ شَرِیْفَ وَکَنَّى وَرْعَائْتَرَ وَکَنَّى مَسْروَبَّتَرَ وَباَرََیدَ;

۳۴ وَکَنَّی عَیْشَ کَرَ شَرِیْفَ وَکَنَّى وَرْعَائْتَرَ وَکَنَّى مَسْروَبَّتَرَ وَباَرََیدَ;

۳۵ وَکَنَّی عَیْشَ کَرَ شَرِیْفَ وَکَنَّى وَرْعَائْتَرَ وَکَنَّى مَسْروَبَّتَرَ وَباَرََیدَ;

۳۶ وَکَنَّی عَیْشَ کَرَ شَرِیْفَ وَکَنَّى وَرْعَائْتَرَ وَکَنَّى مَسْروَبَّتَرَ وَباَرََیدَ;

۳۷ وَکَنَّی عَیْشَ کَرَ شَرِیْفَ وَکَنَّى وَرْعَائْتَرَ وَکَنَّى مَسْروَبَّتَرَ وَباَرََیدَ;

۳۸ وَکَنَّی عَیْشَ کَرَ شَرِیْفَ وَکَنَّى وَرْعَائْتَرَ وَکَنَّى مَسْروَبَّتَرَ وَباَرََیدَ.

۱. ۲۸، ۱۴. in all but H₁₁. ۳۰، ۳. H₆، H₆₈، H₁₈ prefix ۱. ۳۰، ۸. H₆


۲۹، ۲۰ H₆، H₆₈، K₉₀ ۲۹، ۷. ۳۴، ۹. H₁₈ always Virāja، or Virāzh، in Pāz.; and Virāja، Virāja، or Virāja، in Sans. ۳۵، ۴. so in H₆₈، H₁₇، K₉₀; the initial ۱ has nearly disappeared in H₆; D. ۱۹، H₁₈ u asāvūr. ۳۶، ۳ K₉₀ om.
Chapter II.

medamunëd, adñnam akâmakhömand mang al yehabunëd, 39 vad lekûm Mâzdayasnân va li nahichak ramitunëd, 40 va hat nahichak val li yâmtunëd, kâmakhömandyîsh vazlûnam val zak jinâk-i yasha-rûbân va darvandân, 41 va denmanペットクham drûstyîsh yedrûnam va râstyîsh yâîtyînam.

42 Va akhar, valmanshân Mâzdayasnân va li nahichak yâîtyûnd; 43 fratûm bár pavan hûmat, va dañîgâr bár pavan hûkht, va sañîgâr bár pavan hûvarsht; kolâ telatâk nahichak val Virât yâtûnd.

Chapter II.

1 Va valman Virât râî VII akhtman yehevûnd, 2 va valmanshân kolâ VII akhtmanân Virât chîgûn nêshtman yehevûnd hömând; 3 afshân dinô
نارم و یتیکه کرد یک‌کوی‌می‌ناد. ۴ ِ وا ۴۰امتشَن اشناد، ادین‌شان انگن گرانتُم ماش هُماند، ۵ ِ وا درایِش هُماند، وَ کالا کرد هُماند، ۶ ِ وا ۴ین هانجامان-ی مِه‌زدایان‌سنَنَ لُِْیون ولمندل هُماند، ۷ ِبارا یک‌کوی‌می‌ناد هُماند، وَ نامز یِدرُن‌د هُماند، ۸ ِ وا یم‌مِلند ْاِیْش: ۴لِاَدِن‌ند لکُم مِه‌زدایان‌سنَنَ دنمنَ مانداوام؛ ۹ ِمَمِان لِانمِان حَفْتِ اکْیْتَمْا هُمانَم، وَ وَلْمَان‌ شَدْدِکِ بِرَد؛ ۱۰ ِ وا ۴کُلَ حَفْتِ اکْیْتَمْا وَلْمَان‌ اکْهِ نِشْمَانِی‌ل هُمانَم. ۱۱ ِچِگَنْ کِحانک-ی بَبَا مِنُ بِن‌۴۰۷ِ فِرْسْپِ وَ وَلْمَان‌ ازْرِیْ ۴ین هَنکُتِرْنِی‌ل یک‌کوی‌می‌ناد، ۱۲ ِمَنِ زَک استْن‌بارا یانسه‌گُن‌د، وَ وَلْمَان‌شَن‌ فِرْسْپِ بَرَا ِیُفْتِن‌د وَ ۱۳ اَنْگن لِانمِان حَفْتِ اکْیْتَمْا رَنْ اکْهِ دنمن‌ شَدْدِکِ ایِتْ، مَُمِانِ مِنْقَشِم وَ یاکْحْسَنِنِی‌شَن؛ ۱۴ ِفِرْسِکِ مِنْ يَدادةِن‌۴۰۷ِ۴. ۱۰، ۴۰۷ِ۴،۴۱، ۴۰۷ِ۴،۴۲، هِیِتُ اسکچُن. ۴۰۷ِ۴،۵، ۴۰۷ِ۴،۶، ۴۰۷ِ۴،۳. هِیِتُ اسکچُن. ۴۰۷ِ۴،۹، ۴۰۷ِ۴،۱۰، ۴۰۷ِ۴،۱۱، ۴۰۷ِ۴،۱۲، ۴۰۷ِ۴،۱۳، ۴۰۷ِ۴،۱۴، ۴۰۷ِ۴،۱۵. هِیِتُ اسکچُن.
kolá nadúkíh min valman’ai tò. 15 Lekúm levín min zamán, min den-
man shatro-i zívandakánö bará val zak-i mūrðakánö sheḏūnêd, 16 madam
lanman stahambô avî-chîm karî yehevûnêd.

17 Va akhar, valmanshân Mâzdayasnân, chîgûnshân zak sakîn
ashnûd, valmanshân hafa khvâharân râî khûrsandîh yehabûnîd, 18 va
gûft aîgh: Lanman Virâf vad VII yûm tanû-drûst barâ lekûm avasp-
ârëm; 19 va denman shem farukhûhî madam denman gabrà barâ
ketrûnêd. 20 Va akhar, valmanshân ham-dâdistân yehevûnîd hómând.

21 Va akhar, valman Virâf, levîn-i Mâzdayasnân, yadman pavan
cash vâdûnîd, va val valmanshân gûft 22 aîgh: Dastóbarîh aît vad
rûbânîkûn yezbekhûnîm, va
khūrishn vashtamūnam, va andarz vādūnam; akhar, ās va mang barā yehabūnēd. 23 Dastōbarān farmuḏ ālīg: Ham-gūnak vādūn.

24 Va akhar, valmanshān dīnō dastōbarānō, yīn mān-i mīnavad, jīnāk-I-i XXX gām pavan zak-i khūp vajīd. 25 Va valma Vīrāf rōḵesman va tanū barā khālelūnd, va paḏmūjanō-i navak paḏmūkht, 26 pavan bōi khūsh barā bōyiniḏ, pavan tāḵht-gāh-i pasijakō vastarg navak dakyā vastard. 27 Val gās vastar-i dakyā barā yetībūnast, 28 va drōn yezbekhūnd, va rūbānīkūn alīyādīnīḏ, va khūrishn vash-
tamūnd. 29 Va akhar, valmanshān dīnō dastōbarān ās va mang-i Vishtāspānō III jām-i zahābīn mālman karḏ; 30 afshān khadūk jām pavan hūmate, va daḏīgar jām pavan hūkht, va saḏīgar jām pavan hūwarsht, frāz val Vīrāf
yehabûnd; 31 afash zak ās va mang barâ vashtamûnd, va hûshâyârîsh vâj barâ gustô, va pavan vastarg khelmûnd.

32 Valmanshân dinô dastôbarân va haft akhtmanân, VII yôm-shapânô, pavan âtâsh hamîshak-sôj, va bôt-vajûrik, va nirang-i dinôîk avistâk va zand barâ yemâlelund; 33 va nask yezbekhûnd, va gâsân srûd, va pavan târîk pâs dâsht hîmand. 34 Va valmanshân haft akhtmanân pavan pîramân-i vastarg-i valman Virâf yetibûnast hîmand, 35 va haft yêm-shapân, avistâk yezbekhûnd. 36 Valmanshân haft akhtmanân, levatman hamâk Mûzdayasnân dinô dastôbarân, va aërpatân, va magôpatân, pavan hich khadû'inkân pânâkîh barâ là shedkûnd.

Chapter III.

1 Va rābānō-i valman Virāf min tanū val Chakāt-i Dāitik Chinū-vat pūhal vazlūnd; 2 va haftūm yōm-shapānō lakhvār yātūnd, va yin tanū vazlūnd. 3 Virāf madam khāst, chīgūn amat min zak khelmū-i basīm akhēzīd, 4 Vohūman-minishn va khūram.

5 Va valmanshān aklītmanān, levatman dinō dastōbarān va Māzdayasnān, chīgūnshānō Virāf khadītūnd, shād va khūram yehevūnī hōmand; 6 afshān guft aigh: Drūst yātūnd hōmangīh, lak Virāf-i lan-man Māzdayasnān pēthkhambar, min shatrō-i mūrdakān val denman shatrō-i zīvandakān, yātūnd hōmangīh.

7 Valmanshân ačerpatân va dînô dastōbarân, levînô-i Vîrâf, namâz yedrûnd. 8 Va akhar, val Vîrâf, chîgûnash khadítûnd, paḍîtrak yâtûnd, va namâz yedrûnd, gûft aîgh: Lekûm rái drûḍ min Ahûrma zd khûdât va amahraspêndân; 9 va drûḍ min yasharâbû Zaratûhasht-i Spitâmân; 10 va drûḍ min Srôsh-yasharâbû, va Ātâró yédatô, va gadman dînô-i Mâzdayasnân; 11 va drûḍ min avarîk yasharûbân; va drûḍ min nadâkîh va âsânîh avarîk minavadân-i vahisht.

12 Va akhar, dînô dastōbarânô gûft 13 aîgh: Drûst lipamman lak, Vîrâf-i
14. آردآ-ویراف III. 14—21. لکه *کُلَمْ خَاصُ جِنگل‌شناسی* سَی، دَلِّی دُنیا وَرَنگ‌ها لَوَعَ دَوَعِ. 15. سَرَویا وَلَکن یاَ کُلَمْ خَاصُ جِنگل‌شناسی* سَی، دَلِّی دُنیا وَرَنگ‌ها لَوَعَ دَوَعِ. 16. بَنَی، اَش بَنَی، اَش گَوْرُ سَی، دَلِّی دُنیا وَرَنگ‌ها لَوَعَ دَوَعِ. 17. یَهُوَوْس، سَرَویا وَلَکن یاَ کُلَمْ خَاصُ جِنگل‌شناسی* سَی، دَلِّی دُنیا وَرَنگ‌ها لَوَعَ دَوَعِ. 18. سَرَویا وَلَکن یاَ کُلَمْ خَاصُ جِنگل‌شناسی* سَی، دَلِّی دُنیا وَرَنگ‌ها لَوَعَ دَوَعِ. 19. یَهُوَوْس، سَرَویا وَلَکن یاَ کُلَمْ خَاصُ جِنگل‌شناسی* سَی، دَلِّی دُنیا وَرَنگ‌ها لَوَعَ دَوَعِ. 20. یَهُوَوْس، سَرَویا وَلَکن یاَ کُلَمْ خَاصُ جِنگل‌شناسی* سَی، دَلِّی دُنیا وَرَنگ‌ها لَوَعَ دَوَعِ. 21. یَهُوَوْس، سَرَویا وَلَکن یاَ کُلَمْ خَاصُ جِنگل‌شناسی* سَی، دَلِّی دُنیا وَرَنگ‌ها لَوَعَ دَوَعِ.

lanman Mázdayasnán pětkhambar; afat drúd yehevínád lakích. 14 Kolá mamánat khadítünd, ráestyish val lanman yemalelún.

15 Akhar, valman Viráf güft aígh: Fratúm gúbishn denman, 16 aígh gúrsakán va tíshnakán nakhúst khúrishn yehabúntanö, 17 va akhar púrsishn minash kárđanö, kár farmúdanö.

18 Akhar, díno dastóbárán farmuíd aígh: Khúsh va basín. 19 Va khúrishnö-i hú-pókht va hú-bóí, va khúrdlik, va sarđ mayá, va ús ávórtó. 20 Afshán drónó yezbekhán, va Viráf vâj vakhdúnd, va khúrishn váshtamúnd, va myazd ráýínúd, vâj bará güft. 21 Va stá żyishn-i Aúharmazd va ameshóspendán, va sipás-i Horvadañ va Ameródañ ameshóspendán angáríd, va áfríngánö güft.
Chapter IV.

22 Afash farmûd aîgh: Yâityûnçî dâpirî-i dânâk va farzanûkô.
23 Afshân yâityûnçî dâpir-i frasâkht-i farzanûk, va levîn yetîbûnast;
24 va kolâ maman Virâf gûft, drûst, rîshûn va gû-vajûr nîpisht.

Chapter IV.

1 Afash aêtûnô farmûd nîpishtanô 2 aîgh: Pavan zak-i fratûm lêlyâ, li val pâdîrak barâ maq Srôsh-yasharûbû, va Ataro yêdatô; 3 afash val li nasadman yedrûnçî hômänd, va gûft 4 aîgh: Drûst yâtûnçî hûmanîh lak, Ardâ Virâf, amatat hávandîch yâtûnçî damân lâ yehevûnj. 5 Li gûft: Pêtkhambar hômânâm. 6 Va akhar, pîrûzkar Srôsh-yasharûbû, va Ataro yêdatô, zak-i li yadman fraz vakhûndûn. 7 Fratûm gâm pavan hûmat, va dadîgâr gâm pavan hûkht, va sadîgâr

gām pavan hūvaršt, frāz val Chīnūvat pūhal maṛ hūmanam-i kabad-
pānāk-i umāvand Aūharmazd-dātō.

8 Amat val tamman frāz maṛ hūmanam, 9 afam khadītūnd zal vaqtarvākān rūbān, amatshān yīn zal III lēlyā-i nakhūst, rūbanō pavan bālinō-i tanū yeṭībūnast, 10 va zal-i gāsānīk gūbīshn gūft: 11 'Ushtā ahmāi yahmāi ushtā kahmāchīl'; aīgh: Nadūk valman mūn min zal-i valman nadūkīh, kaḷārchāi nadūkīh. 12 Afash yīn zal III shap, zal and nadūkīh va āsānīh va khūbīh maṛ yekavinūnēd, 13 chand haṃāk nadūkīh yasah pavan stīh khadītūnd; 14 chīghūn gābra-l mūn vad pavan stīh yehevūnd, azash āsāntar va basimtar va khūramtar yehevūnd.

IV. 7, 20. K20 has й for й. 7, 22. й only in K20. 7, 23. so in all, but often written یامی; the یدحالف й ought to be added. 7, 25. K20 omits final й.
9, 4. K20 یام. 9, 11. K20 adds final й. 10, 2. K20, K26 omit й. 10, 5. K26 adds final й. 11. quoted from Yasna X.III.1. 12, 11. all omit, but Dest. inserts. 12, 12. may be read aūbash, to him', if й be omitted; H18 khush.
15 Pavan aúshbám-i sadígar, valman rúbánó-i yasharúbánó yin aúrvar bót-i basím bará gashí; 16 afash basímtar medammúnast zak bótchi gívun harvíst bót-i basím, zyash pavan zívandakán pavan vínik madam vazlíntó; 17 va zak bót vád min rapítúvíntar rúño, min némak-i Yadadán, bará yátáned.

18 Afash zak-i nafíshman dínó va zak-i nafíshman káníshnó kaník kerp-i nádák, pavan khdítántanó-i hú-rúst, aígh pavan frárúníh rúst, yekavínmunád! 19 fráz-péstán, aíghash péstán lákhvár yetibúnast-i dil va ján dóst; 20 míñash kerp aétánó róshan gívun díd hú-dósh-aktar, nikirishn aváyishniktar.

21 Va púríst hí zak-i yasharúbánó rúbánó min zak kaník 22 aígh:
Lak mún

23 Afash pasukhó dád zak-i nafshman dínó va zak-i nafshman kúnishnó, 24 aígh: Li kúnishn-i lak hómanam, yúdán-i khúp mínishn-i khúp gúbishn-i khúp kúnishn-i khúp dínó. 25 Kámak va kúnishnó-i lak ráí, amat li aétúnó mas va shapír va hú-bót va pírúzkar va avibesh hómanam, chígán lak medammúnéð. 26 Maman lak, pavan stih, gásán srúd, afat mayá-i vèch yezbekhund, afat átash párfríkht; 27 afat gabrá-i yasharúbó shináýntíd, mún min arík fráž mas, mún min nazdík. 28 Amat li farpíh yehevúnd hómanam, afat farpahítar kard hómanam;

Chapter V.

29 va amat li nadúk yehevund hómanam, afat nadúktar kard hómanam; 30 va amat arjánik yehevund hómanam, afat arjániktar kard hómanam; 31 va amat pavan gás-i chashmakán yetibúnast hómanam, afat chashmakíshtar yetibúnast hómanam; 32 va amat búržishnik yehevund hómanam, afat búržishniktár kard hómanam; 33 pavan denman húmat va húkht va húvarsht-i lak varzíd. 34 Lak gabrá-i yasharábó akhar min lak yezbekhünd, 35 pavan zak-i Aûharmazd dër yazishníh va ham-pårśakih, amat dër damán Aûharmazd rái yezbekhúnishn va ham-pårśakih-i frárúnõ vādúnih. 36 Ásânih azash.

Chapter V.

1 Akhar, zak Chínúvat púhal IX nízak pahnál lakhvár yehevund.
2 Li pavan avâkîh-i Srôsh-yasharûbî va Ātârî yédató, pavan Chînûvat pûhal, khvâryîsh va farâkhûyîsh va tag-dîlîfîyîsh va pîrûzkaryîsh barâ vađârî hômânam. 3 Kâbed pânâkîh-i Mîtrô yédató, va Rashnu-i rajistak, va Vâî vêh, va Vâhrâm yédató amâvand, va Ashtâd yédató frêh-dâdârî gêhân, va gâdman-i dinî-shapîr-i Mázdayasnân; 4 va frav-yashar-i yasharûbânî, va avârîk minavadânî valî, Arđâ Virâf, nakhûst nasadman yedrûdî hômând. 5 Afâm did, li Arđâ Virâf, Rashnî-râst, mûn tarâzûkî zarîl-zarîn pavan yadman dâsht, va yasharûbânî va darvandân andâzîd.

6 Va akhar, Srôsh-yasharûbî, va Ātârî yédató, yadman-i li frâz vakhûnî, 7 va güft aîgh: Barâ yâtûn, vad val lak numâyêm vâhisht va dûshahû, va rôshanîh.
va khvārih, va āsānih, va farākhūih, va basānih, va khūramih, va rāmishn, va shālidh, va hū-bōthīh-i vahisht pādadahishn-i yasharūbānō. 8 Afat numāyem tārīkīh, va tangīh, va dūsh-khvārih, va saryāih, va bēsh, va anākīh, vaдарīh, va vīmārīh, va sahmgūnīh, va bīmguūnīh, va rēshgūnīh, va gōndakīh pavan dūshahū pādalfrās-i gūnak gūnak mūn shēddānū mūn yātkān mūn vazak-karān vādūnd. 9 Afat numāyem gūs-i rāštānū, va zak-i dūjūn. 10 Afat numāyem pādadahishn-i khūp-varōīsh-nān pavan Āūharmazd va amēshōspendān; va nādūkīh-i pavan vahisht, va anākīh-i pavan dūshahū; 11 va aīṭīh-i Yādādān va amēshōspendān, va lōīīh-i Akharmān va shēddānā, va yehevūntānō-i rist-ākhīz va

V. 7, 21. K₂₀ adds . 7, 32. K₂₀ adds final . 7, 33. the final ( is read as the conj. ( va in D. H₁₆, H₁₇, K₂₀, and omitted in K₂₆. 8, 20—21. only in H₁₈, K₂₀, K₁₆; K₂₀ omitting ( va. 8, 31. K₂₀ om.; all others . 8, 32. K₂₀, K₂₆ omit final . 8, 36. K₂₀ . 9, 3. . only in H₁₇. 9, 4. K₂₀, K₂₆ omit final . 10, 2. H₁₀ . 10, 11. . only in D. H₁₆. 10, 15. . only in D. 10, 17. D. H₁₆, H₁₇ add final . 11, 2. . only in D. 11, 7. . only in H₁₀, K₂₆. 11, 8. written upside down in H₁₀, here and in most other places; K₂₀ .
Chapter VI.

1 Jînâk-I frâz ma'd hûmanam, 2 afâm khadîtûnd rûbân-i mûrdûm aëchand mûn pavan ham-yekâvîmuñâd hûmand. 3 Afâm pûrsûd mûn pîrûzkar Srôsh-yasharûbûbû, va Âtarô yêdatô, aîgh: Valmâns'hân mûn hûmand? va mûman rûl lattamman yekâvîmund?

4 Yemâlêlunêd Srôsh-yasharûbûbû, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Den-
man jînâk hamîsta-

Chapter VII.

kānō karītūnd; 6 va denman rūbānōān, vad tanū-i pasīn, denman jīnāk yekāvīmūnd; 7 va rūbān-i valmanšān anshūtāān mūnshān kirfak va vanās rāst yehevūnd. 8 Va val stīhān barā yemālelūn aīgh: Zak-ī khvārtar kirfak pavan āz va bēsh al yakhṣenānd, 9 māman kolā mūnash HI srōshō-charanām kirfak vēsh aīgh vanās, val vahisht; 10 mūnash vanās vēsh, val dūshahū; 11 mūn kolā II rāst, vad tanū-i pasīn, pavan denman hamīstakānō yekāvīmūnd. 12 Afshan pādafrās min varḍishn-i andarvāt sardīh, ayūf garmīh; afshan avārīk patīyārāk lōīt.

Chapter VII.

1 Va akhar, nakhūst gām frāz hankhetānām val star pāyak, pavan Hūmat,


VII. 1, 6. H₁₇ ěsəˌnəpə.
کد زرودو سه سه هدای ملموس 0 2 و سه سه کد ندای
لئوسر کلاته چند توای روان لردو شبد مسلم سپس 4
سپس نسبت و یک پرونده لیون یک تلاش و یک تلاش که

وکشک یک نگ خورشید و پایتخت 5
سپس نسبت و یک پرونده لیون 2 و 0 سپس سپس

3

وکشک یک نگ خورشید و پایتخت 6
سپس نسبت و یک پرونده لیون 2 و 0 سپس سپس

4

وکشک یک نگ خورشید و پایتخت 7
سپس نسبت و یک پرونده لیون 2 و 0 سپس سپس

5

وکشک یک نگ خورشید و پایتخت 8
سپس نسبت و یک پرونده لیون 2 و 0 سپس سپس

6

وکشک یک نگ خورشید و پایتخت 9
سپس نسبت و یک پرونده لیون 2 و 0 سپس سپس

7

وفارشک ای هوادار و یک دوست

8

وفارشک ای هوادار و یک دوست

9

وفارشک ای هوادار و یک دوست

zak jināk aigh hūmat pavan mahmānīh. 2 Va khaditūnam zak yasharūbān rūbānō mūnshān, chīgūn star rōchanāk, rōshan-i azash hamāi vakhshīd; 3 afshān gās va yetībūnast azīr rōshan, va būrzāk va pūr-gadān yehyuvūnd.

4 Afam pursīd min Srōsh-yasharūbō, va Ātārō yēdatō, aigh: Denman jināk kadām? va denman anshūtā kadām hōmand?

5 Afshān gūft Srōsh-yasharūbō, va Ātārō yēdatō, 6 aigh: Denman jināk star pāyak; va valmandshān rūbānō hōmand 7 mūnshān, pavan stih, yesht ī kadā, va gāsūn ī srūd, va khvētāk-das ī kartō; 8 afshān khūdāyīh va dahiāpātīh va sardārīh ī kadā yekavimūnēd. 9 Pavan avārīk kīrfa yasharūbō yehyuvūnd yekavimūnd.

Chapter VIII.

1 Amat dādīgar gam frāz hankhetūnam māh pāyak val Hūkht, zak jīnāk aīgh hūkht mahmānīh; 2 va khadītūnam zak-i rabā hanjamānō-i yasharūbān.

3 Afam pūrsīd min Srosh-yasharūbō, va Ātarō yēdatō, aīgh: Denman jīnāk kādām? va valmanshān rūbānōān mūn hōmand?

4 Yemaldeunād Srosh-yasharūbō, va Ātarō yēdatō, 5 aīgh: Denman jīnāk māh pāyak; va denman valmanshān rūbānōān mūnshān, pavan stih, yēsht lā kārd, va gāsān lā srād, va khvētūk-das lā varzīd; 6 va pavan avarīk kirfāk val latamman maḏ yeḵavīmūnd; 7 afshān rōshānīh val rōshānīh-i māh hūmānāk.
Chapter IX.

1 Amat saqïgar gâm frâz hankhetûnam pavan Hûvarsht, tamman aígh hûvarsht pavan mahmânîh, val tamman rastâdôm. 2 Rôshan-i bâlistân bâlist karîtûnd; 3 va khadîtûnam zak-i yasharûbânô pavan gâs va vâstarg-i zarîn-karîf; 4 va anshûtâ yehevûnd hîmand, mûnshân rôshânî val rôshanîh khûrshêd hûmânâk yehevûnd.

5 Afam pûrsîd min Srûsh-yasharûbô, va Átarô yêdatô, aígh: Derman kaâlam jînâk? va valmanshan rûbânôân mûn hîmand?

6 Yemalelunêd Srûsh-yasharûbô, va Átarô yêdatô, 7 aígh: Derman khûrshêd.

Chapter X.

پرایک aft; va valmanshan rûbânōān hómánd 8 múnshân, pavan stih, hû-pâdakhšâhilh va dâhyûpatâfih va sardârîfîh kard.

Chapter X.

1 Châhârûm gam frâz hankhetûnâm val zak-i rôshan-i Garôdman hamâk khvârîh; 2 afmân val padîrak yâtûnd valmanshan vadârûkânîh rûbân, va drûd pûrsînd, va afîrínî vådûnd, 3 va denman yemâlêlûnd aîgh: Chîgûn lak yasharûbî bêrî maqî hûmânîh? 4 min zak-i sêj-hômánd va kâbed-anâkîh ahvânî, madam val denman-i sêj ahvânî apatîyârâk yâtûnd hûmânîh. 5 Va anôsh vashtamûnûn, maman dêr-zamânîyîsh latamman râmîshn khâtîtûnd.
6 Va akhar min zak, paḏirak yatūnd ātāsh-ī Aūharmazd Ātarō yēdatō; val li namāz-ī yedrūnd, 7 afash gūft aigh: Drūst lipamman lak Arđā Virāf-ī khavīd chibā-i Māzdayasnān pētkhambar.

8 Va akhar, li nasadman yedrūnd hōmanam, va gūft hōmanam 9 aigh: Lipamman lak, Ātarō yēdatō, mūn pavan stih, hamāk chibā va bōī-i haft sālak madam val lak hankhetūnd, 10 afam khavīd chibā karītūndē.

Chapter XI.

Va jināk-ī frāz yedrūnd, va numād var-ī vazārg mayā-ī kapād, 14 va gāf: Denman zak āv ait mūn zak chibā barā tajiḍ-i lak madam val li hankhetūnād.

Chapter XI.

1 Va akhar, lālā yekāvimūnād Vohūman ameshōspend min gās-i zarīnō-kard; 2 afash zak-ī li yadman frāz vakhdūnī; pavan hūmat va hūkht va ḥūvarshīt, val miyān yedrūnd-ī Aūharmazd, va ameshōspendān, va avārik yashtarūbān, 3 va fravyashar-ī Zaratūhašt-ī Spitāmān, va Kai-Vishtāsp, va Jámasp, va Isadvāstār-ī Zaratūhaštān, va avārik dīmūn būrdārānō va dīmūn pēshāpāyān

X. 13, 7, 9. H₄, K₂₀, K₂₆ have for 3. 13, 8. H₆, H₁₇, K₂₆ 3. 13, 9. all but K₂₀ have 0 for 6.

A lacuna exists here, in all the old MSS., owing probably to the loss of a folio in the original copy, whence they were all derived. \( H_6 \) leaves a blank space of 21 lines = 17 lines of this printed text; \( K_{20} \) leaves no space between and \( \frac{\text{س}}{\text{س}} \); \( K_{26} \) leaves a space of 35 lines = 25 lines of this printed text; \( H_{17} \) supplies the words \( \frac{\text{ش}}{\text{ش}} \) to connect this sentence with the next; and Destur Hoshangji suggests that \( \frac{\text{ش}}{\text{ش}} \) is enough for that purpose.

mùnam akaraz min zak rôshantar va nadûktar là khadîtûnd hûmanam.

5 Va Vohûman barâ [gûft] 6 aîgh: Denman aît Aûharmazd. 7 Afam yezbemûnast pawan pêshih namáz yedûntanô.

8 Afash val li gûft aîgh: Namáz val lak, Ardá Virâf, drûst yâ-tûnd hûmanîh; 9 min zak séj-hûmand stih, val denman avêjak jinâk-i-rôshan yâtûnd hûmanîh. 10 Afash farmûd val Srôsh-yasharûbû, va Âtarô yèdatô, 11 aîîhash yedûnêd Ardá Virâf, barâ numâyêd gûs va
Chapter XII.

padadahishn-i yasharubân, 12 zak-niz-i padasfras-i darvandân.

13 Va akhar, Srôsh-yasharubô va Atarô yedato zak-i li yadman frâz vakhdûnd; 14 afshân jinâk frâz yedrûnd hómanam. 15 Afam khadîtûnd hómanam ameshôspendân, afam khadîtûnd avârîk yadadânô; 16 afam did fravyashar-i Gâyômard, va Zarâtûhasht, va Kaî-Vishtâsp, va Frashôshhtar, va Jâmâsp, va avârîk [nadûk] kardârân va dinô peshúpâyân.

Chapter XII.

1 Afam jinâk-I frâz ma'd hómanam, va khadîtûnd 2 zak-i râdân
रुबाण मुन बराजिशक सातुंद, 3 वा आवर-ि आविर्क रुबाननो, पवन हमाक रोशनिक; 4 वा अुहरमाज्द हमाई बुर्ज़ों ज़क-ि रुद्यं रुबान-ि रोशन वा बुलांड वा बुलावांड। 5 आफम गुफ्त अिज़्ह: नदुक लक मुन रुद्यं रुबानो होमानिक-ि अॅटंद आवर-ि आविर्क रुबानोन! 6 आफम बराजिश्निक मेडाम्मुनांस।

7 आफम क्हादितुंड ज़क-ि बलमण्श्न रुबाण मुनश्न, पवन सिठ, गासान श्रुि, वा येस्ह्त कार्द, 8 वा अस्तोबानो येहवुंदो पवन शापिर दिनो-ि माज्दयास्नां, मुन अुहरमाज्द वल ज़रातुहास्त चास्त्ह; 9 अमातम फ्रास माद होमानम, पवन ज़क-ि पादमुजां-ि ज़रिन-पेसिद-ि असिमिन-पेसिद-ि बराजिश्ताम।

XII. 2, 6. H18 अमाद = रुबाण; all others रुबाण; Dest. suggests रुबाण.

min harvist padmūjanūn. 10 Afam būrzishniktar medammūnast.

11 Afam khaḍitūndī zak-i khvētūkdasān rūbānō yin zak-i afzar-

barēhīnīdī rōshanīh; 12 amatash dar bālātī rōshanīh azash hamāt vakh-

shīd. 13 Afam būrzishnik medammūnast.

14 Afam khaḍitūndī zak-i khūp khūdāyān va pādakhshāyān rūbānō,

15 mūnshān masīh va vēhīh va amāvandīh va pīrūzkarīh azash hamāt

vakhshīd; 16 amatshān sātūndī yin rōshanīk pavan zak-i zarinī rānō

vardīnū. 17 Afam būrzishnik medammūnast.

18 Afam khaḍitūndī zak-i vazurgān rūbān va rāst-gūbishnān,

mūnshānū
Chapter XIII.

rubishn yfn zak-i bûland rôshanîk pavan zak-i mas gadman. 19 Afam bûrzîshnik medammûnast.

Chapter XIII.

1 Afam khadîtûnd rûbânô-i valmanshân nàirikân-i frá-hûmat-i frâ-hûkht-i frá-hûvarshît-i râd-khûdâ, mûnshân shût pavan sardâr yakhsenund, 2 pavan padmûjanî zarîn-pésîd va asîmin-pésîd va gôhar-pésîd. 3 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Valmanshân kâdâm rûbân hûmand?

4 Afshân gûft Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Ātârî yûdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshân nàirikân mûnshân, pavan stîh, mayà shnâyînîd, va âtîsh shnâyînîd, va damîk va aûrvar va tûrâ va gôspend va avârik hamûk shapîr.
Chapter XIV.

dahishnän-i Aůharmazd shnäyinäd hōmand. 6 Afshän yazishn va drônö, va shnäyînîshn va parastishn-i Yadadän kard; 7 va aûsôfrîd va shnäyînîshn-i yadadän-i mînâvadän, va yadadän-i stîhän, karto; 8 va khûshnûdîth, va khadûkânakîth, va tars-âkâsîth, va farmân-bûrã-
ârîh-i nafshman shût và sardâr varzîd; 9 va pavan dinö-i Mâzdayasnan
avi-gûmân yehevûnd hōmand. 10 Pavan nûîrfak kardanö tûkhsâk
yehevûnd; 11 va min vanâs pâhrîkhtâr yehevûnd hōmand. 12 Afam
bûrzishnîk medammûnast.

Chapter XIV.

1 Afam khadîtûnî rûbân-i yazishnkarân, va mâsrâbarân rûbân,
yîn zâk-i

XIII. 6, 1. K₂₀ 7, 5. only in H₁₇, K₂₀. 6, 6. K₂₀ has: 7 for final 9; in H₄, K₂₆ 7 is altered into 9. 6, 8. K₂₀ adds final 7. 2, so in H₄, K₂₆; H₁₈ husîfrîd, Sans. nîshchalam punyancha kritam; D. 9; see usefrîti, Vend. XVIII. 12.

bûland rôshanîk, va pavan zak-i mas bûrzîshnik. 2 Afsam bûrzîshnik medammûnast.

3 Afsam khadîtûnd rûbân-i valmangîh mûnshân hamâk dînô yez-bekhûnd, va yazîshn-i Yadadân kard va farmûd, 4 mûnshân yetibûnîast madam avârik rûbânînân; 5 afshân kîrîfak âsmân bâlât yekavîmûnâd. 6 Afsam avîr bûrzîshnik medammûnast.

7 Afsam khadîtûnd zak-i arateshtârân rûbân mûnshânî rûbîshn pavan zak-i azvartûm râmîshn va hû-ravâkh-mînîshnîh, va pavan zak-i dâhyûpatûnî bar-hamak; 8 va zak-i gûrûdân zên-afzûr-i khûp-kard-i zahabâân-kard-i gôhar-afzûd-i hû-affrânk-i harvisp-pèsîd; 9 yîn zak-i shikûft rânô-vardân, pavan kâbed

K20 omits final ।. 8,1. H17 adds ।. 8,2. K26 omits ।. 8,4. compare zeâna hachîmno, Mihîr Yasht 141. 8,8. K20 adds final ।. 8,10. K20 ।.
9,4—5. K26, K26 add final । to 5; H18 gives no Sans. See ch. XII. 16.
شکوت و آماتوانی و پریزکاری. 10 آرام bûrzhînîk مدامم‌نست.

11 آرام کھدیتندّ zak-i والمانشانو ربان مامشان، پوان سیح، خراف‌ستاری کابد زکتلند; 12 و گدامان-i آون، va âtarbân، va âتاشان، va آورمان، va زکی‌خی دامک gadman، azash hamâi vakhshید، va ین بیلندی و باریزکاری خ. 13 آرام avîr bûrzhînîk مدامم‌نست.

14 آرام کھدیتندّ zak-i واسروشان ربانو پوان زکی‌بامک گاس، و گدامان‌محمان و ستار واحش‌های پادموجان; 15 amatshân minavad-i مایا و زامک و آورمان و گوسپند levîn یهکیمیاناد، va آفرینو کرد، 16 و ستاییخذ و سپاس و آفادیه یماملیلد، 17 اشنان گاس ماس، و ییٍک shâpîr vakhdûnd. 18 آرام bûrzhînîk مدامم‌نست.


Chapter XV.

19 Afam khadítünd zak-i hú-túkhshákán rúbán múnshán, pavan stih, khúdáyán va sardárán parástíd; 20 amatshán yetibúnast hómánd, pavan zak-i khúp-vástard gás va rábá va bámík va barážishák. 21 Afam aýír bárzishnící médammúnast.

Chapter XV.

1 Afam khadítünd zak-i shápánán rúbán múnshán, pavan stih, chahár-páí va kirá varzííd va parvárd, 2 va nikás dáshht min gúrg va dáúzd va stahambák márdúm. 3 Va pavan hágúm-i mád, mayá va giyáh va khúrishn dâd; 4 va min sármaḵ va garmák-i sákht páhríkht; 5 va gúšán pavan gás-i náfsháman mádám shédkünd, va dádyísh páhríkhtó; 6 afash kábed máş
sūdhīh va bar va nadūkhīh va khūrishn va jāmak-i marđümān-i anbām yehabānd. 7 Mūnshān sātānā yīn zak-i rōshanīk, va pavan zak-i bar-āzishak bar, va vazūrg rāmişn va shādīh. 8 Afam avīr bārzishnīk medammnūnast.

9 Afam khadītānād zak-i kābed zahabān gās, vastarg-i khūp, va bālishn levatman būp pasjak, 10 mūnshān paḍash yētībūnāst hōmand kaḍāk-huḍāyān va dáḍakān rūbān-i mātā dáḍak-mān, va miyān va dastō kārd, 11 va jīnāk-i avīrān āvādān karī; 12 afšān kābed katas, va rūḏ, va khānīk, va rūs va āvādānīh bar, va sūd-i dāmān yātīyān. 13 Amatshān levīn yekāvīmānd mūn mayā, va mūn aūrvar, va mūnīch yasharūbānī frāvīyāshār, pavan zak-i mas

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Chapter XVI.

shikūftak va bāmīk va pūr-gadman va visp-shādīh va visp-rāmīshn, 22 mūn khādīh azash sirīh lā khavītūned.

Chapter XVI.

1 Akhar, Srōsh-yashharūbō, va Ātārō yēdatō, zak-i li yadman frāz vakhhdūnd, va min tamman frāztar vazlūnd hōmanam. 2 Jināk-I frāz mad hōmanam, afam khadītūnd rūd-I-i vazūrg-i sazdgūn dūshahā tār, 3 mūn kābed rūbānō va fravīyasharān yīn zak rūd yehevūnd hōmand; 4 va aīt zyashān vədərdānō lā tūbān, va aīt-i pavan girān ranj hamāt vədər, va aīt-i khvāryīsh vədər hōmand.

5 Asam pûrsûd aîgh: Denman kadâm rûd? va denman anshûtâ mûn hûmand, mûn aëtûn ranjak yeqavîmûnd?

6 Yemalelûnûd Srôsh-yasharûbû, va Atarô yêdatô, 7 aîgh: Denman rûd zak kâbed ars aît-i marûmân min akhar-i vadardakân min áfîn-
man chashm bârâ shedkûnd, va shîvân mûyâk va girîstânî vádûnd. 8 Zak ars adûdyîsh bârâ rûjûnd, va val denman rûd afzâyad. 9 Val-
manshân mûnshân bârâ vadardanî lâ tûbânî, valmanshân hûmand mûnshân min akhar vadardak shîvân va mûyâk va girîstânî kâbed kard; 10 va zak khvûrtar, zak mûnshân kem kard. 11 Va val stîhân bârâ yemalelûnû aîgh: Lekûm, amat pavan stîh, shîvân mûyâk va

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Chapter XVII.

1 Afam tanidich lakhir val Chinüvat pûhal yâtund hōmanam.
2 Afam khabdīn wa-darwândan rûbân, amatshân yîn zak III shap-i
nakhûst, and anâkîh va sarûtarih wa-rûbân numûd, mûnshân akaraz
pavan stih, chand wa-sakhtîh, la khabdīn yekavmûnâd. 3 Afam
pûrsid min Srôsh-i yasharûbû, va Ātarô yêdatô, aîgh: Denman rûbân-i
mun?
4 Yeîmalûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbû, va Ātarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Den-
man rûbân-i darwândan

XVI. 12, 5. only in H17.
2, 16. K20 yû. 2, 19. H17 yû. 3, 1. H17 omits from this to 5, 1. 4, 1. the crude
form of this verb varîes in the old MSS.; wû occurs 15 times in H6, and 34
times in K20; yû 84 times in H6, and 4 times in K20; and yû 60 times
in K20. 5, 4. H17 has 5 for yû.
tamman dūbārast aīgh zak-i valman darvand frōd mūrd, bālīnō zak jīnāk aīgh jān barā vazlūnd; 6 afash rōēshman yekavimūnād, va zak gāsāuīk gūbīshn yemālelūnūd 7 aīgh: Dādār Āūhrmazd! val kādām zamīk vazlūnām? va mūn pavan panāh vakhdūnām? 8 Va val valman, zak lēlyā, and anākih va sakhthī yāmtūnēd, 9 chand yīn stīh, gabrā-ī mūn yīn stīh zīvāst, yīn sakhtīh va anākih zīvāst.

10 Akhar, vād-I-i sard-i gondak val pādzīk yātūnēd. 11 Valman rūbān āngūn medammūnāst chīgūn amat min apākhtar nēmak, min nēmak-i shēdāān, barā yātūnd-i gondaktūm vād min zak zyash pavan stīh là khadītūnd.


13 Va akhar, valman rúbán-i darvand yemálelúnetd aígh: Lak mún hómanih? múnam akaraz, min dámi Aûharmazd va Akharman, min lak zíshttar va rímantar va gón dáktar là khadítund.

14 Val valman yemálelúnetd aígh: Li hómanam zak-i lak kúnishn-i saryá-i lak,
yūdān-i dūsh-minishn-i dūsh-gūbīshn-i dūsh-kūnishn-i dūsh-dīnō. 15
Kāmak va kūnishnō-i lak rāţ, amat li zisht va vādāk va bazak-
a'yīnō va dārāk va pūdāk va dūsh-gond va apīrūzkār va levatman
bēsh hōmanam, chīgūn lak medammūnēd. 16 Amat lak khadīh
khaditūnḏ mūn yazishn va drōn, va stāyishnō, va nasadman, va
parastishn-i Yadadān kārđ; 17 va mayā, va ātāsh, va gōspend, va
aūrvar, va avārīk vēh dāhīshnān pāhrīkht va pānākī kārđ; 18 lak
kāmak-i Akharman va shēdāān, va kūnishn-i avārūnō varžīd. 19 Va
amat lak khaditūnḏ mūn dāhīshn va yasharūbō-dād-i sazākyīsh val
shāpīrān va arzānīkān sūd, mūn min arīk, mūn min nazydī frāz maḏ,
pavan aspanj paḏīrātārī kārđ, va mandavam

XVII. 14, 12. ך only in K₂₀, K₂₆. 14, 13. K₂₀ prefixes מלאפ. 14, 14. K₂₀ pre-
D. מLaA 15, 19. only in H₁₇. 15, 24. K₂₀ om. 16, 5. D. om.; H₁₇ מLaA.
H₁₉ om. 17, 14. only in H₁₇. 18, 2. K₂₀ only. 18, 3. K₂₀ מLaA.
K₂₆ מLaA. 19, 24. only in K₂₀.
yehabûnd; 20 lak payûsh kard, afat babâ barâ asrûnd. 21 Va amat li afravâst yehevûnd hûmanam (âigh, saryâ dâsht yekavimûnâd hû-
mânam), afat afravâstiktar kard hûmanam; 22 va amat sâhmgân yehe-
vûnd hûmanam, afat sâhmgûntar kard hûmanam; 23 amat drafshník yehevûnd hûmanam, afat drafshniktar kard hûmanam; 24 amat pavan zak-i apâkhtar jinâk yetibûnast hûmanam, afat apâkhtartar nishast hû-
mânam; 25 pavan âe dûsh-humat, va pavan âe dûsh-hûkht, va pa-
van âe dûsh-hûvarhsh-i lak varzîd. 26 Dêr zamân li gazavand pavan
zak-i Ganrâk-mînâvad dêr-gazishnîh va dûsh-ham-pûrsakîh.

27 Va akhar, frâtûm gâm frâz yedrûnd, zak-i darvandân rûbân, pavan
Chapter XVIII.

*dush-humat*, va *dadīgar gām* pavan *dush-hūkht*, va *sadīgar* pavan *dush-hūvaršt*, 28 *va* chahārūm gām *val* dūshahū *dūbārast*.

Chapter XVIII.

1 Va akhar, Srōsh-yasharūbō, va Ātarō yēdatō, zak-i li yadman frāz *vakhdūnd*, 2 amat agazand *vazlūnd* hōmanam. 3 Pavan zak khadūīnak sarmāk va *damak* va *khūshkīh* va gōndakīh khadītūnd, 4 mūnam akaraz *yīn* stīh, pavan zak khadūīnak, lā khadītūnd, va lā vashammūnd. 5 *Va amat* frāztar *vazlūnd* hōmanam, 6 afam *khadītūnd* argōnd dūshahū *zōfar*, chīqūn zak-i sahmīgōntum chāh pavan tangtar bīmguntar jīnāk frōd yedrūnd yekāvīmūnād; 7 pavan ṭārīkīh

XVII. 27, 11. D. HI, K20 34; H17 also prefixes 34. 27, 14. H18, K20, K28 om. 27, 18. H17 adds 34. 28, 1, only in H17.

XVIII. 1, 12. H6 has 34 for 34. 3, 6. H17 34. 3, 8. H18, K28 34. 4, 1. B. 34. 4, 3. K20 34. 5, 1. only in H6, K28. 5, 2. 34 in all but H17. 6, 2. 34 in all but D. 6, 3. D. H6, K20 add 34. 6, 3—5. H18 Sans. *malīnaḥ narakaḥ hinopalam*. 7
aētūn tārik-i mūn pavan yadman frāz shāyaḍ vakhdūntanō; 8 va pavan gōndakīh aētūn-i kolā mūnash zak vād pavan vēnīk madam vaezlūnēd, barā tukhsheḍ, va barā larzēd, va barā neslūnēd; 9 va aētūn tang tangīh rāï, kolā khadīh hastishn yehcevuntanō lā shāyaḍ; 10 va kolā khadīh aētūn mīnēd, aīgh: Tanūḥā hōmanam; 11 va amat III yōm va shapān yehcevūnād, yemalelūnēd aīgh 9000 shanat būndak yehcevūnād, afam barā lā shedkūnd. 12 Kolā jīnāk aīgh kēmtar khrafstar kōf bālāī barā yekavimūnēd, 13 va val rubānō-i darvandān aētūnō sedkūnd va yansegūnd va shapānd, chīgūn kalbā asazāk.
Chapter XIX.

1 Jinâk-I frâz mad hómanam; afam khaditund rúbân-i gabrâ-I,
2 mún rúbân chîgân már-I-I frasîpô húmânâk, pavan nishîm yîn vaz-
lund; va pavan pûmman bûrnâ barâ yâtund; 3 va avârik márân-i kâbed
hamâk andâm hamâîi yansegûnd.

4 Afam pûrsîd min Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Átarô yêdatô, 5 aîgî:
Denman tanû mamân vanâs karî, mûn rúbân ângûn girân pûdafrâs
yêdrûncî?

XVIII. 14, 2. should be azam, unless 1 be the final of 13, 13. 14, 3. so in H₁₇; D.
has  for  ; H₁₅, K₂₀, K₂₆ have  ; H₅ writes  over  .
14, 9—10. K₂₀ om.; D. puts them after 14, 13.; 1 is wanted before 14, 9.
XIX. 2, 2. K₂₀ adds final 1; H₁₇ om. 2, 3. H₁₇ om. 2, 10. D. has  for  .
H₁₅ om. 5, 1. H₁₇  ; all others  .
Chapter XX.

1 Jínák-I ꞌfráz mad hómanam; afam khadítúnd rúbán-i nêshman-I, 2 mûnash rîm va pâlîdîh-i marûdûmân tasht tasht val khûrdanô hamâî yehabûnd hóman.

3 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman tanû manaš vanâs kard, mûn rûbân ángûn pâdafrâs yedrûndê?

4 Yemâlelünêd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman.

Chapter XXI.

Darvand nêshman mûnash, pavan dashtân, là pâhrikht, va dâdîyîsh là dâsht, val mayâ va âtâsh vazlûnd.

Chapter XXI.

1 Afam khadîtûnâ rûbân-i gabrâ-i 2 mûnash kamår pôst pâhnâi hamâî vâdûnd, pavan girân margih hamâî zektelûnd.

3 Afam pûrsîd âîgh: Denman tanû mãman vanâs kard, mûn rûbân ângûn pâdjafrâs yeðrûnêd 9

4 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbû, va Atarô yêdatô, 5 âîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ mûnash, pavan stîh, gabrâ-i yasharûbû zektelûnd.

Chapter XXII.

1 Afam khadîtänd rûbân-i gibrâ-I 2 mûnash rîm va dashtân-i nêshmanân pavan zafar hamâî rêjînd, 3 va farzand-i avâyishnik-i nafshman hamâî affûnd, va hamâî vashtamûnd.

4 Afam pûrsid âfîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs kârd, mûn rûbân ângân pâdafrâs yedrûnêd ?

5 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbû, va Åtarô yêdatô, 6 âfîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gibrâ mûnash, pavan stîh, dashtân-marz kârd; 7 va aît-i kolâ khâdû-bûr vanâs XV va pelag tanâpûhar.
Chapter XXIII.

1 Afam khaditând rûbân-i gabrâ-I mûn, min gûrsakih va tîshnakih, vâng hamâî kard aîgh: Barû yemîtûnam. 3 Afash zak-i nafshman mûf va rêsh hamâî khefrûnd, va khûnô hamâî vashtamûnd, va kêf pavan pûmman hamâî ramitûnd.

4 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs kard, mûn rûbân ângûn pàdafrâs yedrûndê?

5 Yemalelunêd Srôsh-yasharûbût, va Âtard yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ mûnash, pavan stih, Horvâdad va Amerôdâd mayâ va aûrvar drâyân jald, va adâdyîsh vashtamûnd, va vâj lâ dâsht; 7 va pavan vanâskârîh

Chapter XXIII.


D. 6, 9. H. 17. 6, 10—15. H. 17.

3. Compare Pers. جلیدن, جلیدن 'to gnaw'; H. 18 has jud 7 times, jud twice, juda twice, and zad, zad, khurd, each once; and in Sans., khâdanti 5 times, vidârayanti twice, vibhindanti twice, and vyâpâdayanti, nighnanti, khâdâti, vibhinna, vinâ each once.
yesht lā kard; 8 afash Horvadaŋ mayā, va Amerōdaŋ aūrvar, aētān tarih yehevund. 9 Kevan denman rūbān aētān girān pāḍafraś avāyad yedrund.

Chapter XXIV.

1 Afam khādīlāŋ rūbān-i nēshman-I 2 mūn, pavan pēstān, val dūshahū akankht yekavimūnād; 3 afash khrastarān hamāk tanū-i val-man yansegānd.  

4 Afam pūrṣād aīgh: Denman tanū māmān vanās kard, mūn rūbān āṅgūn pāḍafraś yedrūnēd?  

5 Yemalelūnēd Srosh-yasharūbō, va Ātarō yēdātō, 6 aīgh: Denman rūbān-i valman darvand nēshman mūnāsh, pavan stīh, shūt-i nafshman shedkund, 7 va tanū val gabrā-i khādīhān dād, afash rūspīkīh kārd.

XXIII. 9, 2—4. K20  

XXIV. 1, 2. K20  

2, 3. K20, K26  

2, 6. or akākht; compare Pers.  

K20 omits s. 6, 6. K20 s. 6, 9. H17 s.
Chapter XXV.

1. Afam khadítandí rubān-i gabrá ãé chand, va nēshman I chand, 2 mûnshān khrafaṛ star ragelman va gardānō va miγān hamāù jalil, va khadük min tanid hamāù vajārd.

3. Afam pûrsid āigh: Denman tanuān māman vanās kard, mūn rubān āngün pâ'dafrās yedrūndī?


Chapter XXVI.

1 Afam khaditUND rúbán-i nêshman-I 2 mûnash hûzvân pavan garçanö hamâÎi kashîd, va min andarvâî âvikht yekavimûÎd.

3 Afam pûrsid aîgh: Denman rúbán zak-i mûn?

4 Yemalelûncîl Srôsh-yasharûbû, va Êtarû yêdatê, 5 aîgh: Denman rúbán-i valman darvand nêshman mûn, pavan stîh, shûÎi va sar-dâr-i nafshman tar minîd, va nasrîn kard, va dûshnâm dûd, va dûd-pasukhööîh kard.

Chapter XXVII.

1 Afam khaditUND rúbán-i gabrâ-I 2 mûn pavan kaffz va dûlak, afrâyá va khâkistar hamâÎi pâmâyînîd, val vashtamûntanö hamâÎi yehabûnîd.
Chapter XXVIII.

3 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman tanû manman vanás kard, mûn rûbân ăngûn pûdafrâs yedrûnêd?

4 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbûb, va Åtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ mûnash, pavan stîh, kafîz va dûlak va sang va andâzak lâ râst dâsht; 6 mayâ val âs gumîkht, va afrâyâ val jûrdák kard, va pavan vahâk-i girân val marjûmân mazdûnd; 7 va min shapîrân mandavam dûzîdî va shôchrûnd.

Chapter XXVIII.

1 Afam khadîtûnd rûbân-i gabrâ-I mûnash andarvâî dâsht, 2 afash panjâh shêdâ, pavan már-i shapâk, levîn va akhar, hamâi makhîtûnd.

XXVII. 5, 3. K₂⁰ omits $k$. 5, 6. K₂⁰ om. 5, 9. H₁₇ om. 5, 15—16. K₂⁰ om. 6, 6. or afrâk. 6, 16. D. has $\hat{y}$ for $\delta$. 7, 7. D. has $\hat{y}$ for $\delta$.

XXVIII. 2, 6. H₁₃ Sans. sancharânti; see L. 3 and LII. 2. 2, 7. K₂⁰ adds final $\delta$. 
Chapter XXIX.

3 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karâd, mûn rûbân ângun pâdafrâs yedrûnêd?

4 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbû, va Ñatarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ mûnâsh, pavan stih, dûsh-pâdakhshâhîh karâd; 6 va pavan mardûmânînò anâmûrûz va zaârûr, va zâkham va pâdafrâs-i ângun khadûnâkhîh karâd.

Chapter XXIX.

1 Afam khadûtûnêd rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûn shanâyû pavan zafar bîrûn hîshû, va khrafstarûn hamât jâlû.
Chapter XXX.

3 Afam pūrsīd aīgh: Denman tanū māman vanās kard, mūn rūbān ángūn pāḍafrās yedrūnēd?

4 Yemallelnēd Srōsh-yasharūbō, va Ātarō yēdatō, 5 aīgh: Denman rūbān-i valman gabrā múnash, pavan stih, spazgīh kard, va mard-ūmān khadūk levatman tanid patkāft; 6 afash rūbān pavan akhar val dūshahū hamāi dūbārast.

Chapter XXX.

1 Afam khadītūnd rūbān-i gabrā-I 2 mūn andām, khadūk min tanid, hamāi tebrūnd va vajārīnd.

3 Afam pūrsīd aīgh: Denman tanū māman vanās kard?
Chapter XXXI.

Yemalelűned Srősh-yasharûbô, va Ātaro yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gâbrâ mûnash, pavan stîk, kûshishn-i tûrân va gôspendân va avârik chahâr-pâyanô adâdyîsh kabeđ kard.

Chapter XXXI.

1 Afâm khadîtûnd rûbân-i gâbrâ-I 2 mûn rôcshman vad râgel-

man shîkûnjak madam hankhetûndô yekavimûnâd; 3 va 1000 shêdayyâ

azvar frâz kûft, va pavan girân anûkîh va sakhtîh hamâî makhtûnd.

4 Afâm pûrsâd aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs kard?

5 Yemalelûned Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Ātaro yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Den-

man rûbân-i valman

XXX. 5, 7, D. 5, 9, H₁₇. 5, 14. only in H₁₇. 5, 17. H₁₇ has

for ę. XXI. 1, 4. K₂₀. 2, 2. in all but H₁₇. 2, 4. K₂₀. 2, 5. H₁₇

in ę for final ę. 3, 3. may be so read, as the Chaldee definite plural; but it is more probably a mere variant of ę, the extra loop being added to distinguish it from shâh. 6, 4. K₂₀.
darvand gabrā mīnāsh, pavan stih, khvāstak-i kābed girā kard; 7 va benafshman lā vashtamūnd; va val shapīrān lā dād, va bāhar lā kard; va pavan anbār dāsht.

Chapter XXXII.

1 Afam khadītānī rūbān-i asghāhān gabrā-I, Davānōs karītānī hōmand, 2 mūn hamāk tānū khraftstar hamāt jādā, va ragelman-I-i dāshīn-I valman lā hamāt jādā.

3 Afam pūrsīd āigh: Denman tānu māman vanās kard?

4 Ye马dīnūnī Šrōsh-yasharūbō, va Āturō jédātu, 5 āigh: Denman rūbān-i Davānōs-i


XXXII. 1, 2. K₂₀ δ ᾳ. 1, 6. H₁₈ only in Pahlavi; this name is altered to in the Persian prose Ard. Vir. H₂₈; in the Pahlavi Rivāyat it is in H₆, K₂₀, and (altered to in a later MS. H₉. As = å, kh, h, and y = u, v, å, û, r, l, it follows theoretically, that this name can be read 6 × 3 × 6 × 6 = 648 different ways. 2, 2. K₂₀ δ ᾳ. 2, 4. H₁₇ adds ᾳ. 2, 6. H₁₅ zad, Sans. vyāpūdayanti. 2, 7. H₁₇ ᾳ. 2, 9, 6, 4. only in H₁₈, K₂₀, K₂₆. 2, 13. H₁₈ zad, Sans. vidārayanti.
Chapter XXXIII.

1 Afam khaditund rubán-i gabrá-I 2 mán húzván kirm hamát jald.
3 Afam púrsíd aífgh: Denman tanú maman vanás kard?
4 Yemalelnéd Srósh-yasharúbö, va Àtaró yédató, 5 aífgh: Denman rubán-i valman darvand gabrá múnash, pavan stih, zúr va kadbá kaped gúst; 6 va kaped ziyánó va vazand pavan dámán azash yehevünd.
Chapter XXXIV.

1 Afam khaditund rúbán-i nēshman-I 2 mún khrastarán hamák tanú hamâi jald.

3 Afam pûrsîl aigh: Denman tanú maman vanâs kard?

4 Yemalelunêd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âтарô yêdatô, 5 aigh: Denman rúbân-i valman darvand nēshman mûnash, pavan stîh, mû gês va mû vâd madam âtâsh vajârd, 6 va mûi va spûsh va rîshak madam âtâsh ramîtûnd; 7 va âtâsh azîr tanû yîn hankhetûnd, va tanû-i nafshman pavan âtâsh dâsht.

XXXIV. 2, 2. D. omits ۲١. ۲, 6. H₁₈ juḍ, Sans. vidârayânti. ۳, 8. K₂₀ adds final ۳٧. ۵, 9. H₁₇ ۳٠. ۵, 10. D. H₁₈, K₂₀ ۳٠; H₁₇ om. ۵, 11—14. H₁₇ ۳٠; H₁₇ namand, Sans. âryâh; P. ۳٠ ۳١; all others ۳٠, which might also be read gêsûmûnd, but this is a modern form for gêsû-hômûnd ۳٠ ۳٠, or gês-hômûnd ۳٠ ۳٠. ۵, 17.—6, 8. only in H₁₈, K₂₀, K₂₆. ۶, 4. compare spûsh, Vend. XVII. ۳.; K₂₆ ۳٠; H₁₈ sêjash, Sans. yat mritânâm. ۶, 9. H₁₈, K₂₀, K₂₆ have ۳ for ۳١. ۷, 7. D. H₁₇ om. ۷, 9. Ḥ₁₇. ۳٠.
Chapter XXXV.

1 Afam khaditunä rúbán-i nêshman-I 2 mínash nasâr-i nafshman pavan kakâ hamât lisht va hamât vashtamûnd.

3 Afam pûrsid aigh: Denman rûbán-i mûn?

4 Yemalelûned Srôsh-yasharûbû, va Ātârô yêdatô, 5 aigh: Denman rûbán-i valman darvand nêshman mûnash, pavan stîh, yâtûikh karôt.

Chapter XXXVI.

1 Afam khaditûnd rûbán-i gabrâ-I 2 mûn, yêin dúshahû, pavan khadûnakh-i mâr-I-i chand stûn-âd barâ yekavîmûnd; 3 afash roêsh-man vul roêshman-i

XXXV. 1, 8. K29 om. 2, 7. or liyâd, compare Pers. لیبیدن 'to chew'. 5, 9. H17 only.

Chapter XXXVII.

Chapter XXXVII.

marđūmān, va avārīk tanū val mār hūmānāk yehevūnd.

4 Afam pūrsīd aīgh: Denman tanū māman vanās karđ?

5 Yemalelūnēd Srōsh-yasharūbō, va Ātarō yēdatō, 6 aīgh: Denman rūbān-i valman darvand gabrā mūnash, pavan stīh, yasharmōkīh karđ; 7 afash yīn dūshahū mār kerpīh dūbārast.

Chapter XXXVII.

1 Afam khadītūnd rūbān-i marđūm-I chand va nēshman-I chand, 2' mūnshān nikūnsār yīn dūshahū akankht yekavīmūnād; 3 afshān hamāk tanū mār va gazdum va avārīk khrafshtān hamāf jald.

4 Afam pūrsīd aīgh: Denman rūbān-i kadām marđūmān kōmanand?

XXXVI. 3, 11. H$s$, K$^{20}$, K$^{26}$, \(\text{vibhindanti}\). 6, 5, K$^{20}$ om. 6, 9, H$s^{17}$ \(\text{jud-}\). 7, 2, H$s^{17}$ \(\text{b}\); K$^{20}$ om. 7, 6, H$s^{17}$ has \(\text{ṣ}\) for \(\text{ṣu}\).

XXXVII. 1, 6-8. H$s^{17}$, K$^{20}$ om. 2, 3. D. om.; H$s^{17}$ \(\text{b}\). 2, 5. see XXIV. 2, 6.

2, 6. D. has \(\text{ṣ}\) for \(\text{ṣu}\). 3, 3. H$s^{17}$ om. 3, 7. D. H$s$, om. 3, 11. H$s^{18}$ \(\text{jūd}\), Sans. vibhindanti. 4, 8. \(\text{ṣu}\) in all but H$s$, K$^{26}$. 
Chapter XXXVIII.

5 Yemalelûnûd Srûsh-yasharûbô, va Ātarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshân marûmân hûmanand munshân, pavan stîh, mayâ va ātash lâ pâhrîkht, 7 va rîmanîh val mayâ va ātash yêdrûntô, va pavan nikîrishnî ātash zektelûnûd.

Chapter XXXVIII.

1 Afarma khadîtûnd rûbân-i gabra-I 2 mûn bisrâyâ va nasâî-i anshûtâân, levatman khûnô va rîm, va avârik rîmanîh va gônôkîh, val vashtamûntanô hamâtî yehabûnd.

3 Afarma pûrsîd aîgh: Denman tanû mâmân vanäs kârd?

XXXVII. 6, 6. H17, K26  

XXXVIII. 2, 1. D. H6, H17 add ।, which may be correct if va (2, 3) be omitted, as it is in K20. 2, 5. K26 adds । 2, 14. । in H6, H17, K26, but the medial । is inserted, elsewhere, 13 times out of 15 occurrences of the word. 2, 18. H17 has । for ।. 3, 2, 8. K20 adds final ।.
Chapter XXXIX.

1 Afam khaditund ruban-i gabrā-I 2 mün pōst va bisrayā-i mar-dūmānō hamāi vashtamund.

3 Afam pūrsīd aigh: Denman zak-i mün rubānō?

4 Yemalelunēd Srosh-yasharūbō, va Ātarō yēdatō, 5 aigh: Denman rūbān-i valman darvand gabrā mūnash, pavan stīh, hīkhar va nasāi val mayā va ātāsh va tanū-i nafshman va zakīch-i anshūtāān yedrūnd; 6 va hamvār khadūk-bar va rīman yehevūnd; 7 afash pavan pīshak lā khalelūnast.


XXXIX. 1, 2. K₂₀ 题. 2, 5. K₂₀, K₁₆ omit final ）。 2, 7. D. has 题 for 比.

Chapter XL.

1. Afam khaditúnd rúbán-i gabrá-I 2 múnash kóf-I pavan pósht hamáí kashíd; 3 afash yín vafar va sarmák, zak kóf madam pósht dáshht.

4. Afam púrsíd aígh: Denman tanú maman vanás kárí?

5. Yemaleláneš Srúsh-yasharúbó, va Átaró yédátó, 6 aígh: Denman rúbán-i valman darvand gabrá múnash, pavan stíh, zúr va anást va milayá-i aví-súd madam anshútdáán kábed gúft; 7 afash kevan rúbán ángún girán pazd págáfás hamáí yedrúnéd.

lakhvár vakhdúnñ; 6 va kevan rúbán girán pádafás aváyañ yedrúntanó.

XXXIX. 6, 1. D. om.

Chapter XLI.

1 Afam khadītūnd rūbān-i gabrā-I 2 mūn gūh va nasāī va rīmanīh vashtamūntanō yehabūnd; 3 va shēdāān pavan sang va kardām hamāi kūfand.

4 Afam pūrsīd aigh: Denman tanū māman vanās kard, mūn rūbānō āngūn girān pāḍafrās yeḍrūned?

5 Yemālelunēd Srōsh-yasharūbō, va Ātāro yēdatō, 6 aigh: Denman rūbān-i valman darvand mardūm, mūn val garmāvak-ī kābed vāzlūnd hōmand, 7 afshān hīkhar va nasāī val mayā va ātāsh va zamīk yeḍrūnd; 8 va yasharūbō yīn vāzlūnd, va darvand bīrūn yātūnd hōmand.

Chapter XLII.

1. Afam khaditûnd rûbân-i mardûm aêchand 2 mûn gîryînand, va baramvand kâldâ hamât vađund.

3. Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman kadâm mardûm hûmand.

4. Yemâlelûndûr Srûsh-yasharûbû, va Ātarô yêdatû, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshân hûmand, mûnshân abîdûr yîn amîdûr karû; 6 va amat barâ zâd hûmand, abîdûr madam lâ padîraft; 7 va kevan garzîshn min abîdûr hamât vađund.

Chapter XLIII.

1. Afam khaditûnd rûbân-i gâbra-I 2 mûn aperenâyîk aêchand yîn ragelman.
Chapter XLIV.

aùpast, va hamât kâlâ karâ; 3 va shêddân, chîgûn kalbâ hûmânâk, yin hamât nefûnd va hamâi sedkûnd.

4 Afam pùrsîl aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karâ, mûn rûbân ângûn girûn pâdafrûs yedrûnêd?

5 Yemalêlûnêd Srûsh-yaşharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ mûnash, pavân stîh, aparenâyîk-i nafshman là mekadlûnd.

Chapter XLIV.

1 Afam khanûntûnd rûbân-i nêshman-I 2 mûn, pavân pêstûn-i nafshman, kôi-I hamât khefrûnd; 3 afash madam sar sang-I-i asyâv, rasat hûmânâk, hamât dàshît.


Chapter XLV.

4 Afam pârsîd aigh: Denman tanû maman vanâs kard, mûn rûbâno ângûn girân pâdafrâs yedrûnêd?

5 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aigh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand nêshman mûnash, pavan stîh, kûdal-i nafshman nasât va tapâh kard va barâ ramûtânûd.

Chapter XLV.

1 Afam khadîtûnûd rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûnash kirm hamâk andâm hamât jald.

3 Afam pârsîd aigh: Denman tanû maman vanâs kard?

4 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aigh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ mûnash, pavan stîh, zûr-gûkâsîh kard; 6 va khvâstak min shapîrân âvûrd, va val sarîtaran yehabûnûd.
Chapter XLVI.

1 Afam khaditând rúbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mún mastôrg-i anshûtâán pavan yadman dárôd, va mazg hamâtı vashtamûnêd.

3 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs kard?

4 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Átarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ mûnash, pavan stih, khvâstak là min frârânîh, barâ min mandavam-i khadihân dûzdîd; 6 afash benafshman pavan düshmanân shedkûnd, 7 va benafshman khadû-tâk pavan düshahû avâyad yehevûnd.

Chapter XLVII.

1 Afam khaditûnd kabed marlûm 2 mûnshân roéshman va rêsh aûstmûrâd,
Chapter XLVIII.

va گنگ زرد، و همان‌ک تان‌ پُداق، و گرافست هم‌ای ساتوند.

3. آفام پُرستد ایگ: دنمن مون کادام هوماند؟

4. یمنلهلوئید سروش-یاسراوبی، و آتارو ی‌داتو، ۵ ایگ: دنمن ربان-ی المانشان ماردن مونشان، پوانت سیت، یاسراموک-ی فری‌تار یه‌عوند هوماند؛ ۶ و ان‌شی‌تادان هم‌ای مارنچ‌نی‌د، و مین داد-ی شاه‌ری‌ه بارا و داد-ی سارتاری‌ه یاثی‌نی‌د؛ ۷ و کابد کش و عرق‌شین-ی اقرانوین یوی گه‌هان ربان کارد.

Chapter XLVIII.

1. آفام که‌دی‌ن داد-ی لاگرای ۲ مونشا شد‌دان، چیگون کلب‌ا
hâmânâk, hamâi sedkând. 3 Valman gabrâ lâkhmâ val kalbâân yeha-bûnâd, va là vashtamûnd; 4 va var, ragelman, ashkombô va rûn-i zak
gabrâ hamâi vashtamûnd.

5 Afam pùrsâd âîgh: Denman tanû mamân vanâs kard, mûn rûbân
ângân girân pûlafraîs yedrunâd?

6 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Atarô yêdatô, 7 âîgh: Den-
man rûbân-i valman darvand marjûm mûnâsh, pavan stîh, kalbâ-i sha-
pânân va mânpânân khûrishn lâkhvâr dasht, khadîf zâd va zektelûnd.

Chapter XLIX.

1 Afam khadîtûnêd rûbân-i gabrâ-I chand 2 mûnshân gûh va hîk-
har va nasâtî va rîmanîh-i marjûmân hamât jalî; 3 va shêdâân sang
khefrûnd, va
Chapter L.

min akhar hamâî andakht, 4 vad azshân kôf-I pavan pôsht hamâî kashîd, va kashîdanô lâ tûbânast.

5 Afam pûrsô! aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs kard, mûn rûbân ângûn girân pâdafrâs yedrûnêd?

6 Yemâlelunêd Srosh-yasharûbô, va Atarô yêdatô, 7 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanson dan mûnshân, pavan stih, zamîk tarâzinid, va kadba tarâzinid; 8 va kабed mardûm avi-bûn va avi-bar kard, va val nûyaz va daregûshth madî homand; 9 va kharaj-i girân hamâî avayast yehabûntanô.

Chapter L.

1 Afam khadâtûnd rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûn kôf-I, pavan angûst va

XLIX. 3, 9.—4, 1.  in all, which is a rare form for , but may possibly be correct. 4, 8. K20 om. 4, 11. D. H6, K26 add . 7, 4. K20 omits . 7, 10. K20 has for ; H18 Sans. pûdîlû. 8, 7. K20 adds final . 8, 10. perhaps nishîp, Pers. ; H6 adds the gloss بهیچهٔ H18 transliterates it, in Sans., by nûhîcha. 8, 11. K20 om.
Chapter LI.

nakhun, hamat khefrund; 3 va shedaan, min akhar, pavan mar-i shapak hamat makhitunav nikhip hamat kard.

4 Afam pursid aigh: Denman tanu maman vanas kard?

5 Yemaleliined Srosli-yasharubo, va Ataro yedato, 6 aigh: Den-
man rurban-i valman darvand gabra munash, pavan stih, saman-i vi-
mund-i khadihanoo spoikt, va pavan zak-i naishman vakhdund.

Chapter LI.

1 Afam khaditunav rurban-i gabra-I 2 mun, pavan shanak-i asinin,
gush-i min tanu hamat kashid, val khuridanoo hamat yehabund.

3 Afam pursid aigh: Denman tanu maman vanas kard, mun rurban angun

L. 3, 7. H_{18} Sans. krishnavarvya; see XXVIII. 2. and LII. 2. 3, 9. D. has for 3, 10. H_{18} sezh, Sans. mrityum. 6, 13. H_{18} 634; K_{26} 634; H_{18} translates 6, 10—18 by Sans. anyasya simagrihitam pashchut asau mritaht tatastena svakhyasimagrihitam.

Chapter LII.


Chapter LII.

1. Afam khâditûnd rûbân-i gabrá-I 2 mûn fakhîz-i shapâk va tîr va sang va karôkôm hamât spûrdand.

3. Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs karô?

4. Yemalelunëd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Átarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrá mun, pavan stih, mitrû-drûj-i kâbed karô; 6 va mitrû drukht levatman yasharûbân, va levatman darvandân; 7 maman kolâ-II mitrû âît, ham madam yasharûbân, va ham madam darvandân.

L.I. 5, 6. D. om. 5, 10. in all but H18; û only in K20.

L.II. 1, 4. D. omits 2. 3. H18 gives no Sans. for this sentence; see XXVIII. 2 and L. 3. 3, 3, K20 has û for û. 5, 4. K20 û.
Chapter LIII.

1 Va akhar, Srôsh-yasharûbû, va Ātârû yêdatô, yadman-i li frâz vakhdûnd; 2 va li pavan Chakât-i-Dâlitih, azir-i Chînûvat pûhal, yin viyâvân-1 yedrûnd; 3 va miyân-i zak viyâvân, azir-i Chînûvat pûhal, yin zamîk, dûshahû numûd.

4 Akharman va shêdâân va drûjân va avârik kabed rûbân-i darvandân, min zak jînêk, garzishn va kûlê zak yâtûnd, 5 i zyam pavan andâ dâsht aîgh, haft keshvar zamîk jundinand mûn zak vâng va garzishn ashnûd, dekhûnd hûmanam. 6 Afam val Srôsh-yasharûbû, va Ātârû yêdatô, khvahîshn karð, 7 aîgham
Chapter LIV.

latamman al yedrűned, va lakhvār vardēd.

8 Va akhar, Strōsh-yasharūbō, va Ātarō yēdatō, val li gūft 9 aīgh: Al dekhlūn! maman lak rāf akaraz min latamman bim lā yehvūned. 10 Va min levīnō vazlūnd Strōsh-yasharūbō va Ātarō yēdatō; 11 va min akhar, avī-bimīsh li, Ardaā Virāf, frāz val zak-i tömik dūshahū andarūntar vazlūnd hōmanam.

Chapter LIV.

1 Afam khadētūnd zak-i sēj-hōmand-i bīmgūn-i sahmgūn-i kabad-dārd-i pūr-anākh-i gōndak tārtūm dūshahū. 2 Va akhar andēshīd hōmanam aētūn medammūnast; 3 chīgūn chāh-I mūn hazār vāz val būn lā yāmtūnēd; 4 va


amat hamák chiba-i yîn gêhán ait, hamák yîn gondaktûm-i tômik dûshahû madam val âtâsh hankhetûnd, akaraz bôî lâ yehabûnêd; 5 va tanidich min gôsh vad chashm, va chand bûsh-i asp-1 madam mûf yakhsenunêd, 6 ângân kâbed marak rûbân-i darvandân yîn yekavimûnd, 7 va khadûk val valman tanid lâ khadîtûnd, va kâlû lâ ashnûvand; 8 kolâ khadîh pavan anâ yakhsenunêd aîgh: Tanûhîa hûmanam. 9 Afshan tômik-i tariîkîh va gondakîh-i bîmgûnîh-i zûkham va pâdafrâs-i gunak gunak-i dûshahû, 10 aîgh mûn anâ yôm pavan dûshahû yehêvûnêd, vång vådunêd 11 aîgh: Hâvandich lâ bûndak zak 9000

shanat, amatmán min denman důshahú madam lâ shedkünd?

Chapter LV.

1 Adînam khaditûnd rûbán-i darvandân mûnshân pāďafrâs-i gûnak gûnàk, chîgûn vafar-i snîshar, va sarmâk-i sakht, va garmîk-î âtâsh-i tîz-sûjâk, va dûsh-gûndakîh va sang va khâkistar, tâkârûg va vârân, va avârik kâbed anâkîh, pavan zak bîmûn târik jînâk frûd mûrîd, zâkham va pâdâfrâs hamât yedrûnd.

2 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs kard, mûn rûbân ângûn girân pâdâfrâs yedrûndëd?


LV. 1, 5. Hâ 17 pa jâkâ. 1, 9. Hâ 17 om. 1, 10. D. has for j; all others omit j; but see LXIV. 3. 1, 11. compare Z. snâzhdû, Vend. II. 22; Dest. reads sôhâr; Hâ 17 omits the Pâz. from this word to the end of the sentence. 1, 16. Kâ 20 has for j. 1, 26. D. prefixes 1. 1, 35. D. Kâ 20 have for j, and Hâ can be read the same, as the bottom stroke of the j is hardly visible. 1, 39. Kâ 20 10c. 1, 41. only in D. Kâ 20. 2, 9. D. ḫânûd.
3 Yemalelûnêl Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 4 aîgh: Dêmmân rûbân-i valman darvand mardûm mûnshân, pavan stîh, vanâs-i marg-arjân kâbed kard, 5 va âtash-i Vâhrâmân afsûrl, va pûhal-i rûd-i hû-tâk khefrûnu! 6 va zûr va anâst guts va zûr-gûkûsin-i kâbed ûd. 7 Afsûhán kâmak apâdâkhshálîh; va azûrîh, va payûsh va varenoîh va khûshm va arashkoîh rât, avî-vanâs anshûtâ-i yasharûbô zêtelûnd; 8 va kâbed frîstâryîsh sátûnd hûmand. 9 Kevan rûbân ângûn girân zákham va pîdbrûs avâyad yedrûntânô.

Chapter LVI.

1 Adīnam khadīīnañd rūbān-i valmanshān mūnshān mārān gāzīd va hamātī jald.

2 Afam pūrsīd āīgh: Valmanshān zak-i mūn rūbānōān?

3 Yemalelūnēḏ Srōsh-yashārūbō, va Ātārō yēdatō, 4 āīgh: Denman rūbān-i valmanshān darvandān mūnshān, pavan stīh, pavan Yadadān va dinō nikirāī yehvūnd āhomānd.

Chapter LVII.

1 Afam dīd rūbān-i nēshmanān mūnshān rōēshman peskūnd, va min tanū javidāk yehvūnd; va zūbān vāng hamātī dāsht.

2 Afam pūrsīd āīgh: Denman valmanshān zak-i mūn rūbānōān?


Chapter LVIII.

1 Adinam khaditunâ rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûn kashân val dûshahû yezderûnd, va hamâtî makhitûnd.

3 Yemalêluñe, Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 4 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshân nêshmanân mûnshân, pavan stîh, shîvan va muyak kabad kard, va madam sar va rûd makhitûnd.

Chapter LVIII.

1 Adinam khaditunâ rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûn kashân val dûshahû yezderûnd, va hamâtî makhitûnd.

3 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs kard?

4 Yemalêluñe, Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ mûn, pavan stîh, rûcshman va rûd-i nafshman va yadman-i shafik, va avârik rimahîh-i andâm-i nafshman, pavan mayâ-i istâdak-i vazûrg, va khânik,

LVII. 4, 10. D. K₂₀ om.

Chapter LIX.

1. آفام خادیتند روبان-ی نیشن-ی ۳ مه مانی گیریست، و پست وی بسرا یا مرکز-ی پست-ی نافشمان مانی کهفرند و مانی سختممند.

3. آفام پرلیذ ایغ: دنمان شان مرک میمانش کردن، مانی روبان یان گیرن پادافران یکدرند؟

4. یمنهمی یلنده، سرور-ی یاسهارب، و آتارو ییادتو، ۵ ایغ: دنمان روبان-ی یلومن داروئند نیشن مانی کوداک-ی نافشمان نیاز گیرساکیه راگ گیرین شدکاند.

Chapter LX.

1. آفام دید روبان-ی گبا-ی ۳ مه شان یین گیر-ی ییشین کردن


yekaviműned; afash hamáti affûnd. 3 Ragelman-Ii dashinö valman birûnö-i zak dig yekaviműnäd.

4 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanás karî?

5 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabra mun pavan zîvandakân varenô-kâmakîh va avârûnyîsh barû val neshman-i shût-mûnd kaved vazlûnd, afash hamûk tanû bazak-kar yehevûnd. 8 Va pavan zak ragelman-î dashin, vak va mûr, mûr va gazdum, va avârik khraifstarîhâ kaved makhitûnd! va zektelûnd va neksûnd.

Chapter LXI.

1. Afam khaditunj ruban-i valmanshanô darvandân 2 munshân barâ aûpârd va rid, va tanidich aûpârd va rid.

3. Afam pûrsid aîgh: Denman valmanshan mun rubânând hûmand?

4. Yemalelûnd ñrûsh-yasharûbô, va Àtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rubân-i valmanshan darvandân munshân, pavan stih, pavan minavad là hêmununast, 6 va dînô-i dâdâr Aûharmazd ansipâs yehûnuñ hûmand. 7 Nadûkîh-i pavan vahisht, va anûkîh-i pavan dûshahû, va pavan yehûnuñtanô-i rîst-akhiz va tanû-i pasîno gumân yehûnuñ hûmand.

Chapter LXII.

1 Afam khaditundi rûbân-i nêshman-I 2 mûn, pavan shânak-i astinô, var va pêstân-i nafshman hamât peskûnd.

2 Afam pûrsid aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanas kard, mûn rûbânô ângûn girân pûdâfras yedrûnêd?

3 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand nêshman mûnshash, pavan stih, shûî va sardâr tar mínîd, va saryâ yehûnûd va dáshôt; 6 afash nafshman tanû arâst, levatman gabra-i khadihán avûrûn kard.

Chapter LXIII.

1 Afam khaditundi rûbân-i nêshman-I 2 mûn pavan hûzvân bari-

jan-I-i garm

LXIII. 1, 2. K₅ο. 2, 1. K₅ο. 2, 4-5. in all; H₁₈ Sans. chhidyate sutaptà.
hamāf list; 3 va yadman-i nafshman azīr-i zak barījan hamāf sūkht.

4 Afam pūrsīd aīgh: Denman tanū maman vanās kard, mūn rūbān āngūn girān pādafrās yedrūnēd?

5 Yemālelūnēd Srōsh-yasharūbō, va Ātarō yēdatō, 6 aīgh: Denman rūbān-i valman darvand nēshman mūnash, pavan stih, yīn shūj va sardār-i nafshman dād-pasukhōīh kard, va kālbā-zūbān yechevūnd; 7 afash abūrd-farmānīh kartō; afash kāmak-i valman sarītūntanō lā ye-habānūd; 8 afash khrōstak min shūj ādūzdīd, va nīhāntīsh andōkht-i nafshman kard.

Chapter LXIV.

1 Afam khalidānī rubān-i nēshmanī 2 mūn giryn va baramānī hamāf yātūnā vazlūnd; 3 afash madam sar takarg-i snēshar hamāf yātūnā; 4 va azīr-i ragelman rūd-i garm-i vudākhtak hamāf sātūnd; 5 va sar va rōd-i nafshman pavan kārd hamāf sedkūnēd.

6 Afam pārsīd aigh: Denman tanū māman vanās kārd, amat rūbānī āngān girān pādafrās hamāf yedrūnēd?

7 Yemalelūnēd Šrōsh-yasharūbō, va Ātarō yēdatō, 8 aigh: Denman rūbānī valman darvand nēshman mūn mīn gabrā-i khadīhan akh-veškārgīsh āpūstanō yehvūnd,

Chapter LXV.

9 afash kudak tapah kard. 10 Min darad va padoafras pavan ana yakh-senuned, aigh kalâ-i zak kudak ashnuved, va rehatuned; 11 va rehatunastanâ ãngûn gar-hâmandiâ medammunast, chiyûn mûn madam rûd-i garm satunet; 12 va hamûi vangi-kak kudak ashnuved, va sar va rûd-i nafshman pavan karaq hamûi darad, va kudak bavihûned. 13 afash la khadîtunet vad frashakard; denman padoafras avâyad ye-drûntanê.

Chapter LXV.

1 Afam khadîtunëd rûbûn âc-chand 2 mûnshân var pavan lajan va gûndakih


LXV. 1, 4. K₂₀ has ٢٠٠٠٠ for ٢٠٠٠٠. 2, 1. some Pâz. MSS. add ândâ = ٣٩٩. 
Chapter LXVI.

Chapter LXVI.

-ramítůnď yekavímūnāğ; 3 afash dúsi tíz yin ragelmen va avarik andám hamāt vəzllund; 4 va abū va am hamāt karítūnd.

5 Afam pūris酊 aīgh: Denman rūbānān mūn? 6 afshān māman vandas kārī, mūn rūbān āngūn girān pāḏafrās yerdūnēḏ?

7 Yemalēlūnēḏ Srōsh-yasharūbō, va Ātārō yēdatō, 8 aīgh: Denman rūbān-i valmanshān darvandān mūnshān, pavan stih, abū va am bēshīd; 9 va pavan stih, min abū va am pētītikih va amūrzishn lā bavīhūnast.

Chapter LXVI.

1 Afam khadītūnď rūbān-i gabra-I va nēshman-I 2 mūn zūbān nihād yekavímūnāğ, va mārānō zafar hamāti jald.
Chapter LXVII.

3 Afam pūrīd aīgh: Denman tānū māman vanās kārd? 4 va valmanshān rūbānān mūn hūmānd?

5 Yemalelūnd Arūsh-yashārūbō, va Ātarō yēdatō, 6 aīgh: Denman rūbān-i valmanshān mūnshān, pavan stīh, spazgīk hamaī kārd, va mardūm pavan akvīn patkāft.

Chapter LXVII.

1 Afam khaḍītōnd rūbān-i gabrā-I 2 mūn pavan ragelma-I pavan tārīkīh dūshahū avīkht yekavīmūnād; 3 afash pavan yadman, dās-I-i asīnīn dāsht, va var va kash-i nafshman hamaī peskūnd; 4 afash mīkh-i asīnīn pavan chashm yīn zad yekavīmūnād.


Chapter LXVIII.

5 Afam pûrsîdl âigh: Denman rûbân zak-i mûn? afash maman vanâs kard?

6 Yemalelnêd Srôsh-i yasharûbû, va Åtarô yêdatô, 7 âigh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ mûn shatrû pavan miyânjikh aûbash dâshht yekavîmûnâd; 8 va zak-i sazîl kardânô va farmûdanô, lâ kard! va lâ farmûd? 9 va sang, kaffiz va pâdmânak-i kas dâshht, 10 afash mín daregûshan va mín kârâvânîkân garzîshn lâ nyôkhshîd.

Chapter LXVIII.

1 Afam khadûtûnd rûbân-i gabrâ-I va nêshman-I 2 mûnshân zak gabrâ val vahisht, va zak nêshman val dúshahû, hamâi kashinand; 3 Va nêshman yadman


ya'qin band va kūstik-i zak gabrā ranītûnd yekavimūnād, 4 afash gūft aigh: Chigūn aţamatmān pavan zivandakān kolā nadūkīvī pavan aḳvīnē yēhevûnd, 5 keva'īvī lak val vaхīšt, va li val dūshahū, hamāt yezderûnd?

6 Va zak gabrā gūft aigh: Anā rāi; maman li shapīrān va ar-jānīkān va daregūshān mandavam pādīrāft, afam yehabūnto; 7 afam hūmat va hūkht va hūvarshīt varzīd; 8 afam Yadadān minid, va še- dāānānikūnīd! 9 va pavan shapīr dinī-i Māzdayasnān astobān yēhevūnd hōmanām. 10 Va lak shapīrān va daregūshān va ar-jānīkān va kārāvānīkān ār kard; 11 afat Yadadān nikūnīd!

افات آزدیتسار پاراستی؛ 12 و دویش-قعیت و دویش-حیات و دویش-حیوریت زیستی؛ 13 و پوان گنده-اکهارمان و شهدایان استبان یهیوند هومانیه.

14 وای اکهار، زک نیشمان ول زک گبه عفت 15 آیه: پوان زیوانداکان، همایک تن دی لک مادم لی سردار و پاچالخبیه یهیوند؛ 16 و تن دی و یان و رابانی-دوی زک دی لک یهیوند؛ 17 و خویرش و یایتیسیش و پادمایششنوی-دوی رای، مین لک یهیوند؛ 18 ادینات زکهام و پاشاشر مامان راف پائش لی کاره هومانام؟ 19 افات شاپریه و فرادنیه چین، وام لی امکحت هومانیه،


20 mannam akhar shapiri va frarunih kard hómanih, 21 va vad kevan denman anákih là avayéd yedránud.

22 Va akhar, zak gabrá va vahisht, va zak nêshman va dûshahú, vazlûnd. 23 Va zak nêshman, min zak pashimânih, yin dûshahú bará târikih va gôndakih, hânô patiyârak là yehevûnd. 24 Va zak gabrá, yin vahisht miyân-i yasharûbán, min là vardânîdânô va là amûzân-îdanô-i zak nêshman, mûn yin dârishn àbabsh maâd yehevûnd va frarunih, pavan sharm nishast.
Chapter LXIX.

1 Afam khaditând rûbân-i nêshmanân 2 mûnshân mikh-i dârin yin kolâ II chashm zaq yekavîmûnâd, 3 pavan rayelman-i nikân âkûst. 4 Afshan kabed vak va gazdum va mûr va mûr va makas va kirm va avârik khrafstarân, pavan zafar va vinik va gôsh va shaflman va jinâk-i sarîtând yin vaqlûnd yâtûnd.

5 Afam pûrsîd aigh: Denman rûbânân zâk-i mûn? 6 afshan maman vanâs kard, mûn rûbân ângân girân pâdafrâs ye-drûnd?

7 Yemalelûnd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Ātârô yêdatô, 8 aigh: Denman rûbân-i valmanskân darvandân nêshmanân mûnshân, pavan stih, shûf dâst, 9 va levatam

Chapter LXX.

A hand gabra khelmund va sarituntō yekabund hōmand, 10 va gās-i vastarg-i shūi tapāh dāsht, va tanū-i shūi āzarād.

Chapter LXX.

1 Afam khaditund rūbān-i nēshmanān mūnshān nikūnsār ramītund yekavimānānd; 2 va zūzak hūmānāk-i asinin levatman khār azash rost yekavimānd, pavan tanū yīn yedrund, lakhvār hisht yekavimānātō; 3 afash angūst zahāk shūsār-i shēđānān va drūjān-i gōndakīh va rīmanīh, pavan zafār va vīnīk yīn hamātī væzlānd.

Chapter LXXI.

4 Afam pūrsīd aigh: Valmanshān mūn rūbānān, mūn āngān pāḏafrās yedrūnd?

5 Ye’mālēlûnēd Srōsh-yasharūbō, va Āṭarō yēdatō, 6 aigh: Denman rūbān-i valmanshān darvandān nēshmanān mūnshān, pavan stih, mitrō-

drūjiḥ-i yīn shūyī karū; 7 va min shūf lakhvār yeḵavīmūnād, va akaraz khūshnuṇḍ lā yecheon, va sarītūnd lā yeḥabūnd hōmand.

Chapter LXXI.

1 Afam khādītūnd rūbān-i gabrā-1 2 mūn mārān mīvūk gazīd va hamāt jald; 3 va pavan kolā II chashm mār va kirm hamāi rīd; 4 va mikh-i asīnīn madam zūbān rōst yeḵavīmūnād.
Chapter LXXII.

5 Afam pūrsid aīgh: Denman tanū maman vanās kard, mūn rūbān āṅgūn girān pāḏafrās yedrūnēd ?

6 Yemalelūnēd Srōsh-yasharūbō, va Āṭarō yēdatō, 7 aīgh: Denman rūbān-i valman darvand gabrā mūnash kūn-mars kæbed kard; 8 va avārūn varenō-kāmakīh rāñ, nēshman-i khadīhān sarītūnd. 9 Va charp-zūvānīh-i nafshman nēshmanān-i khadīhān fritt, va nīyāzānīnīd, va min shūf javīdāk kard.

Chapter LXXII.

1 Afam khadītūnd rūbān-i nēshmanān mūnshān dashtān-i nafshman hamāf vashtamānūnd.

I.XXI. 4, 6. perhaps randīd. 5, 12. D. om. 7, 8.—9, 4. some Pāz. MSS. om.
8, 3. H6, K20 omit final 1. 8, 8. H18 vasādān, Sans. vihitam. 9, 1—4. H18 om.
9, 9. so in H6, K20. P.; D. 렉 flagship; H18 viāvānī, Sans. vяд.
mohitānī.
Chapter LXXIII.

2 Afam pûrsîl aîgh: Denman tanû manmân vanâs kârd, mân rûbân ângûn girân pâdafrâs yedrûnêd?

3 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbô, va Êtârô yêdatô, 4 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshân nêshmanân mûnshân dashtânû là pâhrikht, 5 va mayâ va âtâsh va Spendarmaḏ zamîk va Horvadaḏ va Amerô-daḏ âzarê, 6 va madam âsmân va khûrshêd va mûh nikirîd; 7 va stûr va gospênd pavan dashtân ázarê; 8 va zakar-yasharûbô rîmanô dâsht.

Chapter LXXIII.

1 Afam khâtîtûnd rûbân-i nêshmanân 2 mûnshân X angûst khûn
va rim hamái shedánd, va mézíd va khúrd; 3 va pavan kolá II chashm kirm hamái yátánd.

4 Afam pûrisíd aîgh: Denman rûbânán mûn? 5 afshán maman vanás kard, mûn ângûn girân pâlafârs yedrûnîd?

6 Yemalelûnûd Sâosh-yasharûbû, va Atârû yêdatû, 7 aîgh: Denman rûbán-i valmanshân darvandân nêshmanán mûnshan ród vâkht, va mûd-i khâhidân pavan pîrâyishn dáshht; 8 afshán chashm-i Yâdadânî mardûmân asrûnîd.

Chapter LXXIV.

1 Afam khâditûnîd rûbân-i valmanshân mûnshan pavan nikûnsâr, pavan ragelman-I,


LXXIV. ۵, ۶—۹. Hîs pâ pâi nîgûna sar.
Chapter LXXV.

ākūst yekavīmūnād hōmand; 2 ofshān kārd pavan dīl makhītūnḏ yekavīmūnād.

3 Afam pûrsid aighe: Denman rūbānān mūn hōmand?

4 Yemalelūnēd Srōsh-yasharūbō, va Ātarō yēdatō, 5 aighe: Denman rūbān-i valmanshān darvandān mūnshān, pavan stih, stīr, tōrā va kīrā adādīysh zektelūnd va nēksūnd.

Chapter LXXV.

1 Afam khadītūnḏ rūbānān mūnshān azir-i pāi-i tōrāān ramītūnḏ yekavīmūnād hōmand; 2 pavan srūbō makhītūnḏ, va ashkōmbō sedkūnḏ, va astukhveṅ barā shikast, va nālān ychevūnd hōmand.


Chapter LXXVI.

3 Afam pūrsīd āigh: Denman marḏūmān mūn hōmand?
4 Yemalelūnēd Srōsh-yasharūbō, va Ātarō yēdatō, 5 āigh: Den-
man rūbān-i valmanshān darvandān mūnshān, pavan stīh, stōr va tōrā-i
varzāk pūmman asrūnd; 6 afshān pavan garmih, mayā lá yehabūnd;
va gūrsak va tishnak pavan kār ādsīt.

Chapter LXXVI.

1 Afam khadītūnd rūbān-i nēshmanān mūnshān, pavan nafshman
yadman va nafshman dandān, pēstān-i nafshman hamaī peskūnd; 2
va kalbān ashkōmbō hamaī sedkūnd, va hamaī vashtamūnd; 3 va
kolā II rāgelmān madam rūd-i garm yekavīmūnād.

om. 6, 6. K₂₀ 5, 8. all add 5, 11. K₂₀ omits 6, 1. H₁₈
om. 6, 6. K₂₀ 5, 8. all add 5, 11. K₂₀ omits 6, 1. H₁₈
om. 6, 6. K₂₀ 5, 8. all add 5, 11. K₂₀ omits 6, 1. H₁₈
om. 6, 6. K₂₀ 5, 8. all add 5, 11. K₂₀ omits 6, 1. H₁₈
om. 6, 6. K₂₀ 5, 8. all add
Chapter LXXVII.

1 Adinam khaditúnd rúbánán múnshán pósht va yadman va ragelman rêsht dáshít, 2 va kín yín ród ávîkh yekavimúnád; 3 va sang-i girán pavan


LXXVII. 1, 3. K₂₀ omits final \( \textit{P} \). 1, 10. H₁₈ Sans. kûrĉcham. 1, 11. K₂₀ om. 2, 1—2. Dest. suggests nikán; H₁₈ nán. 2, 3—4. some Páz. MSS. om. 2, 5. B. H₁₈, K₂₀, P. \( \textit{kam} \); H₆ \( \textit{jam} \); some Páz. MSS. \( \textit{icah} \); H₁₉ Sans. \( \textit{taptamayáh sadáiva} \); Dest. suggests \( \textit{pam}, \) which is here adopted, but the phrase may also be read: \( \textit{va kún} \) (or nikán) yín rú-i avitakht. 3, 2. K₂₀ omits \( \textit{J} \).
Chapter LXXVIII.

پوشت همایی وارید.

4. افرام پریشید ایذه: ولمانشان مین هوماند؟ افسان مامان وناد کرد؟

5. یومنلندید ضریش-یاسراربو، و آتارو ییداتو، 6 ایذه: دنمار روان-ی ولمانشان دارواندان مینشان، پووان میت، استر یهه-ویل؛ 7 وکار-ی ساخت فرمود، و بار ادایش گیران کرد؛ 8 وکهارشین سریه لی یهابوند، و پووان نیزاریه ییدرون؛ 9 و ریش وازلوند، مین کار لاحکوار لی داشه، و دارمان لی ییدرون. 10 کوان این گیران پادافراس ویایاد ییدرونانه.

Chapter LXXVIII.

1. آدنام خداداند روان-ی نیسمان-ی 2 مین، پووان پستان، کوئ-ی
LXXVIII. 3—9.

\[\text{Asinín} \text{ hamáí khefránd;} \ 3 \text{ va kúfak-I } \text{ min zak súk-i } \text{kof behkúnas}, \text{ va váng hamáí } \text{ yátünd;} \ 4 \text{ va kúfak val am, va amídar val kúfak, lá yámántúned.}

5 Afam púrsí̈l aígh: Denman tanú maman vanás kard, mún rúbán ángún girán pád̬af̬rás yeďrúnéd?

6 Yemaléenéd Srósh-i yasharúbó, va Átáró yédató, 7 aígh: Denman rúbán-i valman darvand neshman múnash, pavan stih, lá min shuí̈-i nafšman, bará min hán khadih, ápústanó yehevúnd; 8 afash güft aígh: Ápústanó lá yehevúnd hómanam. 9 Afash kúfak tapáh kard.
Chapter LXXIX.

1 Adînâm khaditând rûbân-i gabrâ-I 2 mûnash kolâ II chashm khefrûnd, va hûzvân peskûnd; 3 va pavan ragehman-I yîn dûshahû âvîkht yekavîmnâdî! 4 afash pavan shânak II srûbî-i rûyûn tânâ hamâî randîdî; 5 afash mikh-i asînîn yîn sar makhîtûndî.

6 Afâm pûrsîd âtîgh: Denman mûn gabrâ? afash maman vanâs kârdî?

7 Ye mâlelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbî, va Atârô yêdatô, 8 âtîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand gabrâ mûnash, pavan stîh, dûtôbêrîh-i drôgh-zanân yehevûnd; 9 afash

Chapter LXXX.

1 Adīnam khadītūnd rūbān-i aĉchand, mūnshānō nikūnsār yīn dūshahū āvīkht yekavimūnād; 2 va khūn va rīm va mazg-i anshūtāān pāvan pūmman yīn vādānd, va pāvan viṅik guh aītyūnd; 3 va hāmāī vāṅg vādānd aīgh: Paḍmānāk rāst yakhsemūnēm.

4 Afam pūrsīḍ aīgh: Denmān tānūān mūn? afshān māman vanās kārd?

LXXIX. 9, 5. K₉₀ omits Ḟ.

LXXX. 1, 3. K₀ omits Ḟ. 1, 4—5. H₁₈ mardumā ke. 1, 5. K₂₀ omits final Ḟ.

1, 9. H₁₈ ākushṭ. 2, 6. H₁₈ om.; H₆ omits Ḟ. 2, 7. in D. H₆; H₁₈ om. 2, 8. H₁₈ ezkh = Ḟ. 2, 10—11, 13. H₁₈ om. 2, 14—16. uncertain; may be Ḟ, or Ḟ ‘annoyance’, or Ḟ ‘ice’, or a miswriting for Ḟ; or the words may be Ḟ, K₀ Ḟ; H₆, K₀ Ḟ; D. Ḟ; H₁₈ vini be ādē, Sans. nāshikebhyaṃcha sadaiva saṃmāyāti. 3, 4. H₁₈ dāṣht. 3, 8. H₁₈ dāṣht hōm; K₂₀ has Ḟ for Ḟ. 4, 7. K₂₀ Ḟ.
Chapter LXXXI.

5 Yemalelunëd Srôsh-i yasharûbô, va Åtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshân darvandân mûnsân, pavan stih, sang va ka-
fiç va avârîk paddánakan-i kas, kâstak dâsht, 7 va val anshûtâân man-
davam mazdûnd.

Chapter LXXXI.

1 Adînam khaditûnd rûbân-i neshman-I mûn hûzvân burîd, va chashm kand, 2 va mûr va gazdum va kirm va avârîk khrafstaran
mazg-i sar hamûî vashtamûnd; 3 va dûn dûn dûn tamû-i nafshman
pavan dandân vakhdûnd, va bisrayû hamûî jâlûd.

4 Afam pûrsid aîgh: Denman tamû maman vanâs kard?

LXXXI. 1, 1. D. H₁₈  ø. 1, 2. K₂₀  q. 1, 5. H₁₈ kesh = uesto. 1, 7. D.
1, 10. H₁₈ dajûd eshted, it also adds mihe ahînî aûdar dahâ zaûl
n rûî = 51. 2, 13. D. has 5 for ço. 3, 1. D. om. 3, 2. Z. danare,
Chapter LXXXII.

5 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-i yasharûbû, va Âtarô yêdatô, 6 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand nêshman mûnâsh, pavan zivandakih, rûspîk yehevûnd. 7 Afash kâbed yatûkîh kârd, va kâbed bâzankarîh azash raft.

Chapter LXXXII.

1 Adinâm khâdîtûnd rûbân-i nêshman-I chand mûn zûbân chûnd.

2 Afâm pûrsid aîgh: Denman nêshman mûman vanûs kârd?

3 Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbû, va Âtarô yêdatô, 4 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand nêshman mûnâsh, pavan stîh, zûbân tîz yehevûnd; 5 afash shûl va

LXXXI. 6, 4. K₂₀ om. 6, 7. H₁₈ ke = یک. 6, 8. K₂₀ adds یک.

H₁₈ om. 7, 4—6. S. H₁₈ om. 7, 5. K₂₀ om. 7, 7. compare Pers. بز = یک; it must not be confounded with بز, which is written دک.

LXXXII. 1, 8. so in D. H₆, K₂₀; H₁₈ hâmê khâd, Sans. sadaîra samûtkhanyâte; P. adds یک; perhaps it should be یک or یک; Dest. suggests یک; it may also be compared with Z. schûnd. 4, 3. K₀ transfers یک to 4, 4. 4, 7. H₁₈ ke = یک. 4, 9. H₁₈ Zendîgâ = یک.

Chapter LXXXIII.

sardār-i nafshman kabad āzarī, pavan zūbān.

Chapter LXXXIII.

1 Adīnam khadītūnd rūbān-i nēshman-I mūn nasāī-i nafshman hamāt vashtamūnd.

2 Afam pūrsīd āigh: Denman nēshman māman vanās kard?

3 Yemalelūndēl Srōsh-yasharūbō, va Ātarō yēdatō, 4 āigh: Denman rūbān-i valman darvand nēshman mānash, pavan stīh, nihān min shūt, bisrayā-i kabad vashtamūnd; 5 afash hānō khadīh yehabūnd.
Chapter LXXXIV.

1 Adinam khaditāndū rūbān-i nēshman-I 2 mūn pēstān gazand, va ashkōmbō sedkūnd yekavīmūnād va rūdīkōn val kalbāān yehabūnād. 3 Afam pārsīd aīgh: Denman nēshman māman vanās kārd? 4 Yemalehunēd Srōsh-i yasharūbō, va Āatarō yēdatō, 5 aīgh: Denman rūbān-i valman darvand nēshman mūnash, pāvan stīh, zāhar va mishyā-i apīyān kārd dāsh, 6 afash val vashtamūntānī anshūtāān yehabūnād.

Chapter LXXXV.

1 Adinam khaditund ruban-i neshman-I 2 mun post-i asinin pav- 
van tanu lalal vaseund, 3 va pumman lakhr var yaitlyand, va lakhrvar 
val tanur-i garm hankhetund.

4 Afam purstit aigh; Denman neshman maman vanas kard?

5 Yemaleluned Srush-yasharub, va Ataro yedato, 6 aigh: Den- 
man ruban-i valman daryand neshman manash, pavam zivandakhan, 
valman-i hukhim farzanak gabra neshman yehevund; 7 afash mitro-i 
shai drukht, levatman valman-i bazakar va dust-khim gabra khelmund.


2, 3. K$_{20}$ adds final ꞌAシー. 2, 7. D. has ꞌAシー for ꞌAシー. 3, 2–3. H$_{18}$ pa tan be =

3, 4. D. has ꞌAシー for ꞌAシー. 3, 6–8. some Páz. MSS. have ezh 
tan avazh = ꞌAシー. 3, 10. H$_{18}$ kumend nihaadan. 6, 7. H$_{18}$ ke 
= ꞌAシー; D. adds ꞌAシー. 6, 9. H$_{18}$ gothi = ꞌAシー. 6, 10. ꞌAシー only 
in H$_{18}$; Dest. suggests ꞌAシー. 6, 12. D. prefixes ꞌAシー. 7, 1. H$_{18}$ ke. 7, 2. H$_{6}$,
K$_{20}$ omit ꞌAシー. 7, 3. H$_{18}$ adds be ꞌAシー.
Chapter LXXXVI.

1 Adinam khatitünd rûbân-i nêshman-I 2 mûn mûr-I-i szadûn pavan tanû lâlâ vazlûnd, va pavan pûmman barâ yâtûnd.

3 Afam pûrstd aîgh: Denman tanû maman vanâs kard? aîgh rûbânô ângûn giû mân pashfrûs yedrûnd? 

4 Yemalelûndêr Srôsh-ylaslarûbû, va Atarô yédato, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman darvand nêshman mûn khvêtûk-das vinâsid.

Chapter LXXXVII.

1 Adinam khatitûnd rûbân-i nêshman-I 2 mûn pavan shânak-i asînîn.

LXXXVI. 2, 2—3. H5 omits 2; H15 and other Pâz. MSS. omit 3. B. P. 2, 3. or perhaps szêdrô, compare Z. szêhdrem, Vend. XIII. 2, 3, 4. 2, 4. H15 and other Pâz. MSS. add kûn = 2. 3, 9. perhaps miswritten for 1. 3, 10. K20 omits final 1. 5, 2—LXXXVII. 6, 1. only in H15, and restored here from the Pâz., as it seems to supply a necessary connecting link in the narrative. 5, 8—9. Sans. sha, itûadatism pûnyaî nanâsha.
tanū va rōd-i nafshman hamāī randīd; 3 va pavan pēstan, kōf-i asinīn hamāī khefrūnād.

4 Afam pārsīd aigh: Denman nēshman māman vanās kard?

5 Yemalēlūnēd Srōsh-yasharūbō, va Ātarō zēdatō, 6 aigh: Denman rūbān-i valman darvand nēshman mūnāsh, pavan stīh, bazakō kard, 7 va khvāstak kāmak-i rāi, kūḍāk-i nafshman shir là yehabānād.

8 Va kevan hamāī vāng vācūnēd aigh: Latamman vad denman kōf khefrūnām, va zak kūḍāk shir yehabānām. 9 Kevan vad frashakārd zak kūḍāk là yāmtānēd.

LXXXVII. 4,3-8. supplied by guess, as this sentence is always abbreviated in H₁₈.


Chapter LXXXVIII.

1 Adīnām khadi̡un-d rūbān-i gabrā-I 2 mun nikūnsār min dār-ī āvikht yekavīmūnād, va hamāt marzād; 3 afshān shūsār yīn pūmmān va gōsh va vinik shedkūnd.

4 Afām pūrsīl aīg: Denman tanū māman vanās kard, mūn rūbānō āngūn gīrān pādāfārās yeṭrānād?

5 Yemālelūnād Srōsh-yasharūbō, va Ātārō yēdatō, 6 aīg: Denman rūbān-i valmān darvand gabrā mūnāsh, pavan stīh, avārūnō-marzishnīh kard; 7 afash nēshman-i khadi̡hān frīf va nīyāzān kard.

LXXXVIII. 2, 6. D. has  scrapy  for  sne .  2, 9. H₁₈ Sans. mathnanti: Dest. suggests  ignore .  3, 9. D. has  spy for  3 ; H₁₈ adds vaṣh dūd bāḥī bā ḫūr kān-

Chapter LXXXIX.

1 Adīnām khadītūnd rūbān-i valmanshān mūn, yin dūshahū, vi-
jārish rāi kūst val kūst patḵūst; 2 va tishnakih va gūrsakih va sar-
māk va garmāk rāi vāng hamāt dāsh; 3 va khraštārān min pōšt-i
ragelma va avārik andām hamāt peskūnd.

4 Afam pūrsiḏ aīgh: Denman valmanshān rūbānān mānān vanās
kārd, mūn rūbānā ūngūn girān pāḏasfrās yedrūnēd?

5 Yemalālūnēd Sīrōsh-i wasarūbō, va Ātarō yēdatō, 6 aīgh: Den-
man rūbān-i valmanshān darvandān mūnshān, pavan stīh, khārīshm va
vastarg min nafshman tanā pardākht

LXXXIX. 1, 2. ḫūd in all but K26. 1, 13. D. has ḫūd for ḫūd. 2, 5. K26 om.
6, 13—14. ḫūd in all but K26. 6, 15. so in D. H4; K26, K26 ḫūd. H18 paradāšt, Sans. prabhūṭaṇ kṛitam; Dest. sug-
gests ḫūd. 
Chapter XC.

1 Adīnām khadītund ṭūbānu-ī valmanshān mūnshān mārān gāzēd va ḥuzvānō hamāl vāshtamūnēd.

2 Afam pūrśid aīgh: Valmanshān māman vanās kard, mūn ṭūbānu-ō āngńūn girān pāḍafrās yedrūnēd?
Chapter XCI.

3 Yemalelünd Srösh-yasharúbö, va Ātaró yédató, 4 aígh: Denman rúbán-i valmanshán drózanán va anást-gúbishnán mún, pavan stih, zár va kadbā va anást kabad gáft.

Chapter XCI.

1 Adinam khaditünd rúbán-i gabrá-I mún farzand-i nafshman zekletänd, va mazg hamái vashtamund.

2 Afam pûrsîd aígh: Denman tanú maman vanás kard, mún rúbánó ángún girán pêdasfrás yedrûnîd?

3 Yemalelünd Srösh-yasharúbö, va Ātaró yédató, 4 aígh: Denman rúbán-i valman dátóbar-i vajîrkar mún, pavan miyán-i vajîr-khvâstârân, vajîr-i kadbā kard;

XC. 4, 4. D. adds and Kz9 3. 4, 5. compare Pers. dözûn; or perhaps drózan; D. omits 1. 4, 13. Kz9 om. 4, 18. Îz8 kard.

XCI. 1, 1—2. Kz9 1, 3. H6 omits 2; Kz9 adds 3. 1, 5. D. adds 11. 1, 8, 12. D. has 9 for 3. 2, 10. Kz9 omits final 1. 4, 4. D.
Chapter XCII.

5 afash hû-chashmyish va râstyish madam pêshîmûrân va pasimûrân lá nikirid, 6 va 'barâ val khvâstukô-kâmakhî va âzûrîh madam khvâstûrân pavan kheshm va sangîh drâid.

Chapter XCII.

1 Adînâm khadîtanî rûbân-i valmanshân mânsûn mîkh-i dârinô madam chashm makhîtanî yekavimûnîd.

2 Afam pûrsîd aîgh: Denman tanû mamân vanás kard, mûn rûbânî angûn girân pûdafafrîs yedrûnêl?

3 Yemâleênêl Srôsh-yashharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 4 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valman


Chapter XCIII.

dûsh-chashmân mûnshân nadûkîh min marûmân lakhvâr dâsht.

Chapter XCIII.

1 Afâm did rûbân-i valmanshân mûnshân nikûnsâr, yîn dûshahû, aûpast yekâvimûnâd; 2 va azîr dûd va garmih, va azvar vád-i sard, madam ramîtûnd yekâvimûnâd.

3 Afâm pûrûsd âîgh: Denman tanûân maman vanâs kard, mûn rûbânû angân girân pâdafrâs yedrûnêd?

4 Ye mâlelûnêd Srûsh-i yasharûbû, va Âtârî yeďatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshân mûn, pavan stîh, jînâk va khân-i kârûvanîkân, va aspanj va jînâk va tanûr barîjanû râ yehabûnd; 6 va mûn yeha-bûnd mozd minash yansegûnd.

XCII. 4, 6. K20 adds یئش نیش.

Chapter XCIV.

Anla-Ytraf

Chapter XCIV.

Adinam khabitan y ruban-i valmanshan manshân man pavan yadman-i nafshman, pestano-i nafshman madam tavak-i garm hankhetau yekavimunad, 2 va kust val kust hamâi gardânast.

Afam pûsîl aîgh: Denman nêshmanân manan vanas kard, mûn rûbânû ângûn girân pâdafrâs yedrûnêd?

Yemalelûnêd Srôsh-yasharûbû, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbân-i valmanshan nêshmanân man kûdak-i nafshman shîr lá yehabûnû, nizâr va tapâh kard; 6 va gûâstîh-i stîh rât, shîr val kûdak-i khadihân yehabûnû.

XCIV. 1, 2. Kâ0 134. 1, 4. some Pâz. MSS. have zanâ; Sans. durgatimatam.

1, 5-6. so in all; Sans. yaih yat tut. 1, 13. all omit . 2, 1-6. Kâ0 om.

Chapter XCV.

1 Adinam khaditünd rúbán-i nêshman-I mûn kûf-I pavan pêstân hamâtî khefrûnd, 2 va tîshnak va gûrsak hamâtî yehvûnd.

3 Afân pûrsîl aîgh: Denman nêshman maman vanâs karî?

4 Yemâlelûnêl Srôsh-i yasharûbô, va Âtarô yêdatô, 5 aîgh: Denman rûbán-i valman darvand nêshman mûn kûdêk-i naîshman shîr lâ yehabûnd, 6 va gûrsak va tîshnak shedkûnd; 7 va benafshman kâmak-i ûz va varen-i avârûn-marzishnik râî, levatman gabrû-i bigânak vazlûnd.

Chapter XCVI.

1 Adinam khaditûnd rûbân-i gabrû-I mûn hûzwânî peskûnd ye-kavîmûnâd,


XCVI. 1, 2. Ha, K20 . 1, 6. K20 omits final .
Chapter XCVII.

1 Adīnām khaditūnā dūbān-i gabrā-ī va nēshīnā mūn hūzvān peskānī yēkavīmūnād.

Chapter XCVIII.

2 Afam pürsid aigh: Denman tanān maman vanās kard, mūn rūbān āngūn girān pāqafās yedrūnēd?

3 Yemaelūnēd Srōsh-yasharūbō, va Ātarā yēdatō, 4 aigh: Denman rūbān-i valmanshān darvand gabrā va nēshman mūnshān, pavan zivandakān, kadbā va anāst kābed gūft; 5 va rūbān-i nafshman drūzanō kard.

Chapter XCVIII.

1 Adīnam khadiṭūnd rūbān-i nēshman-I va gabrā-I mūn mada Después va bāra vəstamūnd.

2 Afam pūrsid aigh: Denman tanān maman vanās kard, mūn rūbānīo āngūn

girāṇō pāḍafrās yedrāṇēdā?

3 Yemalelūndēd Srōsh-yasharūbō, va Atarō yēdatō, 4 aigh: Denman rūbān-i valmānshān darvand gabrā va nēshman mānshān, pavan stih, nasāî pavan vanāskārīh jahī; 5 va bārvrāk-i mayāīh yin mayā zek-telūnd, 6 va avārīk dām-i Āḥūrmāzād makhtūndā va zektelūnd.

Chapter XCIX.

1 Va hāvandīch kabed khadītūnd rūbān-i darvandān gabrānā va nēshmanān; 2 va sahnīgūn-i bīmgūn-i rēshkun-i pūr-anākīh-i kabed-dārī-dī tārik-i yin dūshahā zākham va pāḍafrās-i gūnāk gūnāk hamāī yedrānd.


3 Adānām khadītānā! rūbānānō mānshānō pavan mikh-i dārīn zābānō randīd yeḵavīmūnād; 4 va yin dāshahā nikūnsār frōd hamāti vazaḵlān dōmand; 5 va shēdāān pavan shānāk-i āsinīn hamāk tanū-i valmāshān hamāti khefrūnd.

6 Afam pārsīd āfgh: Denman rūbānānō zak-i mūn dōmand?

7 afšān māmān vanās kard, mānshān rūbānō ōngūn gīrān pāḏafārās yeḵtānād?

8 Yemālālūnēd Sṛōsh-yasharūbō, va Ātārō yēdatō, 9 āfgh: Denman rūbān-i valmāshānō darvandān mānshān, pavan stūh, yin khūndāyān abūrḍ-farmānō yehevūnd dōmand; 10 va yin sipāh va gūrd-i khūndāyān dāšmān yehevūnd dōmand. 11 Kevan latamān ōngūn gīrān dārd va zākham va pāḏafārās avāyād yeḵtānānād.

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Chapter C.

Adīnam khaditūnd Ganrāk-mīnāvad-i pūr-marg-i gēhān-maren-chīnlār-i dūsh-dīnō, 2 mūn yīn dūshahū val darvandān afsōs va reshkharish hamāti kard, va guft 3 aīgh; Maman rūā lakhmayā-ī Āūhar-mazd hamāt vashtamūnēd, va kār-i li ṯādūnēd; 4 va pavan dādār-i nafshman lā mīnēd, va kāmak-i li varzēd; 5 Āngūn kābed afsūskar-yīsh val darvandān hamāti drādī.

Chapter CI.

1 Akhar, Srōsh-yasharūbō va Ātarō yēdatō, zak-i li yadman frāz vakhdlūnd, 2 va min zak jināk-i tārik-i sahmgūn-i bāmgūn barā yēlīyūnd, 3 va zak-i asar rōshanīh, va hanjaman-i Āūharmazd va ameshōspendān yedrūnd.

4 Amatam yezmēnānastō namāz yedrūntrānō Āūharmazd pēsh. 5 Va āsan yehdevūnd, gūft aīgh: Drūst lipamman lak, yasharūbō Ar-daī Virāf, Māz-

tat yat uktamastī ghorāndhakārāt narakāt; mama evam pratibhātī, yathā kila kūpako yo lakṣākakaktanīnma. Mama andhakārashcha evam pratibhātī, yadi sarvānī kāṣṭhānī shushtānī antā prithivyām upari vah-nau prakshiptānī, antā ghorāndhakāranarakasya kiyanmātra udyotam vijvalān na bhavati.

dayasnāno pētkhambar; vatlāno val ahū-i ast-hōmand; 6 chigunat did khavitūnast, rāstyish val stihān yemalelūn; 7 maman li levatman hōmanam, mūn Aūharmazd hōmanam; 8 koldā zak-i drūst rāst yemalelānēd li shināsam va khavitūnām, 9 barā yemalelān val dānākānō.

10 Va amat Aūharmazd pavan denman khadūnāk gūst, li shikūst barā ketrānād hōmanam; 11 mamanam roshānīd did, afam tanū lā did; afam vāng vashammnūd, 12 afam khavitūnast aigh: Denman aīt Aūharmazd.

Cl. 5, 14—17. H₁₈ chirā āmad hače? aī hangām āmanān thō nē maḏ īstāq. — Sans. kimarthamadō 'si? yatāh sa yaḥ samāgantūn te na samāprāto 'si. 6, 1, H₁₈ chūnās = ṣr̥s̥ỵr̥. 6, 6. H₁₈ gōthi = ṣr̥s̥ỵr̥. 7, 1—8, 5. H₁₈ ke [one line partly cut off by the binder] durast rāst gōid; Sans. yat Horm-mījdo bhavāmi sārveśhām paṭutāyā sundarātāyā satyatāyā brāhi. 7, 3. B. ṣr̥s̥ỵr̥. P. ṣr̥s̥ỵr̥. 8, 2. ṣr̥s̥ỵr̥ only in H₂. 8, 7. H₆, K₂₀ ṣr̥s̥ỵr̥. 8, 7.—13, 4. H₁₈ Ardā Virā sakhun ā ṣnūd, tan didan na tiāh būd, rošhanash did; pa zānū andar namāza būrd hōm, gufta hōm ku: Māzdayasnā gudārād hōm ku: Shao pēsh Ardā Zaratust, ku kērā ēnā pa zendīgā kūrān, nē dānuṅ ku hāst aigung nē. Pas guft rāst ṣr̥s̥ỵr̥ bagh; — Sans. Arddā Virāya vachastatra shukhrāva, vapūskha vilokītuṁ na shakto babhūva, tejonidūn ārishtaṁ, tanu na ārishtaṁ; jānubhyām antaḥ vinamat pranāmaṅ chakre ṛham, avochacha: Mājdaīsanāṁ prahito ṛham: Yāhi puraṅ batavato Jarathustrasya, kīla puṇyaṁ yat vayaṁ jīvitaṃvasthāyāṁ karmāhe, no jānimaṅ asti, kīnē nahi. Pashchāt udvīchā satya Ahuramajdo datā. 10, 1. D. om. 10, 6. D. has for . 11, 1. K₂₀ ṣr̥s̥ỵr̥. 12, 4. D. om.
13 Afash ġaft dādār Aūharmazdī, min minavadān afzānīktām,  
14 āiğh: Barā yemalēlān lak, Arslāī Virāfī, val Māzdayasnān-i stīh,  
15 āiğh: Khādūk ait rās-i yasharālīsh, rās-i pōryō-ākēshīh; va zak-i  
avārīk rās, hamāk lā rās. 16 Zak khādūk rās vakhdūnēd-i yasharālīsh;  
va al pavan farākhāhī, va al pavan tangīh, va al pavan hīch rās  
azash vārdēd; 17 va barā varzēd hūmat va ḥūkht va hūvarshīt; 18 va  
pavan zak ham-dīnō yekevīmūnēd-i zyash min li mēkālān, Spītāmān  
Zaratūhasht va Vishtāsp yīn gēlān rūbāk kartō; 19 va yakhserunēd  
dād-i frārān, min avārān barā pāhrējēd. 20 Va denmanīch madam  
ākās yehevūnēd, āiğh: afrā yehevūnēd tōrā, va afrā yehevūnēd asp, va  
afrā yehevūnēd zaḥābā va asim, va afrā

have for ˝. 14, 9. H₁₈ prefixs pā = ˝; K₂₀  15, 4. K₂₀  
K₂₀ has ˝ for ˝. 20, 17. D. "Kūr."
yehevûned zak-i mardûman tanû; 21 zak khadûk vak a afrâyâ la gûmêjêl mûn, yîn stih, yasharâîsh stâyad, va kûr kifvak vâdûned. 22 Drûst lak Arddâ Virât! zak-i nafslunan vâdûtû; 23 maman kolâ pûkhî va pâdêyâvîh-i lekûm vâdûned va yakhsênunêd, 24 va hamâk amat dâdyîsh

Cl. 20,23. Kât 20 omits d. 21,4. or afrâiîh. 21,11. Hîs adds: Pas gufta  
yakhsenuned, 25 dakyā yōshdāsar va yazishnō amat, pavan ham-gūnak, Yadadān-minishnyish vādūned, hamāk li khavitūnam.

26 Va amat zak sakhun vashammūnd, zōfar namāz yedrūnd va dādār Ādarmazd. 27 Va akhar, Srosh-yasharūbō, pīrūzkaryish va tag-diliryish, vādārīd va dēman gās-i vāstarg. 28 Pirūz yehevūnād gadam-i shapīr dinō-i Mazdayasnuān!

29 Frajaft pavan drūd va shādīḥ va rāmishn.

CI. 25, 1. D. H6. 28, 4. D. om. 28, 6. end of Pāzand iu H18; K20 adds the tale of Gōsh-i Fryānō follows immediately, two lines being left blank in H6, one in K20, and none in K20.
The Book
of
Arda-Viraf.

English Translation with notes

by

M. Haug, Ph. D.
Observations.

Words printed in *italics* are not expressed in the original text, but are supplied, in the translation, to complete the sense. When marked as parentheses, they are merely explanations of the preceding words. As the translation is, however, not *strictly* literal, such additional words as pronouns, particles and the verb 'to be', which are clearly understood in the original, are not italicized in the translation.

Notes to which the word [Dest.] is appended, are based upon remarks affixed by Destur Hoshangji to his edition of the text. The same abbreviations are used as in the notes to the Pahlavi text.
Chapter I.

In the name of God.

1 They say that, once upon a time, the pious Zaratūst (Zoroaster) made the religion, which he had received, current in the world; 2 and till the completion of 300 years, the religion was in purity, and men were without doubts. 3 But afterwards, the accursed Evil-spirit, the wicked one, in order to make men doubtful of this religion, 4 instigated the accursed Alexander, the Rūman, who was dwelling in Egypt, so that he came to the country of Iran with severe cruelty and war and devastation; 5 he also slew the ruler of Iran, and destroyed the metropolis and empire, and made them desolate.

7 And this religion, namely, all the Avesta and Zand, written upon prepared cow-skins, and with gold ink, was deposited in the archives, in Stākhar Pāpakān; 8 and the hostility of the evil-des- tined, wicked Ashemōk, the evil-doer, brought onward Alexander, the

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1 That is, a native of those Greek provinces which afterwards became an important part of the eastern empire of the Romans.

2 The word Mujrūyik, which has been wholly misunderstood by the Pāzand writers, is evidently connected with anc. Pers. Mudrāya, Heb. בָּמָדְרָיָה 'Egypt', and alludes to the fact that Alexander came from Egypt to complete the overthrow of the Persian empire. See Z.-Pahl. Glos. p. xxxix.

3 That is, the religious writings.

4 Or, 'among the city documents'; karītā, or kiriṭā, must be traced to Chald. נִכְרֵית, Heb. כֹּרֲית, which latter is used, in the names of several towns, as the English word 'fort' is in the names Fort-William, Fort-George, etc. See Z.-Pahl. Glos. p. xl.

5 The name of Persepolis in Sasanian times, the modern Persian خرمشهر.
Rúman, who was dwelling in Egypt, and he burnt them up. 9 And he killed several desturs and judges and herbads and mobads and

1 This statement, regarding the burning of the religious books by Alexander, which often occurs in Parsi writings, has been supposed to have originated in a modern misunderstanding, whereby the destruction consequent upon the Mohe- medan conquest, has been attributed to the Greek invader. Heeren first expressed the opinion that, as the persecution of foreign religions was quite contrary to Alexander’s policy, this statement of the Parsis was not to be credited; and his opinion has been generally adopted by later writers, without further examination. On comparing, however, the statements made in Pahlavi books, with the accounts of the destruction of Persepolis, given by classical writers, it appears that the latter rather confirm, than contradict, the statements of the Parsis. From the account given in the text, and that quoted from the Din-kard in the Zand-Pahlavi Glossary, p. xxxi—xxxviii., it seems that the books deposited in the archives at Persepolis were burnt at the time of Alexander’s conquest; but the latter account speaks of another copy of the books, which fell into the hands of the Greeks, and was translated by them; from which it must be concluded, that the Persians do not complain of any special religious persecution on the part of Alexander, but only of the ordinary devastation of a conqueror. The same two copies of the books are also mentioned in the proclamation of Khusrö, son of Kovadh, quoted from the Din-kard in my Essay on Pahlavi, p. 145—152; wherein he likewise states that Valkhash the Askhánían (Vologeses the Arsacidan) ordered the collection and preservation of such fragments of the Avesta and Zand as had escaped the destruction and ravages of Alexander and his soldiers; these ravages could not have been those of the Mohamedans, as Khusrö reigned a century before the Mohamedan conquest. Turning to the accounts given by classical writers, we find from Diodorus (17, 72) and Curtius (5, 7), that Alexander really did burn the citadel and royal palace at Persepolis, in a drunken frolic, at the instigation of the Athenian courtezan Thais, and in revenge for the destruction of Greek temples by Xerxes; Arrian (Exped. Alex. 3, 18) also speaks of his burning the royal palace of the Persians. This act of barbarous folly was evidently the result of hasty impulse, and was probably committed at night, when the palace was full of attendants, courtiers and priests; the last, who had special charge of the archives, would naturally attempt to save their treasures, and would certainly be opposed by the intoxicated Greeks, at the cost of many lives. The religious books would be burnt with the archives, in which they were deposited, and many Persians, priests and others, would lose their lives in the confusion;
upholders of the religion\textsuperscript{1}, and the competent and wise of the country of Iran. 10 And he cast hatred and strife, one with the other, amongst the nobles and householders of the country of Iran; 11 and self-destroyed, he fled to hell\textsuperscript{2}.

12 And after that, there were confusion and contention among the people of the country of Iran, one with the other. 13 And so they had no lord, nor ruler, nor chieftain, nor destur—\textit{who was acquainted} with the religion, 14 and they were doubtful in regard to God; 15 and religions of many kinds, and different fashions of belief, and such would be the natural consequences of the facts mentioned by the western writers, and such are the statements made by the eastern writer in our text.

\textsuperscript{1} These names refer to the various grades of the Zoroastrian priesthood. The destur (Pahl. \textit{dástōbar}) is the highpriest, and is compared by the Parsis to the bishop in Christian churches. The word does not occur in the Zand-avesta, and is probably not Zand, but Persian, meaning ‘one who wields power’, and is also used, in Persian, to signify a minister of state; the ancient form was, no doubt, \textit{dastōbara}. In the Zand-avesta, the dignity of a destur, that is, of a spiritual head and guide, is expressed by the term \textit{zarathushtra} (see Yasna XIX. 18., and my Essay \textit{‘über die Ahuna-vairya Formel’} in the Sitzungsberichte der phil.-phil. und hist. Classe der K. bay. Akad. der Wiss. 1872, p. 125).

The judge (Pers. \textit{dāvar}, Pahl. \textit{dātōbar}, originally, no doubt, \textit{dātō-bara}, ‘upholder of justice’) is always distinguished from the destur, but like him, was a \textit{ratu}, ‘head or chief’. He appears to have held a high rank, which was probably hereditary, as it is still claimed by a high Parsi family at Surat, though not acknowledged by the majority.

The herbads, \textit{Z. aēthrapaiti} (see the Zand-Pahlavi Glossary, p. 127—130), are now those students of Zoroastrian theology, and of the priestly order, who have finished their studies, and successfully read their first Izeshne, Pahl. \textit{yazishn}.

Those herbads who are chiefly engaged in the performance of ceremonies, become mobads, Pahl. \textit{magōpat} which indicates a form \textit{magō-paiti} in ancient Persian. The ‘upholders of the religion’ are the students of the Avesta. The herbads and mobads, as well as the students, are subordinate to the destur, between whom and the mobad, a marked distinction is made, whenever they are mentioned in Pahlavi books.

\textsuperscript{2} This appears to refer to Alexander’s premature death.
scepticism, and various codes of law were promulgated in the world; 16 until the time when the blessed and immortal Ātārō-pād-i Mār-
spendān was born; on whose breast, in the tale which is in the Din-
kard, melted brass was poured. 17 And much law and justice were

1 It is hardly possible to interpret this passage otherwise. The words dinō-
kartō can only refer to that large and comprehensive collection of old religious 
traditions, which goes by the name of Din-kard, and was compiled from a far 
more extensive Zand and Pahlavi literature than that which has reached our time. 
In one of the two volumes, which I possess, of this rare book, Ātārō-pād Mār-
spendān is frequently mentioned; and in two passages, special allusion is made to 
the fiery ordeal noticed in our text. These passages are here appended, without 
emendation, and accompanied by a translation which must, however, be considered 
merely tentative, as the style of the original abounds with difficulties.

H13 a. p. 51—52.

On truth, which is the inherent freedom from falsehood of our learned (good-speakers?) 
that is, when it is also owing to habitual practice; and glorifying, and the assistance 
of the testimony of the archangels, and other marvels (miracles?) of that 
kind; besides the well-understood proclamation by the pious Zarātūshr, and heavenly 
visions; and the open manifestation of things at various times, by the desturs of
administered according to different religions and different creeds; 18

the religion, from those occurrences (or from the rising and setting?); and by the melted brass performance of the blessed Āтарō-pād Mārspendān, and his preservation among the dissenting opinions of the dissenters of the whole of Khvaniras (the civilized world) in the reign of that Shālpūhar, king of kings, who was the son of Aūharmazd; and the manifestation of miracles, from var nirangs of several other kinds, which were kept in use till after the end of the reign of that Yazdagird, king of kings, who was the son of Shaharyār'.

[Speaking of the miracles of Zaratušt.] 'And one was the execution, by Zaratušt, of the var performance, that secure and irrefragable indicator, unto judges and magistrates, in obscure judicial matters, of which it is said in the religion, there are about 33 kinds. This also, afterwards, the disciples of Zaratušt kept in use, till the overthrow of the monarchy of Iran. And the custom of it, is only that of pouring melted copper upon anyone; as in the performance of the blessed Āтарō-pād Mārspendān, through whose preservation, a knowledge about the religion was diffused in the world; and of the manifestation too, through that great miracle, this also is said, in like manner, in the good religion, that of the many, when they beheld that var nirang, they believed who were unbelievers'.

The var nirang, mentioned in these two passages, seems to have been an ordeal, for testing the truth of a person's statements, by pouring melted metal on
and the people of this religion (religious books), deposited in Shaspigân, were in doubt.

19 And afterwards, there were other magi and desturs of the religion; 20 and some of their number, were loyal and apprehensive.

21 And an assembly of them was summoned in the residence of the victorious Fróbâg fire; 22 and there were speeches and good ideas, of many kinds, on this subject: 23 that 'it is necessary for us to seek a means, 24 so that some one of us may go, and bring intelligence from the spirits; 25 that the people who exist in this age, shall know whether these Yazishu and Drôn and Afrinagân ceremonies, and Nirang prayers, and ablution and purifications which we bring into

his chest (var); but sometimes the heated metal was applied to the tongue, or the feet, as appears from another passage in the Din-kârd (MS. H, b. p. 181–183), 'on the distinction between the lawful and proper miracle of the var nirang, and the demoniacal and improper nirang of sorcery'. If the person remained uninjured by the application of the melted metal, the truth of his statements was considered as established, provided the ordeal had been conducted in a lawful and pious manner, and with a due regard to purity of person and clothing.

1 That is, those who believed in the religious writings deposited in the treasury of Shaspigân. See Z.-Pahl. Glos. p. xxxvi.

2 Or 'on that account they were', etc.

3 This is one of the three most ancient fires in Iran, which were held in great reverence, and are mentioned in various Pahlavi books. A short sketch of the history of these old sacred fires, is to be found in the Bundehesh (p. 41. Westerg.). The Fróbâg fire is there said to have been first established in the âtesh-gâh on the mountain Gadman-hômând in Khvârizem (Z. Qâirizem), the ancient Khorasmia, on the banks of the Oxus, and extending to the Caspian sea. After Yima's death, this fire was preserved from Dahân, and in the reign of Gushtâsp, it was transported from Khvârizem to the mountain Rôshan in Kabulistani, where it is said to have been still existing, when this account, in the Bundehesh, was written. The assembly of desturs, mentioned in the text, would therefore appear to have been held in Kabulistân.

4 These ceremonies, which are all accompanied by prayers, are commonly practised by Parsi priests, at the present day.

The Yazishu (izeshne) ceremony consists chiefly of the preparation, offering
and drinking of the Homa juice, during the recital of the prayers contained in the Yasna. It is the most sacred ceremony of the Parsi religion, and is evidently a remnant of the ancient Vedic Soma sacrifice. With regard to the blessings resulting from this ceremony, see the Homa Yasht (Yas. IX.).

The Drón (Darún) and Afrínğán ceremonies are often performed together, especially at the solemn repasts of the Parsis, called chashnis, which take place at some of the great festivals, such as the Khordád-sál, and in honor of the deceased. Of these two ceremonies, the Darún is considered the more important. The dрон (Z. draonô) are small, flat, round cakes of unleavened bread, about the size of the palm of the hand. Of these, four are generally used; two of them, specially called drón, are arranged on the left, parallel to the left side of the table, and the two others, called frasasti, are similarly arranged on the right. Some butter (gâush hudhão) is put upon the nearer, or lower, dрон; and a twig of the pomegranate-tree on the further, or upper, frasasti. Between the further dрон and the further frasasti, an egg is placed; and the presence of the bunch of sacred twigs, called Barsom (barcsman = brahman), is also indispensable. The dróns are now consecrated, and the name of him, in whose honor the ceremony is performed, must be mentioned, whether he be an angel, or a deceased Zoroastrian. Afterwards, pieces are broken off the dřóns by the Mobad, and given to those present to eat.

When the Darún ceremony is over, the Afrínğán commences, at the great festivals; but it may, however, on other occasions, be performed without the Darún. A tray, containing wine and fruits, is used; with flowers on the left side. The wine and fruits are consecrated, when the priest drinks first, and then gives the wine to those who are present to drink. This ceremony is like the Darún, performed in honor of some angel, or deceased Zoroastrian; and its name is derived from the word afrínãm, 'I bless', which is used during its performance.

The word Nirang is used both in a general and a more restricted sense. In the former, it signifies a prayer formula, usually short, to be recited on certain occasions; for instance, when cutting the nails, or hair, and after the completion of certain ceremonies, such as that of the Homa. These formulas are now mostly in the so-called Pázand; and are supposed to ensure the success of the ceremony performed, or to avert any evil which might arise. In a more restricted sense, Nirang means the ceremony, as well as the prayer formula, relating to the preparation of the góméz, 'cow's urine', which is used as the most efficacious means of purification.
28 Afterwards also, with the concurrence of the desturs of the religion, they called all the people to the residence of the Frōbāg fire. 29 And from the whole number, they set apart seven men who had not the slightest doubt of God and the religion, 30 and whose own thoughts and words and deeds were most orderly and proper; 31 and they were told thus: 'Seat yourselves down, 32 and select 'one from among you, who is best for this duty, and the most innocent and respected'.

33 And afterwards, those seven men sat down; 34 and from the seven, three were selected; and from the three, one only, named Virāf; 35 and some call him the Nishāpūrīan 1. 36 Then that Virāf, as he heard that decision, stood upon his feet, 37 joined his hands on his breast, and spoke 38 thus: 'If it please you, then give me not 'the undesired narcotic 2, 39 till you cast lots for the Mazdayasnians 'and me 3; 40 and if the lot come to me, I shall go willingly to that

'\textit{Ablution}' is the translation of the term \textit{pādyāvīh}, which can be traced to the Z. \textit{paityāpa}, a word which has not, however, the same meaning as is generally attached to \textit{pādyāvīh}, by which the Parsis understand washing, with water, the hands and arms up to the elbows, the face as far as behind the ears, and the feet up to the ankles; which they perform whenever they are going to recite prayers, repeating a formula during the ablution.

'\textit{Purification}' (\textit{yōshdīsarīh}, Z. \textit{yaozhdāthrya}) is the so-called Barashnom ceremony, which is described in Vend. IX. This process of purification, in which cow's urine plays an important part, lasts for nine nights.

1 Or 'by the name of Nihshāpūr', according to the orthography of the old MSS. This name, which is also written Nishāpūhar, Nihshāpūhar, etc., is that of a commentator on the Avesta who is quoted in the Pahlavi translation of Vend. V. 34. VIII. 22., and also many times in the Nirangistān.

2 When natives of India wish to obtain supernatural information, they sometimes give (it is said) a narcotic prepared from the seeds of the \textit{dhāttura} plant, to a boy, or old man, and place much reliance upon his answers to their questions, while under its intoxicating influence. [Dest.]

3 It is possible that the text is incorrectly read, and that \textit{var nahichak} is a technical name for some mode of casting lots; especially as the change of per-
'place of the pious and the wicked, 41 and carry this message correctly, and bring an answer truly'.

42 And afterwards, the lots of those Mazdayasnians and me were drawn; 43 the first time with the word 'well-thought', and the second time with the word 'well-said', and the third time with the word 'well-done'; each of the three lots came to Virâf.

Chapter II.

1 And that Virâf had seven sisters, 2 and all those seven sisters were as wives of Virâf; 3 they had also learnt the religion by heart, and recited the prayers. 4 And when they heard those tidings, then hey came upon them so very grievously, 5 that they clamored and shrieked, 6 and went into the presence of the assembly of the Mazdayasnians, 7 and they stood up and bowed, 8 and said thus: 'Do not this thing, ye Mazdayasnians; 9 for we are seven sisters, and he

sons in 42, is awkwardly suspicious. H_{17} alters \( V \) to \( B \) in both places; H_{18} reads \( u \) man in 39, and Virája \( o \) in 42; and Destur Hoshangji would omit \( B \) in 42; but no editor is justified in making arbitrary alterations in an old text. The Pázand MSS. read náhicha, and some desturs vájeh, for nahichak; the Sans. version has dângaraka.

1 This incident appears to be introduced, merely as an illustration of the extraordinary piety of Virâf, in obeying the precepts of his religion with regard to khvâeštvdath, or 'next-of-kin marriage'; it also indicates that the tale was written before the ancient practice of marriage between brothers and sisters, was discontinued. The later Pázand and Persian MSS. obscure the meaning by omitting this sentence; and H_{18}, by sometimes changing 'sisters' into 'wives', and 'brother' into 'husband', conveys the idea that Virâf had seven wives who were merely sisters to each other. Destur Hoshangji thinks that they were not married, but only a sisterhood of nuns, in imitation of Christian customs; though he admits that there is no evidence that such an institution ever existed among Zoroastrians. If, however, they were married, he thinks it may have been merely a nominal marriage. As an instance of the ancient practice of marriage between brother and sister, may be mentioned that of Cambyses, son of Cyrus, with his sister Atossa (Herod. III. 88).
is an only brother; 10 and we are, all seven sisters, as wives of that brother. 11 Just as the door of a house, in which seven lintels were fixed, and one post below, 12 they who shall take away that post, will make those lintels fall; 13 so for us seven sisters, is this only brother, who is our life and maintenance; 14 every benefit from him, proceeds from God. 15 Should you send him, before his time, from this realm of the living to that of the dead, 16 you will commit an injustice on us without cause.

17 And afterwards, those Mazdayasnians, when they heard those words, pacified those seven sisters, 18 and said thus: 'We will deliver Viraf to you, safe and sound, in seven days; 19 and the happiness of this renown will remain with this man'. 20 Then they became satisfied.

21 And then, Viraf joined his hands on his breast before the Mazdayasnians, and said to them 22 thus: 'It is the custom that I should pray to the departed souls, and eat food, and make a will; afterwards, you will give me the wine and narcotic'. 23 The desturs directed thus: 'Act accordingly'.

24 And afterwards, those desturs of the religion selected, in the dwelling of the spirit, a place which was thirty footsteps from the

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1 Or 'joists'; the meaning may be that the lintel of the doorway was formed of seven narrow timbers laid, side by side, over the opening, which, when large timber is scarce, and walls are thick, is an easy way of making a large lintel; or it may refer to an entrance verandah, in which one post supports seven joists by means of a post-plate.

2 Literally: 'healthy'.

3 Literally: 'that Viraf', which is more definite than is necessary in English; so the demonstrative pronoun is omitted in the translation, here and elsewhere.

4 That is, in accordance with the custom mentioned by Viraf.

5 That is, the dwelling of the angel of fire (Atarô yédató), the fire-temple in which they were assembled, previously called 'the residence of the Frōbāg fire'; see I. 21, 28.
good. 25 And Viraf washed his head and body, and put on new clothes; 26 he fumigated himself with sweet scent, and spread a carpet, new and clean, on a prepared couch. 27 He sat down on the clean carpet of the couch, 28 and consecrated the Drôn, and remembered the departed souls, and ate food. 29 And then those desturs of the religion filled three golden cups with wine and the narcotic of Vishtâsp; 30 and they gave one cup over to Viraf with the word 'well-thought', and the second cup with the word 'well-said', and the third cup with the word 'well-done'; 31 and he swallowed the wine and narcotic, and said grace whilst conscious, and slept upon the carpet.

32 Those desturs of the religion and the seven sisters were occupied, seven days and nights, with the ever-burning fire and fumigations; and they recited the Avesta and Zand of the religious ritual,
33 and recapitulated the Nasks\(^1\), and chanted the Gāthas\(^2\), and kept watch in the dark. 34 And those seven sisters sat around the carpet of Virāf, 35 and seven days and nights, the Avesta was repeated. 36 Those seven sisters, with all the desturs and herbads and mobads of the religion of the Mazdayasnians, discontinued not their protection in any manner.

**Chapter III.**

1 And the soul of Virāf went, from the body, to the Chinvat bridge of Chakât-i-Dâttîk, 2 and came back the seventh day\(^3\), and went into the body. 3 Virāf rose up, as if he arose from a pleasant sleep, 4 thinking of Vohúman\(^4\) and joyful.

5 And those sisters, with the desturs of the religion and the Mazdayasnians, when they saw Virāf, became pleased and joyful; 6 and they said thus: 'Be thou welcome, Virāf, the messenger of us Mazdayasnians, who art come, from the realm of the dead, to this realm of 'the living'. 7 Those herbads and desturs of the religion bowed before i

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\(^{1}\) The 21 *Nasks* (Nosks), or 'books', of the Avesta are frequently mentioned in the Parsi writings. They comprised the whole religious and scientific literature of the Zoroastrian priesthood (see the word *nask* in the Pahl.-Pâz. Glos.). It is doubtful whether the recapitulation of the Nasks refers to the whole of them, or only a portion; but it means, probably, only a recital of their general contents, as it can scarcely be supposed that all the Nasks were extant, in their entirety, in the time of Arđā Virāf. An abstract of the contents of many of them, is preserved in the Din-kârd, in the Pahlavi language. But fragments of only three of them, are now extant in the old Avesta language, viz. the larger portion of the Vendidâd, a fragment of the Hâdôkht Nask, and another of the Vishtâsp Nask. The Vendidâd and Vishtâsp Nask are still recited, as prayers for religious purposes, by the Parsi priests; and the formulas used, when the Vendidâd is so recited, are given in Westergaard's Zend-avesta, p. 485.

\(^{2}\) The recital of the five Gāthas, which are the most sacred hymns and prayers the Parsis possess in the Yasna, is compulsory on every Zoroastrian.

\(^{3}\) Literally: 'day and night'; that is, the natural day of twenty-four hours.

\(^{4}\) That is, 'inspired with good thoughts'.

Virāf. 8 And then Virāf, as he saw them, came forward and bowed, and said thus: 'For you is a blessing from Aūharmazd, the lord, and the archangels (āmeshāspends); 9 and a blessing from the pious Zarātūṣṭ, the descendant of Spitāma; 10 and a blessing from Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel (yazād), and the glorious religion of the Mazdayasnians; 11 and a blessing from the remaining pious; and a blessing from the remaining spirits of paradise who are in happiness and repose.'

12 And afterwards, the desturs of the religion said 13 thus: 'A faithful minister 1 art thou, Virāf, who art the messenger of us Mazdayasnians; and may thy blessing be for thee also. 14 Whatever thou sawest, relate to us truly'.

15 Then Virāf spoke thus: 'First this is to be said, 16 that to give the hungry and thirsty food, is the first thing, 17 and afterwards to make enquiry of him, and appoint his task'.

18 Then the desturs of the religion assented 2 thus: 'Well and good'. 19 And well-cooked and savory 3 food and broth, and cold water and wine were brought. 20 They also consecrated the ceremonial cake (drōn); and Virāf muttered grace, and ate the food, and having finished the sacred repast (myazd), he said grace. 21 And he recounted the praises of Aūharmazd and the archangels, and thanks to Horvadaļ and Ameredaļ, the archangels; and he uttered the benedictions (āfrīnagān).

22 He also directed thus: 'Bring a writer who is wise and learned'. 23 And an accomplished writer, who was learned, was brought by them, and sat before him; 24 and whatsoever Virāf said, he wrote correctly, clearly and explicitly.

1 Literally: 'a proper servant'.
2 Literally: 'ordered'.
3 Literally: 'well-scented'.
Chapter IV.

1 And he ordered him to write 2 thus: In that first night, Srôsh the pious and Atarô the angel came to meet me, 3 and they bowed to me, and spoke 4 thus: 'Be thou welcome, Arda Viraf, although thou hast come when it is not thy time'. 5 I said: 'I am a messenger'. 6 And then the victorious Srôsh, the pious, and Atarô the angel, took hold of my hand. 7 Taking the first footstep with the good thought, and the second footstep with the good word, and the third footstep with the good deed, I came up to the Chinvat bridge, the very wide 2 and strong and created by Aûharmazd.

8 When I came up there, 9 I saw a soul of the departed 3, whilst in those first three nights the soul was seated on the top of the body, 10 and uttered those words of the Gâtha: 11 'Ushtâ ahmâi yahmâi 'ushtâ kahlâichîd'; that is, 'Well is he by whom that which is his benefit, becomes the benefit of anyone else'. 12 And in those three nights, as much benefit and comfort and enjoyment came to it, 13 as all the benefit which it beheld in the world; 14 just as a man who, whilst he was in the world, was more comfortable and happy and joyful through it.

15 In the third dawn, that soul of the pious departed into the sweet scent of trees; 16 and he considered that scent pleasanter than every pleasant scent which passed by his nose among the living; 17 and the air of that fragrance comes from the more southern side, from the direction of God.

18 And there stood before him 4, his own religion and his own deeds, in the graceful form of a damsel, as a beautiful appearance, that

1 Or 'although the time of thy coming is not yet'.
2 Or 'the refuge of many', or 'the much-protecting', according to II.18.
3 The remainder of this chapter is nearly the same as the Hâdôkht Nask, II. 4—32.
4 Compare Mkh. II. 125—139 with the remainder of this chapter.
is, grown up in virtue; 19 with prominent breasts, that is, her breasts swelled downwards 1, which is charming to the heart and soul; 20 whose form was as brilliant, as the sight of it was the more well-pleasing, the observation of it more desirable.

21 And the soul of the pious asked that damsel 22 thus: 'Who art thou? and what person art thou? than whom, in the world of the living, any damsel more elegant, and of more beautiful body than thine, was never seen by me'.

23 To him replied she who was his own religion and his own deeds, 24 thus: 'I am thy actions, O youth of good thoughts, of good words, of good deeds, of good religion. 25 It is on account of thy will and actions, that I am as great and good and sweet-scented and triumphant and un-distressed as appears to thee. 26 For in the world, the Gāthas were chanted by thee, and the good water was consecrated by thee, and the fire tended by thee; 27 and the pious man who came from far, and who was from near, was honored by thee. 28 Though I have been stout, I am made stouter through thee; 29 and though I have been virtuous, I am made more virtuous through thee; 30 and though I have been worthy, I am made more worthy through thee; 31 and though I have been seated on a resplendent throne, I am seated more resplendently through thee; 32 and though I have been exalted, I am made more exalted through thee; 33 through these good thoughts and good words and good deeds which thou practisedst. 34 They honored thee, and the pious man after thee, 35 in that long worship and communion with Aūharmazd, 'when thou performedst, for Aūharmazd, worship and proper conversation for a long time. 36 Peace be from it'.

Chapter V.

1 Afterwards, the width of that Chinvat bridge became again nine javelin-lengths. 2 With the assistance of Srōsh the pious, and

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1 This appears to be the simplest way of reconciling this explanatory phrase with the preceding epithet; but the whole sentence is somewhat obscure.
Atarô the angel, I passed over easily, happily, courageously and triumphantly, on the Chinvat bridge. 3 I had much protection from Mitrô the angel, and Rashn the just, and Vâî the good, and the angel Vâhrâm the powerful, and the angel Ashtâd the world-increasing, and the glory of the good religion of the Mazdayasnians; 4 and the guardian angels (fravashis) of the pious, and the remaining spirits first bowed to me, Arda Viraf. 5 I also saw, I Arda Viraf, Rashn the just, who held, in his hand, the yellow golden balance, and weighed the pious and the wicked.

6 And afterwards, Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, took hold of my hand, 7 and said thus: 'Come on, so that we may show unto thee heaven and hell; and the splendor and glory and ease and comfort and pleasure and joy and delight and gladness and fragrance which are the reward of the pious in heaven. 8 We shall show thee the darkness and confinement and ingloriousness and misfortune and distress and evil and pain and sickness and dreadfulness and fearfulness and hurtfulness and stench in the punishments of hell, of various kinds, which the demons and sorcerers and sinners perform. 9 We shall show thee the place of the true and that of the false. 10 We shall show thee the reward of the firm believers in Aûharmazd and the archangels, and the good which is in heaven, and the evil which is in hell; 11 and the reality of God and the archangels, and the non-reality of Akharman and the demons; and the existence of the resurrection of the dead and the future body. 12 We shall show thee the reward of the pious, from Aûharmazd and the archangels, in the midst of heaven. 13 We shall show thee the torment and punishment of various kinds, which are for the wicked, in the midst of hell, from Akharman and the molestations of the demons.'

1 That is, the Yazad Râm, 'the good flyer'; see Mkh. Glos. p. 203—204.
2 More correctly 'spiritual representatives'. Every creature and object created by Aûharmazd, is supposed to possess a spiritual representative in the other world see Mkh, XLIX. 23.
Chapter VI.

1 I came to a place, and I saw the souls of several people, who remain in the same position. 3 And I asked the victorious Srôsh, the pious, and Ātarô the angel, thus: 'Who are they? and why remain they here?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Ātarô the angel, said thus: 'They call this place, Hamêstagân (the ever-stationary); and these souls remain in this place till the future body; and they are the souls of those men whose good works and sin were equal. Speak out to the worlds thus: 'Let not avarice and vexation prevent you from doing a very easy good work; for everyone whose good works are three Srôshô-charanâm more than his sin, goes to heaven; 9 for everyone whose good works are three Srôshô-charanâm more than his sin, goes to heaven; 10 they whose sin is more, go to hell; 11 they in whom both are equal, remain among these Hamêstagân till the future body. Their punishment is cold, or heat, from the revolution of the atmosphere; and they have no other adversity.'

Chapter VII.

1 And afterwards, I put forth the first footstep to the star track, on Hûmat, the place where good thoughts (hûmat) are received with hospitality. 2 And I saw those souls of the pious whose radiance, which ever increased, was glittering as the stars; and their throne and seat were under the radiance, and splendid and full of glory.

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1 That is, 'the resurrection'.
2 Literally: 'Consider not the easier good works with avarice and as vexation'.
3 This is evidently the name of some very small weight, the value of which is no longer known. It is apparently identical with the sraoshô-charanaya which is so frequently mentioned in the Vendidad, in connection with numerals, when a fine is awarded.
4 Or 'were very brilliant'.
4 And I asked Srôsh the pious, and Átarô the angel, thus: 'Which place is this? and which people are these?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Átarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This place is the star track; and those are the souls who, in the world, offered 'no prayers, and chanted no Gáthas, and contracted no next-of-kin marriage; 8 they have also exercised no sovereignty, nor rulership nor 'chieftainship. 9 Through other good works they have become pious'.

Chapter VIII.

1 When I put forth the second footstep, it was to Hûkht of the moon track, the place where good words (hûkht) find hospitality; 2 and I saw a great assembly of the pious.

3 And I asked Srôsh the pious, and Átarô the angel, thus: 'Which place is this? and who are those souls?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Átarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This place is the moon track; and these are those souls who, in the world, offered 'no prayers, and chanted no Gáthas, and contracted no next-of-kin marriage; 6 but through other good works they have come hither; 7 and their brightness is like unto the brightness of the moon'.

Chapter IX.

1 When I put forth the third footstep on Hûvarsht, there where good deeds (hûvarsht) are received with hospitality, there I arrived.

2 There is the radiance which they call the highest of the highest; 3 and I saw the pious on thrones and carpets made of gold; 4 and they were people whose brightness was like unto the brightness of the sun.

5 And I asked Srôsh the pious, and Átarô the angel, thus: 'Which place is this? and who are those souls?'

6 Srôsh the pious, and Átarô the angel, said 7 thus: 'This is the sun track; and those are the souls who, in the world, exercised 'good sovereignty and rulership and chieftainship'. 
Chapter X.

1 I put forth the fourth footstep unto the radiance of Garôdman, the all-glorious; 2 and the souls of the departed came to meet us, and they asked a blessing, and offered praise, 3 and they spoke thus: 'How hast thou come forth, O pious one? 4 From that perishable and very evil world, thou hast come unto this imperishable, unmolested world 5 Therefore taste immortality', for here you see pleasure eternally'.

6 And after that, Âtarô, the angel of the fire of Aûharmazd, came forward, saluted me, 7 and said thus: 'A fine supplier art thou, Arďá 'Virâf, of green wood, who art the messenger of the Mazdayasnians!'

8 Then I saluted, and said 9 thus: 'Thy servant, O Âtarô the angel, it was who, in the world, always put upon thee wood and perfume seven years old, 10 and you exclaim about my green wood!'

11 Then Âtarô, the angel of the fire of Aûharmazd, said 12 thus: 'Come on, that I may show thee the tank of water of the green wood 'which was put upon me'.

13 And he led me on to a place, and showed the blue water of a large tank, 14 and said: 'This is the water which that wood exuded, 'which thou puttedst upon me'.

Chapter XI.

1 Afterwards, arose Vohûman, the archangel, from a throne made

\[1\] Destur Hoshangji considers this as referring to the *zaremaya raoguna* (Hadîkht Nask II. 38; the *maidjózarn raogan* of Mkh. II. 152), otherwise called *minô rôghan*, a gobletful of which is said to be given, by the archangel Vohûman, to the soul of a pious person before it enters paradise. By drinking it, the soul is supposed to become oblivious of all worldly cares and concerns, and is thus prepared for eternal happiness.

\[2\] The text of this conversation may be corrupt in some places, but it is hazardous to attempt emendations. The translation gives the most plausible meaning which can be extracted from the original, with the minimum of alteration.
of gold 1, 2 and he took hold of my hand; with the words 'good thought' and 'good word' and 'good deed', he brought me into the midst of Aû-harmazd and the archangels and other holy ones, 3 and the guardian angels of Zaratûsht Spitâma, Kâi-Vishtâsp, Jâmâsp 2, Isaqvâstar the son of Zaratûsht, and other upholders and leaders of the religion, 4 than whom I have never seen anyone more brilliant and excellent.

5 And Vohûman 3 said 6 thus: 'This is Aûharmazd'. 7 And I wished to offer worship before him.

8 And he said to me thus: 'Salutation to thee, Ardâ Virâf, thou 'art welcome; 9 from that perishable world, thou hast come to this 'pure, bright place'. 10 And he ordered Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, 11 thus: 'Take Ardâ Virâf, and show him the place and reward 'of the pious, 12 and also the punishment of the wicked'.

13 Then Srôsh the pious and Atarô the angel took hold of my hand; 14 and I was led by them from place to place. 15 I also saw the archangels, and I beheld the other angels; 16 I also saw the guardian angels of Gayêmard, Zaratûsht, Kâi-Vishtâsp, Frashôshtar, Jâmâsp, and other well-doers and leaders of the religion.

Chapter XII.

1 I also came to a place, and saw 2 the souls of the liberal, who walked adorned, 3 and were above the other souls, in all splendor; 4 and Aûharmazd ever exalts the souls of the liberal, who are brilliant and elevated and mighty. 5 And I said thus: 'Happy art thou who

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1 Compare Vend. XIX. 31: uschishtâd Vohu-manû hacha gâtûv zaranyô-keretô. [Dest.]

2 In the Jâmâsp-nâmah, Jâmâsp is said to have been the mobad of mobads, or chief highpriest, who succeeded Zaratûsht in the time of king Vishtâsp. In the Avesta, his name is generally mentioned with that of Frashôshtar (see Yasna 12, 7. 46, 14-17. 49, 2-5. 51, 17-15. Yasht 13, 103), as it is also in sentence 16 of the text; and they are supposed to have been brothers.

3 There is probably some omission here; see the note in the Pahlavi text.
'art a soul of the liberal, that are thus above the other souls'. 6 And it seemed to me sublime.

7 I also saw the souls of those who, in the world, chanted the Gâthas and used the prescribed prayers (yeshts), 8 and were steadfast in the good religion of the Mazdayasniians, which Aûharmazd taught to Zarâtûshtr; 9 when I advanced, they were in gold-embroidered and silver-embroidered clothes, the most embellished of all clothing. 10 And it seemed to me very sublime.

11 I also saw a soul of those who contract next-of-kin marriages, in material-fashioned splendor, 12 when the lofty splendor of its residence ever increased thereby. 13 And it seemed to me sublime.

1 This appears to be the meaning intended, when this sentence is compared with 12 and 16. Arđâ Virâf can hardly be describing his own dress here, as he confines his descriptions, elsewhere, to the state of the souls he sees. If there be no omission in the text, it is possible that hôman should be read for hômanam, and the translation would then be: ‘when they advanced to me’.

2 Or ‘more’.

3 The ideas of the modern Parsis, with regard to khvêtâdathâ or next-of-kin marriage, may be gathered from the following translation of a note appended to a Persian version of Akharmaen’s advice to Aûshma about the Gahanbârs, Myazd and Khvêtûtât, in the MS. H5: ‘Therefore, it is necessary to know that the greater khvêtûtât is that of a sister’s daughter and brother’s son; the medium khvêtûtât is that of a brother’s son with a brother’s daughter, or of a sister’s son with a sister’s daughter; and inferior to the medium khvêtûtât is that of a sister’s son and a brother’s daughter. It is also necessary to know that any one who performs khvêtûtât, if his soul be fit for hell, will go among the haméstagân; and if he is one of the haméstagân, he will go to heaven’. An older treatise on khvêtûtât, which occupies seven folio pages in the Din-kard, appears not to mention first cousins, but confines itself to the three nearest relations (mother, sister and daughter), and defends the practice on the grounds of mythological history and general expediency.

4 The original text is so obscure that it is hazardous to be more explicit in the translation; azash, or afash, may refer to the soul itself, or its good deeds, or its splendor.
14 I also saw the souls of good rulers and monarchs, who ever increased their greatness, goodness, power and triumph thereby when they walk in splendor, in their golden trowsers. 16 And it seemed to me sublime.

18 I also saw the souls of the great and of truthful speakers, who walked in lofty splendor with great glory. 19 And it seemed to me sublime.

Chapter XIII.

1 I also saw the souls of those women of excellent thoughts, of excellent words, of excellent deeds, and submissive to control, who consider their husbands as lords, 2 in clothing embroidered with gold and silver, and set with jewels. 3 And I asked thus: 'Which souls are those?'

4 And Srôsh the pious, and Átarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are the souls of those women who, in the world, have honored water, and honored fire, and honored earth and trees, cattle and sheep, and all the other good creations of Aûharmazd. 6 And they performed the Yazishn and Drôn ceremonies, and the praise and service of God; 7 and they performed the rites and praises of the angels of the heavenly existences, and the angels of the earthly existences; 8 and they practiced acquiescence and conformity, reverence and obedience to their husbands and lords; 9 and they were without doubts on the religion of the Mazdayasnians. 10 They were diligent in the doing of

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1 This sentence is also obscure, but azash appears to refer to the walking.

2 The reading adopted in the Pahlavi text is râno-vardinô, which is equivalent to rân-girdin in Persian, and may be compared with gird-rân and rânîn; another probable reading is rukho va vardinô, which may be translated: 'coronets and crowns'; rukh and girzin (garzan, or karzan) being both terms for Persian crowns; gardin and karjawan are also somewhat similar terms; and as vardinô can be read vartirô, it might perhaps be likewise compared with kartir, the term for 'crown' in the Sasanian inscription of Naksh-i Rajab.
'good works, 11 and they have been abstainers from sin'. 12 And it seemed to me sublime.

Chapter XIV.

1 I also saw the souls of performers of the Yazishn ceremony, and of those who know the scriptures by heart, splendid among the lofty, and exalted among the great. 2 And it seemed to me sublime.

3 I also saw the souls of those who solemnized the whole ritual of the religion, and performed and directed the worship of God, 4 who were seated above the other souls; 5 and their good works stood as high as heaven. 6 And it seemed to me very sublime.

7 I also saw the souls of warriors, whose walk was in the supremest pleasure and joyfulness, and together with that of kings; 8 and the well-made arms and equipments of those heroes, were made of gold, studded with jewels, well-ornamented and all embroidered; 9 and they were in wonderful trowsers, with much pomp and power and triumph. 10 And it seemed to me sublime.

11 I also saw the souls of those who killed many noxious creatures (khraf/stars) in the world; 12 and the prosperity of the waters and sacred fires, and fires in general, and trees, and the prosperity also of the earth was ever increased thereby; and they were exalted and adorned. 13 And it seemed to me very sublime.

14 I also saw the souls of agriculturists, in a splendid place, and

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1 Literally: 'splendid in what is lofty, and exalted in what is great'.

2 Literally: 'stood sky-high'.

3 Or 'greaves'; but more probably 'coronets and crowns', see note to XII. 16.

It will be observed that the sentences 7—9 are more closely connected in Pahlavi than in this translation.

4 It must be recollected that the Huz. gadman means both bakht and khurah in Pazand, and the former, which appears to be its original meaning, is here the better suited to the context.

5 Literally: 'they were in exaltation and adorment'.
glorious and thick majestic clothing; 15 as they stood, and offered praise, before the spirits of water and earth, trees and cattle; 16 and they utter thanksgiving and praise and benediction; 17 their throne also is great, and the place they occupy is good. 18 And it seemed to me sublime.

19 I also saw the souls of artizans who, in the world, served their rulers and chieftains; 20 as they sat on thrones which were well-carpeted and great, splendid and embellished. 21 And it seemed to me very sublime.

**Chapter XV.**

1 I also saw the souls of shepherds, by whom, in the world, quadrupeds and sheep were employed and fed, 2 and preserved from the wolf and thief and tyrannical man. 3 And at appointed times, water and grass and food were given; 4 and they were preserved from severe cold and heat; 5 and the males were allowed access at the usual time, and properly restrained when inopportune; 6 whereby very great advantage, profit and benefit, food and clothing were afforded to the men of that time. 7 Which souls walked among those who are brilliant, on a beautiful eminence, in great pleasure and joy. 8 And it seemed to me very sublime.

9 I also saw many golden thrones, fine carpets and cushions decked with rich cloth, 10 on which are seated the souls of householders and justices, who were heads of village families, and exercised mediation and authority, 11 and made a desolate place prosperous; 12 they also brought many conduits, streams and fountains for the improvement of tillage and cultivation, and the advantage of creatures. 13 And as they stand before those who are the guardian angels of water, and of trees, and also of the pious, in great power and triumph, 14 they offer them

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1 Or 'when the time arrived'.

2 As bar has many other meanings, this phrase is doubtful.

3 Pers. búb = yúb.
blessings and praise, and repeat thanksgivings. 15 And it seemed to me very sublime.

16 I also saw the souls of the faithful, the teachers and inquirers, in the greatest gladness on a splendid throne. 17 And it seemed to me sublime.

18 I also saw the friendly souls of interceders and peace-seekers, 19 who ever increased thereby their brilliance, which was like the stars and moon and sun; 20 and they ever walked agreeably in the light of the atmosphere.

21 I also saw the pre-eminent world of the pious, which is the all-glorious light of space, much perfumed with sweet basil (ocymum), all-bedecked, all-admired, and splendid, full of glory and every joy and every pleasure, 22 with which no one is satiated ¹.

Chapter XVI.

1 Afterwards, Srôsh the pious and Átaró the angel took hold of my hand, and I went thence onwards. 2 I came to a place, and I saw a great river which was gloomy as dreadful hell; 3 on which river were many souls and guardian angels; 4 and some of them were notable to cross, and some crossed only ² with great difficulty, and some crossed easily.

5 And I asked thus: 'What river is this? and who are these people 'who stand so distressed'?'

6 Srôsh the pious, and Átaró the angel, said 7 thus: 'This river is the many tears which men shed from the eyes ³, as they make lamentation and weeping for the departed. 8 They shed those tears

¹ Literally: 'which no one knows satiety from'.
² Literally: 'and there are who ever crossed'.
³ Most probably, chashm has been accidentally admitted into the text, from the margin of some old MS., being merely the Pâz. equivalent of the preceding Huz. ainman; unless it be corrupted from chashmak, when the phrase might be translated: 'from the fountain of the eyes'.
"unlawfully, and they swell to this river. 9 Those who are not able 'to cross over, are those for whom, after their departure, much lamentation and weeping were made; 10 and those who cross more easily, 'are those for whom less was made. 11 Speak forth to the world 'thus: 'When you are in the world, make no lamentation and weeping "unlawfully; 12 for so much harm and difficulty may happen to the "souls of your departed".

Chapter XVII.

1 I came back again to the Chinvat bridge. 2 And I saw a soul of those who were wicked, when in those first three nights, so much mischief and evil were shown to their souls, as never such distress was seen by them in the world. 3 And I inquired of Srôsh the pious, and Åtarô the angel, thus: 'Whose soul is this?

4 Srôsh the pious, and Åtarô the angel, said thus: 'This soul 'of the wicked wandered there where the wicked one died, over the 'place where the life went forth; 6 it stood at his head, and uttered 'the Gâtha words 7 thus: 'Creator Aûharmazd! to which land do I go? "and what do I take 2 as a refuge? 8 And as much misfortune and 'difficulty happen to him, that night, 9 as in the world, unto a man 'who lived in the world, and lived in difficulty and misfortune'.

10 Afterwards 3, a stinking cold wind comes to meet him. 11 So it seemed to that soul as if it came forth from the northern quarter,

1 In Pahlavi, the plural is here used, to express 'the inhabitants of the world'.

2 Or it can be read vâdûnam, 'I make', as indicated in K 26 and adopted in Mkh. II. 159. In the Hádôkht Nask III. 4., this quotation from Yas. XLVI. 1. is differently translated. The translation which is given here, is nearly the same as that which I proposed in my work on the Gâthas II. pag. 46, without knowing the book of Arda Virâf.

3 It is not very clear whether the remaining incidents in this chapter are represented as actually seen by Arda Virâf, or as merely described by Srôsh, but the former seems the more likely.
from the quarter of the demons; a more stinking wind than which, he had not perceived in the world. And in that wind, he saw his own religion and deeds, as a profligate woman, naked, decayed, gaping, bandy-legged, lean-hipped, and unlimitedly spotted, so that that spot was joined to spot, like the most hideous noxious creature (khrafstar), most filthy and most stinking.

13 Then that wicked soul spoke thus: 'Who art thou? than whom I never saw anyone of the creatures of Aûharmazd and Akharman uglier, or filthier, or more stinking?'

14 To him she spoke thus: 'I am thy bad actions, O youth of evil thoughts, of evil words, of evil deeds, of evil religion. It is on account of thy will and actions, that I am hideous and vile, iniquitous and diseased, rotten and foul-smelling, unfortunate and distressed, as appears to thee. When thou sawest anyone who performed the 'Yazishn and Drôn ceremonies, and praise and prayer and the service of God; and preserved and protected water and fire, cattle and trees, and other good creations; thou practisedst the will of Akharman and the demons, and improper actions. And when thou sawest one who provided hospitable reception, and gave something deservedly in gifts and charity, for the advantage of the good and worthy who came from far, and who were from near; thou wast avaricious, and shuttedst up thy door. And though I have been unholy, (that is, I have been considered bad), I am made more unholy through thee; and though I have been frightful, I am made more frightful through

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1 The north is supposed to be the special residence of Akharman and the demons, see Vend. XIX. 1; and hell is also referred to the same region in Mkh. XLIX. 15—17.

2 This description, which is no longer extant in the Hâdôkhr Nask, closely resembles that of the drukhsd yâ nasush in Vend. VII. 2, VIII. 71, IX. 26.

3 The reading of this epithet is doubtful, and consequently, its meaning is uncertain.

4 Or perhaps: 'sealed'.

5 Literally: 'sin-accustomed', 'sinful' or 'criminal'.
'thee; 23 though I have been tremulous, I am made more tremulous 'through thee; 24 though I am settled in the northern region of the 'demons, I am settled further north through thee; 25 through these 'evil thoughts, and through these evil words, and through these evil 'deeds, which thou practisedst. 26 They curse me, a long time, in the 'long exeguration and evil communion of the Evil spirit'.

27 Afterwards, that soul of the wicked advanced the first footstep on Dûsh-hûmat (the place of evil thoughts), and the second footstep on Dûsh-hûkht (the place of evil words), and the third on Dûsh-hûvarsht (the place of evil deeds); and with the fourth footstep, he ran to hell.

Chapter XVIII.

1 Afterwards, Srosh the pious and Ataro the angel took hold of my hand, 2 so that I went on unhurt. 3 In that manner, I beheld cold and heat, drought and stench, 4 to such a degree as I never saw, nor heard of, in the world. 5 And when I went further, 6 I also saw the greedy jaws of hell, like the most frightful pit, descending in a very narrow and fearful place; 7 in darkness so gloomy, that it is necessary to hold by the hand; 8 and in such stench that everyone whose nose inhales that air, will struggle and stagger and fall; 9 and on account of such close confinement, no one's existence is possible; 10 and everyone thinks thus: 'I am alone'; 11 and when three days and nights have elapsed, he says thus: 'The nine thousand years are

1 Compare IV. 34-35.
2 Compare VII. 1.; or perhaps: 'with evil thoughts'.
3 Compare VIII. 1.; or perhaps: 'with evil words'.
4 Compare IX. 1.; or perhaps: 'with evil deeds'.
5 Literally: 'everyone into whose nose that air ascends'; compare Mkh. VII. 30-31.
6 More correctly: 'stay', 'endurance', or 'continuance'.
7 At the end of which, the opposition of Akharman is to cease, and the resurrection to take place.
'completed, and they will not release me!' 12 Everywhere, even the lesser noxious creatures (khrafstārs) are as high as mountains 1, 13 and they so tear and seize and worry the souls of the wicked, as would be unworthy of a dog 2. 14 And I easily passed in there, with Srōsh the pious, the well-grown and triumphant, and Ātarō the angel.

Chapter XIX.

1 I came to a place, and I saw the soul of a man, 2 through the fundament of which soul, as it were a snake, like a beam, went in, and came forth out of the mouth; 3 and many other snakes ever seized all the limbs.

4 And I inquired of Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, 5 thus: 'What sin was committed by this body 3, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

6 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said 7 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, committed sodomy, 8 and allowed a man to come on his body; 9 now the soul suffers so severe a punishment'.

Chapter XX.

1 I came to a place, and I saw the soul of a woman, 2 to whom they ever gave to eat cup after cup of the impurity and filth of men.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

4 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the

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1 Literally: 'stand up mountain high'.
2 Or 'as a dog a bone', according to Mkh. VII. 29.
3 Or 'by the body of this one', which would represent the Pahlavi of this frequent phrase equally well, and be more correct in language; but being clumsy, and the souls being described as possessing bodies of their own, it is not adopted in the translation.
'soul of that wicked woman who, having not abstained, nor lawfully 'withheld herself, approached water and fire during her menstruation'.

Chapter XXI.

1 I also saw the soul of a man, 2 the skin of whose head they ever widen out 1, and with a cruel death they ever kill him.
3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers such a punishment?'
4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, slew a pious man'.

Chapter XXII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man, 2 into whose jaws they ever pour the impurity and menstrual discharge of women, 3 and he ever cooked and ate his own seemly child.
4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers such a punishment?'
5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, had intercourse with a 'menstruous woman; 7 and every single time, it is a sin of fifteen and 'a half Tanâpûhars' 2.

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1 That is, they ever flay his head.
2 According to the Pahlavi Rivâyat, the penalty for a tanâpûhar is 300 stirs of 4 dirams each, in weight. The value of the diram is uncertain; but according to a passage in the Persian MS. H5, on the five kinds of marriage, the proper dowry for a first-class wife is '2000 dirams of silver, that is, 2300 rápis, and 2 dirams of gold, that is, 2½ tolas'; the rápi is now a tola weight of silver, but when this MS. was written, 150 years ago, neither denomination was very definite; however, this passage fixes the penalty for a tanâpûhar between 1350 and 1380 rápis; and consequently, the sin described in the text, would cost about 2000 pounds sterling, if the penalty were exacted only in silver.
Chapter XXIII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who, because of hunger and thirst, ever cried thus: ‘I shall die’. 3 And he ever tore out his hair and beard, and devoured blood, and cast foam about with his mouth.

4 And I asked thus: ‘What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers such a punishment?’

5 Srosh the pious, and Ataró the angel, said 6 thus: ‘This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, devoured talkatively, and consumed unlawfully, the water and vegetables of Horvadaq and Amerodaq, and muttered no grace; 7 and through sinfulness, he celebrated no Yesht; 8 such was his contempt of the water of Horvadaq, and the vegetation of Amerodaq. 9 Now this soul must suffer so severe a punishment’.

Chapter XXIV.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman 2 who was suspended, by the breasts, to hell; 3 and its noxious creatures (khrafstars) seized her whole body.

4 And I asked thus: ‘What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers such a punishment?’

5 Srosh the pious, and Ataró the angel, said 6 thus: ‘This is the soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, left her own husband, 7 and gave herself to other men, and committed adultery’.

Chapter XXV.

1 I also saw the souls of several men, and several women, 2 whose legs and necks and middle parts a noxious creature (khrafstar) ever gnawed, and separated one from the other.

3 And I asked thus: ‘What sin was committed by these bodies, whose souls suffer such a punishment?’

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1 The Parsis are not permitted to talk when eating.
4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked ones who, in the world, walked without 'shoes', ran about uncovered, made water on foot, and performed 'other demon-service'.

Chapter XXVI.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman who ever stretched out her tongue on her neck, and she was suspended from the atmosphere.

3 And I asked thus: 'Whose soul is this?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, scorned her husband and master, and cursed, abused and defied him'.

Chapter XXVII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man whom they ever forced to measure dust and ashes, with a bushel and gallon, and they ever gave it him to eat.

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1 Literally: 'performed walking with one shoe'; in all places where this sin is mentioned, its name refers to only one shoe; but the Pahlavi characters for khadâ-mûk, 'one-shoe' could have been easily corrupted from those for avi-mûk, 'without shoes'; and it seems more probable that 'walking without shoes' should be prohibited, than the inconvenient practice of 'walking with one shoe'. [Dest.]

2 That is, without sadrah and kûstî, shirt and sacred thread. [Dest.]

3 That is, whilst standing, whereby more than a frâbda measure of the ground is polluted. [Dest.] See Vend, XVIII, 40; frâbda is the fore-part of the foot, Sans. propada; perhaps the instep. See Haug, Das 18te Kapitel des Wêndåd, pag. 12. Aus den Sitzungsberichten der Kgl. baierischen Akademie der Wissenschaften von 1869.

4 Literally: 'offered abuse and made justificatory replies'.

5 Or 'bucket', 'goblet', or perhaps 'scale-pan'; if dûlak be a measure, its amount can only be guessed; but the kafîz is defined as 'a measure containing 64 pounds weight', which corresponds very closely with a bushel. The present tense is used in the Pahlavi of this sentence and some others, as it might be in English.
And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

Srōsh the pious, and Atarō the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, kept no true bushel, nor gallon, nor weight, nor measure of length; he mixed water with wine, and put dust into grain, and sold them to the people at a high price; and stole and extorted something from the good.'

Chapter XXVIII.

I also saw the soul of a man who was held in the atmosphere 1, 2 and fifty demons ever flogged him, before and behind, with darting serpents.

And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

Srōsh the pious, and Atarō the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, was a bad ruler and was unmerciful and destructive among men, and caused torment and punishment of various kinds'.

Chapter XXIX.

I also saw the soul of a man whose tongue hung on the outside of his jaw, and was ever gnawed by noxious creatures (khrafaštars).

And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

1 Literally: 'whom the atmosphere held'.

2 Compare Vend. XVIII. 65.; Z. khshvācō, Tir Yasht 6 and 37.; Pers. شپ, Sans. kshap, kship; all these imply motion, otherwise 'stinging, sharp' would suit the context both here and in the other passages, L. 3 and LII. 2, where shapāk occurs. See Haug, Das 18te Kapitel des Wendidád, pag. 48.

3 Literally: 'performed misgovernment'.

4 Or 'a destroyer'.

5 Literally: 'such'.

6 Or 'such'.
4 Srosh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said thus: 'This is the soul of that man who, in the world, committed slander, and embroiled people one with the other; 6 and his soul, in the end, fled to hell'.

Chapter XXX.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whose limbs they ever break and separate, one from the other.

3 And I asked thus: ‘What sin was committed by this body?’

4 Srosh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who made unlawfully much slaughter of cattle 'and sheep and other quadrupeds' 1.

Chapter XXXI.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who, from head to foot, remained stretched 2 upon a rack; 3 and a thousand demons trampled upon him, and ever smote him with great brutality and violence.

4 And I asked thus: ‘What sin was committed by this body?’

5 Srosh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, collected much wealth; 7 and he consumed it not himself, and neither gave it, nor allowed a 'share, to the good; but kept it in store' 3.

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1 Though the Parsis, nowadays, do not use beef, owing probably to an understanding with the Hindu governments of former times, its 'lawful' use is evidently contemplated in this chapter, and put upon the same footing as that of mutton. It is only the inmoderate, or unnecessary, slaughter of domestic animals, which is here reprobated as a sin. [Dest.]

2 Literally: 'placed'.

3 The moral seems to be that the proper use of wealth is first, for our own reasonable gratification, and next, in works of charity. The Parsis are enjoined by their religion to be liberal towards the good and worthy and helpless. [Dest.]
Chapter XXXII.

1. I also saw the soul of a lazy man, whom they called Davânôs, whose whole body a noxious creature (khrafstar) ever gnawed, and his right foot was not gnawed.

3. And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4. Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said thus: 'This is the soul of the lazy Davânôs who, when he was in the world, never did any good work; but with this right foot, a bundle of grass was cast before a ploughing ox'.

Chapter XXXIII.

1. I also saw the soul of a man whose tongue a worm ever gnawed.

3. And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4. Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said thus: 'This is the

Destur Hoshangji suggests that this may be the name of some Greek, noted for his laziness, or neglect of duty; and no doubt, such a name as Avarôs might be proposed; but it should be recollected that the name is very indeterminate, as the Pahlavi characters with which it is written, admit of 648 different readings, theoretically; moreover, neglect of good works is a sin more likely to be attributed to a co-religionist than to an infidel.

This tale of Davânôs, or Danavôs, may be traced to the thirteenth, or Spend. Nask, as appears from the following passage from the Pahlavi Rivâyat: chigün yin Spend, madam gabrâ-I, val Zaratuhsht namûd, aigh hamâk hanâm yin anâkîh yehevûnd, va ragelman aê birûno yehevûnd. Zaratuhsht, madam zak babâ, min Aûharmazd pûrsid. Aûharmazd gûst aigh: Zak gabrâ aê, Davânas shem, madam XXXIII matâ pâdakhshah yehevûnd; afash akaraz hich kîrfaî lá varzid, barâ hangâm-I, amataš pavan zak ragelman-I, vavâstar (?) frâz gospend yeerdûnd. 'As in the Spend nask, it was shown to Zaratuhsht, regarding a certain man, that all his limbs were in torment, and one foot was exempt. Zaratuhsht asked Aûharmazd the reason of it. Aûharmazd said thus: That man, named Davânas, was ruler over thirty-three countries; and he never practised any good work, but once, when he conveyed fodder (?) to a sheep with that foot.'
soul of that wicked man who, in the world, spoke many lies and falsehoods; 6 and, thereby, much harm and injury were diffusion among all creatures'.

Chapter XXXIV.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman 2 whose whole body the noxious creatures (khrafstars) ever gnawed.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, dressed her hair-curls and hair 1 over the fire; 6 and threw hairs from the head and scurf 2 and hair of the body upon the fire; 7 and introduced fire under the body 3, and held herself on the fire'.

Chapter XXXV.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman 2 who ever chewed with her teeth, and ever ate, her own dead refuse.

3 And I asked thus: 'Whose soul is this?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman, by whom, in the world, sorcery was practised'.

Chapter XXXVI.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who stood up, in hell, in the form 4 of a serpent like a column; 3 and his head was like unto a human head, and the remaining body, unto a serpent.

1 The reading of the Pahlavi text is rather uncertain.
2 Or 'vermin'.
3 Nowadays the Parsis do not consider it wrong to heat, or foment, the body and limbs over the fire. [Dest.] This passage may, however, refer to scorching hairs off the body, or even to burning the body itself.
4 Or 'manner'.
4 And I asked thus: ‘What sin was committed by this body?’

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: ‘This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, committed apostacy; 7 and he fled into hell, in the form of a serpent’.

Chapter XXXVII.

1 I also saw the souls of several men and several women 2 who were suspended, head downwards, in hell; 3 and snakes and scorpions and other noxious creatures (khrafstars) ever gnawed all their bodies.

4 And I asked thus: ‘Of which people are these souls?’

5 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 6 thus: ‘These are the souls of those people, by whom, in the world, water and fire were not cared for, 7 and corruption was brought to water and fire, and fire was extinguished intentionally’ 1.

Chapter XXXVIII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whom they ever gave to eat, the flesh and dead refuse of mankind, with blood and filth, and other corruption and stench.

3 And I asked thus: ‘What sin was committed by this body?’

4 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 5 thus: ‘This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, brought bodily refuse and dead matter to water and fire and his own body and those also of other men; 6 and he was always carrying the dead alone 2, and was ‘polluted; 7 he also did not wash himself in this occupation’.

1 Or perhaps, ‘by looking’ at it, with the evil eye.

2 The term khadak-bar is also technically extended to all who neglect sag-did, or paivand, or any other observance, or abstinence, appointed with regard to the dead. It is the iristô-kasha of Vend, III. 15, or one who carries the dead in an unlawful manner; which must be carefully distinguished from the nasu-kasha of Vend, VIII. 11—13, Pahl. nasá-sádâr, who carries the dead with all the prescribed observances and precautions. [Dest.]
Chapter XXXIX.

1 I also saw the soul of a man who ever ate the skin and flesh of men.

3 And I asked thus: ‘Whose soul is this?’

4 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said thus: ‘This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, kept back the wages of laborers, and the shares of partners; and now the soul must suffer severe punishment’.

Chapter XL.

1 I also saw the soul of a man who ever carried a mountain on his back; and in snow and cold, he had that mountain upon his back.

4 And I asked thus: ‘What sin was committed by this body?’

5 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said thus: ‘This is the soul of that wicked man, by whom, in the world, falsehood and irreverence and deprecating words were much spoken about people; and now his soul ever suffers the punishment of such severe frost’.

Chapter XLI.

1 I also saw the soul of a man whom they gave excrement and dead refuse and corruption to eat; and the demons ever beat him with stones and axes.

4 And I asked thus: ‘What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?’

5 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said thus: ‘This is the soul of that wicked man who was at the warm baths which many have frequented, and he carried their bodily refuse and dead matter to water and fire and earth; and the pious went in, and came out wicked’.

1 That is, ‘contaminated’ by the impurity of the place. The darvand, ‘wicked’, is the infidel who does not keep the Zoroastrian law.


Chapter XLII.

1 I also saw the souls of several people whom they cause to weep; and they ever make piteous cries.

3 And I asked thus: 'Which people are these?'

4 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said thus: 'These are the souls of those who had a father in their mother; 6 and when they were born, the father did not acknowledge them; 7 and now they ever make lamentation for a father'.

Chapter XLIII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man, at whose feet several children fell, and ever screamed; 3 and demons, just like dogs, ever fell upon and tore him.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

5 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, did not acknowledge his own children'.

Chapter XLIV.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman who ever dug into a hill with her own breasts; 3 and ever held, on her head, a mill-stone like a cap.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

5 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said thus: 'This is the

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1 This sentence and the next can be translated in various ways, but all seem to imply that this chapter treats of illegitimate children, though it is not very clear why their misfortune should doom them to hell, unless we read: 'the father was not acknowledged by them', in the next sentence.
'soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, destroyed her own in-fant, and threw away the corpse'.

Chapter XLV.

1 I also saw the soul of a man, 2 all whose limbs were ever gnawed by a worm.
3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'
4 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, committed perjury; 6 and 'he extorted wealth from the good, and gave it to the bad'.

Chapter XLVI.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who holds human skulls in his hands, and ever eats the brains 1.
3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'
4 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man whose wealth, in the world, was not acquired 'by honesty, but was stolen from the property of others; 6 and it 'was left by him among his own enemies, 7 and only he himself must 'be in hell'.

Chapter XLVII.

1 I also saw many people 2 whose heads and beards were shaved, and complexion yellow, and the whole body rotten, and noxious crea-tures (khrafsars) ever crept upon them.
3 And I asked thus: 'Who and which are these?'
4 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those people who, in the world, have been apostates and

1 Compare Mkh. II. 48—49: 'since it is said, that: Whoever eats anything, not from his own regular industry, but from another, he is such-like as one who holds in hand men's heads and eats men's brains'.
deceivers; 6 and men were ever ruined by them, and led away from the law of virtue to the law of evil; 7 and many religions and improper creeds were made current in the world.

Chapter XLVIII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whom demons, just like dogs, ever tear. 3 That man gives bread to the dogs, and they eat it not; 4 but they ever devour the breast, legs, belly and thighs of the man. 5 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?' 6 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 7 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, kept back the food of the 'dogs of shepherds and householders; or beat and killed them'.

Chapter XLIX.

1 I also saw the souls of several men 2 who ever devoured the excrement and bodily refuse and dead matter and corruption of mankind; 3 and the demons dug up stones, and ever threw them from behind, 4 till a mountain of them was carried on their backs, and they were not able to support it. 5 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these bodies, whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?' 6 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 7 thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked, by whom, in the world, land was measured¹, and measured false; 8 and many people were rendered unsettled² and unproductive, so that they came to want and poverty; 9 and it was ever necessary to contribute heavy taxes'.

Chapter L.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who ever dug into a hill with

¹ Literally: 'weighed'.
² Or 'unsupported'.

his fingers and nails; 3 and demons ever beat and frightened him, from behind, with darting 1 serpents.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Ātarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, removed the boundary-stones of others, and took them as his own'.

Chapter LII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 who was ever given to eat of the flesh which was ever dragged from his body with an iron comb.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers such a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Ātarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, made false covenants 'with men'.

Chapter LIII.

1 I also saw the soul of a man, 2 to whom they ever applied pricking 2 spurs and arrows and stones and axes.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Ātarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man who, in the world, committed many 'breaches of promise, 6 and broke promises with the pious and with 'the wicked; 7 for both are promises, alike with the pious, and alike 'with the wicked'.

Chapter LIII.

1 And afterwards, Srôsh the pious, and Ātarô the angel, took hold

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1 See XXVIII: 2.
2 See the note to XXVIII. 2.
3 See the Mihir Yasht, 2. It should be remembered that the 'wicked' include all members of other religious communities, as well as the sinful Mazdayasnians.
of my hand; 2 and I was carried on to Chakāt-i-Dātíh, below the Chinvat bridge, into a desert; 3 and was shown hell in the earth of the middle of that desert, below the Chinvat bridge.

4 The groaning and cries of Akharman and the demons and demonesses and many other souls of the wicked, came so, from that place, 5 that I was frightened, because I considered that they would shake the seven regions of the earth which heard that noise and groaning. 6 And I entreated Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, 7 thus: 'Carry me not here, but turn back'.

8 And then, Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said to me 9 thus: 'Fear not! since there is no danger whatever for thee from here'. 10 And in front, went Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel; 11 and in the rear, fearlessly, I, Arḍāi Virāf, went on further into that gloomy hell

Chapter LIV.

1 And I saw the darkest hell, which is pernicious, dreadful, terrible, very painful, mischievous and foul-smelling. 2 And after further observation, it appeared to me 2 3 as a pit, to the bottom of which, a thousand cubits would not reach; 4 and though all the wood which is in the world, were all put on to the fire in the most stinking and gloomy hell, it would never emit a smell; 5 and again also, as close 3 as the ear to the eye, and as many as the hairs on the mane of a horse, 6 so close and many in number, the souls of the wicked stand, 7 but they see not and hear no sound, one from the other; 8 everyone thinks thus 4: 'I am alone'. 9 And for them are the gloom of darkness, and the stench and fearfulness of the torment and punishment of hell, of

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1 That is, besides those already described.
2 Literally: 'and after I have reflected, it seemed thus'.
3 Such appears to be the meaning of the Pahlavi text, as it now stands, but it may perhaps be corrupt.
4 Literally: 'considers in this manner, that'.
various kinds; so that whoever is only a day in hell, cries out thus: 'Are not those nine thousand years yet completed, when they should release us from this hell?'

Chapter LV.

1 Then I saw the souls of the wicked who died, and ever suffer torment and punishment, in that dreadful, dark place of punishment of various kinds, such as driving snow, and severe cold, and the heat of brisk-burning fire, and foul stench, and stone and ashes, hail and rain, and many other evils.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by the body of these, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Ātarô the angel, said thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked people, by whom, in the world, mortal sin was much committed, and the Bahrâm (most sacred) fire was extinguished, and a bridge of a rapid river was demolished; and falsehood and irreverence were spoken, and much false evidence was given. And their desire was anarchy; and because of their greediness and avarice and lust and wrath and envy, the innocent, pious man was slain; and they have proceeded very deceitfully. Now the soul must suffer such severe torment and punishment'.

Chapter LVI.

1 Then I saw the souls of those whom serpents stung and ever gnawed.

2 And I asked thus: 'Whose souls are those?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Ātarô the angel, said thus: 'These are

1 It is uncertain how many of the nouns which follow, are connected with the postposition rāś, 'because of'; as some of the earlier ones may be intended to be coupled with the foregoing noun, 'anarchy'.
the souls of those wicked who, in the world, have been defrauders of their God and religion'.

Chapter LVII.

1 I also saw the souls of women whose heads were cut off and separated from the body, and the tongue ever kept crying.

2 And I asked thus: 'Whose souls are those of these?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Ātårô the angel, said thus: 'These are the souls of those women who, in the world, made much lamentation and weeping, and beat the head and face'.

Chapter LVIII.

1 Then I saw the soul of a man whom the draggers drag to hell and ever beat.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Ātårô the angel, said thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, often washed his head and face, and dirty hands, and other pollution of his limbs, in large standing waters and fountains and streams, and distressed Horvadad, the archangel'.

Chapter LIX.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman who ever wept, and ever tore and ate the skin and flesh from her own breasts.

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1 This appears to refer to the misappropriation of religious endowments; see also Mkh. XXXVI. 13: 'who will devour a thing which is received in his custody, and becomes an embezzler'.

2 Pointing them out of a number of others.

3 That is, for the dead; outward tokens of mourning being justly considered as a selfish sin.

4 The special protector of water.

5 Literally: 'dug'.

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3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who left her own infant crying on account of want and hunger'.

Chapter LX.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whose body remains set into a brazen caldron; and they ever cook it. 3 One foot, which is the right one, remained outside the caldron.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, among the living, lustfully1 and improperly, went much out to married women; 7 and his whole body became sinful. 8 But with that right foot, the frog and ant, snake and scorpion, and other noxious creatures (khraf*stars) were much smitten and killed and destroyed'.

Chapter LXI.

1 I also saw the souls of those wicked 2 who swallowed and voided, and again swallowed and voided.

3 And I asked thus: 'What souls are those of these?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked who, in the world, believed not in the spirit, 6 and they have been unthankful 2 in the religion of the creator Aûhar-mazd. 7 They have been doubtful of the happiness which is in heaven, and the torment which is in hell, and about the reality of the resurrection of the dead and the future body'.

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1 Literally: 'with the lustfulness of the living'; but the construction is doubtful.

2 Meaning, probably, that they had not uttered the appointed thanksgivings and invocations.
Chapter LXII.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman who ever gashed her own bosom and breasts with an iron comb.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

4 Srors the pious, and Atarô the angel, said thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, despised her husband and master, and became and remained vile; being also herself untrue to him, she acted improperly with other men'.

Chapter LXIII.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman who ever licked a hot oven with her tongue, and ever burnt her own hand under the oven.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

5 Srors the pious, and Atarô the angel, said thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, offered defiance to her own husband and master, and became abusive; she also acted disobediently, and did not grant cohabitation at his desire; and she stole property from her husband, and secretly formed a hoard for herself'.

Chapter LXIV.

1 I also saw the soul of a woman who ever came and went crying and wailing; upon her head also, ever came pelting hail; and under foot, hot, molten brass ever streamed; and she ever gashes her own head and face, with a knife.

1 Or 'guardian'.

2 More literally: 'made justificatory replies'.

3 Literally: 'dog-tongued', somewhat analogous to 'snarling' and 'snappish'.
6 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, when the soul ever suffers so severe a punishment?'

7 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said 8 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who, undutifully, became pregnant from other men, 9 and she effected the destruction of the infant. 10 Because of the pain and punishment, she fancies that she hears the cry of that infant, and she runs; 11 and such vehemence of running is occasioned, as of one who walks upon hot brass; 12 and she ever hears the cry of that infant, and gashes her own head and face with a knife, and demands the child, 13 but she sees it not till the re-establishment of the world; this punishment she must suffer'.

Chapter LXV.

1 I also saw several souls 2 whose chests were plunged in mud and stench, 3 and a sharp sickle ever went among their legs and other limbs; 4 and they ever called for a father and mother.

5 And I asked thus: 'Who are these souls? 6 and what sin was committed by them, whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

7 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said 8 thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked who, in the world, distressed their father and mother; 9 and asked no absolution and forgiveness from their father and mother, in the world'.

Chapter LXVI.

1 I also saw the souls of a man and a woman 2 whose tongues were put out, and ever gnawed by the jaws of serpents 2.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by the body of these? 4 and who are those souls?'

5 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said 6 thus: 'These are

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1 Compare ch. LXXXVII.
2 Or perhaps: 'the jaws were ever gnawed by serpents'.
'the souls of those who, in the world, ever committed slander \(^1\), and 'embroiled people together'.

**Chapter LXVII.**

1 I also saw the soul of a man \(^2\) who was suspended by one leg in the darkness of hell \(^3\); 3 and he had an iron sickle in his hand, and ever gashed his own chest and armpits \(^4\), 4 and an iron spike was driven into his eye.

5 And I asked thus: 'Whose soul is this? and what sin was 'committed by him?'

6 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 7 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man, to whom a city was confided for administra-'tion; 8 and that which was proper to do and order, was not done and 'not ordered; 9 and deficient weights and measures of capacity and 'length, were kept, 10 and he listened to no complaints from the poor 'and from travellers' \(^5\).

**Chapter LXVIII.**

1 I also saw the souls of a man and a woman 2 whom they ever drag, the man to heaven and the woman to hell. 3 And the woman's hand was caught in the knot and sacred thread of the man, 4 and she said thus: 'How is it when we had every benefit in union, among the 'living, 5 now they are dragging thee to heaven, and me to hell?'

6 And the man said thus: 'Because whatever things I received of 'the good and worthy 5 and the poor, I also gave them back 6; 7 and 'I practised good thoughts and good words and good deeds; 8 I also

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\(^1\) Literally: 'acted slanderously'.

\(^2\) Or 'the hell of darkness', as the MSS. stand.

\(^3\) Or 'loins'.

\(^4\) Literally: 'caravan people'; generally travelling merchants, foreign traders and travellers; see also ch. LXVIII. and XCIII.

\(^5\) One Pâz. MS. adds 'and travellers', as in sentence 10.

\(^6\) The meaning of this sentence, in the original text, is not quite certain.
heeded God, and disregarded the demons; 9 and I have been steadfast in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians. 10 But thou despisest the good and poor and worthy and travellers; 11 thou also disregardedst God, and thou worshipedst idols; 12 and practisedst evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds; 13 and thou hast been steadfast in the religion of Akharman and the demons.

14 Then the woman said to the man 15 thus: 'Among the living, thou thyself wast completely lord and sovereign over me; 16 and my body and life and soul were thine; 17 and the food and income and clothing which I had, were from thee; 18 then wherefore didst thou not chastise and punish me for it? 19 Thou hast not even taught me, the reason of thy goodness and excellence, 20 whereby thou mightest have caused goodness and excellence in me, 21 and so now it would not be necessary to suffer this evil'.

22 And afterwards, the man went to heaven and the woman to hell. 23 And owing to the repentance of that woman, she was in no other affliction, in hell, but darkness and stench. 24 And that man sat in the midst of the pious of heaven, in shame from not converting and not teaching the woman, who might have become virtuous in his keeping.

Chapter LXIX.

1 I also saw the souls of women, 2 into both whose eyes a wooden peg was driven, 3 tied by one leg, head downwards. 4 And many frogs, scorpions, snakes, ants, flies, worms and other noxious creatures (khrafstars) went and came inside their jaws, noses, ears, posteriors and sexual parts.

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1 Literally: 'all thyself was'.

2 The Huz. yaitanishn may stand either for ámadishn, or for ávarishn, in Pâzand; its meaning must, therefore, be the same as that of Pers. آمدئنی, or آپارئنی.

3 The construction of the original text is obscure.
5 And I asked thus: 'Whose souls are these? 6 and what sin was 'committed by them, whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

7 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 8 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked women who had a husband in the world, '9 and slept and granted cohabitation with another man; 10 and the bed 'of the husband was kept defiled, and his body injured'.

Chapter LXX.

1 I also saw the souls of women whom they threw head downwards; 2 and something like a hedgehog, which had iron spines grown from it, was introduced into the body and dropped back; 3 and from it, a finger dropping the semen of the demons and demonesses, which is stench and corruption, ever went into the inside of the jaws and nose.

4 And I asked thus: 'Who are those souls, who suffer such a 'punishment?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'These are 'the souls of those wicked women who, in the world, broke promises 'to their husbands, 7 and they have stayed away from the husband, 'and been never contented, and granted no cohabitation'.

Chapter LXXI.

1 I also saw the soul of a man 2 whom the fangs of serpents stung and ever gnawed; 3 and in both eyes, snakes and worms ever voided; 4 and an iron spike was grown upon the tongue.

5 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, 'whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

6 Srôsh the pious, and Atarô the angel, said 7 thus: 'This is the 'soul of that wicked man, by whom sodomy was much committed; '8 and through a desire for improper lust, he debauched the wives of 'others. 9 And his smooth speaking deceived and seduced the wives 'of others, and separated them from their husbands'.

1 Or perhaps: 'scraped'. 
Chapter LXXII.

1 I also saw the souls of women, by whom their own menstrual discharge was ever devoured.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by the body of these, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

3 Srôsh the pious, and Átarô the angel, said 4 thus: 'These are the souls of those women who heeded not their menstruation, 5 and 'injured water and fire and the earth of Spendarmaq and Horvadad and 'Amerôdaq, 6 and looked upon the sky and the sun and the moon, 7 and 'injured cattle and sheep with their menstruation, 8 and kept the pious 'man polluted'.

Chapter LXXIII.

1 I also saw the souls of women 2 who ever shed and sucked and ate the blood and filth of their ten fingers; 3 and worms ever came into both eyes.

4 And I asked thus: 'Who are these souls? 5 and what sin was 'committed by them who suffer so severe a punishment?'

6 Srôsh the pious, and Átarô the angel, said 7 thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked women who beautified their faces, and kept 'the hair of others as ornament; 8 and they captivated the eyes of the 'men of God' 1.

Chapter LXXIV.

1 I also saw the souls of those who remained tied, head downwards, by one leg; 2 and a knife was driven into their hearts.

3 And I asked thus: 'Who are these souls?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Átarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked, by whom, in the world, beasts, cattle and 'sheep were unlawfully slaughtered and killed'.

1 This is an uncommon phrase, and the Pázand MS. II, has therefore read it 'men of the world'.
Chapter LXXV.

1 I also saw souls who were thrown under the feet of cattle, 2 struck by the horns, and their bellies torn, and bones broken; and they were groaning.

3 And I asked thus: 'Who are these people?'

4 Srôsh the pious, and Ātarô the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked, by whom, in the world, the mouths of beasts and ploughing cattle were muzzled; 6 and water was not given 'to them in the heat; and they were kept at work hungry and thirsty'.

Chapter LXXVI.

1 I also saw the souls of women who ever lacerated their own breasts with their own hands and teeth; 2 and dogs ever tore and ate their bellies; 3 and both feet stood on hot brass.

4 And I asked thus: 'Whose souls are these? and what sin was committed by them?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Ātarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked women who, in the world, prepared food 'during menstruation, 7 and brought it before a pious man, and bade 'him eat. 8 They also ever resorted to sorcery; 9 and they injured 'the earth of Spendarmad and the pious man'.

Chapter LXXVII.

1 Then I saw souls whose backs, hands and legs had wounds, 2 and they were suspended with the posteriors to the face 1; 3 and heavy stones ever rained on their backs.

4 And I asked thus: 'Who are those? and what sin was committed by them?'

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1 This sentence can also be read: 'head downwards in melted brass'; but the form avitakht, for 'melted', is unusual.
5 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said 6 thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked who had beasts in the world, 7 and appointed them hard work, and made the burden unlawfully heavy, 8 and gave no sufficiency of food, so they suffered through leanness; 9 and when sores ensued, they were not kept back from work, and no remedy was provided. 10 Now they (the souls) must suffer such severe punishment'.

Chapter LXXVIII.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman 2 who ever dug an iron hill with her breasts; 3 and an infant cried from that side of the hill, and the cry ever continued; 4 but the infant comes not to the mother, nor the mother to the infant.

5 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

6 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said 7 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, became pregnant, not from her own husband, but from another person; 8 and she said thus: "I have not been pregnant". 9 She also destroyed the infant'.

Chapter LXXIX.

1 Then I saw the soul of a man, 2 both whose eyes were scooped out, and his tongue cut away; 3 and he remained suspended, in hell, by one leg; 4 his body also was ever raked with the two brazen prongs of a fork; 5 and an iron spike was driven into his head 1.

6 And I asked thus: 'What man is this? and what sin was committed by him?'

7 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said 8 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man whose justice, in the world, was false; 9 and he took bribes, and made false decisions'.

1 Or 'his heart', as the Pahlavi word can be read either sar, or dil.
Chapter LXXX.

1 Then I saw the souls of several who remained suspended, head downwards, in hell; 2 and they force the blood, filth and brains of men into their mouths, and convey excrement into their noses; 3 and they ever cry thus: 'We keep just measures'.

4 And I asked thus: 'Who are these bodies? and what sin was committed by them?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Ātarô the angel, said: 'These are the souls of those wicked, by whom, in the world, weights and bushels and other small measures were kept short, and things were sold to men'.

Chapter LXXXI.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman whose tongue was cut away, and eyes scooped out; 2 and snakes, scorpions, worms and other noxious creatures (khrafstars) ever devoured the brain of her head; 3 and from time to time, she seized her own body with the teeth, and ever gnawed the flesh.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body?'

5 Srôsh the pious, and Ātarô the angel, said: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who was, in her lifetime, an adulteress. 6 She also practised much sorcery; and much mischief emanated from her'.

Chapter LXXXII.

1 Then I saw the soul of a certain woman whose tongue was plucked out.

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1 Or perhaps: 'convey them into their noses'.

2 Perhaps meaning the tormentors, and not the souls; as also in the preceding sentence.

3 The text is doubtful; it may mean: 'whose tongues were many', but that would not be a very intelligible punishment, although a good illustration of this woman's fault.
2 And I asked thus: ‘What sin was committed by this woman?’

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 4 thus: ‘This is the ‘soul of that wicked woman whose tongue, in the world, was sharp; ‘5 and her husband and master was much troubled by her tongue’.

Chapter LXXXIII.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman who ever ate her own dead refuse.

2 And I asked thus: ‘What sin was committed by this woman?’

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 4 thus: ‘This is the ‘soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, ate much meat con-\-cealed from her husband, 5 and gave it to another person’.

Chapter LXXXIV.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman 2 whose breasts they cut off; and her belly was torn, and the entrails given to the dogs.

2 And I asked thus: ‘What sin was committed by this woman?’

3 Srôsh the pious, and Âtarô the angel, said 4 thus: ‘This is the ‘soul of that wicked woman, by whom, in the world, poison and oil \(^2\) ‘of opium were made and kept\(^3\), 6 and given by her to people to eat’.

Chapter LXXXV.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman, 2 on whose body they construct an iron coating, 3 and they turn back the mouth, and put it back to a hot oven\(^4\).

\(^1\) This is altered in some Pâzand MSs., as follows: ‘who, among the living, stole the property of others, and gave the food, which her husband bought, to another person’.

\(^2\) Perhaps: ‘liquor’, or ‘infusion’.

\(^3\) Or ‘were kept prepared’.

\(^4\) This obscure description may refer to some old Persian torture which is, luckily, now unknown.
And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

Srôsh the pious, and Ātarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who was, among the living, the wife of a well-disposed, intelligent man; and she broke her faith to her husband, and slept with a sinful and ill-disposed man'.

Chapter LXXXVI.

Then I saw the soul of a woman, through whose body a grievous snake ascended, and came forth by the mouth.

And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, where the soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

Srôsh the pious, and Ātarô the angel, said 5 thus: [ 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who violated a next-of-kin marriage'.

Chapter LXXXVII.

Then I saw the soul of a woman who ever scraped her own body and face with an iron comb, and ever dug an iron hill with her breasts.

And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

Srôsh the pious, and Ātarô the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who, in the world, committed a crime, and through a desire for wealth, gave no milk to her own infant. And now she ever makes an outcry thus: “Here let me dig into this hill, that I may give milk to that infant”. Yet until the reestablishment of the world, she does not reach the infant'.

Chapter LXXXVIII.

Then I saw the soul of a man who remained suspended,

Or perhaps: 'prickly'.

In all the MSS., except Hs, the passage in brackets is omitted, and the former part of this chapter is united with the latter part of the next, although the connection of the narrative is not very obvious.
head downwards, from a gibbet, and ever had sexual intercourse; 3 and they dropped semen into his mouth and ears and nose.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

5 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said 6 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, committed improper sexual intercourse; 7 and deceived and seduced the wives of others'.

Chapter LXXXIX.

1 Then I saw the souls of those who, on account of weakness, were dashed about from side to side in hell; 2 and they ever kept crying on account of thirst and hunger, cold and heat; 3 and noxious creatures (khrafstars) ever bit out of the back of their legs and other limbs.

4 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by those of these souls, who suffer so severe a punishment?'

5 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said 6 thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked whose food and clothing, in the world, were consumed by themselves, 7 and not given by them to the good and worthy; and they exercised no liberality whatever; 8 and they kept themselves, and the people who had come and remained under their control, hungry and thirsty and without clothing; 9 so they suffered cold and heat, hunger and thirst. 10 Now they are dead, and their wealth has remained for others; 11 now the souls suffer so severe a punishment from their own actions'.

Chapter XC.

1 Then I saw the souls of those whom serpents sting and ever devour their tongues.

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1 The singular number is used, in the original, throughout these last two sentences, which may be more literally rendered as follows: 'Now it has passed away, and the wealth has remained for another person, now the soul suffers so severe a punishment from its own actions'.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by those, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

3 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said 4 thus: 'These are the souls of those liars and irreverent speakers who, in the world, 'spoke much falsehood and lies and profanity'.

Chapter XCI.

2 Then I saw the soul of a man who slew his own child and ever ate the brains.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

3 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said 4 thus: 'This is the soul of that sentencing judge who made unjust decisions between applicants for justice; 5 and plaintiffs and defendants were not looked upon, by him, favorably and justly; 6 but through a desire of wealth and covetousness, he shouted at suitors with anger and severity'.

Chapter XCII.

1 Then I saw the souls of those, into whose eye a wooden peg was driven.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by the body of these, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

3 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said 4 thus: 'These are the souls of those malicious ones who kept back benefits from mankind'.

Chapter XCIII.

1 I also saw the souls of those who were fallen, headlong, into hell; 2 and smoke and heat were driven upon them from below, and a cold wind from above.

1 Or 'untruthful', if arāst be read instead of anāst.

2 Or perhaps: 'untruth'.
3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these bodies, whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

4 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are the souls of those who, in the world, gave no place, nor caravanserai for travellers, nor lodging, nor space, nor baking oven; 6 or who gave them, and took hire for them'.

Chapter XCIV.

1 Then I saw the souls of those whose own breasts were placed upon a hot frying-pan, by their own hands, 2 and were ever turned from side to side.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these women, whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

4 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said 5 thus: 'These are the souls of those women who gave their own infants no milk, but emaciated and destroyed them; 6 and for worldly gain, gave milk to the infants of others'.

Chapter XCV.

1 Then I saw the soul of a woman who ever dug a hill with her breasts, 2 and was ever thirsty and hungry.

3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this woman?'

4 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who gave her infant no milk, 6 but left it hungry and thirsty; 7 and herself went with a strange man through a liking for avarice, and a lust for illicit intercourse'.

Chapter XCVI.

1 Then I saw the soul of a man whose tongue was cut out; 2 and they ever drag him by the hair, and scatter about the dead refuse 1, and measure it with a bushel.

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1 Probably the hair pulled out by the roots.
3 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by this man, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment?'

4 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said 5 thus: 'This is the soul of that wicked man who, in the world, took seed, 6 and said thus: 'I will sow it'; and he sowed it not, 7 but ate it; and the earth of Spendarmaḏ was defrauded'.

Chapter XCVII.

1 Then I saw the souls of a man and a woman whose tongues were cut out.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these bodies, whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

3 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said 4 thus: 'These are the souls of that wicked man and woman who, among the living, spoke much falsehood and profanity 1, 5 and deceived their own souls'.

Chapter XCVIII.

1 Then I saw the souls of a woman and a man who voided and ate up the excrement.

2 And I asked thus: 'What sin was committed by these bodies, whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

3 Srōsh the pious, and Ātarō the angel, said 4 thus: 'These are the souls of that wicked man and woman who, in the world, devoured dead refuse through sinfulness; 5 and killed the water-otter 2 in the water, 6 and smote and slew other creatures of Aûharmazd'.

Chapter XCIX.

1 And I saw as many more souls of wicked men and women;

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1 Or 'untruth', if arāst be read.

2 The udra upāpa of Vend, XIII. 16, 51. XIV. 1. [Dest.] In the latter farvard, very severe penalties are attached to the crime of seriously injuring this animal.
2 and they ever suffer terrible, fearful, hurtful, harmful, painful, dark, hellish torment and punishment of various kinds.

3 Then I saw souls whose tongues were scraped with a wooden peg; 4 and they ever went down, into hell, head foremost; 5 and the demons ever ploughed their whole bodies with an iron comb.

6 And I asked thus: 'Whose souls are these? 7 and what sin was committed by them whose souls suffer so severe a punishment?'

8 Srôsh the pious, and Àtarô the angel, said 9 thus: 'These are the souls of those wicked who have been disobedient unto their rulers in the world, 10 and have been enemies of the armies and troops of their rulers. 11 Now they must here suffer such severe pain and torment and punishment'.

**Chapter C.**

1 Then I saw the Evil-spirit, the deadly, the world-destroyer, whose religion is evil, 2 who ever ridiculed and mocked the wicked in hell, and said 3 thus: 'Why did you ever eat the bread of Aûharmazd, and do my work? 4 and thought not of your own creator, 'but practised my will?' 5 So he ever shouted to the wicked very mockingly 1.

**Chapter CI.**

1 Afterwards, Srôsh the pious and Àtarô the angel took hold of my hand, 2 and brought me forth from that dark, terrible, fearful place, 3 and carried me to the eternal light, and the assembly of Aûharmazd and the archangels.

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1 The Pâzand MS. Hï18 adds the following: 'This (corruption here), the requital of their own deeds, they receive disagreeably, until the resurrection of the dead. When he sent me to his hell of retribution, I went behind Àtarô the angel, and I saw that which is called the darkest hell; and it seemed to me like a pit which was a hundred thousand lances (deep). The darkness also seemed to me such as if all the dry wood in the world, put upon the fire, would not give so much as a handful of light in that darkest hell'.
When I wished to offer homage before Aûharmazd. And he was gracious and said thus: 'A perfect servant art thou, pious Arđâî 'Virâf, the messenger of the Mazdayasnians; go to the material world, and as thou hast seen and understood, speak truly to the worlds; for I, who am Aûharmazd, am with thee; everyone who speaks 'correct and true, I honor and know'; so say to the wise'.

And when Aûharmazd spoke in this manner, I remained astonished, for I saw a light, but I saw nobody; I also heard a voice, and I understood that: 'This is Aûharmazd'.

And he, the creator Aûharmazd, the most munificent of spirits, said thus: 'Speak thou forth, Arđâî Virâf, to the Mazdayasnians of the world, there is only one way of piety, the way of the primitive religion, and the other ways are all no ways. Take ye that one way which is piety, and turn ye not from it in prosperity, nor in adversity, nor in any way; and practise good thoughts and good words and good deeds; and remain in that same religion which, as received by him from me, Spîtâmân Zaratusht and Vishtâsp made current in the world; and hold the proper law, but abstain from the improper. And be ye aware also of this, that cattle are dust, and the horse is dust, and gold and silver are dust, and the body of man is dust; he alone mingles not with the dust,'
“who, in the world, praises piety and performs duties and good works’. 22 Perfect art thou, Ardâî Virâf! go and prosper; 23 since every purity and purification which you perform and keep, 24 and everything which you keep lawfully, 25 and the purification and ceremonial, when ‘you perform them, in like manner, mindful of God, I know them all’. 26 And when I heard those words, I made a profound bow to the creator Aûharmazd. 27 And then, Srôsh the pious, conveyed me successfully and courageously to this carpeted place. 28 May the glory of the good religion of the Mazdayasnians be triumphant!

29 Completed in health and pleasure and joy.

1 Or ‘holiness’; that is, recites the ashem vohá formula; see Hádôkht nask I. 3. H18 inserts here the following: ‘(or gives something to the pious and good). Then said Aûharmazd, to Srôsh the pious and Ātarô the angel, thus: ‘Show him the proceedings of the performers of good actions’. I took the hands of Srôsh the pious and Ātarô the angel, and they went forward to the end of the Chînvat bridge, there where Rashn the just, and Mitrô the angel, and Āshtâd the angel, the victorious lord of the universe, all sat; much the most admirable of the creation, much more splendid than the sky; before them I was led. And they spoke thus: ‘Say what thou mayst have done there, unto men, cattle, sheep, earth, trees, fire and water; and speak truly, for it will be necessary to pass on from here through truth’. Then I became joyful, for the guardian angel of the pious gave evidence thus: ‘He committed no sin’. Afterwards, Aûharmazd the Deity, said’ (as in sentences 22—25.)
Appendix I.

The tale of

Gôsht-i Fryânô.

The Pahlavi text

with Transliteration and

the various readings of five MSS.

Edited by

E. W. West, Ph. D.
Observations.

This tale of Gôsht-i Fryânô is appended to the book of Arđâ Virâf, in the three MSS. H₆, K₂₀ and K₂₆; and it appears, by the colophons, to have been so appended in the old MS. of Mihrpanâh Srôshyâr of Nishâpûr, whence it was copied in A. D. 1249.

The same remarks apply to this text as to the preceding; but besides the MSS. H₆, K₂₀ and K₂₆, the following have been used:


L₁₁₅. — the London MS., India office library, Z. and P. XV.; undated, but written about 135 years ago.

It will be observed that the name Gôsht is a corruption, or more probably, a mistaken pronunciation, of Yôsht; but as this blunder is found in the oldest existing MSS., it is retained in this transliteration of the text.
Chapter I.

1 Denman mãdîkân-i Gösht-i Fryânô farukhû yehevûnâd, pavan Yadâdân aîyyârîh.

2 Aêtûn yemalelûnd aîgh: yin zak anâ amat Akht-i yatûk, levâman VII bêvar sipâh, val shatrô-i Frashnô-vajârânô vazlûnd, 3 afash drâîd aîgh: Shatrô-i Frashnô-vajârân pil khâst barâ vâdûnam. 4 Va

I. 1, 3—4. Z. Yôishtû yû Fryananâm, Yasht V. 81, XIII. 120; H7 ﷽; out of 53 occurrences of this name, K20 omits 1 once, and L15 ten times; and H6 omits the final 1 four times, K20 fifteen, K26 five, and L15 ten times. 1, 9. K20 omits ٖ. 2, 6. H7 ﷽; perhaps a miswriting of سرپ, or ﷽, as it would be hazardous to connect it with Chaldean, ﷽, or with Pers. ﷽ 'an attack'. 2, 8. Z. Akhtyô, Yasht V. 82; out of 28 occurrences of this name, K20 omits ٖ six times, and L15 twice; H7 اخد جادرو. 3, 8. Pers. ﷽; Pers. ﷽ ﷽ 'a beaten road'; H7 ﷽, ﷽.
amat val tamman maḏ, afash marḏūm baḵvānašt, aḏgh Yadadān dāḏ-parish min XV shanat lá yehevūnd; 5 afash frashnō azash pūrsīd. 6 Kolā mūn lá tūbān yehevūnd vajārānō, afash frāz vakhūnd va barā zektelānō.

7 Va akhar, yin zak shatrō-i Frashnō-vajārān, gabrā-I yehevūnd, Mārspend shem; 8 afash val Akht-i yāṭūk gūst aḏgh: Shatrō-i Frashnō-vajārān pil khūst al vāḏūnū, va denman marḏūm-i avi-vanās al zektelūn; 9 mūn yin denman Shatrō-i Frashnō-vajārān, gabrā-I aḏt, Gōsht-i Fryānō shem, mūn dāḏ-parish min XV shanat lūīt; 10 va kolā zak frashnō-i lak min val pūrsīh, afat barā vajārēḏ.

I. 4, 8. H₆, K₂₀ ḫešas. 4, 9-10. H₇ ṢePas. 4, 11. uncertain; H₇ ʾdash, Dād Ṭaš, ʿaḏgh, ʿaḏgh; 5, 2. Z. frashna, Yasht V. 82; out of 49 occurrences of this word, H₆ omits the final 9 times, K₂₀ 17, K₂₀ 12, and L₁₅ 11 times; H₇ ʾbēḵawsh. 9, 1. so in all, and it may be so read as a continuation of the preceding sentence; but it is more probably miswritten for ʾbēḵawsh, or ʾbēḵawsh, and to be read in connection with what follows. 10, 6. K₂₀ om. 10, 7. for ṢePas. K₂₀ om.
11 Va akhar, Akht-i yātūk val Gōsht-i Fryānō pētkham shedānd, 12 aigh: Frāz val babā-i li yātūn, vad XXX va III frashnō min lak pārsam; 13 va hat pas-akhō lā yehabūnīh, khādūf yemalefūnēd aigh: Lā khavītūnam, adīnat pavan ham zamān barā zektelūnam.

14 Va Gōsht-i Fryānō val babā-i Akht-i yātūk yātūnd; 15 va min zak, chīgān Akht-i yātūk nasāt-i mardūmānō azīr-i vastarg dāsht, yīn lā vazlūnd. 16 Afash val Akht-i yātūk pētkham shedūnēd 17 aigh: Lekūm nasāt-i anshūtānō azīr-i vastarg yakhsenunēd; 18 va amat li yīn yātūnam, ameshōspendānō levīn-i li hōmand, yīn zak jīnāk aigh nasāt-i anshūtān yehevūnēd, li yīn yātūnam; 19 adīnam ameshōspendānō min panāhīh-i

I. 11, 9. all but K26 have ۵۰ for ۵۰. 12, 8—10. in Yasht V. 82, the number is 99; K20, K26 omit ۵۰. 13. ۵۰ ۵۰ in all. 15, 4. H6 omits final ۵۰; H7 جن. 17, 4. ۵۰ in all but K20. 18, 6. K20 omits final ۵۰. 18, 15. ۵۰ in all but K20.
21 Va akhar, Akht-i yātūk farmūd zak vastarg va jāmak madam dāshtanā, va vastarg-i navak yāftūntanā va ramītūntanā; 22 va afash Gōsht-i Fryānō rāf, yīn bavīhūnast, gūft 23 aīgh: Barā yātūn, madam denman jāmak va bālishn barā yetibūn; va frashnō zyāt pūrsam, rāst barā vajār.

24 Gōsht-i Fryānō gūft aīgh: Mar-i darvand sāstār! madam denman bālishnō lā yetībūnam; māman yīn denman bālishnō nasāt-i anshūtaān aift;

Chapter II.

25 va levatman li yadadán va ameshōspendānō hõmand; pânâkīh-i li hõmand; 26 va li madam denman bâlishnō barā yetībānam, adīnām minavadānō, min pânâkīh-i li, lakhvār yeḵavīmūnd; 27 akhar, frashnōīhā-i lak min li pûrsīh, li vajārdānō lâ tūbānō yehevūnēd.

28 Va akhar Akht-i yâtūk farmūd, zak bâlishnō madam dâshtanō, navak yâityuntanō; 29 Gōsht-i Fryānō madam zak bâlishn-i navak yetībūnast.

Chapter II.

1 Nakhūst frashnō Akht-i yâtūk min Gōsht-i Fryānō denman pûrsīd!

2 afgh: Vahishtō pavan stīh shapīr, khadūf zak-i pavan minavād?


II. 2, 2. K20, L15 omit final 1; and it is probably miswritten for 2. 2, 6. khad substituted for ay.
3 Gösht-i Fryánô gútî aîgh: Zivandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûn-âsh, mar-i darvand sâstár, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 4 mamân vahisht-i pavan stîh, shapîr aîgh zak-i pavan mînavad. 5 Afash nîshân denman, aîgh kolâ mûn, pavan stîh, kûr va kirfak lâ vâdûnêd, azâsh tanman val fryâd lâ yâmûnêd. 6 Afat nîshân-i daqlîgar denman, aîgh bârâ hatat, pavan stîh, mandavam-i lâ nadûk vâdûnêd, adînash val vahisht-i shapîr lâ yâmûnîh.

7 Va Akht-i yâtûk, chîgûn amatash zak milayâ ashnûd, stârêd bârâ yehevûnî. 8 chand amat gabrâ-I-i yesht-I bârâ vâdûnêd, stârêd

ačtūn shapir medammūnēd, ham-āctūn shapir aigh val zak vahisht-i shapir vazlūnēd. 16 Afam frāz vakhdūnd, afam barā zektelūnd.

17 Hūm frashnō denman pūrsid aigh: Maman zak mandavam, min dām-i Ahūharmazd, mūn pavan shatman yetibūnēd, būlāndtar aigh pavan ragelman yekevimūnēd?

18 Gōsht-i Fryānō guft aigh: Zivandakān pavan shekōnā yehevūnāsh, mar-i darvand sāstār, va yemīntākān val dūshāhū avapat; 19 maman zak kalbā aītō.

20 Hūm frashnō denman pūrsid aigh: Maman zak, min dām-i Ahūharmazd, mūn sātūnēd, va gām lá hankhetunēd?

21 Gōsht-i Fryānō guft aigh: Zivandakān pavan shekōnā yehevūnāsh.
mar-i darvand sástár, va yemitúntakán val dûshahû avapat; 22 man-
man zak vanjîshk aît, mûn sátûnêd, va gâm la hankhetûnêd.

23 Chahârûm frashnô denman pûrsîd aîgh: Maman zak manda-
vam, min dâm-i Aûharmazd, mûn kakû srûbín, va srûbô gûshtin?

24 Gûsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zivandakân pavan shekôná yehevûn-
âsh, mar-i darvand sástár, va yemitúntakán val dûshahû avapat; 25
maman zak khrûs karîtûnd, mûrûk-i Srûsh-yasharûbô; 26 va amat vâng
vâdûnêd, khâyâ patiýarakh min dâm-i Aûharmazd lakhvâr yakhsevenunêd.

27 Panchûm frashnô denman pûrsîd aîgh: Kûtak kârd shapîr,
khadûf andak khûrishnô?

28 Gûsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zivandakân pavan shekôná yehe-
vûnâsh,
mar-i darvand sástár, va yemitúntakán val dúshahú avapat; 29 maman kútak kárđ shapír aígh andak khürüshnó; 30 maman pavan kútak kárđ baresóm sháyad bűridánó chídánó; 31 va andak khürüshnó val -ashkómbo lá yámtnéed, va hat yámtnéed vád angezd.

32 Shashúm frashno denman páršíl aígh: Maman púr, va maman zak-i ním-púr, va maman zak-i akaraz púr lá yehuvúnéd?

33 Gósht-i Fryánó güft aígh: Zivandákán pavan shekóná yehëvúnás, mar-i darvand sástár, va yemitúntakán val dúshahú avapat; 34 maman zak-i púr, khunid-i túbáník latamman, va amat bárá vadríd, rúbánó yasharúbó; 35 zak-i ním-púr, shekóná-i daregúsh-i saryá zívisn, amat bárá yemitúnted.
رُبَانُو یاشارُبَو; ۳۶ وَ زاک-ی تُهیک، مُن اکاراَز پُرَ لَ یَهَعُونِق، زاک شِکِونَا-ی سَرَ یَیِفْشَن، امات بَارَ یِمیتُونِق، رُبَانُو دَارَوَند.

۳۷ حَافِتُم فِرَشْنُو دِنْمَان پُرْسَید ایِّغ: مَمَان زاک مَنْدَاوَام-ی مِرَدْعُمَان پَوَان نِیحَان یِزْبَمْمَند کَرْدَانُو، افْشَان نِیحَان کَرْدَانُو لَ یَحَآیَّنْد؟

۳۸ گُوسَت-ی فَرَیَانُو گْوُفت ایِّغ: زیِوَنْدَکَان پَوَان شِکِونَا یِعَهَعْوَانَش، مَر-ی دَارَوَند سَاسَّتَر، وِ یِمیتُّنَتْکَان وَل دُوْشَاهُو اَوَافِپَت; ۳۹ مَمَان زاک یِزَرُوْنَو اییَوَ مَنْ کَحَدیِّه نِیحَانَو کَرْدَانُو لَ تُبُانُو؛ ۴۰ مَمَان یِزَرُوْن کَحُد-پَدْلَکِ یِهَعُونِق،

۴۱ حَافِتُم فِرَشْنُو دِنْمَان پُرْسَید ایِّغ: کَدَّاَم زاک زِیوَنْدَک اَنِّشُتَا
mün Astī-vihād khadītūnēd yemītūnēd, afash aētūn kāmak aīgh lakhvār val zīvandak vazlūnēd; 42 va tanīdīch Astī-vihād khadītūnēd va barā yemītūnēd, afash khvār medammūnēd?

43 Gōsht-i Fryānō ġūft aīgh: Zīvandakān pavan shekōnā yehe-vūnāsh, mar-i darvand sāstār, va yemīntūntakān val dūshahū avapat; 44 māmān zak mardūm aīt mūn yehsī lā kard yekāvīmūnēd, va parāhōm lā vāshṭamūnād yekāvīmūnēd; 45 va đadīgār, zak mardūm val gāsī nēshmanān mađ yekāvīmūnēd, afash nēshman lā kard yekāvīmūnēd; 46 va sādīgār, zak anshūtā mūn zīvandak rūbānō lā yasīt yekāvīmūnēd, va yashārūbō-dād lā dād yekāvīmūnēd, va yazīshīn-i

Yadâlânô là kard yekavîmûnêd, afash yasharûbô-dâd val shapîr mar-dûm afash gûft aîgh: Yehabûnam, va là dâd yekavîmûnêd; 47 afash yemitûnêd, kâmak ângûn, aîgh lakhvâr zîvandak vâzînêd; 48 va tanidich yemitûnêd, va Astî-vihât khadjînêd, afash khvâr medammûnêd.

49 Nuhûm frashnô denman pûrûd aîgh: Pîl va asp va gamlâ va khamrâ va tôrâ va gospend va nêshman va kalbâ va khûk va gûrbah pavan chand mâh zerkhûnd?

50 Gîsht-i Fryânô gûft aîgh: Zîvandakân pavan shekônâ yehevûnash, mar-i darvand sâstår, va yemitûntakân val dûshahû avapat; 51 manman pîl pavan III shanat zerkhûnêd, va asp va gamlâ va khamrâ pavan XII bidânâ zerkhûnd, va tôrâ va nêshman pavan tîshgâ bidânâ zerkhûnd, va gospend pavan

46, 34. L15 has ی for ی. 47, 8. K20 has ی for ی. 48, 2. H7 ی in all others. 51, 16. K20 has ی for ی; L15 ی. 51, 24. K20 has ی for ی.
V bidaná zerkhund, va kalbá va khuk pavan IV bidaná zerkhund, va gurbak pavan XL yom zerkhund.

52 Dahûm frashnô denman pûršid aîgh: Mar dụm kàdám pavan râmishntar va ásántar zîvêd?

53 Gósht-i Fryânô güft aîgh: Zivandakán pavan shekônâ yehe-vúnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstár, va yemítuntakán val dûshahû avapat; 54 maman anshûtâz zak pavan râmishntar va ásántar zîvêd-i avî-bîmtar va khûrsvând va chabuntar.

55 Yázdahûm frashnô denman pûršid aîgh: Maman zak mandavam-i, pavan stih, val Aûharmazd va ameshôspendân hûmânâk aîft.

56 گوس‌تی فریانو گفت ایغ: زیان‌دکان پوان شکونه یه‌نامش، مار‌ی دارند ساضر، و یمی‌دی‌نتاکان ول دوش‌ه‌ا اواپات; 57 مامان، یین ستیح، داه‌ی‌پات ول اوهارم‌ساز و اامه‌وش‌پندان هم‌می‌انک ایت; 58 و دین‌کی داه‌ی‌پاتانه‌ه‌ی هومان‌انک ایت ول اامه‌وش‌پندان، 60 و داه‌ی‌پاتان یین دار هومان‌انک ایت ول زاک مهارت‌ی پارویز کارتوند؛ 61 اواقیک انان‌تی، امات خوئشکار و عستوبیار ایت، هومان‌انک هومان ول اواقیک مهارت‌ی کهورداک‌ی پوان عسمن هومان.

62 دوازدهم فرشنو دنمن پیرسیج ایغ: خویریشنو کاژام بسیم‌ن ول پوان میزک‌ن‌تار؟
63 Gósht-i Fryánd güft aigh: Zivandakân pavan shekônâ yehe-vûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemitûntakân val dûshâhû avapat; 64 maman khûrîshnû zak pavan mîzâktar va basîntar, mûn min babâ-i frârân tâkhsâkîh andôkhî yequivâmûndâl, va afash lâkhvâr kâr va kirfâk vashtamûndâl va yakhshenûndâl.


66 Gósht-i Fryánd güft aigh: Zivandakân pavan shekônâ yehe-vûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemitûntakân val dûshâhû avapat; 67 maman khadûk, khûrshêd-i shapîr mûn hamâk gêhân rôshânî yakhshenûndî; 68 va II,

yāityūnishn va burishnō-i vāyō; 69 va III, hūmat va hūkht va hū-\nvarshṭō; 70 va IV, mayā va damik va aūrvar va stōr; 71 va V,\npanch Kaī shapīr; 72 va VI, shitā gās-i gāsānbār; 73 va shibā, haft\nameshōspend; 74 va VIII, hashtīh nāmīh shapīr; 75 va IX, tīshgā\nsūlāk-i pavan tanū-i marḍūmānō; 76 va X, asrāyā angūst-i pavan yad-
man-i marḍūmānō.

[The text leaps here, from the 13th to the 23d enigma, in all the MSS.; the\nbreak being indicated in H₆ by a blank quarter of a line, in K₂₀ K₂₆ by a triple\nstop, and in H₇ by the Persian note: ārinjīna nāfāṣī ast mṭābat aṣl drūshā\nshād. It is not, however, absolutely certain that there is any omission; for the\n13th enigma contains ten questions which, if counted separately, would exactly\ncorrespond with the missing number; on the other hand, it must be admitted that\nsome of the other enigmas contain several questions, which are not counted sepa-
rately as here suggested.]

Chapter III.

1 XX va IIIûm frashinû denman pûršid aîgh: Maman sarđtar?
2 Gösht-i Fryânô guft aîgh: Zivandakân pavan shekûnû yehe-
vûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstûr, va yemîntûntakân val dûshahû avapat;
3 maman lâ aêtûn chîgün lak andëshih, barâ aêtûn chîgün li khavi-
tûnam; 4 va lak aêtûn andëshih, aîgh vafar sarđtar-i madam kof
yetibûnûd, va akaraz khûrshêd aûbush lû tâvêd; 5 barâ lâ aêtûn chîgün
lak andëshih, maman darvand gârbâ minîshn sarđtar. 6 Afash nishûn
denman, aîgh lâk, Akht-i yâtûk, râî akh-I aft darvand; 7 afash zâhar
pavan libbemman chand mûstîh yin yekavîmûnêd, lak lâ pavan khûrshêd,
va lâ pavan âtash

K±o adds ۱۶۰ to ۱; L±o omits ۱. 5, 3. K±o adds final ۱. 6, 2. K±o, K±o
add final ۱. 6, 4. K±o ۱۶۰. 7, 6. K±o, K±o have ﻣ for ۱.
vadakhtanō là túbān; 8 va li amāt pavan múst vakhdūnam, barā vadājēd.

9 Va akhar, Akht-i yātūk farmūd brāq-i nafshman rāf yāityūntanē, zektelūntanō, va zāhar min libbemman barā yansegūntanō; 10 là pavan khūrshēd, va là pavan ātāsh vadakhtanō là túbānō bād! va Gósht-i Fryānō yīn múst frāz vakhdūnd, afash barā vadākht.

12 XX va IVūm frashnō deman pūrsīd aīgh: Maman garmtar?

13 Gósht-i Fryānō gūft aīgh: Zivandakān pavan shekōnā yehevūnāsh, mar-i darvand sāstār, va yemītūntakān val dūshahū avapat; 14 maman yasharūbō gabrā múst garmtar; 15 va afat nīshān deman, aīgh zak-i lak akh zāhar là pavan khūrshēd, va là pavan ātāsh, là túbānō yehevūnāj vadakhtanō;

16 va li, amat pavan mould fraż vakhdunj, bará vadaḵht.

17 XX va Vām frashnō denman pūrsiq aigh: Frōd vazlūnēd, maman shapir? va barā afsurd yekavimūnēd, maman shapir? va mūn barā yemītunēd, maman shapir?

18 Gōšt-i Fryânō güft aigh: Zivandakān pavan shekōnā yehe-vənānsh, mar-i darvand sāstār, va yemītūntakān val dūshahā avapat; 19 maman mūn frōd vazlūnēd, mayā shapir; va maman afsurd yekavimūnēd, ātāsh shapir; va mūn barā yemītunēd, mar-i darvand sāstār-i chigūn lak shapir. 20 Maman hat mayā frōd la vazlūnēd, va ātāsh la afsurd, va mar-i darvand sāstār-i chigūn lak la yemītunēd, 21 adīnash hamāk.
گهانو پر مین مایا و آتش، و پر مین ما-ی داروان ساَتَر-ی چیْگْن لَک هُمانیه، و گهانو دَهْشتَنو لَا شَیْاَیْاست.

22 XX و VIّلَم فراشِنو دِنْمان پُرْسیدَ ایْغ: مین کَلْف مِمان گِرَنْتار؟ 23 و مین کَرد-ی پُلاوْدِئَنو مِمان تیتزَر؟ 24 و مین انغپینَو مِمان شِیرَنْوتار؟ 25 و مین دَمْبَک-ی مِشْ مِمان چَرپَتار؟ 26 و مین رَنْدْان مِن مَن رَتهْتار؟ 27 و مین رَائِشاَنَو مَن رَائْتار؟

28 گُسْح-ی فریَانُو گِفت ایْغ: زیوانداکان پِوال شِکُونا یه‌ه‌وْنَاش، مار-ی داروان ساَتَر، و یمِنیْتَنْتَکان ول دُوشَاَهْو اَوْپَات؛ 29 مِمان مین کَلْف، زِور و انَّنَست گِرَنْتار؛ 30 و مین کَرد-ی پُلاوْدِئَنو، هْوْزْوَانَو-ی مرِدُمْنَانو تیتزَر؛ 31 و مین انغپینَو، اَبیدّار و اَمیدّار رَائِ، فَارْنَد-ی رَائِیْه


یکُرر; it can also be read ranjoی.
shirinotar; 32 va min dumbak-i mesh, Spendarmaq zamik va varano charpitar; 33 va min radan, Tishtar yeqato raqatar; 34 va min rastanu, Vagio-i shapir raqtaar, mun hichih khadih azarm la, va parak la yanseguned, va khudai va bonjak ral, levatman khaduk dauligar, rastih yakhsenuned.


III. 32, 7. K20 om. 32, 8. 34, 3. K20 omits final 34, 4. a variant of the tails of 35, 36, 37, 38, etc. being often extended backwards by some writers; H6 gloss 

34, 11—13. so in K20, K26; H5, H7, L13 have for, but this would require either the omission of va, or the insertion of a few extra words; the former might be effected by reading napaherak, Pers. 'private', but this would be hazardous; H7 has has for; compare Mkh. II. 121, 122, 135. 34, 16. K20 om. 34, 24. K26 omits 35, 3. K20 om. 35, 8. K20 35, 12. Pers. 36, 6. H6, L13 have for 36, 10. H6, L13 omit the second 36, 12. 14. K20 omits 36, 15. H7 twice, five times.
37 Gósht-i Fryánó güft aigh: Zívandakán pavan shekóná yehe-vúnásh, mar-i darvand sástár, va yemitúntakán val dúshahu avapat; 38 mamán pāče-i Mayá nadáákútkar va nadáuktar. 39 Afat níshánö denman, aigh tamman aigh Mayá ragelman hankhetúnéd, khavid bará ródéd; 40 va tamman aigh Hū-parsh ragelman hankhetúnéd khúshk bará yehevúned.

41 XX va VIII am frashmò denman pūrsíd aigh: Néshmanánö vazúrg rámishnò min mamán?

42 Gósht-i Fryánó güft aigh: Zívandakán pavan shekóná yehe-vúnásh, mar-i darvand sástár, va yemitúntakán val dúshahu avapat; 43 mamán lá aétún chígún lak andéshih, bará aétún chígún li khavi-ıtúnam; 44 aigh

لاک actān andēshīh aīgh nēšmanānānā vazūrg rāmishnō min pāḏmūjanūn gûnak gûnak, va kaḏak-bānūkīh-i sazākvar, amatshān yakhsenund. 45 Maman lā actān; nēšmanānānā vazūrg rāmishnō min yehevūntau-o-i levātman shū-i nafshan.

46 Akht-i yātūk gūft aīgh: Kadbā yemalelûnəd, afat pavan denman frashnō barā zektelūnam; 47 kevan barā yātūn, vad barā nazdik-i Hū-parsh vazlūnam, afash lak akhtman va li nēshman, 48 va afash akaraz kadbā lā gūft va lā yemalelûnəd, va pavan gūbishnō-i valman barā yekávimānām.

49 Gōsht-i Fryānō ham-dīnā yehevūnd; va Akht-i yātūk, levatman Gōsht-i Fryānō, pavan nazdik-i Hū-parsh vazlūnd hōmand; 50 va afshānū

gūf aīgh: Barā yetibūn, denman frashnō rástyish barā vajār. 51 Gōsht-i Fryānō gūf aīgh: Nēshmanānō vazūrg rāmishnō, min padmājanō-i günak günak, va kaḏak-bānūkīh-i sazākvar, amatshan yakhsenund? 52 ayāf vazūrg rāmishnō min yehevūntanō-i levatman shūt-i nafshman?

53 Va akhar, Ĥū-parsh andēshīd aīgh: Shikūftīch val li maḏ, mūn mandaḵam mar-i darvand sātār-i yātūk, amatam barā là shed-kūnēḏ vad barā zektelūnēḏ; 54 va nūman hat kadbā yemalēlūnam, adīnām brāḏar rāt barā zektelūnēḏ, va li darvand barā yehevūnam, va barā aētūn shapīr aīgh rāst yemalēlūnam; 55 va nūman hat kadbā yemalēlūnam, benafshman darvand barā yehevūnam,
va dād va dinō va khadāīnō barā vashūpēd; va barā amat li pavan rāstīh zektelūned, yasharūbōtar barā yehvūnam. 56 Afash chādīr madam sar nilūftō, va barā gūft 57 aigh: Nēshmanānō vazīrg rāmishnō min padmūjanō-i günak günak, va kądak-bānūkīh-i sazākvār; 58 barā amatshānō saritūntanō levatman lōit, pavan darḍ va dūsḥ-ramīh, va mandavamīch rāmishn-i zak lōit barā darḍ va dūsḥ-khvārīh; 59 va amatshānō saritūntanō levatman alt, adinshān pavan rāmishnīkār yehvūnd.

60 Va akhar, Akht-i yātūk, amatash zak sakhūn ashnūd, khāshm...
vakhdanl, va Hū-parsh rāi, pavan ham-zamānō, barā zektelūnd. 61
Va rūbānō-i Hū-parsh, pavan ham-zamānō, val Garǒd-mānō vazlūnd;
62 afash vāng kard āigh: Nadāk lī; vad kevan yasharūbō yehevūnd hōmanam, va kevanīch yasharūbōtar hōmanam; 63 barā ānāk lak, Akht-i yātūk; vad kevan darvand yehevūnd hōmanīyīh, va kevanīch darvandtar vazlūnd.

64 XX va IXūm frashnō denman pūrsīl āigh: Maman zak-i ragel-
man X, va rōeshman III, va chashm VI, va gōsh VI, va dūmbō II,
va gūnd III, va yadman II, va vinīk III, va srūbō IV, va pōshīt III,
va hamāk gēhānō zīvīshn va yakhshenunīshn min valman?

65 Gōsht-i Fryānō guft āigh: Zivandakān pavan shekōnā yehe-
vūnāsh,
mar-i darvand sāstār, va yemītūntakān val dūshahū avapat; 66 maman min dinū ʿangūn pēdāk aigh: mūn pēskkār yātūnēd, frashnō pārsēnd lā khadūnūnī vajārāndūnī.

67 Va Akht-i yatūk gūft aigh: Vazlūn, va pavan nazdik jīnāk bārā yetibān, va pēshkār bārā vādūnūnī, va zūḏ bārā yātūnī, va frashnō rāst bārā vajār; 68 maman hāt kadbā yemālelūnūnī, ayūf yemālelūnūnī aigh: Lā khavītūnūm, adīnāt pavan ham-zamānūnī bārā zektelūnūm.

69 Va Gōsht-i Fryāndū bārā vazlūnūd, va madam magh bārā nishāst; 70 afsafl pavan mīnīshn andēshīd aigh: Shikūftīch val li maḏ yeḵavmūnūnī, mūn demān mar-i darvand sāstār, va mūn lā shedkūnūnī vag bārā zektelūnūnī.

maman hat zak-i zivandak, va maman zak-i mûrdak lakhvâr zîvandak yechevûnûd, denman frashnû vajûdarkûn lû tuvbânû hûmanûd.

72 Akhar, Aûharmazd-i khûdâi 'Nêryôsang yêdatû, pavan pêtkham, va Gösht-i Fryânû sheqûnûd, 73 va afash gûft aîgh: Frashnû pasukhû yehabûn, mûn denman: tûrâ davâl aît-i levatman gâbrû mûn kûr va varz vûdûnûd. 74 Va Gösht-i Fryânû chûgûn vûng ashnuûd, va adînash khadîh lû khaditûnd, gûmûn yehevûnd; 75 afash pavan minishnû andûshîl aîgh: Ai hat Akharman va shêdâûnû homând, va azshûn avâyast va kâmak denman, aîgh li barka zektelûnd; 76 va hat li denman frashnû ham-gûnûk pasukhû yehabûnûm, adînûm zak mar-i darvûnd sâtâr barka zektelûnûd.

83 Va Akht-i yâtûk, amatash zak sakhun ashnûd, pavan ham-zamânô
stared barâ yehevûnd yekavîmûnad, va III yôm va shapânô stared yehevûnd yekavîmûnad. 84 Va akhar min III yôm shapânô, lakhvâr
val hûsh yatûnd, val Gôsht-i Fryânô güft 85 aîgh: Frashmôihâ-i lak, Gôsht-i Fryânô, mûn aûmêd val Aûharmazd-i khâdâi vakhdûnd mûn,
pavan ham-zamân, val pôsht va afiyârîh yâmûned.

86 XXXûm frashnô denman pûrsîd aîgh: Asp kaďâm nadûkâtar?
87 Gôsht-i Fryânô güft aîgh: Zivandakân pavan shekônû yeh-
vûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemîtûntakân val dûshahû avapat;
88 maman asp-i gushan-i farâkhtak va pavan gûhar nadûk; amatshânô yakhzenunishnô levatman aspân-i shahih shâyad.
89 XXX va khadûk frashnô denman pûrsîd âigh: Maman zak-i khûshk barâ là sójêd? va maman zak-i khavîd barâ sójêd?

90 Gôsht-i Fryânô guft âigh: Zivandakân pavan shekônâ yehêvûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemitûntakân val dûshahû avapat; maman zak khâk aît-i mûn khûshk là sójêd, va tarbâ aît-i khavîd barâ sójêd.

92 XXX va îhûm frashnô denman pûrsîd âigh: Pâdakhshah ka-dâm shapîr?

93 Gôsht-i Fryânô guft âigh: Zivandakân pavan shekônâ yehêvûnâsh, mar-i darvand sâstâr, va yemitûntakân val dûshahû avapat; maman pâdakhshah zak nadûktar-i âmûrzîdârtar, va khirad va dâ-nîshnô nadûk, afash dâhîshn aîgyûrîh levatman.
Chapter IV.

95 XXX va IIIǔm frashnō denman pūrsid əigh: Lak, Gōsht-i Fryānō, rāā khvāstak chand ait?

96 Gōsht-i Fryānō guft aigh: Zivandakān pavan shekōnā yehe-vūnāsh, mar-i darvand sāstār, va yemituntakān val dūshahū avapat; 97 manān li rāā khvāstak III ait: khadūk, zak-i vashtamūnām; va khadūk, zak-i pādμujōm; va khadūk, zak-i val daregūshān va ar-jānīkān yehabūnām.

Chapter IV.

1 Akhar, Gōsht-i Fryānō guft aigh: XXX va III frashnō, lak min li pūrsid, hamāk rāastyīsh vajāřd; 2 kevan li min lak III frashnō pūrsēm;


hat pasukhō là yehabūnīh, pavan ham-zamāno barā zektelūnām.

3 Va Akht-i yātūk gūft āigh: Pūrs, vad vajārām.

4 Va Gōsht-i Fryānō gūft āigh: Zamīk I dast tōkhm arj chand?

5 Va dadīgar denman pūrsīd āigh: Tōrā-I varzāk arj chand? 6 Va sadīgar denman pūrsīd āigh: Khvētūk-das-I kār va kifāk arj chand?

7 Akht-i yātūk là khavītūnāst, afash gūft āigh: Pēshkār yātūnēd, frāshnō pūrsūnd là khudūnō vajārānānō. 8 Gōsht-i Fryānō gūft āigh: Vazlūn, va pavan nazdik jīnāk barā yetībūn, va pēshkār barā vūdūnē, va zūd barā yātūn, va denman III frāshnō rāst barā vajār; 9 maman hat yemālēnūnēd āigh: Lā khavītūnām, adīnāt pavan ham-zamānō barā zektelūnām.

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10 Akht-i yātāk, pavan yātūkhīh, yīn dūshahāh dūbārāst; 11 afash val Akharman drāyīd aīgh: Gajēstak! zamīk aē dast tōkhm arj chand? 12 va dāḏīgar aīgh: tōrā-I varzāk arj chand? 13 va saḏīgar, khvētūk-das kār va kīrfaḵ arj chand?

14 Gajēstak Akharman val Akht-i yātūk drāyīd aīgh: Lī denman frashnōīhā-i lak rāī, pasukhō lā tōbānōm kardānū; 15 maman hat bara yemalēlūnām, dām-i lī hamāk bīrūnī vazlūnēḏ, levatman shēdāān va drūjān va parīkān; 16 va li lāk rāī dōsttar lā yakhserūnām aīgh dām-i benafshman rāī. 17 Denman frashnōīhā-i lāk min li pūrsidō hūmāngīh, afat pasukhō yehabūnām, 18 hamāk dām-i lī akār barā yehevēnēḏ, va pātiyārāk mandavāmīh barā lā

کترنید، ۱۹ مین مادم دام-ی آ昀ارمازد بارا کار یافتنید؛ و پوان هام-زامانو رست-اکهز و تان-ی پاسینو ییهفونید. ۲۰ وازلان، و تاردلانو لینه فریوانو؛ میراد-درکیح للا، امات کردنک یاخسنونید؛ ۲۱ و تار دامن از فرآ مادل، واردینelinessانو لیا تیبانو؛ ۲۲ مامان ییاک-ی لک دوشاه، و پاداخران-ی لک سکیت دارماند. ۲۳ وک اکت-ی یاتوک مادم دوشاه انائمید، و اوش-ی والمان رائل هامان ییاتیوند واد لینه-ی گوشت-ی یافند. ۲۴ وک اکت-ی یاتوک وال گوشت-ی یافند غفت ۲۵ ایگه: فردویه-ی-ی لک، گوشت-ی

فریانو، مین اُحارمزاو د و ام‌ش‌وسپندان لئومان ِ لک یِحِی‌نَد هومند؛ زک‌ی لُ دانیش هومانیه، لک رال بِارا گیفت هومند؛ ۲۶ وَ لی مین اُمِّد بِارا ِ وال اکیَارمان وَ یِشی‌دّان ِ ِیکیمَانَد، III فراشنو نِم اکیَارمان وَ یِشی‌دّانَو پُروسُد، لی رال پاسک‌یحد لُ داد هومند.

۲۷ آفسح اکهار، گوسی‌ی فریانو، اکی‌ی یَّدیک رالِ، پاتِن هام‌زَمانَوِ، کَرَدِی بَارسِووُم‌چَینَو پاتِن نیرانگ‌ی دیَنویک، اکآر بِارا کارِدِ؛ وَ درُجِی، یِنِ تَنَوُیِ والِ، اکآر بِارا کارِدِ.
V. Postscript.

1 Denman mādīkānō mūn paḍvandīdō bandakīhā barā karitūnēd, va pavan sar yat-dhūk-vēryōk-I barā yemalelunēd, 2 pavan rūbānō-i valman, kīrfak aētūn yehevūnēd, chīgūn mār-I pavan nirang-i avistāk barā zektelūnd; 3 ahvō pavan rūbānō-i valman aētūn yehevūnēd, chīgūn amat III shanat yesht-i avsrūḏ gāśān yezbekhūnēd; 4 va yehevūnī dastōbār mūn guft aīgh: Ahvō shanat-I vanās-i ayazishnīḥ val būn lā yehevūnēd.

5 Frajalī pavan shlam, shādīh va rāmishnō. 6 Makhitīnīd yehevūnūd. Akht-i yātūk, levatman kamāk shēdāān va drūjān va yālūkān va parikānō.

VI. Colophons.


4 Frajaft farjâmâniš denman Arâdâ-Virâf, va denman mâdîkân-i âsht-i

VI. The first colophon occurs both in H6 and K20, though the date and names differ; but the second colophon occurs only in H6. 1, 4, 12. K20 omits 2. 1, 13. K20 1 Rashnâ va. 1, 15. K20 1 Dinô. 1, 18—20. K20 XC Yazdakardâk. 2, 4. corrected from 2 to agree with 5, 29; K20 has aârpat zâd Mitrô-âpân Kai-Khûsrôbô-i Mitrô-âpân Spen-dâd-i. 2, 6. K20 omits 2. 2, 7—8. K20 om. 2, 11. the idhâfat 2 must be understood here, and elsewhere, in the colophons. 2, 13. the 9 is superfluous. 4, 6. 2 substituted in the margin.

VI. 5, 11, 14, 16, 18, 21. the conjunction Ь used instead of the idhāfat Ь, and omitted between some of the other names in this genealogy. 5, 13. commonly written ә. 5, 30. Ь is probably superfluous, the writer having copied it from 2, 5, without observing that the omission of the succeeding names, renders it unnecessary here. 6, 8. Pers. ج. Guîrûtî Bîhûrûc; this name is supplied from another colophon in Hô; the folio here being moth-eaten, so as to leave nothing legible but fragments of the letters й and й.
The tale of

Gósht-i Fryánô.

English translation

by

E. W. West, Ph. D.
Observations.

The same remarks apply to the text of this translation, as those prefixed to that of the book of Arda Viraf.
Chapter I.

1 May this tale of Gôsht-i Fryânô 1 be fortunate through the assistance of God.

2 They say that, at the time when Akht, the sorcerer, with an army of seven myriads, went to the city of Enigma-expounders, 3 he also shouted thus: I will make the city of Enigma-expounders a beaten track for elephants. 4 And when he came thither, he also demanded a man that had not been negligent of the law of God from fifteen years of age; 5 and he asked him an enigma. 6 Everyone who was not able to solve it, was also seized and slain by him.

7 And afterwards, in that city of Enigma-expounders, was a man, Mârspend by name, 8 and he said to Akht, the sorcerer, thus: Make not the city of Enigma-expounders a beaten track for elephants, and slay not these innocent people; 9 for 2 in this city of Enigma-expound-

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1 The identity of this person with the Yôishtô yô Fryananân of the Ábân Yasht 81, is well known to the Parsi priests, and was mentioned in Haug's 'Account of a tour in Gujarat, in 1863—64', p. 5, note. The passage, referring to him, in the Ábân Yasht 81—83, may be translated as follows: 'Yôishta, who was of the 'Fryânas, offered her the worship (contained) in a hundred of male horses, a thousand of cattle, a myriad of new-born animals, on the shore (or island) of Ranha. 'Then he begged this favor of her: 'Grant me, O good and most gracious Ard-

2 Or 'who are in this city of Enigma-expounders. There is a man', etc., according to the reading of the MSS.
ders, there is a man, Gösht-i Fryânô by name, who has not been negligent of the law from fifteen years of age; 10 and each enigma of those which thou askest him, he will explain to thee.

11 Then Akht, the sorcerer, sent a message to Gösht-i Fryânô, 12 thus: Come up to my residence, so that I may ask thee thirty and three enigmas; 13 and if thou givest no answer, or you say thus: 'I know not', then I will slay thee immediately.

14 And Gösht-i Fryânô came to the residence of Akht, the sorcerer; 15 and because Akht, the sorcerer, had the dead matter of men under the carpet, he went not in. 16 And he sent a message to Akht, the sorcerer, 17 thus: You have the dead matter of men under the carpet; 18 and when I come in, the archangels are with me, in that place where the dead matter of men exists, and into which I come; 19 then my archangels withdraw from protecting me, 20 and afterwards I shall not be able to explain those enigmas which thou askest me.

21 Then Akht, the sorcerer, ordered them to carry away that carpet and covering, and to bring and lay a new carpet; 22 and he also spoke, in his request to Gösht-i Fryânô, 23 thus: Come, sit upon this covering and cushion, and truly explain the enigma which I ask thee.

24 Gösht-i Fryânô said thus: Felon and wicked tyrant! I sit not upon this cushion; for in this cushion is the dead matter of men; 25 and with me are the angels and archangels; they are my pro-

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1 Ninety-nine are mentioned in the Ábân Yasht, 82.
2 Either some part of a dead body, or some refuse of a living one, such as hair, nail-parings, etc., by contact with which the 'pious' are defiled.
3 The seven amesháspends.
4 Literally 'throw'.
5 Literally 'felon of a wicked tyrant', which is precisely the common English way of putting epithets in apposition, as in the colloquial phrases: 'fool of a servant', 'rascal of a lawyer', 'knave of a priest', 'angel of a woman', etc.
6 The yazads.
tection; 26 and if I shall sit upon this cushion, then my spirits withdraw from protecting me; 27 consequently it will not be possible for me to explain the enigmas which thou askest me.

28 And after Akht, the sorcerer, ordered them to carry away that cushion, and bring a new one, 29 Gosht-i Fryânò sat upon that new cushion.

Chapter II.

1 The first enigma Akht, the sorcerer, asked Gosht-i Fryânò, was this: 2 Is the paradise in the world good, or that which is in heaven?

3 Gosht-i Fryânò said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living¹, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead²; 4 for the paradise which is in the world, is better than that which is in heaven. 5 And a token of it is this, that anyone who performs no duty, nor good work, in the world, meets not there with censure therefrom. 6 And a second token for thee is this, that if thou shalt do, in the world, anything which is not virtuous, then thou comest not, through it, to the good paradise.

7 And Akht, the sorcerer, as soon as he heard those words, became confounded, 8 as though a man who performs a yesht³, had become stupified. 9 And so he said thus: It is a misfortune for me, Akht the sorcerer, owing to thee, Gosht-i Fryânò, that thou art victorious over me. 10 As a strong man over the strongest man, and a strong horse over the strongest horse, and a strong bull over the strongest bull, as the sky over the earth, thou art predominant⁴.

¹ Literally 'in the misery of the living'.
² Literally 'to the hell of the dead'.
³ A thanksgiving, with invocation and praise of some particular angel, or archangel; the recitation of which, in an unknown tongue, if long continued, is very apt to deaden the faculties.
⁴ That is, merely through accident, or circumstances; not through natural strength, or intellect.
11 For I have slain, through this enigma, nine hundred Magian men, 12 who had so much performed their worship of God, that on account of drinking so much hóm-juice, all their bodies had become yellow. 13 I also slew the nine daughters of Spitáma, although through glorifying the religion, they obtained a crown, *inlaid* with gold and pearls, from the rulers. 14 When I asked them, and they said that the paradise which is in heaven is good, 15 I said thus: As you deem it good, so also it is well that you go to that good paradise. 16 And I took and slew them.

17 The second enigma he asked, was this: What is that thing, of the creatures of Aûharmazd, which sits on its posteriors higher than it stands on foot?

18 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 19 for that is a dog.

20 The third enigma he asked, was this: What is that, of the creatures of Aûharmazd, which walks and plants no footstep?

21 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 22 for that is a sparrow which walks and plants no footstep.

23 The fourth enigma he asked, was this: What is that thing, of the creatures of Aûharmazd, whose tooth is horny, and horn fleshy?

24 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 25 for they call that a cock, the bird of Srôsh the pious; 26 and when it crows, it keeps away the misfortunes of life from the creatures of Aûharmazd.

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1 Spitâmán in Pahlavi, the usual orthography for Spitama, the ancestor of Zarathushtra; although it is also a patronymical adjective, meaning 'the Spitaman', or 'descendant of Spitama'. But as Zarathushtra had only three daughters, the name Spitâmân cannot refer to him here.

2 That is, takes no stride, but merely hops.
27 The fifth enigma he asked, was this: Is a small knife good, or little eating?

28 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 29 for a small knife is better than little eating; 30 since it is proper to cut and collect the baresôm with a small knife; 31 and little eating reaches not to the belly, and if it reaches, it produces wind.

32 The sixth enigma he asked, was this: What is full? and what is that which is half full? and what is that which is never full?

33 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 34 for that which is full is fame which is powerful here, and when it shall pass away, the soul is pious; 35 that which is half full is indigent misery whose life is wretched, and when it shall die, the soul is pious; 36 and that which is empty, which is never full, is that misery whose life is wretched, and when it shall die, the soul is wicked.

37 The seventh enigma he asked, was this: What is that thing which men wish to conceal, and it is not possible for them to conceal it?

38 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 39 for that which is old age which no one is able to conceal; 40 for old age is self-evident.

41 The eighth enigma he asked, was this: Which is that living man who sees Astî-vihâd and dies, and his wish is so that he may go back to the living; 42 and again also he sees Astî-vihâd and will die, and it appears to him easy?

43 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst

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1. The small twigs of the pomegranate, tamarisk, or date, tree which are tied together in a small bundle and have to be present at all the sacrificial ceremonies of the Parsis.

2. Or 'wealthy'.

3. The demon of death.
living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 44 for
that is the man who has performed no worship \(^1\) and has drunk no
hôm-juice; 45 and a second is that man who has come to the time
of marriage, and has not married a wife; 46 and a third is that man
who has not honored a living soul, and has not given alms \(^2\), and has
not performed the worship of God, and of his alms to the good man
he said thus: 'I give', and he has not given; 47 and \(when\) he dies,
his wish is so that he may go back to the living; 48 and again also
he dies, and sees Asti-vîhâd, and it appears to him easy.

49 The ninth enigma he asked, was this: In how many months
do the elephant and the horse and the camel and the ass and the
cow and the sheep and woman and the dog and the pig and the cat
give birth?

50 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst
living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 51 for
the elephant gives birth in three years, and the horse and camel and
ass give birth in twelve months, and the cow and woman give birth
in nine months, and the sheep gives birth in five months, and the dog
and pig give birth in four months, and the cat gives birth in forty days.

52 The tenth enigma he asked, was this: Which man \(^3\) lives in
more pleasure and more comfort?

53 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst
living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 54 for
that man lives in more pleasure and more comfort, who is more un-
alarmed and contented and more wealthy.

55 The eleventh enigma he asked, was this: What is that thing
which, in the world, is like unto Aûharmazd and the archangels?

56 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst
living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 57 for:

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\(^1\) Or 'thanksgiving'.

\(^2\) Literally: 'a pious gift'.

\(^3\) Literally: 'Which of mankind'.

in the world, a ruler is like unto Aûharmazd and the archangels; 58 and the abode 1 of rulers is like the resplendent Garôdîmânô 2; 59 and the ministers of rulers are like unto the archangels, 60 and are in the residence of kings 3, like unto that constellation which they call Parviz 4; 61 other men, when they are industrious and skilful, are like unto the other small stars which are in the sky.

62 The twelfth enigma he asked, was this: Of food, which is the more agreeable and more savory?

63 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 64 for of food, that is the more savory and more agreeable, which is acquired by means 5 of honest exertion, and duties and good works consume it again and possess it.

65 The thirteenth enigma he asked, was this: Which is the one? and which, the two? and which, the three? and which, the four? and which, the five? and which, the six? and which, the seven? and which, the eight? and which, the nine? and which are the ten?

1 Literally: 'place'.
2 The highest paradise, or heaven of Aûharmazd; literally: 'the abode of song'; see Arda-Virâf nâmak X.—XL.
3 Or 'kings in residence are'.
4 Generally identified with the Pleiades, which were considered by the ancients to be seven in number (although one of them had become invisible) and might, therefore, be readily compared with the heavenly council of the seven Amesháspends. In the Bundehesh, Parviz is the third lunar mansion which, allowing for the precession of the equinoxes, must have best corresponded with the Pleiades about 1800 years ago. Its Zand name is Paurvanya but the 'star-studded, spirit-fashioned, Paurvanya girdle' of Yas. IX. 28, may perhaps be a much older application of the name, to the more brilliant seven stars of Orion, which would have well represented the third lunar mansion, some 3500 years ago. It would be hazardous to assume that the introduction of the name Parviz into the text, is any allusion to Khâsrô Parviz who reigned from A.D. 590 to 628; otherwise, this passage might afford a means of estimating the age of the Pahlavi text.
5 Literally: 'from the way'.
66 Gősht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 67 for the One is the good sun, which keeps the whole world illumined; 68 and the Two are the inhaling and exhaling 1 of the breath; 69 and the Three are the good thoughts and good words and good deeds; 70 and the Four are water and earth and trees and beasts; 71 and the Five are the five good Kayanians2; 72 and the Six are the six times of the Gāhanbārs3; 73 and the Seven are the seven archangels; 74 and the Eight are the eight good celebrities4; 75 and the Nine are the nine openings in the bodies of men; 76 and the Ten are the ten fingers on the hands of men.

Chapter III.

1 The twenty and third 5 enigma he asked, was this: What is the colder?

2 Gősht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 3 for it is not so as thouthinkest, but so as I know; 4 and it is thus thou thinkest, that the snow is colder which remains on the mountain, and the sun never warms it; 5 but it is not so as thou thinkest, for the mind of a wicked man is colder. 6 And a token of it is this, that thou, Akht

1 Literally: 'fetching and carrying'.
2 These five Persian kings were Kai-Kabâd, Kai-Kahûs, Kai-Khûsrôv, Kai-Lûrâsp and Kai-Gushtâsp.
3 The season festivals held respectively on the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th and 365th days of the Parsi year, which begins now on the 21st September, according to the reckoning of the Indian Parsis.
4 Or 'stories'. It is uncertain what celebrated octade of notables, or legends, is here referred to.
5 With regard to the apparent omission of nine enigmas, between this and the thirteenth, see the note in the transliteration of the Pahlavi text.
the sorcerer, hast 1 a brother who is wicked; 7 and as many handfuls of poison 2 as reside in his heart, thou art not able to melt, not with the sun and not with the fire; 8 and when I take it in the palm of my hand, it will melt.

9 Then Akht, the sorcerer, ordered them to bring and slay his own brother, and to take away the poison from the heart; 10 but he was not able to melt it, not with the sun and not with the fire; 11 and Gósht-i Fryânó took it up in the palm of the hand, and melted it.

12 The twenty and fourth enigma he asked, was this: What is the hotter?

13 Gósht-i Fryânó said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 14 for the palm of the hand of a pious man is the hotter; 15 and a token of it for thee is this, that it was not possible to melt thy brother’s poison, not with the sun and not with the fire; 16 but when taken up in the palm of my hand, it melted away.

17 The twenty and fifth enigma he asked, was this: What is good when it goes down? and what is good when it is chilled? and what is good when 3 it shall die?

18 Gósht-i Fryânó said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 19 for water is good which goes down; and fire is good which is chilled; and a felon and wicked tyrant, like thee, is good who shall die. 20 Since, if water goes not down, and fire cools not, and a felon and wicked tyrant, like thee, dies not, 21 then so the whole world would be full of water and fire, and full of felons and wicked tyrants, like thee, and it would not be possible to preserve the world.

22 The twenty and sixth enigma he asked, was this: What is

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1 Literally: ‘that for thee, Akht the sorcerer, is’.
2 Or perhaps ‘gall’.
3 In the text ‘which’, but the Huzvâresh mán, ‘which’, is often substituted for amat, ‘when’; the Pâzand of both being ka. or ke.
heavier than a mountain? 23 and what is sharper than a steel knife? 24 and what is sweeter than honey? 25 and what is fatter than the tail of a sheep? 26 and what is more liberal than the liberal? 27 and what is juster than the just?

28 Gósht-i Fryánô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 29 for falsehood and irreverence are heavier than a mountain; 30 and the tongues of men are sharper than a steel knife; 31 and a child of fortune is sweeter than honey, for its father and mother; 32 and the earth and rain of Spendarmad are fatter than the tail of a sheep; 33 and Tishtar, the angel, is more liberal than the liberal; 34 and juster than the just is Vâyô the good, who is no favorer of any person, and takes no bribe, and has justice for the lord and the slave, one with the other.

35 The twenty and seventh enigma he asked, was this: Which foot is the better and handsomer? 36 because of the many feet which I have seen, her foot is the handsomest and best which I have seen, who is Hû-parsh, thy sister and my wife.

37 Gósht-i Fryánô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 38 for the foot of Water is handsomer and better. 39 And a token of it for thee is this, that there where Water places a foot, vegetation will grow; 40 and there where Hû-parsh places a foot, will be dry.

1 Referring to the fat-tailed species of sheep, common in some parts of Asia and Africa.

2 That is, 'more burdensome'.

3 Or 'affliction', if the Pahlavi be ranjoih, as seems likely.

4 The female archangel of the earth, 'the bountiful Ârmaiti'; perhaps the rain is misplaced in the Pahlavi text, as it is the special gift of Tishtar, see Mkh. LXII. 41-42.

5 The 'air', a name of the angel Râm; but the actions here attributed to him, are rather those of Rashn, the just, the weigher of the actions of men.

6 The female angel of water, Ardei-sâra Anâhîta; see the Âbân Yasht.
The twenty and eighth enigma he asked, was this: Whence is the great pleasure of women?

Gósht-i Fryánó said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; for it is not so as thou thinkest, but so as I know; for it is thus thou thinkest, that the great pleasure of women is from various kinds of dress and seemly housewifery, when they have them. However, it is not so; the great pleasure of women is from being with their own husbands.

Akht the sorcerer said thus: You speak false, and through this enigma I will slay thee; now come along, I will go unto Hú-parsh, to her who is thy sister and my wife, and she never told a lie, nor tells it, and by her word I will abide.

Gósht-i Fryánó was acquiescent; and Akht the sorcerer, with Gósht-i Fryánó, went into the presence of Hú-parsh; and they also spoke thus: Sit down, and explain this enigma truly.

Gósht-i Fryánó said thus: Is the great pleasure of women from dress of various kinds and seemly housewifery, when they have them? or is their great pleasure from being with their own husbands?

Then Hú-parsh thought thus: A dilemma indeed has come to me, which thing is the felon and wicked tyrant, the sorcerer, as he will not cease till he shall slay me; and since if I speak false, then he will slay my brother, and I shall become wicked, and so it will be well that I speak true; and moreover, if I speak false, I shall be wicked myself, and he will destroy the law and religion and custom; but when he slays me through truth, I shall be more pious.

And she covered over her head with a veil, and spoke out thus: The great pleasure of women is from dress of various kinds and seemly

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1 Or 'he speaks false', or perhaps 'a lie is spoken', as the Huz. *yematalânéd* appears to be used for the past participle, as well as for the present tense.

2 By slaying her brother, who was their main support.

3 That is, 'because of'.
housewifery; 58 but when they are without cohabitation, they are in pain and uneasiness, and those pleasures are nothing whatever but pain and discomfort; 59 and when they have cohabitation, then they are in greater pleasure.

60 And afterwards, Akht the sorcerer, when he heard those words, became angry, and slew Hû-parsh at once. 61 And the soul of Hû-parsh went, at once, to Garôdmanô; 62 and it cried thus: Good am I; hitherto I have been pious, and now I am still more pious; 63 but evil art thou, Akht the sorcerer; hitherto thou hast been wicked, and now thou hast become still more wicked.

64 The twenty and ninth enigma he asked, was this: What is that which has ten feet, and three heads, and six eyes, and six ears, and two tails, and three pair of testicles, and two hands, and three noses, and four horns, and three backs, and the life and preservation of the whole world comes from it?

65 Gôsht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 66 for it is thus declared by the religion, that when the call of nature arises, it is not the custom to explain the enigma they ask.

67 And Akht, the sorcerer, said thus: Go and sit down in a neighbouring place, and attend to the call of nature, and come again quickly, and truly explain the enigma; 68 for if you speak false, or if you say thus: ‘I know not’, then I will slay thee at once.

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1 Literally: ‘when cohabitation is with them’.
2 Literally: ‘seized anger’; the usual Persian idiom.
3 The highest paradise.
4 Or ‘legs’.
5 Or ‘arms’.
6 According to the explanation in the Persian text, which seems probable; péshkâr is a euphemism analogous to péshyâr and pésháb.
7 Europeans should bear in mind, that it is a sin for a Mazdayasnian to make water whilst standing.
69 And Gósht-i Fryânô went out, and sat down upon a stone; 70 and he thought, in his mind, thus: A dilemma indeed has come to me, which is this felon and wicked tyrant, and which ceases not till he shall slay; 71 for if those who are living, and moreover those who are dead, become living again, had to explain this enigma, they would not be able.

72 Afterwards, Âûharmazd the lord, sent Néryôsang the angel, with a message to Gósht-i Fryânô, 73 and he said to him thus: Give the answer of the enigma, which is this: 'It is a yoke of oxen, with 'a man who performs ploughing and tillage'. 74 And Gósht-i Fryânô, as he heard a voice and then saw no one, was doubtful; 75 and he thought, in his mind, thus: Nay but if they be Akharman and the demons, and their desire and wish be this, that they shall slay me; 76 and if I give this enigma such an answer, then that felon and wicked tyrant will slay me.

77 And afterwards, Néryôsang, the angel, came near to Gósht-i Fryânô, 78 and he said thus: Fear not, for I am Néryôsang the angel, I am sent to thee, 79 and it is said by him who is Âûharmazd, the lord, thus: 'Give the answer of this enigma; for the enigma is a yoke 'of oxen, with a man who performs tillage'. 80 And Gósht-i Fryânô, when he heard those words, then became extremely joyful. 81 Immediately, he went into the presence of Akht the sorcerer, and said 82 thus: Lo! felon and wicked tyrant, the answer of this enigma is this: 'for this is a yoke of oxen, with a man who performs ploughing 'for cultivation'.

83 And Akht, the sorcerer, when he heard those words, at once became confounded, and remained confounded three days and nights. 84 And after three days and nights, he returned to consciousness, and

1 That is, a stone used as a seat in the ceremony of purification.
2 Or 'the afflicted became joyful'.
3 Or perhaps, 'this is it'.
said to Gosht-i Fryânô, 85 thus: The enigmas are thine, Gosht-i Fryânô, who puttest trust in Aûharmazd, the lord, who comes immediately to thy support and assistance.

86 The thirtieth enigma he asked, was this: Which horse is the better?

87 Gosht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 88 for the male horse which is extolled, and with a pedigree, is good; when they ought to keep it with the horses of royalty.

89 The thirty and first enigma he asked, was this: What is that which is dry and will not burn? and what is that which is damp and will burn?

90 Gosht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 91 for that is dust which is dry and burns not, and it is grease which is damp and will burn.

92 The thirty and second enigma he asked, was this: Which king is good?

93 Gosht-i Fryânô said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; 94 for that king is the better who is the more merciful, and is excellent in wisdom and knowledge, and he is fond of the creation.

95 The thirty and third enigma he asked, was this: How many riches are there for thee, Gosht-i Fryânô?

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1 Or 'happily is it for thee', according to some MSS.
2 Literally: 'whose trust clung to'.
3 Or perhaps, 'swift'.
4 Or perhaps, 'blackness', an epithet of the Arabs; but both the text and translation of this sentence, are doubtful.
5 Or 'but burns not'.
6 Or 'but burns'.
7 Literally: 'and kindness for the creation is with him'.
96 Gosht-i Fryānō said thus: Mayst thou be in misery whilst living, felon and wicked tyrant! and fall to hell when dead; for there are three riches for me: one is that which I eat; and one, that which I wear; and one, that which I give to the poor and worthy.

Chapter IV.

1 Afterwards, Gosht-i Fryānō said thus: The thirty and three enigmas, asked me by thee, are all truly explained; now I ask thee three enigmas; if thou givest no answer, I will slay thee immediately. 2 And Akht, the sorcerer, said thus: Ask, so that I may explain.

3 And Gosht-i Fryānō said thus: How much is the value of the seed of one cubit of land? 4 And the second he asked, was this: How much is the value of the ploughing of one ox? 5 And the third he asked, was this: How much is the value of the duty and good work of one next-of-kin marriage?

6 Akht, the sorcerer, knew not, and he said thus: The call of nature arises, and it is not the custom to explain the enigma they ask. 7 Akht, the sorcerer, knew not, and he said thus: The call of nature arises, and it is not the custom to explain the enigma they ask. 8 Gosht-i Fryānō said thus: Go and sit down in a neighbouring place, and attend to the call of nature, and come again quickly, and truly explain these three enigmas; 9 for if you say thus: 'I know not', then I will slay thee immediately.

10 Akht, the sorcerer, through sorcery, rushed into hell; 11 and he shouted to Akharman, thus: Accursed! how much is the value of the seed of one cubit of land? 12 and second, thus: how much is the value of the ploughing of one ox? 13 and third, how much is the value of the duty and good work of a next-of-kin marriage?

14 The accursed Akharman shouted to Akht, the sorcerer, thus: I am not able to answer these enigmas of thine; 15 for, if I shall speak, my creatures will all depart, with the demons and demonesses and witches; 16 and I have not more friendship for thee than for my own creatures. 17 Should I give thee the answer of these enigmas which thou hast asked me, 18 all my creatures will become inefficient, and
nothing whatever of opposition will remain, \(19\) owing to the efficiency which will come upon the creatures of Aûharmazd \(1\); and the resurrection of the dead and the future body would occur \(2\) immediately. 

\(20\) Go and put forth \(thy\) neck; it is not a breach of promise, though he preserves the enigma; \(21\) and when the time has arrived, it is not possible to avert it; \(22\) for thy place is hell, and thy punishment is more severe than \(that\ of\ all\ the\ wicked.\)

\(23\) And Akht, the sorcerer, rushed up from hell hopeless, and was brought, for his destruction, into the presence of Gûsht-i Fryânô. 

\(24\) And Akht, the sorcerer, said to Gûsht-i Fryânô \(25\) thus: The enigmas are thine \(3\), Gûsht-i Fryânô, with whom have been Aûharmazd and the archangels; that which thou hast not known, they have said for thee; \(26\) but I, whose trust rested on Akharman and the demons, asked three enigmas of Akharman and the demons, \(and\ for me they have given no answer.\)

\(27\) And after that, Gûsht-i Fryânô destroyed \(4\) Akht the sorcerer, at once, with the nîrang \(\text{(religious formula)}\) of the baresôn-gathering knife, and destroyed \(\star\) the demoness in his body.

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\(1\) Such appears to be the meaning of the Pahlavi text.  

\(2\) Literally: 'would be', or 'is'.  

\(3\) Or 'happily is it for thee', according to some MSS.  

\(4\) Literally: 'rendered useless'.

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V. Postscript.

1 Whoever shall read this tale together with his servants, and shall say one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô at the end, 2 the good work, in his soul, is such as though they should kill a snake with the nirang of the Avesta; 3 the spiritual life, in his soul, is such as when he offers up the prayers of the recited Gâthas for three years; 4 and there was a destûr who said, that there is no spiritual life at the end of one year's sin of non-worship.

5 Completed in health, pleasure and joy. 6 May Akht, the sorcerer, be destroyed, with all the demons and demonesses and sorcerers and witches.

VI. Colophons.

1 Completed and ended this tale of Gôsht-i Fryânô, with this Ardâ Virâf, on the day of Amerdâd, the month Shahrîwar, the Parsi

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1 The first paragraph of this postscript, may have been written by the author of the tale, as it occurs in both the old MSS.; but the second paragraph is found in only one MS.

2 Or perhaps, 'to his kindred and servants'.

3 One of the most sacred religious formulas of the Parsis, which ought to be recited before and after any act of importance; in some cases, several times.

4 A religious formula used in such cases as a charm, or exorcism.

5 Or 'praise'.

6 That is, 'after'.

7 These colophons are given as they stand in H6; the first one also occurs in K30, with variations merely in the date and name of the copyist; so that both of these old MSS. are traced back to the same original, the MS. of Mîhrpanâh Srôshyâr of Nishâpûr, which was existing in the first half of the thirteenth century A.D. The names are translated into their Persian form.
year 618; 2 written by me, the servant of the religion, Rustam son of Mihrbân, son of Marzabân, son of Dahishyâr, the herbad, from the handwriting of herbad Mihrpanâh, son of Srôshyâr of Nishápûr, the herbad. 3 May it be with the will of God.

4 Completed and ended this Ardalá Virâf, and this tale of Gósht-i Fryânô, on the day of Fravardin, the month Bahman, the year 766 of Yazdagard, king of kings, son of Aûharmazd; 5 written by me, the servant of the religion, the herbad’s son, the teacher Péshyôtan, son of Râm, son of Kâmân, son of Shahriyâr, son of Bahrân, son of the möbad Hôrmazdyâr, son of the herbad Râmyâr; and from the handwriting of the herbad Rustam, son of Mihrbân. 6 May it be with the will of God; and it is from the city of Bhrôch.

1 Corresponding to the 15th July A.D. 1249, if written in India, where the Rasmi computation would be used.

2 The copyist named in K.ô, is the herbad’s son Mihrbân, son of Kai-Khûsrô, son of Mihrbân, son of Spendâd (elsewhere, Spend-dâd), son of Mihrbân, son of Marzabân; identifying the last two names with the same names in H.ô, we may conclude that the Spendâd of K.ô was a brother of the Rustam of H.ô, and therefore, Mihrbân, the copyist mentioned in K.ô, was a great grand-nephew of Rustam, the copyist mentioned in H.ô; this conclusion is confirmed by the date mentioned in K.ô, which corresponds to the 8th November A.D. 1321, or 72 years later than the date given in H.ô, which interval would be necessary for the three generations inferred from the genealogy.

3 That is, MS.

4 Corresponding to the 20th November A.D. 1397; the year in which the MS, H.ô was written.
Appendix II.

The three Fargards
of the
Hadôkht Nask
which are still extant.

The Zand and Pahlavi Texts,
with a transliteration of the Pahlavi,
and various readings.

(Westergaard's Yasht Fragments XXI. 1.—XXII. 36.)

Edited by

M. Haug, Ph. D.
Observations.

The same remarks apply to this text as to the foregoing. The Zand and Pahlavi versions alternate as they are found in the MSS., and the sentences are numbered in accordance with those alternations; but the numbers of Westergaard's sections are also given, in the margin, for the convenience of the student. Additional sentences in the Pahlavi version are marked a), as supplementary to the preceding sentence.

The transliteration applies only to the Pahlavi text, and phrases which are merely explanatory of the preceding words, are marked as parentheses, when transliterated.

In the various readings, all references marked Z., relate to the Zand text, in which the words alluded to, are marked with an asterisk *, and the components of compound words are counted separately. Besides the MSS. H\textsubscript{6} and K\textsubscript{20}, which have been previously described, some references are made to the following:

K\textsubscript{21} — the Kopenhagen MS. No. 21, which is a careless and modern copy of K\textsubscript{20}.
P\textsubscript{7} — the Paris MS. No. 7 of Anquetil's collection, which is a somewhat older copy of K\textsubscript{20}.

The variations of the Zand version in K\textsubscript{20}, K\textsubscript{21} and P\textsubscript{7} are taken from Westergaard's published text, which is very correct, but does not notice some of the minor variations in orthography. Some variations, indicated by G., have been taken from a Gujarati transliteration of the Zand text, contained in the Farjiat-e Jaratoshti, Bombay, A.Y. 1207 (A.D. 1838), which may have been derived from other MSS. The Pahlavi version, however, has been settled from a collation of the two old MSS. H\textsubscript{6} and K\textsubscript{20}. 
Chapter I.

[Westergaard's Yasht Fragment XXI. 1—17.]

1. Z. 1, 7. H₆ has ḫ for ʃ. Z. 1, 8. K₂₀ has ʃ for ʃ. 1, 2. K₂₀ omits ʃ, here and elsewhere. 1, 9. both omit ʃ. 1, 11. K₂₀ has ʃ for ʃ. Z. 2, 1. compare Z. ahmya and yahmya; all the MSS. have ʃ for ʃ, which is a blunder easily made. Z. 2, 6, 8. H₆ has ʃ for ʃ, here and elsewhere. 2, 5, 8. K₂₀ omits final ʃ. 2, 10. or perhaps āzādīn.
Hadokht Nask I. 3—6.

būn va bar-i pēdāk aīgh frārūnīh dād yekavānūnēd, zyam gūft aīgh: Nafshman ghal yeheynūnēd?

3 Pasukhōšt val valman gūft Aūharmazd, aīgh: Yasharāīš-stā-yishnīh Zaratūshtrī, ashem-vohuk. 4 Mūn yasharāīš stāyēd pavan frānānishūō-i kābed (aīgh kābed bār) va deman kār frōpatēd-i madam minishnō minishnīk mūn rūbāk-dahishnīh min ahrō. 5 Zak-i li stāyād mūn Aūharmazd-ōm,

6 zak-i mayā stāyad, va zak-i dānik stāyad, va zak-i gōspend stāyad, va zak-i āūrvār stāyad, va zak-i harvisp āvādīh-i Āūharmazd-dād, mūn mīn yasharāîsh pēdāk stāyad (aiğhash hamāk stāyad yehevūnd). 7 Māman zak-i gūbishnū-i Zaratūhasht-i arshūkht frāz gūft, va frāz gūft-i rāst-i frārūnō, amat pāvan zak gūbishnū-i valman-i Ahū-ver frāz yemalēlūni-aît pāvan dastōbar; S āmāwandih va pīrūzkarīh va rūbān va dīnō bārā afzāyād. 8 Arjēl, Spīlāmānō Zaratūhashtar; khudāk yasharāîsh-stāyishnīh,

ashem-vohük ač, khadáf khadûk yasharûbân shnâyašârîh, 10 C khvâp, va M bîsrayâ-khûrîshnîh, va bêvar mâyûd chîgûn mîn C khvâp barâ khelmûnêd, va M bâr bîsrayâ barâ vaštâmûnêd, va bêvar bâr mâyûd barâ vajârêd, ka[lâr]châh min tanûân, amatash barâ min tanû râsišnî khûyâ yâmûnêd; zak and ârjêd.

11 Ka[drâr yasharâîsh-stâyishnîh, as]hem vohû, I mîn min X zak-i zakâi yasharâîsh-stâyishnîh mas va

1. 9, 9. khad substituted for a[.] 9, 11. Kzâ has [m] for [m]. 9, 12. so in both, but more commonly [m]. Z. 10, 1. G. condenses the remainder of the chapter into the following words: dasa gênsk qareîtînûm, satem pascha frânharetanûm, hazaxrem qaftanûm, ba[çvare tê qaftânî fraghri]-semuanûm kainhâoschid tammûm parô-astì jasôthyaö; omitting further details. Z. 10, 3. H[拗 inserts [m] after [m]. Z. 10, 5. Kzâ, Pz have [m] for last [m]. 10, 2, 13. [m] for [m], or [m], here and elsewhere. 10, 11. Kzâ om. 10, 33. Kzâ om. 10, 35—36. Kzâ [m] and [m]; but see 16, 9. and 21, 9. 11, 4—13. Kzâ om.
shapir va nadûktûm kasp?


l. 11,17. $K_{20}$ om. Z. 12,6. $H_{6}$ $\mathfrak{s}$ $\mathfrak{s}$. 12. 1. $K_{20}$ adds $\mathfrak{p}$ to $\mathfrak{m}$. Z. 13, 1. $H_{6}$ omits $\mathfrak{c}$. Z. 13, 2. $K_{20}$ om. 13, 4. $K_{20}$ omits $\mathfrak{d}$. 13. 8. $K_{20}$ om. 13,11. $H_{6}$ omits $\mathfrak{d}$. 13,15. both omit $\mathfrak{p}$. 13,16. $K_{20}$ om. 13, 18. $K_{20}$ $\mathfrak{d}$. 14, 7. $K_{20}$ omits final $\mathfrak{p}$. 14, 10. $K_{20}$ om. Z. 15,1. last $\mathfrak{a}$ only in $H_{6}$. 15,4. $H_{6}$ om. 15,11. $H_{6}$ $\mathfrak{s}$. $K_{20}$ $\mathfrak{m}$. Z. 16,4,9. $H_{6}$ has $\mathfrak{d}$ for $\mathfrak{p}$.

35
16 Kaďar khadûk yasharâîsh-stâyishnih, Ashem-vohûk âe, min min C vahmanshân-i zakâţ yasharâîsh-stâyishnih ash mas va shapîr va nadûktûn arj-i?


dāṣmat va dūṣ-hūkht va dūṣ-hūvaɾshīt.

21 Kadār khadūk yasharāiśt-stāyishnīḥ-i min M valmānshān-i zakāt yasharāiśh-stāyishnīḥ mas va shāpir va nādūktar kasp?


Kaalâr khadûk yasharâish-stâyishnûh mânu min zač-i bêvar val-
manshân zakâi, yasharâish-stâyishnûh 10,000 Ashem-vohûk ash mas va 
shapîr va nadâiktar arj?

Pasukhûâ'îl val valman güft Aûharâmazd aîgh: Zakîeh, yasha-
rûbûrâ Zaratûhasht, 28 amat gabrá min khvâp frâz-virâyishnûh va frâz-
bûyishnûh yasharâish stâyad Ashem-vohûk-I barâ yemâelelûnêd, va lâlâ 
yekâvimûnêd; 29—30 [chîgûn güft, see 19—20.]

31 Kadâr khadûk yasharâîsh-stâyishnîh mûn, min harvist denman kêsâhvar-i Khvânrâs levatman ramak va levatman ras, barâ min vir, javîd min anshûtâ, ash mas va shapîr va nadûktar kasp?

32 Pasukhâvîh avî valman güft Aûharmazd aîgh: Zakîch, yasharûbô Zaratâhasht, 33 amat gabrâ, pavan zak-i âfâdâm vardishn-i khâyâ, yasharâîsh stâyad Ashem-vohûk-I barâ yemâlelânûd, va akhar

1. Z. 31, 10. Hû has for ܓ. Z. 31, 11—14. in the margin of Hû; the other MSS. prefix ܐ to this phrase; this may stand for ܒܕ, the Pâz. of the Huz. ܢܬ, which is the usual sign of abbreviation, as Westergaard suggests: but it is more probably the cypher ܓ, which is often attached to marginal insertions in Pârsî MSS., and may indicate that these words were in the margin of some former MS., as they now are in that of Hû. Z. 31, 14. Pû has ܓ for ܓ. 31, 9. Kû ܓ. 31, 10. Hû omits ܓ. 31, 24. Hû om. 31, 26. Kû om. 32, 9. Kû. Z. 33, 1. all omits ܓ. 33, 7. Kû.
milayá lá yemadeluné; 34 — 35 [chığün azvar nipisht, see 19—20.] a) Hómand le-denman vanás va kif fak rást hamistakánú záré Ashem-vohúk-I bará yemadeluné, bará pavan zák páhlám áhván yántúné.

36 Kadár khadák yasharânish-stâyishnih mún mìn harvisp denman-i yin andaré damik va andaré ásmán va denman damik va zák rôsháníh va harvisp ávâdîh-i Áûharmazd-dád. mún mìn yasharânish pédákhí, ash mas va shapir va nadúktar kasp?

1. Z. 34, 3.—35, 5. H₁₆ omits these words, as in 29—30. Z. 35, 1. the last is supplied in accordance with 15, 1. and 20, 1. in H₁₆. 35, 1—3. K₁₀ om. 35 a, 1. ١٤٧٥ in both, but see 38 a, 1. 35 a, 2. H₁₆ om. 35 a, 4. K₁₀ om. 35 a, 11. K₁₀ ١٤٧٥. 35 a, 13. H₁₆ om. 35 a, 15. H₁₆ ١٤٧٥. 36, 8. K₁₀ omits ١٤٧٥. 36, 10, 13. so in H₁₆, K₁₀; but perhaps an old misreading for andar-i. 36, 15. H₁₆ om. 36, 17. H₁₆ ١٤٧٥. 36, 18, 21. K₁₀ om. 36, 23. or ávâdîh-i
Chapter II.

[Westergaard's Yasht Fragment XXII. 1—18.]

37 Pasukhōih val valman ꟃフト Aṯharmazd aĪgh: Ṣakīch, yasharūbō Zaratāhasht 38 mūn valman frōd vardeñd barā min dūshmat va dūshhūkht va dūsh-hūvarshtō. a) Hōman dal-denman vanās vēsh aĪgh kirfak dūshahūk zāk Ashem-vohūk-ī barā yemalēnēd ash vahishtīk barā yehevūnēd.

Chapter II.

Pavan shum-i Yēdatō.


K₂₀ σενηδ.

II. 0, 1—3. this invocation is only in H₆. Z. 1, 3—11. H₆ abbreviates the sentence by writing φί (vad, ‘to’) in place of these words.
[Pahlavi.] 1 Parsid Zaratuhsht min Aûharmazd, âgh: Aûharmazd, minavad-i afzûnîk, dâdâr-i gêhân-i ast-hômândân, yasharûbô, 2 amat yasharûbô barâ vadîrêd, âgh valman pavan zak lêyâ zak-i nafshman rûbân vajârêd? (âgh hash gâs âgh?)

3 Afash guft Aûharmazd 4 aîgh: Pavan nazdik-i vaghûdân yetî-bûnêd, zak jînâk aîgh, amatash jân barâ vazlûnêd, ash rûêsman yekevîmûnâd; 5 Aûshûvat gâs srâyaq (aîgh zand yemelêlûnêd), va nadûk-rûbîsh mâh barê
Hadokhit Nask II. 6—10.

continue as in 3—5] 

7 Mūn dadīgar aigh valman pavan zak lēlyā ash zak-i nafshan rūbānō vajārēd? (afash gās aigh?)

8—10 [see 3—5; vad] 'pavan kāmak pādakhshāhīh dād! Aūharmazd, pavan avāyast-i nafshan'.

11 [see 6; vad] pavan zivandakih, yin ahván did.

12 Mún sadīgar aigh valman pavan zak lēlyá ash zak-i našman rūbānō vajārēd? (afash gās aigh?)

13—15 [see 3—5; vad] ‘pāḏaḵshāhīh yehabūnd’. 16 Madam valman pavanich zak kolá III lēlyá, 17 [see 6; vad] pavan zivandakih, yin ahván yehabūnd.

18 Pavan zak-i


16 18. 3. H6, K20, G, have  here, but see III. Z. 17, 3. Z. 18, 5. H4  .

17 Z. 18, 12, all omit first ; P, has  for second .
sadīqār lēlyā rōēshman ash pavan ʿüzadahīšnīh medammūnēd pavan aūshbān, ʿun gabrā-i yasharūbō ʾrubūnō aīgh yīn aūrvar madam va bōd ash bārā dāsht medammūnēd tānū-i nafshman. 19 Zak valman vád madam vàyēd medammūnēd min ʾrāpītīwntar nēmak, min nēmak-i Savāk, min ʾrāpītīwntartikān nēmakān, min nēmak-i Yadādān; 20 hū-bōd va hūbōdīm min zak han vádlān zyash pavan stīh yātūn. 21 Valman vád ash pavan bīnīk lālā
vakhdund medammuneed mun gabra-i yasharubói rúbáu aè yemateleunéed aigh: Min aigh dahišno aña vád vayéed, múnam akaraz vád pawan hú-bódta vakhdund? 22 Yin zak vád valman ash fraváft medammuneed zak-i nafishman dínó kúnishno-i nafishman, 23 pavan kanik kerp nadák-i róshan-i avárik tanú-i arús bázá-i amávand-i hů-róst-i lálá astádak (aigh yûdán) va bûlánd, va stík pêstân-i

naduk tanī, va āzād (aigh rād), rayē-homand-tōkhmak (aighash tōkh-
mak mīn Yadadān), XV sālak, va hu-rōdishnō, afash kerp uētāno
naduk chīguin dāmān dōshaktar, nikūrshn avāyishniktar.

24 Valman yemalētānd, afash pūrsīd mīn gabrā-i yasharūbō
rūbān, aigh: Mūn lak charāītik hōmanīh? āē khaвитūnam; aigh zak
mīn lak nafshman hōmanīh, mūn akaraz mīn charaītikān pavan kerp
naduktum khadītūnd, aigham akaraz kerp-āē avāyishniktar khadītūnd-i
lak?
25 Valman pasukhä *yemulelanad* mûnash nafshman dinô aîgh:
Hômanam lak hômanam (aîgh lak nafshman hômanam), yûdân-i hû-
minishn-i hû-gûbîshn-i hû-kûnishn-i hû-dinô, mûnât nafshman dinô-i min
zak-i nafshman tanû aëtûnob nadûk yecheûnd yekavînînâñâñâñ. 26 Anû
mûn kâmak kartô-i mûn râî lak aëtûnob nas va shapîr va nadûk va
hû-bûd va pirûzkar va avîbêsh eëîqûñ li medâmûnêñ. 27 Min anû-i
lak kâmak yûdân-i

Hz has for . Z. 26, 15. Kz has for . 26, 8. Kz o mîts final .
26, 10—12, 14. Kz o mî. 26, 18. both om. Z. 27, 4. G. . 27, 7. Hz o mîts
first . Kz has for final . Z. 27, 10—12. Kz o ghal. is a sign of abbreviation, standing for Hz. ghal, 'to'.

* is a sign of abbreviation, standing for Hz. ghal, 'to'.
hū-minishn-i hū-gúbishn-i hū-kūnishn-i hū-dinō hōman aētūnō mas va shapir va nadūk va hū-bōd va pīrūzkar va avībēsh chīgūn lak medam-
mannēd. 28 Amat lak zak-i zak anā khadītūnd hōmand amatshān afsōs 
karḍ bāndak (aīghshān shedayūzakīh) karḍ, afshān pavan kāmak-i
nafshman kāmak hamkhākān makhītūnd (aīgh mūn mandavam bāvī-
hūnāst, ashān lā yehabūnd), afshān aūrvar babāhīche karḍ (aīghshān 
babā barā asrūnāst);

II. 27, 10. so in both, the personal suffix being omitted. 27, 25. K29 has for ṣe.
Z. 28, 3. all but H6 have auni. Z. 28, 4. H6, K29 have bau for bau; being 
illegible in K29, have been altered into bau in H7. Z. 28, 8. G, omits 
Z. 29, 1. all but H6 and G, add eku by mistake. Z. 29, 5. G, srāvayōish.
Z. 29, 15. H6 Ṣdān. Ṣdān. Ṣdān. Ṣdān. in the others Ṣdān. Ṣdān. Ṣdān. Ṣdān. Ṣdān.
Z. 29, 16—17. omitted in all, but added from Vishtasp Yasht (24, 59) in ac-
cordance with the Pāhlavī.
۲۹ این لک یزبکی‌نامه‌ی فراموشی، اما کسی نسج، اما مایا‌ی شبه یزبکی‌نامه‌ی یزبک از آلتار دارد، اما تبریک‌ی آرام‌خانه در این سرشماری، اما یزبک از کمک‌ی راهب، اما کسی نسج که در این کتاب، اما یزبک از کمک‌ی راهب، اما کسی نسج

۲۹-۳۱ اینلی من می‌توانم یزبکی‌نامه‌ی فراموشی، اما کسی نسج، اما مایا‌ی شبه یزبکی‌نامه‌ی یزبک از آلتار دارد، اما تبریک‌ی آرام‌خانه در این سرشماری، اما یزبک از کمک‌ی راهب، اما کسی نسج که در این کتاب، اما یزبک از کمک‌ی راهب، اما کسی نسج

۳۰-۳۱ اینلی من می‌توانم یزبکی‌نامه‌ی فراموشی، اما کسی نسج، اما مایا‌ی شبه یزبکی‌نامه‌ی یزبک از آلتار دارد، اما تبریک‌ی آرام‌خانه در این سرشماری، اما یزبک از کمک‌ی راهب، اما کسی نسج که در این کتاب، اما یزبک از کمک‌ی راهب، اما کسی نسج

۱۱. ۲۹، ۹. ه۶ می‌زن ی۴. ۲۹، ۱۱. K۲۰ یزبکی‌نامه‌ی یزبک از آلتار دارد، اما تبریک‌ی آرام‌خانه در این سرشماری، اما یزبک از کمک‌ی راهب، اما کسی نسج که در این کتاب، اما یزبک از کمک‌ی راهب، اما کسی نسج
pavan zak-i frāzātūntar gās yetibūnast hōmanam (aĪgh gās mas barā kard hōmanam). 32 Pavan anā hūmat, va pavan anā hūvarshī-i lāk varzīl, adīn li gābrā akharīch yezbekhūnd, pavan zak-i Āūharmazd dēr-yazishūlīh va ham-pūrsakīh, dēr zamānāw amatshān Āūharmazd rāf yazishmū va ham-pūrsakīh-i frārānō kard.

33 Fratūm gām frāz yedrānd mūn gabrā-i yasharūbō rūbānō pavan Hūmat barā yehabūnād (zak jināk aĪgh hūmat

33, 6. K₂₀ omits ٞ.
māhmānīh); dašīgar gām frāz yadrānd mūn gabrā-i yasharūbū rūbānō pavan Hūkht barā yehabūnād; dašīgar gām frāz yadrānd mūn gabrā-i yasharūbū rūbānō pavan Hūvarshē barā yehabūnād; 34 tasūm gām frāz yadrānd mūn gabrā-i yasharūbū rūbānō pavan zak-i asar rōshānīh barā yehabūnād.

35 Vālmān yemaelānd, afash pūrsēnd zak-i levīn barā vaqārdu yasharūbū aīgh: Chīgūn yasharūbū barā
Hâdûkht Nâsk II. 36.

vaqard hûmanih? chîgûn yasharûbô barâ maq hûmanih val denman jinât, min zak-i mânišh-hûmand-i gospend-hûmand khvâhîshmand (âigh-
shân khadîhân yîn ghal khvâhând) mâyûvâtî-hûmand (âighshân dashlàntân mâyâ yîn vajârênd dakhshak-i gêhân gêmalelânëd'); 36 min zak-i ast-
hûmand ahvân madam val denman-i mânavadân ahvân, va min zak-i séj-
hûmand ahvân-i patiyârak-hûmand madam val denman-i asêj-hûmand apatiyârak-hûmand? va âcûtân lak dêr nadjûk yehevûnêd, min zak chîgûn
barâ latamman yâtûnd hûmanih, hat dêr zamân nadjûk yehevûnêd?

prefixes 35,36. K2⁰ omits final 35,39—42. H5 has the Persian gloss:

yeûeni da zn магъумъ канд
du xv. 35,45. K2⁰ 35,36.1. H5, G
K2⁰ du xv. 35,46. K2⁰, but see III. Z. 36,1. Z. 36,4. H5, G
K2⁰ du xv. 35,47. K2⁰, but see III. Z. 36,4. Z. 36,6. H5 has \ for 4. Z. 36,10. H4
K2⁰ omit 4, H5 omits 4. Z. 36,12. H5 has \ for 4. 36,12. both omit 4.
36,38. K2⁰.
37 Afash *ghemalatunčīl* Aθūrmarzad *aigh*: Al min le-denman pûrsčīl mûnash pûrsčīl (aighash minash al pûrsčīl), mamoan pavan zak-i bîmgûn-i târik-i sahmkūn-i rîshkûn râs madam sâltarīčīl, amatash min tanû bôd barâ-vardishnîl (aigh amat min tanû barâ yâtûnd) ash dûsh-khvâr yehevûnd.

Chapter III.

[Westergaard's Yasht Fragment XXII. 19—36.]

Chapter III.

[Pahlavi.] 1 [Chigün qástó; see II. 1.]


III. Z. 1, 2. the remaining text of this sentence is omitted in the MSS., being the same as that of II. 1. 1, 2. K20 omits final T.
2 ایغ مانب دارنده بارا یمیتُنِئِل، ایغ ولمان پمان زک لَلیْلَا زک‌ی‌ نفشنَو رِبَوْنُو فَجَارِئِل ؟ (ایغ‌شِ حَشْ گاه ایغ؟)

3 افاسی غفت آَهُرَامَذ ایغ: آَتُنِو بارا، یاشارُوبَک زَارُاتُه‌اشت، پمان نازدیک‌ی‌کامار ول حام دِبَّارِئِل، ۴ زک‌ی‌ غسانِیک گُبِرُسُنَو برُخادیِل ایغ: ‘وَلَ کادْر کَذم انْعَامِئِل، آَهُرَامَذ مَن پَمان نِیگَیِشَنِو سَتَانِم’، (ایغ ‘وَل ایغ’ جِنََک وَلْزُنُم ؟ وَاَنَادِکِیِن مَن مَن باَفِلْنُم ؟)
5 Madam valman, pavan zak lēlyā, ash zak and anāsānīh rūbānō
bācīhānī-ait chand harvisp zak zyash pavan nazdīkīh yīn aḥvānō
khadītūnḏ.

6—16 Mūn daḏīgār * * * ra mūn saḏīgār [chīgūn guṯt; see
2—5, comparing II. 7—17].

17 Zak-ī saḏīgār lēlyā rōēshman, yasharūbō Zaratūhasht, ash
pavan bārā-ūzdaḥišnīh medammūnēd, pavan aūshbām, mūn gabrā-i
darvand rūbānō yīn

III. 5, 11. K₂₀ omits ։ 5, 19. K₂₀ omits final ։ Z. 6, 2; 11, 2. the remain-
ing text of 6—10 and 11—16 is omitted in the MSS., being the same as Z.
2, 5,—5, 13. with its corresponding Pahl. 6—10, 3. K₂₀ omits ։ Z. 17, 3.
6. thraashtō. Z. 17, 6. H₆ FileStream; K₀ FileStream; but see II. Z. 18, 4.
omits ։ 17, 10. both omit ։ but see II. 18, 8. 17, 17. K₂₀ omits, in se-
ccond insertion.
snéshar va gand bará dášht medammûnêd chiqûn tanû-i nafshman, 18 Zak-i valman vád madam váyêd, va medammûnêd min apâkhtar nêmak, min nêmak-i jinâkân, va min apâkhtaran nêmak, min nêmak-i schêdâân; 19 dúsh-gand va dúsh-gandtûm min zak-i vádân zyash pavan stîh yâtûnêd. 20 Valman vád pavan vînîk lâlâ vakhdûnd medammûnêd mûn gabrâ-i darvand râbânê anê yemalelûnêd: Aîgh min dahishn aê vád váyêd, mûnâm akaraz.


Hâdôkht Nask III. 18—20.
vād pavan gandak va dūshgandtar [vad ghal; the converse of II, 22–33] 33 tasūm gām frāz yeṭrāṇḍô mūn gabrā-i darvand rūbānō-i zak-i asar tārikīh barā yehabūnād.

34 Valman yemalēlānd, afash pūrsēnd zak-i levīnō darvand-i frōd yemītūnd, āgh: Chīgūn darvand frōd yemītūnd hōmanīh? chīgūn barā maqāl hōmanīh? 35 mūn zak-i mānīshn-hōmatēl-i gūspend-hōmand-i khvāhīshn-hōmand-i māıyūvaq-hōmand ae

III. 20, 28. H₆ $\text{z}$; with regard to the contents of the missing passage, compare Ard. Vir. XVII, 11–27 and Mkh. II. 167–182. Z. 33, 1. H₆ has $\text{z}$ for $\text{j}$. 33, 4. K₂₀ has $\text{g}$ for $\text{j}$. 33, 8. K₂₀ omits $\text{j}$. Z. 34, 11–14. H₆, G. om. 34, 2. K₂₀ omits one $\text{j}$. 34, 6. K₂₀ omits final $\text{j}$. 34, 14. K₂₀ has $\text{g}$ for $\text{z}$. Z., 35, 3. K₂₀ has $\text{m}$ for $\text{j}$. 35, 6, 10. K₂₀ omits $\text{farz}$. 38
dakhshak-i stih yemathalunèd; 36 min zak-i ast-homand ahvan madam val denman-i minavadan ahvan, va min zak-i sej-homand ahvan madam val denman-i sej-homandtar, patiyarak-homandtar ahvan? aètünò lak dèr anàktih yehevunèd.

37 Dâyâd-ash Ganrák-minavad aîgh: Al min val pûrsèd, maman
پناه ساخت مَن پناه زاک-ی گاوارونه-ی ساهمکن-ی رُشکن رَس مادم ستننَد، اماتاش مَن تَنُب بَود بَار-وُردِشنیف يِهِفْوَند اَش ذَغ-خوار يِهِفْوَند.

38 خُریشِنِم وال مَلَم یِدْرَیْنَیْن وِیش، زَکیچ-ی مَین وِیش گاندکتار؛ ماماناش اَطلِنْوَه اَف یُیَدان-ی ذَغ-مِنیشْنِو-ی ذَغ-ْقُبِشرنِو-ی ذَغ-کُنیشْن-ی ذَغ-دینَو خُریشْنِم، اکَهَر مَین مَلَم ٍفِرُد-مِریشْنِیف؛

PS. Frajaft pavan shlam va shādíh va rāmishnō.

III. 39, 1. K₂₀ omits final p. 39, 2. K₂₀ 𐨇𐨇𐨇, 39, 3, 4, 5. K₂₀ has ております for HttpPost, and so has H₆ in 39, 4. 39, 9. K₂₀ adds final p. PS. 3. H₆ 𐨇𐨇. PS. 4. K₂₀ om. PS. 7. H₆ has 𐨇 for 𐨇. This postscript indicates the end of (what is traditionally called) the third fargard of the Hādōkht Nask. The sentences which follow in the MSS., and contain sections 37—38 of Westergaard’s Yasht Fragment XXII, begin with the same words of invocation as those preceding ch. II. These sentences are a portion of the Ormazd Yasht I, 31, preceded by the additional passage: aher navar, etc., given in Westergaard’s note. The remainder of Yasht Fragment XXII, sect. 39—42, does not occur in H₆, and is taken from another part of K₂₀, separated from the Hādōkht Nask by about a hundred folios of other Pahlavi texts.
The three Fargards
of the
Hādokht Nask
translated
by
M. Haug, Ph. D.
The History of

By

[Name]

[Date]
Chapter I.

On the value of the recital of the Ashem-vohu prayer.

1 Zarathus'tra asked Ahura-mazda: O Ahura-mazda, most munificent spirit, creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, holy one: 2 in whom alone is thy word, the enunciation of all good, of all that is of rightful appearance 😊?

3 Ahura-mazda answered him: In the Ashem-reciter 😊, O Zarathus'tra.

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1 The Huzvâresh translation renders this passage thus: ‘which of those prayers of thine is it, in whose words are all prosperity, and all manifestation of righteousness, the whole foundation and effect of which is declared thus: ‘It is created excellence of which I said it is my own?’ This rendering is no strict translation, but rather a paraphrase. Kahmya, which alone is the correct reading (see the note on the text), is erroneously rendered as a nominative; âcâhmî, which is clearly the locative of aĉa ‘one’, is translated by min valmánshân gitâshmîno. It is difficult to understand how the translators arrived at such a meaning; they seem to have identified aĉ in âcâhmî with aĉâsha ‘this’, and taken vaĥmi as vaĉô ‘saying, prayer’, which proceeding is grammatically inadmissible. The words: ‘it is created excellence’, etc., are evidently the translation of some other Avesta passage which is no longer known.

2 I have taken ashem-stûlô in the sense of a locative, since the answer must tally with the question. Kahmya (or kahmi, as the other reading is) being a locative case, the substantive corresponding to it in the answer, must be in the locative also. Now ashem-stûlô does not look like a locative, but as to its form it seems to be either a nominative of the part, pass. stûta, or a genitive of the part: pres. stât = stavat, but by no means a nominative of an abstract noun with the meaning of stâti, as the Huzvâresh translation has taken it, which renders it by stâyishnîh. The genitive appears to stand for the locative. The following words: ‘who recites the Ashem’, etc. indicate that stûlô cannot be taken as ‘praise’, but must mean ‘one who praises’.
4 Who recites the Ashem, with believing inquiry (remembrance) in his mind for the continuance of life, he praises me who am Ahura-mazda,

The Huzvāresh translation renders this passage thus: 'Whoever praises piety (recites the Ashem) with much invocation, that is, many times, and practise this work which is in the thinking of the mind that there is continuance of life'. The words fraoreif-frakshni — anhuad hacha occur several times in the Zand texts (Visp. 14, 2. W. Yt. 10, 9, 51, 13, 92.), and appear to be a quotation of a well-known sacred passage. As of all the texts, in which it is now found, the Visparad is the most sacred, the passage there (14, 2. W. 16, 13, Sp.) is probably the original one, I translate the first part of the chapter (Visp. 14) which forms one long sentence, at the end of which the passage is found, thus: 'We praise the verse' with the metrical lines, the stanzas, with the explanation, with the questions and answers, with the words and syllables, which has been well remembered by those who remember (learn by heart), and well praised by those who praise (which is) in the own making, the own manifestation, the own will, the own rule, the own mastership, the own possession of Ahura-mazda, through believing inquiry in (his) mind for the continuance of life'. This refers to the so-called Gāthas, the most holy portion of the Avesta, each metrical line of this ancient part being called a gātha (see Yas. 57, 8). They are represented, as having been made by Ahura-mazda, as existing in his mind, and being constantly kept up by him, by inquiring into his own mind for the benefit of the good creation, and the continuance of life. In the same way, the priest who has learnt them, keeps them in his memory and reproduces them by questioning himself each time he repeats them. The words fraoreil-frakshni avi manō clearly indicate the mental labour it costs the repeater when reciting the prayers. Fraoreil 'believing', liter. 'professing', signifies that this mental labour is devoted to the furtherance of the good creation, which can only be kept up by praying. Frakhshni appears to be a locative of a form frakhshan 'inquiry' which I can only trace to peres to ask, comp. Yas. 44, 7. frakhshnē avāmi 'I go to ask'; Yt. 10, 24, 46.: yahmāi frakhshni avi manō withro jasaiti 'to whom, on asking in his mind, Mithra comes'. The Huzvāresh translation renders it by kabeid 'many, much', which interpretation seems to rest on some misconception, since by its application we never obtain a good sense, nor can it be explained by etymology. The meaning of zarazdāiti appears to be rendered correctly by the Huz, rābak-dahshnīh 'continuation'. This meaning can be proved from all passages in which the word occurs. The most ancient is that in Yas. 43, 11: sādrā moi sās mash-paēshā zarazdāitis, tād verezidyāi hyad moi mraotā vahistem 'with difficulty,
6 he praises the water, he praises the earth, he praises the cattle, he praises the trees, he praises all good, created by Mazda, that is of rightful appearance. 7 For this saying, O Zarathush'tra, being recited correctly, in addition to the saying Ahuna-vairya if out-spoken, 8 is to obtain strength and victory for the soul, and the religion that they are furthered. 9 For one recital of the Ashem-yohu prayer, or one

thou toldst me, is the continuation (of the religion connected); tell me that which is the best to be done. Thus the passage is, I think correctly, interpreted by the Huzvāresh version. In Sir. 1, 29, 2, 29, Ys. 22, 29, 25, 18. Sp. the word is connected with māthra speña in which context it can only mean the continuance of the sacred word; in Visp. 18, 7, Sp. it refers in the same sense to the so-called Yasna haptanahūti. The words zarazdāo mazdāi Yas. 31, 1, mean ‘making continuance, or giving furtherance for Mazda’; that is, to his religion. The words Hutaosa — yā mē daēnām māzdayasānīn zaras'cha dād Yt. 9, 26, 17, 46. mean ‘Hutaosa (said to be the wife of Vishtāspa) who made me current the Mazdayasian-religion’, i. e. made it continue. The cha in zaras'cha has not the meaning ‘and’, but is rather an expletive, or gives only some emphasis to the word.

1 This passage offers several difficulties. The Huz. translation renders it thus: ‘For that saying, Zarathush'tra, which is rightly spoken, spoken forth, and is spoken forth as true and proper, when with the words of the Ahun Ver it is spoken by a destur; it will increase strength and victory and the soul and religion’. The words ā vacho ahunō vairyō can only mean ‘in addition to’, or ‘including the Ahuna vairya’; ā means ‘up to’. Instead of the nominative ahunō vairyō we ought to expect the genitive ahunēchē vairyēchē. Fraokhtō (instead of fraokhtahē) belongs to ahunō vairyō. The genitives amahēcha verethraughnahēcha must be taken in the sense of datives, as is often the case in the Avesta languages, as for instance in the first chapters of Yasna and Visparad where the genitives after nivaâdhayēmi often take the place of the dative which would be the proper case. This tendency to put the genitive instead of the dative, has in the old Persian, which stands nearest to Zand, led to the complete suppression of all dative forms. Urnachā daēnachā are clearly instrumental cases; but the sense seems to want a dative, or a genitive. Literally, the words mean: ‘for strength and victory through the soul and religion’, i. e. that the soul and religion may obtain strength and victory. Spanvanti is taken by the Huz. as a verbal form in the plural; but this is hardly admissible, as there is no subject on which it can depend; besides, there is no root spenu known,
eulogy of a pious man, is worth, O Spitama Zarathus'tra, 10 a hundred sleep-prayers, a thousand prayers when eating meat, ten thousand prayers recited for the conception of the bodies which occurs in the primary existence (of the good creation) 1.

either in Zand or Sanskrit. It can be only an adjectival form: spenvat 'increasing'; the case is the locative: 'in the increasing, i. e. in the increase'. I have rendered it 'that they (the soul and religion) are furthered'. The auxiliary verb is to be understood.

1 This passage offers several difficulties, which are not sufficiently cleared away by the Huzvâresh translation which is as follows: 'one praise of the Ashem, O Zaratusht, descendant of Spitama, one Ashem-vohu, or one eulogy of the pious, is worth a hundred sleeps (sleeping prayers) and a thousand flesh meals, and ten thousand coitions (of animals), as if one should sleep a hundred sleeps (each time reciting a prayer), and should eat flesh a thousand times, and ten thousand times permit the coition (of animals); of any of the bodies, when without the body's arrival, the life comes (i. e. when the life enters the womb before the body of the new animal is formed, which happens at the time of coition); so much it is worth'. The general meaning of the passage can be gathered from the following expositions which are given in the context itself. The unequal value of the repetitions of the Ashem-vohu prayer, on different occasions, is here spoken of; which single repetition, on a certain occasion, is worth ten, or a hundred, or a thousand, or ten thousand other repetitions of the same prayer without the occasion stated. The words qafna and gēus' qareiti do not mean simply 'sleep', and 'eating of flesh', but prayers repeated on those occasions. On such occasions, short prayers must be recited, of which the several repetitions of the Ashem form only part. For instance, when taking a meal (gēus qareiti) the prayer which is contained in Yasna 37, 1: ithā — vispāchā, is to be repeated, to which three Ashem-vohus are then added. After the meal is finished, in the first place, four Ashem-vohus must be recited, which are followed by two Yathā-ahā-vairyo, then by another Ashem-vohu and some other formulas, and lastly by an Ashem. — The most difficult part of the sentence is the words: annumayanūn — jas乙烯yāo. Annumaya, which is generally translated by 'small cattle', has not in all passages the same meaning. In some, such as Vend. 7, 43, 14, 16, it means undoubtedly the young ones of cattle, calves and lambs; for, if several grades of cattle are distinguished, it means the smallest and youngest (Vend. 7, 43); the same meaning it must have, if a certain large number of them is mentioned, as in Vend. 18, 70, 22, 4. Yt. 5, 21.; but in at least two passages (Vend.
11 What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth ten of the other recitals of the Ashem in greatness and goodness and excellence?

12 Ahura-mazda answered him: That indeed, O pious Zarathus'tra, which a man recites for Haurvatâd and Ameretâd when eating, (2, 24 and 9, 38) this meaning is doubtful. The former: ya'd idha pasêush anumayêhê padhem vaçnaitê, can be translated: 'that he may espy a place (fit) for the calving of cattle'; the second: pasêush garebush anumayêhê, can only mean 'the fruit of the copulation of cattle'. Now in our passage, the meaning of coition appears to suit best, and is actually borne out by the Huzvâresh translation which has 'ten thousand coitions'. This may look rather strange, but one has to bear in mind, that it is regarded in the Zoroastrian religion as a very meritorious work to procure the coition of cattle at the proper time, and in the proper place. That maya bears such a meaning; see the Zand-P'ahlavî Glossary 25, 3. and 109 s. v. mayão; compare the modern Persian màyah 'origin'. The number 'ten thousand', here refers to the prayers to be recited at the time of the copulation of cattle, when one wishes to make it successful. — Paró-asti is the same as paró-asna meaning, even to the letter, 'pre-existence'. The pre-existence of souls is one of the doctrines of Zoroastrianism which is well known to all Parsi priests, but is, as yet, not properly comprehended by European Zandists. This word occurs in the phrase: paró-asnâi aûuhê (Ys. 55, 2. Vend. 9, 44. 13, 8.), which is generally translated by barâ pavan zak-i nazdik aheô 'away to (or in) the next life'. This translation is quite literal, but does not express the sense of the original correctly; paró is rendered, by barâ and asnâi by nazdik 'near, next'. The 'next life' is of course that one in the other world, after death. Although this seems to be hinted at in Ys. 55, 2. by the words pascha astascha baodhayhascha vi-urvistim 'after the separation of body and soul', which follow after paró-asnâi aûuhê, I do not think this meaning is quite correct. The paró-asti is not the life in the other world, as we understand it, but it signifies the primary state of the soul, to which it returns, after its separation from the body; this state is then identified with that of everlasting life. This primary existence does not refer only to man, but also to cattle. Regarding the case, paró-asti is to be taken as a locative, which depends on the gen. of the part. pres. fem. jasôthyüô qualifying kañhâoschîl which is also a gen. sing. fem. referring to taçmuñ. The meaning of the phrase paró-asti jas (comp. Yt. 1, 25: paró-asti jaseñtâm mana dâmâ) seems to be 'to occur in the primary existence' to take part in it. Here the bodies of all the young ones of animals, respectively their embryos, which all take part in the pre-existence, are to be understood.
14 praising good thoughts and good words and good deeds, 15 renouncing evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds.

16 What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth a hundred of the other recitals of the Ashem in greatness and goodness and excellence?

17 Ahura-mazda answered him: That indeed, O pious Zarathus'tra
18 which a man recites after swallowing of the out-squeezed homa, 19 praising good thoughts and good words and good deeds, 20 renouncing evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds.

21 What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth a thousand of the other recitals of the Ashem in greatness and goodness and excellence?

22 Ahura-mazda answered him: That indeed, O pious Zarathus'tra, 23 which a man recites, starting up from sleep¹ and going to sleep again², 24 praising good thoughts and good words and good deeds, 25 renouncing evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds.

26 What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth ten thousand of the other recitals of the Ashem in greatness and goodness and excellence?

27 Ahura-mazda answered him: That indeed, O pious Zarathus'tra, 28 which a man recites, awaking and rising from sleep, 29 praising good thoughts and good words and good deeds, 30 renouncing evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds.

31 What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth the whole region of Qaniratha with cattle, and with wealth in posterity³, in greatness and goodness and excellence?

¹ This translates ustryamnô which is rendered in Huz. by lâlâ-nipîmîshnîh, a word which is not clearly intelligible to me. The Zand word is best traced to the root *tar + us* = Sans. *ut-tar* which means 'come out, or up'. Qafnâdha is evidently an ablative, with which the Sans. *ut-tar* is likewise construed.

² *Avanuhabdemnô*, Huz. *barâ-khelmûnîshnîh*, to be derived from *qabda* 'to sleep' + *ava*.

³ The words mad-rathem paiti virem are difficult to explain. The Huvâresh
32 Ahura-mazda answered him: That indeed, O pious Zarathustra, 33 which a man recites at the extreme end of life, 34 praising good thoughts and good words and good deeds, 35 renouncing evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds.

36 What is the one recital of the Ashem which is worth all this which is in the earth and in the sky, and this earth, and those lights, and all good things created by Mazda which have their origin in truth?

37 Ahura-mazda answered him: That indeed, O pious Zarathustra, 38 when one renounces evil thoughts and evil words and evil deeds.

Chapter II.

On the fate of the soul of the pious after death.


1 Zarathustra asked Ahura-mazda: O Ahura-mazda, most munificent spirit, creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, holy one:
2 when a pious man passes away, where remains his soul that night?

3 Then said Ahura-mazda: 4 It sits down near the head, 5 chanting the Gatha Ustavaiti, imploring blessedness thus: 'Blessed is he, blessed is everyone to whom Ahura-mazda, the ruler by his own will, should grant (the two everlasting powers)'.

6 On this night the version has: levatman ras, barā min vir, javid min anshūta; ras is probably the Zand ratha 'chariot'; barā min vir translates paiti virem, but not correctly, I think, as this would mean 'without men'; and the same sense is conveyed by the gloss javid min anshūta. But paiti can never bear the meaning 'without'; the translator has, perhaps, confounded paiti with para. Rathem I have traced to the root rā 'to give' and taken in the sense of 'wealth'; in this case, we must suppose that the a has been shortened. But it may, perhaps better, be traced to ratu 'head'; then rathem would be read rathem, and mean 'headship'; and the sense would be: 'men (offspring) who are chiefs'.

1 See Haug's 'Essays on the sacred language, writings and religion of the Parsis', pag. 147.
soul perceives as much of pleasure as all that which he had when he was a living existence (living in the world) ¹.

7 Where dwells his soul the second night?

8 Then said Ahura-mazda: 9—10 [as in 4—5]. 11 On this night also the soul perceives as much of pleasure [as in 6].

12 Where dwells his soul also the third night?

13 Then said Ahura-mazda: 14—15 [as in 4—5]. 16 On this night also, 17 the soul perceives as much of pleasure [as in 6].

18 On the passing away of the third night, when the dawn appears ², the soul of the pious man appears passing through trees and sweet scents. 19 To him there seems a wind blowing from the more southern side, from the more southern quarters, 20 a sweet scent more

¹ The Huzvāresh translation has: 'unto it in that night, is as much comfort and (as?) the soul wants for, as much as all that which it saw, during lifetime in the world'. The sense conveyed by it, is certainly correct; but it is not so easy to explain it grammatically. Juyō may be, as to its form, the gen. sg. of a nom. jvi fem. which never occurs; but it may also be taken as a nom. sg. standing for jeyō = jivya. In our passage, I am rather inclined to take it in the latter sense; juyō anhus' means 'the living existence'; the sense is: 'the soul has in that night as much pleasure as his whole living existence comprised'.

² The Huz, has: 'at the end of the third night, at the rising (of the light) also appears to him, in the dawn, what is the soul of the pious man', etc. Thraoṣ'ṭa is thus translated by rōčshman 'end', which seems to be correct as regards the general sense. Grammatically, thraoṣ'ṭa is an instrumental, in the sense of a locative. I trace it to the root tar 'to pass by', standing for taruṣṭa; this is, I think, an abstract noun of tarus' the past part. act. of tar, meaning 'having passed away'. The a of tar has disappeared, as the accent must have been on us', and t is changed to th according to rule; the change to ao = o appears to be more a matter of pronunciation than of etymology. Vyusā sadhayēti is rendered by pavan uzda-hishnīk medammunēd pacaun āushbām, whence it follows that vyusā was taken as a locative. In Vend. 19, 28, there is, in a parallel passage, really the locative vyusaitī, but without sadhayēti; I am, therefore, inclined to take sadhayēti as the locative part. pres. 'in the dawning appearing' i. e. when the dawn appears.
sweet-scented than other winds. 21 Then inhaling\(^1\) that wind with the nose, the soul of the pious man considers: Whence\(^2\) blows the wind, the most sweet-scented wind which I have ever inhaled with the nostrils? 22 Advancing\(^3\) with this wind, there appears to him what is his own religion, 23 in the body of a beautiful maiden, brilliant, white-armed, strong, well-grown, high-statured\(^4\), tall, with prominent breasts, straight\(^5\), noble, with a dazzling face, of fifteen years, with a body as beautiful as the most beautiful of creatures.

24 Then the soul of the pious man spoke to her, asking: What virgin art thou, whom I have seen here as the most beautiful of virgins in form?

25 Then answered him his own religion: I am, O youth, thy good thoughts, good words, good deeds (and) good religion, on account of which good religion in thy own possession, 26 everyone has loved thee for such greatness, and goodness, and beauty, and perfume, and victor-

\(^1\) Uzgerembyō is translated by lālā vakhdūnd ‘taken up’, here ‘snuffed up’. The translator has evidently derived it from gerew ‘to take’ which is, I think, correct; mb stands apparently for w, which was, perhaps, some provincialism. As to its form, it is the part. of the pres. tense of the causal form, but with suppression of the a before yā, which might have caused the change of w to mb.

\(^2\) Kuda-dhāēm, Huz. min āigh dahishno ‘whence originating’, which rendering is certainly correct as to the sense; but there is some difficulty as to the construction. As it refers to vātū we ought to expect kuda-dhāyō.

\(^3\) Frērenda, Huz. fravāšt ‘advancing’; it is the instrumental of a noun frērenti ‘arrival’.

\(^4\) Huzarshtagūd, Huz. lālā astāḏak āigh yūdān va būlānd ‘standing up, i.e. young and high; I have accordingly translated it by ‘high-statured’. The derivation of the word is uncertain.

\(^5\) Sraotancō, Huz. nādāk tanū ‘of a good body’. The first part of the word is probably to be traced to a word sarra, or srva, which is no longer extant in the Zand, but preserved in the modern Persian sarr ‘a cypress’; thus it means ‘cypress-bodied’ i.e. high, tall, or straight. Persian poets frequently compare tall female statures to cypresses; and sraotancō is generally used in the description of female beauties.
iousness which overcomes enemies, as thou appearest to me. 27 Thou hast loved me, O youth, the good thoughts, good words, good deeds, the good religion with such greatness and goodness, and beauty and perfume, and victoriousness which overcomes enemies, as I appear to thee. 28 When thou mightest see another performing burning (of the dead) and idolworship, and causing oppression, and cutting down trees, 29 then thou wouldst sit down, chanting the Gāthas, and consecrating the good waters and the fire of Ahura-mazda, and extolling the pious man coming from near and far. 30 Then thou maddest me,

1 This is thus rendered by the Huz.: ‘She said in reply who was his own religion, thus: I am thou, I am (that is, I am thou thyself), O youth of good thought, of good words, of good deeds, of good religion, who am thy own religion which remained as excellent as thy own self. This it is for whose will and whose deeds thou art as great and good and virtuous and sweet-scented and triumphant and unharmed as appears to me’. Yā hava daēna is to be taken as an instrumental ‘through the own religion’, i. e. on account of the own religion; gaēpaithe is locative. The Huz. has, as is often the case, wrongly divided the sentences, and separated chischa chakana from the relative sentence yā hava daēna.

2 The Huz. has: ‘When thou sawest those others that they committed injury and idolworship [they made demon worship], and they, with their own will, destroyed the wills of fellow-creatures [that is, whoever desired any thing, it was not given to them], and they made trees the doors [that is, their door was shut up]; then thou hast sat down, and the Gāthas were chanted by thee, and the good waters were worshiped, and the fire of Aūharmazd was cared for by thee, and the pious man was also praised by thee, who came from near and who was also from far’. Sao[chaya] is rendered by afsôs, ‘ridicule, injury’; but this can be hardly correct, for it can only be derived from such ‘to burn’; it probably refers to the burning of the dead which is a crime according to the Zoroastrian religion. — Baosavascha is rendered by bōndak (the meaning of which is not clear to me), and explained by shedazyakib ‘demon-worship’. In Minokh. II.132, the word seems to be explained by bêshidan u tor kardan ‘causing oppression and overbearing’. If I may venture upon a guess, I am inclined to take it as a foreign word to be identified with bodhisateva, the well known buddhistic term by which the candidates for the dignity of a Buddha are designated, who are worshiped. Many scholars will object to the occurrence of buddhistic terms in Zand writings; but in Yt. 13, 16. Gaotema is
being beloved, more beloved, me being beautiful, more beautiful, me being desirable, more desirable, 31 me being seated in a high place, sitting down in a still higher place, 32 through this good thought, through this good word, through this good deed. Then men afterwards worship me, Ahura-mazda, the long worshiped and conversed with.

33 The soul of the pious man first advanced with a footstep which he placed upon Humata (good thought); the soul of the pious mentioned, which can only refer to Gantama Buddha, as Gaotema is put in opposition to Zarathuṣṭra (for he alone is to be understood by vyaṅkhanō vyaṅkhamō hov-gušhayaḍ-ukhdho), and made posterior to the Pārṣi prophet. Now we know that the religion of Zoroaster was partly superseded by that of Buddha, at a very early time, at Balkh. If Buddhism be alluded to in some parts of the Zandavesta, then of course, those pieces must be of a later date than the bulk of the Zand writings appear to be. There is, however, no reason to regard the Yaashts as old; many of them are certainly not older than the Buddhist times. — Varakhedhraoscha varó-zhintem is rendered by pavān kāmak-i nafsman kāmak hamkhākān makhitān!, ‘with their own will they destroyed the wills of their fellow-creatures’. Varā is here taken in the sense of ‘will, wish’; khedhra appears to be identified with حرخ his ‘himself’, and zhintem traced to the root jān ‘to slay’. All these identifications and derivations are more than doubtful. In Minokh. II, 132, which contains a somewhat free translation of the passage, these words are explained by qāsta ezḥ bazha aŭdōkhtan, ‘acquiring wealth by crime’; in the account of Ardvā Virāf, the passage is omitted. There is no doubt, the traditional interpreters referred the words to goods, or wealth, acquired in an improper manner, or unlawfully, or to oppression; but I doubt whether this is the correct meaning. The first part of varakhedhra (the reading vakhedhra in Yt. 24, 37, 59. is certainly wrong) is vara which may mean ‘choice’, ‘excavation, cavern, grotto’, ‘garden’ or ‘breast’. If we consider that urvarō-strayūscha, which can only mean ‘cutting down of trees’ (a great crime according to the Zoroastrian religion) follows immediately, we are justified in supposing that varakhedhra may refer to a similar crime against the good creation. I therefore take it as ‘excavation, grotto’, and varózhintem as ‘covering over, destroying’, varóz being a denominative; thus it means ‘destroying excavations, or vaults’, probably water-courses, which is a great sin according to the Zoroastrian religion. This is, however, only a guess of mine. In the translation, I have adopted the traditional view.
man secondly advanced with a footstep which he placed upon Ilukhta (good word); the soul of the pious man thirdly advanced with a footstep which he placed upon Huvarshta (good action). The soul of the pious man fourthly advanced with a footstep which he placed on the eternal luminaries.

35 To him spoke a pious one, previously deceased, asking: How, O pious one, didst thou die? how, O pious one, didst thou come away from the dwellings supplied with cattle, and from the copulating birds? 1 from the life containing creatures to the spiritual life, from the perishable world to the imperishable world? how long will have been thy blessing!

36 Then said Ahura-mazda: Ask not him whom thou askest, who is come along the frightful, deadly, destructive path, the separation of the body and soul.

37 Of the nourishments brought to him, there is some of the Zare-maya-oil; that is the food of a youth of good thought, of good words, of good deeds, of good religion, after death; 39 that is the food for a woman of very good thoughts, of very good words, of very good deeds, well-governed, ruled by a master and pious, after death.

1. The Huz. renders this passage as follows: 'How didst thou come away, O pious one, to this place, from that dwelling-supplied, cattle-supplied, desire-supplied [that is, they desire others in it], cohabitation-supplied [that is, they cohabit after the menstrual discharge, which is said to be a characteristic of the world]'; vayačibyascha hacha māyavačibyascha I have translated by 'from the copulating birds'. Though this may seem strange, the sense can hardly be otherwise. The Huz. renders vayačibyascha by khevakshin 'desire'; but this sense is too vague. Birds form part of the good creation; and their copulation is regarded as auspicious.

2. The Huz. has: 'Let them bring him as food the Zaremaya-oil'. Beretanum is taken as a 3d pers. plur. imperat.; but it is the gen. plur. of the past part. bereta, as to its form; though a verb is wanted by the sense. As the text now stands, the auxiliary verb must be supplied.
Chapter III.

On the fate of the wicked soul after death.

(Comp. Ardā Virāf XVII. 4–23; Mainyō-i Khard II. 158–194.)

1 Zarathus'tra asked Ahura-mazda [as in II. 1]: 2 when a wicked man dies, where remains his soul that night?

3 Then said Ahura-mazda: There, indeed, O pious Zarathus'tra, in the vicinity of the head it runs about, 4 chanting the Gātha Kām-nemēzām: ‘To what land can I turn, where can I go to in turning?’ 5 On this night, the soul perceives as much of uneasiness as all that which he had when he was a living existence.

6–10 Where remains his soul the second night? etc. [as in 3–5].

11–16 Where remains his soul the third night? etc. [as in 3–5].

17 On the passing away of the third night, O pious Zarathus'tra, when the dawn appears, the soul of the wicked man appears passing through terrors and stenches. 18 To him there seems a wind blowing forth from the more northern side, from the more northern quarters, 19 a stench more foul-smelling than other winds. 20 Then inhaling that wind with the nose, the soul of the wicked man considers: Whence blows the wind, the most stinking wind which I have ever inhaled with the nostrils? 21–32 [Omitted in the MSS., being the converse of II. 22–33],

33 The soul of the wicked man fourthly advanced with a footstep which he placed on the eternal glooms.

34 To him spoke a wicked one, previously dead, asking: How, O wicked one, didst thou die? how, O wicked one; didst thou come away 35 from the dwellings supplied with cattle, and from the copulating birds, 36 from the life containing creatures to the spiritual life, from the perishable world to the imperishable world? How long will be thy distress!
37 Anrő-mainyu shouted: Ask not him whom thou askest, who is come along the frightful, deadly, destructive path, the separation of the body and soul.

38 Of the nourishments brought to him, there are some from poison and poisonous stench; that is the food, after death, of a youth of evil thought, of evil words, of evil deeds, of evil religion; 39 that is the food, after death, for a harlot of very evil thoughts, of very evil words, of very evil deeds, ill-instructed, not ruled by a master, and wicked.
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