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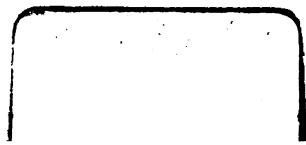
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AND EDITED BY

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Second Edition

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THE ZEND-AVESTA

PART I

THE VENDÎDÂD

TRANSLATED BY

JAMES DARMESTETER

Second Edition

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1895

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NOTE.

THE completion of this second edition of Professor Darmesteter's translation of the Avesta has been interrupted by the sudden and untimely death of the author. Fortunately, he had already revised the proof-sheets of his translation of the Vendîdâd, and completed his manuscript of the Introduction and Fragments. And, as the original manuscripts and collations, from which the text of the Fragments was derived, are mostly in my possession, the revision of the remaining proof-sheets has been chiefly in my hands, but has been carried out strictly in accordance with the author's views, as ascertained from his French translation of the Avesta. I have only to add that, though differing from my lamented friend in some of his more speculative opinions, I am convinced that it would be difficult to find a sounder scholar, a more brilliant writer, and a more estimable man, all united in the same individual.

E. W. WEST.

May, 1895.

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INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE ZEND-AVESTA.

THE Zend-Avesta is the sacred book of the Parsis, that is to say, of the few remaining followers of that religion which reigned over Persia at the time when the second successor of Mohammed overthrew the Sassanian dynasty (642 A. C.)¹, and which has been called Dualism, or Mazdeism, or Magism, or Zoroastrianism, or Fire-worship, according as its main tenet, or its supreme God², or its priests, or its supposed founder, or its apparent object of worship has been most kept in view. In less than a century after their defeat, most of the conquered people were brought over to the faith of their new rulers, either by force, or policy, or the attractive power of a simpler form of creed. But many of those who clung to the faith of their fathers, went and sought abroad for a new home, where they might freely worship their old gods, say their old prayers, and perform their old rites. That home they found at last among the tolerant Hindus, on the western coast of India and in the peninsula of Guzerat³. There they throve and there they live still, while the ranks of their co-religionists in Persia are daily thinning and dwindling away⁴.

¹ At the battle of Nihâvand.

² Ahura Mazda.

³ They settled first at Sangân, not far from Damân; thence they spread over Surat, Nowsâri, Broach, and Kambay; and within the last two centuries they have settled at Bombay, which now contains the bulk of the Parsi people, nearly 90,000 souls (89,887 according to the census in 1891).

⁴ A century ago, it is said, they still numbered nearly 100,000 souls; but

As the Parsis are the ruins of a people, so are their sacred books the ruins of a religion. There has been no other great belief in the world that ever left such poor and meagre monuments of its past splendour. Yet great is the value which that small book, the Avesta, and the belief of that scanty people, the Parsis, have in the eyes of the historian and theologian, as they present to us the last reflex of the ideas which prevailed in Iran during the five centuries which preceded and the seven which followed the birth of Christ, a period which gave to the world the Gospels, the Talmud, and the Qur'ân. Persia, it is known, had much influence on each of the movements which produced, or proceeded from, those three books; she lent much to the first heresiarchs, much to the Rabbis, much to Mohammed. By help of the Parsi religion and the Avesta, we are enabled to go back to the very heart of that most momentous period in the history of religious thought, which saw the blending of the Aryan mind with the Semitic, and thus opened the second stage of Aryan thought.

Inquiries into the religion of ancient Persia began long ago, and it was the old enemy of Persia, the Greek, who first studied it. Aristotle¹, Hermippus², and many others³ wrote of it in books of which, unfortunately, nothing more than a few fragments or merely the titles have come down to us. We find much valuable information about it, scattered in the accounts of historians and travellers, extending over ten centuries, from Herodotos down to Agathias and Procopius (from 450 B.C. to 550 A.C.)⁴. The clearest and most faithful account of the dualist doctrine is found in the treatise *De Iside et Osiride*, ascribed to Plutarch. But

there now remain no more than 8,000 or 9,000, scattered in Yazd and the surrounding villages (Dosabbhoy Framji, History of the Parsis.—Houtum-Schindler gave 8,499 in 1879; of that number there were 6,483 in Yazd, 1,756 in Kirmân, 150 in Teherân: see Z. D. M. G., 1882, p. 55).

¹ Diogenes Laertius, Prooemium 8.

² Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXX, 1, 2. Cf. Windischmann, Zor. Stud. p. 288.

³ Dinon, Theopompus (the 8th book of his Philippica), Hermodorus, Heraclides Cumanus.

⁴ All this store of information has been collected by Brisson (see below), Kleuker (see below), and Windischmann (Zoroastrische Studien, 260 seq.)

Zoroastrianism was never more eagerly studied than in the first centuries of the Christian era, though without anything of the disinterested and almost scientific curiosity of the earlier times. Religious and philosophic sects, in search of new dogmas, eagerly received whatever came to them bearing the name of Zoroaster. As Xanthos the Lydian, who is said to have lived before Herodotos, had mentioned Zoroastrian *Λόγια*¹, there came to light, in those later times, scores of oracles, styled *Λόγια τοῦ Ζωροάστρου*, or 'Oracula Chaldaica sive Magica,' the work of Neo-Platonists who were but very remote disciples of the Median sage. As his name had become the very emblem of wisdom, they would cover with it the latest inventions of their ever-deepening theosophy. Zoroaster and Plato were treated as if they had been philosophers of the same school, and Hierocles expounded their doctrines in the same book. Proclus collected seventy Tetrads of Zoroaster and wrote commentaries on them²; but we need hardly say that Zoroaster commented on by Proclus was nothing more or less than Proclus commented on by Proclus. Prodicus the Gnostic possessed secret books of Zoroaster³; and, upon the whole, it may be said that in the first centuries of Christianity, the religion of Persia was more studied and less understood than it had ever been before. The real object aimed at, in studying the old religion, was to form a new one.

Throughout the Middle Ages nothing was known of Mazdeism but the name of its founder, who from a Magus was converted into a magician and master of the hidden sciences. It was not until the Renaissance that real inquiry was resumed. The first step was to collect all the information that could be gathered from Greek and Roman writers. That task was undertaken and successfully completed by Barnabé Brisson⁴. A nearer approach to the

¹ See Nicolaus Damascenus, Didot, *Fragm. Hist.* III, 409.

² Fabricius, *Graeca Bibliotheca*, fourth ed. p. 309 seq.

³ Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* I. Cf. Porphyrius, *de vita Plotini*, § 16.

⁴ 'De regio Persarum principatu libri tres,' Paris, 1590. The second book is devoted to the religion and manners of the ancient Persians.

original source was made in the following century by Italian, English, and French travellers in Asia. Pietro della Valle, Henry Lord, Mandelslo, Ovington, Chardin, Gabriel du Chinon, and Tavernier found Zoroaster's last followers in Persia and India, and made known their existence, their manners, and the main features of their belief to Europe. Gabriel du Chinon saw their books and recognised that they were not all written in the same language, their original holy writ being no longer understood except by means of translations and commentaries in another tongue.

In the year 1700, a professor at Oxford, Thomas Hyde, the greatest Orientalist of his time in Europe, made the first systematic attempt to restore the history of the old Persian religion by combining the accounts of the Mohammedan writers with 'the true and genuine monuments of ancient Persia¹.' Unfortunately the so-called genuine monuments of ancient Persia were nothing more than recent Persian compilations or refacimenti². But notwithstanding this defect, which could hardly be avoided then, and a distortion of critical acumen³, the book of Thomas Hyde was the first complete and true picture of modern Parsiism, and it made inquiry into its history the order of the day. A warm appeal made by him to the zeal of travellers, to seek for and procure at any price the sacred books of the Parsis, did not remain ineffectual, and from that time scholars bethought themselves of studying Parsiism in its own home.

¹ 'Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum religionis historia,' Oxford, 1700.

² The Saddar, an excellent text-book of Parsiism, of which he gave an incorrect edition (the only one still in existence) and an incorrect translation, superseded only lately by West's translation in the Sacred Books of the East.—A Persian metrical translation of the Pahlavi *Ardâ Vîrâf's* visit to hell.—The *Farhangî Jihângîrî*, a Persian dictionary compiled in 1609 and explaining many Pahlavi and Pazend terms.

³ Being struck with the many analogies between the Zoroastrian and the biblical systems, he recognised in Abraham the first lawgiver of ancient Persia, in Magism a Sabean corruption of the primeval faith, and in Zoroaster a reformer, who had learnt the forgotten truth from the exiled Jews in Babylon.

Eighteen years later, a countryman of Hyde, George Boucher, received from the Parsis in Surat a copy of the *Vendidad Sâda*, which was brought to England in 1723 by Richard Cobbe¹. But the old manuscript was a sealed book, and the most that could then be made of it was to hang it by an iron chain to the wall of the Bodleian Library², as a curiosity to be shown to foreigners. A few years later,³ a Scotchman, named Fraser, went to Surat, with the view of obtaining from the Parsis, not only their books, but also a knowledge of their contents. He was not very successful in the first undertaking, and utterly failed in the second.

In 1754 a young man, twenty years old, Anquetil Duperron, a scholar of the *École des Langues Orientales* in Paris, happened to see a facsimile of four leaves of the Oxford *Vendidad*, which had been sent from England, a few years before, to Etienne Fourmont, the Orientalist. He determined at once to give to France both the books of Zoroaster and the first European translation of them. Too impatient to set off, to wait for a mission from the government which had been promised to him, he enlisted as a private soldier in the service of the French East India Company; he embarked at Lorient on the 24th of February, 1755, and after three years of endless adventures and dangers through the whole breadth of Hindustan, at the very time when war was waging between France and England, he arrived at last in Surat, where he stayed among the Parsis for three years more. Here began another struggle, not less hard, but more decisive, against the same mistrust and ill-will which had disheartened Fraser; but he came out of it victorious, and prevailed at last on the Parsis to part both with their books and their knowledge. He came back to Paris on the 14th of March, 1764, and deposited on the following day at the *Bibliothèque Royale* the whole of the *Zend-Avesta* and copies of several tradi-

¹ It was entitled: '*Leges sacrae ritus ex liturgia Zoroastri, . . . scripsit hunc librum Tchéd Divdadi filius,*' *Vendidad* (*Gûst Dêv Dât*) being mistaken for a man's name. The manuscript was written in the year 1050 of Yazdgard (1680-1681 A.D.)

² It is numbered nowadays, *Orientalia*, 322.

tional books. He spent ten years in studying the material he had collected, and published in 1771 the first European translation of the *Zend-Avesta* ¹.

A violent dispute broke out at once, as half the learned world denied the authenticity of the *Avesta*, which it pronounced a forgery. It was the future founder of the Royal Asiatic Society, William Jones, a young Oxonian then, who opened the war. He had been wounded to the quick by the scornful tone adopted by Anquetil towards Hyde and a few other English scholars: the *Zend-Avesta* suffered for the fault of its introducer, Zoroaster for Anquetil. In a pamphlet written in French ², with a verve and in a style which showed him to be a good disciple of Voltaire, W. Jones pointed out, and dwelt upon, the oddities and absurdities with which the so-called sacred books of Zoroaster teemed. It is true that Anquetil had given full scope to satire by the style he had adopted: he cared very little for literary elegance, and did not mind writing *Zend* and *Persian* in French; so the new and strange ideas he had to express looked stranger still in the outlandish garb he gave them. Yet it was less the style than the ideas that shocked the contemporary of Voltaire ³. His main argument was that books, full of such silly tales, of laws and rules so absurd, of descriptions of gods and demons so grotesque, could not be the work of a sage like Zoroaster, nor the code of a religion so much celebrated for its simplicity, wisdom, and purity. His conclusion was that the *Avesta* was a rhapsody of some modern Guebre. In fact the only thing in which Jones succeeded was to prove in a decisive manner that the ancient Persians were not equal to the *lumières* of the eighteenth century, and that the authors of the *Avesta* had not read the *Encyclopédie*.

Jones's censure was echoed in England by Sir John

¹ 'Zend-Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre, contenant les Idées Théologiques, Physiques et Morales de ce Législateur. . . . Traduit en François sur l'Original Zend.' Par M. Anquetil Du Perron, 3 vols. in 4°, Paris, 1771.

² 'Lettre à M. A*** du P***, dans laquelle est compris l'examen de sa traduction des livres attribués à Zoroastre.'

³ Cf. Voltaire's article on Zoroaster in the *Dictionnaire philosophique*.

Chardin and Richardson, in Germany by Meiners. Richardson tried to give a scientific character to the attacks of Jones by founding them on philological grounds¹. That the Avesta was a fabrication of modern times was shown, he argued, by the number of Arabic words he fancied he found both in the Zend and Pahlavi dialects, as no Arabic element was introduced into the Persian idioms earlier than the seventh century; also by the harsh texture of the Zend, contrasted with the rare euphony of the Persian; and, lastly, by the radical difference between the Zend and Persian, both in words and grammar. To these objections, drawn from the form, he added another derived from the uncommon stupidity of the matter.

In Germany, Meiners, to the charges brought against the newly-found books, added another of a new and unexpected kind, namely, that they spoke of ideas unheard of before, and made known new things. 'Pray, who would dare ascribe to Zoroaster books in which are found numberless names of trees, animals, men, and demons unknown to the ancient Persians; in which are invoked an incredible number of pure animals and other things, which, as appears from the silence of ancient writers, were never known, or at least never worshipped, in Persia? What Greek ever spoke of Hôh, of Jemshîd, and of such other personages as the fabricators of that rhapsody exalt with every kind of praise, as divine heroes²?'

Anquetil and the Avesta found an eager champion in the person of Kleuker, professor in the University of Riga. As soon as the French version of the Avesta appeared, he published a German translation of it, and also of Anquetil's historical dissertations³. Then, in a series of dissertations of his own⁴, he vindicated the authenticity of the Zend

¹ 'A Dissertation on the Languages, Literature, and Manners of Eastern Nations,' Oxford, 1777.

² 'De Zoroastris vita, institutis, doctrina et libris,' in the *Novi Commentarii Societatis Regiae*, Goettingen, 1778-1779.

³ 'Zend-Avesta . . . nach dem Franzoesischen des Herrn Anquetil Du Perron,' 3 vols. in 4°, 1776.

⁴ 'Anhang zum Zend-Avesta,' 2 vols. in 4°, 1781.

books. Anquetil had already tried to show, in a memoir on Plutarch, that the data of the Avesta fully agree with the account of the Magian religion given in the treatise on 'Isis and Osiris.' Kleuker enlarged the circle of comparison to the whole of ancient literature.

In the field of philology, he showed, as Anquetil had already done, that Zend has no Arabic elements in it, and that Pahlavi itself, which is more modern than Zend, does not contain any Arabic, but only Semitic words of the Aramean dialect, which are easily accounted for by the close relations of Persia with Aramean lands in the time of the Sassanian kings. He showed, lastly, that Arabic words appear only in the very books which Parsi tradition itself considers modern.

Another staunch upholder of the Avesta was the numismatologist Tychsen, who, having begun to read the book with a prejudice against its authenticity, quitted it with a conviction to the contrary. 'There is nothing in it,' he writes, 'but what befits remote ages, and a man philosophising in the infancy of the world. Such traces of a recent period as they fancy to have found in it, are either due to misunderstandings, or belong to its later portions. On the whole there is a marvellous accordance between the Zend-Avesta and the accounts of the ancients with regard to the doctrine and institutions of Zoroaster. Plutarch agrees so well with the Zend books that I think no one will deny the close resemblance of doctrines and identity of origin. Add to all this the incontrovertible argument to be drawn from the language, the antiquity of which is established by the fact that it was necessary to translate a part of the Zend books into Pahlavi, a language which was growing obsolete as early as the time of the Sassanides. Lastly, it cannot be denied that Zoroaster left books which were, through centuries, the groundwork of the Magic religion, and which were preserved by the Magi, as shown by a series of documents from the time of Hermippus. Therefore I am unable to see why we should not trust the Magi of our days when they ascribe to Zoroaster those traditional

books of their ancestors, in which nothing is found to indicate fraud or a modern hand ¹.

Two years afterwards, in 1793, was published in Paris a book which, without directly dealing with the Avesta, was the first step taken to make its authenticity incontrovertible. It was the masterly memoir by Sylvestre de Sacy, in which the Pahlavi inscriptions of the first Sassanides were deciphered for the first time and in a decisive manner. De Sacy, in his researches, had chiefly relied on the Pahlavi lexicon published by Anquetil, whose work vindicated itself thus—better than by heaping up arguments—by promoting discoveries. The Pahlavi inscriptions gave the key, as is well known, to the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, which were in return to put beyond all doubt the genuineness of the Zend language.

Tychsen, in an appendix to his Commentaries, pointed to the importance of the new discovery: 'This,' he writes, 'is a proof that the Pahlavi was used during the reign of the Sassanides, for it was from them that these inscriptions emanated, as it was by them—nay, by the first of them, Ardeschîr Bâbagân—that the doctrine of Zoroaster was revived. One can now understand why the Zend books were translated into Pahlavi. Here, too, everything agrees, and speaks loudly for their antiquity and genuineness.'

About the same time Sir William Jones, then president of the Royal Asiatic Society, which he had just founded, resumed in a discourse delivered before that Society the same question he had solved in such an off-hand manner twenty years before. He was no longer the man to say, '*Sied-il à un homme né dans ce siècle de s'infatuer de fables indiennes?*' and although he had still a spite against Anquetil, he spoke of him with more reserve than in 1771. However, his judgment on the Avesta itself was not altered on the whole, although, as he himself declared, he had not thought it necessary to study the text. But a glance at the Zend glossary published by Anquetil suggested to him a remark

¹ '*Commentatio prior observationes historico-criticas de Zoroastre ejusque scriptis et placitis exhibens.*' Goettingen, in the *Novi Comment. Soc. Reg.* 1791.

which makes Sir William Jones, in spite of himself, the creator of the comparative grammar of Sanskrit and Zend. 'When I perused the Zend glossary,' he writes, 'I was inexpressibly surprised to find that six or seven words in ten are pure Sanscrit, and even some of their inflexions formed by the rules of the Vyácaran¹, as yushmácam, the genitive plural of yushmad. Now M. Anquetil most certainly, and the Persian compiler most probably, had no knowledge of Sanscrit, and could not, therefore, have invented a list of Sanscrit words; it is, therefore, an authentic list of Zend words, which has been preserved in books or by tradition; it follows that the language of the Zend was at least a dialect of the Sanscrit, approaching perhaps as nearly to it as the Prácrit, or other popular idioms, which we know to have been spoken in India two thousand years ago².' This conclusion, that Zend is a Sanskrit dialect, was incorrect, the connection assumed being too close; but it was a great thing that the near relationship of the two languages should have been brought to light.

In 1798 Father Paulo de St. Barthélemy further developed Jones's remark in an essay on the antiquity of the Zend language³. He showed its affinity with the Sanskrit by a list of such Zend and Sanskrit words as were least likely to have been borrowed, viz. those that designate the degrees of relationship, the limbs of the body, and the most general and essential ideas. Another list, intended to show, on a special topic, how closely connected the two languages are, contains eighteen words taken from the liturgic language used in India and Persia. This list was not very happily drawn up, as out of the eighteen instances there is not a single one that stands inquiry; yet it was a happy idea, and one which has not even yet yielded all that it promised. His conclusions were that in a far remote antiquity Sanskrit was spoken in Persia and Media, that it gave birth to the Zend language, and that the Zend-Avesta is authentic: 'Were it but a recent compilation,' he writes, 'as Jones

¹ The Sanskrit Grammar.

² Asiatic Researches, II, § 3.

³ 'De antiquitate et affinitate linguae samscredamicæ et germanicæ,' Rome, 1798.

asserts, how is it that the oldest rites of the Parsis, that the old inscriptions of the Persians, the accounts of the Zoroastrian religion in the classical writers, the liturgic prayers of the Parsis, and, lastly, even their books do not reveal the pure Sanskrit, as written in the land wherein the Parsis live, but a mixed language, which is as different from the other dialects of India as French is from Italian? This amounted, in fact, to saying that the Zend is not derived from the Sanskrit, but that both are derived from another and older language. The Carmelite had a dim notion of that truth, but, as he failed to express it distinctly, it was lost for years, and had to be re-discovered.

The first twenty-five years of this century were void of results, but the old and sterile discussions as to the authenticity of the texts continued in England. In 1808 John Leyden regarded Zend as a Prakrit dialect, parallel to Pali; Pali being identical with the Magadhi dialect and Zend with the Sauraseni¹. In the eyes of Erskine Zend was a Sanskrit dialect, imported from India by the founders of Mazdeism, but never spoken in Persia². His main argument was that Zend is not mentioned among the seven dialects which were current in ancient Persia according to the Farhang-i Jehangiri³, and that Pahlavi and Persian exhibit no close relationship with Zend.

In Germany, Meiners had found no followers. The theologians appealed to the Avesta in their polemics⁴, and Rhode sketched the religious history of Persia after the translations of Anquetil⁵.

Erskine's essay provoked a decisive answer⁶ from Emmanuel Rask, one of the most gifted minds in the new school of philology, who had the honour of being a pre-

¹ Asiatic Researches, X.

² Ibid. X.

³ A large Persian dictionary compiled in India in the reign of Jehangir.

⁴ 'Erläuterungen zum Neuen Testament aus einer neueröffneten Morgenländischen Quelle, Ἰσὺδ μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν,' Riga, 1775.

⁵ 'Die Heilige Sage . . . des Zend-Volks,' Francfort, 1820.

⁶ 'Ueber das Alter und die Echtheit der Zend-Sprache und des Zend Avesta' (übersetzt von F. H. von der Hagen), Berlin, 1826. Remarks on the Zend Language and the Zend-Avesta (Transactions of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, III, 524).

cursor of both Grimm and Burnouf. He showed that the list of the Jehangiri referred to an epoch later than that to which Zend must have belonged, and to parts of Persia different from those where it must have been spoken; he showed further that modern Persian is not derived from Zend, but from a dialect closely connected with it; and, lastly, he showed what was still more important, that Zend was not derived from Sanskrit. As to the system of its sounds, Zend approaches Persian rather than Sanskrit; and as to its grammatical forms, if they often remind one of Sanskrit, they also often remind one of Greek and Latin, and frequently have a special character of their own. Rask also gave the paradigm of three Zend nouns, belonging to different declensions, as well as the right pronunciation of the Zend letters, several of which had been incorrectly given by Anquetil. This was the first essay on Zend grammar, and it was a masterly one.

The essay published in 1831 by Peter von Bohlen on the origin of the Zend language threw the matter forty years back. According to him, Zend is a Prakrit dialect, as it had been pronounced by Jones, Leyden, and Erskine. His mistake consisted in taking Anquetil's transcriptions of the words, which are often so incorrect as to make them look like corrupted forms when compared with Sanskrit. And, what was worse, he took the proper names in their modern Parsi forms, which often led him to comparisons that would have appalled Ménage. Thus Ahriman became a Sanskrit word *ariman*, which would have meant 'the fiend;' yet Bohlen might have seen in Anquetil's work itself that Ahriman is nothing but the modern form of *Angra Mainyu*, words which hardly remind one of the Sanskrit *ariman*. Again, the angel *Vohu-manô*, or 'good thought,' was reduced, by means of the Parsi form *Bahman*, to the Sanskrit *bâhumân*, 'a long-armed god.'

At length came Burnouf. From the time when Anquetil had published his translation, that is to say, during seventy years, no real progress had been made in knowledge of the Avesta texts. The notion that Zend and Sanskrit are two kindred languages was the only new idea that had been

acquired, but no practical advantage for the interpretation of the texts had resulted from it. Anquetil's translation was still the only guide, and as the doubts about the authenticity of the texts grew fainter, the authority of the translation became greater, the trust reposed in the Avesta being reflected on to the work of its interpreter. The Parsis had been the teachers of Anquetil; and who could ever understand the holy writ of the Parsis better than the Parsis themselves? There was no one who even tried to read the texts by the light of Anquetil's translation, to obtain a direct understanding of them.

About 1825 Eugène Burnouf was engaged in a course of researches on the geographical extent of the Aryan languages in India. After he had defined the limits which divide the races speaking Aryan languages from the native non-brahmanical tribes in the south, he wanted to know if a similar boundary had ever existed in the north-west; and if it is outside of India that the origin of the Indian languages and civilisation is to be sought for. He was thus led to study the languages of Persia, and, first of all, the oldest of them, the Zend. But as he tried to read the texts by help of Anquetil's translation, he was surprised to find that this was not the clue he had expected. He saw that two causes had misled Anquetil: on the one hand, his teachers, the Parsi dasturs, either knew little themselves or taught him imperfectly, not only the Zend, but even the Pahlavi intended to explain the meaning of the Zend; so that the tradition on which his work rested, being incorrect in itself, corrupted it from the very beginning; on the other hand, as Sanskrit was unknown to him and comparative grammar did not as yet exist, he could not supply the defects of tradition by their aid. Burnouf, laying aside tradition as found in Anquetil's translation, consulted it as found in a much older and purer form, in a Sanskrit translation of the Yasna made in the fifteenth century by the Parsi Neriosengh in accordance with the old Pahlavi version. The information given by Neriosengh he tested, and either confirmed or corrected, by a comparison of parallel passages and by the help of comparative grammar, which had just

been founded by Bopp, and applied by him successfully to the explanation of Zend forms. Thus he succeeded in tracing the general outlines of the Zend lexicon and in fixing its grammatical forms, and founded the only correct method of interpreting the Avesta. He also gave the first notions of a comparative mythology of the Avesta and the Veda, by showing the identity of the Vedic Yama with the Avesta Yima, and of Traitāna with Thraētaona and Ferīdōn. Thus he made his 'Commentaire sur le Yasna' a marvellous and unparalleled model of critical insight and steady good sense, equally opposed to the narrowness of mind which clings to matters of fact without rising to their cause and connecting them with the series of associated phenomena, and to the wild and uncontrolled spirit of comparison, which, by comparing everything, confounds everything. Never sacrificing either tradition to comparison or comparison to tradition, he knew how to pass from the one to the other, and was so enabled both to discover facts and to explain them.

At the same time the ancient Persian inscriptions at Persepolis and Behistun were deciphered by Burnouf in Paris, by Lassen in Bonn, and by Sir Henry Rawlinson in Persia. Thus was revealed the existence, at the time of the first Achaemenian kings, of a language closely connected with that of the Avesta, and the last doubts as to the authenticity of the Zend books were at length removed. It would have required more than an ordinary amount of scepticism to look still upon the Zend as an artificial language, of foreign importation, without root in the land where it was written, and in the conscience of the people for whom it was written, at the moment when a twin language, bearing a striking likeness to it in nearly every feature, was suddenly making itself heard from the mouth of Darius, and speaking from the very tomb of the first Achaemenian king. That unexpected voice silenced all controversies, and the last echoes of the loud discussion which had been opened in 1771 died away unheeded¹.

¹ The attacks of John Romer ('Zend: Is it an Original Language?' London,

CHAPTER II.

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE ZEND-AVESTA.

The peace did not last long, and a year after the death of Burnouf a new controversy broke out, which still continues, the battle of the methods, that is, the dispute between those who, to interpret the Avesta, rely chiefly or exclusively on tradition, and those who rely only on comparison with the Vedas. The cause of the rupture was the rapid progress made in the knowledge of the Vedic language and literature: the deeper one penetrated into that oldest form of Indian words and thoughts, the more striking appeared its close affinity with the Avesta words and thoughts. Many a mysterious line in the Avesta received an unlooked-for light from the poems of the Indian *Rishis*, and the long-forgotten past and the origin of many gods and heroes, whom the Parsi worships and extols without knowing who they were and whence they came, were suddenly revealed by the Vedas. Emboldened by its bright discoveries, the comparative method took pity on its slower and less brilliant rival, which was then making its first attempts to unravel the Pahlavi traditional books. Is it worth while, said the Vedic scholars¹, to try slowly and painfully to extract the secret of the old book from that uncouth literature? Nay, is there any hope that its secret is there? Translating the Avesta in accordance with the Pahlavi is not translating the Avesta, but only translating the Pahlavi version, which, wherever it has been deciphered, is found to wander strangely from the true meaning of the original text. Tradition, as a rule, is wont to enforce the ideas of its own ages into the books of past ages. From the time when the Avesta was written to the time when it was translated, many ideas had undergone great changes: such ideas, tradition must needs either

1855) called forth a refutation only in Bombay (Dhanjibai Framji, 'On the Origin and the Authenticity of the Aryan Family of Languages, the Zend-Avesta and the Huzvarash,' 1861).

¹ Roth, Benfey, Haug. Cf. *Revue Critique*, 1877, II, 81.

misunderstand or not understand at all, and tradition is always either new sense or nonsense. The key to the Avesta is not the Pahlavi, but the Veda. The Avesta and the Veda are two echoes of one and the same voice, the reflex of one and the same thought : the Vedas, therefore, are both the best lexicon and the best commentary to the Avesta.

The traditional school¹ replied that translating Zend by means of Sanskrit and the Avesta by means of the Vedas, because Zend and the Avesta are closely related to Sanskrit and the Vedas, is forgetting that relationship is not identity, and that what interests the Zend scholar is not to know how far Zend agrees with Sanskrit, but what it is in itself: what he seeks for in the Avesta, is the Avesta, not the Veda. Both the Vedic language and the Vedas are quite unable to teach us what became in Persia of those elements, which are common to the two systems, a thing which tradition alone can teach us. By the comparative method, the Zend *meregha*, which means 'a bird,' would assume the meaning of 'gazelle' to accord with the Sanskrit *mṛiga*; *ratu*, 'a part of the day,' would be extended to 'a season' out of regard for *ritu*; *mainyu*, 'a spirit,' and *dahyu*, 'a province,' would be degraded to 'anger' and to 'a set of thieves,' and 'the demons,' the *Daêvas*, would ascend from their dwelling in hell up to heaven, to meet their philological brothers, the Indian *Devas*. The traditional method, as it starts from matters of fact, moves always in the field of reality; the comparative method starts from an hypothesis, moves in a vacuum, and builds up a fanciful religion and a fanciful language.

Such being the methods of the two schools, it often happened that a passage, translated by two scholars, one of each school, took so different an aspect that a layman would have been quite unable to suspect that it was one and the same passage he had read twice. Yet the divergence between the two methods is more apparent than real, and proceeds from an imperfect notion of the field in

¹ Spiegel, Justi.

which each of them ought to work. They ought not to oppose, but assist one another, as they are not intended to instruct us about the same kind of facts, but about two kinds of facts quite different and independent. No language, no religion, that has lived long and changed much, can be understood at any moment of its development, unless we know what it was before and what it became afterwards. The language and religion of the Avesta record but a moment in the long life of the Iranian language and thought, so that we are unable to understand them, unless we know whence they came and what they became. What they became we learn directly from tradition, since the tradition arose from the very ideas which the Avesta expresses; whence they came we learn indirectly from the Vedas, because the Vedas come from the same source as the Avesta. Therefore it cannot happen that the tradition and the Veda will really contradict one another, if we take care to ask from each only what it knows, from one the present, and from the other the past. Each method is equally right and equally efficacious at its proper time and in its right place. The first place belongs to tradition, as it comes straight from the Avesta. The second inquiry, to be successful, requires infinite prudence and care: the Veda is not the past of the Avesta, as the Avesta is the past of tradition; the Avesta and Veda are not derived from one another, but from one and the same original, diversely altered in each, and, therefore, there are two stages of variation between them, whereas from the Avesta to tradition there is only one. The Veda, if first interrogated, gives no valuable evidence, as the words and gods, common to the two systems, may not have retained in both the same meaning they had in the Indo-Iranian period: they may have preserved it in one and lost it in the other, or they may have both altered it, but each in a different way. The Veda, generally speaking, cannot help us in discovering matters of fact in the Avesta, but only in explaining them when discovered by tradition. If we review the discoveries made by the masters of the comparative school, it will be seen that they have in reality started, without noticing it,

from facts formerly established by tradition. In fact tradition gives the materials, and comparison puts them in order. It is not possible, either to know the Avesta without the former, or to understand it without the latter.

The traditional school, and especially its indefatigable and well-deserving leader, Spiegel, made us acquainted with the nature of the old Iranian religion by gathering together all its materials; the comparative school tried to explain its growth. The traditional school published the text and the traditional translations, and produced the first Parsi grammar, the first Pahlavi grammar, and the first translation of the Avesta which had been made since Anquetil. The danger with it is that it shows itself too apt to stop at tradition, instead of going from it to comparison. When it undertakes to expound the history of the religion, it cannot but be misled by tradition. Any living people, although its existing state of mind is but the result of various and changing states through many successive ages, yet, at any particular moment of its life, keeps the remains of its former stages of thought in order, under the control of the principle that is then predominant. Thus it happens that its ideas are connected together in a way which seldom agrees with their historical sequence: chronological order is lost to sight and replaced by logical order, and the past is read into the present. Comparison alone can enable us to put things in their proper place, to trace their birth, their growth, their changes, their former relations, and lead us from the logical order, which is a shadow, to the historical order, which is the substance.

The comparative school developed Indo-Iranian mythology. Roth showed after Burnouf how the epical history of Iran was derived from the same source as the myths of Vedic India, and pointed out the primitive identity of Ahura Mazda, the supreme god of Iran, with Varuṇa, the supreme god of the Vedic age. In the same direction Windischmann, in his 'Zoroastrian Essays' and in his studies on Mithra and Anāhita, displayed singular sagacity. But the dangers of the method came to light in the works of Haug, who, giving a definite form to a system still

fluctuating, converted Mazdeism into a religious revolution against Vedic polytheism, found historical allusions to that schism both in the Avesta and in the Veda, pointed out curses against Zoroaster in the Vedas, and, in short, transformed, as it were, the two books into historical pamphlets¹.

In the contest about the authenticity of the Avesta, one party must necessarily have been right and the other wrong; but in the present struggle the issue is not so clear, as both parties are partly right and partly wrong. Both of them, by following their principles, have rendered such services to science as seem to give each a right to cling to its own method more firmly than ever. Yet it is to be hoped that they will see at last that they must be allies, not enemies, and that their common work must be begun by the one and completed by the other.

CHAPTER III.

THE FORMATION OF THE ZEND-AVESTA.

§ 1. The collection of Zend fragments, known as the Zend-Avesta², is divided, in its usual form, into two parts.

The first part, or the Avesta properly so called, contains the Vendîdâd, the Vispêrad, and the Yasna. The Vendîdâd is a compilation of religious laws and of mythical tales; the Vispêrad is a collection of litanies for the sacrifice; and the Yasna is composed of litanies of the same

¹ It would be unjust, when speaking of Haug, not to recall the invaluable services he rendered in the second part of his career, as a Pahlavi scholar. He was the first who thought of illustrating the Pahlavi of the books by the Pahlavi of the inscriptions, and thus determined the reading of the principal elements in the manuscript Pahlavi.

² A very improper designation, as Zend means 'a commentary or explanation,' and was applied only to explanatory texts, to the translations of the Avesta. Avesta (from the old Persian â bastâ, 'the law'; see Oppert, *Journal Asiatique*, 1872, Mars) is the proper name of the original texts. What it is customary to call 'the Zend language' ought to be named 'the Avesta language;' the Zend being no language at all; and, if the word be used as the designation of one, it can be rightly applied only to the Pahlavi. The expression 'Avesta and Zend' is often used in the Pahlavi commentary to designate 'the law with its traditional and revealed explanation.'

kind and of five hymns or Gâthas written in a special dialect, older than the general language of the Avesta.

These three books are found in manuscripts in two different forms: either each by itself, in which case they are generally accompanied by a Pahlavi translation; or the three mingled together according to the requirements of the liturgy, as they are not each recited separately in their entirety, but the chapters of the different books are intermingled; and in this case the collection is called the Vendîdâd Sâda or 'Vendîdâd pure,' as it exhibits the original text alone, without a translation.

The second part, generally known as the Khorda Avesta or 'Small Avesta,' is composed of short prayers which are recited not only by the priests, but by all the faithful, at certain moments of the day, month, or year, and in presence of the different elements; these prayers are the five Gâh, the thirty formulas of the Sîrôzah, the three Âfrigân, and the six Nyâyis. But it is also usual to include in the Khorda Avesta, though they are no real part of it, the Yasts or hymns of praise and glorification to the several Izads, and a number of fragments, the most important of which is the Hadhôkht Nask.

§ 2. That the extent of the sacred literature of Mazdeism was formerly much greater than it is now, appears not only from internal evidence, that is, from the fragmentary character of the book, but is also proved by historical evidence. In the first place, the Arab conquest proved fatal to the religious literature of the Sassanian ages, a great part of which was either destroyed by the fanaticism of the conquerors and the new converts, or lost during the long exodus of the Parsis. Thus the Pahlavi translation of the Vendîdâd, which was not finished before the latter end of the Sassanian dynasty, contains not a few Zend quotations from books which are no longer in existence: whole chapters also, or large quotations, of lost books are preserved in Pahlavi and Parsi tracts, like the Nirangistân and the Aogemaidê; and numerous quotations, from texts unknown before, have recently come to light in a Pahlavi Ravâet discovered in Bombay. It is a tradition with the Parsis,

that the Yasts were originally thirty in number, there having been one for each of the thirty Izads who preside over the thirty days of the month; yet there are only eighteen now extant. The Bundahis contains much matter which is not spoken of in the existing Avesta, but which appears to have been taken from Zend books that were still in the hands of its compiler.

What helped to preserve the Avesta is obvious; taken as a whole, it does not profess to be a religious encyclopedia, but only a liturgical collection, and it bears more likeness to a Prayer Book than to the Bible. It can be readily conceived that the Vendîdâd Sâda, which had to be recited every day, would be more carefully preserved than the Yasts, which are generally recited once a month; and these again more carefully than other books, which, however sacred they might be, were not used in the performance of worship. Many texts, no doubt, were lost in consequence of the Arab conquest, but mostly such as would have more importance in the eyes of the theologian than in those of the priest. But we are no longer in the dark as to the character and the contents of that larger literature of which our Avesta is a remnant: that literature is known to us, in its general outlines, through a Pahlavi analysis which was made in the ninth century, two centuries after the Arab conquest and at a time when the sacred literature of the Sassanian times was still in existence. West's translation of that synopsis¹ is the greatest service rendered in the last twenty years in the field of Avesta scholarship, and has for the first time rendered a history of Avesta literature possible.

§ 3. During the Sassanian period, while Zoroastrianism was the state religion, the collection of sacred writings was composed of twenty-one books or Nasks, distributed into three classes, each of seven Nasks; being called respectively the Gâtha group (gâsân), the group of the law (dât), and the group of the Hadha-mâthra; or the theological group, the legal group, and the mixed group.

¹ Pahlavi Texts, IV (forming vol. xxxvii of the Sacred Books of the East).

The seven Gâtha Nasks, thus named because they are mostly a development of the Gâthas, are:—

The Stôt Yast (Dk. VIII, 46);

The Sûtkar (Dk. VIII, 2; IX, 2);

The Varst-mânsar (Dk. VIII, 3; IX, 24);

The Bak (Dk. VIII, 4; IX, 47);

The Vastag (Dk. VIII, 12);

The Hâdhôkht (Dk. VIII, 45);

The Spand (Dk. VIII, 14).

We possess the Stôt Yast (in Zend Staota yēsnya) in its entirety: it is the core of the aggregate known as the Yasna, and the most holy part of the Avesta. It contains thirty-three chapters, of which twenty-two are metrical and written in an archaic style, these being the Gâthas, properly so called, and the three chief prayers (Ahuna Vairya, Ashem Vohû, and Yênhê hâtâm); eleven chapters are written in prose and in the common dialect¹.

The Sûtkar, the Varst-mânsar, and the Bak contain each twenty-two chapters, answering to the twenty-two Gâthas, of which they are mere commentaries or paraphrases. We possess small fragments of the Sûtkar² and one chapter of the Varst-mânsar³. Three chapters of the Bak, which are commentaries to the three chief prayers aforesaid, have been incorporated in the Yasna⁴.

Nothing is left of the Vastag, of which the Dînkart gives no analysis, as the author had neither its Avesta, nor its Zend (neither its original text, nor its Pahlavi translation), in an authentic form before him.

Of the Hâdhôkht we have three chapters counted as Yasts⁵, and one inserted in the Yasna⁶.

The Spand, which is dedicated to the story of Zoroaster, has been indirectly preserved, in a modern form, in the Zardust Nâma and in Arđâ Virâf's visit to hell.

¹ Gâthas (Yasna XXVIII-LIV) and Yasna XIV-XVII, XXII-XXVII, LVI.

² Fragments to Vd. II, 6; Tahmuras' Fragm. LXIV-LXVIII (?).

³ Westergaard's Fragm. IV (= Farg. XXIII of the Varst-mânsar Nask).

⁴ Chapters XIX, XX, XXI.

⁵ Yasts XI and XXI, XXII.

⁶ The so-called Fshûsha-mâthra (Yasna LVIII).

§ 4. The Legal group contains:—

- The Nîkâtûm (Dk. VIII, 16);
- The Ganbâ-sar-nigat (Dk. VIII, 21);
- The Hûspâram (Dk. VIII, 28);
- The Sakâtûm (Dk. VIII, 38);
- The Vendîdâd (Dk. VIII, 44);
- The Kitradât (Dk. VIII, 13);
- The Bakân Yast (Dk. VIII, 15).

Only the first five of these Nasks are strictly legal; the last two deal with cosmogony and mythology.

Of those five legal Nasks, one has been preserved in its entirety, the Vendîdâd¹. The Nîkâtûm, the Ganbâ-sar-nigat, and the Sakâtûm are represented by a few fragments. An important section of the Hûspâram has been preserved, in text and translation, in the Pahlavi Erpatistân and Nirangistân².

The Kitradât, which gives an historical account of mankind and Iran from the creation of the world till the advent of Zoroaster, has been indirectly preserved in part of the Bundahis and in the Shâhnâma.

The Bakân Yast was a collection of prayers in honour of the several Yazatas. From that Nask are derived sixteen of our Yasts, to which may be added the Hôm Yast (Yasna IX–XI) and the Srôsh Yast (Yasna LVII).

§ 5. The third group of Nasks, the Hadhamâthra, is the least known and the least well preserved. It contained:—

- The Dâmdât (Dk. VIII, 5);
- The Nâtar (Dk. VIII, 6);
- The Pâgag (Dk. VIII, 7);
- The Rat-dât-itag (Dk. VIII, 8);
- The Baris (Dk. VIII, 9);
- The Kaskîsrav (Dk. VIII, 10);
- The Vîstâsp-sâst (Dk. VIII, 11).

The Dâmdât was the Zoroastrian Genesis; the cosmogonic part of the Bundahis is derived from it. There remains one Zend fragment of it³.

¹ See below, the Introduction to the Vendîdâd.

² See below, p. 300 seq.

³ Fragm. Vd. H, 20 c.

We know nothing of the Nâtar, of which the Dînkart has no analysis.

The Gâh and Sîrôza may be derived from the Pâgag that treats of the Gâhânbârs and of the relations between the liturgy and the divisions of time.

The Rat-dât-îtag treats of the arrangement of the sacrifice. It is represented by two fragments ¹.

The Baris is of an ethical character; the Kaskîsrav teaches how to prevent the sacrifice being ill-managed and turning to the benefit of the demons. No fragment has been referred to either of these two Nasks with any certainty ².

The Vîstâsp-sâst, or 'the Introduction of Vîstâsp,' treated of the conversion of Vîstâsp by Zoroaster and of his wars against Argâsp. It is represented by the Vîstâsp Yast (Yt. XXIV) and the Âfrîn Paighambar Zartûst (Yt. XXIII). It is one of the sources of the Zardust Nâma.

§ 6. From this rapid review we may draw the following conclusions :—

(1) Out of the twenty-one Nasks of the Sassanian Avesta, we possess two in their entirety (the Vendîdâd and the Stôt Yast) and the most important part of a third (the Bakân Yast).

(2) We have a considerable part of four Nasks: the Bak, the Hâdhôkht, the Vîstâsp-sâst, and the Hûspâram; and several fragments of most of the others.

(3) We know indirectly, through the medium of Pahlavi translations or compilations, the contents of many Nasks of which we have few or no remnants in their original language: the Dâmdât, the Vîstâsp-sâst, the Kîtradât, and the Spand. In short we possess specimens, more or less considerable, of fifteen Nasks, and the complete text of the two Nasks which were considered all-important. For the Vendîdâd, being the book of purification; was to the priest the chief of the legal Nasks, and this is most

¹ Tahmuras' Fragm. LVIII; Fragm. to Vd. VII, 43.

² The quotations in the Pahlavi Nîrangistân may be referred to the Kaskîsrav.

likely the reason to which we owe its preservation. As to the Gâthas, they were already to the Zoroastrians of the Sassanian age just what they are to the Parsis of to-day : their paramount sanctity was the same as it is now, and their extent was the same, as appears from the fact that the three Gâthic Nasks which were developed around the Gâthas, or artificially attached to them, are composed each of twenty-two Fargards, answering one by one to the twenty-two Gâthas of our Yasna. Therefore the many losses that the Sassanian Avesta underwent in the last twelve centuries did not bear on the essential parts ; and the loss, however considerable it may be, is neither absolute, as much of the matter survived under a Pahlavi garb, nor perhaps irreparable, as the Zend finds made in the Pahlavi literature afford a hope for fresh and more important recoveries, when that deep quarry, only half opened, has been worked out through all its strata.

§ 7. It is not only the general outlines of the Sassanian Avesta we find sketched in the Dinkart ; it furnishes us also with a history of its formation¹, which may be summed up as follows :—

The twenty-one Nasks were formed by Ahura Mazda himself out of the twenty-one words of the Ahuna Vairya. They were brought by Zoroaster to king Vistâsp. Two copies of the complete scriptures were written by order of the king : one was deposited in the treasury at Shapîgân, the other in the Record Office².

When Alexander invaded Persia, the copy in the Record Office was burnt, and the one in Shapîgân was carried off by the Greeks, who had it translated into their own language.

One of the Parthian kings, Valkhash, ordered all the scattered remnants of the Avesta, which had been preserved, either in manuscript or by oral tradition, to be searched for and collected.

¹ In two different concordant documents, one at the end of Dinkart III (West, l. l. pp. xxx and xxxi), the other in the beginning of Dinkart IV (ibid. 412-415).

² *dez-f nîpîst*, 'the fortress for books : ' cf. the Hebrew ספריה סתר.

The founder of the Sassanian dynasty, Ardashîr (211–241), called to his court the high-priest Tansar, gave him the commission to gather and complete the scattered fragments, and invested his work with official authority.

Ardashîr's son, Shâhpûhr I (241–272), ordered the documents relating to profane sciences (medicine, astronomy, geography, philosophy), which were scattered amongst the Hindus and the Greeks, to be collected and embodied in the Avesta.

At last Shâhpûhr II, son of Auhrmazd (309–379), to check the sects that were distressing the religion, ordered a general disputation between them: the champion of orthodoxy, Âdarbâd, son of Mahraspand, submitting himself to a fire-ordeal, went through it victoriously, and the king proclaimed: 'Now we have seen the true religion on earth, we will not suffer any false religion,' and he acted accordingly.

§ 8. This account may be divided into two parts, one extending from the origin to the time of Alexander, the other relating to the restoration of the Avesta after the Greek invasion. These two accounts differ widely in character, the first being vague and legendary, the second being precise in its data and its dates, referring also to an historical period. We shall here have to do only with the second document, of which the import is that the Avesta is a collection that was formed on three occasions out of old fragments: the first edition emanating from a Parthian king, Valkhash: the second from the first Sassanian king, Ardashîr Bâbagân (211–241); the third and last from king Shâhpûhr I (241–272). Let us consider each of these three times, one by one.

§ 9. One may be surprised, at first sight, by the part ascribed to an Arsacide prince in this religious evolution¹. Most Byzantine, Parsi, and Muhammedan writers agree that it was the Sassanian dynasty which raised the Zoroastrian religion from the state of humiliation into which the Greek invasion had made it sink, and, while it gave the

¹ Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde* III, 782, n. 1.

signal for a revival of the old national spirit, made Mazdeism one of the corner stones of the new establishment ¹. Therefore it seems strange to hear that the first step taken to make Mazdeism a state religion was taken by one of those very Philhellenic Parthian princes, who were fully imbued with Greek ideas and manners. Yet this view must not be accepted unreservedly. Ardashîr is nowhere mentioned as professing a religion different from that of his predecessors. In the struggle between Ardavân and Ardashîr, there was no religious interest at stake, but only a political one; and we are expressly told by Hamza ² that Ardashîr and his adversaries belonged to the same confession. Nay, we shall see that one of the charges brought against him, by his adversaries, was his wanton infraction of the Zoroastrian laws. There is therefore nothing that makes it impossible to admit that in the time and at the court of a Parthian prince a Zoroastrian movement may have originated.

§ 10. There were four kings at least ³ who bore the name of Valkhash: the most celebrated and best known of the four was Vologeses I, the contemporary of Nero. Now that Zoroastrianism prevailed with him, or at least around him, we see from the conduct of his brother Tiridates, who was a Magian (Magus) ⁴; and by this term we must not understand a magician ⁵, but a Zoroastrian priest. That he was a priest appears from Tacitus' testimony ⁶; that he was a Zoroastrian is shown by his scruples about the wor-

¹ S. de Sacy, *Mémoires sur quelques antiquités de la Perse*. Cf. Maçoudi, II, 125.

² Hamzae Ispahensis *Annales*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 31 (in the translation).

³ Perhaps five (see de Longpérier, *Mémoire sur la Numismatique des Arsacides*, p. 111).

⁴ 'Magus ad eum Tiridates venerat' (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XXX, 6).

⁵ Pliny very often confounds Magism and Magic, Magians and Magicians. We know from Pliny, too, that Tiridates refused to initiate Nero into his art; but the cause was not, as he assumes, that it was 'a detestable, frivolous, and vain art,' but because Mazdean law forbids the holy knowledge to be revealed to laymen, much more to foreigners (*Yast* IV, 10; cf. *Philostrati Vita Soph.* I, 10).

⁶ 'Nec recusaturum Tiridatem accipiendi diademati in urbem venire, nisi sacerdotii religione attineretur' (*Ann.* XV, 24).

ship of the elements. When he came from Asia to Rome to receive the crown of Armenia at the hands of Nero, he avoided coming by sea, and rode along the coasts¹, 'because the Magi are forbidden to defile the sea².' This is quite in the spirit of later Zoroastrianism, and savours much of Mazdeism. That Vologeses himself shared the religious scruples of his brother appears from his answer to Nero, who insisted upon his coming to Rome also: 'Come yourself, it is easier for you to cross such immensity of sea³.' What we know moreover of his personal character qualifies him for taking the initiative in a religious work. He seems to have been a man of contemplative mind rather than a man of action, which often excited the anger or scorn of his people against him; he had the glory of breaking with the family policy of Parthian kings by giving his brothers a share in the empire, instead of strangling them (Tacitus, *Annales*, XV, 1, 2). At that time the East was in religious fermentation; Christianity was in its infancy; gnostic sects were rife: moreover religion was fast becoming part of politics. Vologeses was called by the people of Adiabene against their king Izates, who had turned Jew (Josephus, *Antiq.* XX, 4, 2) and himself offered the help of his cavalry to Vespasian against Jerusalem.

The namesakes of Vologeses I had too short or too uncertain a lease of power for any one of them to be likely to compete with him as the author of that first religious restoration. We shall therefore assume that the Valkhash of the Dinkart is the same as Vologeses I⁴, and, in this hypothesis, we will ascribe the first collection of Zoroastrian fragments to the third quarter of the first century (50-75),

¹ He crossed only the Hellespont.

² 'Navigare noluerat, quoniam inspuere in maria, aliisque mortalium necessitatibus violare naturam eam fas non putant' (Pliny, l. 1. Cf. *Introd.* X, 8 seq.)

³ Dio Cassius, LXIII, 4. The answer was mistaken for an insult by Nero, and, as it seems, by Dio himself. In fact Vologeses remained to the last faithful to the memory of Nero (*Suet. Nero*, 57).

⁴ This hypothesis, which was for the first time proposed in the first edition of this translation (1880), seems to have been generally accepted (*Gutschmid*, 'Persia,' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XVIII, 603; *West, Pahlavi Texts*, IV, 413, note 5).

which is nearly the time when the first evangelical narratives were written.

§ 11. Between Vologeses and Ardashîr, for nearly two centuries, there is a blank in the religious history of Iran. With Ardashîr, Zoroastrianism became the religion of the state. The founder of the new dynasty belonged, through his grandmother, to one of the local royal families of Persia, the Bazrangis, and through his grandfather, Sâsân, to the sacerdotal race. Sâsân had in his hands the management of the temple of Anâhita (the Iranian Artemis) at Istakhar. By birth a king and a priest, Ardashîr reduced to a formula the throne-and-altar theory: 'Be aware, my son,' he wrote in his political testament, 'that religion and royalty are two brothers that cannot subsist one without the other; for royalty rests on religion and religion has royalty to protect it¹.' Agathias reports that Ardashîr was initiated in the doctrine of the Magi and could himself celebrate their mysteries; that, from his accession to the throne, their race, formerly little honoured, got the upper hand both in public and private affairs; they became his constant counsellors, and had the management of justice in their hands. Whereas the Parthians boasted their title of Philhellenist, the Sassanian king styled himself Mazdayasn, 'Worshipper of Mazda.' It seemed as if Ahura Mazda had ascended the throne with him.

§ 12. Ardashîr had a man of the name of Tansar to help him in his work of religious restoration. He had been one of those petty local sovereigns called *Mulûk ut-tavâif*, 'Kings of provinces,' among whom the Iranian empire was divided under the nominal suzerainty of the Parthian emperor. 'Belonging to the Platonic sect²,' he had given up his throne to his son and embraced a religious life. When Ardashîr rose up against the *Mulûk ut-tavâif*, Tansar welcomed him as the saviour of the empire, became his missionary, preached submission to him, and sent preachers in his interest through the provinces³. He had written an

¹ Maçoudi, *Les prairies d'or*, II, 162.

² Maçoudi, II, 161.

³ *Kitâb et-tanbîh*, ed. de Goeje, 99. Cf. S. de Sacy, in Maçoudi, IX, 329.

apology of Ardashîr in answer to a reproachful letter from one of the princes threatened by Ardashîr's ambition, Gasnâsf, king of Tabaristân. Tansar's letter, translated from the original Pahlavi into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa, in the middle of the eighth century, and nearly five centuries later (1210 A.D.) from Arabic into Persian by Muhammad bin ul-Hasan, author of a history of Tabaristân, has come down to us in its secondary form, not free from interpolations which are easily detected, so that the original authentic text is clearly recognisable under the modern accretions¹.

That letter, which is the oldest and most important record of the religious history of Zoroastrian Persia, sets in a strong light the moral forces that made the success of the Sassanian revolution. Ardashîr was the happy leader of a necessary reaction against the political anarchy of the Parthian system, and against the moral, social, and religious anarchy that was the outcome of the political one.

The Parthian kings, in the last two centuries of the dynasty, had been hardly more than feudal chiefs, only so far recognised by the local princes (the Mulûk ut-tavâif) as they had strength to make themselves recognised. Each province had its own dynasty, old or new. The legend ran that Alexander, on his death-bed, fearing lest Persia, after his death, should revenge her wrongs on Greece, listened to the perfidious advice of his vizier Aristotle and divided Iran between ninety petty sovereigns, to weaken her for ever. Such was at any rate the condition of Iran in the beginning of the third century A.D. It was in order to restore the unity of the Iranian empire that Ardashîr rose. He suppressed those of the Mulûk ut-tavâif who declined to recognise him as king of kings, and sent their heads as trophies to Anâhita's temple². It was decided by a council of Magi that those Mulûk who would come and deposit their crowns at the feet of the Shâhinsâh, to receive

¹ See the text and translation of that letter (*Lettre de Tansar au Roi de Tabaristan*) in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1894, I, 185-250, 502-555.

² Tabari.

them again from his hands, would retain their title of Shâh¹. At the time when Tansar wrote, fourteen years had elapsed since Ardashîr had begun his work: a part of it was done, the unity of the empire was restored: the only political task that remained to be performed was to avenge Dara's murder on Alexander's successors, and to exact from them the old tribute they had formerly paid to Persia for Egypt and Syria².

§ 13. Then remained the work of moral restoration. The Shâhinshâh's second task is to re-establish 'the law of the Ancients' (سنة اولينان). How shall that ideal of the past be brought again to light? There lay the difficulty, as the Avesta was all but lost, and the tradition of the law had been obliterated by revolutions and anarchy. 'You know that Alexander burnt in Istakhar⁴ our sacred books written on twelve thousand ox-hides. There remained something of it in memory, but it was only legends and traditions⁵: nothing more was known of the religious laws and ordinances⁶; and at last, by the corruption of the men of those times, by the disappearance of the law, the love of novelties and apocrypha⁷ and the wish for notoriety, even those legends and traditions passed away from the memory of the people, so that there was not a particle authentic

¹ Journal Asiatique, l. l. 513-514.

² 'Now the Shâhinshâh intends to go to war against Rûm and he will not rest till he has avenged Dara's blood on the Alexandrides, enriched his own treasury and the treasury of the state, and restored the towns which Alexander spitefully destroyed in Fârs. He must exact from them the tribute which they always paid to our kings for the Coptic country and Syria, which our kings had formerly conquered in the land of the Hebrews, at the time of the invasion of Bokht-Nasr' (l. l. pp. 548-549).—Ardashîr's pretensions are expressed by Herodian in terms remarkably concordant with those in Tansar's letter: 'He pretended to have unquestionable rights to the possession of all the provinces in Asia lying between the Euphrates, the Aegean sea, and the Propontis: as all those countries, as far as Ionia and Caria, had always been governed by satraps of their nation from the days of Cyrus, who transferred the empire from the Medes to the Persians, to the time of Darius, who was conquered by Alexander: therefore by entering into possession of the old heritage of his ancestors he would not wrong the Romans.' (Journal Asiatique, 1894, p. 549.)

³ The Paoiryô d'kaêd in the Avesta.

⁴ Persepolis.

⁵ قصص و احاديث.

⁶ شرايع و احكام.

⁷ حرص و بدمت و تمويهها.

left. Therefore we must absolutely have an upright and honest man to revise the Religion¹. Tansar himself confesses that Ardashir does not pretend to re-establish the old order in its entirety, nor even to keep it free from the admixture of new elements. He takes liberties with it, and, whereas he comes forward to correct the new order (sunnati âkhirîn) by the light of the older one, he does not waive the right of correcting what may be wrong in the old law. Therefore, by his own confession, his restoration is an adaptation. How little he was embarrassed in his work by the authority of authentic written texts, Tansar lets us easily guess, 'When the Shâhinshâh wants to suppress any iniquity of the Ancients, which does not suit the necessities of the present, they say: "This is the old custom, it is the rule of the Ancients." Iniquity, past or present, is a thing to be reprov'd, whether it comes from the Ancients or from the Moderns. But the Shâhinshâh has power over the Religion, and God is his ally²; and in this destroying and changing of the order of tyranny, I see him better armed and adorned with more virtues than the Ancients. No king attempted what he did. The Religion being lost and history forgotten, what man could judge him? Besides, even in the times when men had perfect knowledge of their religion and were closely attached to it, they felt the need of a powerful and wise king in times of doubt; for if the Religion is not enlightened by reason, it has no steadiness³.'

It is no wonder therefore that Zoroastrians of the time may have considered Ardashir a sacrilegious heretic. One of his acts that created the greatest indignation was that he had the sacred fires of the Mulûk ut-tavâif extinguished: a crime that would have cost any other man his life: 'no man before him,' exclaimed king Gasnâsf, 'had ventured on such a sacrilege.' Tansar threw back the charge of sacrilege on the shoulders of the Mulûk ut-tavâif: they

¹ Lettre de Tansar, l. l. p. 212.

² و این شاه مسلط است بر دین و حق با او یار.

³ دین را تا رای بیان نکند قوامی نباشد.

had no right to have a second fire of their own: 'it was a bad innovation, contrary to the custom of the old kings.' It is more likely that the unity of the royal fire was a new dogma, invented on the spur of the moment to serve the usurper's political devices; and Âtar himself, when found to favour anarchy, was treated like any other rebel. In fact many were the laws, introduced by Ardashîr, that were disapproved by public opinion as unwarranted innovations: such were the laws on the strict division of the people into classes with their functions, rights, and distinctive marks; and the laws on heredity. His restoring the Law of the Ancients, said Gasnasf, is nothing else than destroying the real Law¹.

§ 14. How far these reforms were represented as resting on the mere will and reason of the king, or on the authority of religious texts, we do not know. As to the religious texts themselves, and their collection into a body of doctrines, the Dînkart has the following: 'Ardashîr had all the scattered teaching (âmôk-î pargandak) brought together to the capital under the high authority of Tansar; Tansar came; him alone he accepted (frâg patiraft); and from all the others he took away authority.' In other words, among the Zoroastrian schools, there were current several collections of religious texts, more or less authentic, and it was the one taught by Tansar that was stamped by Ardashîr with an official character. From another text in the Dînkart it appears that the Ardashîr compilation contained two classes of texts: texts that were incorporated as they were, and other texts that were conjecturally restored by Tansar, the Pôryôtkêr, so as to make a collection that should be an exact reproduction of the Vîstâsp Avesta, the lost treatise of Shapîgân²: which is as much as saying that the Ardashîr Avesta is a compound of texts anterior to Tansar and texts emanating from Tansar, the whole being an ideal restoration of a primitive Avesta, of the 'old law' or of what was supposed to be the old law, in the time of Ardashîr.

¹ Journal Asiatique, 1894, No. 3, p. 514.

² See the text in the Guimet Zend-Avesta, III, p. xxxi, note 2.

§ 15. Ardashîr's collection was not a canon closed. His successor Shâhpûhr I (241-272), the conqueror of Valerianus, had, we are told, the scientific and philosophic fragments, scattered in India and Greece, collected and embodied in the Avesta. This is a confession that part of the Avesta was translated or imitated from foreign sources: but it is a confession that a Zoroastrian might easily make, as it was an accepted legend that Alexander had the Avesta translated into Greek, so that they could borrow back from the Greeks without being indebted to them. To us it tells a different tale, namely, that the scientific Nasks of the Avesta¹, of which unfortunately very little is left², were written under Shâhpûhr I, in imitation of Greek and Sanskrit scientific treatises.

§ 16. It was not to be expected that a body of Scriptures, formed so recently and with such visible accretions, should obtain at once sufficient authority to command universal respect and check the sectarian spirit. In vain did Ardashîr put the secular arm at the service of the new orthodoxy³: the inquisition disgusted the older generation and could not ensure the triumph of one particular system. The old free believers, not yet confined in the immovable limits of orthodox dogma, went on growing and branching off into independent heresies. One of these, Manicheism, became at one moment powerful even at the court of Shâhpûhr. The execution of Manes under Shâhpûhr's successor, Bahrâm I (272-276), did not stop the progress of the heresies, and it was only under Shâhpûhr II (309-379) that, through Âdarbâd Mahraspand's devotion, the ortho-

¹ The fragments treating of medicine and astronomy, time and space, nature and creation, generation and corruption (yahvûnishn vinâsishn; γένεσις καὶ φθοράς; عالم کون و فساد, Tansar, p. 10 b).

² Of the Hadha-mâthra Nasks the contents of only one are sufficiently known (the Dâmdâd).

³ 'The Shâhinsâh has ordered that if a man swerve from the Religion he should be put in prison, and that for a whole year without ceasing the clergy should read to him, and admonish him, and give him proofs and dissipate his doubts. If he repent and confess his error, he is set at liberty; if through obstinacy and pride he harden in infidelity, he is put to death.' (Letter of Tansar, fol. 12 a.)—Cf. Vd. XVIII, 9, 10; Mînôkhard XV, 22-25.

dox doctrine prevailed in a decisive way. After a public controversy with his opponents, he appealed to God's judgment and had molten brass poured on his breast: he went through the ordeal unscathed, and confounded the heretics. During the ordeal he may have repeated the Gátha lines:—

'O Good Spirit, Ahura Mazda, by thy fire thou decidest between the opponents, according to the greater degree of piety and sanctity; and many of those who see it believe in thy law' (Yasna XLVII, 6).

The king announced that the true religion having manifested itself in a visible way, any false religion (*ag-dînh*) could be tolerated no more. That great religious event must have taken place about the year 330; for the persecution of the Christians began in that year. It was about the time when the Fathers at Nicaea organised Christianity into an orthodox state religion.

After Âdarbâd the canon was closed. Whether he added his contribution to the bulk of the sacred texts, like his predecessors under Ardashîr and Shâhpûhr, there is no evidence either to prove or disprove: in any case, the Avesta after him underwent no change of any sort. The Parsi tradition makes him the last of the founders of the religion, and, forgetting the teachers between Zoroaster and Âdarbâd, makes these two names the Alpha and Omega of the Avesta history¹.

CHAPTER IV.

PARTHIAN ELEMENTS IN THE AVESTA.

§ 1. From the preceding it appears that the Sassanian Avesta, as fixed by Âdarbâd Mahrspand in the beginning

¹ The Patet sums up the religious tradition as follows:—

'I keep steady in the religion which the Lord Hôrmezd and the Amshaspands taught the worshipped Frôhar of Zartusht, the Spitamide;

'which Zartusht taught Vîstâsp;

'which Vîstâsp taught Frashôshtar, Jâmâsp, and Isfandyâr;

'which the latter taught the faithful in this world;

'which by a continuous tradition came down to the ordainer of the holy law, Âdarbâd Mahrspand, who for its sake submitted to the ordeal and came out of it victoriously.'

of the fourth century, represents three successive accretions at least, the first due to Vologeses in the middle of the first century, the second to Ardashîr and Tansar in the middle of the third century, and the third to Shâhpûhr I, at the end of the same. Now we must inquire whether the texts of these successive editions belong, all or in part, to an older Avesta, anterior to the Greek conquest. The evidence in the Dînkart and in Tansar's letter prepares us to suppose that the post-Alexandrian element, at least as far as the form goes, must be considerable. The internal evidence allows us to give greater precision to that inference.

§ 2. One of the best-known and most brilliant pieces of the Avesta, the Hôrn Yast, appears to contain an allusion to Alexander. It is said of Haoma, the plant-god, whose worship is the centre of the Mazdean liturgy, that 'he overthrew the usurping Keresâni who arose, longing for sovereignty, and said: henceforth no priest will go at his wish through the country to teach the law.' Now, the only persecutor of religion of whom Parsi tradition makes mention before the Arabs is Alexander. He is the third in that trinity of tyrants created by Ahriman, who desired to have made them immortal for the destruction of the world. But the first two, Zohâk and Afrâsyâb, were born and died before Zarathustra was born, so that Alexander alone of the three could appear as an anti-Zoroastrian persecutor; which makes us wonder whether the usurper confounded by Haoma might not be the Greek conqueror. Now that epithet Keresâni, literally a bandit, is translated or transcribed in Pahlavi by Kilisyâk, which is the name given in the Pahlavi literature to the infidels of Rûm. Therefore, for the old mediaeval tradition the Keresâni usurper was neither a dēv nor a Turanian, he was a Greek. If the Keresâni persecutor were a Greek, he could be no other than Alexander. A mediaeval Pahlavi apocalypse, the Bahman Yast (II, 19), passing in review the restorers of religion, begins with the Arsacide who destroyed 'the impious Alexander, the Kilisyâk.'

If the Keresâni is Alexander, the passage quoted and the

whole of the Hôrn Yast, which forms a coherent whole, cannot have been written before the death of Alexander or more accurately before the fall of the Greek domination in Persia. It was about 150 B.C. that Mithridates the Great (B.C. 171-137) dealt the last blow to the Kilisyák. Therefore the Hôrn Yast could hardly have been written before the middle of the second century before our era.

§ 3. If the Avesta, or part of it, were composed under the Arsacidae, an important fact, otherwise unaccounted for, is explained *ipso facto*: namely the fact that the Avesta seems to ignore the existence of an Iranian empire. The highest political unity is the dahyu, a name which in the inscriptions of Darius denoted the satrapies, the provincial kingdoms of Media, Bactriana, Sogdiana, Arachosia, Aria, Parthia, &c. The highest political power is the danhupaiti, the chief of a dahyu. The one universal danhupaiti, the one danhupaiti of all dahyus, is Mithra¹. This refers to a time when there was no real danhupaiti of all dahyus, no Shâhinshâh, when the real power was in the hands of the independent local kings. This is the period of the Provincial kings, the Mulûk ut-tavâif; and this very name, Mulûk ut-tavâif, is nothing less than a literal translation of the Zend danhupaiti.

§ 4. At the time when the Avesta took its definitive form, Chaldaea was inhabited by Arab tribes, it was already a sort of Irâq Arabî. To the writer of the Avesta, Babylon (Bawri) is the residence of Azi Dahâka², and Azi Dahâka represents the Arab race. It is not only in the later Shâhnâma that he is made the son of an Arab king; both the Bundahis, which reproduces old Avesta documents³, and the Avesta book of the Genealogies itself, made him a descendant of Tâg, the eponym of the

¹ Yasna I, 11.

² Yt. V, 29.—Elsewhere, Yt. XV, 19, Azi is described as offering up a sacrifice to Vayu in the inaccessible Kvirinza. We know from Hamza (p. 32) that this was the name of a palace (the Kulang palace, the fortress of the Stork) which Azi Dahâka had built in Babylon.

³ Son of Khrdtâsp (corrupted to Mardâs in Firdausi), son of Zâinlgâv, son of Vîrafshang, son of Tâg (Bund. XXXI, 6).

Tâgik¹. Now the oldest period known when the Arabs settled along the Euphrates and Tigris is the second half of the Arsacide period. We know that at that time Holwân was on the frontier between the Iranians and Arabs. The region east of Holwân 'was in the hands of the Provincial kings (Mulûk ut-tavâif = danhu-paitis) who were all Persians, and did not recognise the authority of the Arabs. Irâq and Savâd remained in the hands of the Arabs, who were waging a perpetual war with one another, as they are used to do².' Therefore the texts in which the Arab Asi Dahâka appears as reigning in Babylon belong to a time when Arabs were already settled in Mesopotamia.

A certain Zaini-gâus or Zâinîgâv³ is mentioned once in the Avesta as being conquered and killed by Frangrasyan⁴ who on that one occasion was invested with the royal *Hvarenô* and who, accordingly, in the *Shâhnâma*, is credited with having delivered Iran from an Arab invasion: in the absence of Kai-Kâûs, it says, invaders flowed over Iran from every side, both Turanians and Arabs: 'the Arabs were conquered by the Turanians.' Perhaps the key to the Afrâsyâb enigma is here. One can hardly understand how the Turanians beyond the Oxus, whom Afrâsyâb is supposed to represent, could repel the Arabs coming from over the Euphrates. But one must bear in mind that Afrâsyâb's career ends on the banks of the *Kaêkasta* lake, in Âdar-baigân⁵, north of Mesopotamia. On another side, the legendary history of Yemen tells of the Tubba'h Abû Kurrub's invasions into Mesopotamia and his struggles with

¹ Tâg, a brother of Hôshang and the ancestor of the Tâgiks (*Kîtrâdâd Nask*, in *Dînkart VIII*, 13, 8).

² Tabari, tr. Zotenberg, II, 8-9. The Hatra, Hîra, and Ghassanian kingdoms were already flourishing in the first century of our era. The Ghassanians reigned at Damas when Paulus was a prisoner there.

³ Bearing the same name as Asi Dahâka's grandfather (p. xlix).

⁴ Yt. XIX, 93. The translation in the *Sacred Books of the East* is to be corrected as follows: 'that glory that Frangrasyan, the Turanian, bore, when the wicked Zainigâu was killed.' (Cf. *Greater Bundahîr*: 'There was a fiend called Zinîgâv who had poison in his eye: he had come from the country of the Arabs to reign on Iran-Shahr: any man he gazed at with his evil eye, he killed. The Iranians called Frâsyâv into their country, he killed that Zinîgâv.')

⁵ Yt. XVII, 42.

the Turanians of Ādarbaigān¹; so that the wars of Frangrasyan and Zainigzu may be an echo of the predatory struggles between the Arabs from the south and those Turanians of north-western Iran who were for centuries the plague of that country, and whom Khusrô Nôshirvân tried at last to imprison in the Caucasus.

CHAPTER V.

BRÂHMANICAL, BUDDHIST, AND GREEK ELEMENTS.

§ 1. The political and social circumstances which the Avesta reflects being those of the Parthian time, one may easily expect to find in its doctrine the reaction of those civilisations, or religions, which flourished during that period either in Iran or in the neighbouring countries. In fact, we find in the Avesta either polemics against, or loans from, the great contemporary systems, the Brâhmanical, the Buddhist, the Greek, and the Jewish.

§ 2. The true Zoroastrian is called a Mazdayasna, 'a worshipper of Mazda²,' in contradistinction to the Daêvayasna, 'the worshipper of the Daêvas.' Daêva is generally understood as 'a demon,' and that is the meaning it has in the derived dêv and in most of the Zend texts generally; as it is applied to the evil forces of nature, like the Wind-Daêva, or to the evil forces of the soul, like Aêshma, 'Wrath;' Akem Manô, 'Bad Thought;' Tarômaiti, 'Pride.' But it must also have applied to false gods, for the Daêvayasna is not a bad Zoroastrian, it is a man who does not belong to the Zoroastrian system, it is a foreigner, an Anaryan. Doctors must practise on Daêvayasnâs before treating Mazdayasnâs, which is a rule clear and practical only if the Daêvayasna is a worshipper of the false gods, of Indian, Assyrian, or Greek idols; for the test is simple enough. The word may have applied first and more

¹ Tabari, I, 505; Hamza, tr. p. 98.

² The Sassanian kings took on their coins the title of Mazdayasn, instead of the Philhellen of the Arsacidae.

especially to the Indian religions and to the worshippers of Devas.

§ 3. The disparaging meaning of the word Deva in Zoroastrianism was formerly interpreted as a sign that Zoroaster's religion was born in an Indo-Iranian period, from a moral reaction against Vedic polytheism, which sent to hell the former gods. This theory, as far as I can see, has no longer any supporter: it has been seen that it all rests on a few lexicographical particularities, not on inner historical evidence. In fact Zoroastrianism has much in common with the Vedic Pantheon; its supreme God, Ahura Mazda, is not more different from the great Asura, Varuṇa, than Zeus is from Jupiter; the Zoroastrian Apollo, Mithra, answers exactly to the Vedic Mitra. The worship is centred on both sides around the sacred plant (Soma—Haoma) and the sacred fire (Agni—Ātar). The mythological struggle between the God of the Lightning, Indra, and the serpent Ahi is transferred to Ātar (the Fire) and Aži. Yama, son of Vivasvat, and Traitana revive in Yima, son of Vivanghant, and Thraētaona. How those analogies are to be accounted for, whether they are the relics of an old Indo-Iranian religion, or whether they have been, entirely or partly, borrowed from either side by the other, remains an open question, which we are neither prepared to answer in the negative, nor to answer at all. But thus much is clear that there is not the slightest evidence or symptom of any such inner upheaval, rejecting a Vedic or quasi-Vedic religion, as was supposed to have taken place in prehistoric periods.

§ 4. This only remains, that when Zoroastrianism, with the exclusive character which belongs to moral religions, wanted to brand and condemn the most dangerous rival it encountered amongst its neighbours, it found no more characteristic name to designate the false gods and the demons than the name given to divine beings in the false religions of India which had so many followers in the eastern provinces of the empire. It went so far as to take the names of three Indian devas to designate those arch-demons which it opposes artificially and systematically to the Amesha-Spentas; they are Indra, Saurva, and

Nəunghaithya, given as counterparts to Asha Vahista, 'Perfect Righteousness;' Khshathra Vairya, 'Good Government;' and Spenta Ārmaiti, 'Humility.' There is nothing in their Avesta character that reminds one of Indra the Storm God, of Sarva a name of Siva, or of Nāsatyā the Asvin; they are Wickedness, Tyranny, and Pride, by the mere fact of their opposition to the three Amshaspands, and it appears clear thereby that their present character is not the result of a prolonged evolution in the inner circle of Zoroastrianism.

§ 5. The Daēva Būiti who, by order of Angra Mainyu, tries to kill Zarathustra on his being born, is according to the Greater Bundahis 'the demon who resides in the idols' (būt), and is the same as Būtāsp worshipped in India. Būtāsp, the founder of the Samanean or Buddhist sect, is no less a personage than the Bodhisattva, from which it follows that Būiti is nothing but the object of the Buddhist worship, the Buddha, or better the Bodhi. In fact once Būiti is called Būidhi¹. Therefore, at the time when the legend of Zarathustra was written down, Buddhism was one of the religions with which he was supposed to have to struggle. The composer of the nineteenth Fargard of the Vendidad, therefore, knew of Buddhism, and this accounts for the striking analogies between the legend of Zarathustra's temptation by Angra Mainyu and Sakya's temptation by Māra. The Zoroastrian writer thought it fair to borrow such an edifying legend from the very religion he opposed.

§ 6. Another passage in the Yasts mentions controversies victoriously carried on by Zoroastrians against that impostor Gaotema. Here, again, it is striking to find Zoroastrians engaged in religious warfare with an enemy who bears one of the names of Buddha, Gotama. Controversies were to the taste of both sects: Gotama, in the Gātakas, seems to pass all his life in confounding heretics; and late tradition ascribes to Zoroaster, as one of his most

¹ Farg. XI, 9.

glorious feats, the defeat and conversion of a great Indian sage *Kangragaka*.

§ 7. Buddhism was brought beyond the Indus as early as Asoka's reign, though it was only under the Graeco-Bactrian kings (250–125 B.C.) and under the Indo-Greeks (first century before Christ) that it spread widely in the eastern provinces of Iran. One of the greatest Indo-Greeks, Menander—Milinda, was revered as a Buddhist saint. In the middle of the first century B.C. Bactriana was famed for its Buddhist priests, the *Σαμαναῖοι*, the Shamans. In the first century of our era, Kanishka's coins present, in an instructive eclecticism, all the deities of the Indo-Scythian empire, Greek gods, Brahmanical devas, Buddha, and the principal yazatas of Mazdeism. If therefore the alleged allusions to Buddhism are accepted, the Avesta passages where they occur cannot have been written earlier than the second century before our era, though they may bear a later date, as Buddhism was uprooted from Eastern Iran only by Islam.

§ 8. We have already seen that Alexander was known to the composer of the *Hôm Yast*, nay more, that it must be posterior to the fall of the Greek domination in Iran (about 150 B.C.). There was time enough for Greek influence to permeate the Zoroastrian schools, and so it did.

§ 9. The doctrine of the Magi on the duration of the world prevalent during the Achaemenian period is known from Theopompus, a writer contemporary with Philip and Alexander. The existence of the world is divided into periods of three thousand years. During the first two periods Ormazd and Ahriman reign alternately; during the third period they struggle, and destroy each other's work; at the end, Ahriman is conquered and men live happily, needing no food and casting no shadow.

This same doctrine is found in Zoroastrian books, but with a characteristic difference. The world lasts four periods of three thousand years each: the third period is filled, as in Theopompus, with the mixture and conflict of the two principles; the fourth period, that opens with the apparition of Zoroaster and the true religion, ends with the ruin of

Ahriman, the resurrection and future life. But in the first two periods the agreement ceases. In the pre-Alexandrian conception, each period belongs to each of the two principles in turn; the spirit of the Zoroastrian doctrine is quite mystical. During three thousand years the world had only a spiritual, unseen form, and it remained uncorrupted, unmoving, not perceptible. In the next period of three thousand years, it received material form and began to move, though it was still free from Ahriman.

§ 10. That period of spiritual, ideal existence of the world, preceding its material and sensible apparition, reminds one strikingly of the Platonic ideas, and it can hardly have entered Zoroastrianism before Greek philosophy penetrated the East. This hypothesis will seem less bold than it does at first sight, if we remember that, on the confession of old Parsi tradition itself, texts on 'generation and corruption' (yahvûnishn u-vînâsishn), recovered from the Greeks, were embodied in the sacred books as late as the end of the third century of our era; and that the high-priest Tansar, the man who played so important a part in Ardashîr's religious revolution, was expressly represented as a member of the Platonic sect. Without pressing conclusions too hard as to facts and dates, this much can be safely inferred from the preceding, that Platonic doctrines had found their way to Persia in the first centuries of the Christian era.

Platonism of course means Neo-Platonism, that is to say that philosophic compound, inspired by the spirit of Plato, which permeated all the speculations of the centuries before Christ and long after, and which finds its first and most influential expression in Philo Judaeus. In Philo is found, as far as I know, the first exact parallel to the Avesta doctrine mentioned above. As God perceived that no work can be beautiful but from a beautiful model, and that any sensible object needs an ideal archetype, 'when he wanted to create this visible world, he first drew the intelligible one' (βουληθεῖς τὸν ὁρατὸν τουτονὶ κόσμον δημιουργῆσαι, προ-εξετύπου τὸν νοητὸν). The ὁρατὸς κόσμος is the gaêthya sti, the νοητός is the mainyava.

§ 11. The first Genius under Ahura is Vohu Manô, 'Good Thought,' who is his first spiritual creation and the moving principle of the world. He was created first of all beings; through him in the beginning Ahura created the world and the religion; and Ahura takes his advice before proceeding to any of his acts. Besides being his first creation and the instrument of his other creations, he is the type of mankind. At last, in the next world, he is the intercessor between Ahura and man.

When we define Vohu Manô in the words of the Avesta, we define the Logos: and inversely Vohu Manô may be defined in the same terms as Philo's Λόγος Θεῖος: 'as the first manifestation of the divine powers, he is the first-born, the first archangel of God; as an ideal type of human nature, he is the perfect man.' Like Vohu Manô in the Gâthas and still more, the Logos is the instrument of creation. Like him, he is the perfect intercessor, for he applies to the Father to obtain for men the forgiveness of sins and plenty of benefits. As Zarathustra applies to Vohu Manô for his first instruction, so is the Logos the messenger of God, his elect, the transmitter of his revelations. Both Philo's Logos and the Avesta Vohu Manô are God's first-born and first instrument, the ideal man, the intercessor, the revealer.

§ 12. If Vohu Manô is a Zoroastrian adaptation of the Logos, it will follow that the Amshaspands themselves are a post-Alexandrian development; for Vohu Manô is the type of the Amshaspands. As Vohu Manô was chosen to represent mankind, so there grew up round this initial ideal divine abstractions that might be attached, somehow, to the other departments of nature to help like Vohu Manô, and with him, in the creation of the world. This is the series of the six Amesha Spentas:

Vohu Manô,	Good Thought,	reigning over Man (and cattle).
Asha Vahista,	Perfect Righteousness,	„ Fire.
Khshathra Vairya,	Good Royalty,	„ Metals.
Spenta Ârmaiti,	Pious Modesty,	„ Earth.
Haurvatât,	Health,	„ Waters.
Ameretât,	Immortality,	„ Plants.

Here again Philo presents us with a striking parallel.

Between God and the world, the Logos is only the first of a series of divine abstractions or powers (λόγοι, or δυνάμεις): in one passage, unfortunately mutilated, he enumerates six of them, the Θεῖος λόγος being the first. The third, ἡ βασιλική, 'the Royal virtue,' answers literally to the third member of the Zoroastrian series, Khshathra Vairya. The other members of the Philonian series ποιητική, 'the Creative virtue;' ἡ εὐεξία, 'the power of Mercy;' νομοθετική, 'the Legislative virtue,' have no counterpart in the Avesta series, which prevents our attributing any particular historical importance to the coincidence of Khshathra Vairya with the βασιλική: yet the coincidence is not quite accidental: it was made possible only by the fact that both Philo and the organisers of the Avesta system moved in a common atmosphere of moral and metaphysical abstractions. In fact ἡ εὐεξία, though not one of the Amesha Spentas, might have become one, and in fact is consecrated and invoked with Khshathra Vairya under the name of Marezdika¹, 'Mercy.' The νομοθετική is sanctified in ἀκαῖσα, 'the Law,' or in Māthra Spenta, 'the Holy Word.'

This is the Gnostic atmosphere, and the Gāthas, which are, on the whole, a poem to the glory of the Amesha Spentas and the virtues they impersonate, may be termed the first monument of Gnosticism, but of practical, purely ethic Gnosticism, permeated by a strong sense of reality and a deep pre-occupation with morality: abstraction here is only a means of edification. Philo is nearer the true Gnostics than the writers of the Gāthas: they were mere moralists, with no metaphysical instinct.

CHAPTER VI.

JEWISH ELEMENTS IN THE RELIGION.

§ 1. The Jewish influence, less visible in the doctrine than the Greek, is prominent in the general views and the form of the book.

¹ Yt. II, 2, 7.

The Avesta and the Pentateuch are the only two religious books known in which legislation descends from the heavens to the earth in a series of conversations between the lawgiver and his God. Without attaching undue importance to this correspondence, we shall be more impressed with the fact that both books have the same object, viz. to write the history of the creation and mankind; and in mankind, more especially, the history of the elect race (the Iranians here, the Hebrews there), and in that race the history of the true religion (the religion of Mazda, revealed by Mazda to Zarathustra, and the religion of Jehovah, revealed by Jehovah to Moses). The ultimate end of both books is to teach the faithful the rule of life.

§ 2. Here is a series of particular concordances that show more clearly the unity of their plan :

(1) Creation of the world.—Jehovah creates the world in six days; he creates successively the light, the heaven, the sea, the earth and the plants, the lights in the firmament, the animals, and lastly man.

Ahura Mazda creates the world in six periods; he creates successively the heaven, the water, the earth, the plants, the animals, and man.

(2) Creation of man.—All the human race, in Genesis, is descended from one couple, man and woman, Adam and Eve (Adam means 'man').

All the human race, in the Avesta, is descended from one couple, man and woman, Mashya and Mashyana (Mashya means 'man').

(3) The Deluge.—Jehovah intends to destroy the human race, on account of its wickedness, and to renew it. He brings about the deluge, but saves one just man, Noah, with his family and a couple of each species of animals. Noah, on his advice, builds an ark, in which he takes refuge, with his people, and from which he goes out afterwards to repeople the earth.

In course of time, the earth shall be laid waste by the snows and rains of three long winters, the Mahrkúsha winters. Ahura, in order to repeople his earth with superior races, orders kind Yima to build an underground

palace, the Var of Yima, where the finest specimens of human, animal, and vegetable species will live till the moment when, the evil days being over, they shall open the doors of the Var and repeople the earth with a better race.

(4) Division of the Earth.—Noah has three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, the ancestors of the three races between which the earth is divided.

Thraëtaona, the avenger and successor of Yima, has three sons, Airya, Sairima, and Tûra, between whom the earth is divided: Airya receives Iran, the centre of the earth's surface, Sairima receives the West, and Tûra the East.

Putting aside the legend of Airya, killed by his brothers, which reminds one, but not closely enough, of Joseph persecuted by his brethren, we arrive at the fact that is the central interest of the two books:

(5) The Revelation. Zarathustra converses with Ahura, as Moses with Jehovah, and receives, like him, the revelation of the laws of every description, on the Mountain of the Holy Conversations, as Moses did on Sinai.

(6) Both Moses and Zarathustra had forerunners.

A first covenant was made by Jehovah with Noah.

The Iranian Noah, Yima, had been first offered to act the part of a lawgiver, which he modestly declined.

Moses was preceded by three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. So Zarathustra was preceded by three great saints, who practised before him the worship of Haoma: Vivanghant, Athwya, and Thritha.

§ 3. Certainly it would not be safe to affirm that the coincidences between Genesis and the Avesta are due to a direct action of one on the other. The newly-recovered fragments of a Chaldaean Genesis leave room open for a third medium. However, the myths of the creation and the deluge, the only part of the Biblico-Chaldaean mythology which has, in a rather mutilated form, come down to us, differ so widely in the Bible and the Babylonian tablets, that it is only out of scientific scruple that we leave the Chaldaean door open. For the other points of comparison,

we are obliged, for want of any Chaldaean remains, to let the Bible and the Avesta alone stand face to face.

If the Mazdean Genesis rests on a Chaldaean basis, the date of the loan remains indefinite, as it may virtually have taken place at any date between the time when Iran came into contact with Chaldaea and the time when the Chaldaean mythology died out. If it rests on the Biblical tradition, the loan can hardly have taken place earlier than the time when Judaism began to spread beyond Palestine, that is to say, the first century before Christ and the first after. There were at that time Jewish communities in Media, Parthia, Susiana, and Mesopotamia; the king of Adiabene, Izates, was converted to Judaism about 58 A.D.; and Jewish schools were flourishing in Babylonia and in the Greek towns. So the Magi could meet with doctors of Judaism as well as with teachers of Platonism.

CHAPTER VII.

ACHAEMENIAN AND EARLIER ELEMENTS.

§ 1. From the preceding disquisitions we assume that the Avesta doctrine is not one and self-sufficient: but it contains elements borrowed from foreign systems, from India, Greece, and Judaea. It directs its polemic against India and borrows from her, though in a hostile spirit. It owes to Greece some of its teaching, and to Judaea its historical views. And all these foreign elements were borrowed in the Parthian period.

But these elements, however important they may be, do not constitute the whole of Zoroastrianism, for there are essential doctrines in it, the existence of which can be traced back far beyond the Parthian period and the Greek conquest, with historical evidence. One may, with certain accuracy, distinguish in Zoroastrianism what is old, pre-Alexandrian, or Achaemenian from what is late, or post-Alexandrian.

§ 2. The fundamental basis of Mazdeism, the belief in a supreme God, the organiser of the world, Ahura Mazda,

is as old as anything we know of Persia. Darius proclaims Auramazda, the greatest of all gods, a powerful God, who made this earth, who made that heaven, who made man, who made Darius king.

The gods invoked with the Persian Zeus (Auramazda) are, according to Herodotos, the Sun, the Moon, the Earth, the Wind, the Waters, that is to say, natural Deities. The two greatest gods, next to him, according to Artaxerxes Mnemon, are Mithra and Anahata (Anâhita), that is to say, a God of the Light and a Goddess of the Waters. There is no allusion to, no mention, no indication whatever, of the Amesha Spentas, nor of that crowd of abstract divinities so characteristic of the later Mazdeism. This is no wonder; as we have seen already that the Amesha Spentas are a Platonic development.

§ 3. The principle of dualism is pre-Alexandrian. This is implied, in the time of Darius, by the great king stating that Ahura 'created welfare (shiyâtîm) for man¹;' in the time of Herodotos, by the religious war waged by the Magi against the ants, snakes, and other noxious creatures, which shows that the distinction of Ormazdian and Ahrimanian creatures was already in existence. Moreover, at the end of the Achaemenian period, Aristotle knows of a Good Spirit and the Evil One, Zeus—Oromazdes and Ades—Areimanios.

§ 4. Already in the Achaemenian Mazdeism, the existence of the world was limited to twelve thousand years, distributed into four periods, the character of which was altered in the post-Alexandrian period, to humour the Neo-Platonic tendencies of the age. It was already an established dogma that Ahriman would be conquered at last and that men would live again. The belief in resurrection and a future life implies the correlative belief in future rewards and punishments, which plays a great part in the post-Alexandrian religion, but must have belonged to the older stratum.

¹ See Rawlinson, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. x, p. 291; Benfey, *Die Persischen Keilinschriften*, pp. 63, 95.

§ 5. The practical and utilitarian morality of the Avesta was one of the older traits of the national character. In the eyes of king Darius and the contemporaries of Herodotos, as in those of the writer of Vendîdâd III, and of all good Parsis of the present day, the two greatest merits of a citizen were the begetting and rearing of a numerous family, and the fruitful tilling of the soil. Truthfulness was already considered the paramount virtue, and the balance of merits and demerits was already known at least to the earthly judge.

§ 6. The worship of the elements, water, fire, and earth, and respect for their purity were already in practice. It was forbidden to sully the waters or the fire, to throw a corpse into the fire, or to bury it in the earth until reduced to a fleshless, incorruptible skeleton.

§ 7. There were two sorts of sacrifices: the bloody sacrifice, of which a survival has lingered to this day in the Âtash zôhr, and the bloodless sacrifice, consisting essentially of the Haoma-offering and libations, of which there is no direct mention in the classics, but which indirect evidence obliges us to ascribe to the older religion.

§ 8. Thus the principles of the Achaemenian religion may be summed up as follows:

(1) As far as dogma goes: the existence of two conflicting supreme powers, one good and the other evil, Ormazd and Ahriman; the final defeat of Ahriman after twelve thousand years; and the resurrection. Also a number of naturalistic deities, amongst which were Mithra and Anâhita.

(2) Morals: veneration of truth, family, and agriculture.

(3) Liturgy: a bloody sacrifice and a bloodless sacrifice (Haoma). Certain laws of purity extending to the waters, the fire, and the earth. Burning or burying corpses forbidden.

§ 9. The Achaemenian religion was practised in the south as well as in the north of Iran, in Persia as well as in Media. It had its centre in Media and its sacerdotal class belonged to a Median tribe, the Magi. The priesthood was hereditary—as it still is nowadays amongst the

Parsis—and the Magi were to Mazdeism what the Levites and Cohanim were to Judaism. The sacerdotal tribe spread wherever Mazdeism extended; and in spite of the intense provincial hatred which the Persians bore to the Medians, their former masters, and which the Pseudo-Smerdis' usurpation was not sufficient to smother, still the Magi were in the Persian idea the only true, authorised priests. No sacrifice was of any value which had not been performed by a Magus: only a Magus could make himself heard by the gods.

§ 10. The supposed founder of the religion was named Zarathustra, a personage that must have been known to the pre-Alexandrian religion, as Dino mentions him, and his protectors, king Vistâspa (Ὑστάρσπης) and Vistâspa's brother Zairivairi (Ζαίριβάδρης), were already, in the time of Alexander, heroes of epic songs which were current in Asia. As to the birthplace of Zarathustra, all Zoroastrian texts agree with the old classic tradition in placing it in Media. Whether Zarathustra was an historical or a legendary personage it is difficult to decide, and to some extent useless, as Zoroastrianism no longer appears to be one homogeneous religious monument, since we are confronted with two Zoroastrianisms, one anterior and the other posterior to Alexander. The Pseudo-Xanthos, which is at any rate anterior to the first century B.C., and may be much older, makes Zarathustra the founder of Magism and the first of a series of grand chiefs of Magism who succeeded one another till Alexander's time. Zarathustra would therefore be an old chief of the priestly caste, a Mobedân-Mobed, a Zarathustrôtema κατ' ἐξοχήν, whether historical or legendary. As his legend is known to us only from Avesta sources, we have no means of distinguishing in it what may be older from what may be a later development.

§ 11. Zoroastrianism, whether prior to Alexander or in its post-Alexandrian form, was never a simple religion; it was the result of an historical elaboration of complex materials. It was a growth in which one easily discerns Aryan elements, which it has in common with India, and new original elements. Its Aryan elements may be termed:

the supreme God, the God of the Heaven, Ahura Mazda ; the God of the heavenly light, Mithra ; the worship of the elementary divinities, Waters, Fire, and Earth ; a number of storm myths and mythical legends ; and the worship of Haoma. Purely Iranian are : the dualistic conception of the world, its limited duration of twelve thousand years with its four periods ; the continual conflict of Ormazd and Ahriman, and the latter's defeat ; the resurrection of the dead, the notion of purity carried to the extreme, the prohibition of burning or burying the dead, and the throwing away of corpses to dogs and birds of prey.

§ 12. Some of the new dogmas may be the independent development of Aryan elements : for instance, the dualistic conception may have grown out of the mythical struggles between gods and demons. But the Great year and the resurrection are things quite new, which seem to betray external influences. Of the Scythian origin of Zoroastrianism it will be idle to speak, till the advocates of the system have brought something like historical or rational evidence in its favour. The only civilisation of which we know in the neighbourhood of Media was that of the Assyro-Chaldaeans, which in many things was the instructor of the Medes and taught them their art, their writing, and their political organisation. Unfortunately, too little is known of the inner aspects of the Chaldaean religion. One may wonder if the Frashô-kereti, that renewal of the world that is to take place at the end of the Great year of twelve millennia, was derived from the Semitic myths of the annual revival of Adonis and Tammuz. Even the idea of resurrection seems to be attested on the so-called Cyrus' cylinder of Babylon. If these hypotheses turn out to be correct, older Magism may be defined as an Aryan growth under Chaldaean influences.

CHAPTER VIII.

AGE AND GROWTH OF THE AVESTA.

§ 1. The internal evidence of the doctrines has thus confirmed the half-historical evidence of the texts, and

led us to believe that the Avesta is the embodiment and the fusion of two teachings, one of which belonged to the Achaemenian age, whereas the other could not be older than the fall of the Greek domination in Iran. One might therefore divide the Avesta, so far as the doctrine goes, into pre-Alexandrian and post-Alexandrian texts. The Vendidad may be taken as the best specimen of the texts imbued with the pre-Alexandrian spirit, as its general laws are Achaemenian in tone, and a great part of it may be interpreted by means of classical testimonies regarding the Achaemenian age. The Gâthas may be taken as the best specimen of the post-Alexandrian spirit, as they are filled with ideas of post-Alexandrian growth.

§ 2. The date of the Gâthas, if not exactly determinable, may yet be fixed between rather narrow limits. They can hardly be older than the first century before our era, or even before Philo of Alexandria; for the neo-Platonic ideas and beings are found in them just in the Philonian stage. They cannot be dated later than the time of the Scythian kings, Kanishka and Huvishka, who reigned in India between 78 and 130 A.D., and who left on their coins records of many of the Zoroastrian divinities, not only the old elementary ones, like *Μειρο*—Mithra, *Τειρο*—Tighri, *Οαδο*—Vâta, *Μαο*—Maungha; but also the new abstract deities, like *Οανινδα*—Vanairiti, *Ορλαγνο*—Verethraghna, and the Amshaspand *Σαορησαρ*—Khshathra Vairya. If it is assumed that the idea Vohu Manô was inspired by Philo or his school, the Gâthas will be thereby ascribed to the first century of our era. It is just the period when we find Vologeses and the first historical mention of an attempt to form a systematic religious code.

The Gâthas present therefore this apparent contradiction, that, being the oldest part of the Avesta, they represent, at the same time, the latest growth of the Zoroastrian spirit. This is contradictory only to those who in a text confound the date of its composition with the date of the ideas it expresses. The Vendidad may be at the same time later than the Gâthas in its composition and older in its material. The writer of the Vendidad had the Gâthas before his eyes,

though he expressed ideas and facts far anterior to the time when the Gāthas could have been written or thought of.

But if the Gāthas were written in the first century of our era, it follows that they must have been written in a dead language. Names like Vaninda, Oado, Saorêvar, on the Indo-Scythian coins, show that at the end of that century the Zend was no longer a living language, but had already been brought to the level of the popular Pahlavi stage. Though the possibility remains that what we call the Philonian concept may be older than Philo, its best-known exponent; and that the Gāthas may therefore be brought back as far as the first or second century before Christ, an epoch when we find already the neo-Platonic spirit in the later productions of Jewish ethics, like the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. In this hypothesis, the Zend might have been still a living, or rather a dying, language, judging from its state of decomposition. As to the country to which it belonged, only one thing can be safely affirmed: it was not Persia. It may have been Media, which remained to the last the centre of Zoroastrianism and the Zoroastrian priesthood; it may have been the eastern part of Iran, where a modern dialect, the Afghan, appears to be a lineal descendant of the Zend.

One question remains to be settled. Allowing that a part of the Avesta is post-Alexandrian, is there a part of it which belongs to the pre-Alexandrian age, namely, that part which, so far as its contents go, belongs to the old religious stratum?

Certainly it would be most hazardous to deny the existence of a sacred literature under the Achaemenian kings, though no historical evidence can be brought forward to support its assumption. Nay more, if the Gāthas are supposed to have been written in a dead language, we are obliged to assume the existence of an old literature and the survival of fragments of it; for it is impossible to write in a dead language unless one has under one's eyes models composed at a time when the language was living. But if there has ever been such a thing as an Achaemenian Avesta, and even if fragments of it were in the hands of the

post-Alexandrian Diaskeuasts, one thing is certain ; there is not one page of that older Avesta that is literally reproduced in the newer Avesta. Those theogonies which the Magi in the time of Herodotos sang at the sacrifice have nothing to do with our Gâthas, since our Gâthas contain elements which did not enter the Iranian mind till Iran was overwhelmed by the Greek conquest. Neither were they like our Yasts, because the composition of our Yasts was directed by an historical and chronological principle, of biblical origin. Only the laws of the Vendidad, which, most of them, are as old as the older Zoroastrianism, may be supposed to be a partial reproduction of an Achaemenian Avesta ; but even they are presented in a form that implies the new evolution. A Magus of the old days was as energetic as an Avesta Âthravan in protecting the purity of the earth against any defilement ; but he would not have spoken of the earth as *Spenta Ârmaiti*.

CHAPTER IX.

CONCLUSIONS.

§ 1. Zoroastrianism is an historical religion, that is to say, one that has changed in course of time, not only by an inner evolution, but also under the reaction of foreign schools and political events.

§ 2. In the remotest period, the Median priests, the Magi, elaborated on a naturalistic basis, not different from what is found in Indian, Greek, and Italian paganisms, an original system, not free from Semitic elements. Its characteristics are : dualism, the limited duration of the world, the resurrection, the worship of pure elements, and the ethics of labour. That system spread from Media to Persia, and was dominant under the Achaemenians. It is Zoroastrianism proper ; no direct documents of it are left ; but it is known indirectly through the inscriptions, through the testimony of the classics, and through the documents of the neo-Zoroastrianism, which received its dogmas and gave them a new form.

§ 3. Alexander's invasion brought in its wake political and moral anarchy. Zoroastrianism did not perish ; its dogmas, its worship, and part of its mythology survived ; but for want of a sacred authoritative book, there was no Zoroastrian orthodoxy. At the same time, the barriers between East and West being broken, all religions and systems were brought face to face. The religious question became the order of the day. Buddhism and Brāhmanism pushed from the East, Judaism from the West, Hellenism ruled all over Iran. In the systems that from all the four points of the compass spread into Iran, either with a conscious propagandist spirit, or through the slow, blind influences of every-day contacts, Zoroastrianism found both what repelled and what attracted it. Its practical and moral ideal revolted against the inert asceticism of Buddhism, the ethical indifference of Brāhmanism, and the superstitious, low worship of immoral Devas.

§ 4. Greece and Palestine, on the contrary, brought to it novel, fascinating, and edifying thoughts. How far and deep Hellenism made its influence felt is symbolically expressed on the coins of the Philhellen Arsacidae. Not that I think that Zeus impressed in any active way the worshippers of Ahura, though Herodotos and Aristotle had recognised their affinities, as the Sassanians did later on. It was Greek philosophy that reacted on the Zoroastrian schools. Platonism was there, as it was in Western Asia, 'the bond between the East and Greece.' What struck the Mazdean sages most in it was what at the same time impressed the Hellenist Jews so much : the idea of the Logos, that divine intelligence abstracted from God and interposed between him and the world ; also the concept of an ideal world, the heavenly unseen prototype of the material one. After the Iranian Logos, Vohu Manō, rose the Amshaspands, to share with him the government of the soul and the world. Then came a host of divine abstractions, to impersonate all the spiritual and material forces of nature. In spite of the dryness and scholastic rigour with which the doctors invested Mazdeism, one cannot help admiring the practical good sense and idea of proportion

which presided over the choice of these divine abstractions and represented their impulses; and when one contrasts them with the Eons of the Gnostics and the Sephiroth of the Cabbalists, which starting from the same point, the First Intelligence, fell engulfed in mystical nihilism, one can understand why and how Mazdeism was, next to Christianity, the only one among the religious systems inspired with Plato's spirit that lived and deserved to live.

§ 5. Judaism inspired Zoroastrianism in a different, though not less powerful, way. It answered certain questions of which Mazdeism had not thought. Its sacred book supplied the Mazdean doctors with its solutions of those questions. It gave them even its historical and chronological framework. The creation, the deluge, the genealogies, the patriarchs, the division of races, the Revelation were all told in a Zoroastrian spirit. Perhaps the very idea of an Avesta was suggested by the Bible. The very divisions of the Bible were adopted in the Avesta: the classification of the Nasks into Dâta (the Law), Gâtha (metaphysics) and Hadha-mâthra, is the classification of the Biblical texts into Thora (Law), Nebiim (Prophets), and Ketûbim. When Islam assimilated the Zoroastrians to the People of the Book, it evinced a rare historical sense and solved the problem of the origin of the Avesta.

§ 6. Thus, in the centuries about the Christian era, was elaborated in Iran a new religion, not differing essentially from the old one, which, in fact was nothing more than this old religion, adapted to the new necessities of its spiritual and political surroundings, better armed against rivals and made stronger by borrowing from every one of its competitors. All these novelties Zoroastrianism could adopt and assimilate to itself without losing its own physiognomy, and there are few instances of foreign elements and concepts so freely borrowed by a religion and so harmoniously blended in the original mould.

CHAPTER X.

THE VENDÎDÂD.

§ 1. According to Parsi tradition the Vendîdâd¹ is the only Nask, out of the twenty-one, that was preserved in its entirety². This is a statement to which it is difficult to trust; for, if there is anything that shows how right the Parsis are in admitting that the Avesta is only a collection of fragments, it is the fragmentary character of the Vendîdâd that strikes us most.

The Vendîdâd has often been described as the book of the laws of the Parsis; it may be more exactly called the code of purification, a description, however, which is itself only so far correct that the laws of purification are the object of the largest part of the book.

✓ The first two chapters deal with mythical matter, without any direct connection with the general object of the Vendîdâd, and are remnants of an old epic and cosmogonic literature. The first deals with the creations and counter-creations of Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu; the second speaks of Yima, the founder of civilisation. Although there was no particular reason for placing them in the Vendîdâd, as soon as they were admitted into it they were naturally put at the beginning, because they referred to the first ages of the world. Three chapters of a mythical character, about the origin of medicine, were put at the end of the book, for want of any better place, but might as well have been kept apart³, as was the so-called Haddhokht Nask fragment. There is also another mythical Fargard, the nineteenth, which, as it treats of the revelation of the law by Ahura to Zarathustra, would have been more suitably placed at the beginning of the Vendîdâd proper, that is, as the third Fargard.

¹ The word Vendîdâd is a corruption of Vîdaêvô-dâtem (dâtem), the 'anti-demoniac law.' It is sometimes applied to the whole of the law (Vendîdâd Sâda).

² See above, p. xxxii.

³ As an introduction to a code of laws on physicians; see Farg. VII, 36-44.

The other sixteen chapters deal chiefly with religious observances, although mythical fragments, or moral digressions, are met with here and there, which are more or less artificially connected with the text, and which were most probably not written in connection with the passages which they follow¹.

§ 2. A rough attempt at regular order appears in these sixteen chapters: nearly all the matter contained in the eight chapters from V to XII deals with impurity arising from the dead and the way of dispelling it; but the subject is again treated, here and there, in other Fargards², and matter irrelevant to the subject has also found its way into these same eight Fargards³. Fargards XIII and XIV are devoted to the dog, but must be completed with a part of the XVth. Fargards XVI, XVII, and most part of XVIII deal with several sorts of uncleanness, and their proper place should rather have been after the XIIth Fargard. Fargard III is devoted to the earth⁴; Fargard IV stands by itself, as it deals with a matter which is treated only there, namely, civil and penal laws⁵.

No better order prevails within these several parts: prescriptions on one and the same subject are scattered about through several Fargards, without any subject being treated at once in a full and exhaustive way; and this occasions needless repetitions⁶.

The main cause of this disorder was, of course, that the advantage of order is rarely felt by Orientals; but it was further promoted by the very form of exposition adopted by the first composers of the Vendidad. The law is revealed by Ahura in a series of answers to questions put to him by

¹ For instance, Farg. V, 15-20; III, 24-29; 30-32; 33; IV, 47-49.

² III, 14-21; 36 seq.; XIX, 11-25.

³ The passages on medicine (VII, 36-44), and on the sea Vouru-kasha (V, 15-20).

⁴ It contains two digressions, the one on funeral laws, the other on husbandry. See Farg. III, *Introd.*

⁵ It contains one digression on physical well-being, which must have belonged originally to Farg. III. See Farg. IV, *Introd.*

⁶ V, 27-30 = VII, 6-9; V, 45-54 = VII, 60-69; V, 57-62 = VII, 17-22.

Zarathustra¹; and as these questions are not of a general character, but refer to details, the matter is much broken up into fragments, each of which, consisting of a question with its answer, stands by itself, as an independent passage.

We shall treat in the following pages, first of the laws of purification, then of the civil laws, and, lastly, of the penalties both religious and civil.

A.

§ 3. The first object of man is purity, *yaozdau*: 'purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good'².

Purity and impurity have not in the Vendidād the exclusively spiritual meaning which they have in our languages: they do not refer to an inward state of the soul, but chiefly to a physical state of the body. Impurity or uncleanness may be described as the state of a person or a thing that is possessed of the demon; and the object of purification is to expel the demon.

The principal means by which uncleanness enters man is death, as death is the triumph of the demon.

When a man dies, as soon as the soul has parted from the body, the Drug Nasu or Corpse-Drug falls upon the dead from the regions of hell, and whoever thenceforth touches the corpse becomes unclean, and makes unclean whomsoever he touches³.

The Drug is expelled from the dead by means of the Sag-did, 'the look of the dog:' 'a four-eyed dog' or 'a white one with yellow ears' is brought near the body and is made to look at the dead; as soon as he has done so, the Drug flees back to hell⁴.

¹ The outward form of the Vendidād has been often compared with that of the Books of Moses. But in reality, in the Bible, there is no conversation between God and the lawgiver: the law comes down unasked, and God gives commands, but gives no answers. In the Vendidād, on the contrary, it is the wish of man, not the will of God, that is the first cause of the revelation. Man must ask of Ahura, who knows everything, and is pleased to answer (XVIII, 13 seq.); the law is 'the question to Ahura,' *âhûiri frashnô*.

² Farg. V, 21, from Yasna XLVIII (XLVII), 5.

³ Farg. VII, 1 seq.

⁴ In the shape of a fly. 'The fly that came to the smell of the dead body was thought to be the corpse-spirit that came to take possession of the dead in the name of Ahriman' (Justi, *Persien*, p. 88).

The Drug is expelled from the living, whom she has seized through their contact with the dead, by a process of washings with ox's urine (*gômêz* or *nîrang*) and with water, combined with the *Sag-did*¹.

The real import of these ceremonies is shown by the spells which accompany their performance: 'Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!'

Thus, in the death of a man, there is more involved than the death of one man: the power of death, called forth from hell, threatens from the corpse, as from a stronghold, the whole world of the living, ready to seize whatever may fall within his reach, and 'from the dead defiles the living, and from the living rushes upon the living.' When a man dies in a house, there is danger for three days lest somebody else should die in that house².

The notion or feeling, out of which these ceremonies grew, was far from unknown to the other Indo-European peoples: what was peculiar to Mazdeism was that it carried it to an extreme, and preserved a clearer sense of it, while elsewhere it grew dimmer and dimmer, and faded away. In fact, when the Greek, going out of a house where a dead man lay, sprinkled himself with water from the *ἀρδάνιον* at the door, it was death that he drove away from himself. The Vedic Indian, too, although his rites were intended chiefly for the benefit of the dead, considered himself in danger and, while burning the corpse, cried aloud: 'Away, go away, O Death! injure not our sons and our men!' (*Rig-veda* X, 18, 1.)

§ 4. As to the rites by means of which the Drug is expelled, they are the performance of myths. There is nothing in worship but what existed before in mythology. What we call a practice is only an imitation of gods, an *ὁμολοῖσθαι θεῶν*, as man fancies he can bring about the things

¹ Farg. VIII, 35-72; IX, 12-36.

² Saddar 78.

he wants, by performing the acts which are supposed to have brought about things of the same kind when practised by the gods.

The Parsis, being at a loss to find four-eyed dogs, interpret the name as meaning a dog with two spots above the eyes¹: but it is clear that the two-spotted dog's services are only accepted for want of a four-eyed one, or of a white one with yellow ears, which amounts to saying that there were myths, according to which the death-fiend was driven away by dogs of that description. This reminds one at once of the three-headed Kerberos, watching at the doors of hell, and, still more, of the two brown, four-eyed dogs of Yama, who guard the ways to the realm of death².

The identity of the four-eyed dog of the Parsi with Kerberos and Yama's dogs appears, moreover, from the Parsi tradition that the yellow-eared dog watches at the head of the *Kinvaŕ* bridge, which leads from this to the next world, and with his barking drives away the fiend from the souls of the holy ones, lest he should drag them to hell³.

Wherever the corpse passes by, death walks with it; all along the way it has gone, from the house to its last resting-place, a spirit of death is breathing and threatening the living. Therefore, no man, no flock, no being whatever that belongs to the world of Ahura, is allowed to pass by

¹ In practice they are still less particular: 'The Sag-dīd may be performed by a shepherd's dog, by a house-dog, by a Vohunazga dog (see Farg. XIII, 19, n.), or by a young dog (a dog four months old),' Comm. ad Farg. VII, 2. As birds of prey are as fiend-smiting as the dog, they are Nasu-smitters like him, and one may appeal to their services, when there is no dog at hand (see Farg. VII, 3, n. 3).

² Rīg-veda X, 14, 10 seq.

³ Gr. Rav. p. 592. Allusions to this myth are found in Farg. XIII, 9, and XIX, 30. The Commentary ad Farg. XIII, 17 has: 'There are dogs who watch over the earthly regions; there are others who watch over the fourteen heavenly regions.' The birth of the yellow-eared dog is described in the Ravāet (l. c.) as follows: 'Ormazd, wishing to keep the body of the first man, Gayōmart, from the assaults of Ahriman, who tried to kill him, cried out: "O thou yellow-eared dog, arise!" and directly the dog barked and shook his two ears; and the unclean Satan and the fiends, when they saw the dreadful looks of the yellow-eared dog, and heard his barking, were sore afraid and fled down to hell.'

that way until the deadly breath, that blows through it, has been blown away to hell¹. The four-eyed dog is made to go through the way three times, or six times, or nine times, while the priest helps the look of the dog with his spells, dreaded by the Drug.

§ 5. The use of *gômêz* in cleansing the unclean is also derived from old mythic conceptions². The storm floods that cleanse the sky of the dark fiends in it were described in a class of myths as the urine of a gigantic animal in the heavens. As the floods from the bull above drive away the fiend from the god, so do they from man here below, they make him 'free from the death-demon' (*frânasu*), and the death-fiend flees away hellwards, pursued by the fiend-smiting spell: 'Perish thou, O Drug . . . , never more to give over to Death the living world of the good spirit!'

§ 6. As uncleanness is nothing else than the contagion of death, it is at its greatest intensity when life is just departing. The *Nasu* at that moment defiles ten persons around the corpse³: when a year is over, the corpse defiles no longer⁴. Thus the notion of uncleanness is quite the reverse of what it is elsewhere: the corpse, when rotten, is less unclean than the body still all but warm with life; death defiles least when it looks most hideous, and defiles most when it might look majestic. The cause is that in the latter case the death-demon has just arrived in the fulness of his strength, whereas in the former case time has exhausted his power.

§ 7. As the focus of the contagion is in the corpse, it must be disposed of so that death may not spread abroad. On this point the old Indo-European customs have been completely changed by Mazdeism. The Indo-Europeans either burnt the corpse or buried it: both customs are held to be sacrilegious in the Avesta.

§ 8. This view originated from the notion of the holiness

¹ Farg. VIII, 14-22.

² Orm. Ahr. § 124. The use of *gômêz* has been lately found to be known in Basse-Bretagne (Luzel, *Le Nirang des Parsis en Basse-Bretagne*, Mélusine, 493).

³ Farg. V, 27; cf. n. 5.

⁴ Farg. VIII, 33-34.

of the elements being pushed to an extreme. The elements, fire, earth, and water are holy, and during the Indo-Iranian period they were already considered so, and in the Vedas they are worshipped as godlike beings. Yet this did not prevent the Indian from burning his dead; death did not appear to him so decidedly a work of the demon, and the dead man was a traveller to the other world, whom the fire kindly carried to his heavenly abode 'on his undecaying, flying pinions, wherewith he killed the demons.' The fire was in that, as in the sacrifice, the god that goes from earth to heaven, from man to god, the mediator, the god most friendly to man. In Persia it remains more distant from him; being an earthly form of the eternal, infinite, godly light¹, no death, no uncleanness can be allowed to enter it, as it is here below the purest offspring of the good spirit, the purest part of his pure creation. Its only function is to repel the fiends with its bright blazing. In every place where Parsis are settled, an everlasting fire is kept, the Bahrâm fire, which, 'preserved by a more than Vestal care²,' and ever fed with perfumes and dry well-blazing wood, whichever side its flames are brought by the wind, goes and kills thousands and thousands of fiends, as Bahrâm does in heaven³. If the necessities of life oblige us to employ fire for profane uses, it must be only for a time an exile on our hearth, or in the oven of the potter, and it must go thence to the Right-Place of the fire (Dâityô Gâtu), the altar of the Bahrâm fire, there to be restored to the dignity and rights of its nature⁴.

At least, let no gratuitous and wanton degradation be inflicted upon it: even blowing it with the breath of the mouth is a crime⁵; burning the dead is the most heinous

¹ *Ignem coelitus delapsum* (Ammian. Marcel. XXVII, 6); Cedrenus; *Elisaëus*; *Recogn. Clement.* IV, 29; *Clem. Homil.* IX, 6; Henry Lord.

² J. Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia*, 1698, p. 265.

³ *Farg.* VIII, 81-96; 79-80.

⁴ Extinguishing it is a mortal sin (*Ravâets*; *Elisaëus*; cf. *Strabo* XV, 14).

⁵ A custom still existing with the *Tâzîk*, an Iranian tribe in Eastern Persia, (de Khanikoff, *Ethnographie de la Perse*). *Strabo* XV, 14. Manu has the same prescription (IV, 53). Cf. *Farg.* XIV, 8, n. 10.

of sins: in the times of Strabo it was a capital crime¹, and the Avesta expresses the same, when putting it in the number of those sins for which there is no atonement².

Water was looked upon in the same light. Bringing dead matter to it is as bad as bringing it to the fire³. The Magi are said to have overthrown a king for having built bath-houses, as they cared more for the cleanness of water than for their own⁴.

§ 9. Not less holy was the earth, or, at least, it became so. There was a goddess who lived in her, *Spənta Armaiti*; no corpse ought to defile her sacred breast: burying the dead is, like burning the dead, a deed for which there is no atonement⁵. It was not always so in Persia: the burning of the dead had been forbidden for years⁶, while the burying was still general. Cambyses had roused the indignation of the Persians by burning the corpse of Amasis: yet, years later, Persians still buried their dead. But the priests already felt scruples, and feared to defile a god. Later on, with the ascendancy of the Magian religion, the sacerdotal observances became the general law⁷.

§ 10. Therefore the corpse is laid on the summit of a mountain, far from man, from water, from tree, from fire, and from the earth itself, as it is separated from it by a layer of stones or bricks⁸. Special buildings, the *Dakhmas*,

¹ Strabo XV, 14; cf. Herod. III, 16.

² Farg. I, 17; cf. Farg. VIII, 74.

³ Farg. VII, 25-27; Strabo XV, 14; Herod. I, 138.

⁴ King Balâsh (Josué le Stylite, traduction Martin, § xx). It seems as if there were a confusion between Balâsh and Kavât; at any rate, it shows that bathing smacked of heresy. Jews were forbidden to perform the legal ablutions (Fürst, *Culturgeschichte der Juden*, 9).

⁵ Farg. I, 13.

⁶ From the reign of Cyrus.

⁷ Still the worship of the earth seems not to have so deeply penetrated the general religion as the worship of fire. The laws about the disposal of the dead were interpreted by many, it would seem, as intended only to secure the purity of water and fire, and they thought that they might be at peace with religion if they had taken care to bury the corpse, so that no part of it might be taken by animals to fire or water (Farg. III, 41, n. 7).

⁸ Farg. VI, 44 seq.; VIII, 10 seq. Cf. IX, 11, n. 5. Moreover, the *Dakhma* is ideally separated from the ground by means of a golden thread, which is supposed to keep it suspended in the air (Ravâet, ap. Spiegel, *Uebersetzung des Avesta* II, XXXVI).

were erected for this purpose¹. There far from the world the dead were left to lie, beholding the sun².

§ 11. Not every corpse defiles man, but only those of such beings as belong to the world of Ahura. They are the only ones in whose death the demon triumphs. The corpse of an Ahrimanian creature does not defile; as its life was incarnate death, the spring of death that was in it is dried up with its last breath: it killed while alive, it can do so no more when dead; it becomes clean by dying³. None of the faithful are defiled by the corpse of an Ashe-maogha or of a Khrafstra. Nay, killing them is a pious work, as it is killing Ahriman himself.

§ 12. Not only real death makes one unclean, but partial death too. Everything that goes out of the body of man is dead, and becomes the property of the demon. The going breath is unclean, it is forbidden to blow the fire with it⁴, and even to approach the fire without screening it from the contagion with a Penôm⁵. Parings of nails and cuttings or shavings of hair are unclean, and become weapons in the hands of the demons unless they have been protected by certain rites and spells⁶. Any phenomenon by which the bodily nature is altered, whether accompanied with danger to health or not, was viewed as a work of the demon, and made the person unclean in whom it took place. One of these phenomena, which is a special object of attention

¹ 'The Dakhma is a round building, and is designated by some writers, "The Tower of Silence." A round pit, about six feet deep, is surrounded by an annular stone pavement, about seven feet wide, on which the dead bodies are placed. This place is enclosed all round by a stone wall some twenty feet high, with a small door on one side for taking the body in. The whole is built up of and paved with stone. The pit has communication with three or more closed pits, at some distance, into which the rain washes out the liquids and the remains of the dead bodies' (Dadabhai Naoroji, *The Manners and Customs of the Parsees*, Bombay, 1864, p. 16). Cf. Farg. VI, 50. A Dakhma is the first building the Parsis erect when settling in a new place (Dosabhoj Framji).

² The Avesta and the Commentator attach great importance to that point: it is as if the dead man's life were thus prolonged, since he can still behold the sun. 'Grant us that we may long behold the sun,' said the Indian *R'shi*.

³ Farg. V, 35 seq.

⁴ See above, p. lxxvi.

⁵ See Farg. XIV, 8, n. 10.

⁶ Farg. XVII.

in the Vendidad, is the uncleanness of women during their menses. The menses are sent by Ahriman¹, especially when they last beyond the usual time: therefore a woman, as long as they last, is unclean and possessed of the demon: she must be kept confined, apart from the faithful whom her touch would defile, and from the fire which her very look would injure; she is not allowed to eat as much as she wishes, as the strength she might acquire would accrue to the fiends. Her food is not given to her from hand to hand, but is passed to her from a distance², in a long leaden spoon. The origin of all these notions is in certain physical instincts, in physiological psychology, which is the reason why they are found among peoples very far removed from one another by race or religion³. But they took in Persia a new meaning as they were made a logical part of the whole religious system.

§ 13. A woman that has just been delivered of a child is also unclean⁴, although it would seem that she ought to be considered pure amongst the pure, since life has been increased by her in the world, and she has enlarged the realm of Ormazd. But the strength of old instincts overcame the drift of new principles. Only the case when the woman has been delivered of a still-born child is examined in the Vendidad. She is unclean as having been in contact with a dead creature; and she must first drink gômêz to wash over the grave in her womb. So utterly unclean is she, that she is not even allowed to drink water, unless she is in danger of death; and even then, as the sacred element has been defiled, she is liable to the penalty of a Peshôtanu⁵. It appears from modern customs that the treatment is the same when the child is born alive: the reason of which is that, in any case, during the first three days after delivery she is in danger of death⁶. A great fire is lighted

¹ Farg. I, 18-19; XVI, 11. Cf. Bund. III.

² Farg. XVI, 15.

³ Cf. Leviticus. See Pliny VII, 13.

⁴ Farg. V, 45 seq.

⁵ Farg. VII, 70 seq.

⁶ 'When there is a pregnant woman in a house, one must take care that there be fire continually in it; when the child is brought forth, one must burn

to keep away the fiends, who use then their utmost efforts to kill her and her child¹. She is unclean only because the death-fiend is in her.

§ 14. Logic required that the sick man should be treated as an unclean one, that is, as one possessed. Sickness, being sent by Ahriman, ought to be cured like all his other works, by washings and spells. In fact, the medicine of spells was considered the most powerful of all², and although it did not oust the medicine of the lancet and that of drugs, yet it was more highly esteemed and less mistrusted. The commentator on the Vendidād very sensibly observes that if it does not relieve, it will surely do no harm³, which seems not to have been a matter of course with those who heal by the knife and physic. It appears from the last Fargard that all or, at least, many diseases might be cured by spells and Barashnûm washing. It appears from Herodotos and Agathias that contagious diseases required the same treatment as uncleanness: the sick man was excluded from the community of the faithful⁴, until cured and cleansed according to the rites⁵.

§ 15. The unclean are confined in a particular place, apart from all clean persons and objects, the Armêst-gâh⁶, which may be described, therefore, as the Dakhma for the living. All the unclean, all those struck with temporary death, the man who has touched dead matter, the woman in her menses, or just delivered of child, the leper⁷, or the man who has made himself unclean for ever by carrying a corpse alone⁸, stay there all the time of their uncleanness.

§ 16. Thus far for general principles. From the diversity

a candle, or, better still, a fire, for three days and three nights, to render the Dêvs and Drugs unable to harm the child; for there is great danger during those three days and nights after the birth of the child' (Saddar 16).

¹ 'When the child is being born, one brandishes a sword on the four sides, lest fairy Aal kill it' (Polack, Persien I, 223). In Rome, three gods, Intercidona, Pilumnus, and Deverra, keep her threshold, lest Sylvanus come in and harm her (Augustinus, De Civ. D. VI, 9).

² Farg. VII, 44.

⁴ Herod. I, 138.

⁶ The Armêst-gâh for women in their menses is called Dashtânistân.

⁷ Herod. l. l.; Farg. II, 29.

³ Ibid.

⁵ Agathias II, 23.

⁸ Farg. III, 19.

of circumstances arises a system of casuistry, the development of which may be followed first through the glosses to the *Vendidad*, in which the labours of several generations of theologians are embodied, and, later on, through the *Ravâets*. We will give a few instances of it, as found in the *Vendidad* itself.

The process of the cleansing varies according to the degree of uncleanness; and, again, the degree of uncleanness depends on the state of the thing that defiles and the nature of the thing that is defiled.

The uncleanness from the dead is the worst of all, and it is at its utmost when contracted before the *Nasu* has been expelled from the corpse by the *Sag-did*¹: it can be cured only by means of the most complicated system of cleansing, the nine nights' *Barashnûm*².

If the *Nasu* has already been expelled from the corpse, as the defiling power was less, a simple washing once made, the *Ghosel*, is enough³.

The defiling power of the *Nasu* reaches farther, if the death has just taken place, and if the dying creature occupied a higher rank in the scale of beings⁴; for the more recent the victory of the demon, or the higher the being he has overcome, the stronger he must have been himself.

Menstruous women are cleansed by the *Ghosel*⁵.

As for things they are more or less deeply defiled according to their degree of penetrability: metal vessels can be cleansed, earthen vessels cannot⁶; leather is more easily cleansed than woven cloth⁷; hard wood than soft wood⁸. Wet matter is a better conductor of uncleanness than dry matter, and corpses cease to defile after a year⁹.

¹ Farg. VIII, 35-36; 98-99; cf. VII, 29-30, and n. 6 to 30.

² Farg. IX. The *Barashnûm*, originally meant to remove the uncleanness from the dead, became a general instrument of holiness. Children when putting on the *Kôstf* (Farg. XVIII, 9, n. 3) perform it to be cleansed from the natural uncleanness they have contracted in the womb of their mothers. It is good for every one to perform it once a year.

³ Farg. VIII, 36.

⁴ Farg. XVI, 12.

⁵ Farg. VII, 14 seq.

⁶ Farg. VIII, 33-34.

⁷ Farg. V, 27 seq.; VII, 1 seq.

⁸ Farg. VII, 73 seq.

⁹ Farg. VII, 28 seq.

B.

§ 17. In the cases heretofore reviewed, religious purposes are alone concerned. There is another order of laws, in which, although religion interferes, yet it is not the root of the matter; namely, the laws about contracts and assaults, to which the fourth Fargard is devoted, and which are the only remains extant of the civil and penal legislation of Zoroastrianism.

The contracts were divided into two classes, according to their mode, and according to the value of their object¹. As to their mode they are word-contracts or hand-contracts: as to their object, they are sheep-contracts, ox-contracts, man-contracts, or field-contracts, which being estimated in money value are contracts to the amount of 3, 12, 500 istîrs, and upwards².

No contract can be made void by the will of one party alone; he who breaks a contract is obliged to pay the value of the contract next higher in value.

The family and the next of kin are, it would seem, answerable for the fulfilment of a contract, a principle of the old Indo-European civil law³.

§ 18. Assaults are of seven degrees: âgerepta, avaoirista⁴, stroke, sore wound, bloody wound, broken bone, and manslaughter. The gravity of the guilt does not depend on the gravity of the deed only, but also on its frequency. Each of these seven crimes amounts, by its being repeated without having been atoned for, to the crime that immediately follows in the scale, so that an âgerepta seven times repeated amounts to manslaughter.

C.

§ 19. Every crime makes the guilty man liable to two penalties, one here below, and another in the next world.

¹ See p. 35, n. 3.

² An istîr (*στάρηρ*) is as much as four dirhems (*δραχμή*). The dirhem is estimated by modern tradition as a little more than a rupee, but the authority is doubtful (see *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xviii, p. 180, n. 2).

³ Farg. IV, 5 seq.

⁴ Two different sorts of menaces; see IV, 17.

The penalty here below consists of a certain number of stripes with the *Aspahê-astra* or the *Sraoshô-karana* ¹.

The unit for heavy penalties is two hundred stripes; the crime and the criminal thus punished are called *Peshô-tanu* or *Tanu-peretha* (Parsi: *Tanâfûhr*). The two words literally mean, 'one who pays with his own body,' and 'payment with one's body,' and seem to have originally amounted to 'worthy of death, worthiness of death;' and in effect the word *Peshô-tanu* is often interpreted in the *Pahlavi Commentary* by *margarzân*, 'worthy of death.' But, on the whole, it was attached to the technical meaning of 'one who has to receive two hundred strokes with the horse-whip ².' The lowest penalty in the *Vendidad* is five stripes, and the degrees from five stripes to *Peshôtanu* are ten, fifteen, thirty, fifty, seventy, ninety, two hundred. For instance, *âgerepta* is punished with five stripes, *avaoirista* with ten, stroke with fifteen, sore wound with thirty, bloody wound with fifty, broken bone with seventy, manslaughter with ninety; a second manslaughter, committed without the former being atoned for, is punished with the *Peshôtanu* penalty. In the same way the six other crimes, repeated eight, or seven, or six, or five, or four, or three times make the committer go through the whole series of penalties up to the *Peshôtanu* penalty.

¹ The general formula is literally, 'Let (the priest; probably, the *Sraoshâ-varez*) strike so many strokes with the *Aspahê-astra*, so many strokes with the *Sraoshô-karana*.' *Astra* means in Sanskrit 'a goad,' so that *Aspahê-astra* may mean 'a horse-goad;' but *Aspendiârji* translates it by *durra*, 'a thong,' which suits the sense better, and agrees with etymology too ('an instrument to drive a horse, a whip;' *astra*, from the root *az*, 'to drive;' it is the *Aspahê-astra* which is referred to by *Sozomenos* II, 13: *ἰμάσιν ὁμοῖς χαλεπῶς αὐτὸν ἱεραῶνισαν ὁ μάγοι* (the *Sraoshâ-varez*), *βιαζόμενοι προσκυνῆσαι τὸν ἥλιον*). *Sraoshô-karana* is translated by *kâbuk*, 'a whip,' which agrees with the Sanskrit translation of the *st-srôshô-karanâm sin*, 'yat tribhir goḥarmasâ/aghâtâis prâyas-kityam bhavati tâvanmâtram, a sin to be punished with three strokes with a whip.' It seems to follow that *Aspahê-astra* and *Sraoshô-karana* are one and the same instrument, designated with two names, first in reference to its shape, and then to its use (*Sraoshô-karana* meaning 'the instrument for penalty,' or 'the instrument of the *Sraoshâ-varez*?'). The *Aspahê-astra* is once called *astra mairya*, 'the *astra* for the account to be given,' that is, 'for the payment of the penalty' (*Farg.* XVIII, 4).

² *Farg.* IV, 20, 21, 24, 25, 28, 29, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42; V, 44; VI, 5, 9, 19, 48, &c.

§ 20. If one reviews the different crimes described in the Vendidād, and the respective penalties prescribed for them, one cannot but wonder at first sight at the strange inequality between crime and penalty. Beccaria would have felt uncomfortable while reading the Vendidād. It is safer to kill a man than to serve bad food to a shepherd's dog, for the manslayer gets off with ninety stripes, whereas the bad master is at once a Peshôtanu¹, and will receive two hundred stripes. Two hundred stripes are awarded if one tills land in which a corpse has been buried within the year², if a woman just delivered of a child drinks water³, if one suppresses the menses of a woman⁴, if one performs a sacrifice in a house where a man has just died⁵, if one neglects fastening the corpse of a dead man so that birds or dogs may not take dead matter to trees and rivers⁶. Two hundred stripes if one throws on the ground a bone of a man's corpse, or of a dog's carcase, as big as two ribs; four hundred if one throws a bone as big as an arm bone, six hundred if one throws a skull, one thousand if the whole corpse⁷. Four hundred stripes if one, being in a state of uncleanness, touches water or trees⁸, four hundred if one covers with a cloth a dead man's feet, six hundred if one covers his legs, one thousand if the whole body⁹ be so covered. Five hundred stripes for killing a whelp, six hundred for killing a stray dog, seven hundred for a house-dog, eight hundred for a shepherd's dog, one thousand stripes for killing a Vanghâpara dog¹⁰, ten thousand stripes for killing a water-dog¹¹.

Capital punishment is expressly pronounced only against the false cleanser¹² and the 'carrier alone'¹³.

Yet any one who bethinks himself of the spirit of the old Aryan legislation will easily conceive that there may be in

¹ Farg. IV, 40, and XIII, 24.

² Farg. VII, 70 seq.

³ Farg. V, 39-44.

⁴ Farg. VI, 18 seq.

⁵ Farg. VIII, 23 seq.

⁶ Farg. XIV, 1 seq.

⁷ Farg. III, 14 seq. Yet there were other capital crimes. See below, § 23.

⁸ Farg. VI, 5.

⁹ Farg. XVI, 13 seq.

¹⁰ Farg. VI, 47 seq.

¹¹ Farg. VIII, 104 seq.

¹² Farg. XIII, 8 seq. and 4.

¹³ Farg. IX, 47 seq.

its eyes many crimes more heinous, and to be punished more severely, than manslaughter: offences against man injure only one man; offences against gods endanger all mankind. No one should wonder at the unqualified cleanser being put to death who reads Demosthenes' Neaera; the Persians who defiled the ground by burying a corpse were not more severely punished than the Greeks were for defiling with corpses the holy ground of Delos¹, or than the conquerors at Arginousae; nor would the Athenians, who put to death Atarbes², have much stared at the awful revenge taken for the murder of the sacred dog. There is hardly any prescription in the Vendidad, however odd and absurd it may seem, but has its counterpart or its explanation in other Aryan legislations: if we had a Latin or a Greek Vendidad, I doubt whether it would look more rational.

§ 21. Yet, if theoretically the very absurdity of its principles is nothing peculiar to the Mazdean law, nay, is a proof of its authenticity, it may be doubted whether it could ever have been actually applied in the form stated in the texts. It may be doubted whether the murder of a shepherd's dog could have actually been punished with eight hundred stripes, much more whether the murder of a water-dog could have been really punished with ten thousand stripes, unless we suppose that human endurance was different in ancient Persia from what it is elsewhere, or even in modern Persia herself³. Now as we see that in modern tradition bodily punishment is estimated in money value, that is to say, converted into fines, a conversion which is alluded to in the Pahlavi translation⁴, it may readily be admitted that as early as the time of the last edition of the Vendidad, that conversion had already been made. In the Ravâets, two hundred stripes, or a Tanâfûhr, are estimated as equal to three hundred istîrs or twelve hundred dirhems, or thirteen hundred and fifty rupees;

¹ Diodor. XII, 58.

² Aelianus, Hist. Var. V, 17.

³ In the time of Chardin, the number of stripes inflicted on the guilty never exceeded three hundred; in the old German law, two hundred; in the Hebrew law, forty.

⁴ Ad Farg. XIV, 2.

a stripe is therefore about equal to six rupees¹. How far that system prevailed in practice, whether the guilty might take advantage of this commutation of his own accord, or only with the assent of the judge, we cannot decide. It is very likely that the riches of the fire-temples came for the most part from that source, and that the sound of the dirhems often made the Sraoshô-karana fall from the hands of the Mobeds. That the system of financial penalties did not, however, suppress the system of bodily penalties, appears from the customs of the Parsis who apply both, and from the Pahlavi Commentary which expressly distinguishes three sorts of atonement: the atonement by money (khvâstak), the atonement by the Sraoshô-karana, and the atonement by cleansing.

§ 22. This third element of atonement is strictly religious. It consists in repentance, which is manifested by avowal of the guilt and by the recital of a formula of repentance, the Patet. The performance of the Patet has only a religious effect: it saves the sinner from penalties in the other world, but not from those here below; it delivers him before God, but not before man. When the sacrilegious cleanser has repented his sin, he is not the less flayed and beheaded, but his soul is saved². Yet, although it has no efficacy in causing the sin to be remitted, the absence of it has power to cause it to be aggravated³.

§ 23. Thus far for sins that can be atoned for. There are some that are anâperetha, 'inexpiable,' which means, as it seems, that they are punished with death here below, and with torments in the other world.

Amongst the anâperetha sins are named the burning of the dead, the burying of the dead⁴, the eating dead matter⁵, unnatural sin⁶, and self-pollution⁷. Although

¹ In later Parsism every sin (and every good deed) has its value in money fixed, and may thus be weighed in the scales of Rashnu. If the number of the good-deed dirhems outweigh the number of sin dirhems, the soul is saved. Herodotus noticed the same principle of compensation in the Persian law of his time (I, 137; cf. VII, 194).

² Farg. IX, 49, n.; cf. III, 20 seq.

³ Farg. I, 13, 17; Strabo XV, 14.

⁴ Farg. I, 12; cf. VIII, 32.

⁵ Farg. IV, 20, 24, 28, 32, 35, &c.

⁶ Farg. VII, 23 seq.

⁷ Farg. VIII, 27.

it is not expressly declared that these sins were punished with death, yet we know it of several of them, either from Greek accounts or from Parsi tradition. There are also whole classes of sinners whose life, it would seem, can be taken by any one who detects them in the act, such as the courtesan, the highwayman, the Sodomite, and the corpse-burner¹.



§ 24. Such are the most important principles of the Mazdean law that can be gathered from the Vendîdâd. These details, incomplete as they are, may give us an idea, if not of the Sassanian practice, at least of the Sassanian ideal. That it was an ideal which intended to pass into practice, we know from the religious wars against Armenia, and from the fact that very often the superintendence of justice and the highest offices of the state were committed to Mobeds.

We must now add a few words on the plan of the following translation. As to our method we beg to refer to the second chapter above. It rests on the Parsi tradition, corrected or confirmed by the comparative method. The Parsi tradition is found in the Pahlavi Commentary², the understanding of which was facilitated to us first by the Gujarati translation and paraphrase of Aspendiârji³, and by a Persian transliteration and translation belonging to the Haug Collection in Munich⁴, for the use of which we were indebted to the obliging kindness of the Director of the State Library in Munich, Professor von Halm. The

¹ See p. 113, n. 4; Farg. XVIII, 65.

² Our quotations refer to the text given in Spiegel's edition, but corrected after the London manuscript.

³ Bombay, 1842, 2 vols. in 8vo.

⁴ Unfortunately the copy is incomplete: there are two lacunae, one from I, 11 to the end of the chapter; the other, more extensive, from VI, 26 to IX. The perfect accordance of this Persian translation with the Gujarati of Aspendiârji shows that both are derived from one and the same source. Their accordance is striking even in mistakes; for instance, the Pahlavi avâstar , a transliteration of the Zend a-vâstra, 'without pastures' (VII, 26), is misread by the Persian translator hvâstâr, خواستار, 'he who wishes,' owing to the ambiguity of the Pahlavi letter  (av or hv), and it is translated by Aspendiârji kâhânâr, 'the wisher.'

Ravâets and the Saddar¹ frequently gave us valuable information as to the traditional meaning of doubtful passages. As for the works of European scholars, we are much indebted to the Commentary on the Avesta by Professor Spiegel, and to the translations in the second edition of Martin Haug's Essays.

We have followed the text of the Avesta as given by Westergaard; the division into paragraphs is according to Westergaard; but we have given in brackets the corresponding divisions of Professor Spiegel's edition. The singularly exact analysis of the Vendidad contained in the Dinkart has proved of great value. For the first chapter we owe much to the Commentary in an unpublished chapter of the Great Bundahis. The analyses of the Nasks in the Dinkart, the Great Bundahis and the essay of Jiwanji Modi on the funeral customs of the Parsis have thrown valuable light on many points of detail.

Many passages in the Vendidad Sâda are mere quotations from the Pahlavi Commentary which have crept into the Sâda text: we have not admitted them into the text. They are generally known to be spurious from their not being translated in the Commentary²: yet the absence of a Pahlavi translation is not always an unmistakable sign of such spuriousness. Sometimes the translation has been lost in our manuscripts, or omitted as having already been given in identical or nearly identical terms. When we thought that this was the case, we have admitted the untranslated passages into the text, but in brackets³.

We have divided the principal Fargards into several sections according to the matter they contain: this division, which is meant as an attempt to resolve the Vendidad into its primitive fragments, has, of course, no traditional

¹ The prose Saddar (as found in the Great Ravâet), which differs considerably from the Saddar in verse, as translated by Hyde.

² Without speaking of their not being connected with the context. See Farg. I, 4, 15, 20; II, 6, 20; V, 4; VII, 53-54.

³ Farg. VII, 3; VIII, 95. Formulae and enumerations are often left untranslated, although they must be considered part of the text (VIII, 72; XI, 9, 12; XX, 6, &c.)

authority, the divisions into paragraphs being the only ones that rest upon the authority of the manuscripts.

The translation will be found, in many passages, to differ greatly from the translations published heretofore¹. The nature of this series of translations did not allow us to give full justificatory notes: but we have endeavoured in most cases to make the explanatory notes commend to scholars the new meanings we have adopted; and, in some instances, we hope that the original text, read anew, will by itself justify our translation.

We must not conclude this introduction without tendering our warmest thanks to Mr. E. W. West, who kindly revised the MS. of the translation before it went to press, and who has, we hope, succeeded in making our often imperfect English more acceptable to English readers.

JAMES DARMESTETER.

PARIS:

October, 1894.

¹ Complete translations of the *Vendidad* have been published by Anquetil Duperron in France (Paris, 1771); by Professor Spiegel in Germany (Leipzig, 1852); by Canon de Harlez in Belgium (Louvain, 1877). The translation of Professor Spiegel was translated into English by Professor Bleek, who added useful information from inedited Gujarati translations (Hertford, 1864).

**A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS
USED IN THIS VOLUME.**

Asp. = Aspendiârji's translation.

Bund. = Bundahis; Arabic numbers refer to the chapter (according to Justi's edition); Roman numbers refer to the page and line.

Comm. = The Pahlavi Commentary.

Gr. Rav. = Le Grand Ravâet (in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Supplément Persan, No. 47).

Orm. Ahr. = Ormazd et Ahriman, Paris, Vieweg, 1877.

VEN D Î D Â D.

VEN DÎ D ÂD.

FARGARD I.

THIS chapter is an enumeration of sixteen perfect lands created by Ahura Mazda, and of as many plagues created in opposition by Angra Mainyu.

Many attempts have been made, not only to identify these sixteen lands, but also to draw historical conclusions from their order of succession, as representing the actual order of the migrations and settlements of the old Iranian tribes¹. But there is nothing in the text to support such wide inferences. We have here nothing more than a geographical description of Iran, seen from the religious point of view.

Of these sixteen lands there are nine, as follows :—

ZEND NAME.	OLD PERSIAN.	GREEK.	MODERN NAME.
Sughdha (2)	Suguda	Σογδιανή	Soghd سغد (Samarkand)
Môuru (3)	Margu	Μαργιανή	Marv مرو
Bâkhdhi (4)	Bâkhtri	Βάκτρα	Balkh بلخ
Harôyu (6)	Haraiva	'Αρεια	Harê(rud) هری
Vehrkâna (9)	Warkâna	'Υρκανία	Gurgân, Gorgân جرجان گرگان
Harahvaiti (10)	Harauvati	'Αραχωσία	Ar-rokhag اَرَخْج Arghand-(âb) ارغندآب
Haêtumant (11)		'Ερύμανδρος	Helmend هلمند
Ragha (12)	Ragâ ²	'Ραγαι	Raï ری
Hapta hindu (15)	Hindava	'Ινδοί	Hind هند (Pañgâb),

which can be identified with certainty, as we are able to follow their

¹ Rhode, *Die heilige Sage des Zendvolks*, p. 61 ; Heeren, *Ideen zur Geschichte*, I, p. 498 ; Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde* I, p. 526 ; Haug in Bunsen's work, *Aegypten's Stellung*, V, 2nd part, p. 104 ; Kiepert, *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1856, p. 621. Cf. the mythological interpretation by M. Bréal, 'De la géographie de l'Avesta' (in the *Mélanges de mythologie et de linguistique*, p. 187 seq.)

² See however § 16, note 3.

names from the records of the Achaemenian kings or the works of classical writers down to the map of modern Iran.

For the other lands we are confined for information to the Pahlavi Commentary, from which we get :

ZEND NAME.	PAHLAVI NAME.	MODERN NAME.
Vaêkereta (7)	Kâpûl	کابل Kâbul
Urva (8)	Mêshan	Mesene
Varena (14)	Patashkhvârgar or Dailam	Tabaristân or Gîlân
Rangha (16)	Arvastâni Rûm	Eastern Mesopotamia

The identification of Nisâya (5) and Kakhra (13) remains an open question, as there were several cities of that name. We know, however, that Nisâya lay between Balkh and Marv. The first province Airyanem Vaêgô, or Irân-Vêg, we identify with the mediaeval Arrân (nowadays known as Karabagh).

There must have been some systematical idea in the order followed, though it is not apparent, except in the succession of Sughdha, Môuru, Bâkhdhi, Nisâya, Harôyu, Vaêkereta (numbers 2-7), which form one compact group of north-eastern provinces ; the last two provinces, Hindu and Rangha (numbers 15-16), are the two limitroph provinces, east and west (Indus and Tigris) ; and the Rangha brings us back to the first province, Irân-Vêg, whose chief river, the Vanguhi Dâitya, or Aras, springs from the same mountains as the Rangha-Tigris.

The several plagues created by Angra Mainyu to mar the native perfection of Ahura's creations give instructive information on the religious condition of several of the Iranian countries at the time when this Fargard was written. Harât seems to have been the seat of puritan sects that pushed rigorism to the extreme in the law of purification. Sorcery was prevalent in the basin of the Helمند river, and the Paris were powerful in Cabul, which is a Zoroastrian way of saying that the Hindu civilisation prevailed in those parts, which in fact in the two centuries before and after Christ were known as White India, and remained more Indian than Iranian till the Musulman conquest.

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama ¹ Zarathustra, saying :

¹ Or Spitamide. Zarathustra was descended from Spitama at the fifth generation.

I have made every land dear (to its people), even though it had no charms whatever in it¹: had I not made every land dear (to its people), even though it had no charms whatever in it, then the whole living world would have invaded the Airyana Vaêgô².

3 (5). The first of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the Airyana Vaêgô³, by the Vanguhi Dâitya⁴.

¹ 'Every one fancies that the land where he was born and has been brought up is the best and fairest land that I have created' (Comm.)

² Greater Bundahish: 'It is said in the Sacred Book: had I not created the Genius of the native place, all mankind would have gone to Erân-Vêg, on account of its pleasantness.'—On Airyanem Vaêgô or Erân-Vêg, see following note.—Clause 2 in the Vendîdâd Sâda is composed of Zend quotations in the Commentary that illustrate the alternative process of the creation: 'First, Ahura Mazda would create a land of such kind that its dwellers might like it, and there could be nothing more delightful. Then he who is all death would bring against it a counter-creation.'

³ Airyanem Vaêgô, Irân-Vêg, is the holy land of Zoroastrianism: Zoroaster was born and founded his religion there (Bund. XX, 32; XXXII, 3): the first animal couple appeared there (Bund. XIV, 4; Zâd Sparam, IX, 8). From its name, 'the Iranian seed,' it seems to have been considered as the original seat of the Iranian race. It has been generally supposed to belong to Eastern Iran, like the provinces which are enumerated after it, chiefly on account of the name of its river, the Vanguhi Dâitya, which was in the Sassanian times (as Vêh) the name of the Oxus. But the Bundahish distinctly states that Irân-Vêg is 'bordering upon Adarbaigân' (XXIX, 12); now, Adarbaigân is bordered by the Caspian Sea on the east, by the Rangha provinces on the west, by Media proper on the south, and by Arrân on the north. The Rangha provinces are out of question, since they are mentioned at the end of the Fargard (§ 20), and the climatic conditions of Irân-Vêg with its long winter likewise exclude Media and suit Arrân, where the summer lasts hardly two months (cf. § 4, note 6). The very name agrees, as the country

⁴ For this note see next page.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the serpent in the river⁶ and Winter, a work of the Daêvas⁶.

4 (9). There are ten winter months there, two summer months⁷; and those are cold for the waters⁸, cold for the earth, cold for the trees⁹. Winter falls there, the worst of all plagues.

5 (13). The second of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the plain¹⁰ which the Sughdhas inhabit¹¹.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death,

known as Arrân seems to have been known to the Greeks as *Ἀριανία* (Stephanus Byz.), which brings it close to our Airyanem. On the Vanguhi Dâitya, see following note.

⁴ The Vanguhi Dâitya, belonging to Arrân, must be the modern Aras (the classic Araxes). The Aras was named Vanguhi, like the Oxus, but distinguished from it by the addition Dâitya, which made it 'the Vanguhi of the Law' (the Vanguhi by which Zoroaster received the Law).

⁵ 'There are many Khrafstras in the Dâitîk, as it is said, The Dâitîk full of Khrafstras' (Bund. XX, 13). Snakes abound on the banks of the Araxes (Morier, *A Second Journey*, p. 250) nowadays as much as in the time of Pompeius, to whom they barred the way from Albania to Hyrcania (Plut.)

⁶ Arrân (Karabagh) is celebrated for its cold winter as well as for its beauty. At the Naurôz (first day of spring) the fields still lie under the snow. The temperature does not become milder before the second fortnight of April; no flower is seen before May. Summer, which is marked by the migration of the nomads from the plain to the mountains, begins about the 20th of June and ends in the middle of August.

⁷ Vendîdâd Sâda: 'It is known that [in the ordinary course of nature] there are seven months of summer and five of winter' (see Bund. XXV).

⁸ Some say: 'Even those two months of summer are cold for the waters . . .' (Comm.; cf. Mainyô-i-khard XLIV, 20).

⁹ Vend. Sâda: 'There reigns the core and heart of winter.'

¹⁰ Doubtful.

¹¹ Old P. Suguda; Sogdiana.

and he counter-created the locust¹, which brings death unto cattle and plants.

6 (17). The third of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the strong, holy Mōuru².

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created plunder and sin³.

7 (21). The fourth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the beautiful Bākhdhi⁴ with high-lifted banners.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the ants and the ant-hills⁵.

8 (25). The fifth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Nisāya⁶, that lies between Mōuru and Bākhdhi.

¹ 'The plague that fell to that country was the bad locust: it devours the plants and death comes to the cattle' (Gr. Bund.)

² Margu; *Μαργιανή*; Marv.

³ Doubtful.—The Gr. Bd. has: 'The plague that fell to that country was the coming and going of troops: for there is always there an evil concourse of horsemen, thieves, robbers, and heretics, who speak untruth and oppress the righteous.'—Marv continued to be the resort of Turanian plunderers till the recent Russian annexation.

⁴ Bākhtri; *Βάκτρα*; Balkh.

⁵ 'The corn-carrying ants' (Asp.; cf. Farg. XIV, 5).

⁶ By contradistinction to other places of the same name. There was a Nisāya, in Media, where Darius put to death the Mage Gaumāta (Bahistūn I, 58). There was also a Nisā in Fārs, another in Kirmān, a third again on the way from Amol to Marv (Tabari, tr. Noeldeke, p. 101, 2), which may be the same as *Νισαία*, the capital of Parthia (*Παρθαίνισα* ap. Isid. of Charax 12); cf. Pliny VI, 25 (29). One may therefore be tempted to translate, 'Nisāya between which and Bākhdhi Mōuru lies;' but the text hardly admits of that construction, and we must suppose the existence of another Nisāya on the way from Balkh to Marv.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the sin of unbelief¹.

9 (29). The sixth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the house-deserting Harôyu².

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created tears and wailing³.

10 (33). The seventh of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Vaêkereta⁴, of the evil shadows.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the Pairika Knâthaiti, who clave unto Keresâspa⁵.

¹ There are people there 'who doubt the existence of God' (Comm.)

² Harôyu, Old P. Haraiva (transcribed in Greek and Latin 'Apeia Aria instead of 'Apeia Haria, by a confusion with the name of the Aryans); P. Harê (in Firdausi and in Harê-rûd; Harât is an Arabised form.—'The house-deserting Harê: because there, when a man dies in a house, the people of the house leave it and go. We keep the ordinances for nine days or a month: they leave the house and absent themselves from it for nine days or a month' (Gr. Bd.) Cf. Vd. V, 42.

³ 'The tears and wailing for the dead,' the voceros. The tears shed over a dead man grow to a river that prevents his crossing the Kinvat bridge (Saddar 96; Ardâ Virâf XVI, 7, 10).

⁴ Vaêkereta, an older name of Kâbul (Kâpûl: Comm. and Gr. Bd.); perhaps the Ptolemeian *Bayâpda* in Paropanisus (Ptol. VI, 18).

⁵ The Pairika, in Zoroastrian mythology, symbolises idolatry (uzdês-parastih). The land of Kâbul, till the Musulman invasion, belonged to the Indian civilisation and was mostly of Brahmanical and Buddhistic religion. The Pairika Khnâthaiti will be destroyed at the end of the world by Saoshyant, the unborn son of Zarathustra (when all false religions vanish before the true one; Vd. XIX, 5).—Sâma Keresâspa, the Garshâsp of later tradition, is the type of impious heroism: he let himself be seduced to the Daêva-worship, and Zoroaster saw him punished in hell for his contempt of Zoroastrian observances.

11 (37). The eighth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Urva of the rich pastures¹.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the sin of pride².

12 (41). The ninth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Khnenta which the Vehrânas³ inhabit.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created a sin for which there is no atonement, the unnatural sin⁴.

13 (45). The tenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the beautiful Harahvaiti⁵.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created a sin for which there is no atonement, the burying of the dead⁶.

14 (49). The eleventh of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the bright, glorious Haêtumant⁷.

¹ Urva, according to Gr. Bd. Mēshan, that is to say Mesene (Μεσσηνή), the region of lower Euphrates, famous for its fertility (Herodotos I, 193): it was for four centuries (from about 150 B.C. to 225 A.D.) the seat of a flourishing commercial state.

² 'The people of Mēshan are proud: there are no people worse than they' (Gr. Bd.)

³ 'Khnenta is a river in Vehrâna (Hyrkania)' (Comm.); consequently the river Gorgân.

⁴ See Farg. VIII, 31-32.

⁵ Harauvati; Ἀραχωσία; corrupted into Ar-rokhag (name of the country in the Arabic literature) and Arghand (in the modern name of the river Arghand-âb).

⁶ See Farg. III, 36 seq.

⁷ The basin of the Ἐρύμανθος or Erymanthus, now Hermend, Helmend, that is to say, the region of Saistân.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the evil work of witchcraft.

15 (53). And this is the sign by which it is known, this is that by which it is seen at once : wheresoever they may go and raise a cry of sorcery, there ¹ the worst works of witchcraft go forth. From there they come to kill and strike at heart, and they bring locusts as many as they want ².

16 (59). The twelfth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Ragha ³ of the three races ⁴.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the sin of utter unbelief ⁵.

17 (63). The thirteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the strong, holy Kakhra ⁶.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death,

¹ In Haētumant.—‘The plague created against Saistân is abundance of witchcraft : and that character appears from this, that all people from that place practise astrology : those wizards produce . . . snow, hail, spiders, and locusts’ (Gr. Bd.) Saistân, like Kâbul, was half Indian (Maçoudi, II, 79–82), and Brahmans and Buddhists have the credit of being proficient in the darker sciences.

² This clause seems to be a quotation in the Pahlavi Commentary.

³ Ragha, transcribed Râk and identified by the Commentary with Adarbaigân and ‘according to some’ with Rai (the Greek *Rayai* in Media). There were apparently two Raghas, one in Atropatene; another in Media.

⁴ ‘That means that the three classes, priests, warriors, and husbandmen, were well organised there’ (Comm. and Gr. Bd.)

⁵ ‘They doubt themselves and cause other people to doubt’ (Comm.)

⁶ There were two towns of that name (*Karkh*), one in Khorasan, and the other in Ghaznin.

and he counter-created a sin for which there is no atonement, the cooking of corpses¹.

18 (67). The fourteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the four-cornered Varena², for which was born Thraêtaona, who smote Azi Dahâka.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created abnormal issues in women³ and barbarian oppression⁴.

19 (72). The fifteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the Seven Rivers⁵.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created abnormal issues in women and excessive heat.

20 (76). The sixteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the land by the sources (?) of the Rangha⁶, where people live who have no chiefs⁷.

¹ 'Cooking a corpse and eating it. They cook foxes and weasels and eat them' (Gr. Bd.) See Farg. VIII, 73-74.

² Varn, identified by the Comm. either with Patashkhvârgar or with Dailam (that is to say Tabaristân or Gîlân). The Gr. Bd. identifies it with Mount Damâvand (which belongs to Patashkhvârgar): this is the mountain where Azi Dahâka was bound with iron bonds by Thraêtaona.—'Four-cornered:' Tabaristân has rudely the shape of a quadrilateral.

³ Farg. XVI, 11 seq.

⁴ The aborigines of the Caspian littoral were Anarian savages, the so-called 'Demons of Mâzana.'

⁵ Hapta hindava, the basin of the affluents of the Indus, the modern Pañgâb (=the Five Rivers), formerly called Hind, by contradistinction to Sindh, the basin of the lower river.

⁶ 'Arvastân-i-Rûm (Roman Mesopotamia)' (Comm.), that is to say, the basin of the upper Tigris (Rangha = Arvand = Tigris).

⁷ 'People who do not hold the chief for a chief' (Comm.), which

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created Winter¹, a work of the Daêvas².

21 (81). There are still other lands and countries³, beautiful and deep, longing and asking for the good, and bright.

FARGARD II.

Yima (*Gamshêd*).

This Fargard may be divided into two parts.

First part (1-20). Ahura Mazda proposes to Yima, the son of Vivanghat, to receive the law from him and to bring it to men. On his refusal, he bids him keep his creatures and make them prosper. Yima accordingly makes them thrive and increase, keeps death and disease away from them, and three times enlarges the earth, which had become too narrow for its inhabitants.

Second part (21 to the end). On the approach of a dire winter, which is to destroy every living creature, Yima, being advised by Ahura, builds a Vara to keep there the finest representatives of every kind of animals and plants, and they live there a life of perfect happiness.

It is difficult not to acknowledge in the latter legend a Zoroastrian adaptation of the deluge, whether it was borrowed from the Bible or from the Chaldaean mythology. The similitude is so striking that it did not escape the Musulmans, and Maçoudi states that certain authors place the date of the deluge in the time of *Gamshêd*. There are essential and necessary differences between the two legends, the chief one being that in the monotheistic narration the

is the translation for *asraosha* (Comm. ad XVI, 18), 'rebel against the law,' and would well apply to the non-Mazdean people of *Arvastân-i-Rûm*.

¹ The severe winters in the upper valleys of the Tigris.

² The Vendîdâd Sâda has here: *taosyâta danhêus aiwistâra*, which the Gr. Bd. understands as: 'and the Tâjik (the Arabs) are oppressive there.'

³ 'Some say: Persis' (Comm.)

deluge is sent as a punishment from God, whereas in the dualistic version it is a plague from the Daêvas : but the core of the two legends is the same : the hero in both is a righteous man who, forewarned by God, builds a refuge to receive choice specimens of mankind, intended some day to replace an imperfect humanity, destroyed by a universal calamity.

I.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda :

O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !

Who was the first mortal, before myself, Zarathustra, with whom thou, Ahura Mazda, didst converse¹, whom thou didst teach the Religion of Ahura, the Religion of Zarathustra ?

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered :

The fair Yima, the good shepherd², O holy Zarathustra ! he was the first mortal, before thee, Zarathustra, with whom I, Ahura Mazda, did converse, whom I taught the Religion of Ahura, the Religion of Zarathustra.

3 (7). Unto him, O Zarathustra, I, Ahura Mazda, spake, saying : ' Well, fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat, be thou the preacher and the bearer of my Religion ! '

And the fair Yima, O Zarathustra, replied unto me, saying :

' I was not born, I was not taught to be the preacher and the bearer of thy Religion. '

4 (11). Then I, Ahura Mazda, said thus unto him, O Zarathustra :

¹ ' On the Religion ' (Comm.)

² ' His being a good shepherd means that he held in good condition herds of men and herds of animals ' (Comm.)

‘Since thou dost not consent to be the preacher and the bearer of my Religion, then make thou my world increase, make my world grow: consent thou to nourish, to rule, and to watch over my world.’

5 (14). And the fair Yima replied unto me, O Zarathustra, saying :

‘Yes! I will make thy world increase, I will make thy world grow. Yes! I will nourish, and rule, and watch over thy world. There shall be, while I am king, neither cold wind nor hot wind, neither disease nor death.’

7 (17)¹. Then I, Ahura Mazda, brought two implements unto him : a golden seal and a poniard inlaid with gold². Behold, here Yima bears the royal sway!

8 (20). Thus, under the sway of Yima, three hundred winters passed away, and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was room no more for flocks, herds, and men.

9. Then I warned the fair Yima, saying: ‘O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is room no more for flocks, herds, and men.’

¹ § 6 is composed of unconnected Zend quotations, which are no part of the text and are introduced by the commentator for the purpose of showing that ‘although Yima did not teach the law and train pupils, he was nevertheless a faithful and a holy man, and rendered men holy too (?)’ See FRAGMENTS to the Vendîdâd.

² As the symbol and the instrument of sovereignty. ‘He reigned supreme by the strength of the ring and of the poniard’ (Asp.) Thus Farîdûn gives royal investiture to Irag ‘with the sword and the seal, the ring and the crown’ (Firdausi).—The king is master ‘of the sword, the throne, and the ring.’

10. Then Yima stepped forward, in-light¹, southwards², on the way of the sun³, and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden seal, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus:

‘O Spenta Ârmaiti⁴, kindly⁵ open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.’

11. And Yima made the earth grow larger by one-third than it was before, and there came flocks and herds and men, at their will and wish, as many as he wished.

12 (23). Thus, under the sway of Yima, six hundred winters passed away, and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was room no more for flocks, herds, and men.

13. And I warned the fair Yima, saying: ‘O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is room no more for flocks, herds, and men.’

14. Then Yima stepped forward, in light, south-

¹ That is to say, his body being all resplendent with light. Cf. Albîrûnî's Chronology (tr. by Sachau, p. 202): ‘Jam rose on that day (Naurôz) like the sun, the light beaming forth from him, as though he shone like the sun.’

² The warm South is the region of Paradise (Yasht XXII, 7): the North is the seat of the cold winds, of the demons and hell (Vd. XIX, 1; VII, 2).

³ Thence is derived the following tradition recorded by G. du Chinon: ‘Ils en nomment un qui s'allait tous les jours promener dans le Ciel du Soleil d'où il apportait la science des Astres, après les avoir visités de si prez. Ils nomment ce grand personnage Gemachid’ (Relations nouvelles du Levant, Lyon, 1671, p. 478).

⁴ The Genius of the Earth.

⁵ ‘Do this out of kindness to the creatures’ (Comm.)

wards, on the way of the sun, and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden seal, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus :

‘O Spenta Ārmaiti, kindly open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.’

15. And Yima made the earth grow larger by two-thirds than it was before, and there came flocks and herds and men, at their will and wish, as many as he wished.

16 (26). Thus, under the sway of Yima, nine hundred winters passed away¹, and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was room no more for flocks, herds, and men.

17 (28). And I warned the fair Yima, saying : ‘O fair Yima, son of Vtvanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is room no more for flocks, herds, and men.’

18 (31). Then Yima stepped forward, in light, southwards, on the way of the sun, and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden seal, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus :

‘O Spenta Ārmaiti, kindly open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.’

19 (37). And Yima made the earth grow larger by three-thirds than it was before, and there came

¹ Yima, according to Yt. IX, 10, made immortality reign on the earth for a thousand years. The remaining century was spent in the Vara (‘for a hundred years, Gim was in the Var,’ says the Gr. Bund.) On Yima’s fall, see Yt. XIX, 34 ; cf. Yt. V, 25-31.

flocks and herds and men, at their will and wish, as many as he wished.

II.

21 (42)¹. The Maker, Ahura Mazda, called together a meeting of the celestial Yazatas in the Airyana Vaêgô of high renown, by the Vanguhi Dâitya².

The fair Yima, the good shepherd, called together a meeting of the best of the mortals³, in the Airyana Vaêgô of high renown, by the Vanguhi Dâitya.

To that meeting came Ahura Mazda, in the Airyana Vaêgô of high renown, by the Vanguhi Dâitya; he came together with the celestial Yazatas.

To that meeting came the fair Yima, the good shepherd, in the Airyana Vaêgô of high renown, by the Vanguhi Dâitya; he came together with the best of the mortals.

22 (46). And Ahura Mazda spake unto Yima, saying:

‘O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat! Upon the material world the evil winters are about to fall, that shall bring the fierce, deadly frost; upon the material world the evil winters⁴ are about to fall, that shall

¹ § 20 belongs to the Commentary. See FRAGMENTS to the Vendidad.

² See Farg. I, notes to § 2.

³ The best types of mankind, chosen to live in the Var during the Malkôsrân and repeople the earth when the Var opens.

⁴ The Commentary has here Malkôsrân, a word wrongly identified with the Hebrew Malqôsr, which designates the beneficent autumn rains. Malkôsrân are the winters let loose by a demon or wizard named Malkôsr, in Zend Mahrkûsha ‘the death-causing’ (see Westergaard’s Fragments, VIII).

make snow-flakes fall thick, even an aredvī deep on the highest tops of mountains¹.

23 (52). 'And the beasts that live in the wilderness², and those that live on the tops of the mountains³, and those that live in the bosom of the dale⁴ shall take shelter in underground abodes.

24 (57). 'Before that winter, the country would bear plenty of grass for cattle, before the waters had flooded it. Now after the melting of the snow, O Yima, a place wherein the footprint of a sheep may be seen will be a wonder in the world.

25 (61). 'Therefore make thee a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square⁵, and thither bring the seeds of sheep and oxen, of men, of dogs, of birds, and of red blazing fires⁶.

'Therefore make thee a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be an abode for men; a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, for oxen and sheep.

26 (65) 'There thou shalt make waters flow in a bed a hâthra long; there thou shalt settle birds, on the green that never fades, with food that never fails. There thou shalt establish dwelling-places, consisting of a house with a balcony, a courtyard, and a gallery⁷.

¹ 'Even where it (the snow) is least, it will be one Vîtasti two fingers deep' (Comm.); that is, fourteen fingers deep.

² The Comm. has, strangely enough, 'for instance, Ispâhân.'

³ 'For instance, Apârsên (the Upairisaêna or Hindû-Kûsh).'

⁴ 'For instance, Khorastân (the plain of Khorasan).'

⁵ 'Two hâthras long on every side' (Comm.) A hâthra is about an English mile.

⁶ That is to say, specimens of each species.

⁷ The last three words are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα of doubtful meaning.

27 (70). 'Thither thou shalt bring the seeds of men and women, of the greatest, best, and finest on this earth¹; thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of cattle, of the greatest, best, and finest on this earth.

28 (74). 'Thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of tree, of the highest of size and sweetest of odour on this earth²; thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of fruit, the best of savour and sweetest of odour³. All those seeds shalt thou bring, two of every kind, to be kept inexhaustible there, so long as those men shall stay in the Vara.

29 (80). 'There shall be no humpbacked, none bulged forward there; no impotent, no lunatic; no one malicious, no liar; no one spiteful, none jealous; no one with decayed tooth, no leprous to be pent up⁴, nor any of the brands wherewith Angra Mainyu stamps the bodies of mortals⁵.

30 (87). 'In the largest part of the place thou shalt make nine streets, six in the middle part, three in the smallest. To the streets of the largest part thou shalt bring a thousand seeds of men and women; to the streets of the middle part, six hun-

¹ The best specimens of mankind, to be the origin of the more perfect races of the latter days.

² 'The highest of size, like the cypress and the plane-tree; the sweetest of odour, like the rose and the jessamine' (Comm.)

³ 'The best of savour, like the date; the sweetest of odour, like the citron' (Comm.)

⁴ 'A man, afflicted with leprosy, is not allowed to enter a town and mix with the other Persians' (Herod. I, 138; he was supposed to have sinned against the sun). Ctesias has a tale of how Megabyzes escaped his enemies by simulating leprosy.

⁵ In order that the new mankind may be exempt from all moral and physical deformities.

dred; to the streets of the smallest part, three hundred¹. That Vara thou shalt seal up with thy golden seal, and thou shalt make a door, and a window self-shining within.'

31 (93). Then Yima said within himself: 'How shall I manage to make that Vara which Ahura Mazda has commanded me to make?'

And Ahura Mazda said unto Yima: 'O fair Yima, son of Vivanghat! Crush the earth with a stamp of thy heel, and then knead it with thy hands, as the potter does when kneading the potter's clay².'

[32. And Yima did as Ahura Mazda wished; he crushed the earth with a stamp of his heel, he kneaded it with his hands, as the potter does when kneading the potter's clay³.]

33 (97). And Yima made a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square. There he brought the seeds of sheep and oxen, of men, of dogs, of birds, and of red blazing fires. . He made a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be an abode for men; a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, for oxen and sheep.

34 (101). There he made waters flow in a bed a hâthra long; there he settled birds, on the green that never fades, with food that never fails. There

¹ This division of the Var into three quarters very likely answers the distinction of the three classes.

² In the Shâh Nâmah Gamshîd teaches the Dîvs to make and knead clay 'by mixing the earth with water;' and they build palaces at his bidding. It was his renown, both as a wise king and a great builder, that caused the Musulmans to identify him with Solomon.

³ From the Vendîdâd Sâda.

he established dwelling-places, consisting of a house with a balcony, a courtyard, and a gallery.

35 (106). There he brought the seeds of men and women, of the greatest, best, and finest on this earth; there he brought the seeds of every kind of cattle, of the greatest, best, and finest on this earth.

36 (110). There he brought the seeds of every kind of tree, of the highest of size and sweetest of odour on this earth; there he brought the seeds of every kind of fruit, the best of savour and sweetest of odour. All those seeds he brought, two of every kind, to be kept inexhaustible there, so long as those men shall stay in the Vara.

37 (116). And there were no humpbacked, none bulged forward there; no impotent, no lunatic; no one malicious, no liar; no one spiteful, none jealous; no one with decayed tooth, no leprous to be pent up, nor any of the brands wherewith Angra Mainyu stamps the bodies of mortals.

38 (123). In the largest part of the place he made nine streets, six in the middle part, three in the smallest. To the streets of the largest part he brought a thousand seeds of men and women; to the streets of the middle part, six hundred; to the streets of the smallest part, three hundred. That Vara he sealed up with the golden ring, and he made a door, and a window self-shining within.

39 (129). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What are the lights that give light in the Vara which Yima made?

40 (131). Ahura Mazda answered: 'There are uncreated lights and created lights¹. The one

¹ The endless light, which is eternal, and artificial lights. The Commentary has here the following Zend quotation: 'The un-

thing missed there is the *sight of the stars, the moon, and the sun*¹, and a year *seems only as a day*².

41 (133). 'Every fortieth year, to every couple two are born, a male and a female³. And thus it is for every sort of cattle. And the men in the Vara which Yima made live the happiest life⁴.'

42 (137). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is he who brought the Religion of Mazda into the Vara which Yima made?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It was the bird Karshipta⁵, O holy Zarathustra!'

43 (140). O Maker of the material world, thou

created light shines from above; all the created lights shine from below.'

¹ The people in the Var cannot see them, since the Var is underground. That is why the Var has lights of its own.

² As there is no daily revolution of the sun.

³ Cf. the description of Irân-vêg according to a later source, the Mainyô-i-khard (as translated by West): 'Hôrmezd created *Erâ-vêz* better than the remaining places and districts; and its goodness was this, that men's life is three hundred years; and cattle and sheep, one hundred and fifty years; and their pain and sickness are little, and they do not circulate falsehood, and they make no lamentation and weeping; and the sovereignty of the demon of Avarice, in their body, is little, and in ten men, if they eat one loaf, they are satisfied; and in every forty years, from one woman and one man, one child is born; and their law is goodness, and religion the primeval religion, and when they die, they are righteous (=blessed); and their chief is Gôpatshâh, and the ruler and king is Srôsh' (XLIV, 24).

⁴ 'They live there for 150 years; some say, they never die' (Comm.)

⁵ 'The bird Karshipta dwells in the heavens: were he living on the earth, he would be the king of birds. He brought the Religion into the Var of Yima, and recites the Avesta in the language of birds' (Bund. XIX and XXIV). The Comm. identifies the Karshiptan with the *Kakhravâk*, that is the *Kakravâka* of poetical reputation in India.

Holy One! Who are the Lord and the Master there?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Urvataḍ-nara¹, O Zarathustra! and thyself, Zarathustra.'

FARGARD III.

The Earth.

'Les Guèbres,' says Chardin (ed. Langlès, VIII, 358), 'regardent l'agriculture, non seulement comme une profession belle et innocente, mais aussi comme méritoire et noble, et ils croient que c'est la première de toutes les vocations, celle pour quoi le Dieu souverain et les dieux inférieurs, comme ils parlent, ont le plus de complaisance et qu'ils recompensent le plus largement. Cette opinion, tournée en créance parmi eux, fait qu'ils se portent naturellement à travailler à la terre et qu'ils s'y exercent le plus : leurs prêtres leur enseignent que la plus vertueuse activité est d'engendrer des enfants (cf. Farg. IV, 47) et après de cultiver une terre qui serait en friche (cf. infra, § 4), de planter un arbre soit fruitier, soit autre.'

The classical writers (Xenophon, *Oeconomica*, IV, 4 seq.; Polybius, X, 28, quoted § 4, note) express themselves to the same effect, and their testimony has been lately corroborated, in a most unexpected way, by a Greek inscription², emanating from no less an authority than King Darius himself, who congratulates his satrap in Asia Minor, Gadates, 'for working well the King's earth and transplanting in lower Asia the fruits of the country beyond

¹ Zarathustra had three sons during his lifetime, Isad-vâstra, Hvare-kithra, and Urvataḍ-nara, who were respectively the fathers and chiefs of the three classes, priests, warriors, and husbandmen. Urvataḍ-nara, as a husbandman, was chosen to be the *ahu* or temporal Lord of the Var, on account of the Var being underground. Zarathustra, as a heavenly priest, was, by right, the *ratu* or Spiritual Lord in Airyana Vaêgô, where he founded the Religion by a sacrifice (Bund. XXXIII and Introd. III, 15).

² Discovered at Deremendjik, near Magnesia, on the Maeander : by Cousin and Deschamps (Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique, XIII, 529).

Euphrates (ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν ἐκπονεῖς γῆν, τοὺς πέραν Εὐφράτου καρποὺς ἐπὶ τὰ κάτω τῆς Ἀσίας μέρη καταφυτεύων).

The third Fargard may serve as a Commentary to those texts. The principal subject is, as the Dinkard has it:

What comforts most the Genius of the Earth (§§ 1-6)?

What discomforts most the Genius of the Earth (§§ 7-11)?

What rejoices the Earth most (§§ 12-35)?

In each of these three developments a series of five objects is considered. Series I and II, though expressed in symmetrical terms, do not answer one another: there is greater symmetry, as to the ideas, between the second series and the third. Series I and II are a dry enumeration. The third series contains two interesting digressions, one on the funeral laws (§§ 14-21), and the other on the sanctity of husbandry (§§ 24-33).

The Fargard ends with a development forbidding the burial of the dead (§§ 36-42): it is a sort of commentary to § 8.

The subject of this chapter has become a commonplace topic with the Parsis, who have treated it more or less antithetically in the Mainyô-i-khard (chaps. V and VI) and in the Ravâets (Gr. Rav. pp. 434-437).

I.

1. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the first place where the Earth¹ feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon one of the faithful steps forward, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the log in his hand², the Baresma³ in his hand, the milk⁴ in his hand, the mortar⁵ in his

¹ 'The Genius of the Earth' (Comm.)

² The wood for the fire altar.

³ The Baresma (now called barsom) is a bundle of sacred twigs which the priest holds in his hand while reciting the prayers. (See Farg. XIX, 18 seq. and notes.)

⁴ The so-called *gîv* or *gîvâam*, one of the elements of the Haoma sacrifice.

⁵ The Hâvana or mortar used in crushing the Haoma or Hôma.

hand, lifting up his voice in good accord with religion, and beseeching Mithra¹, the lord of the rolling country-side, and Râma *Hvâstra*².'

2, 3 (6-10). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the second place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon one of the faithful erects a house with a priest within³, with cattle, with a wife, with children, and good herds within; and wherein afterwards the cattle continue to thrive, virtue to thrive⁴, fodder to thrive, the dog to thrive, the wife to thrive, the child to thrive, the fire to thrive, and every blessing of life to thrive.'

4 (11). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the third place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where one of the faithful sows most corn, grass, and fruit, O Spitama Zarathustra! where he waters ground that is dry, or drains ground that is too wet⁵.'

¹ Mithra, the Persian Apollo, sometimes like him identified with the Sun, is invoked here as making the earth fertile. 'Why do not you worship the Sun? asked king Yazdgard the Christians. Is he not the god who lights up with his rays all the world, and through whose warmth the food of men and cattle grows ripe?' (Elisaeus.)

² The god that gives food its savour: he is an acolyte to Mithra.

³ With the domestic chaplain (the *Panthakî*).

⁴ By the performance of worship.

⁵ Under the Achaemenian kings countrymen who brought water to places naturally dry received the usufruct of the ground for five generations (Polybius, X, 28). But for those underground canals (called *Kanâts*), which bring water from the mountains all through the Iranian desert, Persia would starve.

5 (15). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fourth place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where there is most increase of flocks and herds.'

6 (18). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fifth place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where flocks and herds yield most dung.'

II.

7 (21). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the first place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the neck of Arezûra¹, whereon the hosts of fiends rush forth from the burrow of the Drug².'

8 (25). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the second place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place wherein most corpses of dogs and of men lie buried³.'

¹ The neck of Arezûra (Arezûrahê grîva) is 'a mount at the gate of hell, whence the demons rush forth' (Bund. XII, 8; Dâdistân XXXIII, 5); it is also called 'the head of Arezûra' (Farg. XIX, 45), or 'the back of Arezûra' (Bund. XII, 2). Arezûra was a fiend, son of Ahriman, who was killed by the first man, Gayômarð (Mainyô-i-khard XXVII, 15). The mount named from him lies in the North (which is the seat of the demons): it seems to belong to the Alborz chain, like the Damâvand (Bund. XII, 8), where Azi Dahâka was bound (Farg. I, 18, notes).

² Hell, the Drug being assimilated to a burrowing Khrafstra. Cf. Farg. VII, 24.

³ 'It is declared in the good religion, that, when they conceal

9 (28). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the third place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon stand most of those Dakhmas on which the corpses of men are deposited¹.'

10 (31). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fourth place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place wherein are most burrows of the creatures of Angra Mainyu².'

11 (34). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fifth place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon

a corpse beneath the ground, Spendârmad, the archangel, shudders; it is just as severe as a serpent or scorpion would be to any one in a sleeping-garment, and it is also just like that to the ground. When thou makest a corpse beneath the ground as it were apparent, thou makest the ground liberated from that affliction' (Saddar XXXIII, tr. by West, in the Sacred Books of the East, XXIV). Cf. Vd. VI, 51; VII, 45.

¹ With regard to Dakhmas, see Farg. VI, 45. 'Nor is the Earth happy at that place whereon stands a Dakhma with corpses upon it; for that patch of ground will never be clean again till the day of resurrection' (Gr. Rav. 435, 437). Although the erection of Dakhmas is enjoined by the law, yet the Dakhma in itself is as unclean as any spot on the earth can be, since it is always in contact with the dead (cf. Farg. VII, 55). The impurity which would otherwise be scattered over the whole world, is thus brought together to one and the same spot. Yet even that spot, in spite of the Ravâet, is not to lie defiled for ever, as every fifty years the Dakhmas ought to be pulled down, so that their sites may be restored to their natural purity (see Farg. VII, 49 seq. and this Farg. § 13).

² 'Where there are most Khrafstras' (noxious animals).

the wife and children of one of the faithful¹, O Spitama Zarathustra! are driven along the way of captivity, the dry, the dusty way, and lift up a voice of wailing.'

III.

12 (38). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the first that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who digs out of it most corpses of dogs and men².'

13 (41). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the second that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who pulls down most of those Dakhmas on which the corpses of men are deposited³.'

14 (44). Let no man alone by himself⁴ carry a corpse⁵. If a man alone by himself carry a corpse,

¹ Killed by an enemy.

² This joy answers the second grief of the earth (§ 8; cf. note). There is no counterpart given to the first grief (§ 7), because, as the Commentary naively expresses it, 'it is not possible now so to dig out hell,' which will be done at the end of the world (Bund. XXX, 32).

³ This answers the third grief (§ 9; cf. note).

⁴ No ceremony in general can be performed by one man alone. Two Mobeds are wanted to perform the Vendîdâd service, two priests for the Barashnûm, two persons for the Sag-dîd (Anquetil, II, 584 n.) It is never good that the faithful should be alone, as the fiend is always lurking about, ready to take advantage of any moment of inattention. If the faithful be alone, there is no one to make up for any negligence and to prevent mischief arising from it. Never is the danger greater than in the present case, when the fiend is close at hand, and in direct contact with the faithful.

⁵ A corpse from which the Nasu has not been expelled by the Sag-dîd ceremony (described Vd. VIII, 14-22).

the Nasu¹ rushes upon him, to defile him, from the nose of the dead, from the eye, from the tongue, from the jaws, from the sexual organs, from the hinder parts. This Drug Nasu falls upon him, [stains him] even to the end of the nails, and he is unclean, thenceforth, for ever and ever.

15 (49). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What shall be the place of that man who has carried a corpse [alone]²?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It shall be the place on this earth wherein is least water and fewest plants, whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and by the faithful³.'

16 (55). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of Baresma? How far from the faithful?

17 (57). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces⁴ from the fire, thirty paces from the water, thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma, three paces from the faithful.

¹ The word Nasu has two meanings: it means either the corpse (*nasâi*), or the corpse-demon (the Drug Nasu, that is to say the demon who takes possession of the dead body and makes his presence felt by the decomposition of the body and infection).

² He cannot purify himself like the Nasâ-sâlâr (Vd. VIII, 13). 'He who carries a man, knowing that the man is dead and that the Sag-dîd has not been performed, commits a sin worthy of death (*margarzân*).' As the absence of Sag-dîd makes the infection worse, it is the same crime as if a man were to introduce a plague into the country.

³ To avoid any contact of that man with pure beings.

⁴ A pace (*gâma*) is as much as three feet (*pâdha*; Vd. IX, 8).

18, 19 (58-63). 'There, on that place, shall the worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure¹, and therein shall they establish him with food, therein shall they establish him with clothes, with the coarsest food and with the most worn-out clothes. That food he shall live on, those clothes he shall wear, and thus shall they let him live, until he has grown to the age of a Hana, or of a Zaurura, or of a Pairista-khshudra².

20, 21 (64-71). 'And when he has grown to the age of a Hana, or of a Zaurura³, or of a Pairista-khshudra, then the worshippers of Mazda shall order a man strong, vigorous, and skilful⁴, to cut the head off his neck⁵, in his enclosure on the top of the mountain: and they shall deliver his corpse unto the greediest of the corpse-eating creatures made by the beneficent Spirit, unto the vultures, with these words: "The man here has repented of all his evil thoughts, words, and deeds. If he has committed any other evil deed, it is remitted by his repentance⁶: if he has committed no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance, for ever and ever."'

¹ The Armet-gâh, the place for the unclean; see *Intro.* V, 15.

² Hana means, literally, 'an old man;' Zaurura, 'a man broken down by age;' Pairista-khshudra, 'one whose seed is dried up.' These words have acquired the technical meanings of 'fifty, sixty, and seventy years old.'

³ When he is near his death. The carrier alone (*êvak-bar*), being *margarzân* (see p. 27, n. 2), ought to have been put to death at once. The rigour of theory was abated in practice and delayed to the moment when the guilty man was to have paid to nature the debt due to religion.

⁴ 'Trained to operations of that sort' (*Comm.*); a headsman.

⁵ Perhaps: 'to flay him alive and cut off his head.' Cf. *Farg.* IX, 49, text and note.

⁶ By the performance of the *Patet*.

22 (72). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the third that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who fills up most burrows of the creatures of Angra Mainyu¹.'

23 (75). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the fourth that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who sows most corn, grass, and fruit, O Spitama Zarathustra! who waters ground that is dry, or drains ground that is too wet².'

24 (79). 'Unhappy is the land that has long lain unsown with the seed of the sower and wants a good husbandman, like a well-shapen maiden who has long gone childless and wants a good husband.

25 (84). 'He who would till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him will she bring forth plenty of fruit: even as it were a lover sleeping with his bride on her bed; the bride will bring forth children, the earth will bring forth plenty of fruit³.

26, 27 (87-90). 'He who would till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him thus says the Earth: "O thou man! who dost till me with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, here shall I ever go on bearing, bring-

¹ This joy answers the fourth grief of the earth (§ 10).

² This is identical with § 4, which is developed in the following clauses (§§ 24-34).

³ The text has: 'she brings either a son or plenty of fruit,' she being either the woman or the earth.

ing forth all manner of food, bringing corn first to thee¹."

28, 29 (91-95). 'He who does not till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him thus says the Earth: "O thou man! who dost not till me with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, ever shalt thou stand at the door of the stranger, among those who beg for bread; the refuse and the crumbs of the bread are brought unto thee², brought by those who have profusion of wealth."'

30 (96). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the food that fills the Religion of Mazda³?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is sowing corn again and again, O Spitama Zarathustra!

31 (99). 'He who sows corn, sows righteousness: he makes the Religion of Mazda walk, he suckles the Religion of Mazda; as well as he could do with a hundred man's feet, with a thousand woman's breasts⁴, with ten thousand sacrificial formulas⁵.

32 (105). 'When barley was created, the Daêvas

¹ 'When something good grows up, it will grow up for thee first' (Comm.) Perhaps: 'bringing to thee profusion of corn' ('some say, she will bring to thee 15 for 10;' Comm.)

² 'They take for themselves what is good and send to thee what is bad' (Comm.)

³ Literally, 'What is the stomach of the law?'

⁴ 'He makes the Religion of Mazda as fat as a child could be made by means of a hundred feet, that is to say, of fifty servants walking to rock him; of a thousand breasts, that is, of five hundred nurses' (Comm.)

⁵ With the recitation of 10,000 Yênghê hâtâm, that is to say, as if one had performed for his weal as many sacrifices as contain 10,000 Yênghê hâtâm.

started up¹; when it grew², then fainted the Daêvas' hearts; when the knots came³, the Daêvas groaned; when the ear came, the Daêvas flew away⁴. In that house the Daêvas stay, wherein wheat perishes⁵. It is as though red hot iron were turned about in their throats, when there is plenty of corn⁶.

33 (111). 'Then let people learn by heart this holy saying: "No one who does not eat, has strength to do heavy works of holiness⁷, strength to do works of husbandry, strength to beget children. By eating every material creature lives, by not eating it dies away."'

34 (116). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is⁸ the fifth that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: '[It is he who kindly and piously gives⁹ to one of the faithful who tills the earth,] O Spitama Zarathustra!

35 (118). 'He who would not kindly and piously give to one of the faithful who tills the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! Spenta Ârmaiti⁹ will throw him down into darkness, down into the world of woe, the world of hell, down into the deep abyss¹⁰.'

¹ John Barleycorn got up again,
And sore surpris'd them all.

² Doubtful.

³ Doubtful.

⁴ The general meaning of the sentence is how the Dêvs are broken down 'by the growing, the increasing, and the ripening of the corn' (Dînkard, l. i. § 10).

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ Doubtful.

⁷ 'Like the performance of the dvâzda hô mâst' (the longest and most cumbersome of all Zoroastrian ceremonies).

⁸ The Ashô-dâd or alms. The bracketed clause is from the Vendidad Sâda.

⁹ The Genius of the Earth offended.

¹⁰ Conjectural translation.

IV.

36 (122). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within half a year, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra¹, five hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana¹.'

37 (126). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within a year, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

38 (130). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within the second year, what is the penalty for it? What is the atonement for it? What is the cleansing from it?

39 (135). Ahura Mazda answered: 'For that deed there is nothing that can pay, nothing that can atone, nothing that can cleanse from it; it is a trespass for which there is no atonement, for ever and ever.'

40 (137). When is it so?

'It is so, if the sinner be a professor of the

¹ See Introduction.

Religion of Mazda, or one who has been taught in it¹.

‘But if he be not a professor of the Religion of Mazda, nor one who has been taught in it², then his sin is taken from him, if he makes confession of the Religion of Mazda and resolves never to commit again such forbidden deeds³.

41 (142). ‘The Religion of Mazda indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! takes away from him who makes confession of it the bonds of his sin⁴; it takes away (the sin of) breach of trust⁵; it takes away (the sin of) murdering one of the faithful⁶; it takes away (the sin of) burying a corpse⁷; it takes away (the sin of) deeds for which there is no atonement; it takes away the worst sin of usury⁸; it takes away any sin that may be sinned.

¹ A born Zoroastrian or a catechist : in both cases, he must have known that he was committing sin.

² He did not know that he was committing sin.

³ He makes Patet and says to himself, ‘I will never henceforth sin again’ (Comm.)

⁴ If not knowingly committed; see § 40 and the following notes.

⁵ Doubtful. From the Commentary it appears that draosha must have meant a different sort of robbery: ‘He knows that it is forbidden to steal, but he fancies that robbing the rich to give to the poor is a pious deed’ (Comm.)

⁶ Or better, ‘a Mazdean,’ but one who has committed a capital crime; ‘he knows that it is allowed to kill the margarzân, but he does not know that it is not allowed to do so without an order from the judge.’ Cf. VIII, 74 note.

⁷ ‘He knows that it is forbidden to bury a corpse; but he fancies that if one manages so that dogs or foxes may not take it to the fire and to the water, he behaves piously’ (Comm.)—He fancies that the prohibition of burying the dead is meant only for the protection of the fire and the water, not of the earth herself.

⁸ Or, possibly, ‘the sin of usury.’ ‘He knows that it is lawful

42 (149). 'In the same way the Religion of Mazda, O Spitama Zarathustra! cleanses the faithful from every evil thought, word, and deed, as a swift-rushing mighty wind cleanses the plain¹.

'So let all the deeds he doeth be henceforth good, O Zarathustra! a full atonement for his sin is effected by means of the Religion of Mazda.'

FARGARD IV.

Contracts and Outrages.

This Fargard is the only one in the Vendîdâd that deals strictly with legal objects.

I a. Classification of the contracts according to the value of their object (§ 2).—A contract is cancelled by paying the amount of the contract higher by one degree (§§ 3-4).

Religious responsibility of the family for the breach of a contract by one of its members (§§ 5-10).

Punishment of the Mihir-Drug (one who breaks a contract), (§§ 11-16).

II a. Definition of the outrages known as âgerepta (threatening attitude), avaoirista (assault), aredur (blows), (§ 17).

Penalties for menaces (§§ 18-21); for assaults (§§ 22-25); for blows (§§ 26-29); for wounds (§§ 30-33); for wounds causing blood to flow (§§ 34-36); for broken bones (§§ 37-39); for manslaughter (§§ 40-43).

III a. Contract of charity to co-religionists (§§ 44-45).

IV a. Heinousness of false oath (§ 46).

III b. Dignity of wealth; of marriage; of physical weal (§§ 47-49 a).

IV b. Heinousness of false oath. Ordeal (§§ 49 b-55).

Part of this Fargard has been made unduly obscure by the transposition of § 46, wrongly inserted between the clause on charity (§§ 44-45) and the corresponding development on the dignity of material goods. This transposition is found in all known manuscripts and belonged to the older text from which they are derived.

to take high interest, but he does not know that it is not lawful to do so from the faithful' (Comm.)

¹ 'From chaff' (Comm.)

I.

1. He that does not restore a loan to the man who lent it, steals the thing and robs the man¹. This he doeth every day, every night, as long as he keep in his house his neighbour's property, as though it were his own².

I a.

2 (4). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How many in number are thy contracts, O Ahura Mazda?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are six in number, O holy Zarathustra³. The first is the word-contract⁴; the second is the hand-contract⁵; the third is the contract to the amount of a sheep⁶; the

¹ 'He is a thief when he takes with a view not to restore; he is a robber when, being asked to restore, he answers, I will not' (Comm.)

² Every moment that he holds it unlawfully, he steals it anew. 'The basest thing with Persians is to lie; the next to it is to be in debt, for this reason among many others, that he who is so, must needs sink to lying at last' (Herod. I, 183). The debtor in question is of course the debtor of bad faith, 'he who says to a man, Give me this, I will restore it to thee at the proper time, and he says to himself, I will not restore it' (Comm.)

³ At first view it seems as if the classification were twofold, the contracts being defined in the first two clauses by their mode of being entered into, and in the last four by their amount. Yet it appears from the following clauses that even the word-contract and the hand-contract are indicative of a certain amount, which, however, the commentators did not, or were unable to, determine.

⁴ The word-contract may be a contract of which the object are words: the contract of *jâ dangôî* (*ukhdhō - vaḥaḥ*), by which one offers to speak and intervene for some one's benefit, or the contract between master and pupil (for teaching the sacred texts).

⁵ The contract for hiring labour (?).

⁶ 'Viz. to the amount of 3 *istîrs* [in weight],' (Comm.) An *istîr* (στατήρ) is as much as 4 dirhems (δραχμή).

fourth is the contract to the amount of an ox ¹; the fifth is the contract to the amount of a man ²; the sixth is the contract to the amount of a field ³, a field in good land, a fruitful one, in good bearing ⁴.

3 (13). The word-contract is fulfilled by words of mouth.

It is cancelled by the hand-contract; he shall give as damages the amount of the hand-contract.

4 (16). The hand-contract is cancelled by the sheep-contract; he shall give as damages the amount of the sheep-contract.

The sheep-contract is cancelled by the ox-contract; he shall give as damages the amount of the ox-contract.

The ox-contract is cancelled by the man-contract; he shall give as damages the amount of the man-contract.

The man-contract is cancelled by the field-contract; he shall give as damages the amount of the field-contract.

5 (24). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the word-contract, how many are involved in his sin ⁵?

¹ 'To the amount of 12 istîrs (=48 dirhems),' (Comm.)

² 'To the amount of 500 dirhems.' The exact translation would be rather, 'The contract to the amount of a human being' (promise of marriage).

³ 'Upwards of 500 istîrs.'

⁴ A sort of gloss added to define more accurately the value of the object, and to indicate that it is greater than that of the preceding one.

⁵ Literally, how much is involved? The joint responsibility of the family was a principle in the Persian law: '*Leges apud eos impendio formidatae, et abominandae aliae, per quas ob noxam unius omnis propinquitas perit*' (Am. Marcellinus XXIII, 6).

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas¹ answerable for three hundred (years)².'

6 (26). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the hand-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for six hundred (years)³.'

7 (28). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the sheep-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for seven hundred (years)⁴.'

8 (30). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the ox-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for eight hundred (years)⁵.'

¹ The next of kin to the ninth degree.

² See § 11. This passage seems to have puzzled tradition. The Commentary says, 'How long, how many years, has one to fear for the breach of a word-contract?—the Nabânazdistas have to fear for three hundred years;' but it does not explain farther the nature of that fear; it only tries to reduce the circle of that liability to narrower limits: 'only the son born after the breach is liable for it; the righteous are not liable for it; when the father dies, the son, if righteous, has nothing to fear from it.' And finally, the Ravâets leave the kinsmen wholly aside; the penalty falling entirely upon the real offender, and the number denoting only the duration of his punishment in hell: 'He who breaks a word-contract, his soul shall abide for three hundred years in hell' (Gr. Rav. 94).

³ See § 12. 'His soul shall abide for six hundred years in hell' (Gr. Rav. l. 1.)

⁴ See § 13. 'His soul shall abide for seven hundred years in hell' (Gr. Rav. l. 1.)

⁵ See § 14. 'His soul shall abide for eight hundred years in hell.'

9 (32). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the man-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Na-bânazdistas answerable for nine hundred (years)¹.'

10 (34). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the field-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Na-bânazdistas answerable for a thousand (years)².'

11 (36). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the word-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, three hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana³.'

12 (39). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the hand-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana⁴.'

13 (42). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the sheep-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana⁵.'

¹ See § 15. 'His soul shall abide for nine hundred years in hell.'

² See § 16. 'His soul shall abide for a thousand years in hell.'

³ One tanâfûhr and a half, that is 1800 dirhems. See Introd.

⁴ Three tanâfûhrs, or 3600 dirhems.

⁵ Three tanâfûhrs and a half, or 4200 dirhems.

14 (45). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the ox-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, eight hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ¹.'

15 (48). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the man-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Nine hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, nine hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ².'

16 (51). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the field-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ³.'

II a.

17 (54). If a man rise up with a weapon in his hand, it is an Âgerepta ⁴. If he brandish it, it is

¹ Four tanâfûhrs, or 4800 dirhems.

² Four tanâfûhrs and a half, or 5400 dirhems.

³ Five tanâfûhrs, or 6000 dirhems.

⁴ In this paragraph are defined the first three of the eight outrages with which the rest of the Fargard deals. Only these three are defined, because they are designated by technical terms. We subjoin the definitions of them found in a Sanskrit translation of a Patet (Paris, Bibl. Nat. f. B. 5, 154), in which their etymological meanings are better preserved than in the Zend definition itself:—

Âgerepta, 'seizing,' is when a man seizes a weapon with a view to smite another.

Avaoirista, 'brandishing,' is when a man brandishes a weapon with a view to smite another.

Aredus is when a man actually smites another with a weapon,

an Avaoirista. If he actually smite a man with malicious aforethought, it is an Aredus. Upon the fifth Aredus¹ he becomes a Peshôtanu².

18 (58). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! He that committeth an Âgerepta, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five stripes with the Aspahê-astra, five stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the second Âgerepta, ten stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ten stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the third, fifteen stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifteen stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

19 (63). 'On the fourth, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the fifth, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the sixth, sixty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, sixty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the seventh, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

20 (67). If a man commit an Âgerepta for the eighth time, without having atoned for the preceding³, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

but without wounding him, or inflicts a wound which is healed within three days.

¹ Viz. on the sixth commission of it, as appears from § 28.

² He shall receive two hundred stripes, or shall pay 1200 dirhems (see Introd.)

³ Literally, 'without having undone the preceding.'

21 (70). If a man commit an Âgerepta¹, and refuse to atone for it², what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

22 (73). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoirista, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ten stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ten stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the second Avaoirista, fifteen stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifteen stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

23 (75). 'On the third, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the fourth, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the fifth, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the sixth, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

24 (76). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoirista for the seventh time, without having atoned for the preceding, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

25 (77). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoirista, and refuse to atone for it, what penalty shall he pay?

¹ Even though the Âgerepta has been committed for the first time.

² Literally, 'and does not undo it.' If he does not offer himself to bear the penalty, and does not perform the Patet (see Introd.)

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

26 (79). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredus, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifteen stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifteen stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

27 (81). 'On the second Aredus, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the third, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the fourth, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the fifth, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

28. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredus for the sixth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

29 (82). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredus, and refuse to atone for it, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

30 (85). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another and hurt him sorely, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

31 (87). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty stripes

with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ;

‘The second time, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ;

‘The third time, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ;

‘The fourth time, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.’

32 (89). If a man commit that deed for the fifth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered : ‘He is a Peshôtanu : two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.’

33 (90). If a man commit that deed and refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered : ‘He is a Peshôtanu : two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.’

34 (93). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! If a man smite another so that the blood come, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered : ‘Fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ;

‘The second time, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ;

‘The third time, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.’

35 (95). If he commit that deed for the fourth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered : ‘He is a Peshôtanu : two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.’

36 (96). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that the blood come, and if he refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*.'

37 (99). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he break a bone, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*;

'The second time, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*.'

38 (102). If he commit that deed for the third time, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*.'

39 (104). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he break a bone, and if he refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*.'

40 (106). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he give up the ghost, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*.'

41 (109). If he commit that deed again, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

42 (112). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he give up the ghost, and if he refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

43 (115). And they shall thenceforth in their doings walk after the way of holiness, after the word of holiness, after the ordinance of holiness.

III a¹.

44 (118). If men of the same faith, either friends or brothers, come to an agreement together, that one may obtain from the other, either goods², or a wife³, or knowledge⁴, let him who desires goods

¹ We return here to contracts; the logical place of §§ 44-45 would be after § 16.

² The analysis of the Vendîdâd in the Dînkard has here: 'a proof that one professes the Religion well is to grant bountifully to the brethren in the faith any benefit they may ask for.'

³ Woman is an object of contract, like cattle or fields: she is disposed of by contracts of the fifth sort, being more valuable than cattle and less so than fields. She is sold by her father or her guardian, often from the cradle. 'Instances are not wanting of the betrothal of a boy of three years of age to a girl of two' (see Dosabhoj Framjee's work on The Parsees, p. 77; cf. 'A Bill to Define and Amend the Law relating to Succession, Inheritance, Marriage, &c.,' Bombay, 1864).

⁴ On the holiness of the contract between pupil and teacher, see Yt. X, 116. Cf. above, p. 35, n. 4.

have them delivered to him; let him who desires a wife receive and wed her; let him who desires knowledge be taught the holy word,

45 (123). during the first part of the day and the last, during the first part of the night and the last, that his mind may be increased in intelligence and wax strong in holiness. So shall he sit up, in devotion and prayers, that he may be increased in intelligence: he shall rest during the middle part of the day, during the middle part of the night¹, and thus shall he continue until he can say all the words which former Aêthrapaitis² have said.

IV a.

46 (128). Before the boiling water publicly prepared³, O Spitama Zarathustra! let no one make bold to deny having received [from his neighbour] the ox or the garment in his possession.

III b.

47 (130)⁴. Verily I say it unto thee, O Spitama Zarathustra! the man who has a wife is far above him who lives in continence⁵; he who keeps a house is far above him who has none; he who has

¹ He sleeps 'the third part of the day and the third part of the night' (Yasna LXII, 5).

² A teaching priest (Parsi Hêrbad).

³ This clause is intended against false oaths taken in the so-called Var-ordeal (see § 54 n.) It ought to be placed before § 49 bis, where the penalty for a false oath is given.

⁴ §§ 47-49 are a sort of commentary to the beginning of § 44.

⁵ What king Yazdgard found most offensive in Christianity was 'that the Christians praise death and despise life, set no value upon fecundity and extol sterility, so that if their disciples would listen to

children is far above the childless man¹; he who has riches is far above him who has none.

48 (134). And of two men, he who fills himself with meat receives in him Vohu Manô² much better than he who does not do so³; the latter is all but dead; the former is above him by the worth of an Asperena⁴, by the worth of a sheep, by the worth of an ox, by the worth of a man⁵.

49 (137). This man can strive against the onsets of Astô-vidhōtu⁶; he can strive against the well-darted arrow; he can strive against the winter

them, they would no longer have any intercourse with women and the world would end' (Elisaeus).

¹ 'In Persia there are prizes given by the king to those who have most children' (Herod. I, 136). 'He who has no child, the bridge (of Paradise) shall be barred to him. The first question the angels there will ask him is, whether he has left in this world a substitute for himself; if the answer be, No, they will pass by and he will stay at the head of the bridge, full of grief and sorrow' (Saddar 18; Hyde 19). The primitive meaning of this belief is explained by Brahmanical doctrine; the man without a son falls into hell, because there is nobody to pay him the family worship.

² Vohu Manô is at the same time the god of good thoughts and the god of cattle.

³ 'There are people who strive to pass a day without eating, and who abstain from any meat; we strive too and abstain, namely, from any sin in deed, thought, or word: . . . in other religions, they fast from bread; in ours, we fast from sin' (Saddar 83).—'The Zoroastrians have no fasting at all. He who fasts commits a sin, and must, by way of expiation, give food to a number of poor people' (Albîrûnî, Chronology, p. 217).

⁴ A dirhem.

⁵ Or: 'is worth an Asperena, worth a sheep, worth an ox, worth a man,' which means, according to the Commentary: 'deserves the gift of an Asperena, of a sheep's value, an ox's value, a man's value.'

⁶ Astô-vidhōtu, the demon of death (Farg. V, 8). The man who eats well has greater vitality.

fiend, with thinnest garment on; he can strive against the wicked tyrant and smite him on the head; he can strive against the ungodly fasting Ashemaogha¹.

IV b.

49 (bis). On the very first time when that deed² has been done, without waiting until it is done again,

50 (143). down there³ the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: even as if one should cut off the limbs from his perishable body with knives of brass, or still worse;

51 (146). down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: even as if one should nail⁴ his perishable body with nails of brass, or still worse;

52 (149). down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: even as if one should by force throw his perishable body headlong down a precipice a hundred times the height of a man, or still worse;

53 (152). down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: even as if one should by force impale⁵ his perishable body, or still worse.

54 (154). Down there the pain for his deed shall be as hard as any in this world: to wit, the deed of

¹ The Commentary has: 'like Mazdak, son of Bâmdât,' the communistic heresiarch who flourished under Kobâd (488-531) and was put to death under Noshirvan.

² The taking of a false oath. Cf. § 46.

⁴ Doubtful.

³ In hell.

⁵ Doubtful.

a man, who, knowingly lying, confronts the brimstoned, golden¹, truth-knowing water with an appeal unto Rashnu² and a lie unto Mithra³.

55 (156). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! He who, knowingly lying, confronts the brimstoned, golden, truth-knowing water with an appeal unto Rashnu and a lie unto Mithra, what is the penalty that he shall pay⁴?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshê-karana.'

FARGARD V.

This chapter and the following ones, to the end of the twelfth, deal chiefly with uncleanness arising from the dead, and with the means of removing it from men and things.

The subjects treated in this Fargard are as follows:—

I (1-7). If a man defile the fire or the earth with dead matter (Nasu), involuntarily or unconsciously, it is no sin.

II (8-9). Water and fire do not kill.

III (10-14). Disposal of the dead during winter when it is not possible to take them to the Dakhma.

IV (15-20). Why Ahura, while forbidding man to defile water, sends water from the heavens down to the Dakhmas, covered with corpses. How he purifies that water.

¹ The water before which the oath is taken contains some incense, brimstone, and one danak of molten gold (Gr. Rav. 101).

² The god of truth (Yt. XII). The formula is as follows: 'Before the Amshaspand Bahman, before the Amshaspand Ardibehesht, here lighted up . . . &c., I swear that I have nothing of what is thine, N. son of N., neither gold, nor silver, nor brass, nor clothes, nor any of the things created by Ormazd' (l. l. 96). Cf. above, § 46.

³ He is a Mithra-drug, 'one who lies to Mithra.'

⁴ In this world.

V (21-26). On the excellence of purity and of the law that shows how to recover purity, when lost.

VI (27-38). On the defiling power of the Nasu being greater or less, according to the greater or less dignity of the being that dies.

VII (39-44). On the management of sacrificial implements defiled with Nasu.

VIII (45-62). On the treatment of a woman who has been delivered of a still-born child; and what is to be done with her clothes.

I a.

1. There dies a man in the depths of the vale: a bird takes flight from the top of the mountain down into the depths of the vale, and it feeds on the corpse of the dead man there: then, up it flies from the depths of the vale to the top of the mountain: it flies to some one of the trees there, of the hard-wooded or the soft-wooded, and upon that tree it vomits and deposits dung.

2 (7). Now, lo! here is a man coming up from the depths of the vale to the top of the mountain; he comes to the tree whereon the bird is sitting; from that tree he intends to take wood for the fire. He fells the tree, he hews the tree, he splits it into logs, and then he lights it in the fire, the son of Ahura Mazda. What is the penalty that he shall pay¹?

3 (11). Ahura Mazda answered: 'There is no sin upon a man for any Nasu that has been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies.

4 (12). 'For were there sin upon a man for any Nasu that might have been brought by dogs, by

¹ For defiling the fire by bringing dead matter into it (see Farg. VII, 25 seq.) contrarily to the rule, 'Put ye only proper and well-examined fuel (in the fire).' For the purification of unclean wood, see Farg. VII, 28 seq.

birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies, how soon all this material world of mine would be only one Peshôtanu¹, bent on the destruction of righteousness, and whose soul will cry and wail²! so numberless are the beings that die upon the face of the earth.'

I b.

5 (15). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Here is a man watering a corn-field. The water streams down the field; it streams again; it streams a third time; and the fourth time, a dog, a fox, or a wolf carries some Nasu into the bed of the stream: what is the penalty that the man shall pay³?

6 (19). Ahura Mazda answered: 'There is no sin upon a man for any Nasu that has been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies.

7 (20). 'For were there sin upon a man for any Nasu that might have been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies, how soon all this material world of mine would be only one Peshôtanu, bent on the destruction of righteousness, and whose soul will cry and wail! so numberless are the beings that die upon the face of the earth.'

¹ 'People guilty of death' (Comm.) Cf. Yasna LIII, 9 b.

² After their death, 'When the soul, crying and beaten off, is driven far away from Paradise' (Comm.) This is imitated from the Gâthas (Yasna XLVI, 11 c; LI, 13 b; cf. Vd. XIII, 8-9).

³ For defiling the earth and the water: 'If a man wants to irrigate a field, he must first look after the water-channel, whether there is dead matter in it or not. . . . If the water, unknown to him, comes upon a corpse, there is no sin upon him. If he has not looked after the rivulet and the stream, he is unclean' (Saddar 75).

II a.

8 (23). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Does water kill¹?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Water kills no man: Astô-vîdhôtu binds him, and, thus bound², Vayu³ carries him off; and the flood takes him up⁴, the flood takes him down⁵, the flood throws him ashore; then birds feed upon him. When he goes away⁶, it is by the will of Fate he goes.'

II b.

9 (29). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Does fire kill?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fire kills no man: Astô-vîdhôtu binds him, and, thus bound, Vayu carries him off; and the fire burns up life and limb. When he goes away, it is by the will of Fate he goes.'

¹ Water and fire belong to the holy part of the world, and come from God: how then is it that they kill? 'Let a Gueber light a sacred fire for a hundred years, if he once fall into it, he shall be burnt.' Even the Mobeds, if we may trust Elisaeus, complained that the fire would burn them without regard for their piety, when to adore it they came too near (Vartan's War, p. 211 of the French translation by l'Abbé Garabed). The answer was that it is not the fire nor the water that kills, but the demon of Death and Fate. 'Nothing whatever that I created in the world, said Ormazd, does harm to man; it is the bad Nâi (read Vâi) that kills the man' (Gr. Rav. 124).

² 'Astf-vahât is the bad Vâi who seizes the life (of man): when his hand strokes him, it is lethargy; when he casts his shadow upon him, it is fever; when he looks in his eyes, he destroys life, and it is called Death' (Bund. XXVIII, 35). Cf. Farg. IV, 49; XIX, 29.

³ 'The bad Vâi' (Comm.) Vâi (Vayu) being the Genius of Destiny, good or evil.

⁴ To the surface.

⁵ To the bottom.

⁶ When he departs.

III.

10 (34). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the summer is past and the winter has come, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do¹?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'In every house, in every borough, they shall raise three rooms for the dead².'

11 (37). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How large shall be those rooms for the dead?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Large enough not to strike the skull of the man, if he³ should stand erect, or his feet or his hands stretched out: such shall be, according to the law, the rooms for the dead.'

12 (41). 'And they shall let the lifeless body lie there, for two nights, or for three nights, or a month long, until the birds begin to fly⁴, the plants to grow, the hidden floods⁵ to flow, and the wind to dry up the earth⁶.'

¹ In case a man dies during the snowy season, while it is difficult or impossible to take the corpse to the Dakhma, which usually stands far from inhabited places. The same case is treated again in Farg. VIII, 4 seq.

² One for men, another for women, a third for children. As not every house is considerable or rich enough to have these three accommodations, there will be a common Zâd-marg for the village. The Zâd-marg is a small mud house where the corpse is laid, to lie there till it can be taken to the Dakhma (Anquetil, *Zend-Avesta* II, 583). The Zâd-marg is still used in Persia, and in the Gugarati provinces (where it is called Nasâ-khâna, 'house for corpses'). In Bombay they use the simpler and more economical method given in Farg. VIII, 8.

³ 'Being in life' (Comm.)

⁴ To come back.

⁵ They were hidden under the earth.

⁶ 'Until the winter is past' (Comm.)

13 (44). 'And as soon as the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the hidden floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the earth, then the worshippers of Mazda shall lay down the dead (on the Dakhma), his eyes towards the sun.

14 (46). 'If the worshippers of Mazda have not, within a year, laid down the dead (on the Dakhma), his eyes towards the sun, thou shalt prescribe for that trespass the same penalty as for the murder of one of the faithful¹; until the corpse has been rained on, until the Dakhma has been rained on, until the unclean remains have been rained on, until the birds have eaten up the corpse.'

IV.

15 (49). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Is it true that thou, Ahura Mazda, seizest the waters from the sea Vouru-kasha² with the wind and the clouds?

16 (51). That thou, Ahura Mazda, takest them down to the corpses³? that thou, Ahura Mazda, takest them down to the Dakhmas? that thou, Ahura Mazda, takest them down to the unclean remains? that thou, Ahura Mazda, takest them down to the bones? and that then thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow back unseen? that thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow back to the sea Pûitika⁴?

¹ See Farg. III, 41, note; cf. below, §§ 21-26.

² Vouru-kasha or Frâkh-kart, the Ocean, wherefrom all waters come and whereto they return (Farg. XXI, 4).

³ Zoroaster wonders that Ormazd fears so little to infringe his own laws by defiling waters with the dead. In a Ravâet, he asks him bluntly why he forbids men to take corpses to the water, while he himself sends rain to the Dakhmas (Gr. Rav. 125).

⁴ The sea where waters are purified before going back to their

17 (53). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is even so as thou hast said, O righteous Zarathustra! I, Ahura Mazda, seize the waters from the sea Vouru-kasha with the wind and the clouds.

18 (55). 'I, Ahura Mazda, take them to the corpses; I, Ahura Mazda, take them down to the Dakhmas; I, Ahura Mazda, take them down to the unclean remains; I, Ahura Mazda, take them down to the bones; then I, Ahura Mazda, make them flow back unseen; I, Ahura Mazda, make them flow back to the sea Pûitika.

19 (56). 'The waters stand there boiling, boiling up in the heart of the sea Pûitika, and, when cleansed there, they run back again from the sea Pûitika to the sea Vouru-kasha, towards the well-watered tree¹, whereon grow the seeds of my plants of every kind by hundreds, by thousands, by hundreds of thousands.

20 (60). 'Those plants, I, Ahura Mazda, rain down upon the earth¹, to bring food to the faithful, and fodder to the beneficent cow; to bring food to

gathering place, the sea Vouru-kasha (see § 19). 'All the thickness, salt, and impurity of the sea Pûitîk wishes to go to the Frâkh-kart sea; but a mighty high wind, blowing from the Var Satvês, drives it away: whatever is clean and movable passes to the Frâkh-kart sea, and the rest (the unclean element) flows back to the Pûitîk' (Bund. XIII, 10).

¹ The tree of all seeds (Harvisptokhm), which grows in the middle of the sea Vouru-kasha; the seeds of all plants are on it. There is a godlike bird, the Sinamru, sitting on that tree; whenever he flies off the tree, there grow out of it a thousand boughs; whenever he alights on it, there break a thousand boughs, the seeds of which are scattered about, and rained down on the earth by Tistar (Tistrya), the rain-god (Yt. XII, 17; Minokhired LXII, 37 seq.; Bundahis XXVII; cf. Farg. XX, 4 seq.)

my people that they may live on it, and fodder to the beneficent cow.'

V.

21 (63). 'This¹ is the best, this is the fairest of all things, even as thou hast said, O pure [Zarathustra]!'

With these words the holy Ahura Mazda rejoiced the holy Zarathustra²: 'Purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good³, that purity, O Zarathustra, that is in the Religion of Mazda for him who cleanses his own self with good thoughts, words, and deeds⁴.'

22 (68). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! This Law, this fiend-destroying Law of Zarathustra⁵, by what greatness, goodness, and fairness is it great, good, and fair above all other utterances?

23 (69). Ahura Mazda answered: 'As much above all other floods as is the sea Vouru-kasha, so much above all other utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this Law, this fiend-destroying Law of Zarathustra.'

24 (71). 'As much as a great stream flows swifter than a slender rivulet, so much above all other utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this Law, this fiend-destroying Law of Zarathustra.'

¹ The cleansing, the purification.

² 'When Zoroaster saw that man is able to escape sin by performing good works, he was filled with joy' (Comm.)

³ Quotation from the Gâthas (Yasna XLVIII, 5 c).

⁴ That is to say, 'Who performs the rites of cleansing according to the prescriptions of the law.'

⁵ The Law (Dâtem), that part of the religious system of

‘As high as the great tree¹ stands above the small plants it overshadows, so high above all other utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this Law, this fiend-destroying Law of Zarathustra.

25 (73). ‘As high as heaven is above the earth that it compasses around, so high above all other utterances is this Law, this fiend-destroying Law of Mazda.

‘[Therefore], he will apply to the Ratu², he will apply to the Sraoshâ-varez³; whether for a draona-service⁴ that should have been undertaken⁵ and has not been undertaken⁶; or for a draona that should have been offered up and has not been offered up; or for a draona that should have been entrusted and has not been entrusted⁷.

which the Vendîdâd is the specimen, and the object of which is the purification of man.

¹ ‘The royal cypress above small herbs’ (Comm.)

² ‘To take the rule’ (Comm.), which probably means, ‘to know what sort of penance he must undergo;’ as, when a man has sinned with the tongue or with the hand, the Dastur (or Ratu) must prescribe for him the expiation that the sin requires. The Ratu is the chief priest, the spiritual head of the community.

³ ‘To weep for his crime’ (Comm.), which may mean, ‘to recite to him the Patet, or, to receive at his hand the proper number of stripes.’ The Sraoshâ-varez is the priest that superintends the sacrifice. He receives the confession of the guilty man and very likely wields the Sraoshô-karana.

⁴ The Srôsh-darûn, a service in honour of any of the angels, or of deceased persons, in which small cakes, called draona, are consecrated in their names, and then given to those present to eat.

⁵ When it ought not to be.

⁶ When it ought to be.

⁷ The meaning of the sentence is not certain. The Commentary has: ‘Whether he has thought what he ought not to have thought, or has not thought what he ought to have thought; whether he has said what he ought not to have said, or has not

26 (81). 'The Ratu has power to remit him one-third of his penalty¹: if he has committed any other evil deed, it is remitted by his repentance; if he has committed no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance for ever and ever².'

VI.

27 (82). O Maker³ of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be a number of men resting in the same place, on the same carpet, on the same pillows, be there two men near one another, or five, or fifty, or a hundred, close by one another; and of those people one happens to die; how many of them does the Drug Nasu⁴ envelope with corruption, infection, and pollution?

28 (86). Ahura Mazda answered: 'If the dead one be a priest, the Drug Nasu rushes forth⁴, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the eleventh and defiles the ten⁵.'

said what he ought to have said; whether he has done what he ought not to have done, or has not done what he ought to have done.'

¹ When the Ratu remits one-third of the sin, God remits the whole of it (Saddar 29).

² Cf. Farg. III, 41.

³ Nasu (*vékus*) designates both the corpse and the corpse-demon (the Drug that produces the corruption and infection of the dead body).

⁴ In opposition to the case when the dead one is an Ashe-maogha (§ 35), as no Nasu issues then.

⁵ Literally, 'If she goes as far as the eleventh, she defiles the tenth.' That is to say, she stops at the eleventh and defiles the next ten. In the Ravâets, the Avesta distinctions are lost, and the defiling power of the Nasu is the same, whatever may have been the rank of the dead: 'If there be a number of people sleeping in the same place, and if one of them happen to die, all those around him, in any direction, as far as the eleventh, become unclean if they have been in contact with one another' (Gr. Rav. 470).

'If the dead one be a warrior, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the tenth and defiles the nine.

'If the dead one be a husbandman, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the ninth and defiles the eight.

29 (92). 'If it be a shepherd's dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the eighth and defiles the seven.

'If it be a house-dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the seventh and defiles the six.

30 (96). 'If it be a Vohunazga dog¹, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the sixth and defiles the five.

'If it be a Tauruna dog², the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the fifth and defiles the four.

31 (100). 'If it be a porcupine dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the fourth and defiles the three.

'If it be a Gazu dog³, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the third and defiles the two.

32 (104). 'If it be an Aiwizu dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the second and defiles the next.

'If it be a Vizu dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the next, she defiles the next.'

¹ A dog without a master (see Farg. XIII, 19).

² A hunting-dog.

³ This name and the two following, Aiwizu and Vizu, are left untranslated in the Pahlavi translation.

33 (108). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If it be a weasel¹, how many of the creatures of the good spirit does it directly defile, how many does it indirectly defile?

34 (110). Ahura Mazda answered: 'A weasel does neither directly nor indirectly defile any of the creatures of the good spirit, but him who smites and kills it; to him the uncleanness clings for ever and ever².'

35 (113)³. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the dead one be such a wicked, two-footed ruffian, as an ungodly Ashemaogha⁴, how many of the creatures of the good spirit does he directly defile, how many does he indirectly defile?

36 (115). Ahura Mazda answered: 'No more than a frog does whose venom is dried up, and that has been dead more than a year⁵. Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! such a wicked, two-legged ruffian as an ungodly Ashemaogha, directly defiles the creatures of the good spirit, and indirectly defiles them.

37 (119). 'Whilst alive he smites the water⁶; whilst alive he blows out the fire⁷; whilst alive he

¹ A weasel. The weasel is one of the creatures of Ahura, for 'it has been created to fight against the serpent garza and the other khrafstras that live in holes' (Bund. XIX, 27).

² Not that the unclean one cannot be cleansed, but that his uncleanness does not pass from him to another.

³ §§ 35-38; cf. Farg. XII, 21-24.

⁴ Ashemaogha, a heretic.

⁵ The frog is a creature of Ahriman's, and one of the most hateful. Cf. Farg. XIV, 5.

⁶ By defiling it (a capital crime; see Farg. VII, 25).

⁷ He extinguishes the Bahrâm fire (a capital crime; cf. Farg. VII, 25).

carries off the cow¹; whilst alive he smites the faithful man with a deadly blow, that parts the soul from the body²; not so will he do when dead.

38 (120). 'Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! such a wicked, two-legged ruffian as an ungodly Ashemaogha robs the faithful man of the full possession of his food, of his clothing, of his wood, of his bed, of his vessels³; not so will he do when dead⁴.'

VII.

39 (122). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When into our houses here below we have brought the fire, the Baresma, the cups, the Haoma, and the mortar⁵, O holy Ahura Mazda! if it come to pass that either a dog or a man dies there, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

40 (125). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Out of the house, O Spitama Zarathustra! shall they take the fire, the Baresma, the cups, the Haoma, and the mortar; they shall take the dead one out to the proper place⁶ whereto, according to the law, corpses must be brought, to be devoured there.'

41 (128). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When shall they bring back the fire into the house wherein the man has died?

¹ As a cattle-lifter.

² As an assassin.

³ By defiling them, he deprives the faithful of their use.

⁴ 'When a wicked man dies, the Drug who was with him during his lifetime, seizes him and drags him down to Ahriman; therefore, his body, as the Drug is no longer with it, becomes pure. On the contrary, when it is a righteous man that dies, the Amshâspands take his soul to Ormazd and the Drug settles in the house of the body and makes it impure' (Gujastak Abalish).

⁵ In order to perform a sacrifice.

⁶ The Dakhma.

42 (129). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wait for nine nights in winter, for a month in summer¹, and then they shall bring back the fire to the house wherein the man has died.'

43 (131). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! And if they shall bring back the fire to the house wherein the man has died, within the nine nights, or within the month, what penalty shall they pay?

44 (134). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall be Peshôtanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-*astra*, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*.'

VIII.

45 (135)². O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda there be a woman with child, and if being a month gone, or two, or three, or four, or five, or six, or seven, or eight, or nine, or ten months gone³, she bring forth a still-born child, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

46 (139). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that Mazdean house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and by the faithful;—

47 (143). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from

¹ Corruption being worse in summer.

² §§ 45-54 = Farg. VII, 60-69.

³ The pregnancy, without lasting more than nine calendar months (9 times 30 days), generally extends along ten months on the calendar (for instance from January 10 to October 10).

the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of Baresma? How far from the faithful?

48 (144). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma; three paces from the faithful'¹;—

49 (145). 'On that place shall the worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure², and therein shall they establish her with food, therein shall they establish her with clothes.'

50 (147). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the food that the woman shall first take?

51 (148). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Gômêz³ mixed with ashes, three draughts of it, or six, or nine, to send down the Dakhma within her womb⁴.

52 (151). 'Afterwards she may drink boiling⁵ milk of mares, cows, sheep, or goats, with pap or without pap⁶; she may take cooked milk without

¹ The carrier alone is kept thirty feet from the faithful (Farg. III, 18), as he is cut off from the community: his food is not brought to him, he has a store prepared for him. The woman, when armêst, is only temporarily isolated; she stays in the house and her food is brought to her all but from hand to hand (Farg. XVI, 6).

² The place for the man or woman in state of uncleanness, or Armêst-gâh.

³ Urine of the ox: the so-called Nîrang-dîn; cf. Farg. VIII, 37; XIX, 21. 'Three cups, or six, or nine, according to her strength' (Asp.)

⁴ Her womb is a Dakhma, as it contained a dead body.—These nine draughts of gômêz mixed with ashes are like an interior Barashnûm, as the Barashnûm consists of nine successive purifications with gômêz and dust.

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ Doubtful.

water, meal without water, and wine without water¹.

53 (154). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long shall she remain so? How long shall she live thus on milk, meal, and wine?

54 (155). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three nights long shall she remain so; three nights long shall she live thus on milk, meal, and wine. Then, when three nights have passed, she shall wash her body, she shall wash her clothes, with gômêz and water, by the nine holes², and thus shall she be clean.'

55 (157). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long shall she remain so? How long, after the three nights have gone, shall she sit confined, and live separated from the rest of the worshippers of Mazda, as to her seat, her food, and her clothing?

56 (158). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Nine nights long shall she remain so: nine nights long, after the three nights have gone, shall she sit confined, and live separated from the rest of the worshippers of Mazda, as to her seat, her food, and her clothing. Then, when the nine nights have gone, she shall wash her body, and cleanse her clothes with gômêz and water³.'

¹ 'The water would be defiled;' cf. Farg. VII, 70 seq.

² She shall perform the nine nights' Barashnûm, for the details of which see Farg. IX. That Barashnûm is taken forty days after the delivery.

³ 'If a woman brings forth a still-born child, after a pregnancy of one month to ten months, the first food she shall take is nîrang (=gômêz) . . . fire and ashes; and she is not allowed until the fourth day to take water or salt, or any food that is cooked with water or salt: on the fourth day they give her nîrang, that she may cleanse herself and wash her clothes with it, and she is not

57 (160)¹. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can those clothes, when once washed and cleansed, ever be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnatar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez², or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman³?

58 (162). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Never can those clothes, even when washed and cleansed, be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnatar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman.

59 (164). 'But if there be in a Mazdean house a woman who is in her sickness, or a man who has become unfit for work⁴, and who must sit in the place of infirmity⁵, those clothes shall serve for their

allowed to wash herself and her clothes with water until the forty-first day' (Gr. Rav. 568).

¹ §§ 57-62 = Farg. VII, 17-22.

² These are the names of the different priests who were engaged in the sacrifices. The Hâvanan strains the Haoma; the Âtare-vakhsha kindles the fire; the Frabaretar brings to the Zaotar all that he needs; the Âbered brings the water; the Âsnatar washes and strains the Haoma; the Rathwiskar mixes the Haoma and the milk; the Zaotar chants the hymns and says the prayers; the Sraoshâ-varez superintends the sacrifice. Nowadays there are only two priests, the Zaotar (Zôtr) and the Rathwiskar (Rasp), the latter performing all the accessory services formerly performed by several priests. Cf. Nîrangistân, §§ 71 sq.

³ In short, by any of the faithful, when in state of purity.

⁴ An Armêst; literally, 'an infirm person,' that is to say, one who is unclean, during the time of his uncleanness (Farg. IX, 33 seq.), when all work is forbidden to him.

⁵ The Armêst-gâh, the place of seclusion of the Armêst.

coverings and for their sheets¹, until they can withdraw their hands for prayer².

60 (168). 'Ahura Mazda, indeed, does not allow us to waste anything of value that we may have, not even so much as an Asperena's³ weight of thread, not even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning.

61 (171). 'Whosoever throws any clothing on a dead body⁴, even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning, is not a pious man whilst alive, nor shall he, when dead, have a place in Paradise.

62 (174). 'He makes himself a viaticum unto the world of the wicked, into that world⁵, made of

¹ The clothing defiled by the dead can only serve for Dashtân women, even after it has been washed and exposed for six months to the light of the sun and of the moon (Saddar 91; cf. Farg. VII, 10 seq.)

² Until they are clean. The unclean must have their hands wrapped in an old piece of linen, lest they should touch and defile anything clean.

³ See Farg. IV, 48, note 4.

⁴ Cf. Farg. VIII, 23 seq. It appears from those passages that the dead must lie on the mountain naked, or 'clothed only with the light of heaven' (Farg. VI, 51). The modern custom is to clothe them with old clothing (Dadabhai Naoroji, *Manners and Customs of the Parsis*, p. 15). 'When a man dies and receives the order (to depart), the older the shroud they make for him, the better. It must be old, worn out, but well washed: they must not lay anything new on the dead. For it is said in the Zend Vendîdâd, If they put on the dead even so much as a thread from the distaff more than is necessary, every thread shall become in the other world a black snake clinging to the heart of him who made that shroud, and even the dead shall rise against him and seize him by the skirt, and say, That shroud which thou madest for me has become food for worms and vermin' (Saddar 12). After the fourth day, when the soul is in heaven, then rich garments are offered up to it, which it will wear in its celestial life (Saddar 87).

⁵ 'Where darkness can be seized with the hand' (Comm.; cf. Aogemaidê 28); something more than the 'visible darkness.'

darkness, the offspring of darkness¹, which is Darkness' self. To that world, to the world of Hell, you are delivered by your own doings, by your own religion, O sinners² !'

FARGARD VI.

I (1-9). How long the earth remains unclean, when defiled by the dead.

II (10-25). Penalties for defiling the ground with dead matter.

III (26-41). Purification of the different sorts of water, when defiled by the dead.

IV (42-43). Purification of the Haoma.

V (44-51). The place for corpses ; the Dakhmas.

I.

1. How long shall the piece of ground lie fallow whereon dogs or men have died ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' A year long shall the piece of ground lie fallow whereon dogs or men have died, O holy Zarathustra !

2 (3). ' A year long shall no worshipper of Mazda sow or water that piece of ground whereon dogs or men have died ; he may sow as he likes the rest of the ground ; he may water it as he likes³.

3 (5). ' If within the year they shall sow or water the piece of ground whereon dogs or men have died, they are guilty of the sin of "burying the dead" '

¹ The Commentary has, 'the place of those who impregnate darkness, for the Drug who conceives seed from the sinner comes from that place' (cf. Farg. XVIII, 30 seq.)

² Quotation from the Gáthas (Yasna XXXI, 20).

³ Cf. Farg. VII, 45 seq.

towards the water, towards the earth, and towards the plants ¹.

4 (7). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda shall sow or water, within the year, the piece of ground whereon dogs or men have died, what is the penalty that they shall pay?

5 (9). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are Peshôtanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana ².'

6 (10). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda want to till that piece of ground again ³, to water it, to sow it, and to plough it, what shall they do?

7 (12). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall look on the ground for any bones, hair, dung, urine, or blood that may be there.'

8 (13). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If they shall not look on the ground for any bones, hair, dung, urine, or blood that may be there, what is the penalty that they shall pay?

9 (15). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are Peshôtanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

II.

10 (16). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground

¹ 'To the water which they pour out, to the earth which they plough, to the plants which they sow' (Comm.)

² 'If they plough and sow it, one tanâsfûhr (see Introd. V, 19); if they pour water on it, one tanâsfûhr; if they plough, sow, and water it, two tanâsfûhrs' (Comm.)

³ Even when a year's space is past, the ground is not free ipso facto.

a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the little finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

11 (18). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

12 (20). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the fore-finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

13 (24). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

14 (25). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the middle finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

15 (29). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

16 (30). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as a finger or as a rib, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

17 (34). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

18 (35). O Maker of the material world, thou

Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as two fingers or as two ribs, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

19 (39). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshô-tanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

20 (40). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as an arm-bone or as a thigh-bone, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

21 (44). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

22 (45). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as a man's skull, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

23 (49). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

24 (50). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground the whole body of a dead dog, or of a dead man, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

25 (53). Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

III.

26 (54). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a worshipper of Mazda, walking, or running, or riding, or driving, come upon a corpse in a stream of running water, what shall he do?

27 (56). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Taking off his shoes, putting off his clothes, while the others wait¹, O Zarathustra! he shall enter the river, and take the dead out of the water; he shall go down into the water ankle-deep, knee-deep, waist-deep, or a man's full depth, till he can reach the dead body².'

28 (61). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If, however, the body be already falling to pieces and rotting, what shall the worshipper of Mazda do?

29 (63). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He shall draw out of the water as much of the corpse as he can grasp with both hands, and he shall lay it down on the dry ground; no sin attaches to him for any bone, hair, grease, dung, urine, or blood that may drop back into the water.'

30 (65). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of the water in a pond does the Drug Nasu defile with corruption, infection, and pollution?

31 (66). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six steps on each of the four sides. As long as the corpse has

¹ Ready to help him in case of need.

² 'If he is able to draw out the corpse and does so, it is a pious deed worth a tanâfûhr (that is, one by which a tanâfûhr sin can be cancelled); if he is able to draw it out and does not do so, it is a tanâfûhr sin. Gûgôrasp says, It is a margarzân sin (a capital crime)' (Comm.)

not been taken out of the water, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the pond, and lay it down on the dry ground.

32 (69). 'And of the water they shall draw off the half, or the third, or the fourth, or the fifth part, according as they are able or not; and after the corpse has been taken out and the water has been drawn off, the rest of the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

33 (72). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of the water in a well does the Drug Nasu defile with corruption, infection, and pollution?

34 (73). Ahura Mazda answered: 'As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the well, and lay it down on the dry ground.'

35 (73). 'And of the water in the well they shall draw off the half, or the third, or the fourth, or the fifth part, according as they are able or not; and after the corpse has been taken out and the water has been drawn off, the rest of the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

36 (74). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of a sheet of snow or hail does the Drug Nasu defile with corruption, infection, and pollution?

37 (75). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three steps¹

¹ Nine feet on the four sides.

on each of the four sides. As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the water, and lay it down on the dry ground.

38 (78). 'After the corpse has been taken out, and the snow or the hail has melted, the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

39 (79). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of the water of a running stream does the Drug Nasu defile with corruption, infection, and pollution?

40 (80). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three steps down the stream, nine steps up the stream, six steps across. As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall the water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the water, and lay it down on the dry ground.'

41 (83). 'After the corpse has been taken out and the stream has flowed three times¹, the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

IV.

42 (84). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the Haoma that has been touched with Nasu from a dead dog, or from a dead man, be made clean again?

43 (85). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra! If it has been prepared for the

¹ Three times the measure up the stream (that is nine feet).

sacrifice¹, there is to it no corruption, no death, no touch of any Nasu². If it has not been prepared for the sacrifice, [the stem] is defiled the length of four fingers³: it⁴ shall be laid down on⁵ the ground, in the middle of the house, for a year long. When the year is passed, the faithful may drink of its juice at their pleasure, as before.'

V.

44 (92). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Whither shall we bring, where shall we lay the bodies of the dead⁶, O Ahura Mazda?

45 (93). Ahura Mazda answered: 'On the highest summits⁷, where they know there are always corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds, O holy Zarathustra!

46 (95). 'There shall the worshippers of Mazda fasten the corpse, by the feet and by the hair, with brass, stones, or clay, lest the corpse-eating dogs and the corpse-eating birds shall go and carry the bones to the water and to the trees.

47 (98). 'If they shall not fasten the corpse, so that the corpse-eating dogs and the corpse-eating

¹ Pounded and strained.

² Because the Haoma is the plant of life; when strained for the sacrifice, it is the king of healing plants (Bund. XXIV); the dead shall become immortal by tasting of the white Haoma (ib. XXXI).

³ Four fingers from the point touched by the Nasu. That part of the stem shall be cut off (Frâmjî): the rest can be made clean.

⁴ What is left of the stem.

⁵ Perhaps: in the ground (it shall be buried).

⁶ In places where there are no Dakhmas; for instance, in the country.

⁷ 'On the top of a mountain' (Comm.) Cf. VIII, 10.

birds may go and carry the bones to the water and to the trees, what is the penalty that they shall pay ?'

48 (100). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall be Peshôtanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

49 (101). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Whither shall we bring, where shall we lay the bones¹ of the dead, O Ahura Mazda ?

50 (102). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The worshippers of Mazda shall make a receptacle² out of the reach of the dog, of the fox, and of the wolf, and wherein rain-water cannot stay.

51 (105). 'They shall make it, if they can afford it, with stones, plaster, or earth³; if they cannot afford it, they shall lay down the dead man on the ground, on his carpet and his pillow, clothed with the light of heaven, and beholding the sun⁴.'

¹ When the flesh has been stripped off the bones, they may be collected in a stone ossuary. See following note.

² 'When the corpse-eating birds have eaten the fat, that fat which, when it is not possible to eat it, becomes rotten, offensive, and fraught with noxious creatures, then men shall properly convey the bones away to the bone-receptacle (astôdân), which one is to elevate so from the ground, and over which a roof so stands, that in no way does the rain fall upon the dead matter, nor the water reach up to it therein, nor are the dog and fox able to go to it, and for the sake of light coming to it a hole is made therein' (Dâdistân XVIII, 3; tr. West).

³ Such stone ossuaries have been found at Bushir, by Mr. Malcolm; earth ossuaries, found at Susa, were brought to the Louvre by M. Dieulafoy.

⁴ The dead must see the sun: that is why the astôdân has holes for letting the light in (see note 2 above).

FARGARD VII.

I (1-5). How long after death the Drug Nasu takes possession of the corpse.

II (6-9 = V, 27-30). How far the defiling power of the Drug Nasu extends.

III (10-22). Cleansing of clothes defiled by the dead.

IV (23-24). Eating of Nasu an abomination.

V (25-27). Bringing Nasu to fire or water an abomination.

VI (28-35). Cleansing of wood and corn defiled by the dead.

VII a (36-40). Physicians; their probation.

VII b (41-44). Their fees.

VIII (45-59). Purification of the earth, of the Dakhmas. The Dakhmas and the Daêvas.

IX (60-72 ; 66-69 = V, 45-54). Treatment of a woman who has brought forth a still-born child.

X (73-75). Cleansing of vessels defiled by the dead.

XI (76). Cleansing of the cow.

XII (78). Unclean libations.

This chapter would offer tolerable unity, but for a digression on medicine, which would be better placed as an introduction to the last three chapters. Sections II and IX, parts of which have already been found in Fargard V, are more suitably placed here. This chapter, as a whole, deals with the action of the Drug Nasu, from the moment she takes hold of the corpse, and shows how and when the several objects she has defiled become clean, namely, clothes, wood, corn, earth, women, vessels, and cows.

I.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When a man dies, at what moment does the Drug Nasu rush upon him?'

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Directly after death, as soon as the soul has left the body, O Spitama Zarathustra! the Drug Nasu comes and rushes upon him, from the regions of the north¹, in

¹ Hell lies in the north; cf. II, 10 n.; III, 7 n.; XIX, 1 Yt. XXII, 25; Bundahis XV, 19.

the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras¹.

[3. 'On him she stays until the dog has seen the corpse² or eaten it up, or until the flesh-eating birds have taken flight towards it³. When the dog has seen it or eaten it up, or when the flesh-eating birds have taken flight towards it, then the Drug Nasu rushes away to the regions of the north in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.']

4 (5). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the man has been killed by a dog, or by a wolf, or by witchcraft, or by the artifices of hatred⁴, or by falling down a precipice, or by the law⁵, or by calumny⁶, or by the noose⁷, how long after death does the Drug Nasu come and rush upon the dead?

5 (6). Ahura Mazda answered: 'At the next watch after death⁸, the Drug Nasu comes and

¹ Khrafstra is a general denomination for noxious animals.

² Until the Sag-dîd has been performed (see VIII, 16 seq.)

³ The Sag-dîd may be performed by birds of prey as well as by dogs. The dog smites the Nasu when it brings its muzzle near to the dead, the bird (mountain hawk, sparrow (?), or eagle) when its shadow passes over the body (Comm. ad § 2; cf. § 29). § 3 is from the Vendîdâd Sâda.

⁴ 'By poison' (Comm.)

⁵ Literally, 'by men'; that is to say, put to death by the community according to law (Comm.)

⁶ If he has been condemned unjustly.

⁷ If he has strangled himself.

⁸ The day is divided into five watches or ratu. If the man dies a natural death, the Drug comes directly; if the death be violent and unlooked for, the Drug comes later (as the corruption does not set in so quickly).

rushes upon the dead, from the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.'

II¹.

6 (7). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! If there be a number of men resting in the same place, on the same carpet, on the same pillows, be there two men near one another, or five, or fifty, or a hundred, close by one another ; and of those people one happens to die ; how many of them does the Drug Nasu envelope with corruption, infection, and pollution ?

7 (11). Ahura Mazda answered : ' If the dead one be a priest, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra ! she goes as far as the eleventh and defiles the ten.

' If the dead one be a warrior, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra ! she goes as far as the tenth and defiles the nine.

' If the dead one be a husbandman, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra ! she goes as far as the ninth and defiles the eight.

8 (17). ' If it be a shepherd's dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra ! she goes as far as the eighth and defiles the seven.

' If it be a house dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra ! she goes as far as the seventh and defiles the six.

9 (21). ' If it be a Vohunazga dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra ! she goes as far as the sixth and defiles the five.

' If it be a Tauruna dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra ! she goes as far as the fifth and defiles the four ².'

¹ §§ 6-9 = Farg. V, 27-30.

² This enumeration is less complete than that in the fifth Fargard, as it comprises only the first four sorts of dogs ; the rest is to be supplied as in Farg. V, 31-38.

. . . 'Those clothes shall serve for their coverings and for their sheets'. . .

III.

10 (26). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of his bedding² and pillow does the Drug Nasu defile with corruption, infection, and pollution?

11 (27). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The Drug Nasu defiles with corruption, infection, and pollution the upper sheet and the inner garment³.'

12 (28). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can that garment be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! that has been touched by the carcase of a dog or the corpse of a man?

13 (29). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

'If there be on the garment seed, or blood, or dirt, or vomit, the worshippers of Mazda shall rend it to pieces, and bury it under the ground⁴.

14 (33). 'But if there be no seed [on the garment], nor blood, nor dirt, nor vomit, then the worshippers of Mazda shall wash it with gômêz.

15 (35). 'If it be leather, they shall wash it with gômêz three times, they shall rub it with earth three

¹ This phrase, which forms part of § 19, is wrongly inserted here.

² The bedding on which he has died.

³ The upper sheet of the bed and the inner garment of the body, that is to say, only those clothes which have been in direct contact with the dead.

⁴ According to the Commentary only that part which has been defiled is rent off; the rest may still be used.

times, they shall wash it with water three times, and afterwards they shall expose it to the air for three months at the window of the house.

‘If it be woven cloth, they shall wash it with gômêz six times¹, they shall rub it with earth six times, they shall wash it with water six times, and afterwards they shall expose it to the air for six months at the window of the house.

16 (37). ‘The spring named Ardvî Sûra, O Spitama Zarathustra! that spring of mine, purifies the seed of males, the womb of females, the milk of females².’

17³ (41). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can those clothes, when once washed and cleansed, ever be used either by a Zaoatar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnâtar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman?

18 (43). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Never can those clothes, even when washed and cleansed, be used either by a Zaoatar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnâtar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman.

19 (45). ‘But if there be in a Mazdean house a woman who is in her sickness, or a man who has become unfit for work, and who must sit in the place of infirmity, those clothes shall serve for their coverings and for their sheets, until they can withdraw their hands for prayer.

20 (49). ‘Ahura Mazda, indeed, does not allow us to waste anything of value that we may have, not even so

¹ See Farg. XIX, 21.

² This clause is a quotation from Yasna LXV, 5, intended to illustrate the cleansing power of water. Ardvî Sûra is the goddess of the waters. Cf. Farg. XXI, 6 notes.

³ §§ 17-22 = Farg. V, 57-62.

much as an Asperena's weight of thread, not even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning.

21 (52). 'Whosoever throws any clothing on a dead body, even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning, is not a pious man whilst alive, nor shall he, when dead, have a place in Paradise.

22 (55). 'He makes himself a viaticum unto the world of the wicked, into that world, made of darkness, the offspring of darkness, which is Darkness' self. To that world, to the world of Hell, you are delivered by your own doings, by your own religion, O sinners!'

IV.

23 (59). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can he be clean again who has eaten of the carcase of a dog or of the corpse of a man¹?

24 (60). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He cannot, O holy Zarathustra! His burrow² shall be dug out, his heart shall be torn out, his bright eyes shall be put out; the Drug Nasu falls upon him, takes hold of him even to the end of the nails, and he is unclean, thenceforth, for ever and ever³.'

¹ The carcase-eater lodges the Nasu in himself; he becomes a Nasu, and therefore must be destroyed; cf. below, § 76 seq.

² His house, as he is assimilated to a devouring Khrafstra; cf. Farg. III, 7.

³ Till the resurrection. 'It is prescribed in the Vendîdâd that if a man shall eat of a carcase, his house and family shall be destroyed, his heart shall be torn out of his body, his eyes shall be put out, and his soul shall abide in hell till the resurrection' (Saddar 71). 'He who eats of a carcase with sinful intent is both unclean and margarzân; Barashnûm and Nîrang are of no avail for him, he must die. If there has been no sinful intent, he may wash himself; one may give him the ashes and the gômêz (Comm.); he is unclean, he is not margarzân' (Old Rav. 115 b).

V.

25 (65). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can he be clean again, O holy Ahura Mazda! who has brought a corpse with filth into the waters, or unto the fire, and made either unclean?

26 (66). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He cannot, O holy Zarathustra! Those wicked ones it is, those Nasu-cutters, that most increase spiders and locusts¹; those wicked ones it is, those Nasu-cutters, that most increase the grass-destroying drought².

27 (69). 'Those wicked ones it is, those Nasu-cutters, that increase most the power of the winter², produced by the fiends, the cattle-killing, thick-snowing, overflowing, the piercing, fierce, mischievous winter³. Upon them comes and rushes the Drug Nasu, she takes hold of them even to the end of the nails, and they are unclean, thenceforth, for ever and ever⁴.'

¹ 'It is said in the Avesta that when there are many gnats and locusts it is owing to corpses having been brought to water and to fire' (Saddar 72).

² § 26 refers chiefly to the damage produced by the defilement of the waters, and § 27 to that produced by the defilement of the fire.

³ 'In the same way (by the bringing of corpses to water and to fire), winter grows colder, and summer grows warmer' (Saddar 72).

⁴ 'Whoever shall do that deed, shall pay for it in this world and in the next; they shall flay his body in the presence of the assembly, they shall tear him limb from limb, and his corpse shall be thrown away to dogs and ravens, . . . and when his soul comes to the other world, he shall suffer tortures from the Dêvs. If he has not made his Patet, his soul shall remain in hell till the day of resurrection' (Gr. Rav. p. 123).

VI.

28 (72). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the wood be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! whereunto Nasu has been brought from a dead dog, or from a dead man?

29 (73). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled¹ by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds², they shall lay down, apart on the ground, all the wood on a Vítasti³ all around, if the wood be dry; on a Frârâthni⁴ all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean⁵.

30 (78). 'But if the Nasu has already been expelled⁶ by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, all the wood on a Frârâthni all around, if the wood be dry; on a Frâbâzu⁷ all around, if it

¹ That is to say, if the Sag-dîd has not yet been performed. Read: 'If the Nasu has been expelled . . .' (that is to say, if the Sag-dîd has been performed). See note 6.

² See above, p. 77, n. 3.

³ Twelve fingers; a span.

⁴ The Frârâthni is, as it seems, as much as a forearm.

⁵ 'After a year,' according to the Commentary.

⁶ Read: 'But if the Nasu has not yet been expelled.' It appears from the similar passages (VIII, 35, 36, and 98, 99) and from the general principles of uncleanness that the words 'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled,' in § 29, have been misplaced there from § 30, and that the corresponding words in § 30 belong to § 29; because uncleanness spreads less far, when the Sag-dîd has taken place.

⁷ A measure of unknown extent; 'an arm's length,' it would seem.

be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

31 (81). 'Thus much of the wood around the dead shall they lay down, apart on the ground, according as the wood is dry or wet; as it is hard or soft; they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.'

32 (83). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the corn or the fodder be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! whereunto Nasu has been brought from a dead dog, or from a dead man?

33 (84). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled¹ by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, all the corn on a Frârâthni all around, if the corn be dry; on a Frâbâzu all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

34 (89). 'But if the Nasu has already been expelled² by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, all the corn on a Frâbâzu all around, if the corn be dry; on a Vîbâzu³ all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

35 (92). 'Thus much of the corn around the dead

¹ Read: 'If the Nasu has already been expelled . . .' See § 29 note.

² Read: 'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled . . .' See § 30 note.

³ A measure of unknown extent; 'an ell,' it would seem.

shall they lay down, apart on the ground, according as the corn is dry or wet; as it is sown or not sown; as it is reaped or not reaped; [as it is beaten or not beaten]¹; as it is winnowed or not winnowed²; [as it is ground or not ground]²; as it is kneaded [or not kneaded]³; they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.'

VII a.

36 (94). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a worshipper of Mazda want to practise the art of healing, on whom shall he first prove his skill? on worshippers of Mazda or on worshippers of the Daêvas⁴?

37 (96). Ahura Mazda answered: 'On worshippers of the Daêvas shall he first prove himself, rather than on worshippers of Mazda. If he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daêvas and he die; if he treat with the knife a second worshipper of the Daêvas and he die; if he treat with the knife for the third time a worshipper of the Daêvas and he die, he is unfit for ever and ever.

38 (99). 'Let him therefore never attend any worshipper of Mazda; let him never treat with the knife any worshipper of Mazda, nor wound him with the knife. If he shall ever attend any worshipper of Mazda, if he shall ever treat with the knife any worshipper of Mazda, and wound him with the knife,

¹ From the Vendîdâd Sâda.

² Doubtful.

³ This is supplied, as it seems to be required by the context and by the Pahlavi translation.

⁴ On Zoroastrians or on idolaters (or, what is tantamount, on Iranians or on non-Iranians).

he shall pay for his wound the penalty for wilful murder¹.

39 (102). 'If he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daêvas and he recover; if he treat with the knife a second worshipper of the Daêvas and he recover; if for the third time he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daêvas and he recover; then he is fit for ever and ever².

40 (104). 'He may henceforth at his will attend worshippers of Mazda; he may at his will treat with the knife worshippers of Mazda, and heal them with the knife.

VII b.

41 (105). 'A healer shall heal a priest for a blessing of the just³; he shall heal the master of a house for the value of an ox of low value; he shall heal the lord of a borough⁴ for the value of an ox of average value; he shall heal the lord of a town for the value of an ox of high value; he shall heal the lord of a province for the value of a chariot and four⁵.

42 (110). 'He shall heal the wife of the master of a house for the value of a she-ass; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a borough for the value of

¹ For baodhê-varsta, literally, 'done with full conscience.'

² 'Some say, One who has been qualified may become disqualified; one who has been disqualified shall never become qualified' (Comm. ad § 43).

³ The priest will say to him: Be holy! (that is to say, be one of the blest!) 'Thus he will become holy (i.e. he will go to Paradise); there is no equivalent in money. Some say, It is given when the priest has not 3000 stîrs' (Comm.)

⁴ A group of several houses; Aspendiârji and Anquetil say, 'a street.'

⁵ 'A value of seventy stîrs' (Comm.)

a cow; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a town for the value of a mare; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a province for the value of a she-camel.

43 (114). 'He shall heal the heir of a great house for the value of an ox of high value; he shall heal an ox of high value for the value of an ox of average value; he shall heal an ox of average value for the value of an ox of low value; he shall heal an ox of low value for the value of a sheep; he shall heal a sheep for the value of a piece of meat ¹.

44 (118). 'If several healers offer themselves together, O Spitama Zarathustra! namely, one who heals with the knife, one who heals with herbs, and one who heals with the Holy Word ², let one apply to the healing by the Holy Word: for this one is the best-healing of all healers who heals with the Holy Word; he will best drive away sickness from the body of the faithful ³.'

VIII.

45 (122). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead man has been laid down on the ground, clothed with the light of heaven and beholding the sun, is the ground clean again ⁴?

¹ Cf. the tariff of fees for the cleanser, Farg. IX, 37 seq.

² 'By spells' (Comm.; cf. *Odyssea* XIX, 457). This classification was not unknown to Asclepius: he relieved the sick 'now with caressing spells, now with soothing drink or balsam, now with the knife' (*Pindaros*, *Pyth.* III, 51).

³ Cf. *Yt.* III, 6. The treatment by the Holy Word seems not to consist only in the recitation of spells, but the spells must be accompanied by the ceremony of the *Barashnûm* (see Farg. XXII).

⁴ Restored to the purity of its nature, and fit to till; as it remains *Nasu* till that time.

46 (123). Ahura Mazda answered: 'When the corpse of a dead man has lain on the ground for a year, clothed with the light of heaven, and beholding the sun, then the ground is clean again, O holy Zarathustra ¹!'

47 (124). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead man has been buried in the earth, is the earth clean again?

48 (125). Ahura Mazda answered: 'When the corpse of a dead man has lain buried in the earth for fifty years ², O Spitama Zarathustra! then the earth is clean again ³.'

49 (126). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead man has been laid down on a Dakhma; is the ground, whereon the Dakhma stands, clean again?

50 (127). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Not until the dust of the corpse, O Spitama Zarathustra! has mingled with the dust of the earth ⁴. Urge every one in the material world, O Spitama Zarathustra! to pull down Dakhmas ⁵.

51 (129). 'He who should pull down Dakhmas, even so much thereof as the size of his own body, his sins in thought, word, and deed are remitted as they would be by a Patet; his sins in thought, word, and deed are undone ⁶.

52 (132). 'Not for his soul shall the two spirits

¹ See Farg. VI, 1 seq.

² The time necessary to consume the corpse to its last particle.

³ Cf. Farg. III, 36 seq.

⁴ A space of time estimated at fifty years (Comm.) Cf. Farg. III, 13.

⁵ Cf. Farg. III, 9, text and note, and § 13.

⁶ 'A tanáfûhr sin is remitted thereby' (Comm.)

wage war with one another¹; and when he enters Paradise, the stars, the moon, and the sun shall rejoice in him; and I, Ahura Mazda, shall rejoice in him, saying: "Hail, O man! thou who hast just passed from the decaying world into the undecaying one²!"

55³ (137). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Where are there Daêvas? Where is it they offer worship to the Daêvas? What is the place whereon troops of Daêvas rush together, whereon troops of Daêvas come rushing along? What is the place whereon they rush together to kill their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads?

56 (138). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Those Dakhmas that are built upon the face of the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! and whereon are laid the corpses of dead men, that is the place where there are Daêvas, that is the place whereon troops of Daêvas

¹ When a man dies, hell and Paradise, fiends and gods struggle for the possession of his soul: Astôvîdhôtus, Vîzaresha, and the bad Vayu drag the souls of the wicked to hell; Mithra, Sraosha, Rashnu, and the good Vayu take the souls of the good to Paradise (see Farg. XIX, 29 seq.; Yt. XXII; Mainyô-i-khard II). The struggle lasts for three days and three nights (the sadis), during which time the relatives of the dead offer up prayers and sacrifices to Sraosha, Rashnu, and Vayu, to assure him their protection (cf. IX, 56).

² Cf. Yt. XXII, 16 and Farg. XIX, 31.

³ §§ 53, 54 belong to the Commentary; they are composed of disconnected quotations, part of which refers to the different deeds by which a tanâfûhr sin may be redeemed, while the other part refers to the rules of what may be called the book-keeping of good actions and sins.

rush together ; whereon troops of Daêvas come rushing along ; whereon they rush together to kill their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.

57 (140). 'On those Dakhmas, O Spitama Zarathustra ! those Daêvas take food and void filth. As you, men, in the material world, you cook meal and eat cooked meat, so do they. It is, as it were, the smell of their feeding that you smell there, O men !

58 (143). 'For thus they go on revelling, until that stench is rooted in the Dakhmas. In those Dakhmas arise the infection of diseases, itch, hot fever, naêza ¹, cold fever, rickets, and hair untimely white ². On those Dakhmas meet the worst murderers, from the hour when the sun is down ³.

59 (148). 'And people of small understanding who do not seek for better understanding ⁴, the Gainis ⁵ make those diseases grow stronger by a third ⁶, on their thighs, on their hands, on their three-plaited hair ⁷.'

¹ Doubtful.

² Albinism was regarded as sent by the demons. When Zâl was born with white hair, his father Sâm exposed on the Alborz 'that child of Dêv, with an old man's head' (Firdausi).

³ Cemeteries are the meeting-place of robbers and murderers.

⁴ 'Who do not seek for instruction.'

⁵ 'The Gahi' (Comm.) The Gaini seems to be the Gahi as 'killing,' as bringing sickness.

⁶ The general meaning of the sentence seems to be that, for want of hygiene, diseases grow worse through the infection from the Dakhmas.

⁷ Doubtful.

IX.

60¹ (151). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda there be a woman with child, and if being a month gone, or two, or three, or four, or five, or six, or seven, or eight, or nine, or ten months gone, she bring forth a still-born child, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

61 (155). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that Mazdean house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful;—

62 (158). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

63 (159). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma; three paces from the faithful;—

64 (160). 'On that place shall the worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure, and therein shall they establish her with food, therein shall they establish her with clothes.'

65 (162). O Maker of the material word, thou Holy One! What is the food that the woman shall first take?

66 (163). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Gômêz mixed with ashes, three draughts of it, or six, or nine, to send down the Dakhma within her womb.

67 (166). 'Afterwards she may drink boiling milk of mares, cows, sheep, or goats, with pap or without pap; she may take cooked milk without water, meal without water, and wine without water.'

68 (169). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long shall she remain so? How long shall she live thus on milk, meal, and wine?

¹ §§ 60-69 = Farg. V, 45-54. See the Commentary there.

69 (170). Ahura Mazda answered : ' Three nights long shall she remain so ; three nights long shall she live thus on milk, meal, and wine. Then, when three nights have passed, she shall wash her body, she shall wash her clothes, with gômêz and water, by the nine holes, and thus shall she be clean.'

70 (172). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! But if fever befall her unclean body, if these two worst pains, hunger and thirst, befall her, may she be allowed to drink water ¹ ?

71 (175). Ahura Mazda answered : ' She may ; the first thing for her is to have her life saved. From the hands of one of the holy men, a holy faithful man, who knows the holy knowledge ², she shall drink of the strength-giving water. But you, worshippers of Mazda, fix ye the penalty for it. The Ratu being applied to, the Sraoshâ-varez being applied to³, shall prescribe the penalty to be paid⁴.'

72 (181). What is the penalty to be paid ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' The deed is that of a Peshôtanu : two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana⁵.'

X.

73 (183). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! Can the eating-vessels be made clean

¹ Before those three days have passed.

² If there is near her a pious and intelligent man, who recognises that her life would be endangered by too strict an adherence to the rule, he will let her depart from it.

³ See Farg. V, 25.

⁴ For the water having been defiled.

⁵ A penalty to be undergone by the husband, at least in modern practice : ' If through fear of death or of serious illness she has drunk water before the appointed time, her husband shall make Patet for her fault before the Dastur ' (Old Rav. 98 b).

that have been touched by Nasu from a dog, or Nasu from a man ?

74 (184). Ahura Mazda answered : ' They can, O holy Zarathustra !'

How so ?

' If they be of gold, you shall wash them once with gômêz, you shall rub them once with earth, you shall wash them once with water, and they shall be clean.

' If they be of silver, you shall wash them twice with gômêz, you shall rub them twice with earth, you shall wash them twice with water, and they shall be clean.

[75. ' If they be of brass, you shall wash them thrice with gômêz, you shall rub them thrice with earth, you shall wash them thrice with water, and they shall be clean.

' If they be of steel, you shall wash them four times with gômêz, you shall rub them four times with earth, you shall wash them four times with water, and they shall be clean.

' If they be of stone, you shall wash them six times with gômêz, you shall rub them six times with earth, you shall wash them six times with water, and they shall be clean¹.]

' If they be of earth, of wood, or of clay, they are unclean for ever and ever².'

XI.

76 (189). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! Can the cow be made clean that has

¹ From the Vendîdâd Sâda.

² The power of resistance to uncleanness follows the value of the materials : gold, silver, iron, steel, stone, earth, wood, clay.

eaten of the carcase of a dog, or of the corpse of a man?

77 (190). Ahura Mazda answered: 'She can, O holy Zarathustra! The priest shall not, within a year, take from her either milk or cheese for the libation, nor meat for the libation and the Baresma¹. When a year has passed, then the faithful may eat of her as before².'

XII.

78 (193). Who is he, O holy Ahura Mazda! who, meaning well and desiring righteousness, prevents righteousness? Who is he who, meaning well, falls into the ways of the Drug³?

79 (194). Ahura Mazda answered: 'This one, meaning well and desiring righteousness, prevents righteousness; this one, meaning well, falls into the ways of the Drug, who offers up water defiled by the dead and unfit for libation; or who offers up in the dead of the night water unfit for libation⁴.'

¹ The libation waters (Zaothra) are mixed with milk (*gīv*). The cheese (or butter) and the meat are elements of the *darūn* as *gōshôdâ*.

² 'Whatever comes from her, if dropped, is clean; if taken, unclean. If she be big with young, the young is born clean, if conceived before her eating of the corpse; if conceived afterwards, it is born unclean' (Comm.)

³ Possibly, 'works for the Drug.'

⁴ 'From what hour may sacrifice to the Good Waters be offered? From sunrise to sunset. . . . He who offers up libations to the Good Waters after sunset, before sunrise, does no better deed than if he should throw them downright into the jaws of a venomous snake' (*Nīrangistān*, § 48).

FARGARD VIII.

I (1-3). Purification of the house where a man has died.

II (4-13). Funerals.

III (14-22). Purification of the ways along which the corpse has been carried.

IV (23-25). No clothes to be thrown on a corpse.

V (26-32). Unlawful lusts.

VI (33-34). A corpse when dried up does not contaminate.

VII (35-72). Purification of the man defiled by the dead.

VIII (73-80). Purification of the fire defiled by the dead.

IX (81-96). The Bahrâm fire.

X (97-107). Purification in the wilderness.

This chapter, putting aside section V, may be entitled : Funerals and Purification. Logical order may easily be introduced into it, by arranging the sections as follows : I, IV, II, III, VI, VII, X, VIII, IX.

I.

1. If a dog or a man die under a hut of wood or a hut of felt¹, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do²?

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered : ' They shall search for a Dakhma, they shall look for a Dakhma all around³. If they find it easier to remove the dead, they shall take out the dead, they shall let the house stand, and shall perfume it with Urvâsna or Vohû-

¹ A movable shelter, by contradistinction to a fixed abode, something like the oba of the Tartars, one of those huts made of boards or felt and called thâruma by the Arabs, which served as pavilions for princes as well as tents for nomads.

² That sort of abode, having only one room, can have no chamber for the dead (Farg. V, 10).

³ If there is a Dakhma in the proximity, they remove the corpse at once. If there is no Dakhma or the season prevents its access, they purify the hut first.

gaona, or Vohû-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or any other sweet-smelling plant¹.

3 (8). 'If they find it easier to remove the house, they shall take away the house, they shall let the dead lie on the spot, and shall perfume the house with Urvâsna, or Vohû-gaona, or Vohû-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or any other sweet-smelling plant.'

II.

4 (11). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a dog or a man happens to die, and it is raining², or snowing, or blowing³, or it is dark, or the day is at its end, when flocks and men lose their way, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do³?

5 (14). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and by the faithful;—

6 (16). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the

¹ 'So, when a dog or a man dies, the first thing to do is to take the corpse out (from the house), and to purify the house, inside and outside, with perfumes burnt on the fire' (Comm.) Cf. XI, 4. Urvâsna is the râsan plant, a sort of garlic; Vohû-gaona, Vohû-kereti, and Hadhâ-naêpata are respectively (according to Frâmrjî) benzoin, aloe, and pomegranate.

² 'No corpse must be taken to the Dakhma when rain is falling, or threatening. If one is overtaken by rain on the way, if there be a place to lay it down, they shall lay it down; if there be none, they must go on and take it to the Dakhma, they must not retrace their steps: . . . When arrived at the Dakhma, if they find it full of water, they may nevertheless lay down the corpse' (Comm.)

³ If it is the season of rain or snow. Cf. V, 10 seq.

water? How far from the consecrated bundles of Baresma? How far from the faithful?

7 (17). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma; three paces from the faithful;—

8 (18). 'On that place they shall dig a grave¹, half a foot deep if the earth be hard, half the height of a man if it be soft²; [they shall cover the surface of the grave with ashes or cowdung]³; they shall cover the surface of it with dust of bricks, of stones, or of dry earth⁴.

9 (21)⁵. 'And they shall let the lifeless body lie there, for two nights, or three nights, or a month long, until the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the hidden floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the earth.

10 (23). 'And when the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the hidden floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the earth, then the worshippers of Mazda shall make a breach in the wall of the house⁶,

¹ This is the case when the house is too small for containing a special chamber for the dead (as prescribed Farg. V, 10). Nowadays they dispense even with that grave: the corpse is laid on the floor, on a slab of marble, by which it is sufficiently isolated from the ground to prevent its being defiled.

² Soft earth, being not impervious to liquids, lets contagion through more easily.

³ Vendîdâd Sâda.

⁴ Substances more impervious.

⁵ §§ 9-10; cf. Farg. V, 12-13.

⁶ 'The master and mistress of the house are carried away through a breach (made in the wall of the house); others through the door' (Comm.)—'The more scrupulous parties have it [the body] removed by a side, in preference to the usual general entrance' (H. G. Briggs, *The Parsis*, 1852, p. 50).

and two men, strong and skilful¹, having stripped their clothes off², shall take up the body from the clay or the stones, or from the plastered house³, and they shall lay it down on a place where they know there are always corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds.

11 (29). 'Afterwards the corpse-bearers shall sit down, three paces from the dead, and the holy Ratu⁴ shall proclaim to the worshippers of Mazda thus: "Worshippers of Mazda, let the urine be brought here wherewith the corpse-bearers there shall wash their hair and their bodies!"'

12 (32). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the urine wherewith the corpse-bearers shall wash their hair and their bodies? Is it of sheep or of oxen? Is it of man or of woman?

13 (35). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is of sheep or of oxen; not of man nor of woman, except a man or a woman who has married the next-of-kin⁵: these

¹ The corpse-bearers or *nasu-kasha* (*Khândyas*). 'The corpse must be carried by two persons (see *Farg.* III, 13 seq.), no matter who they are; they may be a man and a woman, or two women' (Comm.)

² 'As they are exchanged for the special clothes in which they carry corpses' (Comm.), the so-called *gâma-i dakhma*, 'the Dakhma clothes.'

³ The Dakhma (see *Farg.* VI, 50 seq.)

⁴ The priest who directs the funerals, 'the chief of the *Nasu-kashas*' (Comm.), the so-called *Nasâ-sâlâr*.

⁵ The next-of-kin marriage or *Hvaêtvadatha* (*Khêtûdâd*) is one of the good works that Ahriman dreads most (*Shâyast lâ-shâyast* XVIII; West, *Pahlavi Texts*, I, 389). 'Aharman and the demons are less predominant in the body of him who practises *Khêtûdâd*' (West, II, 422). Therefore their *maêsmâ* is as powerful as the *gômêz*.

shall therefore procure the urine wherewith the corpse-bearers shall wash their hair and their bodies¹.

III.

14 (38). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the way, whereon the carcasses of dogs or corpses of men have been carried, be passed through again by flocks and herds, by men and women, by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and by the faithful?

15 (40). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It cannot be passed through again by flocks and herds, nor by men and women, nor by the fire of Ahura Mazda, nor by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, nor by the faithful².

16 (41). 'They shall therefore cause a yellow dog with four eyes³, or a white dog with yellow ears, to go three times through that way⁴. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, is brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, [in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras⁵.]

¹ 'When back in the village they perform the regular Barash-nâm with consecrated gômêz' (Comm.)

² The way by which the corpse has passed is haunted by the Drug Nasu: the Drug is expelled from it by the same proceeding as it was expelled from the dead, by the Sag-dîd. The Sag-dîd for the purification of the way seems to have fallen into desuetude.

³ A dog with two spots above the eyes.

⁴ 'Afrag says, the dog goes straight along the length of the way; Maidyô-mâh says, he goes across it from side to side' (Comm.)

⁵ Cf. Farg. VII, 3.

17 (45). 'If the dog goes unwillingly, O Spitama Zarathustra, they shall cause the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, to go six times¹ through that way. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, is brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, [in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.]

18 (47). 'If the dog goes unwillingly, they shall cause the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, to go nine times through that way. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, has been brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, [in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.]

19 (49). 'An Âthravan shall first go along the way and shall say aloud these victorious words: "Yathâ ahû vairyô² :—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness.

"The gifts of Vohu-manô³ to the deeds done in this world for Mazda.

¹ 'Three times suffice if the dog goes of his own accord; if he goes by force, it counts as nothing; if he goes but with reluctance, that shall suffice' (Comm. ad § 18).

² A prayer in frequent use, and considered of great efficacy, generally known as the Ahuna Vairya or Honover. It was by reciting it that Ormazd in his first conflict with Ahriman drove him back to hell (Bund. I).

³ Of Paradise, as Vohu-manô (Good Thought) is the doorkeeper of heaven (cf. Farg. XIX, 31).

“He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king.

20 (52). “*Kem-nâ mazdâ*¹:—What protector hast thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me? Whom but thy *Âtar* and *Vohu-manô*², through whose work I keep on the world of righteousness? Reveal therefore to me thy Religion as thy rule³!

“*Ke verethrem-gâ*⁴:—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching? Make it clear that I am the guide for both worlds. May Sraosha come with *Vohu-manô* and help whomsoever thou pleasest, O Mazda!

21 (60). “Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and *Ârmaiti Spenta*! Perish, O fiendish *Drug*! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O creation of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O *Drug*! Rush away, O *Drug*! Perish away, O *Drug*! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness!”

22 (63). ‘Then the worshippers of Mazda may at their will bring by those ways sheep and oxen, men and women, and Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, the consecrated bundles of *Baresma*, and the faithful.

¹ Yasna XLVI, 7.

² I have no protection to expect but from my virtue (*Vohu-manô*, ‘Good Thought’) and from thy fire, which in the fire ordeal (*Var Nîrang*) will show my innocence.

³ That is to say, one must take Religion as one’s rule.

⁴ Yasna XLIV, 16. This stanza, which in the original *Gâtha* refers to the human incarnation of Sraosha, that is to say, to king *Vîstâspa*, the victorious protector of the Prophet and his Religion, is applied here to the god Sraosha, as a protector of the soul in its passage from this world to the other (*Farg. VII, 52*).

‘The worshippers of Mazda may afterwards¹ prepare meals with meat and wine in that house; it shall be clean, and there will be no sin, as before.’

IV.

23 (65). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of skin or woven, upon a dead body², enough to cover the feet, what is the penalty that he shall pay³?

Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshê-karana.’

24 (68). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of skin or woven, upon a dead body, enough to cover both legs, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshê-karana.’

25 (71). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of skin or woven, upon a dead body, enough to cover the whole body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: ‘A thousand stripes

¹ On the fourth day. For three days and nights after the death it is forbidden to cook meat in the house (Comm.)

² The dead must be stripped of his clothes and is exposed on the heights ‘clothed with the light of heaven’ (Farg. VI, 51).—The modern use is to have him wrapped in a shroud as old and as much worn out as possible (Farg. V, 61).

³ See Farg. V, 60; VII, 20.

with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

V.

26 (74). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man, by force, commits the unnatural sin, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, eight hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

27 (77). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man voluntarily commits the unnatural sin, what is the penalty for it? What is the atonement for it? What is the cleansing from it?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'For that deed there is nothing that can pay, nothing that can atone, nothing that can cleanse from it; it is a trespass for which there is no atonement, for ever and ever.'

28 (83)¹. When is it so?

'It is so, if the sinner be a professor of the Religion of Mazda, or one who has been taught in it.

'But if he be not a professor of the Religion of Mazda, nor one who has been taught in it, then his sin is taken from him, if he makes confession of the Religion of Mazda and resolves never to commit again such forbidden deeds.

29 (88). 'The Religion of Mazda indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! takes away from him who makes confession of it the bonds of his sin; it takes away (the sin of) breach of trust; it takes away (the sin of) murdering one of the faithful; it takes away (the sin of) burying a corpse; it takes away (the sin of) deeds for which there is no atonement; it takes away the worst sin of usury; it takes away any sin that may be sinned.

¹ See Farg. III, 38-42, text and notes.

30 (95). 'In the same way the Religion of Mazda, O Spitama Zarathustra! cleanses the faithful from every evil thought, word, and deed, as a swift-rushing mighty wind cleanses the plain.

'So let all the deeds he doeth be henceforth good, O Zarathustra! a full atonement for his sin is effected by means of the Religion of Mazda.'

31 (98). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the man that is a Daêva? Who is he that is a worshipper of the Daêvas? that is a male paramour of the Daêvas? that is a female paramour of the Daêvas? that is a wife to the Daêva¹? that is as bad as a Daêva? that is in his whole being a Daêva? Who is he that is a Daêva before he dies, and becomes one of the unseen Daêvas after death²?

32 (102). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The man that lies with mankind as man lies with womankind, or as woman lies with mankind, is the man that is a Daêva; this one is the man that is a worshipper of the Daêvas, that is a male paramour of the Daêvas, that is a female paramour of the Daêvas, that is a wife to the Daêva; this is the man that is as bad as a Daêva, that is in his whole being a Daêva; this is the man that is a Daêva before he dies, and becomes one of the unseen Daêvas after death: so is he, whether he has lain with mankind as mankind, or as womankind³.'

¹ 'As a wife is obedient to her husband, so is he to the Daêvas' (Comm.)

² Demons are often the restless souls of the wicked, excluded from heaven. The Persian sect of the Mahâbâdians believed that the soul that had not spoken and done good became an Ahriman or *gin* (Dabistân).

³ The guilty may be killed by any one, without an order from

VI.

33 (107). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Shall the man be clean who has touched a corpse that has been dried up and dead more than a year¹?

34 (108). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He shall. The dry mingles not with the dry². Should the dry mingle with the dry, how soon all this material world of mine would be only one Peshôtanu, bent on the destruction of righteousness, and whose soul will cry and wail! so numberless are the beings that die upon the face of the earth³.'

VII.

35 (111). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the man be made clean that has

the Dastur (see § 74 n.), and by this execution an ordinary capital crime may be redeemed (Comm. ad VII, 52).

¹ The corpse, dried up, contains no longer any of the solid and liquid elements that generate corruption and infection (see above, p. 75, n. 2).

² This principle still prevails even with Musulman Persians: 'Pour encourir leur immondicité dans l'attouchement des Chrétiens et autres idolâtres, il est nécessaire que s'ils les touchent, leurs vêtements soient mouillés. C'est à cause, disent-ils, qu'étant secs l'immondicité ne s'attache pas; . . . ce qui est cause que dans les villes où leurs Mullas et Docteurs ont plus d'autorité, ils font parfois défendre par leurs Kans que lorsqu'il pleut, les Chrétiens ne sortent pas de leurs maisons, de crainte que par accident, venans à les heurter, ils ne soient rendus immondes' (G. du Chinon, p. 88 seq.; cf. Chardin). Still nowadays, in Persia, the Jews are not allowed to go out of their house on a rainy day, lest the religious impurity, conducted through the rain, should pass from the Jew to the Musulman.

³ See Farg. V, 4.

touched the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man?

36 (113). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

'If the Nasu has already been expelled by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, he shall cleanse his body with gômêz and water, and he shall be clean¹.

37 (117). 'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds², then the worshippers of Mazda shall dig three holes in the ground³, and he shall thereupon wash his body with gômêz, not with water. They shall then lift and bring my dog⁴, they shall bring him (thus shall it be done and not otherwise) in front [of the man]⁵.

38 (121). 'The worshippers of Mazda shall dig three other holes⁶ in the ground, and he shall thereupon wash his body with gômêz, not with water. They shall then lift and bring my dog, they shall bring him (thus shall it be done and not otherwise) in front [of the man]. Then shall they wait until he

¹ If the Sag-dîd has been performed, a simple ghosel is enough. Cf. Farg. VII, 29, notes 1 and 5.

² If the Sag-dîd has not been performed, the Barashnûm is necessary.

³ The first three holes, which contain gômêz. For the disposition of the holes, see the following Fargard.

Three times; every time that the unclean one passes from one hole to another (Comm. ad IX, 32).

⁴ To look at him, or, rather, at the Nasu in him, whilst the priest sings the spells that drive the Nasu.

⁵ Containing gômêz too.

is dried¹ even to the last hair on the top of his head.

39 (125). 'They shall dig three more holes² in the ground, three paces away from the preceding, and he shall thereupon wash his body with water³, not with gômêz.

40 (127). 'He shall first wash his hands; if his hands be not first washed, he makes the whole of his body unclean. When he has washed his hands three times, after his hands have been washed, thou shalt sprinkle with water⁴ the forepart of his skull⁵.'

41 (131). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the forepart of the skull, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush⁶?

¹ He rubs himself dry with handfuls of dust (see IX, 29 seq.)

² Containing water.

³ As a master does not take away the dunghill from his house with his own hands, but has it taken away by his servants, so the water, being of higher dignity than the gômêz, has the worst of the impurity taken by the gômêz, and intervenes only when there is nothing left that can attain it (Abalish, tr. Barthelemy, ch. V and note 29).

⁴ The water is shed from a spoon, tied to a long stick, 'the stick with nine knots' (Farg. IX, 14).

⁵ Bareshnûm; from which word the whole of the operation has taken its name.

⁶ The Nasu is expelled symmetrically, from limb to limb, from the right side of the body to the left, from the forepart to the back parts, and she flies, thus pursued, downwards from the top of the head to the tips of the toes. The retreating order of the Nasu is just the reverse of the order in which she invaded the different members of the first man: she entered Gayomart by the little toe of the left foot, then went up to the heart, then to the shoulder, at last to the summit of the head (Gr. Bund.) Death still seizes the foot first.

Ahura Mazda answered : ' In front, between the brows, the Drug Nasu rushes.'

42 (134). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach in front, between the brows, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' On the back part of the skull the Drug Nasu rushes.'

43 (137). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the back part of the skull, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' In front, on the jaws, the Drug Nasu rushes.'

44 (140). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach in front, on the jaws, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' Upon the right ear the Drug Nasu rushes.'

45 (143). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right ear, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' Upon the left ear the Drug Nasu rushes.'

46 (146). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left ear, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' Upon the right shoulder the Drug Nasu rushes.'

47 (149). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right shoulder, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' Upon the left shoulder the Drug Nasu rushes.'

48 (152). O Maker of the material world, thou

Holy One! When the good waters reach the left shoulder, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right arm-pit the Drug Nasu rushes.'

49 (155). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right arm-pit, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left arm-pit the Drug Nasu rushes.'

50 (158). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left arm-pit, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'In front, upon the chest, the Drug Nasu rushes.'

51 (161). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the chest in front, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the back the Drug Nasu rushes.'

52 (164). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the back, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right nipple the Drug Nasu rushes.'

53 (167). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right nipple, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left nipple the Drug Nasu rushes.'

54 (170). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left nipple, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right rib the Drug Nasu rushes.'

55 (173). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right rib, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left rib the Drug Nasu rushes.'

56 (176). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left rib, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right hip the Drug Nasu rushes.'

57 (179). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right hip, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left hip the Drug Nasu rushes.'

58 (182). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left hip, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the sexual parts the Drug Nasu rushes. If the unclean one be a man, thou shalt sprinkle him first behind, then before; if the unclean one be a woman, thou shalt sprinkle her first before, then behind.'

59 (187). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the sexual parts, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right thigh the Drug Nasu rushes.'

60 (190). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right thigh, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left thigh the Drug Nasu rushes.'

61 (193). O Maker of the material world, thou

Holy One! When the good waters reach the left thigh, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right knee the Drug Nasu rushes.'

62 (196). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right knee, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left knee the Drug Nasu rushes.'

63 (199). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left knee, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right leg the Drug Nasu rushes.'

64 (202). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right leg, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left leg the Drug Nasu rushes.'

65 (205). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left leg, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right ankle the Drug Nasu rushes.'

66 (208). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right ankle, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left ankle the Drug Nasu rushes.'

67 (211). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left ankle, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right instep the Drug Nasu rushes.'

68 (214). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right instep, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left instep the Drug Nasu rushes.'

69 (217). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left instep, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'She turns round under the sole of the foot; it looks like the wing of a fly.'

70 (220). 'He shall press his toes upon the ground, and shall raise up his heels; thou shalt sprinkle his right sole with water; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left sole. Thou shalt sprinkle the left sole with water; then the Drug Nasu turns round under the toes; it looks like the wing of a fly.'

71 (225). 'He shall press his heels upon the ground, and shall raise up his toes; thou shalt sprinkle his right toe with water; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left toe. Thou shalt sprinkle the left toe with water; then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.'

[72. 'And thou shalt say aloud these victorious, most healing words:

"The will of the Lord is the law of holiness," &c.

"What protector hast thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me?" &c.

“Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching?” &c.¹

“Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O creation of the fiend! Perish O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness²!”]

VIII.

73 (229). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda, walking, or running, or riding, or driving, come upon a Nasu-burning fire, whereon Nasu is being burnt or cooked³, what shall they do?

74 (233). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘They shall kill the man that cooks the Nasu; surely they shall kill him⁴. They shall take off the cauldron, they shall take off the tripod.

75 (237). ‘Then they shall kindle wood from that fire; either wood of those trees that have the seed of fire in them, or bundles of the very wood that was prepared for that fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner⁵.

¹ As in §§ 19, 20.

² From the Vendîdâd Sâda; cf. § 21.

³ For food. Cf. Farg. VII, 23-24.

⁴ ‘He who burns Nasâ (dead matter) must be killed. Burning or cooking Nasâ from the dead is a capital crime. . . . Four men can be put to death by any one without an order from the Dastur: the Nasâ-burner, the highwayman, the Sodomite, and the criminal taken in the deed’ (Comm.)

⁵ A new fire is kindled from the Nasu-burning fire: this new fire is disposed in such a way that it should die out soon: before it has died out, they kindle a new fire from it and so on for nine times: the ninth fire, derived from the one impure, through seven inter-

76 (242). 'Thus they shall lay a first bundle on the ground¹, a Vitasti² away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

77 (245). 'They shall lay down a second bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a third bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a fourth bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a fifth bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a sixth bundle on the ground, a Vitasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

mediate fires, more and more distant from the original impurity, will represent the fire in its native purity and can enter into the composition of a Bahrām fire.—On the modern process, see Dosabhoy Frāmjī, *History of the Parsis*, II, 213.

¹ In a hole dug for that purpose; such is at least the custom nowadays. The ceremony is thus made an imitation of the Barashnūm. The unclean fire, represented by the nine bundles, passes through the nine holes, as the unclean man does (see above, § 37 seq. and Farg. IX, 12 seq.), and leaves at each of them some of the uncleanness it has contracted.

² A span of twelve fingers.

‘ They shall lay down a seventh bundle on the ground, a Vítasti away from the Nasu-burning fire ; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

‘ They shall lay down an eighth bundle on the ground, a Vítasti away from the Nasu-burning fire ; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

78 (245). ‘ They shall lay down a ninth bundle on the ground, a Vítasti away from the Nasu-burning fire ; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

79 (246). ‘ If a man shall then piously bring unto the fire, O Spitama Zarathustra ! wood of Urvásna, or Vohû-gaona, or Vohû-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or any other sweet-smelling wood ;

80 (248). ‘ Wheresoever the wind shall bring the perfume of the fire, thereunto the fire of Ahura Mazda shall go and kill thousands of unseen Daêvas, thousands of fiends, the brood of darkness, thousands of couples of Yâtus and Pairikas ¹.

IX.

81 (251). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! If a man bring a Nasu-burning fire to the Dâityô-gâtu², what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body ?

¹ It will have all the power of the Bahrâm fire.

² ‘ The proper abode,’ the Bahrâm fire. The Bahrâm fire is composed of a thousand and one fires belonging to sixteen different classes (ninety-one corpse-burning fires, eighty dyers’ fires, &c.) As the earthly representative of the heavenly fire, it is the sacred centre to which every earthly fire longs to return, in order to be united again, as much as possible, with its native abode. The

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ten thousand fire-brands to the Dāityô-gātu.'

82 (254). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dāityô-gātu the fire wherein impure liquid has been burnt¹, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought a thousand fire-brands to the Dāityô-gātu.'

83 (257). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dāityô-gātu the fire wherein dung has been burnt², what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought five hundred fire-brands to the Dāityô-gātu.'

84 (258). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dāityô-gātu the fire from the kiln of a potter, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought four hundred fire-brands to the Dāityô-gātu.'

more it has been defiled by worldly uses, the greater is the merit acquired by freeing it from defilement.

¹ The hêhr, that is to say all sort of impurity that comes from the body.

² 'The fire of a bath,' according to Frâmjî; the use of the bath was prohibited; according to Josuah the Stylite (ch. XX, tr. Martin), king Balash (484-488) was overthrown by the Magi for having built bath-houses. The reason of this prohibition was probably that it entailed the defilement of the fire, as they were warmed with cowdung.

85 (259). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from a glazier's kiln, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought to the Dâityô-gâtu as many fire-brands as there were glasses [brought to that fire]¹.'

86 (260). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from the aonya parô-bereg ya ², what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought to the Dâityô-gâtu as many fire-brands as there were plants¹.'

87 (261). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from under the puncheon of a goldsmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought a hundred fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

88 (262). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from under the puncheon of a silversmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ninety fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

¹ Doubtful.

² Meaning unknown. Perhaps a fire for burning weeds.

89 (263). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from under the puncheon of a blacksmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought eighty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

90 (264). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from under the puncheon of a worker in steel, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought seventy fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

91 (265). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of an oven¹, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted from his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought sixty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

92 (266). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from under a cauldron², what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought fifty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

93 (267). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the

¹ A baker's fire.

² The kitchen-fire.

fire from an aonya takhairya¹, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought forty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

94 (268). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring a herdsman's fire to the Dâityô-gâtu, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought thirty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

[95 (269)². O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of the field³, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought twenty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.']

96 (270). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of his own hearth⁴, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ten fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

X.

97 (271). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can a man be made clean, O holy

¹ Meaning unknown.

² From the Vendîdâd Sâda.

³ The hunter's fire, an encampment's fire.

⁴ By which one warms one's self; the fire least exposed to uncleanness.

Ahura Mazda! who has touched a corpse in a distant place in the wilderness¹?

98 (272). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He can, O holy Zarathustra.'

How so?

'If the Nasu has already been expelled by the corpse-eating dogs or the corpse-eating birds, he shall wash his body with gômêz; he shall wash it thirty times, he shall rub it dry with the hand thirty times, beginning every time with the head².

99 (278). 'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled by the corpse-eating dogs or the corpse-eating birds, he shall wash his body with gômêz; he shall wash it fifteen times, he shall rub it dry with the hand fifteen times³.

100 (280). 'Then he shall run a distance of a Hâthra⁴. He shall run until he meets some man on his way, and he shall cry out aloud: "Here am I, one who has touched the corpse of a man, and who is powerless in mind, powerless in tongue, powerless in hand⁵. Do make me clean." Thus shall he run until he overtakes the man. If the man

¹ Where the regular process of purification cannot be performed.—The Pahlavi Commentary to this chapter will be found in West, Pahlavi Texts, II, p. 455.

² Perhaps better: 'this is as good as the chief purification' (that is to say as a regular Barashnûm).—If the Sag-dîd has been performed, the Sî-shû (thirtyfold washing) is enough. Cf. above, §§ 35, 36.

³ If the Sag-dîd has not been performed, he cleanses himself in a summary way till he comes to a place where the Barashnûm can be performed.

⁴ See p. 15, n. 6.

⁵ On account of my uncleanness, I am armêst, excluded from active life and unfit for any work.

will not cleanse him, he remits him the third of his trespass¹.

101 (287). 'Then he shall run another Hâthra, he shall run off again until he overtakes a man; if the man will not cleanse him, he remits him the half of his trespass².

102 (291). 'Then he shall run a third Hâthra, he shall run off a third time until he overtakes a man; if the man will not cleanse him, he remits him the whole of his trespass.

103 (294). 'Thus shall he run forwards until he comes near a house, a borough, a town, an inhabited district, and he shall cry out with a loud voice: "Here am I, one who has touched the corpse of a man, and who is powerless in mind, powerless in tongue, powerless in hand. Do make me clean." If they will not cleanse him, he shall cleanse his body with gômêz and water; thus shall he be clean³.'

104 (300). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If he find water on his way and the water make him subject to a penalty⁴, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

105 (303). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

106 (304). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If he find trees⁵ on his way and the

¹ As he takes it upon his own head.

² The half of the remnant, that is the second third.

³ 'He may then attend to his business; he may work and till; some say he must abstain from sacrifice (till he has undergone the Barashnûm)' (Comm.)

⁴ As he defiled it by crossing it.

⁵ 'Trees fit for the fire' (Comm.) If he touches those trees, the fire to which they are brought becomes unclean by his fault.

fire make him subject to a penalty, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

107 (308). 'This is the penalty, this is the atonement which saves the faithful man who submits to it, not him who does not submit to it. Such a one shall surely be an inhabitant in the mansion of the Drug¹.'

FARGARD IX.

The Nine Nights' Barashnûm.

I a (1-11). Description of the place for cleansing the unclean (the Barashnûm-gâh).

I b (12-36). Description of the cleansing.

II (37-44). Fees of the cleanser.

III (47-57). The false cleanser; his punishment.

§§ 45, 46 belong better to the following Fargard.

The ceremony described in this Fargard is known among the Parsis as Barashnûm nû shaba, or 'nine nights' Barashnûm,' because it lasts for nine nights (see § 35)². It is the great purification, the most efficacious of all; it not only makes the defiled man clean, but it opens to him the heavens (see Farg. XIX, 33). So, although it was formerly intended only for the man defiled by the dead, it became, during the Parsi period, a pious work which might be performed without any corpse having been touched; nay, its performance was prescribed, once at least, at the time of the Nû zûdî (at the age of fifteen, when the young Parsi becomes a member of the community), in order to wash away the natural uncleanness that has been contracted in the maternal womb (Saddar 36)³. It must also be undergone by a priest who wants

¹ Hell. Imitated from Yasna XLIX, 11 d. Cf. Farg. XIV, 18.

² On the name Barashnûm, see p. 107, note 5.

³ For the plan of the Barashnûm-gâh, see West, Pahlavi Texts, II, p. 435.

to appear before the Bahrâm fire or perform the Yasna or the Vendidad office.

I a.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! To whom shall they apply here below, who want to cleanse their body defiled by the dead?'

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered: 'To a pious man', O Spitama Zarathustra! who knows how to speak, who speaks truth, who has learned the Holy Word, who is pious, and knows best the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda. That man shall fell the trees off the surface of the ground on a space of nine Vîbâzus² square;

3 (9). 'in that part of the ground where there is least water and where there are fewest trees, the part which is the cleanest and driest, and the least passed through by sheep and oxen, and by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and by the faithful.'

4 (11). How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of Baresma? How far from the faithful?

5 (12). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire, thirty paces from the water, thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma, three paces from the faithful.'

6 (13). 'Then thou shalt dig a hole³, two fingers

¹ A priest.

² Nine ells (?). See Farg. VII, 34.

³ Those holes are intended to receive the liquid trickling from the body. In summer, the air and the earth being dry the hole may be less deep, as it is certain that it will be empty and will have room enough for that liquid.

deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

7 (14). 'Thou shalt dig a second hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

'Thou shalt dig a third hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

'Thou shalt dig a fourth hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

'Thou shalt dig a fifth hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

'Thou shalt dig a sixth hole¹, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.'

8 (14). How far from one another?

'One pace.'

How much is the pace?

'As much as three feet.

9 (16). 'Then thou shalt dig three holes more², two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.'

How far from the former six?

'Three paces.'

What sort of paces?

'Such as are taken in walking.'

How much are those (three) paces?

'As much as nine feet.

10 (22). 'Then thou shalt draw a furrow all around with a metal knife.'

¹ These six holes contain gômêz. 'The holes must be dug from the north to the south' (Comm.)

² The three holes to contain water.

How far from the holes ?

'Three paces.'

What sort of paces ?

'Such as are taken in walking.'

How much are those (three) paces ?

'As much as nine feet.

11 (24). 'Then thou shalt draw twelve furrows¹; three of which thou shalt draw to surround and divide [from the rest] (the first) three holes; three thou shalt draw to surround and divide (the first) six holes; three thou shalt draw to surround and divide the nine holes; three thou shalt draw around the [three] inferior holes, outside the [six other] holes². At each of the three times nine feet³, thou shalt place stones as steps to the holes; or potsherds, or stumps⁴, or clods, or any hard matter⁵.'

¹ 'The furrows must be drawn during the day; they must be drawn with a knife; they must be drawn with recitation of spells. While drawing the furrows the cleanser recites three Ashem-vohus ("holiness is the best of all good," &c.), the Fravarânê ("I declare myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, a foe of the fiend," &c.), the Khshnûman of Serosh, and the Bâg of Serosh; they must be drawn from the north' (Comm. ad § 32). The furrow, or kesh, plays a greater part in the Mazdean liturgy than in any other. By means of the furrow, drawn with proper spells, and according to the laws of spiritual war, man either besieges the fiend or intrenches himself against him (cf. Farg. XVII, 5). In the present case the Drug, being shut up inside the kesh and thus excluded from the world outside, and being driven back, step by step, by the strength of the holy water and spells, finds at last no place of refuge but hell.

² 'The three holes for water, the six holes for gômêz' (Comm.)

³ The nine feet between the holes containing gômêz and those containing water, the nine feet between the first holes and the furrows, and the nine feet between the last hole and the furrows.

⁴ Dâdara.

⁵ That the foot of the unclean one may not touch the earth.

I b.

12 (31). 'Then the man defiled shall walk to the holes; thou, O Zarathustra! shalt stand outside by the furrow, and thou shalt recite, *Nemaskâ yâ ârmaitis tšâkâ*¹; and the man defiled shall repeat, *Nemaskâ yâ ârmaitis tšâkâ*.

13 (35). 'The Drug becomes weaker and weaker at every one of those words which are a weapon to smite the fiend Angra Mainyu, to smite Aêshma of the murderous spear², to smite the Mâzainya fiends³, to smite all the fiends.

14 (40). 'Then thou shalt take for the *gômêz* a spoon of brass or of lead. When thou takest a stick with nine knots⁴, O Spitama Zarathustra! to sprinkle (the *gômêz*) from that spoon, thou shalt fasten the spoon to the end of the stick.

15 (43). 'They shall wash his hands first. If his hands be not washed first, he makes his whole body unclean. When he has washed his hands three times, after his hands have been washed, thou shalt sprinkle the forepart of his skull⁵; then the Drug Nasu rushes in front, between his brows⁶.

16 (50). 'Thou shalt sprinkle him in front between the brows; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the back part of the skull.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the back part of the skull; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the jaws.

¹ Yasna XLIX, 10 c.

² See Farg. X, 13.

³ See Farg. X, 16.

⁴ So long that the cleanser may take *gômêz* or water from the holes and sprinkle the unclean one, without touching him and without going inside the furrows.

⁵ With *gômêz* at the first six holes, with water at the next three.

⁶ Cf. Farg. VIII, 40-71.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the jaws; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right ear.

17 (56). ‘Thou shalt sprinkle the right ear; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left ear.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the left ear; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right shoulder.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the right shoulder; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left shoulder.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the left shoulder; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right arm-pit.

18 (64). ‘Thou shalt sprinkle the right arm-pit; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left arm-pit.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the left arm-pit; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the chest.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the chest; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the back.

19 (70). ‘Thou shalt sprinkle the back; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right nipple.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the right nipple; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left nipple.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the left nipple; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right rib.

20 (76). ‘Thou shalt sprinkle the right rib; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left rib.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the left rib; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right hip.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the right hip; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left hip.

21 (82). ‘Thou shalt sprinkle the left hip; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the sexual parts.

‘Thou shalt sprinkle the sexual parts. If the unclean one be a man, thou shalt sprinkle him first behind, then before; if the unclean one be a woman, thou shalt sprinkle her first before, then behind;

then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right thigh.

22 (88). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right thigh; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left thigh.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left thigh; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right knee.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right knee; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left knee.

23 (94). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left knee; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right leg.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right leg; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left leg.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left leg; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right ankle.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right ankle; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left ankle.

24 (102). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left ankle; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right instep.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right instep; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left instep.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left instep; then the Drug Nasu turns round under the sole of the foot; it looks like the wing of a fly.

25 (108). 'He shall press his toes upon the ground and shall raise up his heels; thou shalt sprinkle his right sole; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left sole.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left sole; then the Drug Nasu turns round under the toes; it looks like the wing of a fly.

26 (113). 'He shall press his heels upon the ground and shall raise up his toes; thou shalt sprinkle his right toe; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left toe.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left toe ; then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

27 (118). 'And thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words:—

"Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness.

"The gifts of Vohu-manô to deeds done in this world for Mazda.

"He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king.

"Kēm-nâ mazdâ:—What protector hadst thou given unto me, O Mazda ! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me ? Whom, but thy Âtar and Vohu-manô, through whose work I keep on the world of Righteousness ? Reveal therefore to me thy Religion as thy rule !

"Kē verethrem-gâ:—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching ? Make it clear that I am the guide for both worlds. May Sraosha come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest, O Mazda !

"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta ! Perish, O fiendish Drug ! Perish, O brood of the fiend ! Perish, O world of the fiend ! Perish away, O Drug ! Rush away, O Drug ! Perish away, O Drug ! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness¹ !"

28 (119). 'At the first hole the man becomes freer from the Nasu ; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words:—"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.²

'At the second hole he becomes freer from the Nasu ; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words:—"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

¹ Cf. Farg. VIII, 19-21.

² As in preceding clause.

‘At the third hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words:—
“Yathâ ahû vairyô,” &c.

‘At the fourth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words:—
“Yathâ ahû vairyô,” &c.

‘At the fifth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words:—
“Yathâ ahû vairyô,” &c.

‘At the sixth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words:—
“Yathâ ahû vairyô,” &c.

29 (120). ‘Afterwards the man defiled shall sit down, inside the furrows¹, outside the furrows of the six holes, four fingers from those furrows. There he shall cleanse his body with thick handfuls of dust.

30 (123). ‘Fifteen times shall they take up dust from the ground for him to rub his body, and they shall wait there until he is dry even to the last hair on his head.

31 (125). ‘When his body is dry with dust, then he shall step over the holes (containing water). At the first hole he shall wash his body once with water; at the second hole he shall wash his body twice with water; at the third hole he shall wash his body thrice with water.

32 (130). ‘Then he shall perfume (his body) with Urvâsna, or Vohû-gaona, or Vohû-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or any other sweet-smelling plant; then he shall put on his clothes, and shall go back to his house.

¹ Between the furrows of the six holes containing gômêz and the furrows of the holes containing water.

33 (133). 'He shall sit down there in the place of infirmity¹, inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue until three nights have passed. When three nights have passed, he shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gômêz and water to make them clean.

34 (137). 'Then he shall sit down again in the place of infirmity, inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue until six nights have passed. When six nights have passed, he shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gômêz and water to make them clean.

35 (141). 'Then he shall sit down again in the place of infirmity, inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue, until nine nights have passed. When nine nights have passed, he shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gômêz and water to make them clean.

36 (145). 'He may thenceforth go near the fire, near the water, near the earth, near the cow, near the trees, and near the faithful, either man or woman.

¹ The Armêst-gâh (see Farg. V, 59, note 4).

II.¹

37 (146). 'Thou shalt cleanse a priest for a blessing of the just².

'Thou shalt cleanse the lord of a province for the value of a camel of high value,

'Thou shalt cleanse the lord of a town for the value of a stallion of high value.

'Thou shalt cleanse the lord of a borough for the value of a bull of high value.

'Thou shalt cleanse the master of a house for the value of a cow three years old.

38 (151). 'Thou shalt cleanse the wife of the master of a house for the value of a ploughing³ cow.

'Thou shalt cleanse a menial for the value of a draught cow.

'Thou shalt cleanse a young child for the value of a lamb.

39 (154). 'These are the heads of cattle—flocks or herds—that the worshippers of Mazda shall give to the man who has cleansed them, if they can afford it; if they cannot afford it, they shall give him any other value that may make him leave their houses well pleased with them, and free from anger.

40 (157). 'For if the man who has cleansed them leave their houses displeased with them, and full of anger, then the Drug Nasu enters them from the nose [of the dead], from the eyes, from the tongue, from the jaws, from the sexual organs, from the hinder parts.

¹ Cf. the tariff for the fees of physicians, Farg. VII, 41-43.

² See Farg. VII, 41, note 3.

³ Doubtful.

41 (159). 'And the Drug Nasu rushes upon them even to the end of the nails, and they are unclean thenceforth for ever and ever.

'It grieves the sun indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! to shine upon a man defiled by the dead; it grieves the moon, it grieves the stars.

42 (162). 'That man delights them, O Spitama Zarathustra! who cleanses from the Nasu the man defiled by the dead; he delights the fire, he delights the water, he delights the earth, he delights the cow, he delights the trees, he delights the faithful, both men and women.'

43 (164). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What shall be his reward, after his soul has parted from his body, who has cleansed from the Nasu the man defiled by the dead?'

44 (166). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The welfare of Paradise thou canst promise to that man, for his reward in the other world.'

45² (167). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead rushes upon the living? How shall I fight against that Nasu who from the dead defiles the living?'

46 (169). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice³.

¹ Literally, 'the grease.'

² This clause and the following one as far as 'and the Drug shall fly away' are further developed in the following Fargard.

³ The Bis-âmrûta formulas, as enumerated in the following Fargard.

‘Say aloud those words in the Gāthas that are to be said thrice¹.

‘Say aloud those words in the Gāthas that are to be said four times¹.

‘And the Drug shall fly away like the well-darted arrow, like the felt of last year², like the annual garment³ of the earth.’

III.

47 (172). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man who does not know the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda, offers to cleanse the unclean, how shall I then fight against that Drug who from the dead rushes upon the living? How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead defiles the living?

48 (175). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Then, O Spitama Zarathustra! the Drug Nasu appears to wax stronger than she was before. Stronger then are sickness and death and the working of the fiend than they were before⁴.’

49 (177). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: ‘The worshippers of Mazda shall bind him; they shall bind his hands first; then they shall strip him of his clothes, they shall cut the head off his neck, and they shall give over his corpse unto the greediest of the corpse-

¹ The *Thris-âmrûta* and *Kathrus-âmrûta* formulas, as enumerated in the following Fargard.

² The felt of an oba made for a season (?). Cf. Farg. VIII, 1.

³ The grass.

⁴ The plague and contagion are stronger than ever.

eating creatures made by the beneficent Spirit, unto the vultures, with these words¹ :—

“The man here has repented of all his evil thoughts, words, and deeds.

50 (183). “If he has committed any other evil deed, it is remitted by his repentance; if he has committed no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance for ever and ever².”

51 (187). Who is he, O Ahura Mazda! who threatens to take away fulness and increase from the world, and to bring in sickness and death?

52 (188). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘It is the ungodly Ashemaogha³, O Spitama Zarathustra! who in this material world cleanses the unclean without knowing the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda.

53 (190). ‘For until then, O Spitama Zarathustra! sweetness and fatness would flow out from that land and from those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass⁴.’

54 (191). O Maker of the material world, thou

¹ ‘The cleanser who has not performed the cleansing according to the rites, shall be taken to a desert place; there they shall nail him with four nails, they shall take off the skin from his body, and cut off his head. If he has performed Patet for his sin, he shall be holy (that is, he shall go to Paradise); if he has not performed Patet, he shall stay in hell till the day of resurrection’ (Fraser Ravâet, p. 398). Cf. Farg. III, 20–21 and note 5.

² See Farg. III, 20 seq.

³ See Farg. V, 35

⁴ Cf. XIII, 52 seq. The false cleanser is punished as would be a man who would introduce an epidemic. He undergoes the same penalty as the êvak-bar, but with none of the mitigation allowed in the case of the latter, on account of the sacrilegious character of his usurpation.

Holy One! When are sweetness and fatness to come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass?

55, 56 (192, 193). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Sweetness and fatness will never come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass, until that ungodly Ashemaogha has been smitten to death on the spot, and the holy Sraosha of that place has been offered up a sacrifice¹, for three days and three nights, with fire blazing, with Baresma tied up, and with Haoma prepared.

57 (196). 'Then sweetness and fatness will come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass.'

FARGARD X.

Nowadays, before laying the dead in the coffin, two priests recite the Ahunavaiti Gâtha (Yasna XXVIII-XXXIV): it is the so-called Gâh sârnâ (chanting of the Gathas: gâthâo srâvayêiti). From the following Fargard it appears that formerly all the five Gâthas and the Yasna Haptanghâiti were recited. Certain stanzas were recited several times and with a certain emphasis (framrava): and they were followed with certain spells. The object of this Fargard is to show which are those stanzas, how many times each was recited, and to give the corresponding spells.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda! most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the ma-

¹ The sadis sacrifice, that is to say, the sacrifice that is offered up to Sraosha for three days and three nights after the death of a man for the salvation of his soul.

terial world, thou Holy One! How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead rushes upon the living? How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead defiles the living?’

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice¹.

‘Say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice².

‘Say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times³.’

3 (7). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which are those words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice?

4 (10). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘These are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice, and thou shalt twice say them aloud⁴:—

ahyâ yâsâ . . . urvânem (Yasna XXVIII, 2).

humatenãm . . . mahî (Yas. XXXV, 2),

ashahyâ âad sairê . . . ahubyâ (Yas. XXXV, 8),

yathâ tû i . . . ahurâ (Yas. XXXIX, 4),

humâim thwâ . . . hudæustemâ (Yas. XLI, 3),

thwôi staotaraskâ . . . ahurâ (Yas. XLI, 5).

ustâ ahmâi . . . mananghê (Yas. XLIII, 1),

spentâ mainyû . . . ahurê (Yas. XLVII, 1),

vohu khshathrem . . . vareshânê (Yas. LI, 1),

vahistâ istis . . . skyaothanâkâ (Yas. LIII, 1).

5 (10). ‘And after thou hast twice said those Bis-âmrûtas, thou shalt say aloud these victorious, most healing words:—

¹ The so-called Bis-âmrûta.

² The Thris-âmrûta.

³ The Kathrus-âmrûta.

⁴ The Bis-âmrûta are the opening stanzas of the five Gâthas and five stanzas in the Yasna Haptanghâiti.

“ I drive away Angra Mainyu¹ from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land ; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead ; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land ; from the whole of the world of Righteousness.

6 (12). “ I drive away the Nasu², I drive away direct defilement, I drive away indirect defilement, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land ; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead ; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land ; from the whole of the world of Righteousness.”

7 (13). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! Which are those words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice ?

8 (16). Ahura Mazda answered : ‘ These are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice, and thou shalt thrice say them aloud :—

ashem vohû . . . (Yas. XXVII, 14),

ye sevistô . . . paiti (Yas. XXXIII, 11),

hukhshathrôtemâi . . . vahistâi (Yas. XXXV, 5),

duzvarenâis . . . vahyô (Yas. LIII, 9).

9 (16). ‘ After thou hast thrice said those Thris-âm-rûtas, thou shalt say aloud these victorious, most healing words :—

¹ The chief demon, the Daêva of the Daêvas.

² The very demon with whom one has to do in the present case.

“I drive away Indra¹, I drive away Sauru¹, I drive away the daêva Nəunghaithya¹, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the world of Righteousness.

10 (18). “I drive away Tauru¹, I drive away Zairi¹, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world.”

11 (19). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which are those words in the Gāthas that are to be said four times?

12 (22). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘These are the words in the Gāthas that are to be said four times, and thou shalt four times say them aloud:—

yathâ ahû vairyo . . .² (Yas. XXVII, 13),

¹ Indra, Sauru, Nəunghaithya, Tauru, and Zairi are (with Akem-manô, here replaced by the Nasu), the six chief demons, and stand to the Amesha Spəntas in the same relation as Angra Mainyu to Spənta Mainyu. Indra opposes Asha Vahista and turns men’s hearts from good works; Sauru opposes Khshathra Vairya, he presides over bad government; Nəunghaithya opposes Spənta Ârmaiti, he is the demon of discontent; Tauru and Zairi oppose Haurvatât and Ameretât and poison the waters and the plants.—Akem-manô, Bad Thought, opposes Vohu-manô, Good Thought.

² Translated Farg. VIII, 19.

mazdâ ad' moi . . . dau ahûm¹ (Yas. XXXIV, 15),
â airyamâ ishyô . . . masatâ mazdau² (Yas. LIV. 1).

13 (22). 'After thou hast said those *Kathrus-âmrûtas* four times, thou shalt say aloud these victorious, most healing words:—

"I drive away *Aêshma*, the fiend of the murderous spear³, I drive away the *daêva Akatasha*⁴, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the world of Righteousness.

14 (24). "I drive away the *Varenya daêvas*⁵, I drive away the wind-*daêva*, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the world of Righteousness."

15 (25). 'These are the words in the *Gâthas* that

¹ Translated Farg. XI, 14.

² Translated Farg. XX, 11; cf. XI, 7.

³ *Aêshma*, *Khishm*, the incarnation of anger: he sows quarrel and war. 'He is the chief source of evil for the creatures of Ormazd, and the Kayani heroes mostly perished through him' (Bund. XXVIII, 17).

⁴ The fiend who corrupts and perverts men.

⁵ The fiendish inhabitants of *Varena* (*Gîlân*). *Varena*, like the neighbouring *Mâzana* (*Mâzandarân*), was peopled with savage, non-Aryan natives, who were considered men-demons. Cf. Farg. I, 18 and notes.

are to be said twice; these are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice; these are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times.

16 (26). 'These are the words that smite down Angra Mainyu; these are the words that smite down Aêshma, the fiend of the murderous spear; these are the words that smite down the daêvas of Mâzana¹; these are the words that smite down all the daêvas.

17 (30). 'These are the words that stand against that Drug, against that Nasu, who from the dead rushes upon the living, who from the dead defiles the living.

18 (32). 'Therefore, O Zarathustra! thou shalt dig nine holes² in the part of the ground where there is least water and where there are fewest trees; where there is nothing that may be food either for man or beast; "for purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good, that purity, O Zarathustra, that is in the Religion of Mazda for him who cleanses his own self with good thoughts, words, and deeds³."

19 (38). 'Make thy own self pure, O righteous man! any one in the world here below can win purity for his own self, namely, when he cleanses his own self with good thoughts, words, and deeds.

20. "Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness," &c.⁴

"Kem-nâ mazdâ:—What protector hast thou given

¹ The demoniac races of Mâzandarân; Mâzandarân was known in popular tradition as a land of fiends and sorcerers.

² The nine holes for the Barashnûm; see above, p. 123, § 6 seq.

³ Cf. Farg. V, 21.

⁴ The rest as in Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

unto me, O Mazda ! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me ?" &c.

" *Kē verethrem-gâ* :—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching ?" &c.

" Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and *Ârmaiti Spenta* ! Perish, O fiendish Drug ! . . . Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness !"

FARGARD XI.

This chapter, like the preceding, is composed of spells intended to drive away the Nasu. But they are of a more special character, as they refer to the particular objects to be cleansed, such as the house, the fire, the water, the earth, the animals, the plants, the man defiled with the dead. Each incantation consists of two parts, a line from the *Gâthas* which alludes, or rather is made to allude, to the particular object (§§ 4, 5, 6, 7), and a general exorcism, in the usual dialect (§§ 8–20), which is the same for all the objects.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : 'O Ahura Mazda ! most beneficent spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! How shall I cleanse the house ? how the fire ? how the water ? how the earth ? how the cow ? how the tree ? how the faithful man and the faithful woman ? how the stars ? how the moon ? how the sun ? how the boundless light ? how all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle ?'

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered : 'Thou shalt chant the cleansing words, and the house shall be clean ; clean shall be the fire, clean the water, clean the earth, clean the cow, clean the tree, clean the faithful man and the faithful woman, clean the stars, clean the moon, clean the sun, clean the boundless

light, clean all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

3 (7). ['So thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words]; thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya five times: "The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness," &c.

'The Ahuna-Vairya preserves the person of man:

"Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness," &c.

"Kēm-nâ mazdâ:—What protector hast thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me?" &c.

"Kē verethrem-gâ:—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching?" &c.

"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta!" &c.¹

4 (9). 'If thou wantest to cleanse the house, say these words aloud: "As long as the sickness lasts my great protector [is he who teaches virtue to the perverse]²."

'If thou wantest to cleanse the fire, say these words aloud: "Thy fire, first of all, do we approach with worship, O Ahura Mazda³!"

5 (13). 'If thou wantest to cleanse the water, say these words aloud: "Waters we worship, the Maê-kaiñti waters, the Hebvaiñti waters, the Fravazah waters⁴."

'If thou wantest to cleanse the earth, say these

¹ As in Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

² Yasna XLIX, 1. The allusion is not quite clear. This line was recited by the Genius of the sky at the moment when Ahriman was invading the sky (Gr. Bd.) Perhaps the small house of man is compared here with that large house, the world.

³ Yasna XXXVI, 1.

⁴ Yasna XXXVIII, 3.

words aloud: "This earth we worship, this earth with the women, this earth which bears us and those women who are thine, O Ahura¹!"

6 (17). 'If thou wantest to cleanse the cow, say these words aloud: "The best of all works we will fulfil while we order both the learned and the unlearned, both masters and servants to secure for the cattle a good resting-place and fodder²."

'If thou wantest to cleanse the trees, say these words aloud: "For him³, as a reward, Mazda made the plants grow up⁴."

7 (21). 'If thou wantest to cleanse the faithful man or the faithful woman, say these words aloud: "May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman come hither, for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for Vohu-manô to rejoice; with the desirable reward that Religion deserves. I solicit for holiness that boon that is vouchsafed by Ahura⁵!"

8 (25). 'Then thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words. Thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya eight times:—

¹ Yasna XXXVIII, 1. 'Who are thine,' that is, 'who are thy wives.'

² Yasna XXXV, 4. 'Let those excellent deeds be done for the behoof of cattle, that is to say, let stables be made, and water and fodder be given' (Comm.)

³ 'For him,' that is to say, to feed him; also 'out of him;' for it was from the body of the first-born bull that, after his death, grew up all kinds of plants (Bund. IV).

⁴ Yasna XLVIII, 6. Cf. Farg. XVII, 5.

⁵ Yasna LIV, 1. Cf. Farg. XX, 11. There is no special spell for the cleansing of the sun, the moon, the stars, and the boundless light (see §§ 1, 2), because they are not defiled by the unclean one, they are only pained by seeing him (Farg. IX, 41); as soon as he is clean, they are freed from the pain.

“Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness,” &c.

“Kēm-nā mazdâ:—Whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda?” &c.

“Kē verethrem-gâ:—What protector hast thou given unto me?” &c.

“Who is the victorious?” &c.

“Keep us from our hater, O Mazda!” &c.¹

9 (26). ‘I drive away Aêshma², I drive away the Nasu, I drive away direct defilement, I drive away indirect defilement.

[‘I drive away Khrû, I drive away Khrûighni³.

‘I drive away Bûidhi, I drive away the offspring of Bûidhi⁴.

‘I drive away Kundi, I drive away the offspring of Kundi⁵.]

‘I drive away the gaunt Bûshyâsta, I drive away the long-handed Bûshyâsta⁶; [I drive away Mûidhi⁷, I drive away Kapasti⁸.]

‘I drive away the Pairika⁹ that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree. I drive away the uncleanness that

¹ As in Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

² See Farg. X, 13.

³ Khrû and Khrûighni are not met with elsewhere; their names mean, apparently, ‘wound’ and ‘the wounding one.’ They may have been mere names or epithets of Aêshma khrûidru, ‘Aêshma of the murderous spear.’

⁴ Bûidhi may be another pronunciation of Bûiti (see Farg. XIX, 1).

⁵ Kundi is very likely the same as Kunda (Vd. XIX, 41, 138) who is the riding-stock of the sorcerers (Bd. XXVIII, 42).

⁶ See Farg. XVIII, 16.

⁷ A demon unknown. Perhaps Intoxication.

⁸ Unknown. Perhaps Colocynth, the type of the bitter plants

⁹ A female demon, the modern Parî, often associated with Yâtu, ‘the wizard.’

comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree.

10 (32). 'I drive thee away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water, from the earth, from the cow, from the tree, from the faithful man and from the faithful woman, from the stars, from the moon, from the sun, from the boundless light, from all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

11 (33). 'Then thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words; thou shalt chant four Ahuna-Vairyas:—

“Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness,” &c.

“Kēm-nâ mazdâ:—What protector hast thou given unto me?” &c.

“Kē verethrem-gâ:—Who is the victorious?” &c.

“Keep us from our hater, O Mazda!” &c.¹

12 (34). 'Aêshma is driven away; away the Nasu; away direct defilement, away indirect defilement.

[‘Khrû is driven away, away Khrûighni; away Bûidhi, away the offspring of Bûidhi; away Kundi, away the offspring of Kundi.]

‘The gaunt Bûshyâsta is driven away; away Bûshyâsta, the long-handed; [away Mûidhi, away Kapasti.]

‘The Pairika is driven away that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree. The uncleanness is driven away that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree.

¹ As in Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

13 (40). 'Thou art driven away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water, from the earth, from the cow, from the tree, from the faithful man and from the faithful woman, from the stars, from the moon, from the sun, from the boundless light, from all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

14 (41). 'Then thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words; thou shalt chant "Mazdâ ad môi" four times: "O Mazda! say unto me the excellent words and the excellent works, that through the good thought and the holiness of him who offers thee the due meed of praise, thou mayest, O Lord! make the world of Resurrection appear, at thy will, under thy sovereign rule¹."

15. 'I drive away Aêshma, I drive away the Nasu,' &c.²

16. 'I drive thee away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water,' &c.³

17. 'Then thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words; thou shalt chant the Airyama Ishyô four times: "May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman come hither!"' &c.⁴

18. 'Aêshma is driven away; away the Nasu,' &c.⁵

19. 'Thou art driven away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water,' &c.⁶

20. 'Then thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words; thou shalt chant five Ahuna-Vairyas:—

"Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness," &c.

"Kê m-nâ mazdâ:—Whom hast thou placed to protect me?" &c.

¹ Yasna XXXIV, 15.

² The rest as in § 10.

³ As in § 12.

⁴ The rest as in § 9.

⁵ As in § 7.

⁶ As in § 13.

“*Ke verethrem-gâ*:—Who is he who will smite the fiend?” &c.¹

“Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and *Ârmaiti Spenta*! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness!”

FARGARD XII.

This chapter is found only in the Vendîdâd Sâda; it is missing in the Zend-Pahlavi Vendîdâd. This is owing, as it seems, only to the accidental loss of some folios in the one manuscript from which all the copies as yet known have been derived; and, in fact, even in the most ancient manuscripts the following Fargard is numbered the thirteenth (Westergaard, *Zend-Avesta*, preface, p. 5).

The directions in the preceding chapter are general, and do not depend on the relationship of the faithful with the deceased person; whereas those in this Fargard are of a special character, and apply only to the near relatives of the dead. Their object is to determine how long the time of ‘staying’ (*upaman*) should last for different relatives. What is meant by this word is not explained; but, as the word *upaman* is usually employed to indicate the staying of the unclean in the *Armêst-gâh*, apart from the faithful and from every clean object, that word *upaman* seems to show a certain period of mourning, marked by abstention from usual avocations.

The length of the *upaman* varies with the degrees of relationship; and at every degree it is double for relations who have died in a state of sin (that is, with a sin not redeemed by the *Patet*: cf. p. 135, note 1). The relative length of the *upaman* is as follows:—

For the head of a family (§ 7): 6 months (or a year).

First degree. { For father or mother (§ 1)
For son or daughter (§ 3)
For brother or sister (§ 5) } 30 days (or 60).

¹ See Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

Second degree.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{For grandfather or grand-} \\ \text{mother (§ 9)} \\ \text{For grandson or grand-} \\ \text{daughter (§ 11)} \end{array} \right\}$	25 days (or 50).
Third degree.	For uncle or aunt (§ 13):	20 days (or 40).
Fourth degree.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{For male cousin or female} \\ \text{cousin (§ 15)} \end{array} \right\}$	15 days (or 30).
Fifth degree.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{For the son or daughter of a} \\ \text{cousin (§ 17)} \end{array} \right\}$	10 days (or 20).
Sixth degree.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{For the grandson or the grand-} \\ \text{daughter of a cousin (§ 19)} \end{array} \right\}$	5 days (or 10).

1. If one's father or mother dies, how long shall they stay [in mourning], the son for his father, the daughter for her mother? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners¹?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

2 (5). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters²; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter³, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

¹ How long if the dead person died in a state of holiness (a dahma)? How long if in the state of a Peshôtanu?

² This refers probably to the sacrifice that is offered on each of the three days that follow the death of a Zoroastrian for the salvation of his soul.

³ All the other objects over which the Amesha-Spentas preside (such as the cow, the metals, &c.)

3 (9). If one's son or daughter dies, how long shall they stay, the father for his son, the mother for her daughter? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

4 (13). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gāthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

5 (17). If one's brother or sister dies, how long shall they stay, the brother for his brother, the sister for her sister? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

6 (21). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gāthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

7 (25). If the master of the house¹ dies, or if the

¹ The chief of the family, the paterfamilias. The Zoroastrian family is organised on the patriarchal system.

mistress of the house dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They¹ shall stay six months for the righteous, a year for the sinners.'

8 (28). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

9 (31). If one's grandfather or grandmother dies, how long shall they stay, the grandson for his grandfather, the granddaughter for her grandmother? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay twenty-five days for the righteous, fifty days for the sinners.'

10 (34). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

¹ All the familia, both relatives and servants.

11 (37). If one's grandson or granddaughter dies, how long shall they stay, the grandfather for his grandson, the grandmother for her granddaughter? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' They shall stay twenty-five days for the righteous, fifty days for the sinners.'

12 (40). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra !'

13 (43). If one's uncle or aunt dies, how long shall they stay, the nephew for his uncle, the niece for her aunt? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' They shall stay twenty days for the righteous, forty days for the sinners.'

14 (45). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra !'

15 (48). If one's male cousin or female cousin

dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay fifteen days for the righteous, thirty days for the sinners.'

16 (50). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

17 (53). If the son or the daughter of a cousin dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay ten days for the righteous, twenty days for the sinners.'

18 (55). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

19 (58). If the grandson of a cousin or the granddaughter of a cousin dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' They shall stay five days for the righteous, ten days for the sinners.'

20 (60). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! How shall I cleanse the house ? How shall it be clean again ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gāthas three times ; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters ; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra !'

21 (63). If a man dies, of whatever race he is, who does not belong to the true faith, or the true law¹, what part of the creation of the good spirit does he directly defile ? What part does he indirectly defile ?

22² (65). Ahura Mazda answered : ' No more than a frog does whose venom is dried up, and that has been dead more than a year. Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra ! such wicked, two-legged ruffian as an ungodly Ashemaogha, directly defiles the creatures of the Good Spirit, and indirectly defiles them.

23 (70). ' Whilst alive he smites the water ; whilst alive he blows out the fire ; whilst alive he carries off the cow ; whilst alive he smites the faithful man with a deadly blow, that parts the soul from the body ; not so will he do when dead.

24 (71). ' Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra ! such wicked, two-legged ruffian as an

¹ An infidel, whether he is a relation or not.

² §§ 22-24 = Farg. V, 36-38, text and notes.

ungodly Ashemaogha, robs the faithful man of the full possession of his food, of his clothing, of his wood, of his bed, of his vessels; not so will he do when dead.'

FARGARD XIII.

The Dog.

I (1-7). The dog of Ormazd and the dog of Ahriman.

(a. 1-4). Holiness of the dog Vanghâpara ('the hedgehog').

(b. 5-7). Hatefulness of the dog Zairimyangura ('the tortoise').

II (8-16). The several kinds of dogs. Penalties for the murder of a dog.

III (17-19). On the duties of the shepherd's dog and the house-dog.

IV (20-28). On the food due to the dog.

V (29-38). On the mad dog and the dog diseased; how they are to be kept, and cured.

VI (39-40). On the excellence of the dog.

VII (41-43). On the wolf-dog.

VIII (44-48). On the virtues and vices of the dog.

IX (49-50). Praise of the dog.

X (50-54). The water-dog.

This Fargard is the only complete fragment, still in existence, of a large canine literature: a whole section of the Ganbâ-sar-nigat Nask was dedicated to the dog (the so-called Fargard Pasûr-haûrvastân; West, *Dînkard* (Pahlavi Texts, IV), VIII, 23; 24, 5; 33, &c.)

I a.

1. Which is the good creature among the creatures of the Good Spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the Evil Spirit?

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the

dog Vanghâpara¹, which evil-speaking people call the Duzaka²; this is the good creature among the creatures of the Good Spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the Evil Spirit.

3 (6). 'And whosoever, O Zarathustra! shall kill the dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the dog Vanghâpara, which evil-speaking people call the Duzaka, kills his own soul for nine generations, nor shall he find a way over the *Kinvad* bridge³, unless he has, while alive, atoned for his sin⁴.'

4 (10). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man kill the dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the dog Vanghâpara, which evil-speaking people call the Duzaka, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

¹ The hedgehog. 'The hedgehog, according to the Bund. XIX, 28, is created in opposition to the ant that carries off grain, as it says that the hedgehog, every time that it voids urine into an ant's nest, will destroy a thousand ants' (Bund. XIX, 28; cf. Sad-dar 57). When the Arabs conquered Saistan, the inhabitants submitted on the condition that hedgehogs should not be killed nor hunted for, as they got rid of the vipers which swarm in that country. Every house had its hedgehog (Yaqout, Dictionnaire de la Perse, p. 303). Plutarch counts the hedgehog amongst the animals sacred to the Magi (Quaestiones Conviviales, IV, 5, 2: τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ Ζωροάστρου μάγους τιμῆν μὲν ἐν τοῖς μέλιστα τὸν χερσαῖον ἐχῖνον).

² Duzaka is the popular name of the hedgehog (Pers. *susa*). It is not without importance which name is given to a being: 'When called by its high name, it is powerful' (Comm.); cf. § 6, and Farg. XVIII, 15.

³ The bridge leading to Paradise; see Farg. XIX, 30.

⁴ Cf. § 54. Frâmjî translates: 'He cannot atone for it in his life even by performing a sacrifice to Sraosha' (cf. Farg. IX, 56, text and note).

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

I b.

5 (13). Which is the evil creature among the creatures of the Evil Spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the Good Spirit?

6 (15). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The daêva Zairimyangura¹, which evil-speaking people call the Zairimyâka², this is the evil creature among the creatures of the Evil Spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the Good Spirit.

7 (18). 'And whosoever, O Zarathustra! shall kill the daêva Zairimyangura, which evil-speaking people call the Zairimyâka, his sins in thought, word, and deed are redeemed as they would be by a Patet; his sins in thought, word, and deed are atoned for³.

II.

8 (21). 'Whosoever shall smite either a shepherd's dog, or a house-dog, or a Vohunazga dog⁴, or a trained dog⁵, his soul when passing to the other world, shall fly⁶ howling louder and more sorely grieved than the sheep does in the lofty forest where the wolf ranges.

¹ The tortoise (Frâmjî and Rivâyats).

² 'When not so called it is less strong' (Comm.) Zairimyâka is a lucky name, and means, as it seems, who lives in verdure; Zairimyangura seems to mean 'the verdure-devourer.'

³ Cf. Farg. XIV, 5.

⁴ See § 19, n. 2.

⁵ A hunting-dog.

⁶ 'From Paradise' (Comm.)

9 (24). 'No soul will come and meet his departing soul and help it, howling and grieved in the other world; nor will the dogs that keep the [*K'invad*] bridge' help his departing soul howling and grieved in the other world.

10 (26). 'If a man shall smite a shepherd's dog so that it becomes unfit for work, if he shall cut off its ear or its paw, and thereupon a thief or a wolf break in and carry away [sheep] from the fold, without the dog giving any warning, the man shall pay for the loss, and he shall pay for the wound of the dog as for wilful wounding².

11 (31). 'If a man shall smite a house-dog so that it becomes unfit for work, if he shall cut off its ear or its paw, and thereupon a thief or a wolf break in and carry away [anything] from the house, without the dog giving any warning, the man shall pay for the loss, and he shall pay for the wound of the dog as for wilful wounding².'

12 (36). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a shepherd's dog, so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the *Aspahê-astra*, eight hundred stripes with the *Sraoshô-karana*.'

13 (39). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a house-dog so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes

¹ See Farg. XIX, 30.

² *Baodhô-varsta*; see Farg. VII, 38 n.

with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

14 (42). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a Vohunazga dog so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

15 (45). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a Tauruna dog¹ so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, five hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

16 (48). 'This is the penalty for the murder of a Gazu dog, of a Vîzu dog², of a porcupine dog³, of a sharp-toothed weasel⁴, of a swift-running fox; this is the penalty for the murder of any of the creatures of the Good Spirit belonging to the dog kind, except the water-dog⁵.'

III.

17 (49). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the place of the shepherd's dog?

¹ Tauruna seems to be another name of the trained or hunting-dog (cf. § 8 compared with §§ 12-15), though tradition translates it 'a dog not older than four months.'

² Unknown. Cf. V, 31, 32.

³ A porcupine. Cf. V, 31.

⁴ A weasel. Cf. V, 33.

⁵ The otter. 'For the penalty in that case is most heavy' (Comm.) Cf. § 52 seq. and Farg. XIV.

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He comes and goes a Yugyêsti¹ round about the fold, watching for the thief and the wolf.'

18 (51). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the place of the house-dog?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He comes and goes a Hâthra round about the house, watching for the thief and the wolf.'

19 (53). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the place of the Vohunazga dog?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He claims none of those talents, and only seeks for his subsistence².'

IV.

20 (55). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a shepherd's dog, of what sin does he make himself guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He makes himself guilty of the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a master of a house of the first rank³.'

21 (57). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a house-dog, of what sin does he make himself guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He makes himself

¹ A distance of sixteen Hâthras (16,000 paces).

² 'He cannot do the same as the shepherd's dog and the house-dog do, but he catches Khrafstras and smites the Nasu' (Comm.) It is 'the dog without a master' (gharîb), the vagrant dog; he is held in great esteem (§ 22), and is one of the dogs which can be used for the Sag-dîd.

³ Invited as a guest.

guilty of the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a master of a house of middle rank.'

22 (59). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a Vohunazga dog, of what sin does he make himself guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He makes himself guilty of the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a holy man, who should come to his house in the character of a priest¹.'

23 (61). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a Tauruna dog, of what sin does he make himself guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He makes himself guilty of the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a young man, born of pious parents, and who can already answer for his deeds².'

24 (63). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a shepherd's dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana³.'

¹ The Vohunazga dog has no domicile, therefore he is not compared with the master of a house, but with a wandering friar, who lives on charity.

² Probably, 'Who has performed the nû-zûd, fifteen years old.' The young dog enters the community of the faithful at the age of four months, when he is fit for the Sag-dîd and can expel the Nasu.

³ 'I also saw the soul of a man, whom demons, just like dogs, ever tear. That man gives bread to the dogs, and they eat it not; but they ever devour the breast, legs, belly, and thighs of the man. And I asked thus: What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment? Srôsh the pious and Âtarô the angel said thus: This is the soul of that wicked man who, in

25 (66). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a house-dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

26 (69). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a Vohunazga dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

27 (72). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a Tauruna dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

28 (75). 'For in this material world, O Spitama Zarathustra! it is the dog, of all the creatures of the Good Spirit, that most quickly decays into age, while not eating near eating people, and watching goods none of which it receives. Bring ye unto him milk and fat with meat¹; this is the right food for the dog².'

the world, kept back the food of the dogs of shepherds and house-holders; or beat and killed them' (*Arđā Vīrāf* XLVIII, translated by Haug).

¹ The same food as recommended for the dog by Columella (*Ordacea farina cum sero*, VII, 12; cf. Virgil, *Pasce sero pingui*, *Georg.* III, 406).

² 'Whenever one eats bread one must put aside three mouthfuls and give them to the dog . . . for among all the poor there is none poorer than the dog' (*Saddar* 31).

V.

29 (80). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a mad dog that bites without barking, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

30 (82). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall put a wooden collar around his neck, and they shall tie thereto a muzzle, an asti¹ thick if the wood be hard, two astis thick if it be soft. To that collar they shall tie it; by the two sides² of the collar they shall tie it.

31 (86). 'If they shall not do so, and the mad dog that bites without barking, smite a sheep or wound a man, the dog shall pay for the wound of the wounded as for wilful murder³.

32 (88). 'If the dog shall smite a sheep or wound a man, they shall cut off his right ear.

'If he shall smite another sheep or wound another man, they shall cut off his left ear.

33 (90). 'If he shall smite a third sheep or wound a third man, they shall make a cut in his right foot⁴. If he shall smite a fourth sheep or wound a fourth man, they shall make a cut in his left foot.

34 (92). 'If he shall for the fifth time smite a sheep or wound a man, they shall cut off his tail.

¹ A measure of unknown amount. Frāmji reads isti, 'a brick' thick.

² By the left and the right side of it.

³ According to Solon's law, the dog who had bitten a man was to be delivered to him tied up to a block four cubits long (Plutarchus, Solon 24). The Book of Deuteronomy orders the ox who has killed a man to be put to death.

⁴ 'They only cut off a piece of flesh from the foot' (Brouillons d'Anquetil).

‘Therefore they shall tie a muzzle to the collar; by the two sides of the collar they shall tie it. If they shall not do so, and the mad dog that bites without barking, smite a sheep or wound a man, he shall pay for the wound of the wounded as for wilful murder.’

35 (97). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a mad dog, who has no scent, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

Ahura Mazda answered: ‘They shall attend him to heal him, in the same manner as they would do for one of the faithful.’

36 (100). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If they try to heal him and fail, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

37 (102). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘They shall put a wooden collar around his neck, and they shall tie thereto a muzzle, an asti thick if the wood be hard, two astis thick if it be soft. To that collar they shall tie it; by the two sides of the collar they shall tie it.

38 (102). ‘If they shall not do so, the scentless dog may fall into a hole, or a well, or a precipice, or a river, or a canal, and come to grief: if he come to grief so, they shall be therefore Peshôtanus.

VI.

39 (106). ‘The dog, O Spitama Zarathustra! I, Ahura Mazda, have made self-clothed and self-shod; watchful and wakeful; and sharp-toothed; born to take his food from man and to watch over man’s goods. I, Ahura Mazda, have made the dog strong

of body against the evil-doer, when sound of mind and watchful over your goods.

40 (112). 'And whosoever shall awake at his voice, O Spitama Zarathustra! neither shall the thief nor the wolf carry anything from his house, without his being warned; the wolf shall be smitten and torn to pieces; he is driven away, he melts away like snow¹.'

VII.

41 (115). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which of the two wolves deserves more to be killed, the one that a he-dog begets of a she-wolf, or the one that a he-wolf begets of a she-dog?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Of these two wolves, the one that a he-dog begets of a she-wolf deserves more to be killed than the one that a he-wolf begets of a she-dog.

42 (117). 'For the dogs born therefrom fall on the shepherd's dog, on the house-dog, on the Vohunazga dog, on the trained dog, and destroy the folds; such dogs are more murderous, more mischievous, more destructive to the folds than any other dogs².

43 (121). 'And the wolves born therefrom fall on the shepherd's dog, on the house-dog, on the Vohunazga dog, on the trained dog, and destroy the folds; such wolves are more murderous, more

¹ Doubtful.

² 'Utroque gravis succedere tigrim
Ausa canis, majore tulit de sanguine foetum.
Sed praeceps virtus ipsa venabitur aula:
Ille tibi et pecudum multo cum sanguine crescet.'
Gratius Faliscus, *Cyneg.* 165 seq.

mischievous, more destructive to the folds than any other wolves.

Sprüche 4427.

VIII.

44 (124). 'A dog has the characters of eight sorts of people:—

- 'He has the character of a priest,
- 'He has the character of a warrior,
- 'He has the character of a husbandman,
- 'He has the character of a strolling singer,
- 'He has the character of a thief,
- 'He has the character of a disu,
- 'He has the character of a courtezan,
- 'He has the character of a child.

45 (126). 'He eats the refuse, like a priest¹; he is easily satisfied², like a priest; he is patient, like a priest; he wants only a small piece of bread, like a priest; in these things he is like unto a priest.

'He marches in front, like a warrior; he fights for the beneficent cow, like a warrior³; he goes first out of the house, like a warrior⁴; in these things he is like unto a warrior.

46 (135). 'He is watchful and sleeps lightly, like a husbandman; he goes first out of the house, like a husbandman⁵; he returns last into the house, like a husbandman⁶; in these things he is like unto a husbandman.

'He is fond of singing, like a strolling singer⁷;

¹ A wandering priest (see p. 161, n. 1).

² 'Good treatment makes him joyous' (Comm.)

³ 'He keeps away the wolf and the thief' (Comm.)

⁴ This clause is, as it seems, repeated here by mistake from § 46.

⁵ When taking the cattle out of the stables.

⁶ When bringing the cattle back to the stables.

⁷ The so-called *Looris* لوری of nowadays.

he wounds him who gets too near¹, like a strolling singer; he is ill-trained, like a strolling singer; he is changeful, like a strolling singer; in these things he is like unto a strolling singer.

47 (143). 'He is fond of darkness, like a thief; he prowls about in darkness, like a thief; he is a shameless eater, like a thief; he is therefore an unfaithful keeper, like a thief²; in these things he is like unto a thief.

'He is fond of darkness like a disu³; he prowls about in darkness, like a disu; he is a shameless eater, like a disu; he is therefore an unfaithful keeper, like a disu; in these things he is like unto a disu.

48 (153). 'He is fond of singing, like a courtezan; he wounds him who gets too near, like a courtezan; he roams along the roads, like a courtezan; he is ill-trained, like a courtezan; he is changeful, like a courtezan⁴; in these things he is like unto a courtezan.

'He is fond of sleep, like a child; he is tender like snow⁵, like a child; he is full of tongue, like a child; he digs the earth with his paws⁵, like a child; in these things he is like unto a child.

¹ He insults or robs the passer by, like a Loori.—'The Looris wander in the world, seeking their life, bed-fellows and fellow-travellers of the dogs and the wolves, ever on the roads to rob day and night' (Firdausi).

² 'When one trusts him with something, he eats it up' (Comm.)

³ According to Frâmjî, 'a wild beast.'

⁴ The description of the courtezan follows closely that of the singer: in the East a public songstress is generally a prostitute. Loori means both a singer and a prostitute.

⁵ Doubtful.

IX.

49 (163). 'If those two dogs of mine, the shepherd's dog and the house-dog, pass by any of my houses, let them never be kept away from it.

'For no house could subsist on the earth made by Ahura, but for those two dogs of mine, the shepherd's dog and the house-dog¹.'

X.

50 (166). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When a dog dies, with marrow and seed² dried up, whereto does his ghost go?

51 (167). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It passes to the spring of the waters³, O Spitama Zarathustra! and there out of them two water-dogs are formed: out of every thousand dogs and every thousand she-dogs, a couple is formed, a water-dog and a water she-dog⁴.

52 (170). 'He who kills a water-dog brings about a drought that dries up pastures.

'Until then, O Spitama Zarathustra! sweetness and

¹ 'But for the dog not a single head of cattle would remain in existence' (Saddar 31).

² Marrow is the seat of life, the spine is 'the column and the spring of life' (Yt. X, 71); the sperm comes from it (Bundahis XVI). The same theory prevailed in India, where the sperm is called *maggâ-samudbhava*, 'what is born from marrow'; it was followed by Plato (*Timaeus* 74, 91; cf. Censorinus, *De die natali*, 5), and disproved by Aristotle (*De Part. Anim.* III, 7).

³ To the spring of Ardvî Sûra, the goddess of waters.

⁴ There is therefore in a single water-dog as much life and holiness as in a thousand dogs. This accounts for the following.—The water-dog (*udra upâpa*; Persian *sag-fâbî*) is the otter.

fatness would flow out from that land and from those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass.'

53 (171). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When are sweetness and fatness to come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass?

54, 55 (172). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Sweetness and fatness will never come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass, until the murderer of the water-dog has been smitten to death on the spot, and the holy soul of the dog has been offered up a sacrifice, for three days and three nights, with fire blazing, with Baresma tied up, and with Haoma prepared¹.

56 (174). ['Then sweetness and fatness will come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass².']

FARGARD XIV.

This Fargard is nothing more than an appendix to the last clauses in the preceding Fargard (§ 50 seq.) How the murder of a water-dog (an otter) may be atoned for is described in it at full length. The extravagance of the penalties prescribed may well make it doubtful whether the legislation of the Vendîdâd had ever any substantial existence in practice. These exorbitant prescriptions seem to be intended only to impress on the mind of the faithful the heinousness of the offence to be avoided.

¹ See p. 136, n. 1.

² Cf. Farg. IX, 53-57.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! He who smites one of those water-dogs that are born one from a thousand dogs and a thousand she-dogs¹, so that he gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay ?'

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered : 'He shall pay ten thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ten thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana².

'He shall godly and piously bring unto the fire of Ahura Mazda³ ten thousand loads of hard, well dried, well examined⁴ wood, to redeem his own soul.

3 (6). 'He shall godly and piously bring unto the fire of Ahura Mazda ten thousand loads of soft wood, of Urvâsna, Vohû-gaona, Vohû-kereti, Hadhâ-naêpata⁵, or any sweet-scented plant, to redeem his own soul.

4 (7). 'He shall godly and piously tie ten thousand bundles of Baresma, to redeem his own soul.

¹ See preceding Fargard, § 51.

² He shall pay 50 tanâfûhrs (= 15,000 istîrs = 60,000 dirhems). 'If he can afford it, he will atone in the manner stated in the Avesta ; if he cannot afford it, it will be sufficient to perform a complete Izasnê (sacrifice),' (Comm.)

³ To the altar of the Bahrâm fire.

⁴ 'It is forbidden to take any ill-smelling thing to the fire and to kindle it thereon ; it is forbidden to kindle green wood, and even though the wood were hard and dry, one must examine it three times, lest there may be any hair or any unclean matter upon it' (Gr. Rav.) Although the pious Ardâ Virâf had always taken the utmost care never to put on the fire any wood but such as was seven years old, yet, when he entered Paradise, Atar, the genius of fire, showed him reproachfully a large tank full of the water which that wood had exuded (see Ardâ Virâf X).

⁵ See above, p. 96, n. 1.

‘He shall offer up to the Good Waters ten thousand Zaothra libations with the Haoma and the milk, cleanly prepared and well strained, cleanly prepared and well strained by a pious man, and mixed with the roots of the tree known as Hadhâ-naêpata, to redeem his own soul.

5 (9). ‘He shall kill ten thousand snakes of those that go upon the belly. He shall kill ten thousand Kahrpus, who are snakes with the shape of a dog¹. He shall kill ten thousand tortoises². He shall kill ten thousand land-frogs³; he shall kill ten thousand waterfrogs. He shall kill ten thousand corn-carrying ants⁴;

¹ ‘Mâr bânak snakes: they are dog-like, because they sit on their hindparts’ (Comm.) The cat (gurba=Kahrpu) seems to be the animal intended. In a paraphrase of this passage in a Parsi Ravâet, the cat is numbered amongst the Khrafstras which it is enjoined to kill to redeem a sin (India Office Library, VIII, 13); cf. G. du Chinon, p. 462: ‘Les animaux que les Gaures ont en horreur sont les serpents, les couleuvres, les lezars, et autres de cette espece, les crapaux, les grenouilles, les écrevisses, les rats et souris, et sur tout le chat.’

² Cf. Farg. XIII, 6-7.

³ ‘Those that can go out of water and live on the dry ground’ (Comm.) ‘Pour les grenouilles et crapaux, ils disent que ce sont ceux (eux?) qui sont cause de ce que les hommes meurent, gâtans les eaus où ils habitent continuellement, et que d’autant plus qu’il y en a dans le païs, d’autant plus les eaus causent-elles des maladies et enfin la mort,’ G. du Chinon, p. 465.

⁴ Herodotus already mentions the war waged by the Magi against snakes and ants (I, 140).—‘Un jour que j’étois surpris de la guerre qu’ils font aux fourmis, ils me dirent que ces animaux ne faisaient que voler par des amas des grains plus qu’il n’étoit nécessaire pour leur nourriture,’ G. du Chinon, p. 464. Firdausi protested against the proscription: ‘Do no harm to the corn-carrying ant; a living thing it is, and its life is dear to it.’ The celebrated high-priest of the Parsis, the late Mooka Firooz, entered those lines into his Pand Nâmah, which may betoken better days for the wise little creature.

he shall kill ten thousand ants of the small, venomous mischievous kind ¹.

6 (16). 'He shall kill ten thousand worms of those that live on dirt; he shall kill ten thousand raging flies ².

'He shall fill up ten thousand holes for the unclean ³.

'He shall godly and piously give to godly men ⁴ twice the set of seven implements for the fire ⁵, to redeem his own soul, namely:—

7 (20). 'The two answering implements for fire ⁶; a broom ⁷; a pair of tongs; a pair of round bellows extended at the bottom, contracted at the top; a sharp-edged sharp-pointed ⁸ adze; a sharp-toothed sharp-pointed saw; by means of which the worshippers of Mazda procure wood for the fire of Ahura Mazda.

8 (26). 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of the priestly instruments of which the priests make use, to redeem his own soul, namely: The Astra ⁹; the meat-vessel; the Paitidâna ¹⁰; the

¹ Perhaps: 'of the small, venomous kind, with a mischievous track' (Bund. XIX, 28: 'when the grain-carrier travels over the earth, it produces a hollow track: when the hedgehog travels over it, the track goes away from it and it becomes level:' cf. Farg. XIII, 2, note).

² Corpse-flies; cf. Farg. VII, 2.

³ 'The holes at which the unclean are washed' (Comm.; cf. Farg. IX, 6 seq.)

⁴ To priests.

⁵ For the sacred fire.

⁶ Two receptacles, one for the wood, another for the incense.

⁷ To cleanse the Atash-dân or fire-vessel (Yasna IX, 1).

⁸ Literally, 'sharp-kneed.'

⁹ The Aspahê-astra.

¹⁰ As everything that goes out of man is unclean, his breath defiles all that it touches; priests, therefore, while on duty, and even laymen, while praying or eating, must wear a mouth-veil, the

Khrafstraghna¹; the Sraoshô-karana²; the cup for the Myazda³; the cups for mixing and dividing⁴; the regular mortar⁵; the Haoma cups⁶; and the Baresma.

9 (32). 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of all the war implements of which the warriors make use, to redeem his own soul;

'The first being a javelin, the second a sword, the third a club, the fourth a bow, the fifth a saddle with a quiver and thirty brass-headed arrows, the sixth a sling with arm-string and with thirty sling stones';

'The seventh a cuirass, the eighth a hauberk⁸, the ninth a tunic⁹, the tenth a helmet, the eleventh a girdle, the twelfth a pair of greaves.

10 (41). 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of all the implements of which the

Paitidâna (Parsi Penôm), consisting 'of two pieces of white cotton cloth, hanging loosely from the bridge of the nose to, at least, two inches below the mouth, and tied with two strings at the back of the head' (Haug, *Essays*, 2nd ed. p. 243, n. 1; cf. *Comm.* ad Farg. XVIII, 1, and Anquetil II, 530).

¹ The 'Khrafstræ-killer'; an instrument for killing snakes, &c. It is a stick with a leather thong at its end, something like the Indian fly-flap.

² See General Introduction.

³ Doubtful.

⁴ The cup in which the juice of the hôm and of the urvarâm (the twigs of hadhâ-naêpata which are pounded together with the hôm) is received from the mortar (*Comm.*)

⁵ The mortar with its pestle.

⁶ The cup on which twigs of Haoma are laid before being pounded, the so-called tashtah (Anquetil II, 533); 'some say, the hôm-strainer' [a saucer with nine holes], *Comm.*

⁷ These are six offensive arms: the next six are defensive arms.—Cf. W. Jackson: *Herodotus VII*, 61, or the Arms of the Ancient Persians illustrated from Iranian Sources; New York, 1894.

⁸ 'Going from the helm to the cuirass' (*Comm.*)

⁹ 'Under the cuirass' (*Comm.*)

husbandmen make use, to redeem his own soul, namely: A plough with yoke and . . .¹; a goad for ox; a mortar of stone; a round-headed hand-mill for grinding corn;

11 (48). 'A spade for digging and tilling; one measure of silver and one measure of gold.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!
How much silver?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The price of a stallion.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!
How much gold?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The price of a he-camel.'

12 (54). 'He shall godly and piously procure a rill of running water² for godly husbandmen, to redeem his own soul.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!
How large is the rill?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The depth of a dog, and the breadth of a dog³.'

13 (57). 'He shall godly and piously give a piece of arable land to godly men, to redeem his own soul.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!
How large is the piece of land?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'As much as can be watered with such a rill divided into two canals⁴.'

14 (60). 'He shall godly and piously procure for godly men a stable for oxen, with nine hâthras and nine nematas⁵, to redeem his own soul.'

¹ Yuyô-semi ayazhâna pairi-darezâna.

² The most precious of all gifts in such a dry place as Iran. Water is obtained either through canals of derivation or through underground canals (kârêz, kanât).

³ Which is estimated 'a foot deep, a foot broad' (Comm.)

⁴ Doubtful.

⁵ Meaning unknown.

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !
How large is the stable ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' It shall have twelve alleys¹ in the largest part of the house, nine alleys in the middle part, six alleys in the smallest part.

' He shall godly and piously give to godly men goodly beds with sheets and cushions, to redeem his own soul.

15 (64). ' He shall godly and piously give in marriage to a godly man a virgin maid, whom no man has known², to redeem his own soul.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !
What sort of maid ?

Ahura Mazda answered : ' A sister or a daughter of his, at the age of puberty, with ear-rings in her ears, and past her fifteenth year.

16 (67). ' He shall godly and piously give to holy men twice seven head of small cattle, to redeem his own soul.

' He shall bring up twice seven whelps.

' He shall throw twice seven bridges over canals.

17 (70). ' He shall put into repair twice nine stables that are out of repair.

' He shall cleanse twice nine dogs from stipti, anâiriti, and vyangura³, and all the diseases that are produced on the body of a dog.

' He shall treat twice nine godly men to their fill of meat, bread, strong drink, and wine.

18 (73). ' This is the penalty, this is the atonement which saves the faithful man who submits to it, not him who does not submit to it. Such a

¹ Twelve ranks of stalls (?).

² Match-making is a good work (Farg. IV, 44).

³ Meaning unknown.

one shall surely be an inhabitant in the mansion of the Drug¹.

FARGARD XV.

I (1-8). On five sins the commission of which makes the sinner a Peshôtanu.

II a (9-12). On unlawful unions and attempts to procure mis-carriage.

II b (13-19). On the obligations of the illegitimate father towards the mother and the child.

III (20-45). On the treatment of a bitch big with young.

IV (46-51). On the breeding of dogs.

I.

1. How many are the sins that men commit and that, being committed and not confessed, nor atoned for, make their committer a Peshôtanu²?

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered: 'There are five such sins, O holy Zarathustra! It is the first of these sins that men commit when a man teaches one of the faithful another faith, another law³, a lower doctrine, and he leads him astray with a full knowledge and conscience of the sin: the man who has done the deed becomes a Peshôtanu.

3 (9). 'It is the second of these sins when a man gives bones too hard or food too hot to a shepherd's dog or to a house-dog;

4 (11). 'If the bones stick in the dog's teeth or stop in his throat; or if the food too hot burn his

¹ Cf. Farg. VIII, 107.

² That is to say: he shall receive two hundred strokes with the Aspahê-astra or the Sraoshê-karana; or pay three hundred istîrs.

³ The Commentary has, 'that is, a creed that is not ours.'

mouth or his tongue, he may come to grief thereby; if he come to grief thereby, the man who has done the deed becomes a Peshôtanu¹.

5 (16). 'It is the third of these sins when a man smites a bitch big with young or affrights her by running after her, or shouting or clapping with the hands;

6 (18). 'If the bitch fall into a hole, or a well, or a precipice, or a river, or a canal, she may come to grief thereby; if she come to grief thereby, the man who has done the deed becomes a Peshôtanu².

7 (22). 'It is the fourth of these sins when a man has intercourse with a woman who has the whites or sees the blood, the man that has done the deed becomes a Peshôtanu³.

8 (25). 'It is the fifth of these sins when a man has intercourse with a woman quick with child⁴, whether the milk has already come to her breasts or has not yet come: she may come to grief thereby; if she come to grief thereby⁵, the man who has done the deed becomes a Peshôtanu.

¹ He who gives too hot food to a dog so as to burn his throat is margarzân (guilty of death); he who gives bones to a dog so as to tear his throat is margarzân (Gr. Rav. 639).

² If a bitch is big with young and a man shouts or throws stones at her, so that the whelps come to mischief and die, he is margarzân (Gr. Rav. 639).

³ See Farg. XVI, 14 seq.

⁴ When she has been pregnant for four months and ten days, as it is then that the child is formed and a soul is added to its body (Anquetil II, 563).

⁵ Or better, 'if the child die.' 'If a man come to his wife [during her pregnancy] so that she is injured and bring forth a still-born child, he is margarzân' (Old Rav. 115 b).

II a.

9 (30). 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered [unto a husband] or not delivered¹, and she conceives by him, let her not, being ashamed of the people, produce in herself the menses, against the course of nature, by means of water and plants².

10 (34). 'And if the damsel, being ashamed of the people, shall produce in herself the menses against the course of nature, by means of water and plants, it is a fresh sin as heavy [as the first]³.

11 (36). 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered [unto a husband] or not delivered, and she conceives by him, let her not, being ashamed of the people, destroy the fruit in her womb.

12 (38). 'And if the damsel, being ashamed of the people, shall destroy the fruit in her womb, the sin is on both the father and herself, the murder

¹ 'Whether she has a husband in the house of her own parents or has none; whether she has entered from the house of her own parents into the house of a husband [depending on another chief of family] or has not' (Comm.)

² By means of drugs.

³ 'It is a tanâfûhr sin for her: it is sin on sin' (the first sin being to have allowed herself to be seduced), Comm. 'If there has been no sin in her (if she has been forced), and if a man, knowing her shame, wants to take it off her, he shall call together her father, mother, sisters, brothers, husband, the servants, the menials, and the master and the mistress of the house, and he shall say, "This woman is with child by me, and I rejoice in it;" and they shall answer, "We know it, and we are glad that her shame is taken off her;" and he shall support her as a husband does' (Comm.)

is on both the father and herself ; both the father and herself shall pay the penalty for wilful murder ¹.

II b.

13 (40). 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered [unto a husband] or not delivered, and she conceives by him, and she says, "I have conceived by thee;" and he replies, "Go then to the old woman² and apply to her for one of her drugs, that she may procure thee miscarriage;"

14 (43). 'And the damsel goes to the old woman and applies to her for one of her drugs, that she may procure her miscarriage; and the old woman brings her some Banga, or Shaêta, a drug that kills in the womb or one that expels out of the womb³, or some other of the drugs that produce miscarriage and [the man says], "Cause thy fruit to perish!" and she causes her fruit to perish; the sin is on the head of all three, the man, the damsel, and the old woman.

15 (49). 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered [unto a husband] or not delivered, and she conceives by him, so long shall he support her, until the child be born.

16 (51). 'If he shall not support her, so that the child comes to grief⁴, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

¹ For baodhê-varsta; cf. VII, 38.

² The nurse (Frâmjî) or the midwife.

³ Banga is bang or mang, a narcotic made from hempseed, shaêta is another sort of narcotic.

⁴ And dies.

17 (54). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If she be near her time, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

18 (56). Ahura Mazda answered: 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered [unto a husband] or not delivered, and she conceives by him, so long shall he support her, until the child be born¹.

19 (58). 'If he shall not support her² . . .

'It lies with the faithful to look in the same way after every pregnant female, either two-footed or four-footed, two-footed woman or four-footed bitch.'

III.

20 (61). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If (a bitch³) be near her time, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

21 (63). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He whose house stands nearest, the care of supporting her is his⁴; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

22 (65). 'If he shall not support her, so that the

¹ § 18=§ 15.

² The sentence is left unfinished: Frâmjî fills it with the words in § 16, 'so that the child,' &c. It seems as if §§ 17, 18 were no part of the original text, and as if § 17 were a mere repetition of § 20, which being wrongly interpreted as referring to a woman would have brought about the repetition of § 15 as an answer. See § 20.

³ The subject is wanting in the text: it is supplied from the Commentary and from the sense.

⁴ 'The bitch is lying on the high road: the man whose house has its door nearest shall take care of her. If she dies, he shall carry her off [to dispose of the body according to the law]. One must support her for at least three nights: if one cannot support her any longer, one intrusts her to a richer man' (Comm. and Frâmjî).

whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

23 (68). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a stable for camels, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

24 (70). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the stable for camels or whoso holds it¹, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

25 (76). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

26 (77). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a stable for horses, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

27 (78). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the stable for horses or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

28 (81). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

29 (84). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a stable for oxen, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

30 (86). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the stable for oxen or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

¹ 'In pledge or for rent' (Frámjft).

31 (89). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

32 (92). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a sheep-fold, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

33 (94). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the sheep-fold or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.'

34 (97). 'If he shall not support her so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

35 (100). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying on the earth-wall¹, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

36 (102). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who erected the wall or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.'

37 (105). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

38 (108). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in the moat², which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

39 (110). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who dug the moat or whoso holds it, the care of supporting

¹ The wall around the house.

² The moat before the earth-wall.

her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

40 (112). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

41 (113). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in the middle of a pasture-field, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

42 (115). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who sowed the pasture-field or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; [so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born. If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.]

43 (117). 'He shall take her to rest upon a litter of *nemôvanta* or of any foliage fit for a litter; so long shall he support her, until the young dogs are capable of self-defence and self-subsistence.'

44 (122). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When are the dogs capable of self-defence and self-subsistence?

45 (123). Ahura Mazda answered: 'When they are able to run about in a circuit of twice seven houses around¹. Then they may be let loose, whether it be winter or summer.

'Young dogs ought to be supported for six months², children for seven years³.

¹ Probably the distance of one *yugyêsti*; cf. Farg. XIII, 17.

² *Catulos sex mensibus primis dum corroborentur emitti non oportet . . .* (Columella, *De re agraria*, VII, 12).

³ The age when they are invested with the *Kosti* and *Sadere*, and become members of the Zoroastrian community.

‘Âtar¹, the son of Ahura Mazda, watches as well (over a pregnant bitch) as he does over a woman.’

IV.

46 (127). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda want to have a bitch so covered that the offspring shall be one of a strong nature, what shall they do?

47 (129). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘They shall dig a hole in the earth, in the middle of the fold, half a foot deep if the earth be hard, half the height of a man if the earth be soft

48 (131). ‘They shall first tie up [the bitch] there, far from children and from the Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda², and they shall watch by her until a dog comes there from anywhere; then another again, and then a third again³, each being kept apart from the former, lest they should assail one another.

49 (134)⁴. ‘The bitch being thus covered by

¹ ‘When a woman becomes pregnant in a house, it is necessary to make an endeavour so that there may be a continual fire in that house, and to maintain a good watch over it. And, when the child becomes separate from the mother, it is necessary to burn a lamp for three nights and days—if they burn a fire it would be better—so that the demons and fiends may not be able to do any damage and harm; because, when a child is born, it is exceedingly delicate for those three days’ (Saddar XVI; West, Pahlavi Texts, III, 277).

² ‘From children, lest she shall bite them; from the fire, lest it shall hurt her’ (Comm.)

³ Cf. Justinus III, 4: *maturiorem futuram conceptionem rati, si eam singulae per plures viros experirentur.*

⁴ The text of this and the following clause is corrupt, and the meaning is doubtful.

three dogs, grows big with young, and the milk comes to her teats and she brings forth a young one that is born from several dogs.'

50 (135). If a man smite a bitch who has been covered by three dogs, and who has already milk, and who shall bring forth a young one born from several dogs, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

51 (137). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

FARGARD XVI.

I (1-7). On the uncleanness of women during their sickness.

II (8-12). What is to be done if that state lasts too long.

III (13-18). Sundry laws relating to the same matter. See *Introd. V*, 12.

I.

1. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a woman who has the whites or sees blood, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall clear the way¹ of the wood there, both plants and trees²; they shall strew dry dust on the ground³; and they shall isolate a half, or a third, or a fourth, or a fifth

¹ The way to the Dashtânistân.

² Lest the wood shall be touched and defiled by the woman on her way to the Dashtânistân.

³ Lest the earth shall be touched and defiled by her. Cf. *Farg. IX*, 11.

part of the house¹, lest her look should fall upon the fire.'

3 (9). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of Baresma? How far from the faithful?

4 (10). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifteen paces from the fire, fifteen paces from the water, fifteen paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma, three paces from the faithful.'

5 (11). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from her shall he stay, who brings food to a woman who has the whites or sees the blood?

6 (12). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three paces² from her shall he stay, who brings food to a woman who has the whites or sees the blood.'

In what kind of vessels shall he bring her bread? In what kind of vessels shall he bring her barley-drink?

'In vessels of brass, or of lead, or of any common metal³.'

7 (15). How much bread shall he bring to her? How much barley-drink shall he bring?

'Two danares⁴ of dry bread, and one danare of liquor, lest she should get too weak⁵.'

¹ Nowadays a room on the ground-floor is reserved for that use.

² The food is held out to her from a distance in a metal spoon.

³ Earthen vessels, when defiled, cannot be made clean; but metal vessels can (see Farg. VII, 73 seq.)

⁴ A danare is, according to Anquetil, as much as four tolas; a tola is from 105 to 175 grains.

⁵ 'Sôshyô's says: For three nights cooked meat is not allowed to her, lest the issue shall grow stronger.'

‘If a child has just touched her, they shall first wash his hands and then his body¹.

II.

8 (21). ‘If she still see blood after three nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until four nights have passed.

‘If she still see blood after four nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until five nights have passed.

9. ‘If she still see blood after five nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until six nights have passed.

‘If she still see blood after six nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until seven nights have passed.

10. ‘If she still see blood after seven nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until eight nights have passed.

‘If she still see blood after eight nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until nine nights have passed.

11. ‘If she still see blood after nine nights have passed, this is a work of the Daêvas which they have performed for the worship and glorification of the Daêvas².

¹ A child whom she suckles. The meaning is, Even a child, if he has touched her, must undergo the rites of cleansing. The general rule is given in the Commentary: ‘Whoever has touched a Dashtân woman must wash his body and his clothes with gômêz and water.’ The ceremony in question is the simple Ghosel, not the Barashnûm, since the woman herself performs the former only (see below, § 11 seq.)

² Abnormal issues are a creation of Ahriman’s (Farg. I, 18).

‘The worshippers of Mazda shall clear the way¹ of the wood there, both plants and trees²;

12 (26). ‘They shall dig three holes in the earth, and they shall wash the woman with gômêz by two of those holes and with water by the third.

‘They shall kill Khrafstras, to wit: two hundred corn-carrying ants³, if it be summer; two hundred of any other sort of the Khrafstras made by Angra Mainyu, if it be winter.’

III.

13 (30). If a worshipper of Mazda shall suppress the issue of a woman who has the whites or sees blood, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: ‘He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*.’

14 (33). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall again and again lasciviously touch the body of a woman who has the whites or sees blood, so that the whites turn to the blood or the blood turns to the whites, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

15 (36). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘For the first time he comes near unto her, for the first time he lies by her, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*.

‘For the second time he comes near unto her, for the second time he lies by her, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-*karana*.

¹ The way to the Barashnûm-gâh, where the cleansing takes place.

² See Farg. IX, 3 seq.

³ Cf. Farg. XIV, 5.

‘For the third time he comes near unto her, for the third time he lies by her, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.’

16. For the fourth time he comes near unto her, for the fourth time he lies by her, if he shall press the body under her clothes, if he shall go in between the unclean thighs, but without sexual intercourse, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.’

17 (39). ‘Whosoever shall lie in sexual intercourse with a woman who has the whites or sees blood, does no better deed than if he should burn the corpse of his own son, born of his own body and dead of naêza¹, and drop its fat into the fire².

18 (41). ‘All wicked, embodiments of the Drug, are scornors of the judge: all scornors of the judge are rebels against the Sovereign: all rebels against the Sovereign are ungodly men; and all ungodly men are worthy of death³.’

¹ A disease (Farg. VII, 58). There is another word nâeza, ‘a spear,’ so that one may translate also ‘killed by the spear’ (Asp.)

² ‘Not that the two deeds are equal, but neither is good’ (Comm.) The sin in question is a simple tanâfûhr (Farg. XV, 7), and therefore can be atoned for by punishment and repentance, whereas the burning of a corpse is a crime for which there is no atonement (Farg. I, 17; VIII, 73 seq.)

³ Literally, ‘is a Peshôtanu;’ ‘he is a tanâfûhr sinner, that is to say, margarzân (worthy of death),’ Comm.

FARGARD XVII.

Hair and Nails.

Anything that has been separated from the body of man is considered dead matter (*nasu*), and is accordingly unclean. As soon as hair and nails are cut off, the demon takes hold of them and has to be driven away from them by spells, in the same way as he is from the bodies of the dead¹.

I.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the most deadly deed whereby a man offers up a sacrifice to the *Daêvas*²?'

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is when a man here below, combing his hair or shaving it off, or paring off his nails, drops them³ in a hole or in a crack⁴.

3 (6). 'Then by this transgression of the rites, *Daêvas* are produced in the earth; by this transgression of the rites, those *Khrafstras* are produced in the earth which men call lice, and which eat up the corn in the corn-field and the clothes in the wardrobe.

4 (10). 'Therefore, thou, O Zarathustra! whenever here below thou shalt comb thy hair or shave

¹ On similar views and customs in different countries, see *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, X, 146; Aulus Gellius, X, 15, 15; Mélusine, 1878, pp. 79, 549, 583; L. de Rosny, *Histoire des dynasties divines*, 308.

² Any offence to religion is considered an offering to the *Daêvas*, whose strength is thereby increased. Cf. Yt. V, 95.

³ Without performing the requisite ceremonies.

⁴ Doubtful.

it off, or pare off thy nails, thou shalt take them away ten paces from the faithful, twenty paces from the fire, thirty paces from the water, fifty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma.

5 (13). 'Then thou shalt dig a hole, a disti¹ deep if the earth be hard, a vîtasti deep if it be soft; thou shalt take the hair down there and thou shalt say aloud these victorious words: "For him, as a reward, Mazda made the plants grow up²."

6 (17). 'Thereupon thou shalt draw three furrows with a knife of metal around the hole, or six furrows or nine, and thou shall chant the Ahuna-Vairya three times, or six, or nine.

II.

7 (19). 'For the nails, thou shalt dig a hole, out of the house, as deep as the top joint of the little finger; thou shalt take the nails down there and thou shalt say aloud these victorious words: "The things that the pure proclaim through Asha and Vohu-manô³."

8 (24). 'Then thou shalt draw three furrows with

¹ A disti=ten fingers. A vîtasti=twelve fingers.

² See above, XI, 6; the choice of this line was determined by the presence of the word plants in it: man was considered a microcosm, and every element in him had its counterpart in nature; the skin is like the sky, the flesh is like the earth, the bones are like the mountains, the veins are like the rivers, the blood in the body is like the water in the sea, the hair is like the plants, the more hairy parts are like the forests (Gr. Bund.) Cf. Rig-veda X, 16, 3; Ilias VII, 99; Empedocles, fr. 378; Epicharmus ap. Plut. Consol. ad Apoll. 15; Edda, Grímnismál, 40.

³ Yasna XXXIII, 7; understood (with a play upon the word sruyê, 'is heard,' and 'nails of both hands') as: 'O Asha, with Vohu-manô, the nails of the pure [are for you].'

a knife of metal around the hole, or six furrows or nine, and thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya three times, or six, or nine.

9 (26). 'And then: "O Ashô-zusta bird¹! these nails I announce and consecrate unto thee. May they be for thee so many spears and knives, so many bows and falcon-winged arrows, and so many sling-stones against the Mâzainya Daêvas²!"

10 (29). 'If those nails have not been consecrated (to the bird), they shall be in the hands of the Mâzainya Daêvas so many spears and knives, so many bows and falcon-winged arrows, and so many sling-stones (against the Mâzainya Daêvas)³.

11 (30). 'All wicked, embodiments of the Drug, are scorers of the judge: all scorers of the judge are rebels against the Sovereign: all rebels against the Sovereign are ungodly men; and all ungodly men are worthy of death⁴.'

¹ 'The owl,' according to modern tradition. The word literally means 'friend of holiness.' 'For the bird Ashô-zusta they recite the Avesta formula; if they recite it, the fiends tremble and do not take up the nails; but if the nails have had no spell uttered over them, the fiends and wizards use them as arrows against the bird Ashô-zusta and kill him. Therefore, when the nails have had a spell uttered over them, the bird takes and eats them up, that the fiends may not do any harm by their means' (Bundahis XIX). The bird Ashô-zusta is also called Bird of Bahman (Saddar 14), both names being taken from the first words of the line quoted above.

² See above, p. 140, n. 5; p. 141, n. 1. The nails are cut in two and the fragments are put in the hole with the point directed towards the north, that is to say, against the breasts of the Dêvs (see above, p. 76, n. 1). See Anquetil, *Zend-Avesta* II, 117; India Office Library, VIII, 80.

³ Repeated by mistake from § 10.

⁴ See preceding Fargard, § 18.

FARGARD XVIII.

I (1-13). On the unworthy priest and enticers to heresy.

II (14-29). The holiness of the cock, the bird of Sraosha, who awakes the world for prayer and for the protection of Atar.

III (30-59). On the four sins that make the Drug pregnant with a brood of fiends.

IV (60-65). On the evil caused by the *Gahi* (the prostitute).

V (66-76). How intercourse with a Dashtân woman is to be atoned for.

I.

1. 'There is many a one, O holy Zarathustra!' said Ahura Mazda, 'who wears a wrong Paitidâna¹, and who has not girded his loins with the Religion²; when such a man says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

2 (5). 'He holds a wrong Khrafstraghna³ in his hand and he has not girded his loins with the Religion; when he says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

3 (7). 'He holds a wrong twig⁴ in his hand and he has not girded his loins with the Religion; when he says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

¹ See above, p. 172, n. 10.

² The word translated girded is the word used of the *Kôstî*, the sacred girdle which the Parsi must never part with (see § 54); the full meaning, therefore, is, 'girded with the law as with a *Kôstî*' (cf. *Yasna* IX, 26 [81]), that is to say, 'never forsaking the law,' or, as the Commentary expresses it, 'one whose thought is all on the law' (cf. § 5).

³ See above, p. 173, n. 1.

⁴ The bundles of Baresma or the *urvarâm* (see p. 22, n. 3; p. 173, n. 4). -

4 (9). 'He wields a wrong Astra mairya¹ and he has not girded his loins with the Religion; when he says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

5 (11). 'He who sleeps on throughout the night, neither performing the Yasna nor chanting the hymns, worshipping neither by word nor by deed, neither learning nor teaching, with a longing for (everlasting) life, he lies when he says, "I am an Âthravan," do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

6 (14). 'Him thou shalt call an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra! who throughout the night sits up and demands of the holy Wisdom², which makes man free from anxiety, and wide of heart, and easy of conscience at the head of the *Kinvaŋ* bridge³, and which makes him reach that world, that holy world, that excellent world of Paradise.

7 (18). '(Therefore) demand of me, thou upright one! of me, who am the Maker, the most beneficent of all beings, the best knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me, that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.'

8 (21). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is it that brings in the unseen power of Death?'

¹ The astra (Aspahê-astra) with which the priest, as a Sraoshâ-varez, chastises the guilty.

² That is to say, studies the law and learns from those who know it.

³ See Farg. XIX, 30. 'It gives him a stout heart, when standing before the *Kinvaŋ* bridge' (Comm.)

9 (22). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the man that teaches a wrong Religion¹; it is the man who continues for three springs² without wearing the sacred girdle³, without chanting the Gâthas, without worshipping the Good Waters.

10 (25). 'And he who should set that man at liberty, when bound in prison⁴, does no better deed than if he should cut a man's head off his neck⁵.

¹ 'The deceiver Ashemaogha' (Comm.); the heretic. Cf. Farg. XV, 2.

² 'For three years' (Comm.)

³ The Kôstî, which must be worn by every Parsi, man or woman, from their fifteenth year of age (see below, § 54 seq.); it is the badge of the faithful, the girdle by which he is united both with Ormazd and with his fellow-believers. He who does not wear it must be refused water and bread by the members of the community; he who wears it becomes a participator in the merit of all the good deeds performed all over the Zarathustrian world (Saddar 10 and 46). The Kôstî consists 'of seventy-two interwoven filaments, and should three times circumvent the waist. . . . Each of the threads is equal in value to one of the seventy-two Hâhs of the Izashnê; each of the twelve threads in the six lesser cords is equal in value to the dawâzdih hamâist . . .; each of the lesser cords is equal in value to one of the six Gahanbârs; each of the three circumventions of the loins is equal in value to humat, good thought, hukhat, good speech, huaresta, good work; the binding of each of the four knots upon it confers pleasure on each of the four elements, fire, air, water, and the earth' (Edal Daru, apud Wilson, *The Parsi Religion Unfolded*, p. 163).

Another piece of clothing which every Parsi is enjoined to wear is the Sadara, or sacred shirt, a muslin shirt with short sleeves, that does not reach lower than the hips, with a small pocket at the opening in front of the shirt, the so-called giribân or kissai karfa, 'the pocket for good deeds.' The faithful man must, while putting on his Sadara, look at the giribân and ask himself whether it is full of good deeds.

⁴ See *Intro.* III, 10. Cf. § 12.

⁵ Doubtful. The Commentary seems to understand the sentence as follows: 'He who should free him from hell would thus per-

11 (27). 'For the blessing uttered by a wicked, ungodly Ashemaogha does not go past the mouth (of the blesser); the blessing of two Ashemaoghas¹ does not go past the tongue; the blessing of three¹ is nothing; the blessing of four¹ turns to self-cursing.

12 (29). 'Whosoever should give to a wicked, ungodly Ashemaogha either some Haoma prepared, or some Myazda consecrated with blessings, does no better deed than if he should lead a thousand horse against the boroughs of the worshippers of Mazda, and should slaughter the men thereof, and drive off the cattle as plunder.

13 (32). 'Demand of me, thou upright one! of me, who am the Maker, the most beneficent of all beings, the best knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me, that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.'

II.

14 (33). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Who is the Sraoshâ-varez² of Sraosha? the holy, strong Sraosha, who is Obedience incarnate, a Sovereign with an astounding weapon³.'

form no less a feat than if he should cut off the head of a man and then make him alive again.'

¹ Perhaps better: 'The second . . . , the third . . . , the fourth blessing of an Ashemaogha.'

² 'Who is he who sets the world in motion?' (Comm.) Cf. p. 57, n. 3.

³ Sraosha, Srôsh, the Genius of Active Piety. He first tied the Baresma, sacrificed to Ahura, and sang the Gâthas. Thrice in each day and each night he descends upon the earth to smite Angra Mainyu and his crew of demons. With his club uplifted he

15 (34). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the bird named Parôdars¹, which ill-speaking people call Kahrkatâs², O holy Zarathustra! the bird that lifts up his voice against the mighty Ushah³:

16 (37). "Arise, O men! recite the Ashem yad vahistem that smites down the Daêvas⁴. Lo! here is Bûshyâsta, the long-handed⁵, coming upon you, who lulls to sleep again the whole living world, as soon as it has awoken: 'Sleep!' [she says,] 'O poor man! the time⁶ is not yet come.'"

17 (41). "On the three excellent things be never intent, namely, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; on the three abominable things be ever

protects the world from the demons of the night, and the dead from the terrors of death and from the assaults of Angra Mainyu and Astô-vidôtu. It is through a sacrifice performed by Ormazd, as a Zôîf, and Srôsh, as a Râspî, that at the end of time Ahriman will be for ever vanquished and brought to nought (Yasna LVII; Yt. XI, &c.)

¹ 'He who foreshows the coming dawn; the cock.'

² 'When he is not called so, he is powerful' (Comm.) Cf. Farg. XIII, 2, 6.

³ Ushah, the second half of the night, from midnight to the dawn.

⁴ The cock is 'the drum of the world.' As crowing in the dawn that dazzles away the fiends, he crows away the demons: 'The cock was created to fight against the fiends and wizards; . . . he is with the dog an ally of Srôsh against demons' (Bundahis XIX). 'No demon can enter a house in which there is a cock; and, above all, should this bird come to the residence of a demon, and move his tongue to chaunt the praises of the glorious and exalted Creator, that instant the evil spirit takes to flight' (Mirkhond, History of the Early Kings of Persia, translated by Shea, p. 57; cf. Saddar 32, and J. Ovington, A Voyage to Suratt, 1696, p. 371).

⁵ The demon of sleep, laziness, procrastination. She lulls back to sleep the world as soon as awaked, and makes the faithful forget in slumber the hour of prayer.

⁶ 'To perform thy religious duties' (Comm.)

intent, namely, bad thoughts, bad words, and bad deeds."

18 (43). 'On the first part of the night, Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the master of the house for help, saying :

19 (43). "'Up! arise, thou master of the house! put on thy girdle on thy clothes, wash thy hands, take wood, bring it unto me, and let me burn bright with the clean wood, carried by thy well-washed hands¹. Here comes Âzi², made by the Daêvas, who consumes me and wants to put me out of the world."

20 (46). 'On the second part of the night, Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the husbandman for help, saying :

21 (46). "'Up! arise, thou husbandman! Put on thy girdle on thy clothes, wash thy hands, take wood, bring it unto me, and let me burn bright with the clean wood, carried by thy well-washed hands. Here comes Âzi, made by the Daêvas, who consumes me and wants to put me out of the world."

22 (48). 'On the third part of the night, Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the holy Sraosha for help, saying: "Come thou, holy, well-formed Sraosha, [then he brings unto me some clean wood with his well-washed hands³.] Here comes Âzi, made by the Daêvas, who consumes me and wants to put me out of the world."

¹ The Parsi, as soon as he has risen, must put on the Kôstî, wash his hands, and put wood on the fire.

² Âzi, the demon of avidity; he extinguishes the fire, while he devours the wood.

³ The text seems to be corrupt: it must probably be emended into 'bring into me . . .'

23 (51). 'And then the holy Sraosha wakes up the bird named Parôdars, which ill-speaking people call Kahrkatâs, and the bird lifts up his voice against the mighty Ushah :

24 (52). "' Arise, O men ! recite the Ashem yad vahistem and the Nâismi daêvô¹. Lo ! here is Bûshyâsta, the long-handed, coming upon you, who lulls to sleep again the whole living world as soon as it has awoke : 'Sleep !' [she says,] 'O poor man ! the time is not yet come.'"

25 (52). "' On the three excellent things be never intent, namely, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds ; on the three abominable things be ever intent, namely, bad thoughts, bad words, and bad deeds."

26 (53). 'And then bed-fellows address one another : " Rise up, here is the cock calling me up." Whichever of the two first gets up shall first enter Paradise : whichever of the two shall first, with well-washed hands, bring clean wood unto Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda, Atar, well pleased with him and not angry, and fed as it required, will thus bless him :

27 (58). "' May herds of oxen and sons accrue to thee : may thy mind be master of its vow, may thy soul be master of its vow, and mayst thou live on in the joy of thy soul all the nights of thy life."

' This is the blessing which Atar speaks unto him who brings him dry wood, well examined by the light of the day, well cleansed with godly intent.

¹ The prayer : ' Righteousness is the best of all good . . . ' (the Ashem vohû), and the profession of faith : ' I scorn the Daêvas . . . ' (Yasna XII, 1).

28 (64). 'And whosoever will kindly and piously present one of the faithful with a pair of these my Parôdars birds, a male and a female, O Spitama Zarathustra! it is as though he had given¹ a house with a hundred columns, a thousand beams, ten thousand large windows, ten thousand small windows.

29 (67). 'And whosoever shall give meat to one of the faithful, as much of it as the body of this Parôdars bird of mine, I, Ahura Mazda, need not interrogate him twice; he shall directly go to Paradise.'

III.

30 (70). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug! Thou then, alone in the material world, dost bear offspring without any male coming unto thee?'

31 (74). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! It is not so, nor do I, alone in the material world, bear offspring without any male coming unto me.

32 (77). 'For there are four males of mine; and they make me conceive progeny as other males make their females conceive by their seed².'

33 (78). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug! Who is the first of those males of thine?'

34 (79). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy,

¹ 'In the day of recompense' (Comm.); he shall be rewarded as though he had given a house, &c. . . . he shall receive such a house in Paradise.

² Sin makes the Drug mother of a spontaneous progeny, as the sinner is 'the brood of the Drug' (Yasna LXI, 10).

well-formed Sraosha ! He is the first of my males who, being entreated by one of the faithful, does not give him anything, be it ever so little, of the riches he has treasured up ¹.

35 (82). 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females conceive by their seed.'

36 (83). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug ! What is the thing that can undo that ?'

37 (84). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha ! This is the thing that undoes it, namely, when a man unasked, kindly and piously, gives to one of the faithful something, be it ever so little, of the riches he has treasured up.

38 (87). 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does, who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

39 (88). The holy Sraosha, letting down his club upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug ! Who is the second of those males of thine ?'

40 (89). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha ! He is the second of my males who, making water, lets it fall along the upper fore-part of his foot.

41 (92). 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females conceive by their seed.'

42 (93). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug ! What is the thing that can undo that ?'

¹ Cf. Farg. III, 34.

43 (94). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! This is the thing that undoes it, namely, when the man rising up¹ and stepping three steps further off, shall say three Ahuna-Vairya², two humatanām³, three hukhshathrōtemām⁴, and then chant the Ahuna-Vairya⁵ and offer up one Yēñhê hātām⁶.

44 (98). 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does, who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

45 (99). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug! Who is the third of those males of thine?'

46 (100). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! He is the third of my males who during his sleep emits seed.

47 (102). 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females conceive progeny by their seed.'

48 (103). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug! What is the thing that can undo that?'

¹ 'Nec stando mingens . . . facile visitur Persa' (Amm. Marc. XXIII, 6); *Ardâ Vîrâf* XXIV; *Mainyô-i-khard* II, 39; *Saddar* 56. Cf. *Manu* IV, 47 seq., and Polack, *Persien* I, 67: 'Von einem in Paris weilenden Perser hinterbrachte man dem König, um seine Emancipation und Abtrünnigkeit vom Gesetz zu beweisen, dass er Schweinefleisch esse und stehend die Function verrichte.'

² See *Farg.* VIII, 19.

³ *Yasna* XXXV, 2: one of the *Bis-âmrûta* (*Farg.* X, 4).

⁴ *Yasna* XXXV, 5: one of the *Thris-âmrûta* (*Farg.* X, 8).

⁵ Making four Ahuna-Vairya in all; cf. *Farg.* X, 12.

⁶ See *Yasna* XXI.

49 (104). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! this is the thing that undoes it, namely, if the man, when he has risen from sleep, shall say three Ahuna-Vairya, two humatanãm, three hukhshathrôtemãm, and then chant the Ahuna-Vairya and offer up one Yênhê hâtãm¹.

50 (107). 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

51 (108). Then he shall speak unto Spenta Ârmaiti², saying: 'O Spenta Ârmaiti, this man do I deliver unto thee³; this man deliver thou back unto me, against the happy day of resurrection; deliver him back as one who knows the Gâthas, who knows the Yasna⁴, and the revealed Law⁵, a wise and clever man, who is Obedience incarnate.

52 (112). 'Then thou shalt call his name "Fire-creature, Fire-seed, Fire-offspring, Fire-land," or any name wherein is the word Fire⁶.'

53 (113). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug! Who is the fourth of those males of thine?'

54 (114). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy,

¹ See § 43 and notes.

² The Genius of the Earth (cf. Farg. II, 10).

³ In the same way as she received the seed of the dying Gayomart, from which she let grow, in the shape of a plant, the first human couple, Mashya and Mashyâna (Bund. XV, 1-2).

⁴ The Yasna Haptanhâiti.

⁵ Literally, 'the answers made to the questions (of Zarathustra).'

⁶ Atar, the Fire, is the ideal father of the son to be born, as Spenta Armaiti, the Earth, is his ideal mother. The fire is considered male (Dinkard, apud West, Pahlavi Texts, II, 410) and (as Apâm Napât) has made and shaped man (Yt. XIX, 52).

well-formed Sraosha! This one is my fourth male who, either man or woman, being more than fifteen years of age, walks without wearing the sacred girdle and the sacred shirt¹.

55 (115). 'At the fourth step² we Daêvas, at once, wither him even to the tongue and the marrow, and he goes thenceforth with power to destroy the world of Righteousness, and he destroys it like the Yâtus and the Zandas³.'

56 (117). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug, what is the thing that can undo that?'

57 (118). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! There is no means of undoing it;

58 (120). 'When a man or a woman, being more than fifteen years of age, walks without wearing the sacred girdle or the sacred shirt.

59 (120). 'At the fourth step we Daêvas, at once, wither him even to the tongue and the marrow, and he goes thenceforth with power to destroy the world of Righteousness, and he destroys it like the Yâtus and the Zandas.'

IV.

60 (122). Demand of me, thou upright one! of me who am the Maker, the most beneficent of all

¹ The Kôstî and the Sadara; see above, p. 195, n. 3. It is the sin known as kushâd duvârisnî (Mainyô-i-khard II, 35; Ardâ Vîrâf XXV, 6).

² 'Going three steps without Kôstî is only a three Sraoshô-karana sin; from the fourth step, it is a tanâfûhr sin' (Comm.)

³ The Yâtu is a sorcerer; the Zanda is an apostle of Ahriman,

beings, the best knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.

61 (123). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Who grieves thee with the sorest grief? Who pains thee with the sorest pain?'

62 (124). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the *Gahi*¹, O Spitama Zarathustra! who mixes in her the seed of the faithful and the unfaithful, of the worshippers of Mazda and the worshippers of the *Daêvas*, of the wicked and the righteous².

63 (125). 'Her look dries up one-third of the mighty floods that run from the mountains, O Zarathustra; her look withers one-third of the beautiful, golden-hued, growing plants, O Zarathustra;

64 (127). 'Her look withers one-third of the strength of *Spenta Ârmaiti*³; and her touch withers in the faithful one-third of his good thoughts, of his good words, of his good deeds, one-third of his strength, of his victorious power, and of his holiness⁴.

65 (129). 'Verily I say unto thee, O Spitama Zarathustra! such creatures ought to be killed even

¹ The courtesan, as an incarnation of the female demon *Gahi*.

² '[Whether she gives up her body to the faithful or to the unfaithful], there is no difference; when she has been with three men, she is guilty of death' (Comm.)

³ The earth.

⁴ 'If a *Gahi* (courtesan) look at running waters, they fall; if at trees, they are stunted; if she converse with a pious man, his intelligence and his holiness are withered by it' (Saddar 67). Cf. Manu IV, 40 seq.

more than gliding snakes¹, than howling wolves, than the wild she-wolf that falls upon the fold, or than the she-frog that falls upon the waters with her thousandfold brood.'

V.

66 (133). Demand of me, thou upright one! of me who am the Maker, the most beneficent of all beings, the best knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.

67-68 (133). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ: 'If a man shall come unto a woman who has the whites or sees blood, and he does so wittingly and knowingly², and she allows it wilfully, wittingly, and knowingly, what is the atonement for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay to atone for the deed they have done?'

69 (136). Ahura Mazda answered: 'If a man shall come unto a woman who has the whites or sees blood, and he does so wittingly and knowingly, and she allows it wilfully, wittingly, and knowingly;

70 (137). 'He shall slay a thousand head of small cattle; he shall godly and piously offer up to the

¹ It is written in the law (the Avesta): 'O Zartust Isfitamân! with regard to woman, I say to thee that any woman that has given up her body to two men in one day is sooner to be killed than a wolf, a lion, or a snake: any one who kills such a woman will gain as much merit by it as if he had provided with wood a thousand fire-temples, or destroyed the dens of adders, scorpions, lions, wolves, or snakes' (Old Rav. 59 b).

² 'Knowing her state and knowing that it is a sin' (Comm.)

fire¹ the entrails² thereof together with Zaothra-libations³; he shall bring the shoulder bones to the Good Waters⁴.

71 (140). 'He shall godly and piously bring unto the fire a thousand loads of soft wood, of Urvâsna, Vohû-gaona, Vohû-kereti, Hadhâ-naêpata, or of any sweet-scented plant⁵.

72 (142). 'He shall tie and consecrate a thousand bundles of Baresma; he shall godly and piously offer up to the Good Waters a thousand Zaothra-libations, together with the Haoma and the milk, cleanly prepared and well strained,—cleanly prepared and well strained by a pious man, and mixed with the roots of the tree known as Hadhâ-naêpata⁶.

73 (144). 'He shall kill a thousand snakes of those that go upon the belly, two thousand of the other kind; he shall kill a thousand land-frogs and two thousand water-frogs; he shall kill a thousand corn-carrying ants and two thousand of the other kind⁷.

¹ To the Bahrâm fire.

² The *ômentum* (afsmān) or epipleon. Catullus, describing the sacrifice of the Magi, has (LXXXIX):

' Accepto veneretur carmine divos

Omentum in flamma pingue liquefaciens.'

Strabo XV, 13: τοῦ ἐπίπλου τι μικρὸν τιθείασι, ὡς λέγουσί τινες, ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ. 'Ascending six steps they showed me in a Room adjoining to the temple, their Fire which they fed with Wood, and sometimes Burn on it the Fat of the Sheep's Tail.' A Voyage Round the World, Dr. J. F. Gemelli, 1698.

³ The ceremony here described is nearly fallen into desuetude: it is the so-called Zôhr-âdash (zaothra for the fire), which is for the fire what the Zôhr-âb is for the waters.

⁴ This is the Zôhr-âb. According to the Shâyast (XI, 4), when an animal is immolated, the heart is offered to the fire and the shoulder is offered to the waters.

⁵ Cf. Farg. XIV, 3 seq.

⁶ Cf. Farg. XIV, 4, and p. 173, n. 4.

⁷ Cf. Farg. XIV, 5.

74 (147). 'He shall throw thirty bridges over canals; he shall undergo a thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana¹.

75 (149). 'This is the atonement, this is the penalty that he shall pay to atone for the deed that he has done.

76 (150). 'If he shall pay it, he makes himself a viaticum into the world of the holy ones; if he shall not pay it, he makes himself a viaticum into the world of the wicked, into that world, made of darkness, the offspring of darkness, which is Darkness' self².'

FARGARD XIX.

I. Angra Mainyu sends the demon Bûiti to kill Zarathustra: Zarathustra sings aloud the Ahuna-Vairya, and the demon flies away, confounded by the sacred words and by the Glory of Zarathustra (§§ 1-3).

I a. Angra Mainyu himself attacks him and propounds riddles to be solved under pain of death. The Prophet rejects him with heavenly stones, given by Ahura, and announces to him that he will destroy his creation. The demon promises him the empire of the world if he adores him, as his ancestors have done, and abjures the religion of Mazda. Zarathustra rejects his offers scornfully. He announces he will destroy him with the arms given by Ahura, namely, the sacrificial implements and the sacred words. Then he recites the *Tad thwâ peresâ*, that is to say the Gâtha in which he asks Ahura for instruction on all the mysteries of the material and spiritual world (§§ 4-10).

The rest of the Fargard contains specimens of the several questions asked by Zarathustra and the answers given by Ahura. It is an abridgement of the Revelation (cf. Yt. XXIV).

¹ Five tanâfûhrs, that is six thousand dirhems.

² Cf. Farg. V, 62.

II (11-17). How to destroy the uncleanness born from a contact with the dead?—By invoking the Mazdean Religion. A series of invocations taught by Ahura and developed by Zarathustra (15-16).

III (18-19). How to promote the prosperity of the creation?—By the rites of the Baresman.

IV (20-25). How to purify man and clothes defiled by the dead?—With gômêz, water, and perfume.

V (26-34). On the remuneration of deeds after death; on the fate of the wicked and the righteous; the *Kīnvad* bridge.

II a (34-42). Another series of invocations.

VI (43-47). The demons, dismayed by the birth of the Prophet, rush back into hell.

As may be seen from the preceding analysis, the essential part of this Fargard are sections I and VI, the rest being an indefinite development. It appears also from section VI, that the attacks of Bûiti and Angra Mainyu against Zarathustra and the attempt to seduce him are supposed to take place at the moment when he was born, which is confirmed by the testimony of the Nask Varsht-mânsar (West, Pahlavi Texts, IV, 226 seq.)

I.

1. From the region of the north, from the regions of the north¹, forth rushed Angra Mainyu, the deadly, the Daêva of the Daêvas². And thus spake the evil-doer Angra Mainyu, the deadly: 'Drug, rush down and kill him,' O holy Zarathustra! The Drug came rushing along, the demon Bûiti³, who is deceiving, unseen death⁴.

2 (5). Zarathustra chanted aloud the Ahuna-

¹ From hell; cf. p. 76, n. 1.

² 'The fiend of fiends,' the arch-fiend.

³ Bûiti is identified by the Greater Bundahish with the Bût, the idol, worshipped by Bûdâsp (a corruption of Bodhisattva). Bûiti would be therefore a personification of Buddhism, which was flourishing in Eastern Iran in the two centuries before and after Christ. Bûidhi (Farg. XI, 9) may be another and more correct pronunciation of Bodhi.

⁴ Idolatry (cf. note 3) being the death of the soul.

Vairya¹: 'The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness. The gifts of Vohu-manô to the deeds done in this world for Mazda. He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king.'

He offered the sacrifice to the good waters of the good Dâitya²! He recited the profession of the worshippers of Mazda³!

The Drug dismayed, rushed away, the demon Bûiti, who is deceiving, unseen death.

3 (7). And the Drug said unto Angra Mainyu: 'Thou, tormenter, Angra Mainyu! I see no way to kill Spitama Zarathustra, so great is the glory of the holy Zarathustra.'

Zarathustra saw (all this) within his soul: 'The wicked, the evil-doing Daêvas (thought he) take counsel together for my death.'

I a.

4 (11). Up started Zarathustra, forward went Zarathustra, unabated by Akem-manô⁴, by the hardness of his malignant riddles⁵; he went swinging stones in his hand, stones as big as a house⁶, which he obtained from the Maker, Ahura Mazda, he the holy Zarathustra.

¹ See above, p. 100, n. 2.

² The river in Airyana Vaêgô; see Farg. I, 3.

³ The Fravarânê (Yasna XI, 16).

⁴ See Farg. X, 10, n. 1.

⁵ This is a fragment of an old legend in which Zarathustra and Angra Mainyu played respectively the parts of Oedipus and the Sphinx. Cf. Yt. V, 81, where the same legend is told in nearly the same terms of the sorcerer Akhtya and Yôista Fryananâm.

⁶ The Commentary has, 'Some say, those stones are the Ahuna-Vairya.' If one keeps in mind how much the Musulman legend of Ibrahim owes to the legend of Zoroaster, one may easily admit that this passage in our text is the origin of the story of how Iblis tempted Ibrahim, and was pelted away, whence he was named 'the stoned One' (ar-ragimû).

‘Whereat on this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar, whereat dost thou swing (those stones), thou who standest by the upper bank of the river Darega¹, in the mansion of Pourusaspaspa²?’

5 (16). Thus Zarathustra answered Angra Mainyu: ‘O evil-doer, Angra Mainyu! I will smite the creation of the Daêva; I will smite the Nasu, a creature of the Daêva; I will smite the Pairika Knâthaiti³, till the victorious Saoshyant come up to life⁴ out of the lake Kâsava⁵, from the region of the dawn, from the regions of the dawn.’

6 (20). Again to him said the Maker of the evil world, Angra Mainyu: ‘Do not destroy my creatures, O holy Zarathustra! Thou art the son of Pourusaspaspa⁶; by thy mother I was invoked⁷. Renounce the good Religion of the worshippers of Mazda, and thou shalt gain such a boon as Vadhaghna⁸ gained, the ruler of the nations.’

¹ ‘The Dârâga is the chief of the rivers, because the house of Zartûst’s father stood on its bank and Zartûst was born there’ (Bund. XXIV, 15).

² The father of Zarathustra.

³ The incarnation of idolatry; cf. Farg. I, 10.

⁴ The unborn son of Zoroaster, who, at the end of time, will destroy Ahriman and bring about the resurrection of the dead. See Yt. XIII, 62; XIX, 92, 94 seq.

⁵ The Zarah sea in Saistân. Cf. Yt. XV, 66.

⁶ ‘I know thee’ (Comm.)

⁷ The Commentary has, ‘Some explain thus: Thy forefathers worshipped me: worship me also.’ Zoroaster’s forefathers must naturally have followed a false religion, since he announces the true one.

⁸ Asî Dahâka or Zohâk, who, as a legendary king, is said to have ruled the world for a thousand years. Cf. Mînôkhard LVII, 24–25: ‘Ahriman shouted to Zartûst thus: “If thou desist from this good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, then I will give thee

7 (24). Spitama Zarathustra said in answer: 'No! never will I renounce the good Religion of the worshippers of Mazda, either for body or life, though they should tear away the breath!'

8 (27). Again to him said the Maker of the evil world, Angra Mainyu: 'By whose Word wilt thou strike, by whose Word wilt thou repel, by whose weapon will the good creatures (strike and repel) my creation, who am Angra Mainyu?'

9 (29). Spitama Zarathustra said in answer: 'The sacred mortar, the sacred cups, the Haoma, the Word taught by Mazda, these are my weapons, my best weapons! By this Word will I strike, by this Word will I repel, by this weapon will the good creatures (strike and repel thee), O evil-doer, Angra Mainyu! The Good Spirit made the creation¹; he made it in the boundless Time. The Amesha-Spentas made the creation, the good, the wise Sovereigns.'

10 (35). Zarathustra chanted aloud the Ahuna-Vairya.

The holy Zarathustra said aloud: 'This I ask thee: teach me the truth, O Lord²! . . .'

II.

11 (37). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent spirit, Maker of the

a thousand years' dominion of the worldly existence, as was given to the Vadakân monarch Dahâk''' (West, Pahlavi Texts, III, 103).

¹ The first duty of every good Mazda-worshipper is to think of Ormazd as the creator, and of Ahriman as the destroyer (Minôskhard II, 9).

² This verse is the beginning of the *Tad thwâ peresâ Gâtha* (Yasna XLIV); cf. the Introduction to the Fargard.

material world, thou Holy One! [he was sitting by the upper bank of the Darega¹, before Ahura Mazda, before the good Vohu-manô, before Asha Vahista, Khshathra Vairya, and Spenta Ârmaiti;]

12 (39). 'How shall I free the world from that Drug, from that evil-doer, Angra Mainyu? How shall I drive away direct defilement? How indirect defilement? How shall I drive the Nasu from the house of the worshippers of Mazda? How shall I cleanse the faithful man? How shall I cleanse the faithful woman?'

13 (42). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Invoke, O Zarathustra! the good Religion of Mazda.

'Invoke, O Zarathustra! though thou see them not, the Amesha-Spentas who rule over the seven Karshvares of the earth².

'Invoke, O Zarathustra! the sovereign Heaven, the boundless Time³, and Vayu⁴, whose action is most high.

'Invoke, O Zarathustra! the powerful Wind, made by Mazda; and Spenta [Ârmaiti]⁵, the fair daughter of Ahura Mazda.

14 (46). 'Invoke, O Zarathustra! my Fravashi⁶, who am Ahura Mazda, the greatest, the best, the fairest of all beings, the most solid, the most intelligent, the best shapen, the highest in holiness, and whose soul is the holy Word⁷!

¹ See p. 211, note 1.

² See § 39.

³ By contradistinction to the duration of the world, which is limited to 12,000 years (Bund. XXXIV, 1).

⁴ The Genius of Destiny; cf. Farg. V, 9.

⁵ The fourth Amesha-Spenta, who in her spiritual character is an incarnation of pious humility and in her material character the Genius of the Earth; cf. Farg. II, 10.

⁶ On the Fravashis, see Yt. XIII.

⁷ Cf. Yasna I, 1.

‘Invoke, O Zarathustra! this creation of mine, who am Ahura Mazda.’

15 (50). Zarathustra imitated my words from me, (and said): ‘I invoke the holy creation of Ahura Mazda.

‘I invoke Mithra¹, the lord of the rolling countryside, a god armed with beautiful weapons, with the most glorious of all weapons, with the most victorious of all weapons.

‘I invoke the holy, well-formed Sraosha², who wields a club in his hand, to bear upon the heads of the fiends³.

16 (54). ‘I invoke the most glorious Holy Word.

‘I invoke the sovereign Heaven, the boundless Time, and Vayu, whose action is most high.

‘I invoke the mighty Wind, made by Mazda, and Spenta (Ârmaiti), the fair daughter of Ahura Mazda.

‘I invoke the good Religion of Mazda, the fiend-destroying Law of Zarathustra.’

III.

17 (58). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: ‘O Maker of the good world, Ahura Mazda! With what manner of sacrifice shall I worship, with what manner of sacrifice shall I make people worship this creation of Ahura Mazda⁴?’

18 (60). Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Go, O Spitama

¹ See p. 23, n. 1.

² See Farg. XVIII, 14, note.

³ Cf. Farg. XVIII, 22 seq.; Yasna LVII, 19 seq.; Yasht XI.

⁴ The sacrifice intended is a sacrifice to nature. The Baresman, as representative of the vegetal nature, receives the zaothralibations, which are representative of the fertilizing rains.

Zarathustra! towards the high-growing trees¹, and before one of them that is beautiful, high-growing, and mighty, say thou these words: "Hail to thee! O good, holy tree, made by Mazda! Ashem vohu²!"

19 (63). '[The priest] shall cut off a twig of Baresma, long as an aêsha, thick as a yava³. The faithful one, holding it in his left hand, shall keep his eyes upon it without ceasing⁴, whilst he is offering up to Ahura Mazda and to the Amesha-Spentas, the high and beautiful golden Haomas, and Good Thought and the good Râta⁵, made by Mazda, holy and excellent.'

IV.

20 (67). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O thou, all-knowing Ahura Mazda! thou art never asleep, never intoxicated, thou Ahura Mazda! Vohu-manô⁶

¹ The tree, whatever it is, from which the Baresma is taken. See p. 22, n. 3.

² See § 22.

³ Perhaps: 'long as a ploughshare, thick as a barleycorn.' Cf. the English system of measures, in which three barleycorns=one inch.—Cf. Nîrangistân 90.

⁴ The Parsis are recommended to keep their eyes on the Baresma during the sacrifice: 'A man is offering the Darûn, he has said all the required Avesta, but he has not looked at the Baresma: what is the rule? It would have been better if he had looked at it: however he may proceed to the meal' (Old Rav. 97 b). Cf. Tahmuras' Fragments, XXX-XXXI.

⁵ Râta impersonates the liberalities done by men to God (as offerings) and by God to men (as riches, &c.)

⁶ Vohu-manô is often used as a designation of the faithful one, literally, 'the good-minded'; this is the meaning which is given to it in this passage by the Commentary, and it certainly belongs to it in the second part of § 25; but in the first part of the same clause it is translated 'clothes,' a meaning which is not unlikely

gets directly defiled: Vohu-manô gets indirectly defiled; the Daêvas defile him from the bodies smitten by the Daêvas¹: let Vohu-manô be made clean.'

21 (70). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thou shalt take some gômêz from a bull ungelded and such as the law requires it². Thou shalt take the man who is to be cleansed to the field made by Ahura³, and the man that is to cleanse him shall draw the furrows⁴.

22 (73). 'He shall recite a hundred Ashem vohu: "Holiness is the best of all good: it is also happiness. Happy the man who is holy with perfect holiness!"

'He shall chant two hundred Ahuna-Vairya: "The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness. The gifts of Vohu-manô to the deeds done in this world for Mazda! He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king."

'He shall wash himself four times with the

in itself, as Vohu-manô, being the Amshaspand of cattle, may designate, and in fact did designate, the skins of cattle and leather (Comm. ad Farg. XVIII, 2). On the whole the description in the text applies to the cleansing both of the man and of the clothes, and Vohu-manô sometimes means the one, and sometimes the other.—From the first meaning is derived the modern use of Vâhman, 'Such a one,' 'N.'

¹ From dead bodies.

² The so-called Varasiô; 'it must be of a white colour; if a single hair on its body be found other than white, the animal is rejected as unfit for the purpose' (Sorâbji Kâvasji Khambâtâ, in the Indian Antiquary, VII, 180). On the preparation of the gômêz, see Wilson, *Parsi Religion Unfolded*, pp. 434-435.

³ The place of the cleansing, the Barashnûm-gâh (see Farg. IX, 3).

⁴ See Farg. IX, 10.

gômêz from the ox, and twice with the water made by Mazda¹.

23 (76). 'Thus Vohu-manô shall be made clean, and clean shall be the man. The man shall take up Vohu-manô² with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left : and thou shalt lay down Vohu-manô under the mighty light of the heavens, by the light of the stars made by the gods, until nine nights have passed away³.

24 (80). 'When nine nights have passed away, thou shalt bring libations unto the fire, thou shalt bring hard wood unto the fire, thou shalt bring incense of Vohû-gaona unto the fire, and thou shalt perfume Vohu-manô therewith.

25 (82). 'Thus shall Vohu-manô be made clean, and clean shall be the man⁴. He shall take up Vohu-manô with the right arm and the left, with the left arm and the right, and Vohu-manô⁵ shall say aloud : "Glory be to Ahura Mazda ! Glory be to the Amesha-Spentas ! Glory be to all the other holy beings."'

V.

26 (85). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : 'O thou all-knowing Ahura Mazda : Should I urge

¹ 'Or better six times with the gômêz and thrice with the water' (Comm.; cf. Farg. VIII, 37 seq.; IX, 28 seq.)

² 'The clothes' (Comm.)

³ The clothes of the unclean shall be exposed to the air for nine nights, all the time while he himself is confined in the Armêst-gâh. The rules for the cleansing of clothes that have been worn by the dead himself are different (see Farg. VII, 12 seq.)

⁴ 'Thus Vohu-manô shall be clean—the clothes; thus the man shall be clean—he who wears those clothes' (Comm.)

⁵ The faithful one.

upon the godly man, should I urge upon the godly woman, should I urge upon the wicked Daêva-worshipper who lives in sin, to give the earth made by Ahura, the water that runs, the corn that grows, and all the rest of their wealth¹ ?'

Ahura Mazda answered : 'Thou shouldst, O holy Zarathustra.'

27 (89). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! Where are the rewards given ? Where does the rewarding take place ? Where is the rewarding fulfilled ? Whereto do men come to take the reward that, during their life in the material world, they have won for their souls ?

28 (90). Ahura Mazda answered : 'When the man is dead, when his time is over, then the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas cut off his eyesight. On the third night, when the dawn appears and brightens up, when Mithra, the god with beautiful weapons, reaches the all-happy mountains, and the sun is rising :

29 (94). 'Then the fiend, named Vîzaresha², O Spitama Zarathustra, carries off in bonds³ the souls of the wicked Daêva-worshippers who live in sin. The soul enters the way made by Time, and open both to the wicked and to the righteous. At the head of the *Kinvađ* bridge, the holy bridge

¹ Cf. § 29 end.

² The demon Vîzaresh is he who, during that struggle of three days and three nights with the souls of the departed, carries terror on them and beats them : he sits at the gate of hell (Bund. XXVIII, 18).

³ 'Every one has a noose cast around his neck : when a man dies, if he has been a righteous man, the noose falls from his neck ; if a wicked, they drag him with that noose down into hell' (Comm. ; cf. Farg. V, 8).

made by Mazda¹, they ask for their spirits and souls the reward for the worldly goods which they gave away here below².

30 (98). 'Then comes the beautiful, well-shapen, strong and well-formed maid³, with the dogs at her sides⁴, one who can distinguish⁵, who has many children⁶, happy, and of high understanding.

'She makes the soul of the righteous one go up above the Hara-berezaiti⁷; above the *Kinvað*

¹ The *Kinvað* bridge extends over hell and leads to Paradise; for the souls of the righteous it widens to the length of nine javelins; for the souls of the wicked it narrows to a thread, and they fall down into hell (cf. *Arđâ Virâf* V, 1; *Dinkard* IX, 20, 3). The *Kinvað* bridge has become the Sirath bridge of the Musulmans. Not long ago they sang in Yorkshire of 'the Brig o' Dread, na brader than a thread' (Thoms, *Anecdotes*, 89), and even nowadays the peasant in Nièvre tells of a little board—

'Pas pu longue, pas pu large
Qu'un ch'veu de la Sainte Viarge,'

which was put by Saint Jean d'Archange between the earth and Paradise:

'Ceux qu'saront la raison (=l'oraison?) d'Dieu
Par dessus passeront.
Ceux qu'la sauront pas
Au bout mourront.' (Mélusine, p. 70.)

² Cf. § 26, and Farg. III, 34, 35; XVIII, 33 seq.

³ The soul of the dead, on the fourth day, finds itself in the presence of a maid, of divine beauty or fiendish ugliness, according as he himself was good or bad, and she leads him into heaven or hell: this maid is his own Daêna, his Religion, that is the sum of his religious deeds, good or evil (*Yasht* XXII).

⁴ The dogs that keep the *Kinvað* bridge (see Farg. XIII, 9).

⁵ The good from the wicked.

⁶ Doubtful. Those children would be the righteous, as the sons of the Drug are the wicked (Farg. XVIII, 30 seq.)

⁷ The *Kinvað* bridge rests by one end on the Alborz (Hara-berezaiti) and by the other on the Kikâd Dâitîk in Irân Vêg (Comm. ad § 101 ed. Sp.; *Dinkard* IX, 20, 3).

bridge she places it in the presence of the heavenly gods themselves.

31 (102). 'Up rises Vohu-manô¹ from his golden seat; Vohu-manô exclaims: "How hast thou come to us, thou Holy One, from that decaying world into this undecaying one²?"'

32 (105). 'Gladly pass the souls of the righteous to the golden seat of Ahura Mazda, to the golden seat of the Amesha-Spentas, to the Garô-nmânem³, the abode of Ahura Mazda, the abode of the Amesha-Spentas, the abode of all the other holy beings.

33 (108). 'As to the godly man that has been cleansed⁴, the wicked evil-doing Daêvas tremble at the perfume of his soul after death, as doth a sheep on which a wolf is pouncing⁵.

34 (110). 'The souls of the righteous are gathered together there: Nairyô-sangha⁶ is with them; a messenger of Ahura Mazda is Nairyô-sangha.

II a.

'Invoke, O Zarathustra! this very creation of Ahura Mazda.'

35 (114). Zarathustra imitated those words of

¹ The doorkeeper of Paradise; a Zoroastrian Saint-Pierre.

² Cf. Farg. VII, 52; Yt. XXII, 16.

³ The Garôthmân of the Parsis; literally, 'the house of songs'; it is the highest Paradise.

⁴ That has performed the Barashnûm.

⁵ Ormazd is all perfume, Ahriman is infection and stench (Bundahis I; Eznig, Refutatio Haeresiarum II); the souls of their followers partake of the same qualities, and by the performance of the Barashnûm both the body and the soul are perfumed and sweetened.

⁶ Cf. Farg. XXII, 7.

mine : 'I invoke the holy world, made by Ahura Mazda.

'I invoke the earth made by Ahura, the water made by Mazda, the holy trees.

'I invoke the sea Vouru-kasha¹.

'I invoke the beautiful Heaven².

'I invoke the endless and sovereign Light³.'

36 (120). 'I invoke the bright, blissful Paradise of the Holy Ones.

'I invoke the Garô-nmânem, the abode of Ahura Mazda, the abode of the Amesha-Spentas, the abode of all the other holy beings.

'I invoke the sovereign Place of Eternal Weal⁴, and the *Kînvad* bridge made by Mazda.

37 (123). 'I invoke the good Saoka⁵, who has the good eye.

'I invoke the whole creation of weal.

'I invoke the mighty Fravashis⁶ of the righteous.

'I invoke Verethraghna⁷, made by Ahura, who wears the Glory made by Mazda⁸.

¹ See Farg. V, 15 seq.

² Asman, the highest heaven, as distinguished from the firmament (*thwâsha*) that lies nearer the earth.

³ The endless Light is 'the place of Ormazd' (Bund. I); it is Infinite Space conceived as luminous.

⁴ *Misvâna gâtva*, another name of the heavenly spaces; it designates heaven as the abode and source of all blessings, of all *savah*, or *saoka*.

⁵ A Genius defined, 'Genius of the good eye,' by opposition to 'the bad eye.' *Saoka* (*Sôk*) is an auxiliary to *Mithra* (*Mîhr*); she receives first, from above, all the good destined to man, and transmits it to the lower sky or firmament (which is the seat of Destiny) through the moon and *Ardvîsûr* (Gr. Bund.)

⁶ See Yt. XIII.

⁷ The Genius of Victory (*Bahrâm*). See Yt. XIV.

⁸ The *hwarenô* (*Khurra* or *Farr*) or light of sovereignty. Cf. § 39 and see Yt. XIX.

‘ I invoke Tistrya ¹, the bright and glorious star, in the shape of a golden-horned bull ².

38 (127). ‘ I invoke the holy, beneficent Gâthas ³, who rule over the Ratus ⁴:

‘ I invoke the Ahunavaiti Gâtha ;

‘ I invoke the Ustavaiti Gâtha ;

‘ I invoke the Spenta-mainyu Gâtha ;

‘ I invoke the Vohu-khshathra Gâtha ;

‘ I invoke the Vahistôisti Gâtha.

39 (129). ‘ I invoke the Karshvares of Arzahê and Savahê ;

‘ I invoke the Karshvares of Fradadhafshu and Vidadhafshu ;

‘ I invoke the Karshvares of Vourubaresti and Vouruzaresti ;

‘ I invoke the bright *Hvaniratha* ⁵ ;

‘ I invoke the bright, glorious *Haêtumant* ⁶ ;

‘ I invoke the good *Ashi* ⁷ ;

[‘ I invoke the good *Kisti* ⁸ ;]

¹ Tistrya (Tîr), the star of rain. See Yt. VIII.

² Tistrya appears successively under three forms, during the month named from him (the first month of summer, 21 June–21 July): ten days as a man, ten days as a bull, ten days as a horse. ‘ As a bull he is most to be invoked ’ (Comm.), to prepare his final victory over the demon of Drought, Apaosha.

³ The five collections of hymns which form the oldest and holiest part of the Yasna and of the Avesta (Yasna XXVIII–XXXIV; XLIII–XLVI; XLVII–L; LI; LIII); they are named after their initial words.

⁴ The chiefs of creation ; ‘ they rule over the Ratus inasmuch as it is by their means that these other Ratus are invoked ’ (Comm.)

⁵ The earth is divided into seven Karshvares, of which the central one, *Hvaniratha*, is the finest and contains Iran.

⁶ See Farg. I, 14.

⁷ *Ashi* (*Ashishvang*), the Genius that imparts riches to the righteous : see Yt. XVII.

⁸ An angel of religious knowledge.

‘I invoke the most pure *Kīsta* ¹;

‘I invoke the Glory of the Aryan regions ²;

‘I invoke the Glory of the bright Yima, the good shepherd ³.

40 (133). ‘Let him be worshipped with sacrifice, let him be gladdened, gratified, and satisfied, the holy Sraosha, the well-formed, victorious, holy Sraosha ⁴.

‘Bring libations unto the Fire, bring hard wood unto the Fire, bring incense of Vohû-gaona unto the Fire.

‘Offer up the sacrifice to the Vâzista fire ⁵, which smites the fiend Spengaghra ⁶: bring unto it the cooked meat and full overflowing libations ⁷.

41 (137). ‘Offer up the sacrifice to the holy Sraosha, that the holy Sraosha may smite down the fiend *Kunda* ⁸, who is drunken without drinking ⁹, and throws down into the Hell of the Drug the wicked Daêva-worshippers, who live in sin.

[42 ¹⁰. ‘I invoke the *Kara* fish ¹¹, who lives beneath waters in the bottom of the deep lakes.

¹ Religious knowledge: invoked with Daêna (Religion; *Sîrôza*, 24).

² The light of sovereignty, *hvarəno*, which if secured by the Aryans makes them rule over their enemies (cf. § 37 and Yt. XIX, 56-93).

³ See Farg. II, 2.

⁴ That he may smite Aêshma and the other fiends.

⁵ The fire of lightning.

⁶ The demon that prevents the fall of rain; a companion in arms of Apaosha.

⁷ Doubtful.

⁸ The same as *Kundi*; see Farg. XI, 9.

⁹ Whereas Aêshma, the other arch-enemy of Sraosha, borrows part of his strength from drunkenness (*Yasna* X, 8).

¹⁰ From the *Vendîdâd Sâda*. The clause may have belonged to the original text; it is preceded by another clause which certainly

¹¹ For this note see next page.

'I invoke the ancient and sovereign Merezu¹², the most warlike of the creatures of the two Spirits¹³.

'I invoke the seven bright Sru¹⁴ . . .'

VI.

43. 'They cried about, their minds wavered to and fro¹⁵, Angra Mainyu the deadly, the Daêva of the Daêvas; Indra the Daêva, Sâuru the Daêva, Naunghaithya the Daêva, Taurvi and Zairi¹⁶; Aêshma of the murderous spear¹⁷; Akatasha the Daêva¹⁸; Winter, made by the Daêvas; the deceiving, unseen Death; Zaurva¹⁹, baneful to the fathers; Bûiti the Daêva²⁰; Driwi²¹ the Daêva; Daiwi²² the Daêva; Kasvi²³ the Daêva; Paitisha²⁴ the most Daêva-like amongst the Daêvas.]

did not belong to it, and part of which is cited in the Commentary ad Farg. VIII, 103, where it would have been more suitably placed: 'When he has been cleansed in the next inhabited place, he may then sow and till the pasture fields, as food for the sheep and as food for the ox.'

¹¹ The Kar-mâhî, the Ratu or chief of the creatures that live in water. Cf. Farg. XX, 4, note; Yt. XIV, 29.

¹² A ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. From its two epithets, 'ancient' and 'sovereign,' it appears that it must designate one of the first principles, that is to say, some form of Heaven, Light, Space, or Time.

¹³ Doubtful.

¹⁴ Hapta sravô bâmya hanzunghô puthrzunghô puszunghô bavainti.

¹⁵ Up and down, in hope and despair.

¹⁶ See Farg. X, 9-10.

¹⁷ See Farg. X, 13.

¹⁸ See Farg. X, 13.

¹⁹ Old age.

²⁰ See above, p. 209, n. 3.

²¹ Malice; see above, Farg. II, 29.

²² Lying; see above, Farg. II, 29.

²³ Spite; see above, Farg. II, 29.

²⁴ Opposition, or counter-action, the same as Paityâra; a personification of the doings of Ahriman and of his marring power.

44 (140). 'And the evil-doing Daêva, Angra Mainyu, the deadly, said: "What! let the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas gather together at the head of Arezûra!"'

45 (141). 'They rush away shouting, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas; they run away shouting, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas; they run away casting the Evil Eye, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas: "Let us gather together at the head of Arezûra!"'

46 (143). '"For he is just born the holy Zarathustra, in the house of Pourusaspa. How can we procure his death? He is the weapon that fells the fiends: he is a counter-fiend to the fiends; he is a Drug to the Drug. Vanished are the Daêva-worshippers, the Nasu made by the Daêva, the false-speaking Lie!"'

47 (147). 'They rush away shouting, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas, into the depths of the dark, raging world of hell.

'Ashem vohû: Holiness is the best of all good.'

FARGARD XX.

Thrita, the First Healer.

It has already been seen (Farg. VII, 44) that there are three kinds of medicine: one that heals with the knife, one that heals with herbs, and one that heals with sacred spells. The present Fargard deals with the origin of medicine, particularly the herbs-medicine. Its inventor was Thrita, of the Sâma family, to whom Ahura Mazda brought down from heaven ten thousand healing

¹ At the gate of hell; see above, p. 24, n. 1.

plants that had been growing up around the tree of eternal life, the white Hôma or Gaokerena (§ 4).

This Thrīta is mentioned only once again in the Avesta, in Yasna IX, 7, where he appears to have been one of the first priests of Haoma. This accounts for his medical skill; as Haoma is the plant of eternal life, it is but natural that one of his first priests should have been the first healer.

This Fargard has only an allusion to the origin of the knife-medicine, which was, as it seems, revealed by Khshathra Vairya (§ 3). The last paragraphs (§§ 5-12) deal with the spell-medicine.

The functions ascribed here to Thrīta were sometimes conferred on his semi-namesake Thraëtaona¹. Hamza makes Thraëtaona the inventor of medicine²; the Taviḍs³ against sickness are inscribed with his name, and we find in the Avesta itself his Fravashi invoked 'against itch, hot fever, humours, cold fever⁴, incontinence, against the plagues created by the serpent⁵.' We see from the last words of this passage that disease was understood as coming from the serpent; in other words, that it was considered a sort of poisoning⁶, and this is the reason why the killer of the serpent (Aṣi Dahāka) was invoked to act against it.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who was he who first of the healers⁷, of the wise, the happy, the wealthy, the glorious, the strong, the Paradhātas⁸, drove back sickness to sickness, drove back death to death⁹; and first turned away the point of

¹ See the Westergaard Fragments, II.

² Ed. Gottwaldt, p. 23; cf. Mirkhond, *Early Kings of Persia*, tr. by Shea, p. 152.

³ Formulas of exorcism.

⁴ Cf. Farg. VII, 58.

⁵ Yasht XIII, 131.

⁶ This theory, which modern science would not utterly reject, accounts for the great part which the serpent plays in the worship of Asklepios; as sickness comes from him, from him too must or may come the healing.

⁷ 'Those who knew how to take care of their own bodies, like Isfandyâr: some say that no sword could wound him' (Comm.)

⁸ The Paradhāta or Pêshdâd, the kings of the first Iranian dynasty.

⁹ 'That is to say, who kept sickness in bonds, who kept death in bonds' (Comm.)

the sword and the fire of fever from the bodies of mortals ?'

2 (11). Ahura Mazda answered : 'Thrita it was who first of the healers, of the wise, the happy, the wealthy, the glorious, the strong, the Paradhâtas, drove back sickness to sickness, drove back death to death, and first turned away the point of the sword and the fire of fever from the bodies of mortals.

3 (12). 'He asked for a source of remedies ; he obtained it from Khshathra-Vairya¹, to withstand sickness and to withstand death ; to withstand pain and to withstand fever ; to withstand Sârana and to withstand Sârastya² ; to withstand Azana and to withstand Azahva ; to withstand Kurugha and to withstand Azivâka ; to withstand Duruka and to withstand Astairya ; to withstand the evil eye, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu had created against the bodies of mortals.

4 (15). 'And I Ahura Mazda brought down the healing plants that, by many hundreds, by many thousands, by many myriads, grow up all around the one Gaokerena³.

¹ As Khshathra-Vairya presides over metals, it was a knife he received, 'of which the point and the base were set in gold.' He was therefore the first who healed with the knife, as well as the first who healed with herbs. As for the healing with the holy word, see §§ 5 and seq.

² Headache and cold fever.

³ There are two Haomas : one is the yellow or golden Haoma, which is the earthly Haoma, and which, when prepared for the sacrifice, is the king of healing plants ; the other is the white Haoma or Gaokerena, which grows up in the middle of the sea Vouru-Kasha, where it is surrounded by the ten thousand healing

5 (18). 'All this do we achieve; all this do we order; all these prayers do we utter, for the benefit of the bodies of mortals';

6. 'To withstand sickness and to withstand death; to withstand pain and to withstand fever; to withstand Sârana and to withstand Sârastya; to withstand Azana and to withstand Azahva; to withstand Kurugha and to withstand Azivâka; to withstand Duruka and to withstand Astairya; to withstand the evil eye, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created against the bodies of mortals.

7 (19). 'To thee, O Sickness, I say avaunt! to thee, O Death, I say avaunt! to thee, O Pain, I say avaunt! to thee, O Fever, I say avaunt! to thee, O Evil Eye, I say avaunt! to thee, O Sârana, I say avaunt! and to thee, O Sârastya, I say avaunt! to thee, O Azana, I say avaunt! and to thee, O Azahva, I say avaunt! to thee, O Kurugha, I say avaunt! and to thee, O Azivâka, I say avaunt! to thee, O Duruka, I say avaunt! and to thee, O Astairya, I say avaunt!

8 (21). 'Give us, O Ahura, that powerful sovereignty, by the strength of which we may smite down the Drug! By its might may we smite the Drug²!

plants, created by Ormazd in order to oppose so many diseases that had been created by Ahriman (Bundahis IX; cf. Farg. XXII, 2). A frog goes swimming around the Gaokerena to gnaw it down: but two Kar Mâhî (Farg. XIX, 42) keep watch and circle around the tree, so that the head of one of them is continually towards the frog (Bund. XVIII).

¹ We do all that is necessary for healing; we give, as Dastobar (Dastûr), the necessary prescriptions; we recite the needed prayers. —This section is a transition to the spell-medicine.

² This clause is borrowed, with some alteration, from Yasna

9 (23). 'I drive away Ishirê and I drive away Aghûirê; I drive away Aghra and I drive away Ughra; I drive away sickness and I drive away death; I drive away pain and I drive away fever; I drive away Sârana and I drive away Sârastya; I drive away Azana and I drive away Azahva; I drive away Kurugha and I drive away Azivâka; I drive away Duruka and I drive away Astairya; I drive away the evil eye, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created against the bodies of mortals.

10 (25). 'I drive away all manner of sickness and death, all the Yâtus and Pairikas¹, and all the wicked Gainis².

11 (26). 'Â Airyamâ ishyô. May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman³ come here, for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for Vohu-manô to rejoice; with the desirable reward that Religion deserves. I solicit for holiness that boon that is vouchsafed by Ahura!

12 (29). 'May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman smite all manner of sickness and death, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Gainis.'

[13. Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness.

The gifts of Vohu-manô to the deeds done in this world for Mazda. He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king.

XXXI, 4; the original text is, 'May that strong power come to me, by the might of which we may smite down the Drug!'

¹ See Farg. XI, 9.

² 'Gai' (Comm.), that is Gahi; cf. Farg. XVIII, 62, and Farg. XXII, 2, note.—Clause 10 is imitated from clause 12.

³ On Airyaman, see Farg. XXII. Clauses 11–12 are borrowed from Yasna LIV, 1, and form the prayer known as Airyama-ishyô.

Kem-nâ mazdâ :—What protector hast thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me? Whom but thy Âtar and Vohu-manô, through whose work I keep on the world of Righteousness? Reveal therefore to me thy Religion as thy rule!

Ke verethrem-gâ :—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching? Make it clear that I am the guide for both worlds. May Sraosha come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest, O Mazda!

Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness¹!

FARGARD XXI.

I (1). Praise of the holy bull.

II (2-3). Invocation addressed to rain as a healing power.

III a (4-7). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the sun.

III b (8-11). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the moon.

III c (12-17). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the stars.

IV (18-21). Spells against disease.

The largest part of this Fargard is filled with a uniform spell, intended, as it seems, for the protection of lying-in women (§§ 6-7, 10-11, 14-15), who are under the special care of Ardvî Sûra Anâhita, the great goddess of the waters. That spell is repeated three times, in a joint invocation to the sun, to the moon, and to the stars respectively; that strange association is perhaps owing to the fact that both the light and the waters spring up from the Hara Berezaiti and return there (see p. 232, note 1).

¹ See Farg. VIII, 19-20.

I.

1. Hail, bounteous bull¹! Hail to thee, beneficent bull! Hail to thee, who makest increase! Hail to thee, who makest growth! Hail to thee, who dost bestow his part² upon the righteous faithful, and wilt bestow it on the faithful yet unborn! Hail to thee, whom the *Gahi* kills³, and the ungodly *Ashemaogha*, and the wicked tyrant⁴.

II.

2 (3). 'Come, come on, O clouds, from up above, down on the earth, by thousands of drops, by myriads of drops:' thus say, O holy Zarathustra! 'to destroy sickness, to destroy death, to destroy the sickness that kills⁵, to destroy death that kills, to destroy *Gadha* and *Apagadha*⁶.

3 (9). 'If death come after noon, may healing come at eve!

'If death come at eve, may healing come at night!

'If death come at night, may healing come at dawn!

'And showers shower down new water, new earth, new plants, new healing powers, and new healing.

III a.

4 (15). 'As the sea *Vouru-kasha* is the gathering

¹ The primeval bull who was created by Ormazd and killed by *Ahriman* with the help of the *Gahi*.—Clause 1 is to be recited when one meets an ox or any kind of cattle, Gr. Rav. 386.

² Possibly, 'who dost kill the *Gahi*' (by means of *gômêz*).

³ His daily food.

⁴ The wicked kills animals, out of mere cruelty, beyond his needs (*Yasna* XXIX, 1; XXXII, 12, 14; XLVIII, 7).

⁵ Cf. *Bund.* III, 3, 6, 4.

⁶ Names of diseases.

place of the waters¹, rising up and going down, up the aerial way and down the earth, down the earth and up the aerial way²: thus rise up and roll along! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made the aerial way.

5 (20). 'Up! rise up and roll along! thou swift-horsed Sun, above Hara Berezaity, and produce light for the world (and mayst thou [O man!] rise up there, if thou art to abide in Garô-nmânem³)⁴, along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

6 (23). 'And the Holy Word shall keep away the evil⁵: Of thee [O child!] I will cleanse the birth and growth; of thee [O woman!] I will make the body and the strength pure; I make thee rich in children and rich in milk;

¹ Waters and light are believed to flow from the same spring and in the same bed: 'As the light comes in through Alborz (Hara Berezaity) and goes out through Alborz, so water also comes out through Alborz and goes away through Alborz' (Bund. XX, 4). Every day the sun, moon, and stars rise up from Alborz, and every day all the waters on the earth come back together to the sea Vouru-kasha, and there collected come down again to the earth from the peaks of Alborz (Gr. Rav. 431). As light comes from three different sources (the sun, the moon, and the stars), the waters are invoked three times, first in company with the sun, then with the moon, lastly with the stars, as if there should be three different movements of the rain connected with the three movements of light.

² Waters come down from the sky to the earth and rise back from the earth to the sky (see Farg. V, 15 seq.)

³ 'If thou art a righteous man' (Comm.)

⁴ The translation of this clause is doubtful.

⁵ The spell refers to the cleansing and generative power of the waters; cf. the invocation to Ardvī Sûra, Farg. VII, 16: the waters are supposed to make females fertile as they make the earth. This spell was probably pronounced to facilitate childbirth.

7 (27). 'Rich in seed, in milk¹, in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall bring to thee a thousand pure springs, running towards the pastures that give food to the child.

III b.

8 (30). 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of the waters, rising up and going down, up the aerial way and down the earth, down the earth and up the aerial way :

'Thus rise up and roll along ! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made the earth.

9 (31). 'Up ! rise up, thou Moon, that dost keep in thee the seed of the bull² ;

'Rise up above Hara Berezaiti, and produce light for the world (and mayst thou [O man !] rise up there, if thou art to abide in Garô-nmânem), along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

10 (32). 'And the Holy Word shall keep away the evil : Of thee [O child !] I will cleanse the birth and growth ; of thee [O woman !] I will make the body and the strength pure ; I make thee rich in children and rich in milk ;

11 (32). 'Rich in seed, in milk, in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall bring to thee a thousand pure springs, running towards the pastures that give food to the child.

III c.

12 (32). 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place

¹ There are, in the text, two words for 'milk,' the one referring to the milk of women, the other to the milk of cows.

² When the primeval bull died, 'what was bright and strong in his seed was brought to the sphere of the moon, and when it was cleansed there in the light of the astre, two creatures were shaped with it, a male and a female, from which came two hundred and seventy-two kinds of animals' (Bund. IV, X).

of the waters, rising up and going down, up the aerial way and down the earth, down the earth and up the aerial way :

‘ Thus rise up and roll along ! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made everything that grows ¹.

13 (33). ‘ Up ! rise up, ye deep Stars, that have in you the seed of waters ² ;

‘ Rise up above Hara Berezaity, and produce light for the world (and mayst thou [O man !] rise up there, if thou art to abide in Garô-nmânem), along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

14 (34). ‘ And the Holy Word shall keep away the evil : Of thee [O child !] I will cleanse the birth and growth ; of thee [O woman !] I will make the body and the strength pure ; I make thee rich in children and rich in milk ;

15 (34). ‘ Rich in seed, in milk, in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall bring to thee a thousand pure springs, running towards the pastures that will give food to the child.

16 (34). ‘ As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of the waters, rising up and going down, up the aerial way and down the earth, down the earth and up the aerial way :

‘ Thus rise up and roll along ! ye in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made everything that rises.

17 (35). ‘ In your rising away will the *Kahvuzi* ³ fly and cry, away will the *Ayêhi* ⁴ fly and cry, away will the *Gahi*, who follows the *Yâtu*, fly and cry.

¹ The plants that grow under the action of ‘ those stars that have in them the seed of waters ’ (cf. § 13).

² Cf. Yt. XII, 29.

³ ‘ He who diminishes glory, Ahriman ’ (Comm.)

⁴ ‘ Sterility, Ahriman ’ (Comm.)

IV.

[18¹. 'I drive away Ishirê and I drive away Aghûirê; I drive away Aghra and I drive away Ughra; I drive away sickness and I drive away death; I drive away pain and I drive away fever; I drive away Sârana and I drive away Sârastya. I drive away Azana and I drive away Azahva; I drive away Kurugha and I drive away Azivâka; I drive away Duruka and I drive away Astairya; I drive away the evil eye, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created against the bodies of mortals.

19. 'I drive away all manner of sickness and death, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Gainis.

20. 'Â Airyamâ ishyô:—May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman come here, for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for Vohu-manô to rejoice; with the desirable reward that Religion deserves. I solicit for holiness that boon that is vouchsafed by Ahura!

21. 'May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman smite all manner of sickness and death, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Gainis.

22. 'Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness!

'Kem-nâ mazdâ:—What protector hast thou given unto me . . . ?

'Ke verethrem-gâ:—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching . . . ?

23. 'Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness!']

¹ §§ 18-23 = Farg. XX, 9-13.

FARGARD XXII.

It has already been seen that of all healers, the most powerful is the one who treats with the Holy Word (*Māthra Spenta*), that is with sacred spells (*Farg.* VII, 44). Of all sacred spells, the most efficacious is the *Airyamā ishyô*, which forms the fifty-fourth *Hâ* of the *Yasna*. This is expressed under a mythological form in the following *Fargard* (cf. *Westergaard's Fragments*, IV).

Angra Mainyu having created 99,999 diseases, Ahura applies for remedy to the Holy Word (*Māthra Spenta*; §§ 1-5).—How shall I manage? asks *Māthra Spenta* (§ 16). Ahura sends his messenger to Airyaman with the same request.

This *Fargard* is unfinished or, more correctly, the end of it is understood. Airyaman comes at once to Ahura's call, and digs nine furrows. It is no doubt in order to perform the *Barashnûm*¹, by the virtue of which the strength of the demon and of the demon's work will be broken. The *Fargard* ends therefore with spells against sickness and against death, added to the usual spells of the ordinary *Barashnûm*.

I.

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion², the beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I go up, there may I arrive!)

2 (5). 'Then the ruffian looked at me³; the ruffian Angra Mainyu, the deadly, wrought against me nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, thou most glorious *Māthra Spenta*!

3 (8). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thou-

¹ See *Farg.* IX. ² 'The *Garôtmân*' (*Comm.*), *Paradise*.

³ And cast on me the evil eye; 'it was by casting the evil eye on the good creatures of Ormazd that Ahriman corrupted them' (*Eznig, Refutatio Haeresiarum II*). Cf. *Farg.* XX, 3.

sand fleet, swift-running steeds; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka¹, made by Mazda and holy.

‘Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, high-humped camels; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

4 (12). ‘Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

‘Unto thee will I give in return a thousand females big with young, of all species of small cattle; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

5 (16). ‘And I will bless thee with the fair blessing-spell of the righteous, the friendly blessing-spell of the righteous, that makes the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.

6 (20). ‘Māthra Spenta, the all-glorious, replied unto me: “How shall I heal thee? How shall I drive away from thee those nine diseases, and those ninety, those nine hundred, those nine thousand, and those nine times ten thousand diseases?”’

II.

7 (22). The Maker Ahura Mazda called for Nairyô-sangha²: Go thou, Nairyô-sangha, the herald, and drive towards the mansion of Airyaman, and speak thus unto him:

¹ The Genius of the good eye; see Farg. XIX, 37, and note.

² The messenger of Ahura Mazda. He is a form of Âtar, the Fire (Yasna XVII, 11 [68]).

8 (23). Thus speaks Ahura Mazda, the Holy One, unto thee :

‘I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion, the beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I ascend, there may I arrive !)

9 (24). ‘Then the ruffian looked at me ; the ruffian Angra Mainyu, the deadly, wrought against me nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, O Airyaman, the vow-fulfiller !

10 (26). ‘Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, swift-running steeds ; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

‘Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, high-humped camels ; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

11 (30). ‘Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push ; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

‘Unto thee will I give in return a thousand females big with young, of all species of small cattle. I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

12 (34). ‘And I will bless thee with the fair blessing-spell of the righteous, the friendly blessing-spell of the righteous, that makes the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.’

III.

13 (38). In obedience to Ahura’s words he went, Nairyô-sangha, the herald ; he drove towards the mansion of Airyaman, he spake unto Airyaman, saying :

14 (38). Thus speaks Ahura Mazda, the Holy One, unto thee : ‘I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion, the

beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I go up, there may I arrive!)

15 (39). 'Then the ruffian looked at me; the ruffian Angra Mainyu, the deadly, wrought against me nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, O Airyaman, the vow-fulfiller!

16 (40). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, swift-running steeds; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, high-humped camels; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

17 (44). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand females, big with young, of all species of small cattle; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

18 (48). 'And I will bless thee with the fair blessing-spell of the righteous, the friendly blessing-spell of the righteous, that makes the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.'

IV.

19 (52). Quickly was it done, nor was it long, eagerly set off the vow-fulfilling Airyaman, towards

the mountain of the holy Questions¹, towards the forest of the holy Questions.

20 (54). Nine kinds of stallions brought he with him, the vow-fulfilling Airyaman².

Nine kinds of camels brought he with him, the vow-fulfilling Airyaman.

Nine kinds of bulls brought he with him, the vow-fulfilling Airyaman.

Nine kinds of small cattle brought he with him, the vow-fulfilling Airyaman.

He brought with him the nine twigs³; he drew along nine furrows⁴.

[21⁵. 'I drive away Ishirê and I drive away Aghûirê; I drive away Aghra and I drive away Ughra; I drive away sickness and I drive away death; I drive away pain and I drive away fever; I drive away Sârana and I drive away Sârastya; I drive away Azana and I drive away Azahva; I drive away Kurugha and I drive away Azivâka; I drive away Duruka and I drive away Astairya. I drive away the evil eye, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created against the bodies of mortals.

22. 'I drive away all manner of sickness and death, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Gainis.

23. 'May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman come here, for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for Vohu-

¹ The mountain where 'the holy conversations' between Ormazd and Zoroaster took place (cf. Farg. XIX, 11).

² According to Frâmjî, 'He brought with him the strength of nine stallions,' to infuse it into the sick man (cf. Yasht VIII, 24).

³ That is to say, 'the nine-knotted stick' (Frâmjî; cf. Farg. IX, 14).

⁴ To perform the Barashnûm, 'the great service of the Nirang-Dîn, through which all evil, moral and natural, including evil passions, disease, and death will be removed' (Wilson, *The Parsi Religion*, p. 341).

⁵ From the Vendidâd Sâda; as Farg. XX, 9-13.

manô to rejoice; with the desirable reward that Religion deserves. I solicit for holiness that boon that is vouchsafed by Ahura.

24. 'May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman smite all manner of sickness and death, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Gainis.

25. 'Yathâ ahû vairyo:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness. The gifts of Vohu-manô to the deeds done in this world for Mazda. He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king.

'Kēm-nâ mazdâ:—What protector hast thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me? Whom but thy Âtar and Vohu-manô, through whose work I keep on the world of righteousness? Reveal therefore to me thy Religion as thy rule!

'Kē verethrem-gâ:—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching? Make it clear that I am the guide for both worlds. May Sraosha come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest, O Mazda!

'Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness!']

FRAGMENTS OF THE NASKS.

I.

WESTERGAARD'S FRAGMENTS.

These are the fragments, nine in number, published by Westergaard in his edition of the *Zend-Avesta* (pp. 331-334).

I.

This formula, according to a modern *Ravâyat*, is recited while putting on new clothes.

1. Along with *Vohu Manô*, *Asha Vahista*, and *Khshathra Vairya*, pronounce thou, for the men and women of the holy *Zarathustra*¹, a word of celebration and sacrifice, with a modest(?) voice.

2. Pronounce thou that word, O *Zarathustra*, for sacrifice and prayer unto us, the *Amesha-Spentas*², that thereby sacrifice may accrue unto the Waters and the Plants, and unto the *Fravashis* of the righteous, and unto the *Yazatas* of the spiritual world and of this world, divine creatures, beneficent and holy.

II.

FARÎDÛN YAST.

The following formulas are exactly conceived in the style of the *Yast* formulas. The Iranian Hercules, *Thraêtaona-Farîdûn*, as conqueror of *Azi Dahâka*, is invoked against brigands.—*Azi* being

¹ For the faithful.

² The *Amesha-Spentas*, presiding over the different regions of nature, may be supposed to furnish the substance, of animal or vegetable origin, of which clothes are made. Cf. *Fragments to Vd. XVIII, 2.*

a Serpent, Thraêtaona appeared as well in a medical as in an heroic character: his Fravashi is invoked against itch and other diseases (Yt. XIII, 131), and his name is invoked in Tavtâs (talismans) against illness, fever, and poison.

1. Fravarânê. I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura ;

For sacrifice, prayer, gratification, and glorification [unto Hâvani, &c.]

Khshnaoitra. Gratification unto the Fravashi of the holy Thraêtaona, son of Âthwya.

Yathâ ahû vairyô.—The Râspî: The wish of the Lord . . . (let this Zaothar proclaim it!)

The Zôt: Is the rule of Righteousness. Let the righteous man who knows it proclaim it!

2. We sacrifice unto Thraêtaona, son of Âthwya, holy, master of holiness, to save the pious worshippers from the brigand, from the robber, from the Karapans¹.

3. Yathâ ahû vairyô.

Yasnemka. I bless the sacrifice and prayer and the strength and vigour of the Fravashi of Thraêtaona, son of Âthwya.

Ashem vohû. Ahmâi raêska².

III.

VîSPA HUMATA.

A prayer which it is recommended to recite every morning, after the prayer of the Hâvan-gâh, and every night before going to bed.

1. All good thoughts, all good words, all good deeds I do willingly.

All evil thoughts, all evil words, all evil deeds I do unwillingly.

¹ 'The blind,' those who are blind to the Law of Ahura.

² The same formula as Yast III, 19.

2. All good thoughts, all good words, all good deeds will reach Paradise.

All evil thoughts, all evil words, all evil deeds will reach Hell.

And all good thoughts, all good words, all good deeds are the badge of the righteous for Paradise.

IV.

GLORIFICATION OF THE AIRYAMA ISHYÔ PRAYER.

This fragment is the twenty-third and last Fargard of one of the Gâthic Nasks, the Varshtmânsar, which was a commentary in vulgar Zend on the Gâtha texts. Its Pahlavi translation is found in the Dînkart, IX, 46. See the Airyama Ishyô itself, Yasna LIV, Vendîdâd XX, 11.

1. The Airyama Ishyô I declare, O pure Spitama, the greatest of all words; I created it as the most triumphant of all words. That is the word that the Saosyants¹ will pronounce.

2. Through it, I proclaim it, O Spitama, I become sovereign over my creation, I, Ahura Mazda; and through it Angra Mainyu, of the bad religion, shall lose the sovereignty over his own creation, O Spitama Zarathustra.

3. Angra Mainyu shall hide under the earth; under the earth shall the demons hide. The dead shall rise up, life shall come back to the bodies and they shall keep the breath.

V.

This fragment is composed of two series of invocations which differ only in the same manner as the Lesser Sirôza differs from

¹ The great saints of Mazdeism, whose virtue and merits are to bring about the decisive victory of Ahura over Angra Mainyu and the production of the resurrection.

the Greater one, that is to say, the first is introduced by the word *Khshnaothra*¹, and the second by the word *yazamaidê*². These are two forms of *Khshnûman* for a *Darûn* celebrated on the *Bahrâm* day for the benefit of a member of the family who is travelling.

1. [*Khshnaothra*. Gratification] to Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious;

To the Amesha-Spentas;

To the well-shapen and tall-formed Strength;

To Verethraghna, made by Ahura, and to the crushing Ascendant;

To the Safety of the roads;

To the golden instrument³ and to the Saokenta mount, made by Mazda³;

To all the Gods.

2. We sacrifice (*yazamaidê*) to Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious.

We sacrifice to the Amesha-Spentas;

We sacrifice to the well-shapen and tall-formed Strength;

We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura, and to the crushing Ascendant;

We sacrifice to the Safety of the roads;

We sacrifice to the golden instrument and to the Saokenta mount, made by Mazda;

We sacrifice to all the holy [Gods].

VI.

These are the formulas recited in the preparation of the *gîvâm* (the milk that mixed with *urvarâm* and *hôm* makes the *parâ-hôm*). Those formulas are found in the Pahlavi Commentary to the *Nîrangistân*, § 68. The milch-goat which is going to yield the

¹ Not expressed; the object is in the genitive case.

² 'We worship, we sacrifice to' (the object being in the accusative case).

³ See *Khôrshêd Nyâvis*, 8 (*Zend-Avesta*, part ii).

milk, is introduced into the Urvîs-gâh, whereupon the Mobed, after reciting three Khshnaothra and one Ashem vohû, pronounces the Fravarânê in the honour of the present Gâh and of the animal which is milked.

Fravarânê. I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas, and obeys the laws of Ahura; [for sacrifice, prayer, gratification, and glorification unto Hâvani, &c.]

Khshnaothra. Gratification, for sacrifice, prayer, gratification, and glorification,

[If there is only one animal:]

To the Body of the Bull¹, to the Soul of the Bull; to thy soul, to thee (tava), O Beneficent Bull.

Yathâ ahû vairyô. The will of the Lord, &c. . . .

[If there are two of them:]

To the Body of the Bull, to the Soul of the Bull; to the soul of you both (yuvâkem), O Beneficent Bulls.

Yathâ ahû vairyô . . .

[If there are three of them:]

To the Body of the Bull, to the Soul of the Bull; to your soul (yushmâkem), O Beneficent Bulls.

Yathâ ahû vairyô . . .

VII.

These are the formulas pronounced during the preparation of the holy water or Zaothra. They are found in the Pahlavi Commentary to Nirangistân, § 48.

The Mobed, taking in hand the two Zaothra cups, recites a Khshnaothra to the waters.

¹ *Gaur* has become the general name of all animal species. Cf. Vd. XXI, 1, n. 1.

1. Khshnaothra. Gratification, for sacrifice, prayer, gratification, and glorification,

To the Good Waters¹ and to all the waters created by Mazda;

To the great Sovereign Apām Napâd², and to the water created by Mazda;

To thee, O Ahurâni³, [O Water] of Ahura!

Yathâ ahû vairyô.

[He puts the two cups on the surface of the water and says:]

2. We praise thee, O Ahurâni, [Water] of Ahura; we offer unto thee good sacrifices and good prayers, good offerings, offerings of assistance.

[Then he dips them, takes them up and puts them upon the Urvîs-stone while he pronounces the following words:]

Yazatanām, thwâ, ashaonām, kukhshntsha, usbibarâmi, rathwasêa berezatô, gâthâosêa srâvayôid: 'I take thee up, may'st thou gratify the holy Gods and the great Ratu.—Let him sing the Gâthas!'

VIII.

The following fragment, the text of which is most corrupt and defies translation, seems to be a curse to destroy an enemy.

1. May he perish in the year, in the month!

I, worshipper of Mazda, desire to make him perish by my spells. If a man utter them, the evildoer shall perish thereby quick and soon . . . May none be seized by that Drug!

¹ The waters of the present sacrifice.

² See Yasts and Sîrôzas, p. 6, n. 1.

³ The waters of the bowl from which the priest draws water. Cf. the Guimet Zend-Avesta, i, 409, n. 2; 416.

2. when Mahrkûsha¹ shall perish
and the army of the Drug shall be thrown down
and broken.

IX.

This fragment is as corrupt as the preceding one. It seems to be meant as a glorification of the Ahuna Vairya.

1. Yathâ ahû vairyô.

Give, O Mazda, the desired reward²,—a royalty befriending what is good³,—the desired reward that Religion deserves⁴.

2. Yathâ ahû vairyô. This is the Word pronounced by Mazda, the lordly Word, the Māthra Spenta, the undestructible and unfailing; the victorious, evil-destroying, healing Word; the victorious Word pronounced by Mazda; which utters and uttered health; victorious amongst all.

3. In it were uttered strength, victory, health, healing, prosperity, waxing and increase, according to that word in the Gāthas: 'all that can be wished for by your loyal servants⁵.'

He who relieves the poor makes Ahura King⁶.

4⁷. Let all the World of the Good Principle listen to this sacrifice, to this prayer, to this gratification, to this glorification!

We sacrifice to the pious Sraosha.

We sacrifice to the Great Master, Ahura Mazda

¹ Mahrkûsha, the demon who is going to send the deathly winters in prevision of which Yima is ordered to build the Var (see Vd. II, 22 and notes).

² From Yasna XXXIV, 14 a.

³ Yasna LI, 1 a.

⁴ Yasna LIV, 1 (Airyama ishyô).

⁵ Yasna LXV, 14 (=L, 11 d).

⁶ The last line of the Ahuna Vairya.

⁷ Yasna LXX, 6-7.

II.

ZEND FRAGMENTS IN THE ZEND-PAHLAVI FARHANG.

The oldest Zend dictionary in existence, the so-called Zend-Pahlavi Farhang or Oyum-yak Farhang¹, contains a number of Zend sentences or fragments of sentences, which are adduced as instances of the Zend words. They amount to the number of seventy, of which forty-eight are new. We thought it necessary to give the translation of these forty-eight fragments only. The indications of pages refer to the printed edition.

1 a (pp. 6-7). aêdha. The skin on the head.

There are two, one greater and one lesser, as it is said in the Nîkâtûm²:

Which is the greater aêdha?—That one which is on the posterior part of the skull.

Which is the lesser one?—That one which is on the anterior part of the skull.

1 b (p. 7). The head (vaghdhanem) of a man.
One bone of the skull.

¹ Haug-Hoshangji, *An Old Zend-Pahlavi Glossary*, Bombay, 1867.

² The Nîkâtûm is the fifteenth Nask, the first of the seven Legal Nasks. It contained thirty Fargards, the third of which, named Rêshistan (a treatise on the wounds), gave an enumeration of the divers members of the body, numbering seventy-six. The fragments 1 a-1 b are very likely taken from that Fargard.—For an analysis of the Nîkâtûm, see Dinkart VIII, ch. 16-20 (in West, *Pahlavi Texts*, IV).

All the strokes that [have pierced] the skull are counted [tanâfûhr]¹.

The others shall pay the *hvara* ² penalty.

2 a (p. 9). With victorious eloquence.

2 b. A fine, well considered, well balanced, obedient ³ speech.

2 c. An honest man who knows how to speak, for instance, a wise man who makes intercession ⁴.

2 d. One whose words are accepted.

3 (p. 11). Sovereign, unopposed.

4 (p. 11). Good renown here below, and long bliss to the soul ⁵.

5 (p. 11). All the bodily world shall become free from old age and death, from corruption and rot, for ever and ever ⁶.

6 (p. 12). A horse of first value, amongst the finest of the country, is as much as four oxen and four cows three years old.

7 (p. 12). As much as this earth.

¹ Which implies a punishment of two hundred Sraoshô-*karana* strokes. The words in brackets are wanting in the text: they are supplied from the Pahlavi translation.

² The *hvara* or *khôr* penalty: thirty strokes with the Sraoshô-*karana* (Vd. IV, 30, 31).

³ In accordance with the instructions of the Ratu or Dastûr.

⁴ Who makes *Gâdangôî*: see Tahmuras' Fragments, XLVII, note.

⁵ Good renown in this world and bliss in the other. Cf. Yasna LXII, 6; Yast XVII, 22, and Tansar's letter to the King of Tabaristan: 'He may be called a great king who takes more to heart the weal of the future than the present time, in order to deserve a good name in this world and a good seat in the next.' (Journal Asiatique, 1894, I, 512-513).

⁶ Cf. Yast XIX, 11, 23, 89; XXIV, 45.

8 (p. 12). The smallest of those stars is as large as the head of a man of middle size ¹.

9 (p. 12). An ashti in front, as much in depth ².

10 (p. 13). There where the sun rises.

11 (p. 13). There where Ahura Mazda will give you prosperity.

12 (p. 14) ³. He who to a plaintiff does not proffer place, ordeal, and time of appointment ⁴;

and all the operations of justice, conformable to the law and the rule, worked out by the Ahu and the Ratu, according to the laws of Asha Vahista . . .

13 (p. 14). He who says to a man : Make amends unto me.

14 (p. 14). When two men appoint a time ⁵ . . .

15 (pp. 14-15). As long as he has life.

16. And the young Gayô-Maratan ⁶.

17. In the time when those men were, O Zarathustra !

¹ 'Amongst the stars (says the Greater Bundahish), the larger ones are as large as a *kaâf*-house (?); the middle stars are as large as a *cahârakân* naptishu (?); the lesser ones are as large as the head of a domestic ox. The moon is as large as a riding-ground, two *hâsars* long; the sun is as large as *Irân-Vêg*' (thus in Anaxagoras' astronomy the sun has the dimensions of Peloponnesus).—From a comparison between the Greater Bundahish and the Zend passage quoted in the Farhang it appears that the measurement of the stars was discussed several times and not without slight variations in the Avesta (most likely in the cosmological *Dâmdât Nask*).

² Cf. Vd. XIII, 30.

³ This fragment and the two following seem to be taken from the *Nikâtûm Nask*.

⁴ The defendant, if conscious of his innocence, will propose that he should go through the whole process of one of the judicial ordeals.

⁵ For an ordeal.

⁶ Gayô-Maratan, Gayô-mard, the first man. Cf. Yt. XIII, 87.

18 (p. 15). To the lesser man labour, to the greater one, commandment (?).

19. On went Pourusaspa, on go these sons of Thraêtaona's (?).

20. He makes himself guilty of the yâta sin ¹.

21 a (p. 16). A year's delay for a vîrô-mazô contract ².

21 b. They ³ boiled up, they fell back.

22. yaêtus zaêmanô (?)

23. yaoskîna surahê (?)

24. Let one pluck stems, three stems ⁴.

25. The edge of a razor.

26. If they have come [or have not come].

27. The progeny and son of Ahura Mazda.

28 (p. 17). The several sorts of corn.

29. I offer up the sacrifice to the Frazdânava waters ⁵.

30. Who is the judge who knows the law ?

It is the one who sees the due decision ⁶.

31 (p. 18). And clothes magnificently wrought.

32. Lands fit for tillage.

33 (p. 19). All the agreements in the world.

34 (p. 23). . . . happiness with his eyes ⁷.

35 (p. 30). Goods carried by force.

36 (p. 31). gathwô-stakad.

¹ Yâta, yât: the sin of breaking a man's leg.

² A contract to the amount of a man (valued 150 istirs=500 dirhems).

³ The waters.

⁴ For the Baresman (Yasna LVII, 6).

⁵ A river or lake in Saistan, where Vishtâspa sacrificed to the Goddess of Waters (Yt. V, 108).

⁶ He sees the right and legal decision which results from the facts of the case.—Cf. West, Pahlavi Texts, IV, 64, note.

⁷ This refers to the good eye, to some beneficent being who sends luck with his look: cf. Yt. XIX, 94, and reversely Yasna IX, 29.

37. *thwām khratus* (?)

38. Which, recited to Mazda, protects the end¹.

39 (p. 38). The fire of Ahura Mazda receives food three times in summer, twice in winter²; thus does the fire of the faithful man³.

40 (p. 39). Fifteen sheep, their hind-feet.

41 (p. 40). Anywhere in this world.—Whosoever in the bodily world.—Whatsoever of the world of the good principle.

42 (p. 41). *zvaiti aêtshaya* (K^o. *aêtashaya*).

43. As much as twelve steps *antare thwām* (?)

44. Twice a *Dakhsmaiti* is a *Yugyasti*⁴.

Twice as much as a *Hâthra* is a *Takara*⁵.

45 (p. 42). From the coming of the light⁶ . . .

46 (p. 43). The longest day is the day of twelve *Hâthras*⁷.

47. The shortest *Hâthra* is of three words⁸.

¹ This refers perhaps to the *Ashem Vohû*, which, being recited by a man with his dying breath, saves his soul (Yt. XXI, 15).

² The fire is fed three times a day in summer, at the three *Gâhs* of the day; only twice in winter, as in winter there are only two *Gâhs*, the *Rapithvin* being included in *Hâvan*.

³ There will be two meals in winter, one in the morning, another in the evening. In summer there is a third meal, at noon (cf. *Yasna IX*, 11).—The passage thirty-nine is taken from the *Sakâtûm Nask* (cf. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, IV, 480).

⁴ A *Yugyasti* being 16,000 paces, a *Dakhsmaiti* is 8,000 paces (cf. West, *ibid.* 56, note).

⁵ A *Hâthra* being 1,000 paces, a *Takara* is as much as 2,000 paces.

⁶ The coming of the light (*raokanghām fragati*) is the name of the last watch of the night.

⁷ *Hâthra* is a measure for time as well as for space. 'A summer day (says the *Bundahis*, XXV, 5) is of twelve *hâsars*; a winter day is of six *hâsars*.'

⁸ The uses and values of the *Hâthra* are most diverse: as a measure for short intervals of time, it is the time needed to pronounce three words.

48. Three steps of that sort of steps ¹.
Here is for the judge, here is for the witness ².
Here is for the suit, here is for the suitors.

¹ The complete meaning of the sentence would seem to be :
'The judge and the witness stand in a circle of three steps' (Farhang).

² The Farhang has : 'All the speeches of the suit ought to be held within three steps ; and both pleaders—both defendant and plaintiff—should stand within a circle of three steps ;' so that everybody may hear distinctly the whole of the debate.

III.

ZEND FRAGMENTS QUOTED IN THE PAHLAVI COMMENTARY OF THE YASNA.

YASNA IX, 1, 3¹.

Mithrô zayâd Zarathustrem.

‘Mitra armis (?) Zoroastrem . . .’

These words are found in the Commentary to the beginning of the Hôrn Yast: Haoma approached Zarathustra ‘while he was washing the fire-altar and singing the Gâthas,’ and Zarathustra asked him who he was. The Commentary here observes that Zarathustra had recognised Haoma; ‘as it appears from the passage, Mithrô zayâd Zarathustrem, that he knew him, that he had already had appointments with most of the Izeds and was well acquainted with them.’—That passage, quoted as usual by its first words, is very likely taken from the Spand, the Nask occupied with the legend of Zoroaster.

YASNA IX, 1, 4.

amereza gayêhê stûna.

This quotation refers to the time when everybody will be immortal without a body. It may be translated by conjecture.

‘The column of life² [made] marrowless.’

YASNA IX, 8, 27.

Kô thwām yim Ahurem Mazdām.—‘Quis te, Ahura Mazda . . .?’

This quotation comes after the description of the three-headed

¹ The first Arabic number refers to Geldner’s, the second to Spiegel’s edition.

² The spine.

serpent, *Azi Dahāka*. Its beginning reminds one of a similar and perhaps identical question in *Vendîdād XVIII*, 61: *Kô thwām yim Ahurem Mazdām mazistaya inti inaoti*, 'Who grieves thee, Ahura Mazda, with the sorest grief?'

YASNA IX, 11, 35.

K hshvaêpaya vaênaya baresna (or *barenus*).

The horned serpent, *Azi Srvara*, whom *Keresâspa* killed, had yellow poison, a thumb thick, streaming over its body, *khshvaêpaya vaênaya baresna*, 'by the anus, by the nose, by the head (?)'.

YASNA XVII, 55 (ed. Spiegel).

apagayêhê.—Privation of life . . .

First word of a quotation which appears in passages intended either to prolong life and deprecate the death of a friend (generally under the form: may there be no room for *apagayêhê*, *XLI*, 7; *XLII*, 1), or to wish death to an enemy (*XLV*, 4; *XLVIII*, 10; *LII*, 8; *LXI*, 10; ed. Sp.)

YASNA XXXI, 20 b (ed. Spiegel).

vîshâka (= *vîshâadka*, 'also of poison,' at the end of *XLVIII*, 11 d, in the best MSS.)

Descriptive of the bad food supplied to the wicked in hell, the *vîshayâadka vîsh-gaitayâadka* of *Yt. XXII*, 36.

YASNA LVI, 1, 1 (ed. Spiegel).

barôithrô-taêzem.—See Fragments at *Vd. XVIII*, 14, 33 (Sp.)

YASNA LXIV, 48 (ed. Spiegel).

pâdhavê zâvare gava aza srûma.

A corrupt quotation in the MSS., from *Yt. XVI*, 7.

IV.

ZEND FRAGMENTS QUOTED IN THE PAHLAVI COMMENTARY OF THE VENDÎDÂD.

VENDÎDÂD I, 2¹.

asô râmô-dâitîm nôid aogô-râmistâm.

‘A place that gives pleasure, though not absolute pleasure.’

This refers to the present condition of the countries, marred by Ahriman’s operations ; every man finds his own country delightful, however much its charm may have been spoiled by Ahriman.

paoirtîm bitîm.—‘ Firstly, secondly.’

‘ Firstly, the good operation was done for that country ; secondly, after the Genius of the Earth had done all its operations in that country, the work of opposition came against it. In other terms, two things : one at the time of creation, the other afterwards.’

âad ahê paityârem.—‘ Then to this an opposition.’
mash mâ rava shathâm haitîm.—(?)

VENDÎDÂD I, 4.

It is known that [in the ordinary course of nature] there are seven months of summer and five of winter².

¹ The last five lines in note 2, page 3 above are to be replaced by the following : Clause 2, in the Vendîdâd Sâda, is composed of Zend quotations in the Commentary : for which, see below, Fragments to the Vendîdâd.

² Whereas in Airyana Vaêgô there are ten months of winter and two of summer.

VENDÎDÂD I, 15.

From there¹ they come to kill and strike at heart, and they bring locusts as many as they want.

VENDÎDÂD I, 16.

vaêdhanghō nōi*d* uzôis².—Of knowledge, not of love (?)³.

Refers to 'Ragha of the three races,' the native place of Zoroaster's mother.

VENDÎDÂD I, 19.

'From the Eastern river to the Western one' (= Yt. X, 104).

VENDÎDÂD I, 20.

'And the taozya (?)⁴ oppression of the country.'

VENDÎDÂD II, 6 (see above, p. 12, note 1).

'Although Yima did not teach the law and train pupils, he was nevertheless one of the faithful and a holy man, and rendered men holy too (?)⁵.'

'That he was one of the faithful⁵ appears from this passage:

¹ From the Haêtumant country (Saistân). See above, Vd. I, 15, note 1.

² The word dahâkâi, found only in K³, is probably an unfortunate accretion to uzôis read as azôis.

³ Ragha knows the truth, but does not like it. Unbelief is dominant there (Vd. I, 16).

⁴ According to the greater Bundahis, taozya means tâgîk, 'Arabic.' Arab tribes were established in the basin of the Rangha (the Tigris) long before the Arab conquest.

⁵ vêh-dîn, a member of the Zoroastrian community (though prematurely so).

mrûidhi tad māthwem yad aēmēid yô daēva.—

“ Say that formula which even the Daēvas . . . ”

‘ That he was holy ¹ appears from this passage :

“ We sacrifice to the Fravashi of the holy Yima, son of Vīvanghat ” (Yt. XIII, 130).

‘ That he rendered men holy too (?) ² appears from this passage :

abareshnva pasāēta asāra mashyākaēibyō³.

The Commentary then proceeds to state that Yima lost by his sin the gift of immortality, and remarks that Gim and Kâûs were both created immortal (a-ôsh) and became mortal by their own fault.

‘ For Gim this appears from the following passage :

“ Soon he changed this⁴ to death by the fault of his tongue⁵. ”

‘ For Kâûs it appears from this passage :

“ Thereupon he⁶ let him flee away ; whereupon mortal he became⁷. ”

¹ ahlav, that is, ‘ one of the blessed.’

² Literally, ‘ he put the distinctive character of it in the body of man.’

³ Literally, ‘ without a head, afterwards, without a chief, for men.’

⁴ His immortality.

⁵ ‘ When he took delight in words of falsehood and error’ (Yt. XIX, 34) ; when he claimed the name and the worship of a god.

⁶ Neryosengh, who was in the act of putting Kâûs to death.

⁷ A quotation from the Sûtkar Nask, in which the legend of the greatness and fall of Kai-Kâûs was told in full detail. Kai-Kâûs had become king of the seven Karsvares of the Earth (cf. Yt. V, 46), and all demons and men were obedient to his word ; he built seven palaces in the middle of Alborz, one of gold, two of silver, two of steel, two of crystal ; and if men, broken down by age and on the point of breathing their last, were taken round his palace, they recovered at once strength and youth. But the demons, whom he kept in bonds, took counsel how to get rid of him ; and to achieve

VENDÎDÂD II, 16.

The Commentary infers from the threefold proceeding of Yima towards the South that, on entering upon any new enterprise, one must go three steps southwards and recite an ahuna vairya.

‘ That his creation [of the earth] became more beautiful [towards the South] appears from the passage :

usehistaīd gâus barad danhus.—“ The ox rose up, the land bore [fruits].” ’

‘ That one must recite an Avesta text appears from the passage in the Pa[sû]shûrûn¹ :

srīra ukhdha va^kau sāsanghām.—? ’

‘ That that text is the Ahunvar appears from the passage Ahunô vairyô². ’

his ruin inspired him with a disgust of his earthly sovereignty and a longing for the Kingdom of the Gods. Accordingly he went over Alborz with an army of demons and wicked men, and rushed down to the border of Darkness : there he erected a statue of clay to the Fortune of the Kaianides. Then he entered into a struggle with the Gods, and the Creator recalled to himself the royal Glory of the Kaianides, and Kâûs’ army fell from above down to the earth ; Kâûs himself being carried along the Frâkh-kart Sea (the Caspian Sea). And a man, closely united to him, ran after him, and after that man ran the messenger of Auhrmazd, Neryosengh. And that man, who was the still unborn Kai-Khosrav, cried out : ‘ Kill him not, O Neryosengh ! For if thou killest him, there will be no destroyer of the chief of Tûrân : for to this man Syâvakhsh shall be born, and to Syâvakhsh, I, Kai-Khosrav, shall be born, who am going to destroy Tûrân and its king and its armies.’ Neryosengh, rejoiced by these words, thereupon let Kaî-Kâûs away ; thereupon he became mortal (Dînkart IX, 22, 4-12).

¹ Perhaps the Pasûs-haurvastân Fargard in the Ganbâ-sar-nigat Nask (West, Dînkart VIII, 23, § 19 ?).

² Perhaps the passage meant is Vd. XI, 3 : ‘ The Ahuna Vairya preserves the person of man.’

VENDĪDÂD II, 20 a (Westergaard).

‘Then Yima drew to a close the holy first millennium of years¹.’

VENDĪDÂD II, 20 b.

avaiti bāzô.—‘Of the same thickness . . .’

‘That Gim, three times, made the earth as large as it was before, appears from the passage :

avaiti bāzô.’

VENDĪDÂD II, 20 c.

‘Auhrmazd kept this world for three thousand years in a spiritual shape ; for three thousand years he kept it in a material shape, but without any opposition ; three thousand years elapsed from the coming of the Opposition to the coming of the Religion ; three thousand years will elapse from the coming of the Religion to the resurrection. As follows from the passage :

Kvāntem zrvānem mainyava stis ashaoni dāta as.

“How long did the holy creation remain in a spiritual form ?”’

VENDĪDÂD III, 14.

nôid makhshi-beretô.—‘Nor brought by flies’ (= Vd. V, 3 ; see above, p. 50).

yô vīsad aētayām² zaothrām ātarem ā frabarôid.

‘It appears from this passage that if a man throw his

¹ For three times three hundred years Yima had governed and increased the earth : the last century of his millennial reign was passed in building and organising the Var. (Cf. above, p. 14, note 1.)

² *aētayām* in M¹ and B¹ (West) ; Spiegel has *aēyām*, Westergaard has *aēvām*.

dast-shô¹ into the water, it is as if he had thrown hêhr into the fire.'

yatha narem dusâ zaretēm.—'A righteous man bowed down with age' (see the passage given in full in the Tahmuras Fragments, § 38).

'It appears from this passage that throwing hêhr into water or fire is as bad as casting nasâ (dead matter) on one of the faithful.'

paoiryâ upaiti paoiryâ nishasta.—'For the first time he comes near unto her, for the first time he lies by her' (= Vd. XVI, 15).

VENDÎDÂD III, 15.

yâ nars hvâ-aothremahê yatô.—?

Words inserted in the London manuscript (L⁴) after the word huskô-zemôtememâ, as also in Vd. V, 46.

VENDÎDÂD III, 27.

bâdha idha âfrasâni danhubyô.—?

VENDÎDÂD III, 40.

yôi henti ainhau zemô kanenti.

'Those who bury [corpses] in this earth.'

yô nars ashaonô iririthushô zemê kehrpa nikainti.

'He who buries the corpse of a righteous man who has departed . . .'

This passage is quoted by Vindâd-gûshnasp, as establishing that for every one of the worms that eat up the buried corpse, the man who did the burying is liable to a tanâfûhr penalty.

¹ The water in which he has washed his hands.

VENDÎDÂD III, 42.

spayêiti.—‘It takes away.’

An abridged expression of the principle that the Zoroastrian religion has an atonement for every crime, and that it takes away his sin from the man who confesses and expiates it (see Vd. III, 41 seq.)

parâ kavahmâd nered.—‘Away from any man.’

nôid marâm pairistem.—. . . ?

vanghavê mananghê.—‘To Vohu Manô.’

tûiryanãm dahyunãm.—‘Of the Turanian nations.’

‘Gô-gûshnasp said : “In every religion there are righteous men, as appears from the passage—Of the Turanian nations ;”’ (that is to say, from the passage : ‘We worship the Fravashis of the holy men of the Turanian nations ;’ Yt. XIII, 143).

VENDÎDÂD IV, 1.

yad nâ kasvikâmêina.—‘The man who [entreated by one of the faithful,] does not [give him] anything, be it ever so little,’ [of the riches he has treasured up] (quoted from Vd. XVIII, 34).

yavad vâ aêtê vaka framrvâna maêthemnahê hvai pairi geurvayêiti.

‘While he pronounces these words: “as long as he keep in his house (his neighbour’s property), as though it were his own”’ (Vd. IV, 1).

VENDÎDÂD IV, 10.

nava drugaiti khshathraêibyô.

‘The Mihir-drug (the man who does not keep his word) does harm ; nava drugaiti khshathraêibyô (khshôithraêibyô ?).’

That is to say, the evil consequences of his perjury extend to nine cities around ; he ruins his own city and the neighbouring ones (cf. Mihir Yast, 18).

West proposes to translate *khshathraēibyō* 'guardianships, holdings of property, *sardārīh*.' 'The breach of promise subsists in one's offspring (*zīyāk*, MI⁹), *nava drugaiti khshathraēibyō*, "it deceives for nine holdings of property," that is to say, for nine generations. West observes this would agree with Neryosengh's definition of *nabānazdista*. It agrees also with the next quotation :

nerebyō hō dādrakhti.—[That sin] 'takes root in men.'

'The sin of perjury subsists in the child born after the perjury : *nerebyō hō dādrakhti*.'

pairi aogastarō zī ahmād.—'It becomes more violent than that (or thereby).'

VENDĪDĀD V, 2, 4.

dāyata dāitya pairisti (read *pairista*).—'Give lawful, well-examined wood¹.'

vitasti-drāgō frârâthni-drāgō.—'On a *Vitasti* all around [if the wood be dry], on a *Frârâthni* all around [if it be wet].—An abridged quotation from Vd. VII, 29.

VENDĪDĀD V, 7.

yēzi vasen mazdayasna zām raodhayen.

'If worshippers of Mazda want to till that piece of ground again' (from Vd. VI, 6).

On the text : 'When a man goes away, it is by the will of Fate he goes' (Vd. V, 9), the Commentary observes :

'The boon that has not been destined for a man never comes to him, as appears from the passage :

¹ Wood perfectly dry and ready for the fire ; cf. Vd. XIV, 2, note 4.

gairi masô anghô aêtahê.—. . . ?

‘The boon that has been destined for him comes to him through his own active merit :

anyô eredvô-zangô hvarenô.—“Another man, of a steady leg¹, [conquers] glory.”

‘He loses it by his own fault² :

âad hvarenô frapiryêiti.—“He loses his Glory.”

‘If evil has been destined for him, he can repel it through his own active merit :

‘[I see no way to kill Spitama Zarathustra], “so great is the glory of the holy Zarathustra” (Vd. XIX, 3).

aêshâmka narãm.—“Of these men . . .”

VENDÎDÂD V, 19, 21.

kaiti henti urvaranãm saredha.—‘How many sorts of plants are there?’

anghvãm daênãm.—‘His soul and his religion³.’

VENDÎDÂD V, 34.

‘Let no man alone by himself carry a corpse’ (= Vd. III, 14).

‘[If the Nasu] has [already] been expelled’ (= Vd. VII, 30).

VENDÎDÂD VI, 26.

barô aspô vazô rasô.—barô applies to horse-riding, vazô applies to chariot-driving.

¹ A sign of strength and agility (Yasna LXII, 5 ; Yt. X, 61).

² Like Gim or Kâûs ; see above, p. 262.

³ His life, the whole of his actions, judged from the religious point of view.

VENDÎDÂD VII, 43.

bivakayêhê.

This seems to be the name given in the Rat-dât-ît Nask to two passages in the Vendîdâd on medical examinations and doctors' fees (Vd. VII, 36-40; 41-43), or to a passage in that Nask treating of the same subjects.

stavanô vâ pûiti pâidhi davaisnê vâ.—?

VENDÎDÂD VII, 52.

§§ 53-54 in the Vendîdâd Sâda are composed of quotations in the Pahlavi Commentary in support of §§ 51, 52: 'He who should pull down Dakhmas, even so much thereof as the size of his own body, his sins in thought, word, and deed are remitted as they would be by a Patet (paititem); his sins in thought, word, and deed are atoned for (uzvarstem).'

paititem u vaêô-urvaitis u yaêka (read yavaêka).—

'Patet and right of speech and for ever and ever'.

'Wherever the Avesta has paititem, or vaêô-urvaitis, or yaêka (read yavaêka), it means that the margarzân sinner has a tanâfûhr sin suppressed and a merit (karfak) of the same value substituted for it.'

adhaêa henti paretô-tanunãm syaothnanãm uzvarstayô.—'And these are the ways of undoing deeds that make one peshôtanu.'

yathaêa dim ganaad Spitama Zarathustra yim viptem vâ.—'And if he kill the sodomite, O Spitama Zarathustra!' (cf. p. 113, n. 4).

'From this passage it appears that killing a sodomite is equal to paititem.'

¹ Paititem represents the formula, 'his sins in thought, word, and deed are remitted as they would be by a Patet.'—vaêô-urvaitis appears to stand for some formula meaning that the sinner is henceforth vaêô-urvaitis, that is to say, his word recovers authority (cf. Afrîngân Gâhânâb, VIII b).—yaêka (read yavaêka) means that his sin is cancelled for ever.

yaskā dim ganad Spitama Zarathustra vehrkem yim bizangrem daēvayasnem peshō-tanvē.—‘And he who should kill, O Spitama Zarathustra! a two-footed wolf, a Daēva-worshipper, for a peshōtanu deed.’

‘From this passage it appears that killing an infidel (anēr-ē) is as much as yavaēka, that is to say, his sin is rooted out of him [for ever].’

vakō-urvaitis.—‘The right of speech.’

haithīm ashavana bavatem.—‘Both become manifestly holy¹.’

vīspem tad paiti framarezaiti dumatemka.

[The celebration of the Avesta office] ‘cleanses the faithful from every evil thought,’ [word, and deed]² . . .

The following quotations refer to the balance of deeds, the rules of which are stated in the *Arđā Virāf*:

‘For every one whose good works are three *Srōshō-karanām* more than his sin, goes to heaven; they whose sin is more, go to hell; they in whom both are equal, remain among these *Hamēstagān* till the future existence³.’

‘*Gō-gūshnasp* says: during the *sitōsh*⁴, sin and merit are compared:

yad hē avad paourum ubgyâtê.—“If it outweighs so much . . .”

‘If sins outweigh the merits by three *Srōshō-karanām*, [he shall stay] in hell till the day of resurrection:

âtare vanghaud vanad.—?

‘If sins and merits are equal, [he shall stay] in the *hamēstagān*.

¹ Their salvation is assured.

² Cf. *Vd.* III, 42.

³ *Arđā Virāf* VI, 9–11.

⁴ The *sadis*, or the three nights that follow death.

hām-yāsaiti.—[The man in whom falsehood and purity] “meet equally” (= Yasna XXXIII, 1 c).

‘If the merits outweigh the sins by three *Srôshô-karanâm*, [he shall go] to the heavens :

ainhau âtare vanâd.—?

‘If he has offered up a sacrifice, his merits are above his sins by one *tanâfûhr*, and he goes to the *Garôthmân* :

aêtahê thnasad a’bishanguha.—?

‘Afrag says: the words

avavadkid yatha hvô peresahê

show that more than one *tanâfûhr* is needed. Some say four *tanâfûhrs* are needed :

yô tûiryâbis.—“Qui quartis.”

tishrâm khshapanãm.—[The tortures] “of the three nights¹.”

VENDÎDÂD VII, 72.

yêzi aêshâm patarô ishare-stâitya.—‘If their fathers at once . . .’

The Pahlavi text is too corrupt for the connection between the quotation and the Zend text to be clear.

VENDÎDÂD VIII, 22, 74.

yatha makhshyau perenem yatha vâ aperenahê.—‘As much as a fly’s wing, or of a wingless . . .’ (?)

74. Burning a corpse is a capital crime. Is it allowable to burn the living?

‘Gô-gûshnasp said: If it is for punishment, it must be done

yad ahmi (or hama) ava (avi) nôid aoshem nadhō saosunkâyō.—“In such a way that death should not be produced by burning.”’

¹ Cf. Yt. XXII, 19–36; or Bundahis XXX, 16.

VENDĪDĀD VIII, 80.

The domestic fire smites the demons only at midnight; the Bahrām fire, if called by its name Bahrām (Varahrân, victorious), smites them by thousands at every moment. That appears from the passage:

aogaiti.—‘He calls him . . .’

VENDĪDĀD VIII, 103.

fravairi (r. frakairi) frakerenaod vâstrê verezyôid.
—‘He may then sow and till the pasture fields’ (cf. below, Vd. XIX, 41).

VENDĪDĀD IX, 32.

nava vîbâzva drâgô.—‘A space of nine Vîbâzus square’ (Vd. IX, 2).

pankadasa zemô hankanayen.—‘Fifteen times shall they take up dust from the ground’ [for him to rub his body; Vd. IX, 30]

‘If the man who is being cleansed does not perform the pankadasa, the whole of the operation is null and void.’

VENDĪDĀD XII, 7.

kaininô hvatô puthrem.—‘A young woman [who kills] her own child . . .’

This is very likely a quotation, similar to Vd. XV, 10, which crept from the old Commentary to Vd. XII, now lost, into the Sâda text.

VENDĪDĀD XIII, 9.

If a man kill a dog, the dogs that guard the *Kinvad* bridge will not help him against the demons in his passage from this world to the next. ‘Some mean thereby the divine keepers of the bridge,

yayau asti anyô Rashnus Razistô.—“Of whom one is Rashnu Razista¹.”’

¹ See Yast XII.

VENDÎDÂD XIII, 34.

vaëibya naëmaëibya.—‘By the two sides’ [of the collar they shall tie it; Vd. XIII, 30].

VENDÎDÂD XIII, 48.

spânahê.—‘Of the dog-kind.’

VENDÎDÂD XV, 10.

‘If an unmarried woman bear a child, without fault of her own, and a relation, to save her honour, acknowledges the child, and the members of the family acquiesce in it, from that time they shall protect her,

avavata aogangha yatha yad *panka* narô.—“With as much energy as five men.”’

VENDÎDÂD XVIII, 1.

‘The paitidâna or padâm¹ falls by two fingers below the mouth. That appears from the passage :

baê-erezu-frathanghem. . —“On a length of two fingers.”’

VENDÎDÂD XVIII, 2.

baê-erezu âi ashâum Zarathustra.—‘By two fingers, O holy Zarathustra!’ (see preceding fragment).

‘The serpent-killer (khrafstraghna, mâr-kûn) may be made of any substance; leather is better, as appears from the passage :

Vohu Manangha ganaiti apemêid Angrô Mainyus.—“He repels Angra Mainyu with Vohu Manô².”’

¹ See above, p. 172, note 10.

² Vohu Manô as the Amshaspand of cattle; see above, pp. 215–216, note 6.

VENDÎDÂD XVIII, 14.

barôithrô-taêzem.—‘His sharp-pointed weapon.’

Said of Sraosha, ‘who goes through the bright *Hvaniratha* Karshvare, holding in his hands his sharp-pointed weapon’ (*Yasna* LVII, 31).

*hvtâ*¹ frashusaiti Sraoshô ashyô.—‘The pious, sovereign Sraosha advances’ [over Arezahi and Savahi].

VENDÎDÂD XVIII, 44.

‘As large as the top joint of the little finger’ (*Vd.* VI, 10).

VENDÎDÂD XVIII, 70.

The word *afsmanivau*² is interpreted :

yad antare veredhka marega (*W. asma-rega* ; read *sparega* (?) = Persian *siparz*).—‘What is between the kidneys and the spleen.’

VENDÎDÂD XIX, 41.

nazdistâd danhâvô yaozdâthryâd haka frakairê frakerenaod vâstrê verezyôid pasus-hvarethem gavê hvarethem.—‘When he has been cleansed in the next inhabited place, he may then sow and till the pasture fields, as food for the sheep and food for the ox³.’

¹ *hvtâ* is the Pâzand transcription of *khûtâi*, translating *âhûrya*.

² *afsmanivau*, entrails (?) ; see above, p. 207, note 2.

³ Quoted, in an abridged form, in *Farg.* VIII, 103, with reference to the unclean man who finds himself in the country, far from any inhabited place.

V. TAHMURAS' FRAGMENTS.

These fifty-three Zend fragments, of which only ten were already known, are found in a sort of Pahlavi catechism of questions and answers, contained in a manuscript belonging to the well-known Pahlavi scholar, Tahmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria, at Bombay, who most kindly let me have a copy of the Zend texts. These texts are quotations introduced into the answers in support of the dogmatic statements contained in those replies; and sometimes they are not given in full, but only announced by their first or some other typical words. We had not the whole of the treatise at hand, so that the circumstances of which the Zend quotations were explanatory are unknown. However, the Pahlavi translation which accompanies the Zend text, and which, in the cases when the quotation is abridged, is more complete than the fragment given, offers generally sufficient help for a correct understanding of the original.

Tahmuras' manuscript is Irânî (written in Persia): it was finished on the 19th day (Farvardîn) of the 8th month (Âvân) of the year 978 after the 20th year of Yazdgard, that is to say, in 1629, by Frêdûn Marzpân. It was copied from his father's copy of a manuscript written by Gôpatshâh Rustam, who himself transcribed from a manuscript by Kai Khosrav Syâvakhsh, who lived in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The text is sufficiently correct to allow of the task of translation, as most of the barbarous forms, in which it is not deficient, generally find their explanation in the Pahlavi translation. Though we have already published the text in our French translation of the Avesta, yet as it has not been hitherto incorporated in any general edition of the Avesta, we have thought it useful to have it reprinted here, for the use of those who have not access to the editio princeps. As to the Pahlavi translation, which was our principal and best guide in the interpretation of the text, we beg to refer to the Commentary in our French Avesta, where it is given in full.

V. TAHMURAS' FRAGMENTS.

V.

1. Mazdau avad od ol vakhshad mananghau (Yasna XXXI, 6 c).

VI.

2. Frôtâis vîspâis kanvatô frafrâ peretûm (Yasna XLVI, 10 e).

VII.

3. Vehrkaî hizvâm adadhâiti yô razrazdâi (read azrazdâi) mâthrem kistê.

VIII.

4. Mâ kis ad ve dregvatô mâthrâskâ gûstâ sâs-nauskâ (Yasna XXXI, 18 a).

5. Âzi demânem vîsem vâ shôithrem vâ dahyûm vâ âdâd (ibid., b).

6. Dusitâkâ marekaêkâ athâ is rûstâk sâzdûm snaêthisâ (ibid., c).

¹ The missing paragraphs are those which contain no Zend quotations.

² Mazda reigns in man when Good Thought (Vohu Manô) is predominant in him; that is to say, he reigns in the righteous and through the righteous.

³ 'All those whom I shall impel to address their prayers to you, O Ahura Mazda!' that is to say, all those whom I shall win to Ahura's worship.

⁴ 'The Aharmôk (the heretic): thereby the Aharmôk grows more violent in the world' (Comm.)

V. TAHMURAS' FRAGMENTS.

V¹.

1. For Mazda reigns according as Vohu Manô² waxeth (Yasna XXXI, 6 c).

VI.

2. For all of them³ shall a path be opened across the *K'invaδ* bridge (Yasna XLVI, 10 e).

VII.

3. He gives a tongue to the wolf⁴, who imparteth the Holy Word to the heretic⁵.

VIII.

4. Hearken not to the Law and the Doctrine in the mouth of the unrighteous⁶;

5. He would bring unto the house, the borough, the district, and the country

6. Misfortune and death. Teach him with the thrust of the sword⁷! (Yasna XXXI, 18).

⁵ A quotation from the Nîrangistân, or rather Erpatistân; see below, Nîrang. § 17.

⁶ 'Hear not the Avesta and Zand (the Holy Scripture and its interpretation) from the mouth of the heretic' (Comm.)

⁷ The good old principle of king Saint-Louis: 'Nulz, se il n'est très bon clers, ne doit disputer à aus (the Jews); mais li hom lays, quant il ot mesdire de la loy crestienne, ne doit pas défendre la loy crestienne, ne mais de l'espée, de quoy i doit donner parmi le ventre dedens, tant comme elle y peut entrer' (Joinville). The word *rûstâk*, in the text, must have been a Pahlavi gloss to the Avesta *shôithrem* in § 5.

IX.

7. Paôiryêhê mithôhitahê thrî maêsmã shamãn ashamâd;

8. Bithyêhê khshavash thrityêhê nava tûiryêhê thrî vâ azaiti sraoshô~~k~~aranaya astraya.

X.

9. Nôid¹ marahê nôid² gahikayazu nôid³ sônô nôid⁴ hukhshathrahê nôid⁵ daêvayasnô nôid⁶ tanuperethahê.

XI.

10. Hishemnô vâ aunghânô vâ dathânô vâ baremnô vâ vazemnô vâ aiwyâstô atha ratufris (Nîrangistân, § 37).

XII (Nîrangistân, § 109).

11. Vangharetaskid maghneñtaskid srâvayôis,

12. Yêzii istê nôid¹ isti nôid² ashavanem ainishtis âstârayêiti.

XIII-XVI.

XIII.—13. Humad (read ahumad¹) ratumad² vahistem vaokatâ Spetama Zarathustra,

14. Kemkid³ angheus astvatô aôî.

¹ It is not likely that a 'false word' means here a 'lie'; it means more probably a verbal mistake in the recitation or study of the Avesta text, which, when accidental, is atoned for by gômêz; but when repeated, through want of attention, is punished with the Sraoshô-karana.

² The same as gômêz or nîrang-dîn.

³ As long as he wears the Kosti and Sadere (Vd. XVIII, 54).

⁴ § 10 = Nîrangistân 37.

⁵ 'Even if he wear not the Kosti and Sadere, even if stark

IX.

7. At the first false word¹ he shall drink three sips of maêsmâ²;

8. At the second, six; at the third, nine; at the fourth he shall be smitten with three strokes of the Sraoshô-karana or Astra.

X.

9. Neither of a snake, nor of a whore, nor of a hound, nor of a wild boar, nor of a Daêva-worshipper, nor of a Pesôtanu.

XI.

10. Standing, or sitting, or lying down, riding or driving, so as he wears the girdle³, he has gratified the Lord⁴.

XII.

11. Even uncovered and naked he will chant,

12. If he have the means⁵. If he have no means, his poverty shall not be counted for unrighteousness to the godly⁶.

XIII-XVI.

XIII.—13. Declare that the most excellent of all things, O Spitama Zarathustra! is to have an Ahu and a Ratu⁷,

14. For every man of this world here below.

naked, he will chant (that is, he will celebrate the festivity), if he can' (Comm.)

⁶ §§ 11-12 = Nîrangistân 109.

⁷ There is no well-ordered society that does not rest upon the authority of the prince and the priest, the temporal Lord (ahu = khûtâi) and the spiritual Lord (ratu = magûpat, dastôbar).—Sometimes the ratu is also called ahu.—Cf. §§ 72-74.

15. *Marentem verezantem sikhshentem sâkayan-*
tem paiteshentem gaêthâbyô astvaêtibyô ashahê.

XIV.—16. *Anaunghô aratvô akistem ;*

17. *Duzanghavô.*

XV.—18. *Nôid zi kis asraôshyanâm tanunâm*
ashahê urva kithiâi vîdâiti.

19. *Nôid kayadhem handaraitê.*

XVI.—20. *Zad (read yad ?) daênayau mâzda-*
yasnôis sravô.

21. *Srâvayôis staôta yêsnya.*

XVII.

22. *Mâ zi ahmi nmânê mâ anhê visê mâ ahmi*
zantavô mâ anhê danhvô frim vaôkâta mām yim
Ahurem Mazdām,

23. *Yatha mê nôid âtars Ahurahê Mazdau fryô*
anghad nâka ashava frâyô-humatô frâyô-hûkhtô
frâyô-hvarstô.

XVIII.

24. *Tanu-mazô ashayâiti yô tanu-mazô biraoshad*
(read draoshad).

25. *Tanu-mazô zi aêtyãmêid ashayãm pfrê (read*
pafre).

26. *Yau nôid yava mithô mamnê nôid mithô*
vavaka nôid vavareza.

XIX.

27. *Aêibyô yô id atha verezyân yathâ id asti*
(Yasna XXXV, 6 ; Sp. 18).

¹ 'For the man who has no guide, being unable to do good works according to the advice of his Dastôbar, cannot redeem his soul with his holiness ; that is to say, cannot undo his evil deeds with good deeds' (Comm.) Cf. §§ 24-26.

² §§ 22-23=§§ 85-86.

15. (An Ahu and a Ratu) studious and communicant, learning and teaching, loving with a love for ever renewed, in the bodily world of Righteousness.

XIV.—16. (Declare) that the worst of all evils is to have no Ahu and no Ratu ;

17. Or to have an evil Ahu.

XV.—18. For the soul of them who have no guide¹ can never offer up a merit to expiate a sin.

19. XVI. 20, 21. ?

XVII.

22². Say not they treat me friendly, me, Ahura Mazda, in the house, in the borough, in the district, in the country,

23. Where they treat not friendly the Fire of me, Ahura Mazda, and the holy man, rich in good thoughts, rich in good words, rich in good deeds³.

XVIII.

24. He must accomplish an act of merit of the value of a tanu-mazô⁴, he who hath committed a falsehood of the value of a tanu-mazô.

25. For he layeth up the merit of a tanu-mazô,

26. While he never sinneth a sin of a tanu-mazô, in false thoughts, in false words, in false deeds.

XIX.

27⁵. [That which a man or a woman knoweth clearly to be right, let him or her declare as he knoweth it, let him enact it, let him teach it]

¹ Cf. Srôsh Yast 14.

⁴ Tanu-mazô, lit. 'of the value of a tanu-peretha,' means a deed evil or good, which deserves or redeems a tanu-peretha (tanâfûhr) penalty (200 strokes with the Sraoshô-karana).

⁵ §§ 27-28 = Yasna XXXV, 6-7.

28. Ahurâ zi *ad* vi Mazdau yasnemka vahmemka vahistem (ibid. 7 ; Sp. 19, 20).

XX.

29. Imâ âd ukhdhâ vakau Ahura Mazdau ashem manyau vahyau frâvaôkâmau (Yasna XXXV, 9 ; Sp. 24).

30. Thwām *ad* aêshām paityâstâremkâ fradahstâremkâ dademaidê (ibid. 9 ; Sp. 25).

31. [Ashâ] ashâ *adkâ* [read ashâ*adkâ*] hakâ vangheuskâ mananghō vangheuskâ khshathrâd (ibid. 10 ; Sp. 26).

XXI.

32. Niwyêiti zi Spetama Zarathustra âtars Ahurahê Mazdau haka yashtibyô aiwyô.

33. Mānayan ahê yatha nâ snaithis asnê nighmatem paiti-vaênôid,

34. Ishûm vâ arshitim vâ fradakhshantanām vâ avad paiti pâpayamnô,

35. Vidvâ avad hava khrathwa yêzi mâ hâu nâ ava snaithis aôî ava asnavâd vi mām urvaêsayâd astakâ ustânaka.

XXII.

36. Yaska mê tâyauska hazahiska vivâpauska vîvrauska draoginô-baretauska zaôthrau frabarâd,

¹ §§ 29-31 = Yasna XXXV, 9-10.

² The whole of the sacred words, 'the Religion of Auhrmazd' (Comm.)

³ 'From thee of all the Amshaspands we receive most' (knowledge and truth) (Comm.)

⁴ Ahura is the best and most demonstrative teacher ; (cf. Yasna LI, 3 c).

⁵ The first three Amesha Spentas.

To others who shall perform it in their turn, even as he or she hath declared it.

28. Now, that which we consider as the best of all things, O Ahura Mazda ! is prayer and sacrifice offered to Ahura Mazda.

XX.

29¹. And these words ², O Ahura Mazda ! we utter with the perfect intention of holiness.

30. And amongst them (the Amesha Spentas), we look chiefly unto thee, to grant unto us ³ and to instruct us ⁴;

31. For more than Asha, more than Vohu Manô, more than the righteous Khshathra ⁵ [thy glorification is above all glorification . . .].

XXI.

32. For, O Spitama Zarathustra ! the fire of Ahura Mazda trembles in front of boiling water ⁶;

33. Like a man who seeth a weapon which comes nigh him,

34. Or an arrow or lance, or a stone from a sling, and who avoideth the blow,

35. Saying to himself : 'If that man strike me with his weapon, my body and soul will part asunder.'

XXII.

36. And he who offers me the libations of a thief ⁷, or a robber, or a ravisher, . . . or libations offered by a liar,

⁶ For fear of its boiling over. If it does so and extinguishes the fire, the person in charge is guilty of a tanu-peretha sin (Saddar XLVIII).

⁷ The priest who offers me libations for a thief.

37. *Dizad* zi mām avavata dakhsha y tha ana masyhākā angrahē mainyeus astiskā.

XXIII.

38. Sterenōiti ana avava starem aina yatha narem ashavanem *duskā* zaretem uparād naēmād nasus aōi ava thravid.

39. Naēka paskaēta haō nā ahmad haka gātaod isaēta frashūtōid nōid apashūtōid thrayām kina gāmanām.

XXIV.

40. Aēvayakid aēsmō-bereitē aēvayakid baresmō-stereiti,

41. Barezyō ashava zarahē his drugem.

42. Frādhāiti ashem

43. Vispem ashavanem vahistem ā ahūm ā baraiti

44. (cf. § 74) Shātem dadaiti urvānem ashaonō iriritānahē.

XXV, XXVI.

XXV.—45. Hāuka ithra Spitama Zarathustra takhmanām *tankestō* paiti-gasād yō aēta hiskyāta hiskyānaōtemem paiti-gasād,

46. Arem maiti mata mamnē arem mūkhti (read ūkhti) khūkhti (read hūkhti) arem varsti hvaresta.

¹ 'A man burning with fever' (which is a fire sent by Ahriman).

² This fragment, which refers to the same subject as fragment XXI, is quoted in an abridged form in the Pahlavi Vendīdād III, 14 (see Fragments to the Vendīdād), to show that throwing hēhr (water soiled) into water or fire is as bad as casting nasā (dead matter) on one of the faithful.

³ The old man defiled with the Nasu.

⁴ As he cannot venture into contact with the faithful till he has been purified (cf. Vd. VIII, 35 sq.)

⁵ It looks as if the five quotations of which this fragment is

37. He burneth me with the same burning that burneth a man possessed by Angra Mainyu ¹.

XXIII ².

38. And he sins towards the Fire the same sin as if he cast the Nasu upon a righteous man bowed down with age;

39. And thenceforth from that place, such a one ³ shall not go three steps forwards nor three steps backwards ⁴.

XXIV ⁵.

40. For a single gift of wood, for a single offering of Baresman,

41. The Righteous is exalted and the Drug is weakened.

42. For by such things waxeth the Asha ⁶,

43. And every Righteous man is borne up to Paradise,

44. And joy is given to the soul of the Righteous man who has departed ⁷.

XXV, XXVI ⁸.

XXV.—45. Such a one, O Spitama Zarathustra! shall arrive there as the strongest of the strong, who here below most powerfully impelleth the righteous unto good works,

46. To think perfect thoughts, speak perfect words, and do perfect deeds.

composed did not form a continuous sentence. Only the last three seem to form a coherent whole.

⁶ The Pahlavi translation adds here: 'waxeth the flock, waxeth the fire,' as if the Zend text were incomplete. Cf. Vd. III, 3.

⁷ Cf. § 74.

⁸ The general meaning of these two fragments is that the man who impels his brethren to do good will enter Paradise.

XXVI.—47. Hâu aithra (read ithra) Spetama Zarathustra ukhdhō-vaķām ukhdhō-vaķastemō paiti-gasād drughimķa drivimķa arathwyō-beretē baremnē

48. Hvām *ķid* ahmi hvām *ķid* khshathrē avad *ķōista*.

49. Yēnhē vaķanghō nemanghō spnāthrem (read khshnaothrem).

50. Āhishti (read ākhshti) sahethrem (read sakhethrem).

51. Ārmaitē darethrem.

52. Frârāiti vīdīm.

53. Ainitis aēsō vāhs (read vākhs).

XXVII.

54. Kađ tē asti Ahunahē vairyēhē haithīm ?

55. Paiti-sē ukhtā Ahurō Mazdau manō bā vohu Zarathustra ad aōyemnem ad aōyamnād khrataod ;

56. Zazusu vīspaēsu vanghusō zazusu vīspaēsu ashō-ķithraēsu.

¹ There above, in the heavens.

² 'That is to say, he has made much *gâtakgôbîh* (*gâdangôî*) for the sake of the poor, men and women' (Comm.) Making *gâdangôî* is collecting money for the poor, or for any pious work. If a man come to me and say, 'I have no work to do, give me work,' and I apply to somebody else who gives him work, I have done *gâdangôî*, and the merit is the same as if I had given it myself (Saddar XXII).

³ In his sphere of influence.

⁴ The celebrated Dastûr under Shâhpûhr II, the last editor of the Avesta : cf. General Introduction.

⁵ A treatise lost, in Pahlavi.

⁶ The five following disconnected lines are abridged Zend quotations, answering to the five terms of Âtûrpât's phrase, and refer each to one of the five virtues that are recommended.

XXVI.—47. Such a one, O Spitama Zarathustra ! shall arrive there ¹ as the best of intercessors, who here below intercedeth for the poor man and the poor woman in their distress ² ;

48. Who doeth it himself and teaches it to others in his kingdom ³.

The blessed Âtûrpât, son of Mahraspand ⁴, in his Instruction to a disciple ⁵, says: 'Be a man of prayer; a man of peace, a man of perfect piety, a man of liberality, and without rancour. These are the virtues one must acquire, as it is said in the Scriptures:

49⁶. . . whose words of prayer rejoice [the gods] ⁷.

50. Teaching in peace ⁸.

51. In perfect piety keeping (Religion) ⁹.

52. Science in giving ¹⁰.

53. His word is without rancour ¹¹.'

XXVII.

54. In what fashion is manifest thy Ahuna Vairya ¹² ?

55. Ahura Mazda made answer: By Good Thought in perfect unity with Reason, O Zarathustra !

56. Taking all good things, taking all that is the offspring of the Good Principle ¹³.

⁷ Answering to the words, 'man of prayer,' in Âtûrpât's sentence.

⁸ Answering to the words, 'man of peace.'

⁹ Answering to the words, 'man of perfect piety.' Cf. Vp. II, 5 (Sp. 10).

¹⁰ Answering to the words, 'man of liberality.'

¹¹ Answering to the words, 'and without rancour.'

¹² The Zoroastrian prayer κατ' ἐξοχήν (Vd. VIII, 19, note 2). The question amounts to: 'How does it become clear that a man is devoted to religion?' (Comm.)

¹³ Doubtful.

XXVIII.

57. Mananghas~~ka~~ ahumaiti (read humaiti) hizvas~~ka~~ hûkhta zastayas~~ka~~ varsti arathwyô-varsti (read rathwyô-varsti).

58. Nazdyô ahmi Zarathustra azem yô Ahurô Mazdau vispahê anghêus astvatô mamanaus~~ka~~ vakas~~ka~~ shôthnaka,

59. Yatha aunga (read naunga) haka gaosaêibyô yatha vâ gaosa haka thranghibyô.

XXIX.

60. Garaôis haônem (read haomem) Zarathustra bisarem~~ka~~ thresarem~~ka~~ yatha thresarem nitemem.

XXX, XXXI.

XXX.—61. Vispaê~~ka~~ antare ashem upa haush-tuayau,

62. Fraored frakhni (read frakhshni) aôî manô zarazdâtôid anghuyad haka.

XXXI.—63. Vispau antare vyânts.

XXXII.

64. Yêiti katika Spetama Zarathustra dahmô ash-ava haurvi ratûs dathad,

65. Ad kid dim aiwyâiti yâ dahma vanghi âfritis ustrahê kehrpa aghryêhê aghryô madhi-mastemahê.

¹ This fragment belonged to the Rat-dât-ît Nask, which treated of 'the proximity of Aûhrmazd to the thoughts, words, and deeds of the material world' (Dînkart VIII, viii, 4).

² The Qur'ân (4, 15) has a formula which strangely reminds one of this sentence: 'But we created man, and we know what his soul whispers; for we are nigher to him than his jugular vein.'

³ 'At the third time, take least. The Dastûrs have said: each time take three-fifths' (of what there is). This refers very likely to the tasting of Haoma in the Haoma sacrifice (Yasna XI, 11).

XXVIII.

57. Of the mind, good thoughts ; of the tongue, good words ; of the hand, good works, make the virtuous life.

58¹. I, Ahura Mazda, am closer, O Zarathustra ! to that which all the bodily world thinketh, speaketh, and worketh,

59. Than the nose is to the ears, or than the ears are to the mouth².

XXIX.

60. Take of the Haoma, O Zarathustra ! twice or thrice ; but the third time be sparing³.

XXX, XXXI⁴.

XXX.—61. In the interval⁵, nothing but fair recitations of the Ashem Vohû⁶,

62. Done with a fervent conviction and a devoted soul ;

XXXI.—63. And in the interval do nothing but look on⁷.

XXXII, XXXIII.

XXXII.—64. Each time, O Spitama Zarathustra ! that the righteous, the godly man offers the sacrifice complete ;

65. Then cometh unto him the good, godly Âfriti⁸, in the shape of a camel of price, in full heat⁹.

⁴ These two fragments seem to refer to the plucking of the Baresma twigs.

⁵ While the different twigs are plucked. Cf. Vd. XIX, 18.

⁶ A prayer, next in holiness to the Ahuna Vairya. See its translation, Vd. XIX, 22.

⁷ Cf. Vd. XIX, 19 ; Nfr. 97 seq.

⁸ The Âfrîn Dahmân, a prayer of blessing on the house of the faithful (cf. Yasna LX).

⁹ The camel in heat is strongest (Yt. XIV, 12 seq.) and therefore the best symbol of the strength that the Âfrîn Dahmân brings with it. Cf. Dînkart IX, 22, 2.

XXXIII.—66. *Nôid tê ahmâd drâgôyêitîm fram-raômi Spetama Zarathustra yãm dahmãm vanghîm âfrîttîm,*

67. *Yûnad haka hahi humananghad hvakanghad hushyauthnad hudaênad,*

68. *Yatha paôurvô aêvô savô aêvô armô ranghãm ava nâyêintîm savavau ded (or bed) kis âitê.*

XXXIV.

69. *Kad tê râzarê kad zî Mazda (Yasna XXXIV, 12 a).*

70. *Ad môi ad râtãm ukhdhahyâkâ sraôshem khshathremkâ (Yasna XXXIII, 14).*

71. *Para tê gaôspaunta gaôhudau baôdhaskâ urvâ-nemkâ fraêshyâmahê nazdista upa thwaresta raokau nars kashmanau sûkem.*

XXXV.

72. *Ashâi vahistâi yad huferethwem dâstô-ratô,*

73. *Berezad-varezi haômananghem,*

74. *Yad îlrîthânê ashaonô shâtem dathâiti urvâ-nem.*

XXXVI.

75. *Âviskâ nau antare hentû nemahvaêtis kîthrau râtayô (Yasna XXXIII, 7 c)!*

76. *Tau âvis yau râtayô antare ameshesa spenta saoshyantaskâ ;*

¹ Yasna XXXIV, 12 a, 'A query of Zartusht, asking for wisdom' (Comm.)

² Ahura is supposed to speak of Zarathustra. The quotation is altered from Yasna XXXIII, 14.

³ The primeval Bull, Gaush aêvôdata (Vd. XXI, 1).

⁴ His soul, after his death, was sent to Heaven as *Geush urvan* (Goshûrûn), the deity that takes care of domestic animals.

XXXIII.—66. I declare unto thee, O Spitama Zarathustra! the holy Benediction of the Righteous shall not fail (?) thee more,

67. O youth of good thoughts, of good words, of good works, and the good Religion,

68. Than ?

XXXIV.

69. How hast thou ordained things? How, O Mazda¹!

70. To me he gives obedience to and ruling through the holy Word².

71. Thy sense and thy soul, O Bull beneficent³! giver of good things, we send towards the heavenly luminaries⁴ and thy sight within the eyes of man⁵.

XXXV.

72. Asha Vahista giveth a good passage to whoso hath a spiritual Master⁶,

73. For his noble deeds and for his virtuous thoughts,

74. And he giveth joy to the soul of the righteous man that has departed⁷.

XXXVI.

75. Grant that the gifts we pray for appear before us⁸!

76. The gifts manifest between the Amesha Spentas and the Saoshyants⁹;

¹ Doubtful.

⁶ Cf. §§ 13–19.

⁷ Cf. § 44.

⁸ Yasna XXXIII, 7 c.

⁹ This seems to mean: the gifts which the Amesha Spentas reserve for the Saoshyants (the great saints).

77. Fráráitśka vīdūshaśka antare hvādaēnau
ashaonīs.

XXXVII, XXXVIII.

XXXVII.—78. Āad yō aētahmi anghvō yad as-
tavanti Spetama Zarathustra upairi hunarem manō
barād,

79. Vīspem aētem paiti zrvānem astarem urva
kāsayād.

XXXVIII.—80. Āad yad hē manahē paiti barād,

81. Āad yad hē manahi paiti ava baraitē,

82. Pasāēta azem yō Ahurō Mazdau aōi urunē
urvāsma daēsayēni,

83. Vahistemka ahūm anaghraśka raōkau afrasang-
hānka hvāthra,

84. Vīspā yūmka ustatās yā nars sādra dregvatō.

85, 86 = 22, 23.

XXXIX.

87. Para mē aētahmi anghvō yad astvainti Speta-
ma Zarathustra thriskīd vahista anghē astvaitē visata :

88. Manaka yasnem yad Ahurahē Mazdau āthra-
śka Ahurahē Mazdau yasnemka vahmemka huberei-
tīmka usta-bereitīmka vanta-bereitīmka ;

89. Narska ashaonō khshnūitīmka ā reitīmka vyā-
daska paiti paitizaintyaska frāyō-humatahē frāyō-
hūkhtahē frāyō-hvareshtahē.

¹ Mutual Charity due from and to Mazdeans.

² Literally, 'his soul carries sin.' ³ I will give bliss to his soul.

⁴ No man absolutely deserves bliss. Cf. Yasna LXII, 6: 'O Fire, son of Ahura Mazda ! give me, however unworthy I am, now and for ever, the bright, all-happy Paradise of the righteous.'

⁵ 'The righteous are rewarded, while the wicked are punished' (Comm. ad Visparad XVIII, 2). The line is from Yasna XLV, 7.

⁶ The three best things in the world are respect shown to Ahura, respect shown to the fire, and respect shown to the righteous.

77. The holy liberality and bounteousness that reign between brethren in the Faith ¹.

XXXVII, XXXVIII.

XXXVII.—78. He who in this bodily world, O Spitama Zarathustra! deemeth overweening well of his own merit,

79. All the time that he doeth this, his soul becomes burdened with sin ².

XXXVIII.—80. But if he deemeth justly of his own merit,

81. Or if he rate it lower than the truth,

82. Then I, the Maker Ahura Mazda, will make his soul see Joy ³,

83. And Paradise, boundless Light, undeserved felicity ⁴,

84. And Happiness eternal, while the wicked is in pain ⁵.

85, 86 = 22, 23.

XXXIX.

87. As for me in this bodily world, O Spitama Zarathustra! the three best things of the world are ⁶:

88. The sacrifice offered to me, Ahura Mazda; the sacrifice and prayer, the bounteous free offering, the free offering of pleasure ⁷, the free offering of assistance ⁸ made unto the fire of Ahura Mazda;

89. And the pleasure, the graciousness, the gifts, the deference shown unto the righteous, rich in good thoughts, rich in good words, rich in good works.

⁷ The offering that rejoices the fire (that increases the brightness and gaiety of its light and its sound).

⁸ The offering that feeds him and makes him stronger.

XL, XLI.

XL.—90. *Mâka* tê ithra *Spetama* Zarathustra astvatahê anghêus didrezvô pîsa manahîm paiti raêkhîsa.

XLI.—91. *Yô* zi *Spetama* Zarathustra astvahê anghêus didrezvô pîsa mananghîm ahûm paiti erenâisti,

92. *Nôid* hê gâus *bvad* *nôid* ashem *nôid* raokô *nôid* vahistô anghus *yô* mana *yad* Ahurahê Mazdau.

93. *Bvad* vîspanâm asha-kithranâm paôishestemka *yad* ereghad daozaanghum.

XLII.

94. *Yavad* nû asha *vakaiti* (read *vandaiti*?) *Spetama* Zarathustra vîspa tarsuka khshudraka vnaiti (read *vandaiti*) anamasnaka vanghunaka thrayanaka.

XLIII.

95. *Nôid* nmânô-bakhtem *nôid* vîspê-bakhtem *nôid* zantû-bakhtem *nôid* danhu-bakhtem ;

96. *Nôid* framanîm brâthranâm âztzûstê ;

97. *Nôid* astô htastîm (read hutastîm) *nôid* tanvô huraoidîm (read huraoïdîm).

98. *Tad* zi ashava Zarathustra kinma kahyâkîd anghêus astvatô *yô* ashahê kinma vastemô anghad.

XLIV.

99. *Nôid* nû aêtahmi anghvô *yad* astvanti *Spen-*

¹ 'To get treasures of gold and silver' (Comm.)

² The other world, Paradise.

³ He will not see Goshûrûn, who sits in the sphere of the sun (Bundahis IV).

⁴ He will not see Asha Vahishta (Ardibahisht), who is both the second Amshaspand and the impersonation of holiness and subsequent bliss.

⁵ Asha, righteousness, obtains everything ; that is to say, that all the good things of the world are a reward that attends piety.

XL, XLI.

XL.—90. To obtain the treasures of the material world¹, O Spitama Zarathustra! forego not the world of the Spirit².

XLI.—91. For he who, O Spitama Zarathustra! to obtain the treasures of the material world destroyeth the world of the Spirit,

92. Such a one shall possess neither the Bull³, nor Asha⁴, neither the Celestial Light, nor the Paradise of me, Ahura Mazda.

93. But he shall possess the filthiest of all things, horrible Hell.

XLII.

94. All these things Asha obtaineth⁵, O Spitama Zarathustra! it obtaineth everything good, corn and drinks, ever so great, so good, so goodly.

XLIII.

95. One cannot have for the wishing the power of head of the house, head of the borough, head of the district, head of the province⁶;

96. Neither authority over brethren⁷;

97. Neither a well set up frame and a lofty stature⁸.

98. But there is one thing that every man in this world below may love, O Spitama Zarathustra! he may love Virtue.

XLIV.

99. [But]⁹ at present in this world below, O Spi-

¹ This is a privilege the possession of which does not depend on our free will, as it depends on heredity or the will of the prince.

² This depends on age.

³ This depends on nature's caprice.

⁴ We add 'but' on the assumption that this fragment is the continuation of the preceding.

tama Zarathustra aêvô nôid dva nôid thrâyô nôid frâyanghô ashahê.

100. Nôid ashayau frâsenti yô nôid drighôš ashô-
dkaêšahê avanghaska thrâthrahska (read thrâthran-
ghaska) pesauntê (read peresauntê).

XLV.

101. Paôurus darena (read karena) apadâta afra-
kikis hôi urunê afravaôkîš hava hizva,

102. Yô nôid mǎthrâd spentau.

XLVI-XLIX.

XLVI.—103. Nôid hâu sûrô Zarathustra nôid
asha sûrô.

XLVII.—104. Nôid hâu tahmô yô nôid ash-
tahmô.

XLVIII.—105. Nôid hâu âš vaozê Zarathustra
nôid ahmâd vashâta,

106. Yô nôid ashahê vahistahê beregi framare-
tahê mayau vaozê.

XLIX.—107. Yô nôid narem ashavanem hvâhva
athâhva jasentem khsnaôsta vâ khsnâvayêitê vâ.

108. Taêka Spitama Zarathustra anghêš vahis-
tahê kithrê paityauntê,

109. Yôi anghê nerebyô ashavabyô ayaptô-dâte-
maska asperezô-dâtemaska.

L.

110. Hô dadhô ashem upa raodhayêitê yô drvaitê
dadhâitê.

111. Gâthwôis tasêid vana :

¹ There are many truths which can be conceived or expressed
only through Revelation.

² 'He has promoted nothing good' (Comm.)

tama Zarathustra ! there is not one just man, not two, nor three, nor several.

100. They seek not after righteousness, they seek not to succour and maintain the poor follower of the Holy Law.

XLV.

101. There be many works of wisdom which the soul may not conceive nor the tongue declare,

102. Without the Holy Word¹.

XLVI-XLIX.

XLVI.—103. He is not mighty, O Zarathustra ! who is not mighty in righteousness.

XLVII.—104. He is not strong, who is not strong in righteousness.

XLVIII.—105. He has promoted nought², O Zarathustra ! and he shall promote nought,

106. Who does not promote the laws of perfect holiness, pondered in his heart³;

XLIX.—107. Who hath not rejoiced, who rejoiceth not the righteous man who cometh within his gates⁴.

108. For they, O Spitama Zarathustra ! shall behold the Paradise,

109. Who are most bounteous to the righteous and least vex their souls.

L.

110. He who giveth to the Ungodly harmeth Asha⁵.

111. Even as it is written in the Gâtha :

¹ ' Who does not undertake to promote religion and good deeds as he ought ' (Comm.)

⁴ Lit. ' on his property.'

⁵ He does harm to virtue, or to the Genius of virtue.

112. Hvô zi drvau ye drvaitê vahistô (Yasna XLVI, 6 c).

LI.

113. Ashem vohû vahistem astî.

LII.

114. Ashâd kid hatâ vangheus dazdâ.

LIII.

115. Apastâ dâd urvarauskâ vanghts (Yasna XXXVII, 1).

LIV.

116. Yad kid dim dava dâtôis uzrâtis,

117. Nôid aêtahê uzarenô naêda varô avavâitê.

LVI.

118. Nôid hê tahmô anavahîm gayad

119. Nôid adhâiti frârâithyanâm urvidyêiti

120. Taunghrô daregha dâta ashaonô Zarathustrahe.

LVII.

121. Vîsaiti ainyô usyô nôid ainyô evîsemnô âstryaêitê.

122. Ava vaêsaêtê naêta kid âstryêitê.

LVIII.

123, 124. Daresa nâ pairyaokhtaka uzustanau âdareyêitê nyêtê ustanavaitis (124) vîspau frasu-maitis.

¹ Yasna XLVI, 6 c (Gâtha ustavaiti).

² First line of the Ashem vohû.

³ From the Ahuna vairya (see the whole of the prayer, Vd. VIII, 19).

⁴ Yasna XXXVII, 1.

⁵ The var, the ordeal, of which there were thirty-three. The most usual was the one which Âdarbâd Mahraspand underwent

112. 'He is unrighteous who is good to the unrighteous¹.'

LI.

113. Holiness is the best of all good².

LII.

114. [The wish of the Lord is the rule] of Holiness.

The gifts of Vohu Manô . . .³.

LIII.

115. He has made the good waters and the good plants⁴.

LIV.

116. And though he may bribe the judge with presents,

117. He cannot bribe the ordeal⁵ and escape it.

LVI.

118-120. ?

LVII⁶.

121. If the one accept and not the other, he who refuseth is in fault.

122. If both accept, there is no fault.

LVIII.

123, 124. With glance and with speech, a man superintendeth his worldly wealth, inanimate and animate, goods and chattels⁷.

successfully, when he confounded the heretics and manifested the orthodox doctrine by having molten metal poured upon his breast.

⁶ This fragment seems to refer to the proposal made by one of the litigants to have recourse to an ordeal (cf. Fragments in the Farhang, 15).

⁷ He superintends his inanimate property with his look, and his animate property with speech.

VI.

THE ERPATISTÂN AND NÎRANGISTÂN.

Of all the lost Nasks, the one of which the largest fragments have been preserved is the seventeenth one called the Hûspâram. It was composed of sixty-four Fargards, of which two of the first thirty were called Erpatistân, 'the Sacerdotal Code,' and Nîrangistân, 'the Ritual Code;' the former dealing chiefly with clerical organisation, and the latter with a portion of the ritual. Their general contents are known from the analysis of the Nasks given in the Dînkart (VIII, ch. 28, 29; West, Pahlavi Texts, IV, 92-97).

These two Zend treatises were treated like the Vendîdâd, that is to say, were translated and commented on in Pahlavi, at least partially. They have not come to us in any Sâda manuscript, but are to be recovered from their Pahlavi expansion, the so-called Pahlavi Nîrangistân¹, which presents nearly the same aspect as the Pahlavi Vendîdâd, that is to say, it contains the Zend original text with a Pahlavi translation, and a lengthy commentary, in which latter many connected questions are treated and a considerable number of Zend quotations from other Nasks are adduced. The first thing to do is to distinguish what belongs to the principal text, which is the object of the commentary, and what are the Zend quotations adduced from elsewhere by the commentator. The distinction of the two components is easily seen, as the principal text is always accompanied by a translation, whereas the quotations are not. They are either formulas recited during the performance of the ceremonies, or texts adduced as demonstrative or explanatory of such or such statement². These quotations once removed, there remains a continuous text which answers closely to the analysis in the Dînkart. But a comparison with that analysis, as well as internal evidence, shows that only a part of the original text is preserved, and that

¹ It has been long known under that title, but ought to be called 'Erpatistân and Nîrangistân.'

² They are adduced with the uniform words . . . min . . . padtâk yahvûnêt, 'it appears from the passage: . . .'

the Pahlavi manuscript, as it has come to us, is the juxtaposition of portions of two independent books, the Erpatistân and the Nîrangistân proper, the beginning and end of both being lost. In other terms, it contains a part in the middle of the Erpatistân¹ and the greater part of the Nîrangistân, the end of the latter being lost as well as a short passage at its beginning². All the manuscripts of the Nîrangistân, known to be in existence, present the same juxtaposition, as they are descended from one and the same manuscript, of which the copyist, having in his hands a fragment of the Erpatistân and a more complete Nîrangistân, copied the two as one and the same book, which took the name of the larger fragment. This leaves room to hope for the further discovery of older independent manuscripts of either book.

Here is a summary of the matter treated of, with references to the analysis in the Dînkart :—

FARGARD I.

FIRST PART (FRAGMENT OF THE ERPATISTÂN).

I. §§ 1-9. The priest on duty out (Dînkart VIII, ch. 28, § 2 ?).

II. §§ 10-18. The student priest (Dk. *ibid.* § 3 ?).

SECOND PART (NÎRANGISTÂN PROPER).

I. §§ 19-27. The Zôt and the Râspî (Dk. VIII, ch. 29, § 1).

II. § 28. The Darûn (Dk. *ibid.* § 2).

III. §§ 29, 30. Strong drink forbidden during the sacrifice (Dk. § 3).

IV. §§ 31-37. The recitation of the Gâthas (Dk. § 4).

V. §§ 38-40. The sacrifice performed by a Zôt, or a Râspî, in a state of sin (Dk. §§ 5, 6).

FARGARD II.

I. §§ 41-45. The celebration of the Gâhânbârs (Dk. §§ 7, 8).

II. §§ 46-51. The limits of the several Gâhs (§ 46, Gâh

¹ §§ 1-18 belong to the Erpatistân.

² Of the twenty-five paragraphs in the Dînkart analysis, part of § 1, the whole of §§ 2-16, and part of § 17 are represented in the extant Nîrangistân. But one must bear in mind that the analysis in the Dînkart was not based on the Zend Nasks, but on their Pahlavi commentaries, so that it refers occasionally to matter not treated of in the Sâda text.

Ushahin.—§§ 47, 48, Gâh Hâvan.—§ 49, Gâh Rapithwin.—§ 50, Gâh Uzîrin.—§ 51, Gâh Aiwisrûthrem.—Dk. § 9).

III. §§ 52-64. The offerings for the Gâhân bârs (Dk. § 10).

IV. §§ 65-71. The libations (Dk. § 11).

V. §§ 72-84. The functions and place of the Zôt and Râspîs at the sacrifice (Dk. §§ 13, 14).

FARGARD III.

I. §§ 85-87, 91-96. The Kôstî and Sadara (Dk. § 15).

II. §§ 88-90, 97-104. The preparation of the Baresman (Dk. § 16).

III. §§ 105-109. The firewood and the implements for the sacrifice (Dk. § 17).

The interpretation of these texts is beset with no ordinary difficulties, the first being the technical character of the matter treated of, which no amount of philological ingenuity, left to its own devices, can elucidate, then the corrupt state of the text. No standard translation of the Zend can be expected till the whole of the Pahlavi Nîrangistân has been deciphered and translated. However, with the help of the Dînkart analysis and of the Pahlavi Nîrangistân, as far as I could make it out, I believe I have succeeded in presenting a rough partial translation, which may give a correct general idea of the whole, and may help to some extent to clear the ground and be useful even in a further exploration of the Pahlavi Nîrangistân.

All known copies of the Nîrangistân—which are indeed few in number—are descended from two manuscripts. One, belonging to Dr. Hoshangji of Poona (MS. H), was copied in India, in the year 1727, from a manuscript which was brought from Iran in 1720 by Dastur Jâmâsp Vilâyati and seems to have been written in 1471. The other, belonging to Tahmuras D. Anklesaria (MS. T), was written in Iran. Its date is unknown, though it is certainly older than Dr. Hoshangji's manuscript. Both manuscripts belong to the same family, as they both present the same juxtaposition of the Erpatistân and Nîrangistân. Tahmuras' copy has lost several pages at the end; from § 91 onwards, we are dependent only on Hoshangji's copy. But Tahmuras' manuscript, besides being more complete in the rest of the text, is by far more correct; and how far this is the case the reader may judge for himself by a glance at the translation: from § 91 onwards we have been obliged to leave most of the text untranslated as hopelessly corrupt.

In February, 1887, having been asked by the Parsi community

at Bombay to deliver a lecture on the Parsi literature, I took advantage of the approaching Jubilee of the Queen to recommend the creation of a Victoria Jubilee Fund for the publication of the unedited Pahlavi literature. The appeal was readily answered, a fund raised, and it was decided that the publication should begin with the Nîrangistân. Unfortunately, in the realisation of the plan, the scientific experience of the young Parsi school did not prove quite equal to its good will. Instead of printing from the better manuscript, with the various readings of the inferior one in foot-notes, the committee for publication had the less good manuscript phot zincographed. We have not yet in hand the Jubilee edition, but may hope that at least the variants of Tahmuras' manuscript have been annexed to it. We have thought it advisable, meanwhile, to give here for the use of scholars the Zend text, of which only a few manuscript copies are extant in Europe¹.

¹ We have already published it in our French Avesta, but that edition is too scarce and too expensive to be of general use.—The text given represents essentially Tahmuras' copy, corrected here and there from Hoshangji's manuscript. The barbarous forms are many, and a considerable number of them might be easily corrected: however, whenever they did not make the meaning more obscure, we thought it better to let them stand as they were, because in the degenerate stage in which the Zend language presents itself to us, there is no uniform standard from which one may view and to which one may reduce the erring forms.

VI. ERPATISTÂN AND NÎRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD I, FIRST PART.

ERPATISTÂN.

I. The priest officiating out of his house.

1. Knmô (read kemô) nmânahê athaurunem pârayâd?

Yô ashâi beregyâstemô,

Hvôistô vâ yôistô;

Yim vâ ainim hapô-gaêtha (read hadhô-gaêtha);

Hazaosyâ pazungha (read pazungha) kayân (read kayâm).

2. Para paoiryô âiti, para bityô âiti, para thrityô âiti.

Aêta parâyaiti yathâ gaêthâbyô henti (read henti),

Aêsô gaêthanâm irishantinâm (H.—T. irishanta-nâm) raêsê (read raêsê kîkayad)*.

3. Katârem âthravana athaurunem vâ pârayad gaêthanâm vâ asperenô avad?

* Kad dâtahê Zarathustrôis.

Maghnô mâthrô.

Thrikhsaparem hathráknem.

Gaêthanâm vâ asperenô avôid (see § 3).

Yôi avapa aiwyâsti (see § 15).

Â paiti beretîm erekîstem.

Nôid frâurusti.

Mastem âthrnenstem âstâtha.

Paiti beretis (H.—T. beretim) arstistim.

VI. ERPATISTÂN AND NÎRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD I, FIRST PART.

ERPATISTÂN.

I. The priest officiating out of his house.

1. Who is he in the house who shall officiate as priest¹?

—He who longeth most after holiness²,

Be he great, or small;

Or another, his partner³;

By his own will or directed by the brethren.

2. The first goeth forth, the second goeth forth,
the third goeth forth.

[If] he goeth forth who is in charge of the estate⁴,

He shall pay for the damage done to the estate.

3. Shall the priest officiate as a priest or shall he
see to the good management of the estate?

¹ Out of the house.

² The most zealous.

³ The sacerdotal community forms a religious and commercial association. The profits accruing from the divers ceremonies are divided between the members. These in Nausâri, which is the metropolis of Zoroastrianism, and whose Parsi population is all of sacerdotal origin, are called Bhagarias, 'the partners.'

⁴ Somebody must stay at home to take care of the common estate; he must not go and officiate abroad.

Gaêthanãm asperenô avôid^a.

4. *Kvad* nâ áthrava athaurunem haka gáthâbis
(read gaêthâbis) parayâd?

Yad his thris yâ hmâ (read hamâ) aiwis iti^b.

Kvad aiwistem parayad?

Thrikhsaparem hathrâkem khsvas khsafnô áka
para^c.

Yô baôyô aêtahmâd parâiti

Nôid paskaita anaiwistim ástryanti.

5. Katârô athaurunem parayâd nâirika vâ nmânô-
paitis vâ?

Yêzika vâ gaêthau vlmâkatâr (read katârô) parayâd^d?

Nmânô-paitis gaêthau nâirika parayâd.

Nâirikâi gaêthau vis nmânô-paitis parayâd^e.

6. Yô anyahê nâirika anahakhtô athaurunem
paranghâiti (read paranghakâiti),

Kad hê vâ ashem verezyâd yâ nâirika nmânô-paiti
verezyanti?

Verezyâd usaiti nôid anusaiti.

Ahakhtô paranghakâiti,

Verezyâd usaitika anusaityitika (read anusaitika).

Frôid vare paranghakâitê ákau (H.—T. ádau)
hazanguha anâkausê tâyus^f.

^a *Yêzaka* . . . aêsaya daênê.

Yêzaka vehrkô gaêthanãm (cf. Vd. XIII, 10).

Yêzika aêsa daênê.

Yêzika aêsaya daênê.

Yêzika vehrkô gaêthau (cf. Vd. XIII, 10).

Paoiryãm him varem áderezyôid hê yâhya hê hvanem
áhûk.

^b Athaurunãmka.

^c Thrishûm ásnãm khsafnãmka (Yasna LXII, 5, gloss).

^d Nairyô ratus kara.

Nôid avâkinô dâitim vinâd.

Aêvâkina dâitim vinânthad.

Hakhtô u anahakhtô.

Pan[ka]dayasaya sareide.

Let him see to the good management of the estate¹.

4. How often shall the priest officiate beyond the limits of the estate ?

—He may go three times in the year.

How far may he go to teach (the Word) ?

—So far as a three nights' journey²: six nights, there and back.

Farther than that

If he refuse to go and teach, he is not guilty.

5. Which of the two shall officiate as priest, the mistress or the master of the house³ ?

And if either be fit to take charge of the estate, which shall go forth ?

If the master of the house take charge of the estate, the woman shall go forth.

If the woman take charge of the estate, the master of the house shall go forth.

6. If a man should take with him as priest⁴ the wife of another, without (her husband's) leave,

May the woman fulfil the holy office ?

—Yea, if she is willing ; nay, if she is not willing.

If a man take her with him by (the husband's) leave,

¹ The managing priest renders more service to the community by preserving and increasing the common property than by performing his ritual functions. 'Supervising the property is better than officiating as a priest.' (Comm.)

² The Avesta counts by nights instead of days : 'three nights' means 'three times twenty-four hours.' Three nights' distance is valued at thirty farsakhs or parasangs (ninety miles or thirty leagues).

³ Women, in case of need, were allowed, like men, to perform certain ritual ceremonies (cf. § 40) and to act as Râspî (assistant-priest), and even as Zôt (officiating priest) (Anquetil, Zend-Avesta II, 553).

⁴ As assistant-priest.

7. Yô anyêhê aperenâyûkahê anakhtô (read anâh-akhtô) athaurunem parangha^kai (read parangha^kaiti),
Pasca hâra (read yâra ?) tanûm parayêiti.

Yad aêsa yôî aperenâyûkô sraosi vâ anuta^kaitê,
Aokhtô vâ hê aokhtê thwâd pairi anguha (read pairi-angha),

Paskâ hathra â fra-sruiti (read afrasruiti) sê paiti tanûm parayêitê^a.

8. Ahmi nmânê anghê visê ahmi zantvô anghê danghvô kvad bis ayau vitayau (read vitayau) anghen ?

Yugayastis haka nmâd atha danghoid visad hâthrem zantaod â danghaod,

Yatha dâityâ spasanya,

Yatha para vayêô nmânemka visemka zanteuska dangheuska.

9. Âad yad hê aokhtê aêsa yênhê aperenâyûkô :

Hakanguha mê hana (read ana ?) aperenâyûka,

Yatha vashi atha hakhshaêtê,

Vana paskaiti uzdanguhukid patha hakhtoid,

Kvad anâbdôistem ayanem parangha^kaitê?

Yâ frayarena vâ uzayêirinê vâ avân aiwyâstis anghad.

* Yênhê aokhtô aêsa yênhê aperenâyûkâi.

¹ To have illicit intercourse with her, by force or otherwise.

² By force.

³ Without leave from the parent on whom the child depends.

⁴ As assistant-priest; cf. § 40.

⁵ If the child goes willingly, not by force.

⁶ Or perhaps: 'if [the child] say.'

⁷ A mile.

⁸ 'Without singing' the Gâthas, that is to say, without performing the ceremony for which he has taken the child with him. Taking the child farther would amount to kidnapping.

Willing or unwilling, she shall fulfil the holy office.

If the man take her with him to enjoy her body¹, if he do this openly², he is a highwayman; if in secret, he is a thief.

7. He who, without leave³, taketh away the child of another to officiate as priest⁴, he shall become Peshôtanu for a whole year (?).

If the child obey and go gladly⁵,

Or if [the man] say⁶: 'I go with thee,'

And he goeth a hâthra⁷ without singing⁸, he shall be Peshôtanu.

8. In this house, in this borough, in this district, in this country, how far afield may they go⁹?

—The length of a yugyêsti from the house or the borough¹⁰; the length of a hâthra from the district or the country¹¹, within a sphere of protection,

So that they remain in sight of the house, of the borough, of the district, of the country.

9. But if he who owneth the child shall say:

'Go with him, my child,

The child shall follow at thy will,

He may follow along the roads out of the country,'

—How far away, at most, may one lead him?

So far as one can go in a morning or an afternoon.

⁹ How far can a man take with him a child without proper authorisation?

¹⁰ The length of sixteen hâthras (sixteen thousand steps; see above, p. 160) from the house or the borough, within the limits of the same district.

¹¹ At the distance of one hâthra only, if on the border of the district; otherwise they would enter a strange place where the child is not known, and the danger of his being lost or kidnapped would be greater.

Yô aêtahmâd paranghakâiti,
 Nabânazdistem hê para paskaiti raêsaka adhwa-
 dâityaska âstrâinti.

II. The student priest.

10 a. Âad hvatâm aba aêthrapaitm
 Yênhê nisritem frâra
 Âhi anastritim
 Yêzi âad hê nôid aighsritm frâra
 Nôid ainisritm âstryênti.
 Yathra apereyûkô (read aperenâyûkô)
 Nôid hê anisris
 Atha aiwyanghem [yathra ratus thwayanghem]
 yathra aperenâyûkô.

Âhê aithisritm staryêiti.

Adha yad vâ yathra thwayanghem vâ thwayan-
 ghem vâ.

10 b. Daêvayasnahê vâ tanu-perethahê vâ aperenâ-
 yûka paranghakaitê

Nisritad aêtahê âstryêiti nôid asriti ^a.

11. Kvad nâ aithra-paititim (read aêthrapaitim)
 upaôisâd yâre drâgô ?

Thrizaremaêm khratûm ashavanem aiwyaunghad ^b.

Yêzi antarâd naêmâd aêtahê drengayêiti (H.—
 deregayêiti T.) para paityâiti vîraodhayêiti (H.—
 vîraozayêiti T.),

Hâthrô nuukê (read hathra nû ?) ainem aêthrapaitim
 upôisôid âthra (atha H.) thritm upôisôid aêvatha
 tûirim upôisôid ;

Yêzi avad vaêthad vaênatha antarâd naêmâd
 hâthrahê drengayâadka naêmka paskaiti vîrôidhi ^c.

^a A mat hâd amat nisritad.

Yatha dahmahê frangharezôid.

If the man lead him farther,
He is guilty in sight of the nearest kinsman¹ of
the sin of adhwadâitya².

II. The student priest.

10 a.

10 b.

11. How many years shall the student consult
the aêthrapaiti³?

— Three springtides⁴ shall he gird on Holy
Wisdom⁵.

If, while he learns by heart, he forget and miss
a part,

He shall try again a second time, a third time,
a fourth time ;

And when he knows his text, he shall be able to
say it all and miss nothing.

Yavatahê nâfô anvathwaristô.

^b Spayêiti.

Vispaéibyô aperenâyûbyô nôid kahmâi aperenâyunâm...
barô.

Yênhé aêtadha mazdayasnanâm nâirika avayau khsudrau
hâm raêthwayêiti mazdayasnanâmka daêvayasnanâmka.

^c Thrikhsafarem dâzhdhrem.

¹ The nearest kinsman of the child.

² The adhwadâitya or atapdât, literally 'improper journey,' is properly the sin of giving insufficient food to an animal or to a traveller. In this passage it means enforcing upon a child a journey beyond his strength.

³ The aêthrapaiti, the teaching priest ; cf. Vd. IV, 45.

⁴ For three years ; cf. Vd. XVIII, 9.

⁵ As a Kôstî ; cf. Vd. XVIII, 1, note 2. He shall study for three years.

12. Kem aêmad aêthrapaitim upayad apnôtem (H.—apôtem T.) dahmem (H.—dâtem T.) ?

Yêsê tâd apayêiti pârantarem isôid.

Yavad aêtahmya zru staotanâm yêsnyanâm dâd-râgôis,

Yatha tad âfrimari nemô hyâd atha tad âfrimnô âstârayêiti ;

Aêtavada aêsaskid âstârayêitê.

13. Yô hé aperemnâi (read âperemnâi) nôid vtsâiti frâmrûiti,

Kô hé paôurunâm aêthrapaitinâm afraôkhtê (H.—âf. T.) âstryêiti ? nabânazdistô.

Âad havatâm nana yahmi pareiti ;

[Vlspaêsu parenti] vlspaêsu afrôti (read afraokhti) âstryêiti.

14. Yô asrud-gaosô vâ afravaôkê vâ nôid ôim êinem vâkim aiwyâis,

Nôid pasêaiti anaivisti âstryêiti.

Yêziâad ôyum pê vâkim aiwyâis anaiwisti âstryêiti^a.

15. Yô avadha nôid aiwyâsti ashaonê aradusa havayanghem akhtem,

Daretô vâ anangrô tâya vâ,

Ynâ (read snâ ?) vâ aodra vâ tarsnâ vâ aurvas angra vâ aodra vâ tarsna,

^a Ithâ âd yaza. ashêm vôhû.

¹ Who is the best teacher ?

² Until you know by heart the Staota Yêsnya, the Nask that formed the essential part of the Yasna, containing the Gâthas, the Yasna Haptanghâiti, and a few other Hâs (see our French Zend-Avesta, I, lxxxvii).

³ The meaning seems to be that he must teach at least the nemô hyâd (the Nyâyish ?).

⁴ That is the minimum the master is bound in duty to teach him.

12. Who is the aêthrapaiti to whom he shall go as the highest¹?

—Even he who

Until thou hast by heart the Staota Yêsnya²,

.³

In this measure is the master guilty⁴.

13. If one answer not the student's objections⁵,

Which of the many aêthrapaitis is guilty?—He who is nearest of kin⁶.

.

For all objections, for all the answers denied he is guilty.

14. If he whose ear heareth not, or who has no voice, repeat not a word⁷,

He is not guilty for not repeating.

If he can repeat, were it only one word, for not repeating it he is guilty.

15. If he repeat not because he suffers from a wound,

Or for any physical pain, or

Or by reason of drought, or cold, or thirst, or . . .

Or by reason of the hard fare of travel,

If he repeat not, he is not guilty⁸.

¹ The case is when a pupil finding the text obscure or contradictory asks for an explanation.

² If this is the right translation, it would import that not every aêthrapaiti is bound to answer his pupil's objections; he has only to teach him the text, not to interpret it; but from a next-of-kin aêthrapaiti a pupil has a right to exact an answer to his doubts. One must bear in mind that the priesthood is hereditary, and that most priests of a place belong to one, or at least to a very few families. All the Mobeds in India are supposed to be descendants of one common ancestor (see the Guimet Zend-Avesta, I, lvii).

³ The pupils repeat the text, word by word, after the teacher.

⁴ Because he suffers from an overwhelming cause.

Anguha *vâka* tangro-pithwau (read *aungha-vâ ka* tarô-pithwô) ahmâd paiti adhwâ,

Nôid aêavisti (aênavisti H.—read anaivisti) âs tryêiti.

Vâthmaini asayâ *hva*fna vâ anaivisti âstryêitê.

16. Kad vâ daêvayasnâd vâ tanu-perethâd aêth-rapatôid pairi aiwyanghad?

Frasrâvayô ava dâthra yem dim vaênâd evisaêusva vandânem.

Nôid âva yâ vistaêusva.

Nôid hê ashaônê syaothananâm verezyôid.

17. Nâ daêvayasnâi vâ tanuperethâi vâ aêthrayâi kashâiti?

Dahmô niuruzdô adhâityô-draonô,

Dâityêhê draonanghê upa *gan*aungha,

Pairi-gereftayâd paiti zman[a]yau, nôid api-geref-tayâd paiti.

Kvaiti sê aêsa zimâna anghad? yatha gâus fravaiti.

Vehrkâi hizvâm dadhâiti yô azrazdâi méthrem (read mâthrem) kastê.

18. Kad nâ daêvayasnâi vâ tanuperethâi vâ geus adhâitya âstryêiti? nôid âstryêiti,

Anyô ahmâd yô hê gavâ vares daidhtâd aêtahmâi.

NÎRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD I, SECOND PART.

I. The Zôt and the Râspi.

19. Dahmô dahmâi aokhtê:

Frâma neregâ rayôis (read frâ mê nere gârayôis) yad ratus fritôis âsâd.

¹ Because he might and ought to have controlled his weariness.

² A Daêvayasna, a worshipper of the Daêvas, that is to say, a worshipper of false gods (a Brâhman, a Buddhist, a Greek, &c.)

If he repeat not by reason of weariness, sadness, or slumber, he is guilty ¹.

16.

17. Shall he teach a disciple, if he be a heathen ² or a sinner ³?

— The righteous man in his misery, if he have not wherewithal to be fed,

And wants wherewithal to be fed,

(May teach) for a salary, but not without a salary ⁴.

— What shall be the salary?—The price of what an ox ploughs ⁵.

But he gives a tongue to the wolf, who imparteth the Holy Word to the heretic ⁶.

18. He that refuseth food to the heathen and the sinner, is he guilty?—He is not guilty,

Unless he refuse it to the labourer in his service ⁷.

FARGARD I, SECOND PART.

Here begins the Nīrangistân proper.

I. The Zôst and the Râspt.

19. The pious man warns the pious man ⁸;

‘Rouse me, O man! when the festival of the masters arrives ⁹.’

¹ A Peshôtanu, a Zoroastrian in a state of mortal sin.

² He may teach a Daêvayasna or a Peshôtanu, but only to gain his bread, when reduced to starvation; in no case, and on no account whatever, may he teach a heretic.

³ ‘The price of a day’s work’ (Comm.); just enough to live on the day he teaches.

⁴ An Ashemaogha: cf. Tahmuras’ Fragments, § 3.

⁵ His meed is due to the labourer, even if a heathen or a sinner.

⁶ Cf. Vd. XVIII, 26.

⁷ Ratufriti, literally, ‘the blessing of the Ratus’ or the various masters of the year, is applied to the celebration of the Gâhânbârs.

Vtsaiti dem fraghrârayô nôid fraghrâghrâyêiti,
Aêsô ratufris yô gaghâra.

20. *K*vaiti narâm akhtô (read hakhtô) zaota ratu-
fris

Ahunem vairîm frasraôsyêhê ?

Vispaêibyô aêibyô yôi hê madhemyâ *va*ka [*va*ka]
frasrâvayamnahê vâ upa surunvanti *yad* vâ yasnem
yazemnahê ^a.

21. Surunaôiti zaodha (read zaota) upa sraotara-
nâm,

Nôid upa sraotarô zaotarô,

Zaota ratufres;

Aêtavô upa sraotârô yavad framarentem.

Nôid zaota upa sraotaranâm,

Upa sraotârô ratufryô ;

Aêtavatô zaota yavad framaraitê ^b.

22. Sraothrana gâthanâm ratufres,

Paiti-astika yasnashê adha frasôso-mâthrahê ;

Ahê zi nâ sravanghem aframarenti âstryêitê,

Yatha gâthanâm *kêid* ^c.

Gâthau srâvayô yasnem yazentem paitistaiti,

^a Frâmâ nere (cf. § 19, line 2).

Haourvô *pastikê*.

Frastuyê.

Ashem vohû 3 fravarânê mazdayasnô.

Vispâi.

Ashaya nô paiti *gamyâd* Amesha Spenta.

Ashem vohû 3 aiwi-garedhmahê apâm vanghinâm.

Ashem vohû 3 fravarânê mazdayasnô Zarathustres.

^b Ashaya dadhâmi.

^c Manô maretanâm *kâ*.

Vakô maretanâm *kâ*.

¹ Ratufrish, literally, 'he has blessed the masters,' he has done his duty; he is all right.

If one rouse, and the other rise not,
The one who roused is accepted ¹.

20. How many assistants ² can the Zaotar lawfully
have in the recitation of the Ahuna Vairya ?

As many as repeat after him in a hushed voice
while he sings aloud or recites the Yasna.

21. If the Zaotar listen to the assistants,
And his assistants listen not to the Zaotar,
The Zaotar is accepted ;

And so are his assistants for all that they recite
themselves ³.

If the Zaotar listen not to his assistants,
The assistants are accepted ;

And so is the Zaotar for all that he recites him-
self ⁴.

22. The assistant ⁵ is accepted who sings the
Gâthas,

And follows inwardly the Yasna ⁶ and the Fshûshô-
mâthra ⁷ ;

For the man is guilty who does not follow the
(prose) texts ⁸,

Even as the Gâthas.

If he sing the Gâthas and follow inwardly the Yasna,

¹ 'How many Râspîs ?' (Comm.)—One of the offices of the Râspî is to make the responses to the Zôt, and to answer atha ratus in the Ahuna Vairya recited as a dialogue.

² Not for what has been recited by the Zaotar.

³ Not for what has been recited by the Râspîs.

⁴ The Râspî assisting the Zôt in the recitation of the Gâthas. For instance, at the end of each Gathic Hâ, he repeats with the Zôt the initial stanza.

⁵ The Yasna Haptanghâiti.

⁷ The Tađ sôidhir Hâ (Yasna LVIII).

⁸ Sravanghem ; the prose texts, what is not Gâtha. He must repeat aloud the Gâtha texts and follow the rest inwardly.

Višpanām gāthanām ratufres.

Yasnem yazâiti gāthanām srāvamnām paitisti (read paitistaiti),

Yasnahê aêvahê ratufris aratuftris gāthanām ^a.

23. Yâ gāthau afsmainya rayatô va ratufris.

Vakastastivad srâyamnô (read srāvayamnô) aêta-
vatô ktarâkid ratufris yavad framarenti ^b.

24. Yâ yasnem yazebenti afsmainyân vâ vakastasti-
vad vâ va fratufrya (read ratufrya).

Hām-srud vâkayâdhi yêzietva (read vâka yêzi
yêzyâd va) aratufrya.

Kad hām-srud vâkimka ?

Yad hakad ârmutô (read âmrûtô) afsmainiivânka
vakasta (read vakastastivat).

Avakyô surunvainti nôid ainyô,

Aêsô ratufris yô nôid aiwisrunâiti ^c.

25. Yô gāthanām anumaiti vâ anu mainaiti,

Ainyêhê vâ srāvayantô paitistanti,

Anyô vâ hê dahmô srutô-gāthau dadhâiti aratuftris,

Asrutau dadhâiti.

26. Yô gāthau srāvayêiti apô vâ paitis hvainê,

Raodhanghō vâ keresām vâ sadhôtanām (read
gadhôtunām),

Gāthanām vâ vayantanām,

Yêzi hvaêibyô usibyô aiwisrunvaiti ratufris.

Yêzi âad nôid hvaêibya usibya aiwisurunvaiti
rapayâd (read apayâd);

^a Yâ syaothenâ yâ vațanghâ.

Humatanām.

^b Ahyâ yâsâ nemanghâ ustânazastô.

Ahyâ nemanghâ.

^c Hakad.

¹ The Zôt and the Râspî.

² Detached verses (?).

He is accepted for all the Gâthas.

If he recite the Yasna and follow inwardly the Gâthas, he is accepted only for the Yasna, he is not accepted for the Gâthas.

23. If the two priests¹ sing together Gâtha verses², both are accepted.

If they sing stanzas, both are accepted in the proportion that they recite (?).

24. If two priests³ celebrate together the Yasna verse by verse, or stanza by stanza, both are accepted.

If they hear the words of one another, they are not accepted⁴.

What is hearing one another's words ?

It is when they recite together verses or stanzas.

If one listen and the other listen not,

The one who does not listen is accepted.

25. If he think the Gâthas inwardly⁵,

Or listen to another's singing,

Or get another of the faithful to sing them,—he is not accepted, as he does not sing them himself.

26. If he sing the Gâthas near a water-spring⁶,

Or near a river, or among a gang of rioters,

Or during the passing of a caravan,

If he can hear himself with his own ears, he is accepted.

If he cannot hear his own voice, let him try to raise (it above the noise);

¹ Two different Zaothars perform at the same time two independent offices. The place for the office, the so-called Izishn-gâh, is arranged in such a way that the celebration of several offices can take place at the same time.

⁴ As they disturb one another, and their attention is not undivided.

⁵ Without singing them himself.

⁶ Which drowns his voice.

Yêzi apôid' âad' nôid' apôî (read apôid') ts,
 Aêtadha mamdhyā (read madhmya) vakô frama-
 remnô ratufris^a.

27. K'vad' nâ netema vakā gâthau srāvayô ratufris ?
 Yêzi hê nazdistô dahmô vî surunvaiti yavad' vâ
 aêm aêm havaêibya usibya.

II. The Darûn.

28. Gantumô yavanām ratufres^b.

III. Strong drink forbidden during the sacrifice.

29. Yôî aêtêê (read aêtê) maidhyānām parô
 hvaretôid' pâthau (read gâthau) nôid' srāvayêiti,
 Paoithya (read paoirya) varista aêsām syaothanemêa
 akithôiristem.

30. Tad' hvarenô bādha asti :

Dahmô hurām hvaraiti madhō aspyā payanghō,
 Dâityā draonau hvarô madhō hvaraiti,

^a Aêtadha madhmya vakā.

^b Ashaya dadhāmi hvarethem myazdem : haurvata amere-
 retâta.

Ahurahê mazdau.

Ashaya nô paiti gamyâd.

Hvarata narô.

Ashaya nô paiti gamyâd.

Aêtām âyâtâmnahê.

Nemô Ahurâi ashem vohû 3.

Khsnaothra khsnaothra Amesha Spenta.

Ithâ âd yazamaidê hvarethem myazdem.

Haurvata ameretâta gâus hudhau âpê.

Urvara haurvata ameretâta.

Aêsmi baoidhi hvarethem myazdem.

Ama humatâkê hûkhtâkê ithâ.

Nôid' his barôid' upa kashem.

9 Ashem vohû ithâ ashem vohû ashem ithâ.

If he can raise (it so, all well) ; if he cannot,
He shall recite with a medium voice and will be
accepted.

27. How loud at the least shall he sing the Gâthas
in order to be accepted ?

Loud enough for the nearest of the faithful, for
this one or that one, to hear him with his own ears.

II. The Darûn.

28. Amongst grains, (the draonô¹) made with corn
is accepted².

III. Strong drink forbidden during the sacrifice³.

29. Those who, from drinking too much strong
drink, have not sung the Gâthas⁴,

On the first time it happens⁵, have not to atone
for it.

30. This is thy way of feeding :

When a pious man drinks strong drink, wine or
mare's milk, and eating with moderation drinks with

¹ The draonô, darûn, is a consecrated round little cake which is
tasted by the Zôt at the end of the Srôsh darûn (Yasna VIII, 4):
it is a sort of Zoroastrian host.

² This sentence does not really belong to the Zend Nîrangistân ;
it is a quotation from some other Fargard, inserted in the Pahlavi
commentary, though the analysis in the Dînkart, being based upon
the Pahlavi text, mentions it among the matters treated in the
Nîrangistân (Dînkart VIII, 29, 2 : ' concerning the darûn, &c.').

³ ' About abstaining from drinking strong wine during the sacri-
fice ' (Dînkart VIII, 29, 3).

⁴ ' They drink wine, get drunk, and do not celebrate the Gâ-
hânâbâr. ' (Comm.)

⁵ The first time they did not know the consequences of their in-
temperance, and are not considered responsible for them.

Nôid gâthanãm asruiti âstryêti.
 Fradhau-draonô hvârô madhaitê,
 Nâ gâthanãm asruiti.

IV. The recitation of the Gâthas.

31. Yô bis hastarem srâvayêiti ratufryô.

Thris hastrem srâvayenti (read srâvayenti aratuftris).

Kvad nitemem hastrem anghad ratufryeê ? thris^a.

32. Yô gâthau pairi ukhshayêiti srâvayanti

Yêzi arastrem pairi [akhta (read aokhta) pairi]
 âdha

Vâ *vakad* apayanta aratufrya

Paskâ vâ parô vâ pairi âdha [a]ratufryô.

33. Katha zaotha gâthau frâsrâvayâiti ? naêmô
 vakastasti madhimya vakâ Zarathustri mana ;

Yêzika aêtêê vakô apayaêiti yôi henti gâthâhva
 bisâm-rûta thrisâm-rûta~~ka~~ kâthrusâm-rûta~~ka~~,

Daêvanãm kereta,

Aêtaêsãm vakâm aratufryô.

34. Kaya panti (read hanti) vakâ bisâm-rûta?

Ahyâ yâsâ—humatanãm—ashahyâ âad—yathâ tû
 i — humâim thwâ izem — thwôi staotaraskâ — ustâ

^a *Sad* vâstrahê Zarathustrôis nemô :—‘Homage to Isad-
 vâstra, son of Zarathustra.’

Vispau gaêthau.

Ahurahê Mazdau raêvatô hvarenanghatô ashâunãm.

Ahurahê Mazdau gâthabyô ashâunãm. gâthâbyô.

Ahurahê Mazdau ashâunãm yau visâdha âvayanti.

Ahurahê Mazdau Mithrahê vispaêsãm ashaonãm.

Ahurahê Mazdau Mithrahê vispaêsãm gâthâbyô ashao-
 nãm.

moderation too, if he sing not the Gâthas¹, he is not guilty.

If he eat too much and get drunk, for not singing the Gâthas [he is guilty].

IV. The recitation of the Gâthas².

31. If the priest sing for two assemblies, he is accepted.

If he sing for three assemblies, he is not accepted.

Which is the smallest assembly for which singing is accepted? Three (of the faithful).

32.

33. How will the Zaotar sing the Gâthas? He will sing half a stanza³ in a moderate voice with Zarathustra's rhythm ;

And if he omit⁴ those words in the Gâthas which are twice, thrice, or four times to be said⁵,

Those words that cut the demons to pieces,

For those words he is not accepted.

34. Which are the words twice to be said ?

Ahyâ yâsâ ;

Yathâ tû î ;

Humatanãm ;

Humâim thwâ tîzem ;

Ashahyâ âad ;

Thwôi staotaraskê ;

¹ 'If in spite of his moderation, the little he drank makes him tipsy so that he does not celebrate the Gâhân-bâr, he is not in a state of sin' (Comm.)

² 'Concerning the quality (sâmân) of the voice in reciting the Avesta in a ceremonial, and the Avesta which is twice recited and thrice or four times recited' (West, Dînkart, l. 1. § 4).

³ The first half of the stanza.

⁴ If he omit to recite them the due number of times.

⁵ The so-called Bis-âmrûtas, Thris-âmrûtas, Kathrus-âmrûtas ; cf. Vd. X.

ahmâi—Spentâ mainyû—Vohû khsathrem vairîm—
Vahistâ îstis.

35. Kaya thrîsâm-rûta ?

Ashem vohû—ye sevistô—hukhsathrôtemâi—duz-
varenâis.

36. Kaya kâthrusâm-rûta ?

Yathâ ahû vairîyô—Mazdâ ad moi vahistâ—â
airyemâ.

37. Kanghâm [H.—T. sanghâm] nâ gâthanâm
srutanâm aratufriš ?

Yâ yaêzô (read maêzô) vâ fravashâimnô (read fra-
vâ shâimnô) srâyêiti (read srâvayêiti),

Aêtaêšâm vaêšâm aratufriš.

Adhaêka uiti yatha kathaêka dahmô staota y[ê]snya
haurva dadhaiti,

Paurvâd vâ naêmâd aparâd vâ,

Myô (read ayô) vâ takâ vâ histanemnô (read
histemnô) vâ aungânô vâ dathânô vâ baremnô vâ
vazemnô vâ aiwyâstô athâ ratufriš^a.

V. The sacrifice performed by a Zôt or a Râspt
in a state of sin.

38. Dahmô zaota tanuperetha upasraotârô,

Yêzi dis tanuperethô vaêdha,

Aêvatô ratufriš yavad framaraiti.

Yêzi âad dis nôid tanuperethô vaêdha,

Vîspanâm gâthanâm ratufriš.

^a Barô aspô vazô rathô (Fragment Vd. VI, 26).

Fravarânê—âthrô Ahurahê Mazdau puthra tava âtars
puthra Ahurahê Mazdau khsnaothra—ashem vohû 3, fra-
varânê—yathâ ahû vairîyô yô zaotâ, yathâ ahû vairîyô yô
âtravakhsô athâ ratus—yathâ ahû vairîyô yô âtravakhsô yô
zaotâ athâ ratus—yô bityô zaotâ.

Ashem vohû—yathâ ahû vairîyô—fravarânê—frastuyê.

Ustâ ahmâi ; Vohû khsathrem vairîm ;
Spentâ mainyû ; Vahistâ istis ¹.

35. Which are the words thrice to be said ?

Ashem vohû ; Hukhsathrôtemâi ;
Yē sevistô ; Duzvarenâis ².

36. Which are the words four times to be said ?

Yathâ ahû vairyô ; Â airymâ ³.

Mazdâ aš moi vahistâ ;

37. When is it that the Gâthas which a priest sings are not accepted ?

The words he sings while doing the necessities of nature,

These words are not accepted.

Otherwise, in whatever fashion the pious man may offer the Staota yēsnya ⁴,

In the earlier part of the office or in the latter part of it (?),

Whether walking or running ; standing, sitting, or lying ; riding or driving ; as long as he has his girdle on ⁵, he is accepted.

V. The sacrifice performed by a Zôt or a Râspi in a state of sin ⁶.

38. If the Zaotar be righteous and his assistants be in a state of sin,

If he know that they are in a state of sin,

What he recites himself is accepted.

If he know not that they are in a state of sin, the whole of the Gâthas is accepted.

¹ Vd. X, 4.

² Vd. X, 8.

³ Vd. X, 12.

⁴ See above, page 312, note 2.

⁵ His Kôstî ; cf. Vd. XVIII, 1 (note 2), 54.

⁶ Dînkart, l. l. § 5.

39. Tanuperetha zaota dahma upasraotârô,
 Yêzi dim tanuperethem vlvare (read vldare),
 Aêtavatô ratufris yavað framerenti.
 Yêzi âað dim nôid tanuperethem vlvare,
 Vlsanãm gâthanãm ratufris.
 Dahmô zaota dahmô upasraotârô vlspe ratufryô.
 Tanuperethô zaota tanuperethô upasraotârô vlspe
 aratufryô.
40. Kayâkîð nâ dahmanãm zaotherâdha ratufris,
 Nâirikauskîð aperenâyûkahêka,
 Yêzi vaêtha hâthanãm (read hâitinãm?) thware-
 seska frataurunauska,
 Antare hâitisu yasnem frâizis^a.

NÎRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD II.

I. The celebration of the Gâhânbârs.

41. Yô gâthau asrâvayô âstâ vâ tarômaiti vâ
 tanûm pereyêiti.
 Kô âstâ katârô maiti (read kê tarômaiti) ?
 Yâ haêâ daênayâð mâzdayasnôid apastûitis^b.
42. Yô gâthau asrâvayô yâre drâgô apa tanûm
 pairyêiti.

^a Nôid tâ nâirika kasu-khrathwa.

Ashem vohû vahistem astî, ustâ astî ustâ ahmâi.

Hyad ashâi vahistâi ashem.

^b Yô haêâ daênayâð mâzdayasnôid apastôid,

Thris vaghsibis hakarað vipaitikîð.

¹ 'Concerning the functions of a Zôt performed by a woman or a child' (Dînkart, l. l. § 6).

² See above, §§ 5-9 and notes.

39. If the Zaotar be in a state of sin and the assistants be righteous,

If they know that he is in a state of sin,

What they recite themselves is accepted.

If they know not that he is in a state of sin, the whole of the Gâthas is accepted.

If the Zaotar be righteous and the assistants be righteous, the whole is accepted.

If the Zaotar be in a state of sin and the assistants be also in a state of sin, neither the one nor the other is accepted.

40¹. Any one of the faithful is accepted as a Zaotar,

Even a woman² or a child,

If he know the ends and the heads of the chapters³,

And know how to perform the acts of ritual between the chapters.

NÎRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD II.

I. The celebration of the Gâhânbârs.

41. He who does not sing the Gâthas, either out of unbelief, or out of impiety, becomes a Peshôtanu.

What is unbelief⁴? What is impiety⁵?

It is renouncing the Religion of Mazda.

42⁶. He who stays the year through without singing the Gâthas becomes a Peshôtanu.

¹ As there are certain repetitions of stanzas and certain ceremonial acts at the end of most of the Hâs.

⁴ âsta: 'negation; when he says, there is no such thing as Religion' (Comm.)

⁵ tarômaiti: 'when he says, it exists, but it is no good.'

⁶ 'On the sin of him who does not celebrate the Gâhânbârs, and how they are to be celebrated' (Dînkart, l. i. § 8).

Yêzi *aunghâm ôyâm pêvâkim* framaraiti,
 Pairi sê hô paretô-tanunâm *staunghaiti* (H.—T.
staonghaiti),

Yahmad *haka* tem ava raodhenti ^a.

Yô gâthanâm ôyem vâkim apayâiti aêvâm vâ
vakastastim,

Thri vâ azâiti ayare drâgô vâ vâstryâd’;

Atha bityau atha thrityau,

Atha vîspem â ahmâd yad hê *hangasanta* yatha
kathrusem yau gâthau asrâvayô hyad aradusa hê
syaothanem.

Thrishûm tarô *hvaraya* naêmem tarô bâzugataya
 vîspem tarô yâre drâgê hê him yâtem âstryêiti.

Yadkid *paskaiti* aêvâm ratufritim ava raodhayêiti
 tanûm pairyêiti.

43. Yô gâthanâm aêvâm ratufritim ava raodhayêiti
 thri vâ âzaiti ayare drâgô vâ vâstryâd’;

Atha vîspem â ahmâd yad hê *hangasaiti* yatha
 thrishûm yau gaêthau asrâvayô od tanûm pairyêiti.

44. Yô gâthau asrâvayô naêmem yâre drâgô,

Tad paiti aênem dahmem gâthanâm sraothrau
 pairistayêiti,

Yadhôid naêm yau gaêthau (read gâthau) asrâvayô
 hyad atha u âstryêiti ;

^a Sârahê.

Panka tistrô dasa u rathwâm.

Hazangrem maêsanâm (Âfrîngân Gâhânbâr, 7).

Hazangrem gavaâm (ibid. 8).

Rathwâm.

¹ According to the commentator Sôshyans : ‘If he recite the whole in *bâg* and only one word aloud.’

² If he has passed the fourth part of the year without celebrating the Gâhânbâr, any verbal fault he may afterwards commit shall be punished as an Aredus, that is to say, with fifteen strokes of the Sraoshô-karana (Vd. IV, 26).

If he recite, were it only a word of them ¹,
 He escapes being in the number of the Peshô-
 tanus,—

.

He who shall omit a word of the Gâthas or a stanza,
 Shall pay with three strokes (of the Sraoshô-
 karana) or a day's work ;

The same on the second omission, the same on
 the third,

And so on until he let a fourth part of the year
 go without singing the Gâthas, when it becomes an
 areduš sin ².

If he let a third part of the year go, his guilt is
 a *hvara* ³; if he let a half go, his guilt is a *bâzu* ⁴;
 if he let a whole year go, his guilt is a *yâta* ⁵.

If afterwards he miss a *ratufriti* ⁶, he becomes a
 Peshôtanu.

43. If a man miss a *ratufriti* of the Gâthas, he
 shall pay for it with three (strokes) or a day's work ;

And so on until he let a third part of the year go
 without singing the Gâthas ⁷ he
 becomes a Peshôtanu.

44. If a man stay a half year without singing the
 Gâthas ⁸,

And also prevents another of the faithful from
 singing the Gâthas,

For the half year when he did not sing the
 Gâthas, he shall be in a state of sin ;

¹ Punished with thirty strokes.

² The sin of breaking an arm : fifty strokes.

³ The sin of breaking a leg : seventy strokes.

⁴ One of the formulas of glorification to any of the *ratus* (?).

⁵ To be filled up as in § 42.

⁶ ' Without celebrating the *Gâhânârs* ' (Comm.)

Paourum vâ naêmem yâ aparem vâ pairyastayêiti
pisotanus^a.

45. Yô gâthau asrâvayô naêmem yau
Tad paiti aênem dahmem gainti
Ardus vâ aghryô [staorem] vâ bistaorem yâ yad
mazanghem vâ hvarem
Hvarôid hê anghad kithayaêka upa-beretayaêka.

II. The limits of the several Gâhs.

II a. Gâh Ushahin.

46. Kahmâd haka ushahinanâm gâthanâm ratufris
fragasaiti ?

Haka maidhyâyâi khsapad huvakhsâi pairi-sakaiti ;
Atha aiwigâmi.

Âad hama yêzi para huvakhsad ahunavadka
gâthâm srâvayêiti,

Yasnemka haptanghâitîm ustavaitîm hâitîmka,

Anâsteretô paskaita avau yau anyau srâvayôid
âmaêidhyâd fr. yârad (read frayârad)^b.

^a Pairâu arstau khed.

^b Ashem vohû 3, fravarânê Mazdayasnô—Ahurahê Mazdau
raêvatô hvarenanghatô khsnaothra od frasastayaêka.—
ashem vohû—khsnaothra Ahurahê Mazdau—humatanâm
hûkhtanam hvarestanâm—nâ yasta.

Naratô kerethen.

Ashem vohû—yathâ ahû vairyô—ashem vohû 3 fravarânê
mazdayasnô—haomahê ashavazanghê khsnaothra od fra-
sastayaêka—ashem vohû 3 fravarânê—Zarathustrahê Spen-
tamahê ashaonô fravasheê khsnaothra od frasastayaêka—
ahurâi mazdâi—imem haomem yaunghâmka—Y. A. V.
—A. V.—haoma pairi hareshyanti—syaothananâm—khsa-
thremkâ—khsathremkâ—âdâi kahyâkiâ paiti—Y. A. V.—
A. V.—A. V. 3, Fr.—tava âtars puthra Ahurahê Mazdau
khsnaothra (âthrô Ahurahê Mazdau puthra tava Atars

And for the half of the year, whether earlier or later, when he prevents (their being sung), he becomes a Peshôtanu.

45.

II. The limits of the several Gâhs¹.

II a. The Ushahin Gâh.

46. At what hour does the celebration of the Ushahina Gâthas begin?

It continues from midnight to sunrise; thus in winter time.

In summer time, if one sing the Ahunavaiti Gâtha before sunrise,

As well as the Yasna Haptanghâiti and the Ustavaiti Hâ,

He may, without guilt, sing the rest of the Gâthas till the middle of the forenoon.

puthra Ahurahê Mazdau khsnaothra)—A. V.—frastuyê—staomî ashem—staomî—A. V.—staomî ashem—vasasêa te Ahura Mazda.

Amesha Spenta—imad Baresma hadhazaothrem min

¹ On the limits of the five Gâhs of the day and night, and the ceremonies of the same (Dînkart, l. l. § 9). The five Gâhs (asnya), it will be remembered, are—

1. Ushahina (Ushahin), from midnight to the extinction of the stars, or Dawn.

2. Hâvani (Hâvan), the morning Gâh, beginning at dawn.

3. Rapithwina (Rapithwin), the midday Gâh.

4. Uzayêirina (Uzîrin), the afternoon Gâh, from Rapithwin to the appearance of the stars.

5. Aiwisrûthrima (Aipisrûsrim), from the appearance of the stars to midnight.

In winter there are only four Gâhs, Hâvani and Rapithwina being united.

II b. Gâh Hâvan.

47. Kahmâd havanem gâthanâm ratufris fragasaiti ?

Haka hû-vakhsad maidhyâi frayarâi pairi-sakaiti ;
Hamatha itha.

Âad aiwi-gâmi maidhyâi uzayarâi

Yad vâ yatha uzarem yad yatha khsaparem ^a.

Ahurâi Mazdâi od dathusô aêtað dim od vanghuþa vanghausþa.

Aêthraya varestâm—imad baresma—frastuyê—Y. A. V.
—ashaya nô paiti gamyâd—hvarata narô—nadatum.

Gâm.

Nemô Haomâi mazdadhâtâi vanghus Haomô hudhâtô.

Hâvanânem âstâya—azem visâi—yô nô aêvô ad tû.

Pairi tê Haoma ashem vohû—A. V. — vanghuþa vanghausþa—yênhê mê ashâd haka—syaothananâm.

Sastika—Ahurâi Mazdâi—Ameshâ Spentâ—imem hao-
mem—yaunghâmka.

—Khsathremka—âthretim khsathrô kereta hê gaosô
berezô us shâvayôid.

Ashem vohû—yênhê mê ashâd haka—haomanâmka hare-
syamnanâm — arukhdhanâmka vakanghâm — athâ zî nô
humâyôtara anghen—syaothananâm—âdâi kahyâkid paiti
—us môi uzâresvâ Ahurâ Ârmaiti tevishim dasvâ—ashaya
dadhâmi imâm zaothrâm haomavaitim gaomavaitim ha-
dhânaêpatavaitim od tava Ahurânê Ahurahê vahistâbyô
zaothrâbyô—tava Ahurânê adhi.

^a Vohû ukhshyâ mananghá imau raokau barezistem bare-
zimanâm yahmi Spentâ thwâ mainyû urvaêsê gasô.

Ravaska hvâthremka âfrinâmi vispayau ashaonô stôis
âzaska duzâthremka âfrinâmi vispayau drvatô stôis. A. V.
3 vayôis uparôkairyêhê taradhâtô anyâis dâmân aêtað tê
vayô yad tê asti spentô khsnaothra—yazâi apemka ba-
ghâmka.

Haurvatâtô rathwô yâiryayau husitôis saredhaêibyô
ashahê ratubyô ayananâmka asnyanâmka mâhyananâmka yâ-

II b. The Hâvan Gâh.

47. At what hour does the celebration of the Hâvani Gâthas begin?

It continues from sunrise to the middle of the forenoon;

Thus in summer time.

In winter time till the middle of the afternoon.

.

iryanāmka saredhanāmka vîspaêsâm yazatanâm pun yaza-
maidê ayara ashahe rathwô ratufretis yaz. asnya ashahe
rathwô ratufretis yaz. mâhya ashahe rathwô ratufretis yaz.

Yâirya ashahe rathwô ratufretis yaz.

Saredha ashava ashahe rathwô ratufretis yaz.

Âzât-mart guft havâ-t : ayara ashavana ashahe rath-
wô ratufretis yaz.

Âthrô Ahurahê Mazdau puthra.

Khsathrô nafedhrô Nairyô-sanghahê.

Mad vîspaëibyô âterebyô.

Âthrô Ahurahê Mazdau puthra amat dû âthrô Ahurahê
Mazdau mad vîspaëibyô âterebyô.

Âthrô Ahurahê Mazdau puthra.

Khsnûmainê maunghahê [gao od] khsnûmainê dathusô.

Âpâm vakhdûnîsn aspô karp âm (read aspô-kehrpâm)
pun minîsn yakhsûnêt.

Tîr yôm khsnûmainê danâ Tistryêhê stârô raêvatô
hvarenanghatô Satavisahê frâpahê sûrahê mazdadhâtahê.

Tistryêhê—Vanantô.

Tistryêhê—Tistryêhê vâtahê ashâunâm.

Âthrô Ahurahê Mazdau puthra mad vîspaëibyô âterebyô
Tistryêhê Vanantô geus tasni vîspaêsâm.

Khsnûmainê amahê.

Pathayau hvâsty[au] zarenumantô sûrahê Saokantahê-
ka garôis mazdadhâtahê pathâm hvâstâitîm yaz.

Zarenumantem sûrem yaz. Saokantem gairîm mazda-
dhâtem yaz.

Râmanô hvâstrahê—thwâsahê.

48. *Kahmâd ahêka* (read *haka*) *apâm vanghînâm frâtis fragasaiti* ?

Haka hû-vakhsâd â hu-frâshmô-dâitôid pairi-sakaiti ;

Tad hama tad aiwêgâma.

Yô âpê zaotrâm frabaraitê,

Pasêka hû-frâshmô-dâim para hû-vakhsâd,

Nôid vanghô ahmâd syaothanâm verezyêiti,

Yatha yad hîm azôis vishâpahê vastrem (read *astrem* ?) *paityâpta karsôid*^a.

II c. Gâh Rapithwin.

49. *Kahmâd haka rapithwanâm* (H.—ratufrithwanâm T.) *gâthanâm ratufris fragasaiti* ?

Haka rapithwayâd maidhyâi uzayarâi pairi-sakaiti^b.

II d. Gâh Uzîrin.

50. *Kahmâd haka uzayairanâm gâthanâm ratufris fragasaiti* ?

Haka maidhyâi uzaryarâd hu-frâshmô-dâiteê pairi-sakaiti ;

Hama itha.

Âad aiwigâmi yêzi para hû-frâshmô-dâtôid ahu-nâska vairyâ frasrâvayêiti,

Tistryêhê—Vanantô.

Khsmûmainê ashôis vanghuyau kistôis vanghuyau erethe vanghuyau.

Vispaêšâm—2 berezatô, 2 dathusô.

^a *Apâm vispaêšâm.*

Vispaêšâm—haomyâm.

A. V. 3, *fravarânê* : *mâ gâs yakhsûnêt. aiwyô vanghi-byô vispanâmêka apâm Mazdadhâtanâm berezatô Ahurahê nafedhrô apâm apasêka mazdadhâtayau tava Ahurânê*

48. From what hour may the sacrifice to the Good Waters¹ be offered?

It continues from sunrise to sunset;

Thus both in summer time and in winter time.

He who offers libations to the Good Waters,

After sunset and before sunrise,

Does no better deed

Than if he should throw them downright into the jaws of a venomous snake².

II c. The Rapithwin Gâh.

49. At what hour does the celebration of the Rapithwina Gâthas begin?

From Rapithwa to the middle of the afternoon.

II d. The Uzîrin Gâh.

50. At what hour does the celebration of the Uzayêirina Gâthas begin?

From the middle of the afternoon to sunset;

Thus it is in summer.

In winter, if, before sunset, one sing the Ahuna Vairya,

Ahurahê khsnaothra [yasnâika] od frasastayaêka apash vâg vakhdûnisn.

Frâ te staomaidê Ahurâne Ahurahê vangheus yasnâska vahmâska huberetiska usta-beretiska vanta-beretiska yaza-tanâm, thwâ ashaonâm kukhsnîra us bî barâmi, rathwaska berezatô, gâthauska srâvayôid frâ te staomaidi.

Miâ î razâgâda.

^b Ashahê vahistahê âthraska Ahurahê Mazdau vîspaêsâm.
Ashahê vahistahê âthraska Ahurahê Mazdau puthra.

¹ The so-called âp-zôhr (Yasna LXIII seq.; see the Guimet Zend-Avesta, I, 392-425).

² Cf. Vd. VII, 79.

Apas~~k~~a frâitê,
Spentâ Mainyûm~~k~~a vakastastem khsvas vahistem
srâvayti;

Anâsteretô paskaita avau (H.—avad T.) yau
anyau srâvayôid â maidhyâd khsapad^a.

II e. Gâh Aiwisrûthrem.

51. Kahmâd aiwisrûthremananâm gâthanâm ratu-
fris fragasaiti?

Ha~~k~~a hû-vakhâd-frâshmô-dâitêê (read hû-frâshmô-
dâitêê) maidhyâi khsapê pairi-sakaiti:

Tad hama tad aiwi-gâmi^b.

III. The offerings for the Gâhânârs.

52. Yôî dâitya yaona (H.—yôna T.) hvarenta
(read karenta),

Gavâstra~~k~~a varesnau verezantô khratûm~~k~~a asha-
vanem aiwishantô,

Adhâityô-draonanghas~~k~~a henta,

Dâitîm geus draonô upa isemnô ava apangha-
bidenti;

Framarentem aêsâm,

Nôid aêtaêsâm ratufris ratufraitîm thweresâiti;

Yadhôid aêtê framarenti yadhôid ratufryô^c.

53. Âad aêtaya (read aêta ya) frakarenti keresâs~~k~~a
gadhôitls~~k~~a,

Daêvis~~k~~a handaramana upa mraodes~~k~~a vispô-
khsapô,

^a Y. A.V.—ad tâ vakhsyâ.

^b Aêdha aiwyastêid paiti apathrestememkad ptarenta.

^c Hazangrem maêsanâm dânunâm paiti-puthranâm narâm
ashaonâm ashaya vanghuya urunê kithîm nisirinuyâd
(Âfring. Gâhân. 7).

And offer the libations to the Waters,
And sing the six stanzas of the Gâtha Spentâ-
mainyu ;

He may, without guilt, sing the rest of the Gâthas
after sunset.

II e. The Aiwisrûthrim Gâh.

51. From what hour does the celebration of the
Aiwisrûthrima Gâthas proceed ?

It continues from sunset to midnight ;

Thus both in summer time and in winter time.

III. The offerings for the Gâhânbars.

52. If an honest man,

Working hard and teaching the Holy Wisdom ¹,

Have no sufficient living,

And dream of getting sufficient meat ² ;

If such a one only ³ recite (the prayers),

He who celebrates the festival ⁴ cannot charge
him with non-celebration ;

For as far as he recites (the prayers), he has
celebrated the festival ⁵.

53. But men who live like robbers and highway-
men,

In knavery, brigandage, and debauchery every
night,

¹ A profession which brings no great income to those who exercise it.

² 'They have bread, they have no meat,' and cannot therefore offer any meat for the Gâhânbar.

³ Without making any offering.

⁴ The rich man who provides the offerings.

⁵ 'He has as much merit as if he had presented pious people with a thousand goats big with kids' (Comm.), which is the reward promised for the celebration of the first Gâhânbar (Afrîngân Gâhân. § 7).

Dâityô-draonanghaska hantô,
 Fradhâitlm dâitlm gaus draonô upôisemnô adha
 avanghabdemnô ;

Aframarentem aêsâm,
 Aêtaêsâm ratufris ratufritim thwiresaitl.

54. Kâhya âg[a]va ratufris ?

Yau avangha avau yau nâiryau yau puthrahê
 aperenâyôis.

Yau tanu-perethahê aparaothemnahê aghaurvaya
 ratufres.

Yau haka daêvayasnaêibyô ava urvaitya apa bara
 aya ratufris ;

Tadha yad paiti barenti yâ aredusâd apaiti tad'
 (read apaititad') âgaghaurva ;

Yâhu varanghana ;

Yâ adhâiti fravaityanâm (read fraraityanâm) frapa

Yâ nôid' vîstem drvatô

Yad paiti baraunti

Nôid' apaita nôid' paiti kaya ratufres.

55. Ratufris apaityânô kâhya (H.—T. dâhya)

Ratufris havâ yâ nmânahê paiti rikyêihê

Yêzi vis hvâvôis dazdê ratufris *

Hvaretha yêzi aratufris.

56. Nôid' pasuska bazda nôid' irista anazdya ratufris.

Abanta airista anadya pairistanghara ratufris.

57. Ratufris pasuyebis hvâstâiska ahvâstâiska
 zâyeska azâyêska (H. zyâiska azyâiska).

Ratufris patus (read pitus) hvâstâis nôid' [anastâ-
 iska azyâis nôid'] anazyâis.

Ratufris snâkeniska vîzuska hvâstâiska nôid' ana-
 hvâstâis azyâis nôid' anazyâis ^b.

* Yêzi âad his nôid' his hvâvôya dazdê [a.]ratufris yâ
 adhang[ang]hê—yêzi—hvaretha yazata ratufris.

Who have plentiful living,
And dream of a surplus of meat ;
If such men recite not (the prayers) ¹,
He who celebrates the festival can charge them
with non-celebration.

54. Whose meat-offering is accepted ?

The offering of a man, of a woman, of a child.

The property seized on a criminal is accepted.

The property seized on heathens ² who have
broken a treaty is accepted ;

Also the property that is brought having been
seized on the committer of an unexpiated areduš ;

The property seized in consequence of an ordeal ;

.

55.

56. Sheep diseased, wounded, or lean, are not
accepted.

Sheep not diseased, not wounded, and not lean-
fleshed, are accepted.

57. Milk cooked or not cooked, from a fat cow or
from a lean cow, is accepted.

Meat is accepted ; cooked, not uncooked ; from
fat cattle, not from lean cattle.

. . . and . . . are accepted ; cooked, not uncooked ;
fat, not lean . . .

^b Paê aēnyâikid (paêmainyâikid?) zaotrâya.

58. hvô istaēsva pasus hvīs.

Yô pasûm avâi vīnaoiti [paskā] hû-frāshmô-dâitīm asao-
kantaḍ paiti âthrâd.

Yatha vâ azô skāēnis yatha hus peresô.

¹ However rich may be their offerings.

² Foreigners, non-Zoroastrians.

Ratufriš *karemanāmka* pasu-vastranāmka,
 Upa raēsasnâis fraōiritarād naēmād;
 Marātanām nōid amarātanām azayanām nōid ana-
 zayanām ^a.

59. Ratufriš nāirikayau kehrpa nōid payanghō,
 Nōid sunō kehrpa payanghō;

Ratufriš vehrkayau kehrpayau payanghaka hadhō
 vīspanāmka daēvayasnanām [tanu]-perethanām dūm
 hathra baodhō angha fraurvaēsyō.

60. Yō aēvō hadhō-gaēthanām yō baresmaka
 frastarenti geuska paiti-bairaiti,

Adhād ainyē antarad naēmād hāthrahē vakaska
 framavainti (read framravainti) gavāstryāka varesnau
 verezenti,

Vīspaēsāmka aiwi-surunvaiti vīspē ratufryō ^b.

Yēzi āad nōid aiwi-srunvanti aēsō [ratufrišō] rat[u]-
 f[r]iisō yō baresma frasterenti geuska paiti-baraiti ^c.

61. Kahmād haka mazdayasnanām (read myazda-
 vanām) myazdē ra[ē]thwaiti ?

Yā khsudru yad vā yaz[a]nti yad vā hām-raē-
 thwenti,

Yad vā frā uithētātō peresenti,

Yad vā aēsām anyō aētahmāi dāiti dadhāiti ^d.

^a Geus vā aspahē vā varesahē.

A. V. 3, fravarānē [mazdayasnō zarathustris vīdaēvō
 Ahurahē dkaēsō].

—Ahurahē Mazdau raēvatō hvarenanghatō khsnaothra
 y. v. kh. fr.—A. V.

^b Athā ratus ashād kīd hākā frā ashava vīdhvau mraotū.

^c Hazangrem maēsānām (Afrīng. Gāhān. § 7).

Yaēsām anghenka thwārō mazdista (read anghen kathwārō
 nazdista).

^d Ashem vōhū 3, fravarānē. mā gās yakhsanūnēt khsnū-
 man. Sraosahē ashyēhē takhmahē tanu-māthrahē dareshi-

58. Leather is
accepted from the skin of an animal,

From under the raêsatna ;

If supple, not if not supple ; if from a fat animal,
not from a lean one.

59. Woman's milk is not accepted,

Nor bitch's milk ;

A she-wolf's milk is accepted ;

60. Of priests of one partnership¹ if one bind the
bundle of Baresman and bring the offering of milk,

And the others, within a Hâthra distance, recite the
words and perform the ritual acts,

And all make the responses², all are accepted.

If they make not the responses, the one who has
bound the Baresman and brought the offering of
milk is accepted.

61.

draos Ahûiryêhê khsnaothra yasnâika od frasastayaêka
3 dûkânak kartak yô paoiryô mazdau dâmân apas
âfrînağân pun rôisâ nôk nâpar A. V. 3, fravarânê.
mâ gâs: hâvanê u sâvanghê rathwâm. khshnûman
Ahurahê Mazdau raêvatô kartak i Ahurem Mazdâm
ashavanem ashahê ratûm yaz. . . hudhau nghem mazistem
yazatem yim sevistem frâdad-gaêthem od ad zayênê
(Y. XVI, 10). Apas âfrînağân pun rôisâ: rathwô
berezađ ashem vôhû 3, fravarânê. Pun Hâtôkht hadhao-
khdhâi. pun Vîspôrat hâvanê. khshnûman rathwô
berezađ, kartakî datâka aêtê Mazdayasna. Apas âfrîna-
ğân âi pun rôisâ pun mân-i sapîrân [u] mâni-
âtâsân: Ashem vôhû 3, fravarânê, mâ gâs yakhsûnêt
khshnûman dahmayau vanghuyau âfritôis ughrâi dâmôis

¹ Cf. page 305, note 3.

² Cf. § 20 ; in particular the atha ratus in the recitation of the
Ahuna Vairya.

62. Kahmâd haka myazdavanām myazdê rathwaiti?
 Yâ pâpithwa vasô aêisteê,
 Yād pairi baresman hangasantê āad ratufriteê.
 Yād yazanti yād vâ hām raêthwayêinti^a.
 Yād vâ aēsām anyô aêtahmâi dâiti dadhâiti.
 63. Yaska mē aêtaēsām mazdayasnanām myazda-
 vanām aêtanghām yād myazdanām anahakhtô para-
 baraiti,

Nôid tâyus nôid hazangha bavād;
 Aiwikikishmnâi ākaêithamanām stayād.
 Ainyô kaskiād anghaus astvatô para-baraiti ākau
 hazangha anakausê tâyus.

64. Yâ nara hāmô-hvaretha hamô-gaodana hamām
 aêtê khshâudrunem zaotherām barâtô hamām pâpith-
 wām (H.—pâiptwām T.—read pâpithwām).

Paitinām hāmô-hvaretha paitikâ gaodana,
 Paitinām aêtê khsadrem (read khshâudrem) zao-
 thrām barâtô hamām pâpithwām.

Paitinām hvaretha hāmô-gaodana,
 Hamām aêtê khsaudrem zaotherām barâtô paitinām
 (H.) pâpithwām.

Paitinām hvaretha paitinām [hvaretha hāmô]
 gaodana,

Paitinām (H.) aêtê khsudrim zaotherām barâtô
 paitinām pâpithwām^b.

upamanâi khsnaothra y. v. kh. fr. dûkânak kartan apas
 tau ahmi nmânê [apas] âfrinagân pun rôisâ zag-î
 io yôm pun Farvartigân zag-î pang yôm [fartûm]
 A. V. 3, fravarânê. mâ gâs yakhsûnêt khsnûman.
 Ahurahê Mazdau ashâunām, kartak-î yau visâdha âva-
 yanti; apas âfrinâmi pun rôisâ zag-î pang yôm dar
 gâs aê A. V. 3, fravarânê [mâ gâs] yakhsûnêt khsnû-
 mainê Ahurahê Mazdau gâthâbyô uashâunām apas kartakî
 yau visâdha apas âfrinagân-î pun rôisâ pun stôtih

62.

63. If one of the Mazda-worshippers who share in the Myazda ¹ carry off part of it without due leave,

He is no thief, he is no highwayman ² ;

He shall pay the penalty they may exact. *

Any other man in this world who shall do that ³, if he does it openly is a highwayman ; if secretly, he is a thief ⁴.

64 ⁵. If two men have the same food and the same plates, they shall offer the same libation of wine and the same meat.

If they have the same food and separate plates, they shall offer separate libations of wine and the same meat.

If they have separate food and the same plates, they shall offer the same libation of wine and separate meat.

If they have separate food and separate plates, they shall offer separate libations of wine and separate meat.

A. V. 3, fravarânê. mâ gâs yakhsûnêt apas khsnûman Sraosahê asyêhê ; kartak yô vananô.

* Yad athavatha veresô nôid verezenti ayûp aiwithweres —mruâka—yaskâ.

^b Haurvô pasô Frasaostrô naêmo paithwa Zarathustrô.

¹ The public religious banquet which is one of the characteristics of the Gâhânâbâr festival. It is given at the expense of the rich, and both rich and poor take part in it.

² As he has a general right to it, though he ought not to have taken it without authority.

³ A man who does not belong to that Myazda.

⁴ See above, page 35, note 1.

⁵ The case foreseen in this obscure paragraph seems to be that of two men, members of the same Myazda, according as they each bring their separate fare or not.

IV. The Libations.

65. *Kaiti* nâ aêvahê pasvô zaotherâd (read zaotherau) barâd? katangrô.

Atha dvau atha thryâm;

Katurâm aêvâm kahyâikid tadha frayanghâm.

Kvad gaonahê avabarâd?

Yâ dvaëibya erezubya hangerefad (H.—hangereftâd T.),

Dashenem â vâ gaonavatô,

Baresnô vâ paiti vaghdhanahê^a.

Vispaêsâm antare (read âtare?) paiti-narôid (read paiti-barôid)^b.

66. *Kvad* nâ âpa (read apê) fratað karetê khsâudrem payanghâm paiti-barâd? yatha tâsta zaotherô-barana.

Âad tûirinâm yatha thris hvarethema raêthwis baginô (H.—baganaô T.);

Âad piteus (read piteus) yatha kathwârô asti masô ainaidkim nâzau.

67. *Kvad* nâ apê armaêstaya khsâudrinâm payanghâm paiti-barâd? yatha thris hvarema raêthwa baginô.

^a Pourukid uthahê (H.—uthdhahê T.) amat kî kabad ûth yad aêtað hangasauntê paouru-gaonahê uthahêka.

^b Tarô yasnem haptanghâitîm yêzentem nôid âthrô fravatinêka yad nôid geus vimatim.

Yad franata bun.

Yaunghâmka aêtausêtê âtere zaotherau.

Pasvâ zanghem âstaya.

Dasina paiti areðhangha.

Kathwaresatem gaoshem frâyazâmaidê.

Tad kithremka.

Ithrishûm aunghâd uthem sadayâd.

IV. The Libations¹.

65. How many Zaothras shall a man bring for one head of cattle?—Four.

As many for two, as many for three;

For four, one more for each head.

How much gaona² shall he pull out?

As much as he can seize on a space of two fingers,

Either on the right hand of the gaona part³,

Or on the summit of the head.

Of all of them he shall throw the gaona into the fire.

66. Of liquid milk how much shall the man bring to a running stream⁴?—As much as a cup for libation⁵ contains.

Of milk in cheese three times as much as the cup for mixing and dividing⁶ contains;

Of meat as much as four asti (?) . . .

67. Of liquid milk how much shall he bring to the water in a pond? Three times as much as the cup for mixing and dividing contains.

Âthrô ahurahê mazdau puthra mad vispaëibyô âterebyô garôis usi-darenahê mazdadhâtahe asha-hvâthrahê.

Yaunghâmâ—yazamaidê—Ahurem Mazdâm—Amešâ Spentâ—humatanâm—srîrem (H.—srîm T.) aredumem.

Yênhê hâtâm—humatanâm—4 Y. A. V. 3 A. V.

¹ 'On the number of zôhrs [to be taken] from a head of cattle' (Dñkart, l. l. § 11). The goat furnishes the milky element, the gîv, for the zôhr.

² Hair?

³ The hairy part?

⁴ As an âp-zôhr to a running stream.

⁵ A zaothrô-barana (zôhr-barân; Visp. X, 2).

⁶ Cf. Vd. XIV, 8.

Avi (H.—ava T.) gereftem paitim (read pitum)
gerebyâd;

Fradaristakîd tûirinâm fradarayôid.

Nâvayayâi itha apê ;

Âad nâvayâi,

Avaêzô aêtanghau frabareta dâstra masô paiti-barô
(H.—pai-barô T.)^a,

Aipi gaghaurvatâm aspayanâmka payanghâm gâ-
vayanâmka maêsininâmka buzinanâmka^b.

Avaêzô pasûm hãm pukhdhem mananghô (read
zemananghô) nôid payanghô

Uska âpê shauô gâvayâis

Khshvas vaghzibis antare barôid

Yatha nôid aêti nidâitika airisyâ

Âzi dim aêtaêsâm daonô- (H.—baonô- T.; read
baodhô-) gaitis astâraitî^c.

68. Avatha frabereta zaothrau frabarôid,

Atha hâvana haomân hunyâd,

Yatha havaâd vaêthad atha mê zaothrê yêtê (read
zaothrau yantê) raokahê nôid antare temahê.

Vidâyâd zi yatha hô ashis anghad;

Vlspanâm zil asraskintem parâka (H.—prâka T.)
aêsayamananâm daêva raêzaêtê upa [n]ukhturusu
tuthraêsu asrâvayamnâd paiti Ahunâd vairiyâd;

Athâ yô dim frahanêintare âtaremka baresmaka,

Anairyanâm tad dahyunâm verethrâi uzgasaiti^d.

^a Fridhast âzau.

Avaêzô pasûm hãm pukhdhem (cf. infra).

Kîthrem kîd (H.; T. kikkthrem kîd).

^b Taurva payau bavâd aspayâadka khrayâadka.

A. V. 3, Fr.

Geus tasnê geus urunê.

Tava geus hudhazunghô urunê.

There he shall dip and take up the same quantity of meat ¹ ;

There he shall hold out cheese.

The same shall it be for river water ;

But for river water,

The Frabaretar ² may bring, without guilt, for a half, Boiling milk of mares, cows, sheep, or goats.

.

68. The Frabaretar shall bring the libations,

The Hâvanan shall prepare the Haoma,

In such a way that the libations, prepared to the best of their knowledge, come to me by daylight, not in the darkness ³.

For there is no piety without knowledge ⁴ ;

For all libations poured out and presented, that are poured in the darkness of night, and without singing the Ahuna Vairya, flow to the benefit of the Daêvas ⁵ ;

And if one pour them without looking at the fire and the Baresman,

They accrue for the victory of the Anaryan countries ⁶.

Yavâkem gæus.

Khsnaothra.

Ashasara manangha.

Ashasara vaŋangha ashasara syaothana.

* Yênhê mê ashâd haŋâ vahistem—yêsnê—paîtî.

^a Ashemŋa dapasŋa hû-frâsmô-dâitîm.

¹ As prescribed for a running stream.

² See § 68.

³ Cf. § 48, and Vd. VII, 79.

⁴ Offering up the sacrifice without a proper knowledge of its rules and practice is no piety.

⁵ Cf. Vd. VII, 79.

⁶ The hostile countries.

69. Yô paiti apê barâiti nôid baresmainê,
Yêzi baresma antarâd naêmâd aêsô draogyêhê
yavô frathyêhê,

Paiti baresmakid paiti-barôid;

Yêzi nôid thri vâ paiti âzâiti ayare drâgô vâ vâstryâd.

Yô paiti baresmainê nôid apê,

Yêzi âfês (read âfs) antarâd naêmâd thrigâmahê,

Paiti apaêkid (H.—apaêmâd T.) barôid;

Yêzi nôid paiti-baraiti thri vâ âzâiti ayare drâgô vâ
vâstryâd^a.

70. Yâd baresma aêsô drâgô yavô frathô kavakid
aêtahê paiti-barôid.

Yâd masyô aêtahmâd baresma,

Yatha aêtahê frasterenâiti atha aêta hê paiti-barôid.

Yâd zaota Ahurem Mazdâm yazâiti madhimâi
baresmân paiti-barôid;

Ameshe Spente yazâiti frâtemâi baresmân paiti-
baroid;

Apô ad yazamaidê haotemâi baresmân paiti-barôid;

Ashâunâmkê urunaskê fravashiskê yazamaidê ash-
nôtemâi baresmân paiti-barôid.

Vîspaêibyô yasnô-keretaêibyô madhemâi baresmê
paiti-barôid^b.

• Apô vyaudau mâtârô gîtayô. Râtôis.

Avavad tadha yatha kâthwârô crezvô.

Surunuyau.

Vispaya âfrînâmi.

^b Kudô-zâtanâmkid, narâmkê, nâirinâmkê, yaêsâm vahêhîs,
daênau, vanainti [thrakhti] vanghen, vaonare, khsathremkê.

Yâis azâthâ mahmâi hyâtâ avanghê mad vau padâis yâis
frasrûtau îzayau pairigasâi.

¹ If the libations are intended for the water, not for the Baresman.

² The words 'a yava's breadth' seem to be out of place here. They may have crept in from the usual formula 'an aêsa long, a yava thick' (cf. Vd. XIX, 19; infra §§ 70, 90).

69. If he bring the libations to the water and not to the Baresman¹,

If the Baresman be distant an aêsa's length, a yava's breadth²,

He shall bring them over the Baresman ;

If not, he shall pay three strokes (of the Sraoshô-karana) or a day's work.

If he bring the libations to the Baresman and not to the water,

If the water be distant three steps,

He shall bring them over the water ;

If not, he shall pay three strokes (of the Sraoshô-karana) or a day's work.

70. If the Baresman be an aêsa long, a yava thick³, one may bring them on any part of the Baresman.

If the Baresman's size be larger,

He shall bring them on the point where the bundle is tied.

While the Zaotar sacrifices to Ahura Mazda⁴, he brings them on the middle of the Baresman ;

While he sacrifices to the Amesha-Spentas⁵, he brings them before the Baresman ;

While he says : ' We sacrifice to the Waters⁶, ' he brings them on the left side of the Baresman ;

While he says : ' We sacrifice to the souls and Fravashis of the Holy Ones⁷, ' he brings them on the right side of the Baresman.

¹ If it has the normal dimensions.

⁴ When he recites the formula : ' We sacrifice to Ahura Mazda ' (Ahurem Mazdâm . . . yazamaidê ; Yasna LXIII).

⁵ While he pronounces the words : ' We sacrifice to the Amesha-Spentas ' (Ameshâ Spentâ yazamaidê, *ibid.*)

⁶ Yasna LXIII.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Dakhsamaêstim aêta*d* baresma yad paiti-âpem frânayan*tema* ^a.

71. Apa adhâ*d* frabareta aêtaibyô zaotrâbyô yâiti

Yaunghâm nôid aiwyô vanghibyô frabaravad (read frabarad?)

Frâ aêtau zaotrâu barôid

Zaota geus pâityâi pôid (read paityâpôid) paoiryô frangharôid

Mrûiti aêta zaota imãm vakô ^b.

.

.

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Frasa adhâ*d* . . . arâd naêmâd yoguyastôis pai
. . . asenti aêsmâska bareska ^c.

V. Functions and places of the Zôt and Râspts at the Sacrifice.

72. Kis zaotars kairim anghad mazdôis (H.—mazdayasnôid T.—read myazdôis) ain?

Gauska (read gâthauska) frasrâvayâiti vakimka anghê astvâiti paiti adhayâd: athâ ratus.

Âad hâvanânô (H.—hâvayâd nânô T.) [yad] haomemka ahunavad anghavanemka vaêmanâd.

73. Âad âtravakhshahê yad âtremka aiwa-vakh-sayad âthraska tistrô thrakhtis yaozdathad,

Zaotraska vâkim paiti adhayâd: athâ ratus.

74. Âad fraberetars yad âthraska aêvãm thrakhtim yaozdathad,

Baresmânka frakem âthraêka yasnô-keretaêibyô paiti-barâd.

75. Âad âsnatâra yad haomemka âsnayâd haomemka paiti-harezâd ^d.

At all the sacrificial formulas¹ he brings them to the middle of the Baresman².

‘
71.
.

V. Functions and places of the Zôt and Râspîs at the Sacrifice³.

72. What shall the Zaotar do on the day of a Myazda⁴?

He shall sing the Gâthas and shall give response to the people : athâ ratus⁵.

The Hâvanan

73. The Âtravakhsha shall feed the fire and cleanse the three faces of the fire-altar, and shall give response to the Zaotar : athâ ratus.

74. The Frabaretar shall cleanse the fourth side of the fire-altar,

And shall bring the transverse stem of Baresman⁶ and shall bring the incense to the fire at all the sacrificial formulas (all the yênhê hâtâm).

75. The Âsnâtar shall wash the Haoma and shall strain the Haoma.

* Yazâi âpem.

Tava âthrô—tava âthrô âhurahê.

^b Amesha Spenta daêna mâzdayasna.

^c Yâta raêšâm frâyû tem vanghad aêtadha upa gerembayân.

^d Vîspauska âthrô.

¹ At all the Yênhê hâtâm.

² See, on these ceremonies, the Guimet Zend-Avesta, I, 395–397.

³ Dînkart, I. I. § 13.

⁴ In a Gâhânâbâr office.

⁵ See above, p. 341, note 2.

⁶ The baresmân frakem or frâkh-gâm, frâgâm, a stem that rests on the feet of the Barsomdân or Mâhrû.

76. *Āad raēthwis-karahê yad haomemka gava rathwayād bakhshayāadka.*

77. *Āpem â-beres â-barād. Sraosāvarezo aiwyâkhsayād.*

78. *Zaotara dâityô-gâtus*

Madhemya nmânahê madhemād arâthraod apa sritô.

79. *Stuiukhtis hâvanânô dâityô-gâtus*

Dasinem upa srakhtim fratarām baresmān aparām âthrô.

Haoyād haê naēmād âsnatârs.

Ātravakhsahê dâityô-gâtus

Dasanem upa thrakhtem fratarām âthrô.

Fraberetars dâityô-gâtus

Haomyām upa srakhtim fratarān baresmān.

Dasinād haê naēmād raēthwiskarahê.

Anaiwi-eretavô (H.—erezvo T.) gâtus aêta âbereta sraosāvarezahê vîkarayatem.

80. *Yêzika aêti ratavô anahakhti pairigayanti,*

Zaota vîspa ratu thwâis rashayanti

Aêvadha âsnâthrađ hâvaynânê raēthwayêiti.

Zaota anahakhtô parayād dâhistâi arsvakastemâi zaothrem raêkhsaiti.

81. *Yad aêvô zaota frayazâiti mayazdahê ain zaotars gâtava,*

Aêtaya myazdê aiwi-vaidhayêiti rathwaêka myazdaêka rathwaêka,

¹ In the modern sacrifice there are only two priests who divide between them the functions of the eight priests. The Râspî, who takes his name from the Rathwiskare, represents rather the Atravakhsha whose place he occupies near the fire, and who, of all the assistants of the Zaotar, is the one whose services can least be dispensed with (see, however, § 81).

76. The Raêthwiskara shall mix the Haoma and the milk, and shall divide the mixture.

77. The Âberet shall bring the water. The Sraoshâvareze shall superintend.

78. The right place of the Zaotar

Is in the middle of the house, . . .

79. . . . the right place of the Hâvanan

Is on the right side, opposite the Baresman, behind the fire.

On his left-hand side shall the Âsnâtar stand.

The right place of the Âtravakhsha

Is on the right side, opposite the fire.

The right place of the Frabaretar

Is on the left side, before the Baresman.

On his right-hand side shall the Raêthwiskara stand.

The places of the Âberet and the Sraoshâvareze are not fixed; they come and go.

80. If these assistants¹ go without the leave of the Ratu,

The Zaotar may make all the mixtures

Without the Âsnâtar and the Hâvanan.

If the Zaotar go without leave, the preparation of the Zaothra shall fall to the wisest and truest² of the assistant priests.

81. If the Zaotar sacrifice alone³ on a Myazda day, at the place of the Zaotar⁴,

He shall announce that Myazda to the Lord (of the festival) and to the Lord of the Myazda⁵,

¹ The most respectable of the priests present.

² Without his seven assistants.

⁴ At his ordinary seat.

⁵ He announces the banquet to the Ratu of the Gâhânbar, that is to say, to the Genius of the Gâhânbar which is being celebrated, and to the Genius of the religious banquet itself.

Viſpayau ſăkadhka aſhaonô stôis yasnâika vah-
mâika khsnaothrâika frasastayaêka.

Zaotars gâtava Ahunem vairim frasrâvayôid.

Syaothanô-tâitya hâvanaêibyô paiti-ganghôiđ,

Hâvanânô gâtum.

Âtravakhsahê gâtava âtrem aiwi-vakhsayôid.

Fraberetars gâtum [yasnem haptanghâitim] frâya-
zaiti.

82. Yaska aêtaêsăm rathwăm paoiryô paiti (â)
gasâđ hâvanânem aêtem âstayêiti;

Bitim âtravakhsem; thritim fraberetârem; tûrim
dânazvâzem (H.—dânazvânem T.);

Pukhdhem âsnatârem; khstum raêthwiskarem;
haptathem Sraoshâvarezem.

83. Adhâđ anyaêsăm rathwăm paiti âdhayôid

Aêtaêsăm ratavô azdâi

Thrigâmi antare anantare atha antare patatha

Yad antare vâ âad antare vâ paiti vâ thri vâ âzâiti
ayare drâgô vâ vâstryâđ^a

Zaothranăm paitista sti myazdôis (H.—paitista
stimyazdôis) ain^b.

84. Avayô vananti Spitama Zarathustra yô fraurva-
êrkhtê (read fraurvakhstê?) hava [hê vanainti]!

Âvoya druyanti (read druganti) Spitama Zara-
thustra yô fraurvaikhti havahê urunô druzaitê (H.—
druzahê T.)

^a Yadhôiđ gaêm yavad erezva.

Thri-gâmi aiwyâstâđ haka baresma parâiti.

Varstaskid.

Vangharstaskid (cf. § 109).

^b Ratus râuininăm dâthranăm srâvananămka pasu vastra-
nâmka ahaowă.

¹ One of the words in the second line of the Ahuna Vairya.

For sacrifice, prayer, gratification, and glorification to all the creation of the Good Spirit.

He shall sing the Ahuna Vairya in the place of the Zaoatar.

At the word shyaothananãm¹ he shall spring to seize the mortar,

Into the place of the Hâvanan².

From the place of the Âtravakhsha he shall feed the fire.

From the place of the Frabaretar he shall celebrate the Yasna Haptanghâiti.

82. And of those masters he who comes first represents the Hâvanan³;

Secondly, the Âtravakhsha; thirdly, the Frabaretar; fourthly, the Dânazvâza⁴;

Fifthly, the Âsnâtar; sixthly, the Raêthwiskara; seventhly, the Sraoshâvarev.

83.

84⁵. Woe to the struggler who struggles for the joy of his own soul⁶, O Spitama Zarathustra!

Woe to the deceiver who deceives for the joy of his own soul⁷, O Spitama Zarathustra!

¹ The Hâvanan being the priest who holds the mortar and pounds the Haoma and the Urvarâm.

² The case here is the most ordinary one, when besides the Zaoatar there is one Râspî who represents, one after the other, the seven assistant priests.

³ The Dânazvâza, 'the water-bearer,' is the same as the Âberet.

⁴ 'That the best of sacrifices is to give presents to the righteous, to teach and study the Law' (lit. the Intelligence of the Righteous), Dînkart, l. l. § 14.

⁵ 'Any evildoer who helps to do evil; some say, the warrior that helps the evil deed and does not repress it' (Comm.)

⁷ 'Any man who does evil with his tongue; some say, the priest that teaches error' (Comm.)

Âvoya [dârem (read dâthrem)] dadhâiti Spitama
Zarathustra yên[hê dâ]thrahê dâiti *kôid* hava urva
và râza (read urvâza ?)

Dâthri zî paiti nivâitis vîspahê anghêus astvatô
humataêsu~~ka~~ hûkhtaêsu~~ka~~ hvarestaêsu~~ka~~.

Aêsa zaotheranâm mazistaka vahistaka sraêstaka

Yâ nairi ashaonê dasti aiwika haithi kishânâika

Paitika pâresmanâi khratûm ashavanem.

Ashem vohû.

NÎRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD III.

I. The Kôsti and Sadara.

85. Aiwyâsta mazdayasna gâthau srâvayad nôid
anaiwyâsta.

Kva ithra aiwyau[ngayau]nti ? adhairi kasaêibya.

Kvad aiwyaunghayaunti ?

Yad aêsam aredvaê gavastryâ varistêau vere-
zantâm nôid avangrâsayad adhairi harethraêibyô *.

86. Nanetema vastrahê aiwyâstô ratufris ?

Yatha âthrvanô bis paii (read paiti) bis maidhyô-
paitistânô.

87. Kva tâkîd aêtahê aiwyâstô ratufris.

Yad masyô aêtahmâd vâstrem,

Aêtava[tô] aêtahê nistema (read nitema) aiwyâstô
ratufris.

Yô aiwyaunghayêâitê kareteska aratufryô

Paska aiwyâstem nitaosayêiti ratufryô.

88. Yêzi thris hâthrau têô (read hathraunkô)
yâtayentê ratufryô.

Yêzi âad nôid hathraunkô yâtayanti aratufryô.

* Threuitasti aspayau paourvô azyau aregô.

Woe to the giver who gives for the joy of his own soul ¹, O Spitama Zarathustra !

For the gift that delivers all the bodily world consists in good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.

And the best and finest of all libations

Is the gift to the righteous man who teaches clear truth and consults the Holy Wisdom ².

NÎRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD III.

I. The Kôstî and Sadara ³.

85. The Mazda-worshippers shall sing the Gâthas with their girdle on, never without their girdle ⁴.

Where shall they gird it?—Under the armpits.

How much of it shall they gird around ?

So much that, while they work standing, the ends should not embarrass them below the skirts.

86. What is the least garment he shall wear [in order that his offering should be] accepted ?

A pair of drawers reaching to mid-leg.

87. However poor the garment be, he is accepted.

If the garment be of higher value,

He is, however, accepted only if it is that size at least.

88 ⁵.

¹ The Pahlavi translator read *nôid* instead of *kôid*: 'he gives gifts of woe, for which he shall have no joy.'

² Who studies the Law ; cf. Vd. XVIII, 6.

³ Dînkart, l.l. § 15.

⁴ Cf. Vd. XVIII, 1-4, 54-59.

⁵ This paragraph and the two following, referring to the preparation of the Baresman, appear to have been misplaced, as §§ 91-96 continue the remarks on the Zoroastrian's garment, and the Baresman is again the subject of §§ 97 seq. The right order therefore would be : 87, 91-96, 88-90, 97.

89. Yô anu aêsãm baresma frastarenti yatha ashava
Gâmâspô frastarenaêta ratufris.

90. *Kvad* nânitima baresmana ratufris ? thris
urvara.

Kyau vâitisa (read *kyau* vaitis ?) aêtayau urva-
rayau anghen ?

Tarô denârô varesô stavanghô,

Âad upema aêso drâganga yavô frathangha.

91. Yô vanghenti keretiskâ,

Paiti vanghâskâ khre uru baouriskâ,

Yêzi antarem asperenô vastrahê aiwyaunghayaunti
ratufryô ;

Anasperenô vastrahê aiwyaunghayaunti aratufryô.

92. Yô vanghaiti varenauskâ pairi-urusvaistis,

Ad keska (read atkeska) frazusô sanghaska upara-
smanâi,

Yêzi azarem aiwyaunghayaunti ratufryô ;

Aparem aiwyaunghayaunti aratufryô.

Anyâmka sutem vanghânahê narem na aratufryô.

93. Yô vastra vastrem aiwyaunti,

Uzbarenti aratufryô ;

Uparâd naêmâd ava-barenti atha aiwyaungha-
yaunti ratufryô.

94. Yêzi uzgeresnâvayô (read uzgeresnâ-vagh-
dhanô) nivanti,

Yêzi antarâd naêmâd

Yâ hama aiwyaunghaka aiwyaunghayaunti,

Yêzi antare brengayâiti (read derezyâiti) va
ratufryô ;

Yêzi â nôid antare derezyâiti va aratufryô.

95. Yô aiwyaunghayaunti ruska nmânâi nmâna-
yâska,

Yêzi taraska aiwyaunghana aipi-verekainti ratu-
fryô ;

89. He who binds the bundles of Baresman as the holy *Gâmâspa* ¹ did, is accepted.

90. How many stems of Baresman, at the least, are needed for the offering to be accepted?—Three ².

What shall they be like?

. . . . as thick as a hair,

At the outside an *aêsa* long, a *yava* broad.

91. Those who are clothed with rags,

.

If the inner garment be complete, they are accepted;

If they wear not a complete (inner) garment, they are not accepted.

92.

93. When they put on the garment over the garment ³,

If they put it on from below, they are not accepted ⁴;

If they put it on from above ⁵, and then gird it on with the girdle, they are accepted.

94.

95.

¹ According to the proper orthodox rite: *Gâmâspa* was one of the first converts to Zarathustra's doctrine.

² Cf. *Yasna* LVII, 6; *Yt.* XII, 3.

³ The *Sadara* on the *Kôstî*.

⁴ As the garment has passed by the regions of the body where *Ahriman* is supposed to reign.

⁵ It slips from the head on to the shoulders and breast.

Paska vâ pairi barenti aratufryô.

Yô vanghaiti nadheska sâdhayantiska karemânka huki,

Maghanâm tinâm (read tanum) aiwyâstâm irlrts nôid anaiwyâsti astarenti;

Yêzi âad nôid maghnâm tanu aiwyâstâm ririshiâ anaiwyâsta strenti.

96. Yô gâthâ ratufriis paiti parayanti,

Yêzi aspkerentô (read asperenô) vastrahê aiwyâstem dâdarayô â anaiwyâsti strenti;

Yêzi âad nôid asperenô vastrahê aiwyâstem dâdarayô nôid anaiwyâstô.

II. The preparation of the Baresman.

97. Yô baresmân frastarenti haomâska varedheska thanvaska antare dâta,

Yêzi thris hâthra ke bis (read hâthrakaêbis) ya-yêinti (read yâtayêinti) ratufryô;

Yêzi âad thris (?) nôid thris hâthrâkebis yâtayanti aratufryô^a.

98. Yô urvarâm baresma frastarenti hamô-vare-sheçim paouru-fravâkhsem,

Vl-barô fravâkhsô ratufriis, nôid vl-barô.

Paoiris paoiri-fravâkhsô frastarenti,

Vl naraska (read vl-baraska) avt-bareska ratus.

99. Yô baresma anahmâd naêmâd hãm srishâiti hãm vâ darezayêiti,

Vl-barô ratufriis, nôid vl-barô.

Atha yatha yô hãm vaêsyâ hãm vaêskayêiti va-naêma hãm srisaiti vareska iverbareska ratufriis.

100. Yô baresma taoshyêiti draos vâ paiti sôinma,

Unâm vâ kadkid vâ paiti sidaranâm,

Yêzi tistrô dinânô hâthrâkis nis-his kantifratufriis (read nis-histanti aratufriis).

96.

II. The preparation of the Baresman¹.

97-101.

* *Yô ratheska pasvarezdëska baresmaênê hăm varextayerti.*
Naratô karaithin.
Zata ratus frenê.
Kâmêid vâ vakhshisâm.
Zatô fren.

¹ 'On the way of gathering and tying the Baresman' (Dînkart, l. l. § 16).

Yô urvarayau ava vaêkenti,

Yêzi tistrô tarô denânô (read denârô) hathra *kis*
(read hathrakis) barenti fratufri (read ratufri);

Yêzi âad nôid tistrô tarô denânô (read denârô)
hathra *kis* (read hathrakis) barenti aratufri.

101. Yô zemo tistrô kareshau frakârayêiti,

Ava itha barenti yavahê vâ gavanahê vâ,

Yêzi tistrô dtarô (read tarô) denânô (read denârô)
hathrakis antara spenti (read handarezanti ?) ratufri;

Yêzi âad nôid tistrô tarô dedânô (read denârô)
handarezanti aratufri.

Yô anyêhê as-hya baresma frastarenti,

Yêzi paiti shau uravarau upa dadhâiti ratufri;

Parô upa dâtâu frastarenti aratufri.

102. Hapta henti hâvana ratavô baresma stere-
naêiti :

Paoirya yênhê mê ashâd hakâ ;

Bityâ ahunanâm vairyanâm ;

Thrityâ dâidî moi ;

Tûiryâ ustavaityau vâ spentâ mainyus vâ hâtôis
handâtâ ;

Pukhdha yênhê mê ashâd hakâ ;

Khstvô dâidî moi ;

Haptatha ustavaityau vâ spentâ mainyeus vâ
hâtôis handâtâ.

Âad anyâhu ratufri *katangrô danghauskavid*
(read kanghauskôid) baresmân frastaraityô :

Paoirya yênhê mê ;

Bityâ ahunân vâirân ;

. . . dâidî moi ye gãm ;

Tûiryâ ustavêtayau gâthayau vâ Spentâ main-
yeus vâ ^a.

Kvaê aêtâm asmem (read aêsmem) paiti-barâd
antare ahuna airyanemna ^b ?

102. There are seven Lords of Hâvani for whom one lays down the Baresman¹.

The first is at yênhê mê ashâd ha²ka (Yasna XV, 2).

The second is at the Ahuna Vairyas.

The third is at dâidî moi (Yasna XVIII, 1).

The fourth is at the end of the Hâ Ustavaiti (Yasna XLIII), or of the Hâ Spentâ Mainyu (Yasna XLVII).

The fifth is at yênhê mê ashâd ha²ka (Yasna LI, 22).

The sixth is at dâidî moi (Yasna LXV, 15).

The seventh is at the end of the Hâ Ustavaiti, or of the Hâ Spentâ Mainyu.

In the other rites² the Baresman is laid down four times.

The first time at yênhê mê; the second time at the Ahuna Vairyas; [the third time at]³ dâidî moi ye gãm; the fourth time at the Gâtha Ustavaiti, or the Gâtha Spentâ Mainyu.

103.

^a 103. Dâityâi pairistâi pairisti.
Frâra²thnê drâganhô varis-stanghas²ka.

^b Khs²naothra yazamaidê yasnem²ka.

Barata beretem akyaus²ka²gha âtars aêsmem dâityô-aêsmân.

Nivaêd²hayêmi yatha yim Ahurem Mazdâ²m fradathâi nemô vivahua u yâsangha âtars baoidhîm aêtâm baoidhîm dâityô-baoidhyô.

¹ This seems to mean that there are seven passages of the Yasna in the celebration at the Hâvan Gâh, at which the Zao²tar lays down on the Máhrû the Baresman which he holds in his hand. Cf. the Guimet Zend-Avesta.

² In the Vîsperad and the Dvâzdâhômâst.

³ The words ahunân vâîrân are in Pahlavi, and thrityâ is omitted.

Umem*kīd* (read ōyum*kīd*) ava vā*kīm* gāthanām
asrute*m* paiti-barō aratufri*s*.

Pas*ka* vā pari vā pairi barenti aratufri*s*^a.

Od, fra*kar*ātō aēva Mazdayasna baresmān sterenti,
Yō anu aēsām tad*ʾ* ahma (read hama) tad*ʾ* aēvē
gāma.

Āad aēsa yō aremōidō (read aremōi-sādō) aiwie-
retō gātus,

Aēvayayak*īd* aēsō baresmō steraiti ratufri*s*.

Frashāvayō aiwigāmi ratufri*s* paiti nōi*d* afrashā-
vayō.

Kā frashūitis yad*ʾ* kvad*ʾ*^b ?

Frā vā apa vā shāvayēiti,

Āad hama yau paiti frayad*ʾ* tau paiti āad baresmān
upa-baraiti.

104. Yō anyēhē dahmahē baresma frastarenti
fragasaiti,

Yēzi hōi dahmō antarād*ʾ* naēmād*ʾ* hāthrahē arātufri-
fri*s*.

Yēzi āad nōi*d* dahmō antarād*ʾ* naēmād*ʾ* hāthrahē
barō (read narō) hāthrād*ʾ*

Frathrāthvayō (read frasrāvayō) ratufri*s* nōi*d*
athrāvayō (read asrāvayō).

III. The firewood and implements of Sacrifice.

105. Yō kem*kīd* dahmanām aperenāyunām astem
dasti,

Hā : mē bara aēsma*ka* baresma*ka* ;

Yēzi sē dāiti dadhāiti aratufri*s* (read ratufri*s*)^c.

Yēzi āad hē nōi*d* dāiti dadhāiti aratufri*s*.

Nāirikām vā aperenāyūkm (read aperenāyūkem
vā) astem dasti,

Havāi rathwē pathayēiti.

Daēvayasnem vā tanuperethem vā astem dasti,

104. If a man come and tie the Baresman of another of the faithful¹,

If the latter be within a hâthra distance, the former is not accepted².

If the latter be not within a hâthra distance³, the former man is accepted if he sing the hymns⁴; if not, he is not accepted.

III. The firewood and implements of Sacrifice.

105. If a man give a charge to a child of a pious family⁵,

And say: 'bring me wood and Baresman;'

If the child bring wood already cut⁶, the worship is accepted.

If the child do not bring wood already cut, the worship is not accepted.

If he give the charge to a woman or to a child,

.

If he give the charge to a Daêva-worshipper, or to a man in a state of sin,

* *Athâ ratus mazdayasnô ahmî mazdayasnô Zarathustris, od, âstûitis nemô vë gâthæu ashaonis urtâ ahmâi.*

^b *Khsvas vaghribis* (cf. § 67, end).

° *Nôid thryâm upamanâm frâkhsashyanâm* (read *fravâkshayanâm*).

¹ A priest has prepared everything for the sacrifice, when another priest comes, possesses himself of the apparatus, and offers up the sacrifice.

² He could easily have asked for the permission of his fellow-priest and had no right to act without it.

³ So that he could not be easily asked for permission.

⁴ If he performs the whole of the ceremony.

⁵ Of a good sacerdotal family. The child serves him as a *ratunaya* (a sacerdotal servant).

⁶ It is not certain that the young *ratunaya* could do it properly.

Paoiryâi dahmanãm pairi-geremyâi pathayêiti ^a.

106. *Kvad* nâ nitema aêsmahê paitibarô ratufris ?
Yatha varesnahê kehrpahê deus.

107. Havanaêibya ratufris ayanghanaêibya zemaênaêibya,

Yêzi anusvau anta.

Nôid astaênaêibya nôid draonibya ratufris nôid
fravâkhsnaêibya ratufris.

Dâityô aênýô havanô adâityô (read dâityô) aêibyô
(read aênýô) ^b.

108. *Kvad*bya kâ nitemaêibya hâvanaêibya araturis
(read ratufris) ?

Yâthra yâstuma (read yâ thrayâstuma) huitm his
hvistô.

Kyâvantô aêtêê (read aêtê) âsavô anghen ?

Bashidraganghô aogê (read aêvô-?) varesô.

Kad hãm thrisa vîbarâd nôid ?

Thrayãm *kvaêid* upabarô ratufris.

Aêtavad âpô yavad aêtaêibyô upangharesteê.

Kva tâêid geus vîêithra paiti-barô (a)ratufris.

Asânaênaêibya (read asânaêibya) nâ havaêibyâka
(read havanaêibyâka) nâ vanghavaêibyaskâ (read nâ
vâ anghavaêibyaskâ);

Atha haomya atha apa (read apa atha varesa)
atha aiwyaunghana ;

(read hava gava) havahê aêsma hava baresmana.

109. *Kvad* aêtaêsãm ahûránê kâêid upa isâd-
yavad hâthrem

Yô aêtaêsãm nôid kâêid upô isâd aêtavad apayaêsa

^a Nôid thrayãm upamanãm fravâkhsyanãm upa-thweresôid.
Athweresaya aêtahê thwãm.

^b Yatha vadhâityô (read va dâityô) hita.

.
106. What is the least load of wood accepted ?
.

107. One may use a mortar of [silver], metal, or earth,

If it let nothing through (?)¹.

One of bone, wood, or lead is not accepted.

Such is the rule for both parts of the mortar ².

108. Of what size at the least must a mortar be to be accepted ?

Large enough for three stems of Haoma to be prepared [therein].

What shall those stems be like ?

As long as a joint of a finger, as thin as a hair.

Shall he put them in at three times or not ?

As long as he puts in three stems ³, he is accepted.

Also water enough to overflow them ⁴.

However little milk he puts in ⁵, he is accepted.

He may use either his own mortar, or one that is not his own ;

And so it is as to the Haoma, the water, the Varesa ⁶, and the tie ⁷ ;

But the milk must be his ⁸, the wood must be his, the Baresman must be his.

109.

¹ 'If it let anything escape, it is good for nothing' (Comm.)

² The mortar proper and the pestle.

³ Whether he puts them all in at once or otherwise.

⁴ For the straining. ⁵ A few drops of gîv are enough.

⁶ Supplied from the Pahlavi translation (itûn vars).

⁷ The vegetable tie that is bound around the Baresman, the so-called Aiiwyaunghana (Evânghin).

⁸ Supplied from the Pahlavi translation (barâ zag-î nafshâ basryâ).

Antare hathremkid aêteê anya upa isôid
Yêzi nôid upôisaiti thri vâ âzâiti ayare drâgô vâ
vâstryâd

Yô upôisôid nôid vanasti

Anaskaiti (read *anâstaraiti*)

Varestaska min aigh ntaskid (read *varestaska*
maghnentaskid) *srâvayôid*. (Tahmuras' Fragments,
 XII, 11.)

Yêzi iska nôid iska nôid anashavanem (read *asha-*
vanem) *aênistem âstâraitî* *. (Tahmuras' Fragments,
 XII, 12.)

* *Vangharetaskid*.

Rathik upasu varezik.

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

VII. SUNDRY FRAGMENTS.

1.

Kithrem buyâd.

Found in a Parsi prayer known as *Kithrem buyâd* from its first two words. It was published by Tîr Andâz in his *Khorda Avesta* (Bombay, p. 374 seq.) and by Sachau in his *Neue Beiträge* (Vienna, 1871, p. 823).

Kithrem buyâd ahmya nmânê

Pitum buyâd ahmya nmânê

Thwãm pitûm buyâd ahmya nmânê.

May welfare appear in this house !

May plenty of food be in this house !

May plenty of food be in thy house !

2.

The first of the following three lines, and sometimes the first two, are found in many of the Pahlavi colophons at the end of Zend manuscripts. The complete formula is found only in the colophon of the old Yasna of Kopenhagen (*K^s*; see Geldner, *Yasna* LXXII, 11; West, *Dînkart*, 484).

Aêvô pantau yô ashahê

Vîspê anyaêshâm apantâm

*Angrahê mainyêus nasistâm daênâm daêvayasna-
nâm parâgtîm mashyânâm frâkereitîm.*

There is only one way of Righteousness¹;

All other ways are no ways :

It is Religion, that destroyer of Angra Mainyu, which tears to pieces the Daêva-worshippers, the men who live in sin.

3.

A formula found in several colophons.

Nôid kahmi zazva yô nôid urunê zazva

Nôid kahmi zazusha [yô nôid urvâni gazush]

Naêkis adha Zarathustra sûs yathâ [hîm] âdare mashyâka².

He has gained nothing who has not gained the soul,

He shall gain nothing who shall not gain the soul³.

There is no good for man to receive of him⁴,
O Zarathustra !

4.

This fragment from the Hâdhôkht Nask is quoted in the Sad-dar (ch. xl) to impress on children the respect due to their parents and masters.

Mâ âzârayôis Zarathustra mâ Pourushaspem mâ
Dughdhôvãm mâ aêthrapaitis.

¹ 'The way of the Pôryôtkêsh' (Paoiryô-âkaêsha; *Arââ Vîrâf*, CI, 15), that is, the pure orthodox religion, as founded by Zarathustra and followed by his first disciples.

² For various readings, see the Guimet Zend-Avesta, III, 150-151.

³ The salvation of his soul, a place in Paradise. The *Mînôkhard* (I, 28-32) quotes the same passage with the following commentary: 'For the spiritual world and the material one are like two fortresses, of which one can clearly take the one, but not the other' (at the same time).

⁴ Of Ahriman. 'There is no profit to expect from the demons nor from the wicked: for if there be profit in the beginning, at the end there will be ruin' (Comm.)

Do not afflict, O Zarathustra! either Pourushaspa¹, or Dughdhava², or thy teachers.

5.

Kathrâyâim âthraiãm (Shâyast lâ-Shâyast XIII, 17).

The manifestation by the fire³.

6.

*Anaomô mananghê kya vîsâi kva parô*⁴?

7.

This is an Avestâ-î mâr zadan (or text to be recited while killing a serpent). 'If one recite it while killing a serpent, one gathers thereby the same merit as if one had killed a heretic' (Gr. Ravâyat, p. 383). The text is too corrupt to allow of any translation, but it contains allusions to Varshna, son of Hanghaurvaungh, son of Gâmâspa, whose Fravashi is invoked in the Frôhars Yast, § 104, to withstand the evil Pairikas, and who, from the present formula, appears to have been a dragon-destroyer.

Varshnahê thwãm anghrô Urushnôis Gâmâspanahê puthrahê puthrem apaitighni amâ yim davata Ashis apathatô paitim âpem dâmnâvyãm nôid hvâzâtô nôid zâniti nôid amau arenau hvâis âteê yaza agithô ânem sâyaêti yvaêka yavaêtâtaêka. Ashem vohû.

¹ His father.

² His mother.

³ The manifestation of the truth by the fire-ordeal.

⁴ A quotation in the *Kîm-î gâsân* 6 (West, Pahlavi Texts, I, 356, with the various readings in note 1).

VIII. AOGEMAIDÊ.

‘THE Aogemaidê,’ says Dastur Jâmâspji, ‘is a treatise that inculcates a sort of serene resignation to death.’ It is a sermon on death, originally written in Pahlavi, but preserved to us in a Parsi transcription; in which original Zend texts are developed or paraphrased. These Zend quotations amount to twenty-nine, of which twenty-four are new. A good edition of the Parsi text, with a Sanskrit translation, based upon a manuscript of A. D. 1497, has been published by Prof. Geiger (Erlangen, 1879). Dastur Jâmâspji possesses two Pahlavi retranscriptions of an independent Parsi manuscript, which contain useful corrections and additions. We have thought it necessary to give here a complete translation of the treatise as the Zend quotations by themselves do not present either a continuous or a complete text. Unlike the Zend in the Nîrangistân, they are not the principal, but only the secondary text.

1. Aogemaidêka usmahika visâmadaêka¹ (‘We come, rejoice, and submit’²).

I come, I accept, I resign³;

2. I come into this world, I accept evil, I resign myself to death⁴;

¹ Yasna XLI, 5. According to Dastur Peshotan, these words were uttered by the first man, Gayô-Maretan, before his coming into the world, as a promise that he would never resort to suicide in order to free himself from pain (Andarze Atrepât, p. 6, note 1). Cf. § 104.

² Direct translation of the Zend text.

³ Parsi translation of the Zend text.

⁴ Parsi gloss to the translation.

3. Shâtô-manzu vahistô-urvânô ('With the mind in joy and the soul in bliss¹')

In joy is he who realises the wish of his soul².

4. May the accursed Ganâ Mainyô³ be smitten, destroyed, and broken, he who has no knowledge, who has evil knowledge, who is full of death,

5. Who destroys the body of the immortal soul!

6. May the immortal soul have its share in Paradise!

7. And may the pleasure and comfort that will dissipate the pain of the immortal soul come to us!

8. At the fourth dawn⁴, may the holy, strong Sraosha⁵, and Rashn Râst⁶, and the good Vaê⁷, and Ashtâd⁸ the victorious, and Mihir⁹ of the rolling country-side, and the Fravashis of the righteous¹⁰, and the other virtuous spirits come to meet the soul of the blessed one,

9. And make the immortal soul pass over the *Kinvad* bridge¹¹ easily, happily, and fearlessly!

10. And may Vahman, the Amshaspad¹², intercede for the soul of the blessed one,

¹ Direct translation of the Zend text.

² A gloss to the Zend text.

³ For Zanâ Mainyô, the same as Ahriman.

⁴ Literally at the third day-break (the day-break, ôshbam, belonging to the preceding day, the following dawn belongs to the fourth day). On the state of the soul during the first three days-and-nights, or sadis, see Yt. XXII, and above, pp. 218-220.

⁵ See above, p. 89, note 1; p. 196, note 3.

⁶ See Yt. XII.

⁷ See Yt. XV, and above, p. 52, note 3. The Good Vaê or Vâi is the Good destiny, that takes the soul to Paradise.

⁸ See Yt. XVIII.

⁹ See Yt. X.

¹⁰ See Yt. XIII.

¹¹ See above, p. 219, note 1.

¹² See above, p. 220, note 1.

11. And introduce it to Auhrmazd and the Amshaspands!

12. Usehistad Vohû-Manô haķa gâtvdô zaranyô-keretô ('Up rises Vohû-Manô from his golden throne¹').

13. He will take the blessed one by the hand,

14. And make him rejoice as much as does the man who rejoices most when on the pinnacle of nobility and glory.

15. And the Fravashis of the righteous will bring to the soul of the blessed those blessed aliments that are made at the time of Maidyô-zarm²:

16. Hvarethanãm hê beretãm zaremayêhê rao-ghnahê ('Let them bring unto him the butter of Maidhyôî-zaremaya³!').

Aliments of waters, wine, sugar, and honey!

17. Yatha vâ erezatô paiti, yatha vâ zaranyô paiti, yatha vâ kâkid gaonanãm ('Of silver, or gold, or any other kind⁴').

The Amshaspand Vahman will give to the soul of the blessed one clothes embroidered with gold and a golden throne;

18. And the demon Ahriman will be powerless to inflict any harm or damage on the soul of the blessed one.

19. Paķa parairistîm daêva drvantô duzdaunghô baodhem avatha frateresenti, yatha maêshi vehrkavaiti vehrkâd haķa frateresaiti ('The wicked evil-

¹ Vd. XIX, 31.

² See Yt. XXII, p. 318, note 1.

³ Yt. XXII, 18.

⁴ This refers to the following details: silver, gold, &c. are the materials of which the throne is made.

doing Daêvas tremble at his perfume after death, as doth a sheep on which a wolf is pouncing¹).

As the sheep, on which the wolf is pouncing, tremble at the odour of the wolf, so these *Druges* tremble at the perfume of the blessed one.

20. For whosoever has been born and whosoever shall be born must act in such a way that, when the moment comes to leave this world, he may have Paradise as his portion and Garôthmân as his reward.

21. There is a passage in which Hôrmazd said to Zarathustra: 'I created, O Spitama Zarathustra! good renown and salvation of the soul;'

22. (That is to say, good renown in this world and salvation of the soul in the next²).

And in case of doubt we must consider as being saved³,

23. Him who, for all we have seen and known, has been a believer in body and soul, and has rejoiced Hôrmazd and afflicted Ahriman,

24. And whoever has had this for his main object, or has been the source of this benefit, that from him should flow prosperity and joy, and from him should flow no harm and no pain.

And there is a passage in which the soul says to the body⁴:

25. *Âad mām tanvô ithyêganguhaiti manya manangha humatem.*

¹ Vd. XIX, 33, and notes 4, 5.

² See above, p. 253, § 4, note 5.

³ *Asho*, 'holy, blessed, saved;' in opposition to *drvant*, 'wicked, damned.'

⁴ Supplied from the Pahlavi transcription.

O thou, my perishable body, think good thoughts with thy mind!

26. *Āad mām tanvô ithyêganguhaiti hizva mrûidhi hûkhtem.*

O thou, my perishable body, speak good words with thy tongue!

27. *Āad mām tanvô ithyêganguhaiti zastaêibya vareza hvarestem shyaothanem.*

O thou, my perishable body, do good deeds with thy hands!

28. *Mâ mām tanvô ithyêganguhaiti angrâi vairê fraspayôis yim khrvantem âithivantem, yim daêvim afraderesavantem frâkerentad angrô mainyus pôuru-mahrkô bunem anghêus temanghahê yad ereghatô daoanghahê.*

O thou, my perishable body, do not throw me down into the Var of Angra Mainyu¹, terrible, dreadful, (frightful), dark, undiscernible (for the darkness there is so dense that it can be grasped with the hand²), which Ganâ Mainyu fabricated at the bottom of the dark world of endless hell.

29. There is a passage in which Hôrmazd says to Zarathustra :

30. I created, O Spitama Zarathustra! the stars, the moon, the sun, and the red burning fire, the dogs, the birds, and the five kinds of animals³; but, better and greater than all, I created the righteous man who has truly received from me the Praise of Asha⁴ in the good Religion.

31. But without any reason men adhere to that

¹ Hell. ² See above, p. 66, note 5. Cf. *Arđâ Vîrâf* XVIII.

³ See *Yt. XIII*, 10 and note.

⁴ The recitation of the *Ashem Vohû*, the epitome of religion.

evil guide, Passion, created by the demons ; so that they do not think of Fate,

32. And by the bent of their nature they forget death.

33. They do not keep in mind the working of Time and the transientness of the body,

34. They ever go wandering about on the way of desire,

35. They are tossed in doubt by evil Passion,

36. They clothe themselves with spite, in the course of strife, for the sake of vanishing goods ;

37. They are intoxicated with pride in their youth,

38. And shall be full of regrets at the end of their time.

39. For if one say : ' On this earth of the seven Karsvares there is somebody going to die,' everybody ought to think : ' Perhaps it is I,'

40. Had he sense enough to know that every creature that has been created and has had existence shall die, and that the unseen, deceiving Astivihâd¹ comes for every one.

41. Hamaskid² parô avanghô isentê mashyâ-kaunghô (' All men wish for supplies').

(Now) when a man sets out on a journey, he takes provisions with him ;

42. If it be for one day's march, he takes provisions for two days ;

43. If it be for two days' march, he takes provisions for three ;

¹ Astivihâd, Asti-vahât, Astô-vidhôtû ; see Vd. V, 8 and note 2.

² From the Pahlavi transcription. The printed edition has ameshakid.

44. If it be for ten days' march, he takes provisions for fifteen ;

45. And he thinks that he will come back in health to his well-beloved friends, parents, and brethren.

46. How then is it that men take no provisions for that unavoidable journey,

47. On which one must go once for all, for all eternity ?

48. *Kim aoshanghau aoshanguhaiti āstem isaiti tanva, kim uruna, kim frazainti, kim vā gaēthāhvō mahrkathem ?*

How is it that a mortal can wish for another mortal the annihilation of his body (that his body should be no more ¹), or of his soul (that his soul should be damned ¹), or death for his children or for his cattle (that his cattle should perish ¹), if he has sense enough to know that he himself is mortal ?

49. *Anāmarezdikō zī asti havāi marezdikāi.*

For he is pitiless to himself (he does not pity himself ¹) and none of the others shall pity him.

50. Blind are all those who, on this earth, do not follow the religion, do not benefit the living, and do not commemorate the dead.

51. *Oiuim tad vā ayare āgasaiti, Spitama Zarathustra ! aēva vā khshapa* ('For there comes a day, O Spitama Zarathustra ! or a night').

There comes a day, O Spitama Zarathustra ! or a night, when the master leaves the cattle, or the cattle leave the master, or the soul leaves that body full of desires ;

52. But his virtue, which is of all existences the

¹ A gloss.

greatest, the best, the finest, never parts from a man.

53. *Ayare âmithnâiti guyê tanus frayaêrê ayân bavaiti hubadhrô hupaitiznâtô*¹, *adha aparê ayân duzâthrem* ('Every day the living man ought to think that in the forenoon he is happy and in credit; in the afternoon disgrace may come').

Every day every living body ought to think (for that may happen any day): in the forenoon I am happy, rich, in credit (that is to say, well treated by the king);

54. And every day other people eagerly wish him evil; that he should be torn away from his palace, that he should have his head cut off and his wealth seized upon. Every day the living body is thrown for food to the birds that fly in the empty sky.

55. This is the way of things on this earth.

56. *Deusdâtayau fraêsta drvantô duzdau nghô* ('It is ignorance that ruins most people, those ill-informed').

It is ignorance² that ruins most people, those ill-informed; both amongst those who have died, and those who shall die.

57. *Âad mraod Ahurô Mazdau frâkerestô Astôvidhôtus zirigau* (read *zivigau*?) *apairiayô* ('Ahura Mazda said: Astôvidhôtus has been created a destroyer of the living and one whom none escape').

Hôrmazd said: Astivihâd has been created for the destruction of mortals (when the mortals see him, they tremble so much that they are unable to

¹ Corrected from *hupaitianâtô* (translated *padîraft*).

² Ignorance of their mortal destiny.

struggle with the Drug) and no one escapes him (as said before)¹.

58. *Yahmad haṭa naêkis bungayâd aoshanguhatām mashyânām* ('From whom not one of mortal men can escape').

From whom not one of mortal men can escape ; no one has escaped to this day, and no one will escape hereafter.

59. *Nôid aêthrapatayô, nôid danhupatayô, nôid sâsevistau, nôid asevistau* ('Neither aêthrapaitis, nor chiefs of countries, neither well-doers, nor evil-doers').

Neither the herbed (the Mobedân Mobed²), nor the chief of the country (the King of kings³), neither well-doers, nor evil-doers.

60. *Nôid usyâstakô, nôid niyâ* ('Neither those who run up, nor those who go down').

Neither those who run up (those who fly in the empty sky), like Kahôs⁴; with all his strength and kindly glory, he could not escape from Astivihâd.

61. Nor those who go down deep (who hide themselves under the earth), like Afrâsyâb the Turk, who made himself an iron palace under the earth, a thousand times the height of a man, with a hundred columns⁵;

62. In that palace he made the stars, the moon, and the sun go round, making the light of day.

63. In that palace he did everything at his pleasure,

64. And he lived the happiest life.

¹ Cf. § 40.

² The chief of the religion, the high-priest.

³ The Shâhanshâh.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 262, note 7.

⁵ See Yt. V, 41 and notes 1, 2.

65. With all his strength and witchcraft, he could not escape from Astivihâd.

66. Naêdha frakanem an^{hau} zemô yad pathanayau skarenayau dûraêpârayau.

Nor he who dug this wide, round earth, with extremities that lie afar, like Dahâk,

67. Who went from the East to the West, searching for immortality and did not find it.

68. With all his strength and power, he could not escape from Astivihâd.

69. Anyê anghêus frashô-karethrau ('Except the producers of the world of resurrection¹').

Thus until the author of the resurrection, Saoshyôs²: until Saoshyôs comes, no one shall escape from Astivihâd.

70. To every one comes the unseen, deceiving Astivihâd,

71. Who accepts neither compliments, nor bribe,

72. Who is no respecter of persons,

73. And ruthlessly makes men perish.

74. And this glorious One³ must go the way he never went,

75. See what he never saw,

76. And discuss with him whom no one can deceive or mislead.

77. Pairithwô bavaiti pantau yim dânus pâiti fra bunâd takintis; hau did aêvô apairithwô, yô vayaos anamarezdikahê:—

The way may be traversed which is barred by

¹ No others will escape death.

² Thus shall it be till the days of Saoshyôs (Saoshyant; Vd. XIX, 5, note 4).

³ This King, this man of power.

a river springing from the deep; but one way cannot be traversed, namely, the way of the pitiless Vayu¹.

78. Pairithwô bavaiti *pantau* yim azis pâiti gau-stavau, aspanghâdhô, vîranghâdhô, vîraga, anamarezdikô; hau did' aêvô apairithwô, yô vyaos anamarezdikahê:—

The way may be traversed which is barred by a serpent as big as an ox, horse-devouring, man-devouring, man-killing, and pitiless; but one way cannot be traversed, namely, the way of the pitiless Vayu.

79. Pairithwô bavaiti *pantau* yim areshô pâiti akhshaênô anamarezdikô; hau did' aêvô apairithwô, yô vyaos anamarezdikahê:—

The way may be traversed which is barred by a brown bear, [with a white forehead, man-killing, and] pitiless; but one way cannot be traversed, namely, the way of the pitiless Vayu.

80. Pairithwô bavaiti *pantau* yim mashyô gadhô pâiti aêvôganô anamarezdikô; hau did' aêvô apairithwô, yô vyaos anamarezdikahê:—The way may be traversed which is defended by a highwayman who kills at one stroke, (who stops the way and lets no one pass alive); but one way cannot be traversed, namely, the way of the pitiless Vayu.

81. Pairithwô bavaiti *pantau* yô haênayau kakhra-vaityau vyâzdayau; hau did' aêvô apairithwô, yô vyaos anamarezdikahê:—

The way may be traversed which is held by a horde armed with discs, and uplifted spears (that is, carrying spears to pierce men); but one way

¹ The way of Destiny.

cannot be traversed, namely, the way of the pitiless Vayu.

81 bis. *Âad mraod Ahurô Mazdau : duskhratûm apairi gaêthâm athrâvayad gâthâm*¹.

82. *Yatha drvau gaom isti, uta drvau aspem isti, uta drvau maêshinem yavanghem isti :—*

The wicked acquire cattle, the wicked acquire horses, the wicked acquire sheep and corn ; but the wicked tyrant does not acquire a store of good deeds.

83. Seek ye for a store of good deeds, O Zarathustra, men and women ! for a store of good deeds is full of salvation, O Zarathustra !

84. *Pâsnus gavô, pâsnus aspa, pâsnus erezatem zaranim, pâsnus narô kiryô takhmô :—*

(For) the ox turns to dust, the horse turns to dust, silver and gold turn to dust, the valiant strong man turns to dust ; [the bodies of all men mingle with the dust. What do not mingle with the dust are the Ashem-vohû which a man recites in this world and his almsgiving to the holy and righteous]².

85. For if there were or could be any escape from death, the first of the world, Gayômar, king of the Mountain³, [would have escaped],

¹ This incomplete quotation is found only in the Pahlavi transcription, with a corrupt paraphrase as follows :—‘ Hormazd said, “ The man without intelligence (that is, with a bad intelligence) . . . who has not sung the Gâthas (that is, who has not performed the sacrifice ; cf. Nirang. § 41) has no good renown on this earth nor bliss in heaven (cf. §§ 21, 22) . . . ’

² Cf. *Arđâ Vîrâf* CI, 20.

³ Gar-shâh, king of Mount Damâvand (Albîrûnî, Chronology, p. 28), or Gibâl, the mountainous part of Media. Later chronicles corrupted Gar-shâh into Gil-shâh, king of clay, which was interpreted as king of the earth.

86. Who for three thousand years kept the world free from death and old age, from hunger, thirst, and evil¹;

87. Yet, when death came over him, he delivered up his body and could not struggle with death.

88. Or there was Hôshang, the Pêshdâdian,

89. Who destroyed two-thirds of all the evil creatures of Ahriman²;

90. Yet, when death came over him, he delivered up his body and could not struggle with death.

91. Or there was Tahmûraf, the well-armed, the son of Vîvanghat,

92. Who made the Demon of demons, Ganâ Mainyô, his steed³, and extorted from him the seven kinds of writing⁴;

93. Yet, when death came over him, he delivered up his body and could not struggle with death.

94. Or there was Gim, the Shêd, the good shepherd, the son of Vîvanghat; (he was Shêd, that is to say, shining; he was a good shepherd, that is to say,

¹ Bundahis XXXIV, 1, 2.

² See Yt. V, 22, 23.

³ See Yt. XV, 11-13. In the Sanskrit translation this is interpreted as an allegory: 'Tahmûraf rode on Ahriman; that means that he subdued the bad Ahriman in himself.' Cf. Mirkhond, in the History of the Early Kings of Persia, tr. by Shea, p. 98.

⁴ According to Firdausi, Tahmuras obliged the Dêvs he had conquered to teach him some thirty kinds of writing, the Rûmî, the Tâzî, the Pârsî, the Sogdhî, the Chinese, the Pahlavi, &c. According to the Mînôkhard (XXVII, 23) he brought to light the seven kinds of writing that the demon kept hidden. Hence is derived the legend in Albîrûnî, p. 28, that when Tahmuras was warned about the Deluge, 'he ordered all scientific books to be preserved for posterity, and to be buried in the least exposed place;' in favour of which report, Albîrûnî mentions the discovery of many loads of unintelligible bark-manuscripts in buildings under ground, at Ispahan, in his own time.

he kept in good condition troops of mên and herds of animals)¹;

95. Who, for 616 years, 6 months and 13 days², kept this world free from death and old age, and kept away greed and need from the creation of Hôrmazd;

96. Yet, when death came over him, he delivered up his body and could not struggle with death.

97. Or there was Dahâk³, he of the evil religion, who kept the world under his tyranny during a thousand years, less one day,

98. And introduced into the world many ways of witchcraft and evil-doing;

99. Yet, when death came over him, he delivered up his body and could not struggle with death.

100. Or there was Frêdûn, the Âthwyan,

101. Who smote and bound Azi Dahâk, that great evil-doer⁴; he put in chains the Dêvs of Mâzandarân⁵, and introduced into the world a number of talismans⁶;

102. Yet, when death came over him, he delivered up his body and could not struggle with death.

103. I am grateful to the Lord Hôrmazd.

104. I think thus in a grateful spirit: the beast of burden does not throw off its burden: fate has come, it cannot be thrown away.

¹ See above, p. 11, note 2. On Gim or Yima, see Farg. II, and Yt. V, 25, 26; XV, 15-17.

² The Pahlavi transcription and Mfnôkhard XXVII, 25, have sixteen days.

³ Azi Dahâka, see Yt. V, 29-31; XV, 19-21.

⁴ See Yt. V, 33-35.

⁵ See above, p. 9, note 4; p. 141, note 1.

⁶ See above, p. 246.

105. May the blessed one have Paradise as his portion!

106. As to the righteous man who has come to this banquet¹, who has shared this banquet, may he for each step² get nearer to the bright Paradise, the all-happy Garôthmân, by twelve hundred steps!

107. When he is approaching it, may his merits increase!

108. When he is leaving it, may his sin be uprooted!

109. May righteousness and goodness prevail³!

110. May his soul enter the Garôthmân!

111. I am one of the righteous⁴.

Atha *gamyâd*:—May it happen according to this wish of mine⁵!

Humatanãm⁶. All the good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, done or to be done, here or elsewhere, we seize upon and we transmit them⁷, that we may be in the number of the righteous.

¹ To this myazd, or religious banquet. The following formulas are those found at the end of the Âfrin Gâhânbar.

² For each of his steps to this banquet.

³ May the good prevail over the evil in his account, so that he may be saved (see above, p. 270).

⁴ Ashô; I am one of the blessed, I am saved.

⁵ Yasna LXVIII, 19.

⁶ Yasna LXVIII, 20 (XXXV, 2).

⁷ We teach them; the good deeds of our disciples are accounted ours (Dînkart IX, 57, 1).

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zand.	Pahlavi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	. . . . .	. . . . .	क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k
2 " aspirata	kh	. . . . .	. . . . .	ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh
3 Media	g	. . . . .	. . . . .	ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	
4 " aspirata	gh	. . . . .	. . . . .	घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . . . .	. . . . .	ङ	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	. . . . .	. . . . .	𑖀	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . . . .	. . . . .	ह	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	h, hs
8 " lenis . . . . .	,	. . . . .	. . . . .	𑖁	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	
9 " asper faucalis	ʰh	. . . . .	. . . . .	𑖂	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	
10 " lenis faucalis	ʰh	. . . . .	. . . . .	𑖃	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	
11 " asper fricatus . . . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	𑖄	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	
12 " lenis fricatus . . . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	𑖅	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	k	. . . . .	. . . . .	𑖆	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	k
14 " aspirata	kh	. . . . .	. . . . .	𑖇	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	kh
15 Media	g	. . . . .	. . . . .	𑖈	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	
16 " aspirata	gh	. . . . .	. . . . .	𑖉	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤	
17 " Nasalis	ḡ	. . . . .	. . . . .	𑖊	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	

CONSONANTS (pronounced).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zand.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .	. . .	य	𐬶 ^{init.} 𐬶𐬵 𐬶𐬶	𐬶	𐬶	ي	י	𐬶
19 Spiritus asper . . . . .	. . .	(y)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 " lenis . . . . .	. . .	(y)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 " asper assibilatus . . . . .	. . .	s	. . .	श	𐬶𐬶	𐬶𐬶	𐬶𐬶	ش	ש	𐬶𐬶
22 " lenis assibilatus . . . . .	. . .	s	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	𐬶𐬶
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	. . .	. . .	त	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	ت	ת	𐬵
24 " aspirata	th	. . .	. . .	थ	𐬵𐬶	𐬵𐬶	𐬵𐬶	ت𐬶	ת𐬶	𐬵𐬶
25 " assibilata . . . . .	. . .	. . .	TH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
26 Media	d	. . .	. . .	द	𐬵𐬶	𐬵𐬶	𐬵𐬶	د	ד	𐬵𐬶
27 " aspirata	dh	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
28 " assibilata . . . . .	. . .	. . .	DH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. . .	. . .	न	𐬶	𐬶	𐬶	ن	נ	𐬶
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .	. . .	ल	𐬶𐬶	𐬶𐬶	𐬶𐬶	ل	ל	𐬶𐬶
31 " mollis 1 . . . . .	. . .	l	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
32 " mollis 2 . . . . .	. . .	. . .	L	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .	. . .	स	𐬶	𐬶	𐬶	س	ס	𐬶
34 " asper 2 . . . . .	. . .	. . .	s (S)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
35 " lenis	z	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
36 " asperimus 1 . . . . .	. . .	. . .	z (z)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
37 " asperimus 2 . . . . .	. . .	. . .	z (z)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	𐬶𐬶

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)		f	th	d	dh	n	r	sh	zh	p	ph	m	w	f	
38 Tenuis
39 " aspirata
40 Media
41 " aspirata
42 Nasalis
43 Semivocalis
44 " fricata
45 " diacritica
46 Spiritus asper
47 " lenis
Labiales.															
48 Tenuis
49 " aspirata
50 Media
51 " aspirata
52 Tenuissima
53 Nasalis
54 Semivocalis
55 " aspirata
56 Spiritus asper
57 " lenis
58 Anusvāra
59 Visarga

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.		III Class.							
	II Class.									
1 Neutralis	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ō	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 " longa	ā	(a)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	k	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	ḱ	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	rī	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū	(u)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	ē (ai)	(e)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " "	ei (ēi)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " "	oi (ōu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " "	eu (ēu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " "	ou (ōu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä
25 Palatalis fracta	ī
26 Labialis fracta	ū
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö

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F. MAX MÜLLER.

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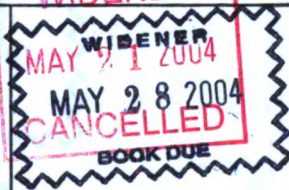


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PAHLAVI TEXTS

TRANSLATED BY

E. W. WEST

PART I

THE BUNDAHIS, BAHMAN YAST, AND
SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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INTRODUCTION

TO

PAHLAVI TEXTS.

I. THE PARSI SCRIPTURES.

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

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

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

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

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

2. THE PAHLAVI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

The term 'Pahlavi,' in its widest extent, is applied to all the varying forms of the mediæval Persian language, from the time when the grammatical inflexions of ancient Persian were dropped, till the period when the modern alphabet was invented, and the language became corrupted into modern Persian by the adoption of numerous Arabic words and phrases. Some traces of Pahlavi words and phrases, written in old Semitic characters, have been found in the legends of coins struck by certain kings of Persian provinces, subordinate to the Greek successors of Alexander, as early as the third century B. C.¹ Further traces have been discovered in the legends on some provincial coins of the time of the Arsacidan dynasty. But, practically, our acquaintance with Pahlavi commences with the inscriptions, on rocks and coins, of Arđakhshîr-i Pâpakân (A.D. 226-240), the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, and ends with certain religious

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

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

With regard to the origin of the word Pahlavî, or language of Pahlav, many suggestions have been offered; but the most probable explanation¹ is that which connects it with the Parthva of the cuneiform inscriptions, the land of the Parthians known to the Greeks and Romans, and of the Pahlavâs mentioned by Sanskrit writers; the change of Parthva into Pahlav being very similar to that of Av. Mithra into Pers. Mihr. No doubt the language of the Parthians themselves was not Pahlavi, but they were the actual rulers of Persia for some centuries at the time when the Pahlavi language was forming there; and, being formidable to their neighbours, it is not surprising that their name became identified with everything Persian, in the same way as the Roman name has been applied by the Persians, not only to the later Greek empire of Constantinople, but even to the earlier conqueror, Alexander the Great.

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

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

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

¹ See Haug's Essay on the Pahlavi Language, Stuttgart, 1870; pp. 33-37.

But, whereas the Semitic Assyrians adopted a Turanian syllabary, these later Aryan Persians accepted a Semitic alphabet. Besides the alphabet, however, which they could use for spelling their own words, they also transferred a certain number of complete Semitic words to their writings, as representatives of the corresponding words in their own language. These Semitic representatives (the number of which might at any time be increased or diminished at the discretion of the writer) were probably never very numerous, and not more than four hundred of them are to be found in the Pahlavi writings now extant ; but, as they represent nearly all the commonest words in the language (excepting those specially relating to religious matters), they often constitute more than half the bulk of a Pahlavi text.

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

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

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

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

Many attempts have been made to explain the word Huzvâris, but it cannot be said that any satisfactory etymology has yet been proposed. Like the word Pahlavi it seems hardly to occur in any old Pahlavi text, but only in colophons, chapter-headings, and similar notes of modern writers ; it seems, therefore, more reasonable to trace it to modern Persian than direct to any more ancient source. Its Pahlavi form, hûzvâris or âûzvârisn, appears to represent the modern Persian uzvâris, which is rarely used ; the usual Persian form of the word being zuvâris. Now zuvâris is precisely the form of an abstract noun derived from the crude form of a verb zuvâridan, which has been admitted into some Persian dictionaries on the authority of Golius¹,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

𐬀 a, â, h, kh. 𐬁 b. 𐬂 p, f. 𐬃 t, d. 𐬄 k, g, z, v. 𐬅 r, l. 𐬆 z. 𐬇 s, yî, yad, yag, yag, dî, dad, dag, dag, gî, gad, gag, gag, gî, gad, gag, gag. 𐬈 sh, s, yâ, yah, yakh, îh, îkh,

dâ, dah, dakh, gâ, gah, gakh, gâ, gah, gakh. 𐭩 gh. 𐭪 k.
𐭫 m. 𐭬 n, v, w, û, ô, r, l. 𐭭 y, î, ê, d, g, g.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

tions already mentioned as having been engraved on rocks, and impressed on coins, by the earlier kings of the Sasanian dynasty in Persia. The earliest of these rock inscriptions records the name and titles of Artakhshatar son¹ of Pâpak, the first Sasanian monarch (A. D. 226-240); it is engraved in Greek and two kinds of old Pahlavi characters, which have been called Chaldæo-Pahlavi and Sasanian-Pahlavi, because the one bears more resemblance to Chaldee, both in its letters and the language they express, and the other is more frequently used by the subsequent Sasanian monarchs. A similar tri-lingual inscription records the names and titles of his son and successor Shahpûhar I (A. D. 240-271), who has also left a long bi-lingual inscription, in Chaldæo and Sasanian-Pahlavi, in a cave near Persepolis. Another long bi-lingual inscription, fragments of which have been found on stones among the ruins of Pâi Kûlî, is attributed to his early successors, who have also left us several uni-lingual inscriptions in Sasanian-Pahlavi, two of which are of great length, but none later than the end of the fourth century.

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

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

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

1. a, â. 2. b. 3. p, f. 4. t, d. 5. k, g, ʒ. 6. kh, h. 7. d. 8. r, v, w, û, ô. 9. z. 10. s. 11. sh, ʃ. 12. k. 13. g. 14. l, r. 15. m. 16. n. 17. y, î, ê. 18. doubtful, being equivalent to Chaldee 𐭠𐭡 and to Pahl. MS. -man¹.

Comparing this list of sounds with that of the sounds of the manuscript alphabet (pp. xvi, xvii) it is evident that the inscriptions must afford a means of distinguishing â from kh, s from any binary compound of y, d, g, or g, sh from any compound of y, d, g, or g with â, h, or kh, n from v, r, or l, and y, d, g from each other; all which letters and compounds are left in doubt by the manuscript alphabet. Unfortunately we do not possess trustworthy copies of some of the inscriptions which are evidently the most important from a linguistic point of view²; but such copies as have been obtained supply corrections of traditional misreadings of about twenty-five Huzvâris logograms, and at the same time they confirm the correctness of three traditional readings which have been called in question by most European scholars. So far, therefore, the inscriptions would teach the Parsis that the decisions of comparative philologists are not likely to be right more than seven times out of eight, even when they are tolerably unanimous.

The Chaldæo-Pahlavi character appears to have soon

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. THE BUNDAHIS.

The term Bundahis, 'creation of the beginning,' or 'original creation,' is applied by the Parsis to a Pahlavi work¹ which, in its present state, appears to be a collection of fragments relating to the cosmogony, mythology, and legendary history taught by Mazdayasnian tradition, but which cannot be considered, in any way, a complete treatise on these subjects. This term is applicable enough to much of the earlier part of the work, which treats of the progressive development of creation under good and evil influences; but it is probably not the original name of the book. Its adoption was no doubt partly owing to the occurrence of the word bûn-dahisn, or bûn-dahisnîh, twice in the first sentence, and partly to its appropriateness to the subject. But the same sentence seems to inform

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

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

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

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

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

As the work now stands it is evidently of a fragmentary character, bearing unmistakable marks both of omissions and dislocations; and the extant manuscripts, as will be seen, differ among themselves both as to the extent and arrangement of the text. Many passages have the appearance of being translations from an Avesta original, and it is very probable that we have in the *Bundahis* either a translation, or an epitome, of the *Dâmdâd Nask*, one of the twenty-one books into which the whole of the Zoroastrian scriptures are said to have been divided before the time of Darius. This may be guessed from a comparison of the contents of the *Bundahis* with those of the *Dâmdâd Nask*, which are detailed in the *Dîni-vagarkard* as follows¹:—‘It contained an explanation of the spiritual existence and heaven, good and evil, the material existence of this world, the sky and the earth, and everything which *Aûharmazd* produced in water, fire, and vegetation, men and quadrupeds, reptiles and birds, and everything which is produced from the waters, and the characteristics of all things. Secondly, the production of the resurrection and future existence; the concourse and separation at the *Kinvad* bridge; on the reward of the meritorious and the punishment of sinners in the future existence, and such-like explanations.’ Moreover, the *Dâmdâd Nask* is twice quoted as an authority in the *Selections of Zâdsparam* (IX, 1, 16), when treating of animals, in nearly the same words as those used in the *Bundahis*.

The first manuscript of the *Bundahis* seen in Europe was brought from Surat by Anquetil Duperron in 1761, and he published a French translation of it in his great work on the *Zend-Avesta* in 1771². This manuscript,

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

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

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

In 1820 the very old codex from which Anquetil's MS. had been copied was brought to Europe, from Bombay, by the Danish scholar Rask, and was subsequently deposited in the University Library at Kopenhagen. This most important codex, which will be more particularly described under the appellation of K20, appears to have been written during the latter half of the fourteenth century; and a facsimile of the Pahlavi text of the Bundahis, which it contains, was very carefully traced from it, lithographed, and published by Westergaard in 1851¹.

In a review of this lithographed edition of the Pahlavi text, published in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* in 1854², Haug gave a German translation of the first three chapters of the Bundahis. And Spiegel, in his *Traditional Literature of the Parsis*³, published in 1860 a German translation of many passages in the Bundahis, together with a transcript of the Pahlavi text of Chaps. I, II, III, and XXX in Hebrew characters. But the complete German translation of the Bundahis by Windischmann, with his commentary on its contents, published in his *Zoroastrian Studies*⁴ in 1863, was probably the most important step in advance since the time of Anquetil, and the utmost

¹ *Bundehesh, Liber Pehlivicus. E vetustissimo codice Havniensi descriptis, duas inscriptiones regis Saporis Primi adjecit, N. L. Westergaard; Havniæ, 1851.*

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

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

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

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

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

A second complete German translation of the Bundahis, with a lithographed copy of the Pahlavi text, a transliteration of the text in modern Persian characters, and a glossary of all the words it contains, was published by Justi in 1868¹. Its author, having had access to other MSS. (descended from M6) at London and Oxford, was able to rectify many of the deficiencies in Windischmann's translation; but, otherwise, he made but little progress in elucidating difficult passages.

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

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

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

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

With regard to the original text, we have to recover it from four manuscripts which are, more or less, independent authorities, and may be styled K2o, K2ob, M6, and TD. The first three of these have evidently descended, either directly or through one or more intermediate copies, from the same original; but the source of TD, so far as it can be ascertained, seems to have been far removed from that of the others. All the other MSS. of the Bundahis, which have been examined, whether Pahlavi or Pâzand, are descended either from K2o or M6, and are, therefore, of no independent authority.

K2o is the very old codex already mentioned as having been brought from Bombay by Rask in 1820, and is now No. 20 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Copenhagen. It consists now of 173 folios of very old and much-worn Indian paper of large octavo size, but five other folios are certainly missing, besides an uncertain number lost from the end of the volume. This MS. contains twenty Pahlavi texts, written twenty lines to the page, and some of them accompanied by Avesta; the Bundahis is the ninth of these texts, and occupies fols. 88-129, of which fol. 121 is missing. Three of the texts, occurring before the Bundahis, have dated colophons, but the dates are A.Y. 690, 720, and 700, all within 36 folios; it is, therefore, evident that these dates have been copied from older MSS.; but at the same time the appearance of the paper indicates that the actual date of the MS. cannot be much later than A.Y. 720 (A.D. 1351), and there are reasons for believing that it was written several years before A.Y. 766 (A.D. 1397), as will be explained in the description of M6. Owing to its age and comparative completeness this MS. of the Bundahis is certainly the most important one extant, although comparison with other MSS. proves that its writer was rather careless, and frequently omitted words and phrases. The

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

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

K20 b consists of nineteen loose folios¹, found by Westergaard among some miscellaneous fragments in the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Kopenhagen, and now forming No. 20b in that collection. The first two folios are lost, but the third folio commences with the Pahlavi equivalent of the words 'knew that Aharman exists' (Bund. Chap. I, 8), and the text continues to the end of Chap. XI, 1, where it leaps at once (in the middle of a line on the fifteenth folio) to Chap. XXX, 15, 'one brother who is righteous,' whence the text continues to the end of Chap. XXXI, 15, which is followed by Chaps. XXXII, XXXIV, as in K20. This

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

MS. is not very old, and contains merely a fragment of the text; but its value consists in its not being a descendant of either K20 or M6, as it clearly represents a third line of descent from their common original. It agrees with K20 in the general arrangement of its chapters, so far as they go, and also in containing Chap. XXXI; but it differs from it in some of the details of that chapter, and agrees with M6 in some verbal peculiarities elsewhere; it has not, however, been collated in any other chapter. The omission of nearly twenty chapters, in the centre of the work, indicates that some one of the MSS. from which it is descended, had lost many of its central folios before it was copied, and that the copyist did not notice the deficiency; such unnoticed omissions frequently occur in Pahlavi manuscripts.

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

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

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

There are also several Pâzand manuscripts of the Bun-

dahis, written in Avesta characters, and likewise derived from M6. One of the best of these is No. 22 of the collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the India Office Library at London; it is old, and has the date A.Y. 936 (A.D. 1567) in a Pahlavi colophon on fol. 111, but this may have been copied from an older MS.; its contents are arranged as follows:—Chaps. XVIII–XXIII, I–XIV, XXIV–XXVII, XXX, XXXII, XXXIV, followed by several short Pāzand texts, only part of which are derived from M6, and the last of them being left incomplete by the loss of the folios which originally formed the end of the volume; instead of these lost folios others, containing Chaps. XV–XVII, have been added and bound up with the rest. Another MS., No. 7 in the same collection, which is dated A.Y. 1174 (A.D. 1805), is a modern copy derived from No. 22 through one or more intervening MSS.¹; it contains precisely the same text, but with many variations in orthography, indicative of the very uncertain character of Pāzand spelling. Two fragments of the Pāzand text are also contained in the MSS. No. 121 at Oxford, already mentioned; they consist of Chaps. V, 3–7 (to ‘would have known the secret’) and XXV, 18–22. Another fragment, evidently copied from an old MS., is found on fols. 34, 35 of the Rivāyat MS. No. 8 of the collection in the India Office Library; it consists of Chap. XVIII, 1–8.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

is undated, but gives the testimony of Dastûr Rûstâm¹ Gûstâsp Ardâshîr, who is known to have written another MS. dated A.Y. 1068 (A.D. 1699). The second colophon is by Dastûr Jamshêd Jâmâsp Hakîm, and is dated A.Y. 1113 (A.D. 1743), which was probably the date when this last folio was supplied to complete the old defective MS.

With regard to the age of the older part of this MS. we can arrive at an approximation in the following manner :— A valuable MS. of the *Dâdîstân-i Dînîk*, which also belongs to Tehmuras Dinshawji, was written (according to a colophon which it contains) by Gôpatshah Rûstôm² Bândâr Malkâ-mardân in the land of Kirmân, who was evidently the same person as the writer of TD. Another MS. of the *Dâdîstân-i Dînîk* was written by Marzapân Frêdûn Vâhrôm Rûstâm Bôndâr Malkâ-mardân Dîn-ayâr, also in the land of Kirmân, in A.Y. 941 (A.D. 1572). Comparing these two genealogies together it seems evident that Gôpatshah was a brother of Vâhrôm, the grandfather of Marzapân, and, therefore, a grand-uncle of Marzapân himself. Allowing for these two generations, it is probable that Gôpatshah wrote TD about A.Y. 900 (say A.D. 1530); although instances have occurred in which a son has written a MS. at an earlier date than that of one written by his father.

The introductory sentences on the first restored folio are evidently a modern addition to the text, after it had acquired the name of Bundahis; but they seem to have been copied from some other MS., as the copyist appears to have hardly understood them, having written them continuously with the beginning of the text, without break or stop. The spelling is modern, but that may be due to the copyist; and the language is difficult, but may be translated as follows³:—

‘The propitiation of the creator Aûharmazd, the radiant,

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

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

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

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

‘Written at the second fortunate conjunction (akhtar) in the high-priestship (dastûrih) of the God-devoted, all-sagacious cultivator of righteousness, the lover of good works who is God-discerning, spirit-surveying, *and* approved by the good, the high-priest of the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, the glorified¹ Spendyâd son of Mâh-vindâd, son of Rûstôm, son of Shatrôyâr.

‘The writing² of the Bûdahis *was* set going by the coming of the Arabs to the country of Iran, whose heterodoxy (dûs-dînih) and ignorance have arisen from not understanding the mysteries of Kayân³ orthodoxy (hû-dînôîh) and of those revered by the upholders of the religion. From their deep seats it draws the purport of benedictions, *and* from dubious thinking of actions *it draws* words of true meaning, the disclosure of which is entertaining knowledge.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7. The third conflict the earth waged ; 1 page ; see Chap. VIII.

8. The fourth conflict the plants waged ; $\frac{1}{2}$ page ; see Chap. IX.

9. The fifth conflict the primeval ox waged ; $\frac{1}{2}$ page ; see Chap. X.

*10. The sixth conflict *Gâyômar*d waged ; $1\frac{1}{2}$ page.

*11. The seventh conflict the fire waged ; $\frac{1}{2}$ page.

*12. The eighth conflict the constellations waged ; $\frac{1}{2}$ page.

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

*14. Tenth, the stars practised non-intermeddling (agû-mêgîsn) ; $\frac{1}{2}$ page.

*15. On the species of those creations ; $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

16. On the nature of lands ; $1\frac{1}{2}$ page ; see Chap. XI.

17. On the nature of mountains ; $4\frac{1}{2}$ pages ; see Chap. XII.

18. On the nature of seas ; $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages ; see Chap. XIII.

19. On the nature of rivers ; $5\frac{1}{2}$ pages ; see Chaps. XX, XXI.

20. On the nature of lakes ; $1\frac{1}{2}$ page ; see Chap. XXII.

21. On the nature of the five classes of animals ; $5\frac{1}{2}$ pages ; see Chap. XIV.

22. On the nature of men ; $7\frac{1}{2}$ pages ; see Chap. XV¹.

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

24. On the nature of plants ; $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages ; see Chap. XXVII.

25. On the chieftainship of men and animals *and* every single thing ; $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages ; see Chap. XXIV.

26. On the nature of fire ; $4\frac{3}{4}$ pages ; see Chap. XVII.

*27. On the nature of sleep ; $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

*28. On the nature of wind and cloud and rain ; $9\frac{3}{4}$ pages.

*29. On the nature of noxious creatures ; $4\frac{1}{2}$ pages².

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

31. On things of every kind that are created by the spirits³, and the opposition which came upon them ; $7\frac{3}{4}$ pages ; see Chaps. XVIII, XIX.

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

*33. On the great exploits of the celestial angels ; $17\frac{1}{2}$ pages.

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

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

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

³ This word is doubtful.

*35. On the body of man *and* the opinion of the world¹; 7 pages.

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

*37. On the *Kinvad* bridge *and* the souls of the departed; 5½ pages.

*38. On the celebrated provinces of the country of Iran, the residence of the Kayâns; 5 pages².

*39. On the calamities of various millenniums happening to the country of Iran; 8½ pages³.

40. On the resurrection and future existence; 6½ pages; see Chap. XXX.

41. On the race and offspring of the Kayâns; 8½ pages, as in Chaps. XXXI-XXXIII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Whether TD may be considered as a copy of the text as it stood originally, or merely of an after recension of the work, can hardly be determined with certainty until the whole contents of the manuscript have been carefully examined ; it is, therefore, to be hoped that its owner will be induced to publish a lithographed facsimile of the whole, after the manner of Westergaard's edition. So far as appears in the lengthy and valuable extracts, with which he has kindly favoured me, no decided difference of style can be detected between the additional matter and the text hitherto known, nor any inconsistencies more striking than such as sometimes occur in the Indian MSS. On the other hand, it will be noticed that heading No. 25 in the list of contents seems to be misplaced, which is an argument against the text being in its original state ; and the style of the Bundahis is so much less involved and obscure than that of the Selections of *Zâd-spâram* (see Appendix to the Bundahis), which treat of some of the same subjects, that it may be fairly suspected of having been written originally in a different age. But the writer of the text, as it appears in TD, calls *Zâd-spâram*¹ one of his contemporaries (see Chap. XXXIII, 10, 11 of the translation) ; it may, therefore, be suspected that he merely re-edited an old text with some additions of his own, which, however, are rather difficult to distinguish from the rest. No stress can be laid upon peculiarities of orthography in TD, as they are, in all likelihood, attributable to copyists long subsequent to *Zâd-spâram*'s contemporaries.

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

¹ He writes the name *Zâd-sparham*.

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

Since the present translation was printed, any lingering doubts, as to the genuineness of the text in TD, have been, in a great measure, dissipated by the discovery that a small fragment¹ of an old MS. of the Bundahis, which has long been in Europe, is evidently a portion of a text of similar character to TD, and of exactly the same extent. This small fragment consists of two folios belonging to an old MS. brought from Persia by the late Professor Westergaard in 1843-44, and which is evidently the codex mentioned by him in the preface to his *Zend-Avesta*, p. 8, note 3. These two folios, which are numbered 130 and 131 in Persian words, now form the commencement of this old mutilated MS., of which the first 129 folios have been lost. They contain very little more than one page of the Bundahis text, namely, the last sentences of the last chapter (corresponding to Bund. XXXIV, 7-9), followed by a colophon occupying less than two pages. This fragment of the text contains some additional details not found in the Indian MSS., as well as a few other variations of no great importance. It may be translated as follows:—

‘[. . . Sâhm² was in those *reigns* of Aûzôbô, Kavâd, and Mânûskihar.] Kaî-Kâyûs, till *his* going to the sky, seventy-five years, and after that, seventy-five years, altogether a hundred and fifty years; Kaî-Khûsrôbô sixty

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

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

years; Kai-Lôharâsp a hundred and twenty years; Kai-Vistâsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years; [total (mar) one thousand years¹. Then the millennium reign came to Capricornus, and Zaratûhast² the Spitâmân, with tidings (pêt khambarîh) from the creator Aûharmazd, came to King Vistâsp; and Vistâsp was king,] after receiving the religion, ninety years.

‘Vohûman, son of Spend-dâd, a hundred and twelve years; Hûmâi, daughter of Vohûman, thirty years; Dârâi, son of Kîhar-âzâd, that is, of the daughter of Vohûman, twelve years; Dârâi, son of Dârâi, fourteen years; and Alexander the Rûman³ fourteen years.

‘The Askânians should bear the title in an uninterrupted sovereignty two hundred and so many⁴ years; and Artakhshatar, son of Pâpak, and the number of the Sâsânians bear it four hundred and sixty years, until the withering Arabs obtained a place⁵ [as far as the year 447 of the Persians; now it is the Persian year 527]⁶.

The colophon, which follows, states that the MS. was finished on the thirteenth day of the ninth month A.Y. 936 (A.D. 1567), and was written by Mitrô-âpân, son of Anôshak-rûbân, son of Rûstâm. This MS. is, therefore, of nearly the same age as TD; but there has been no opportunity of collating the fragment of it, which is still extant, with the corresponding portion of TD. That it was a MS. of the same character as TD (that is, one containing the same text as K20, but with much additional matter) appears clearly

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

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

³ Here written correctly Alaksandar-i Arûmâi.

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

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

⁶ The last date is doubtful, as the Pahlavi text gives the ciphers only for ‘five and twenty-seven,’ omitting that for ‘hundred.’ These Persian dates must either have been added by some former copyist, or Chap. XXXIV must have been appended to the Bundahis at a later date than the ninth century, when the preceding genealogical chapters were probably added to the original work (see p. xliii). The Persian year 527 was A. D. 1158.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A Gugarâti translation, or rather paraphrase, of the Bundahis was published in 1819 by Edal Dârâb Jamshêd Jâmâsp Âsâ, and a revised edition of it was published by Peshutan Rustam in 1877¹. In the preface to the latter edition it is stated that the translator made use of two MSS., one being a copy of a manuscript written in Iran in A. Y. 776 by Rustamji Meherwanji Margabân Sheheriâr², and the other a MS. written in India by Dastûr Jamshêdji Jâmâspji in A. Y. 1139³. It is also mentioned that he was four years at work upon his translation. The editor of the new edition states that he has laboured to

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. THE SELECTIONS OF ZÂD-SPARAM.

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

Incantations for fever, &c.; indications afforded by natural marks on the body; about the *hamîstakân* ('the ever-stationary,' or neutral state of future existence) and the different grades in heaven; copy of an epistle¹ from Herbad *Mânûskîhar* son of *Yûdân-Yim*², which he addressed to the good people of *Sîrkân*³, about the decisions pronounced by Herbad *Zâd-spam* son of *Yûdân-Yim*; copy of a letter from Herbad *Mânûskîhar* son of *Yûdân-Yim* to his brother, Herbad *Zâd-spam*, on the same subject, and replying to a letter of his written from *Nivshâpûhar*; copy of a notice by Herbad *Mânûskîhar*, son of *Yûdân-Yim* and high-priest (*rad*) of *Pârs* and *Kîrmân*, of the necessity of fifteenfold ablution on account of grievous sin, written and sealed in the third month A.Y. 250 (A.D. 881); memoranda and writings called 'Selections of *Zâd-spam* son of *Yûdân-Yim*,' the first part treating of many of the same subjects as the *Bundahis*, together

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

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

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

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

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

Dâmdâd Nask appears pretty evident from *Zâd-spâram's* remarks in Chap. IX, 1, 16 of his Selections.

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

With regard to the Pahlavi text of the Selections, the present translator has been compelled to rely upon a single manuscript of the *Dâdistân-i Dînik*, brought by Westergaard from Kirmân¹ in 1843, and now No. 35 of the collection of *Avesta* and Pahlavi MSS. in the University Library at Copenhagen; it may, therefore, be called K35. This MS. is incomplete, having lost nearly one-third of its original bulk, but still contains 181 folios of large octavo size, written fifteen to seventeen lines to the page; the first seventy-one folios of the work have been lost, and about thirty-five folios are also missing from the end; but the whole of the ninety-two questions and answers, together with one-third of the

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

texts which usually precede them, and three-fifths of those which usually follow them, are still remaining. This MS. has lost its date, but a copy¹ of it exists in Bombay (written when it was complete) which ends with a colophon dated A. Y. 941 (A. D. 1572), as detailed in p. xxxiii; this may either be the actual date of that copy, or it may have been merely copied from K35, which cannot be much older. The latter supposition appears the more probable, as this colophon seems to be left incomplete by the loss of the last folio in the Bombay copy, and may, therefore, have been followed by another colophon giving a later date.

This copy of K35 was, no doubt, originally complete, but has lost many of its folios in the course of time; most of the missing text has been restored from another MS., but there are still twelve or more folios missing from the latter part of the work; it contains, however, all that portion of the Selections which is translated in this volume, but has, of course, no authority independent of K35. The other MS. in Bombay, from which some of the missing text was recovered, is in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji; it is a modern copy, written at different periods from forty to sixty years ago, and is incomplete, as it contains only one-fourth of the texts which usually follow the ninety-two questions and answers, and includes no portion of the Selections of *Zâd-spâram*.

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

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

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

5. THE BAHMAN YAST.

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

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

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

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

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

Zarâtûst enquires (III, 12) how so many can perish, and is informed that, after the demons with dishevelled hair appear, Hûshêdar, the first of the last three apostles, is born near Lake Frazdân; and when he begins to confer with Aûharmazd a Kayân prince is born in the direction of K'înistân (Samarkand), who is called Vâhrâm the Vargâvand, and when he is thirty years old he collects a large army of Hindu (Bactrian) and K'înî (Samarkandian) troops, and advances into Iran, where he is reinforced by a numerous army of Iranian warriors, and defeats the demon races with immense slaughter, in the great conflict already mentioned, so that there will be only one man left to a thousand women.

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

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

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

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

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

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

prime minister of Shahpûr II (A.D. 309-379); but the Bahman Yast (Chap. I, 5) quotes the Nask as identifying the same age with the reign of an idolatrous race subsequent to the time of Khûsrô Nôshirvân (A.D. 531-579). This example is sufficient to show that the compiler of the extant epitome of the Bahman Yast commentary largely availed himself of his editorial license, and it indicates the difficulty of distinguishing his statements from those of the former editors. At the same time it proves that the epitome could not have been compiled till after Iran had been overrun by a foreign race subsequent to the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân. It is remarkable that the compiler does not mention any later Sasanian king, that he does not allude to Muhammadanism, and speaks of the foreign invaders as Turanians and Christians, only mentioning Arabs incidentally in later times; at the same time the foreign invasion (which lasts a thousand years) is of too permanent a character to allow of its having reference merely to the troublous times of Nôshirvân's successor.

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

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

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

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

For the Pahlavi text of the Bahman Yast the translator has to rely upon the single old manuscript K20, already described (p. xxvii), in which it occupies the 13½ folios immediately following the Bundahis; these folios are much worn, and a few words have been torn off some of them, but nearly all of these missing words can be restored by aid of the Pâzand version. The Pahlavi text is also found in the modern copies of K20 at Paris and Kopenhagen, but these copies (P7 and K21) have no authority independent of K20. In India this text has long been exceedingly rare,

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

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

There is also a Persian version of the Bahman Yast, a copy of which, written A.D. 1676, is contained in a large Rivâyat MS. No. 29, belonging to the University Library at Bombay. According to the colophon of this Persian version it was composed in A.D. 1496 by Rustam Isfendiyâr of Yazd, from an Avesta (Pâzand) MS. belonging to his brother Jamshêd. This Persian version contains less than three per cent of Arabic words, and is more of a paraphrase than a translation, but it adheres very closely to the meaning of the Pahlavi text from Chaps. I, 1 to III, 9, where a dislocation occurs, evidently owing either to the displacement

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

This conclusion of the Persian version describes how adversity departs from the world, and ten people are satisfied with the milk of one cow, when Hûshêdar-mâh appears and his millennium commences. On his coming from his conference with Aûharmazd the sun stands still for twenty days and nights, in consequence of which two-thirds of the people in the world believe in the religion. Meat is no longer eaten, but only milk and butter, and a hundred people are satisfied with the milk of one cow. Hûshêdar-mâh destroys the terrible serpent, which accompanies apostasy, by means of the divine glory and Avesta formulas; he clears all noxious creatures out of the world, and wild animals live harmlessly among mankind; the fiends of apostasy and deceit depart from the world, which becomes populous and delightful, and mankind abstain from falsehood. After the five-hundredth year of Hûshêdar-mâh has passed away, Sôshyans (Sâsân) appears, and destroys the fiend who torments fire. The sun stands still for thirty days and nights, when all mankind believe in the religion, and the year becomes exactly 360 days. Dahâk escapes from his confinement, and reigns for a day and a half in the world with much tyranny; when Sôshyans rouses Sâm Narimân, who accepts the religion and becomes immortal. Sâm calls upon Dahâk to accept the religion, but the latter proposes that they should together seize upon heaven for themselves, whereupon Sâm kills him. All evil having departed from the world mankind become like the archangels, and the resurrection takes place, which is described with many of the same details as are mentioned in Bund. XXX.

Accompanying this Persian version in B29 is another

fragment from the same source, which treats of the same subjects as the third chapter of the Bahman Yast, but is differently arranged. It confines itself to the millennium of Hûshêdar, and may possibly be some modification of the contents of the folios missing from the version described above. After some introductory matter this fragment contains a paraphrase (less accurate than the preceding) of Chap. III, 23-49 of the Bahman Yast; it then proceeds to state that Hûshêdar destroys the wolf race, so that wolves, thieves, highway robbers, and criminals cease to exist. When Hûshêdar's three-hundredth year has passed away the winter of Malkôs arrives and destroys all animals and vegetation, and only one man survives out of ten thousand; after which the world is repopled from the enclosure made by Yim. Then comes the gathering of the nations to the great battle on the Euphrates, where the slaughter is so great that the water of the river becomes red, and the survivors wade in blood up to their horses' girths. Afterwards, the Kayân king, Vargâvand, advances from the frontiers of India and takes possession of Iran to the great delight of the inhabitants, but only after a great battle; and then Pêshyôtanû is summoned from Kangdez to restore the religious ceremonies.

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

6. THE SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST.

Another treatise which must be referred to about the same age as the Bundahis, though of a very different character, is the Shâyast lâ-shâyast or 'the proper and improper.' It is a compilation of miscellaneous laws and customs regarding sin and impurity, with other memoranda about ceremonies and religious subjects in general. Its name has, no doubt, been given to it in modern times¹, and has pro-

¹ But perhaps before the compilation of the prose Sad-dar Bundahis, or Bundahis of a hundred chapters, which seems to refer to the Shâyast lâ-shâyast

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

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

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

in its opening words, as follows:—'This book is on "the proper and improper" which is brought out from the good, pure religion of the Mazda-yasnians;' though this term may possibly relate to its own contents. There is also a Persian treatise called *Shâyast na-shâyast*, which gives a good deal of information obtained from the Persian *Rivâyats*, and copies of which are contained in the MSS. Nos. 56 and 116 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

caused by a serpent. It next describes the proper size and materials of the sacred thread-girdle and shirt, giving some details about the sins of running about uncovered and walking with one boot, and thence proceeding to the sin of unseasonable chatter. Details are then given about good works, and those who can and cannot perform them ; in which reference is made to Christians, Jews, and those of other persuasions (Chap. VI, 7). The next subjects treated of are reverencing the sun and fire, the sin of extinguishing fire, confession and renunciation of sin, atonement for sins, especially mortal sins, both those affecting others and those only affecting one's own soul ; with a digression (Chap. VIII, 3) prohibiting the rich from hunting. The remainder of this first treatise is of a miscellaneous character, referring to the following subjects :—The Hâsar of time, priests passing away in idolatry, the discussion of religion, ceremonies not done aright, throwing a corpse into the sea, evil of eating in the dark, the four kinds of worship, when the angels should be invoked in worship, the ephemeral nature of life, proper looseness for a girdle, when the sacred cake set aside for the guardian spirits can be used, maintaining a fire where a woman is pregnant, providing a tank for ablution, the Gâthas not to be recited over the dead, food and drink not to be thrown away to the north at night, unlawful slaughter of animals, how the corpse of a pregnant woman should be carried, forgiveness of trespasses, evil of walking without boots, when the sacred girdle is to be assumed, breaking the spell of an inward prayer, ten women wanted at childbirth, and how the infant is to be treated, sin of beating an innocent person, evil of a false judge, men and women who do not marry, a toothpick must be free from bark, acknowledging the children of a handmaid, advantage of offspring and of excess in almsgiving, prayer on lying down and getting up, Avesta not to be mumbled, doubtful actions to be avoided or consulted about, evil of laughing during prayer, crowing of a hen, treatment of a hedgehog, after a violent death corruption does not set in immediately, necessity of a dog's gaze, putrid meat and hairy cakes or butter unfit for ceremonies, when a woman can do priestly duty, &c.

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

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

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

With regard to the age of this treatise we have no precise information. All three parts are found in a MS. (M6) which was written in A.D. 1397 (see p. xxix), and nearly the whole is also found in the MS. K20, which may be a few years older (see p. xxvii), and in which the first part of the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* is followed by a Persian colophon dated A.Y. 700 (A.D. 1331), copied probably from an older MS. The text in both these old MSS. seems to have been derived almost direct from the same original, which must have been so old when M6 was written that the copyist found some words illegible (see notes on Chaps. VIII, 19, X, 34, XII, 14, 15, &c.) Now it is known from a colophon that a portion of M6, containing the book of *Arđâ-Virâf* and the tale of *Gôst-i Fryânô*, was copied from a MS. written in A.D. 1249; and we may safely conclude that the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast* was copied, either from the same MS., or from one fully as old. So far, therefore, as external evidence goes, there is every reason to suppose that the whole of the *Shâyast lâ-shâyast*, with its appendix¹, was existing in a MS. written about 630 years ago.

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

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

The Nasks quoted are the *Stûdgar* (Sls. X, 8), the *Bagh* (X, 26), the *Dâmdâd* (X, 22), the *Pâzôn* (IX, 9), the *Ratûs-tâtîh* (X, 29), the *Kîdrast* (X, 28), the *Spend* (X, 4), the *Nihâdûm* (X, 3, 22, 23), the *Dûbâsrûgêd* (X, 13), the *Hûspâram* (X, 21), and the *Sakâdûm* (X, 25), very few of which are mentioned even in the Pahlavi Vendidad. The second treatise mentions only one commentator, Vand-Aûharmazd, but it quotes eight of the Nasks no longer extant; these are the *Stûdgar* (Sls. XII, 32), the *Dâmdâd* (XII, 5, 15), the *Spend* (XII, 3, 11, 15, 29), the *Bâg-yasnô* (XII, 17), the *Nihâdûm* (XII, 15, 16), the *Hûspâram* (XII, 1, 7, 14, 31, XIII, 17), the *Sakâdûm* (XII, 2, 10, 12, XIII, 30), and the *Hâdôkht* (XII, 19, 30, XIII, 6, 10).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It does not appear that the Shâyast lâ-shâyast has ever been hitherto translated into any European language¹, nor

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

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

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The notes deal not only with explanations that may be necessary for the general reader, but also with various readings and other details that may be useful to scholars; they are, therefore, very numerous, though some passages may still be left without sufficient explanation. References to the Vendidad, Yasna, and Visparad are made to Spiegel's edition of the original texts, not because that edition is superior, or even equal, in accuracy to that of Westergaard, but because it is the only edition which gives the Pahlavi translations, because its sections are shorter and, therefore, reference to them is more definite, and because the only English translation of the Avesta hitherto existing¹ is based upon Spiegel's edition, and is divided into the same sections.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BUNDAHIS
OR
THE ORIGINAL CREATION.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions into chapters and sections the translator is responsible, as the original text is written continuously, with very few stops marked.

2. Italics are used for any English words which are not expressed, or fully understood, in the original text, but are added to complete the sense of the translation.

3. Oriental words are usually 'spaced.' Italics occurring in them, or in names, are intended to represent certain peculiar Oriental letters. The italic consonants *d*, *n*, *v* may be pronounced as in English; but *g* should be sounded like *j*, *hv* like *wh*, *k* like *ch* in 'church,' *ŋ* like *ng*, *s* like *sh*, *ʒ* like French *j*. For further information, see 'Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Translations of the Sacred Books of the East' at the end of the volume.

4. In Pahlavi words all circumflexed vowels and any final *ō* are expressed in the Pahlavi original, but all other vowels are merely understood.

5. In the translation, words in parentheses are merely explanatory of those which precede them.

6. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta. *Dād.* for *Dādi-stān-i Dīnik*. Huz. for *Huzvāris*. Mkh. for *Mainyō-i-khard*, ed. West. Pahl. for Pahlavi. *Pāz.* for *Pāzand*. Pers. for Persian. Sans. for Sanskrit. Vend. for *Vendîdād*, ed. Spiegel. Visp. for *Visparad*, ed. Sp. Yas. for *Yasna*, ed. Sp. *Yt.* for *Yast*, ed. Westergaard.

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are:—

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

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

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

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

BUNDAHIS.

CHAPTER I.

o. In the name of the creator Aûharmazd.

1. The Zand-âkâs ('Zand-knowing or tradition-informed')¹, which is first about Aûharmazd's original creation and the antagonism of the evil spirit², and afterwards about the nature of the creatures from the original creation till the end, which is the future existence (tanû-t pasînô). 2. 'As revealed by the religion of the Mazdayasnians, so it is declared that Aûharmazd is supreme in omniscience and goodness,

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

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

and unrivalled¹ in splendour; the region of light is the place of Aûharmazd, which they call 'endless light,' and the omniscience and goodness of the unrivalled Aûharmazd is what they call 'revelation².'

3. Revelation is the explanation of both *spirits* together; one is he who is independent of unlimited time³, because Aûharmazd and the region, religion, and time of Aûharmazd were and are and ever will be; while Aharman⁴ in darkness, with backward understanding and desire for destruction, was *in* the abyss, and it is *he* who *will* not be; and the place of that destruction, and also of that darkness, is what they call the 'endlessly dark.' 4. And between them was empty space, *that* is, what they call 'air,' in which is now *their* meeting.]

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

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

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

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

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

the other ; and, again, both spirits are limited as to their own selves. 6. And, secondly, on account of the omniscience of Aûharmazd, both things are in the creation of Aûharmazd, the finite and the infinite; for this they know is that which is in the covenant of both spirits.] 7. And, again, the complete sovereignty of the creatures of Aûharmazd is in the future existence, and that also is unlimited for ever and everlasting; and the creatures of Aharman will perish at the time when¹ the future existence occurs, and that also is eternity.]

8. Aûharmazd, through omniscience, knew that Aharman exists, *and* whatever he schemes he infuses with malice and greediness till the end; *and* because He accomplishes the end by many means, He also produced spiritually the creatures which were necessary for those means, *and* they remained three thousand years in a spiritual *state*, so that they were unthinking² and unmoving, with intangible bodies,

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

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

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

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

11. Aûharmazd, by whom the creatures of the evil spirit were seen, creatures terrible, corrupt, and bad, also considered them not commendable (bûrzišnîk).

12. Afterwards, the evil spirit saw the creatures of Aûharmazd; they appeared many creatures of delight (vâyah), enquiring creatures, and they seemed to him commendable, and he commended the creatures and creation of Aûharmazd.

13. Then Aûharmazd, with a knowledge¹ of which way the end of the matter *would be*, went to meet the evil spirit, and proposed peace to him, *and* spoke thus: 'Evil spirit! bring assistance unto my creatures, and offer praise! so that, in reward for it, ye (you and your creatures) may become immortal and undecaying, hungerless and thirstless.'

14. And the evil spirit shouted thus²: 'I *will* not depart, I *will* not provide assistance for thy creatures, I *will* not offer praise among thy creatures, and I am not of the same opinion with thee as to good things. I *will* destroy thy creatures for ever and everlasting; moreover, I *will* force all thy creatures into disaffection to thee and affection for myself.' 15. And the explanation thereof is this, that the evil spirit reflected in this manner, that

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

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

Aûharmazd was helpless as regarded him¹, therefore He proffers peace; and he did not agree, but bore on even into conflict with Him.

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

¶17. Then Aûharmazd, through omniscience, knew that: If I do not grant a period of contest, then it *will* be possible for him to act so that he *may* be able to cause the seduction of my creatures to himself.] As even now there are many of the intermixture of mankind who practise wrong more than right. ¶18. And Aûharmazd spoke to the evil spirit thus: 'Appoint a period! so that the intermingling of the conflict may be for nine thousand years.' For he knew that by appointing this period the evil spirit *would* be undone.]

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

20. ¶Aûharmazd also knew this, through omniscience, that within these nine thousand years, *for* three thousand years everything proceeds *by* the will of Aûharmazd, three thousand years *there is* an intermingling of the wills of Aûharmazd and Aharman, and the last three thousand years the evil spirit is disabled, and they keep the adversary away² from the creatures.

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

² That is, 'the adversary is kept away.' In Pahlavi the third

21. [Afterwards, Aôharmazd] recited the Ahunavar thus: Yathâ ahû vairyô ('as a heavenly lord is to be chosen'), &c.¹ once, *and* uttered the twenty-one words²; He also exhibited to the evil spirit His own triumph in the end, and the impotence of the evil spirit, the annihilation of the demons, and the resurrection *and* undisturbed future existence of the creatures for ever and everlasting. 22. And the evil spirit, who perceived his own impotence and the annihilation of the demons, became confounded, and fell back to the gloomy darkness; even so as is declared in revelation, that, when one of its (the Ahunavar's) three *parts* was uttered, the evil spirit contracted *his* body through fear, and when two parts of it were uttered he fell upon *his* knees, and when all of it was uttered [he became confounded

person plural is the indefinite person, as in English. These 9000 years are in addition to the 3000 mentioned in § 8, as appears more clearly in Chap. XXXIV, 1.

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

Yathâ ahû vairyô, athâ ratus, ashâd kîd hakâ,
Vangheus dazdâ mananghō, skyaothnanām anghēus mazdâi,
Khshathremkâ ahurâi â, yim dregubyô dadad vâstârem.

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

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

and impotent as to the harm he caused the creatures of Aûharmazd, *and* he remained three thousand years in confusion¹.]

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

24. The evil spirit first created² Mîtôkht ('falsehood'), and then Akôman ('evil thought').

25. The first of Aûharmazd's creatures of the world *was* the sky, and his good thought (Vohûman), by good procedure³, produced the light of the world, along with which was the good religion of the Mazdayasnians; this *was* because the renovation (frashakar^d)⁴ which happens to the creatures *was* known to him. 26. Afterwards *arose* Ardava-

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

² It is usual to consider dâdan (Huz. yehabûntan), when traceable to Av. dâ = Sans. dhâ, as meaning 'to create,' but it can hardly be proved that it means to create out of nothing, any more than any other of the Avesta verbs which it is sometimes convenient to translate by 'create.' Before basing any argument upon the use of this word it will, therefore, be safer to substitute the word 'produce' in all cases.

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

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

hist, and then Shatvaîrô, and then Spendarmad, and then Horvada, and then Amerôdad¹.

27. From the dark world of Aharman *were* Akôman and Andar, and then Sôvar, and then Nâkahêd, and then Tâîrêv and Zâîrlê².

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

CHAPTER II.

o. On the formation of the luminaries.

1. Aûharmazd produced illumination between the sky and the earth, the constellation stars and those also not of the constellations³, then the moon, and afterwards the sun, as I *shall* relate.

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

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

³ The word akhtar is the usual term in Pahlavi for a constellation of the zodiac; but the term apâkhtar, 'away from the akhtar,' means not only 'the north,' or away from the zodiac, but also 'a

2. First he produced the *celestial* sphere, and the constellation stars are assigned to it by him; especially these twelve whose names *are* Varak (the Lamb), Tôrâ (the Bull), Dô-patkar (the Two-figures or Gemini), Kalakang (the Crab), Sêr (the Lion), Khûsak (Virgo), Tarâzûk (the Balance), Gazdûm (the Scorpion), Nîmâsp (the Centaur or Sagittarius), Vahîk¹ (Capricornus), Dûl (the Waterpot), and Mâhîk (the Fish); 3. which, from their original creation, *were divided* into the twenty-eight subdivisions of the astronomers², of which the names are Padêvar, Pêsh-Parvîz, Parviz, Paha, Avêsar, Besn, Rakhvad, Taraha, Avra, Nahn, Miyân, Avdem, Mâshâha, Spûr, Husru, Srob, Nur, Gêl, Garafsa, Varant, Gau, Goî, Muru, Bunda, Kahtsar, Vaht, Miyân, Kaht³. 4. And all his original creations,

planet,' which is in the zodiac, but apart from the constellations. The meaning of akhtar, most suitable to the context here, appears to be the general term 'constellation.'

¹ Written Nahâzîk here, both in K2o and M6, which may be compared with Pers. nahâz, 'the leading goat of a flock;' but the usual word for 'Capricornus' is Vahîk, as in Chap. V, 6. None of the other names of the signs of the zodiac are written here in Pâzand, but it may be noted that if the ah in Vahîk were written in Pâzand (that is, in Avesta characters), the word would become the same as Nahâzîk in Pahlavi.

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

³ All these names are written in Pâzand, which accounts for their eccentric orthography, in which both K2o and M6 agree very closely. The subdivision Parviz is evidently the Pers. parvên, which includes the Pleiades, and corresponds therefore to the Sanskrit Nakshatra Kṛittikâ. This correspondence leads to the identification of the first subdivision, Padêvar, with the Nakshatra Arvinî. The Pâzand names are so corrupt that no reliance can be placed upon them, and the first step towards recovering the true

residing in the world, are committed to them¹; so that when the destroyer arrives they overcome the adversary *and* their own persecution, and the creatures are saved from those adversities.

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

6. On the recommendation of those chieftains the many unnumbered stars are specially assigned to the various quarters and various places, as the united strength *and* appointed power of those constellations. 7. As it is said that Tîstar is the chieftain of the east, Satavêš the chieftain of the west, Vanand the chieftain of the south, *and* Haptôk-ring the chieftain of the north². 8. The great *one* which they

Pahlavi names would be to transliterate the Pâzand back into Pahlavi characters. The ninth subdivision is mentioned in Chap. VII, 1 by the name Avrak.

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

² Of these four constellations or stars, which are said to act as leaders, there is no doubt that Haptôk-ring, the chieftain of the north, is Ursa Major; and it is usually considered that Tîstar, the chieftain of the east, is Sirius; but the other two chieftains are not so well identified, and there may be some doubt as to the proper stations of the eastern and western chieftains. It is evident, however, that the most westerly stars, visible at any one time of the year, are those which set in the dusk of the evening; and east of these, all the stars are visible during the night as far as those which rise at daybreak, which are the most easterly stars visible at that time of the year. Tîstar or Sirius can, therefore, be considered the chieftain of the eastern stars only when it rises before daybreak, which it does at the latter end of summer; and Haptôk-ring or Ursa Major is due north at midnight (on the meridian below the pole) at about the same time of the year. These stars, there-

call a Gâh (period of the day), which they say is the great *one* of the middle of the sky, till *just* before the destroyer came was the midday (or south) *one* of the five, that is, the Rapîtvîn¹.

fore, fulfil the conditions necessary for being chieftains of the east and north at the end of summer, and we must look for stars capable of being chieftains of the south and west at the same season. Now, when Ursa Major is near the meridian below the pole, Fomalhaut is the most conspicuous star near the meridian in the far south, and is probably to be identified with Vanand the chieftain of the south. And when Sirius rises some time before daybreak, Antares (in Scorpio) sets some time after dusk in the evening, and may well be identified with Satavêš the chieftain of the west. Assuming that there has been a precession of the equinoxes equivalent to two hours of time, since the idea of these chieftains (which may perhaps be traced to Avesta times) was first formed, it may be calculated that the time of year when these leading stars then best fulfilled that idea was about a month before the autumnal equinox, when Ursa Major would be due north three-quarters of an hour after midnight, and Fomalhaut due south three-quarters of an hour before midnight, Sirius would rise three hours before the sun, and Antares would set three hours after the sun. In the Avesta these leading stars are named Tistrya, Satavaêša, Vanant, and Haptôirînga (see Tîstar Yt. 6, 8, 9, 12, 32, &c., Rashnu Yt. 26-28, Sîrôz. 13).

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

9. Aôharmazd performed the spiritual Yazisn *ceremony* with the archangels (amêshôspendân) in the Raptvîn Gâh, and in the Yazisn he supplied every means necessary for overcoming the adversary¹.

10. He deliberated with the consciousness (bôd) *and* guardian spirits (fravâhar) of men², and the omniscient wisdom, brought forward among men, spoke thus: 'Which seems to you the more advantageous, when³ I shall present you to the world? *that* you shall contend in a bodily form with the fiend (drûg), and the fiend shall perish, and in the end I *shall* have you prepared again perfect and immortal, and in the end give you back to the world, *and* you *will* be wholly immortal, undecaying, and undisturbed; or *that* it be always necessary to provide you protection from the destroyer?'

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

Windischmann has nearly the same, as both follow the Pâzand MSS. in reading hômîsak (as a variant of hamîsak), 'always,' instead of khômîsak.

¹ Or 'adversity.'

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

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

CHAPTER III.

1. On the rush of the destroyer at the creatures it is said, in revelation, that the evil spirit, when he saw the impotence of himself and the confederate¹ (hâm-dast) demons, owing to the righteous man², became confounded, *and* seemed in confusion three thousand years. 2. During that confusion the arch-fiends³ of the demons severally shouted thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us! for we *will* cause a conflict in the world, the distress and injury from which *will* become those of Aûharmazd and the archangels.'

3. Severally they twice recounted their own evil deeds, and it pleased him not; and that wicked evil spirit, through fear of the righteous man, was not able to lift up *his* head until the wicked Gêh⁴ came, at the completion of the three thousand years. 4. And she shouted to the evil spirit thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us! for I *will* cause that conflict in the world wherefrom the distress and injury of Aûharmazd and the archangels *will* arise.' 5. And she twice recounted severally her own evil deeds, and it pleased him not; and that wicked evil spirit

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

² Probably Gâyômarđ.

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

⁴ The personification of the impurity of menstruation.

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

6. And, again, the wicked *Gêh* shouted thus: 'Rise up, *thou* father of us! for in that conflict I *will* shed thus much vexation¹ on the righteous man and the labouring ox that, through my deeds, life *will* not be wanted, and I will destroy their living souls (*nismô*)²; I *will* vex the water, I *will* vex the plants, I *will* vex the fire of *Aûharmazd*, I *will* make the whole creation of *Aûharmazd* vexed.'

7. And she so recounted those evil deeds a second time, that the evil spirit was delighted and started up from that confusion; and he kissed *Gêh* upon the head, and the pollution which they call menstruation became apparent in *Gêh*.

8. He shouted to *Gêh* thus: 'What is thy wish? so that I may give *it* thee.' And *Gêh* shouted to the evil spirit thus: 'A man is the wish, so give *it* to me.'

9. The form of the evil spirit was a log-like lizard's (*vazak*) body, and he appeared a young man of fifteen years to *Gêh*, and that brought the thoughts of *Gêh* to him³.

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

² That this is the *Huzvâris* of *rûbân*, 'soul,' appears from Chap. XV, 3-5, where both words are used indifferently; but it is not given in the *Huz.-Pâz. Glossary*. It is evidently equivalent to Chald. *nismâ*, and ought probably to have the traditional pronunciation *nisman*, an abbreviation of *nismman*.

³ This seems to be the literal meaning of the sentence, and is confirmed by Chap. XXVIII, 1, but Windischmann and Justi understand that the evil spirit formed a youth for *Gêh* out of a toad's body. The incident in the text may be compared with Milton's idea of Satan and Sin in *Paradise Lost*, Book II, 745-765.

10. Afterwards, the evil spirit, with the confederate demons, went towards the luminaries, and he saw the sky; and he led them up, fraught with malicious intentions. 11. He stood upon one-third¹ of the inside of the sky, and he sprang, like a snake, out of the sky down to the earth.

12. *In* the month Fravardîn and the day Aûhar-mazd² he rushed in at noon, and thereby the sky was as shattered and frightened by him, as a sheep by a wolf. 13. He came on to the water which was arranged³ below the earth, and then the middle of this earth was pierced *and* entered by him. 14. Afterwards, he came to the vegetation, then to the ox, then to Gâyômarđ, and then he came to fire⁴; so, just like a fly, he rushed out upon the whole creation; and he made the world quite as injured and dark⁵ at midday as though it were in dark night. 15. And noxious creatures were diffused by him over the earth, biting and venomous, such as the snake, scorpion, frog (kalvâk), and lizard (vazak), so that not so much as the point of a needle remained *free* from noxious creatures. 16. And blight⁶ was diffused by him over the

¹ Perhaps referring to the proportion of the sky which is over-spread by the darkness of night. The whole sentence is rather obscure.

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

³ Literally, 'and it was arranged.'

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

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

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

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

18. Before *his* coming to the ox, Aûharmazd ground up the healing fruit¹, which some call 'bînâk,' small in water openly before *its* eyes, so that *its* damage *and* discomfort from the calamity (zanisn) might be less; and when it became at the same time lean and ill, as *its* breath went forth and it passed away, the ox also spoke thus: 'The cattle are to be created, *and* their work, labour, and care are to be appointed.'

19. And before *his* coming to Gâyômarđ, Aûharmazd brought forth a sweat upon Gâyômarđ, so long as he might recite a prayer (vâg) of one stanza (vikast); moreover, Aûharmazd formed that sweat into the youthful body of a man of fifteen years, radiant *and* tall. 20. When Gâyômarđ issued from the sweat he saw the world dark as night, and the earth as though not a needle's point remained *free from* noxious creatures; the *celestial* sphere was in revolution, *and* the sun and moon remained in motion: *and* the world's struggle, owing to the clamour of the Mâzinîkân demons², was with the constellations.

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

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

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

Gâyômarđ;] and Astô-vîdâd¹ with a thousand demons, causers of death, were let forth by him on Gâyômarđ. 22. But his appointed time had not come, *and* he (Astô-vîdâd) obtained no means of noosing (âvizt-danō) *him*; as it is said that, when the opposition of the evil spirit came, [the period of the life and rule of Gâyômarđ was appointed for thirty years.] 23. [After the coming of the adversary he lived thirty years] and Gâyômarđ spoke thus: 'Although the destroyer *has* come, mankind *will* be all of my race; and this one thing is good, when they perform duty and good works.'

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

27. Hell is in the middle of the earth; there where the evil spirit pierced the earth² and rushed in upon it, [as all the possessions of the world were

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

² See § 13.

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

CHAPTER IV.

1. This also is said, that when the primeval ox¹ passed away it fell to the right hand, *and* Gâyômarđ afterwards, when he passed *away*, to the left hand.

2. Gôsr̥van², as the soul of the primeval ox came out from the body of the ox, stood up before the ox *and* cried to Aûharmazd, as much as a thousand men when they sustain a cry at one time, thus: 'With whom is the guardianship of the creatures left by thee, when ruin *has* broken into the earth, and vegetation is withered, and water is troubled? Where is the man³ of whom it was said by thee thus: I *will* produce *him*, so that he may preach carefulness?'

3. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'You are made ill⁴, O Gôsr̥van! you have the illness which the evil spirit brought on; if it were proper to produce that man in this earth at this time, the evil spirit would not have been oppressive in it.'

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

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

³ Referring to Zaratûst.

⁴ In K20, 'You are ill.'

4. Forth Gôsr̥van walked to the star station (pâyak) *and* cried in the same manner, and forth to the moon station *and* cried in the same manner, *and* forth to the sun station, and then the guardian spirit of Zarâtûst was exhibited to her, *and* Aûharmazd *said* thus¹: 'I will produce for the world *him* who will preach carefulness.' 5. Contented became the spirit Gôsr̥van, and assented thus: 'I will nourish the creatures;' that is, she became again consenting to a worldly creation in the world.

CHAPTER V.

1. Seven chieftains of the planets have come unto the seven chieftains of the constellations², as the planet Mercury (Tîr) unto Tîstar, the planet Mars (Vâhrâm) unto Haptôk-rîng, the planet Jupiter (Aûharmazd) unto Vanand, the planet Venus (Anâhîd) unto Satavêš, the planet Saturn (Kêvân) unto the great *one* of the middle of the sky, Gôkîhar³

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

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

³ As this name stands in the MSS. it may be read Gûrgdâr (as in the Pâz. MSS.), Gûrkîhar, or Dûrkîhar; the reading is very uncertain, and Windischmann suggests Gûrg-kîhar, 'wolf progeny' (compare vehrkô-kîthra in Ardabahist Yast 8). A shooting star,

and the thievish (dûggun) Mûspar¹, provided with tails, unto the sun and moon and stars. 2. The sun has attached Mûspar to its own radiance by mutual agreement, so that he may be less able to do harm (vinâs).

3. Of Mount Albûrz² it is declared, that around the world and Mount Têrak³, which is the middle of the world, the revolution of the sun is like a moat⁴ around the world; it turns back in a circuit⁵ owing to the enclosure (var) of Mount Albûrz around Têrak. 4. As it is said that *it is* the Têrak of Albûrz from behind which my sun and moon *and* stars return again⁶. 5. For there are a hundred

or meteor, is probably meant (see Chap. XXX, 18, 31), and as it is the special disturber of the moon, it may be Gô-âihar (Av. gao-âithra, 'of ox-lineage'), a common epithet of the moon; the Pahlavi letter *k* being often written something like the compound *rk*; and this supposition is confirmed by the Gôk-âihar of TD in Chap. XXVIII, 44.

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

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

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

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

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

⁶ This appears to be a quotation from the Rashnu Yast, 25. The Huz. word for 'month' is here used for the 'moon.'

and eighty apertures (rôgîn) in the east, and a hundred and eighty in the west, through Albûrz; *and* the sun, every day, comes in through an aperture, and goes out through an aperture¹; *and* the whole connection and motion of the moon and constellations and planets is with it: every day it always illumines (or warms) three regions (kêshvar)² *and* a half, as is evident to the eyesight. 6. And twice in every year the day and night are equal, for on the original attack³, when⁴ it (the sun) went forth from its first degree (khûrdak), the day and night were equal, it was the season of spring; when it arrives at the first degree of Kalakang (Cancer) the time of *day* is greatest, *it is* the beginning of summer; when it arrives at the sign (khûrdak) Tarâgûk (Libra) the day and night are equal, *it is* the beginning of autumn; when it arrives at the sign Vahlk (Capricorn) the night is a maximum, *it is* the beginning of winter; and when it arrives at Varak (Aries) the night and day *have* again become equal, as when it

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

² See § 9 and Chap. XI.

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

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

went forth from Varak. 7. So that when it comes back to Varak, in three hundred and sixty days and the five Gâtha days¹, it goes in *and* comes out through one and the same aperture; the aperture is not mentioned, for if it had been mentioned the demons would have known the secret, and been able to introduce disaster.

8. From there where the sun comes on on the longest day to *where* it comes on on the shortest day is the east region Savah; from there where it comes on on the shortest day to *where* it goes off on the shortest day is the direction of the south regions Fradaḍafsh and Vīdaḍafsh; from there where it goes in on the shortest day to *where* it goes in on the longest day is the west region Arzah; from there where it comes in on the longest day to there where it goes in on the longest day are the north regions Vôrûbarst *and* Vôrûgarst². 9. When the sun comes on, it illumines (or warms) the regions of Savah, Fradaḍafsh, Vīdaḍafsh, and half of Khvanîras³; when it goes in on the dark side, it illumines the regions of Arzah, Vôrûbarst, Vôrûgarst, *and* one half of Khvanîras; when *it is* day here *it is* night there.

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

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

³ Often corrupted into Khanîras in the MSS.

CHAPTER VI.

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

CHAPTER VII.

1. The second conflict was waged with the water, because, as the star Tîstar *was* in Cancer, the water which is in the subdivision they call Avrak³ was

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

² Reading zôrfh; but it may be zûrfh, 'falsity.'

³ The ninth lunar mansion (see Chap. II, 3) corresponding with the middle of Cancer. Tîstar (Sirius) being in Cancer probably

pouring, on the same day when the destroyer rushed in, *and* came again into notice for mischief (âvârak) in the direction of the west. 2. For every single month is the owner of one constellation; the month Tîr is the fourth month¹ of the year, *and* Cancer the fourth constellation from Aries, so it is the owner of Cancer, into which Tîstar sprang, *and* displayed the characteristics of a producer of rain; and he brought on the water aloft by the strength of the wind. 3. Co-operators with Tîstar were Vohûman and the angel Hôm, with the assistance of the angel Bûrg and the righteous guardian spirits in orderly arrangement.

4. Tîstar was converted into three forms, the form of a man and the form of a horse and the form of a bull²; thirty days *and* nights he was distinguished in brilliance³, and in each form he produced rain ten days *and* nights; as the astrologers say that every constellation has three forms. 5. Every single drop of that rain became as big as a bowl, and the water stood the height of a man over the whole of this earth; *and* the noxious creatures on the earth being all killed by the rain, went into the holes of the earth⁴.

means that it rises about the same time as the stars of Cancer, as is actually the case.

¹ See Chap. XXV, 20.

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

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

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

6. And, afterwards, the wind spirit, so that it may not be contaminated (*gûmtkht*), stirs up the wind *and* atmosphere as the life stirs in the body; and the water was all swept away by it, and was brought out to the borders of the earth, and the wide-formed¹ ocean arose therefrom. 7. The noxious creatures remained dead within the earth, and their venom and stench were mingled with the earth, and in order to carry that poison away from the earth Tîstar went down into the ocean in the form of a white horse with long hoofs².

8. And Apâôsh³, the demon, came meeting him in the likeness of a black horse with clumsy (*kund*) hoofs; a mile (*parasang*)⁴ away from him fled Tîstar, through the fright which drove *him* away. 9. And Tîstar begged for success from Aûharmazd, and Aûharmazd gave *him* strength and power, as it is said, that unto Tîstar was brought at once the strength of ten vigorous horses, ten vigorous camels, ten vigorous bulls, ten mountains, and ten rivers⁵. 10. A mile away from him fled Apâôsh, the demon, through fright at *his* strength; on account of this they speak of an arrow-*shot* with Tîstar's strength in the sense *of a mile*.

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

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

³ Miswritten *Apav* or *Apavar* in Pâzand, by all MSS. in this chapter, but see Chap. XXVIII, 39.

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

⁵ A quotation from Tîstar Yt. 25.

11. Afterwards, with a cloud for a jar (*khûmb*)—thus they call the measure which was a means of the work—he seized upon the water *and* made it rain most prodigiously, in drops *like* bull's heads and men's heads, pouring in handfuls *and* pouring in armfuls, both great and small. 12. On the production of that rain the demons *Aspengargâk*¹ *and* *Apâôsh* contended *with it*, and the fire *Vâzist*² turned *its* club over; and owing to the blow of the club *Aspengargâk* made a very grievous noise, as even now, in a conflict with the producer of rain, a groaning and raging³ are manifest. 13. And ten nights and days rain was produced by him in that manner, and the poison and venom of the noxious creatures which were in the earth were all mixed up in the water, and the water became quite salt, because there remained in the earth *some* of those germs which noxious creatures ever collect.

14. Afterwards, the wind, in the same manner *as before*, restrained the water, at the end of three days, on various sides of the earth; and the three great seas *and* twenty-three small seas⁴ arose therefrom, *and* two fountains (*kashmak*) of the sea thereby became manifest, one the *Kêkast* lake, and one the *Sôvbar*⁵, whose sources are connected with the

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

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

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

⁴ See Chap. XIII, 6.

⁵ See Chap. XXII, 1-3.

fountain of the sea. 15. And at its north side¹ two rivers flowed out, *and* went one to the east *and* one to the west; they are the Arag river and the Vêh river; as it is said thus: 'Through those finger-breadth tricklings do thou pour *and* draw forth two such waters, O Aûharmazd!' 16. Both those rivers wind about through all the extremities of the earth, and intermingle again with the water of the wide-formed ocean. 17. As those two rivers flowed out, *and* from the same place of origin as theirs, eighteen² navigable rivers flowed out, and after the other waters have flowed out from those navigable *streams* they all flow back to the Arag³ river and Vêh river, whose fertilization (khvâpardârîh) of the world *arises* therefrom.

CHAPTER VIII.

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

1. As the evil spirit rushed in, the earth shook⁴, *and* the substance of mountains was created in the earth. 2. First, Mount Albûrz arose; afterwards,

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

² See Chap. XX, 2.

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

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

the other ranges of mountains (*kôfânîhâ*) of the middle of the earth; for as Albûrz grew forth all the mountains remained in motion, for they have all grown forth from the root of Albûrz. 3. At that time they came up from the earth, like a tree which *has* grown up to the clouds *and its* root¹ to the bottom; and their root passed on that way *from* one to the other, *and* they are arranged in mutual connection. 4. Afterwards, about that wonderful shaking out from the earth, they say that a great mountain is the knot of lands; *and* the passage for the waters within the mountains is the root which is below the mountains; they forsake the upper *parts* so that they may flow into it, just as the roots of trees pass into the earth; a counterpart (*ângunî-aitak*) of the blood in the arteries of men, which gives strength to the whole body. 5. In numbers², apart from Albûrz, all the mountains grew up out of the earth in eighteen years³, from which *arises* the perfection⁴ of men's advantage.

CHAPTER IX.

1. The conflict waged with plants was that when⁵ they became quite dry. 2. Amerôdad the arch-

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

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

³ See Chap. XII, 1.

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

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

angel, as the vegetation was his own, pounded the plants small, *and* mixed *them* up with the water *which* Tistar seized, and Tistar made that water rain down upon the whole earth. 3. On the whole earth plants grew up like hair upon the heads of men. 4. Ten thousand¹ of them grew forth of one special description, for keeping away the ten thousand species of disease *which* the evil spirit produced for the creatures; *and* from those ten thousand, the 100,000 species² of plants have grown forth.

5. From that same germ of plants the tree of all germs³ was given forth, *and* grew up in the wide-formed ocean, from which the germs of all species of plants ever increased. 6. And near to that tree of all germs the Gôkard tree⁴ was produced, for keeping away deformed (dûspad) decrepitude; *and* the full perfection of the world arose therefrom.

CHAPTER X.

o. On the conflict waged with the primeval ox.

1. As it passed away⁵, owing to the vegetable principle (*kîharak*) *proceeding* from every limb of the ox, fifty and five species of grain⁶ *and* twelve species of medicinal plants grew forth from the earth, and their splendour and strength were the

¹ See Chap. XXVII, 2.

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

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

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

⁵ See Chap. IV, 1. ⁶ See Chaps. XIV, 1, XXVII, 2.

seminal energy (tôkh mîh) of the ox. 2. Delivered to the moon station¹, that seed was thoroughly purified by the light of the moon, fully prepared in every way, and produced life in a body. 3. Thence *arose* two oxen, one male *and* one female; and, afterwards, two hundred and eighty-two species of each kind² became manifest upon the earth. 4. The dwelling (mântst) of the birds is in the air, and the fish are in the midst of the water.

CHAPTER XI.

1. On the nature of the earth it says in revelation, that *there* are thirty and three kinds³ of land. 2. *On* the day when Tîstar produced the rain, when its seas arose therefrom, the whole place, half taken up by water, was converted into seven portions; this portion⁴, as much as one-half, is the middle, *and* six portions are around; those six portions are *together* as much as Khvanîras. 3. The name

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

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

³ K20b has 'thirty-two kinds.'

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

kêshvar ('zone or region') is also applied to them, and *they* existed side by side (kash kash)¹; as on the east side of this portion (Khvanîras) is the Savah region, *on* the west is the Arzah region; the two portions on the south side are the Fradaðafsh and Vîdadaðafsh regions, the two portions on the north side are the Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst regions, *and* that in the middle is Khvanîras. 4. And Khvanîras has the sea, for one part of the wide-formed ocean wound about around it; *and from* Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst a lofty mountain grew up; so that it is not possible for any one to go from region to region².

5. And of these seven regions every benefit was created most in Khvanîras, and the evil spirit also produced most for Khvanîras, on account of the superiority (sarîh)³ which he saw in it. 6. For the Kayânians and heroes were created in Khvanîras; and the good religion of the Mazdayasnians was created in Khvanîras, and afterwards conveyed to the other regions; Sôshyans⁴ is born in Khvanîras, who makes the evil spirit impotent, and causes the resurrection *and* future existence.

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER XII.

1. On the nature of mountains it says in revelation, that, at first, the mountains have grown forth in eighteen years; and Albûrz ever grew till the completion of eight hundred years; two hundred years *up* to the star station (pâyak), two hundred years to the moon station, two hundred years to the sun station, and two hundred years to the endless light¹. 2. While the other mountains have grown out of Albûrz, in number 2244 mountains, *and* are Hûgar the lofty², Têrak of Albûrz, *Kakâd-i-Dâttik*, and the Arezûr ridge, the Aûsîndôm mountain, Mount Apârsên which they say is the mountain of Pârs, Mount Zariâ also which is Mount Mânûs, Mount Aîrak, Mount Kaf, Mount Vâdgês, Mount Aûshdâstâr, Mount Arezûr-bûm, Mount Rôyisnhômand, Mount Padashkhvârgar which is the greatest in Khvârth, the mountain which they call *Kînô*, Mount Rêvand, Mount Dârspêt the Bakyir mountain, Mount Kabed-sikaft, Mount Sîyâk-mûfmand, Mount Vafar-hômand, Mount Spendyâd *and* Kôndrâsp, Mount Asnavand *and* Kôndras, Mount

¹ These are the four grades of the Mazdayasnian heaven.

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

*Siḱidâv*¹, a mountain among those which are in *Kangdez*², of which they say that they are a comfort and delight of the good creator, the smaller hills.

3. I *will* mention them also a second time; *Albûrz*³ is around this earth and is connected with the sky. 4. The *Têrak*⁴ of *Albûrz* is that through which the stars, moon, *and* sun pass⁵ in, and through it they come back. 5. *Hûgar* the lofty⁶ is that from which the water of *Arêdvîvsûr*⁷ leaps down the height of a thousand men. 6. The *Aûsindôm*⁸ mountain is that which, being of ruby

¹ The Av. *Siḱidava* of *Zamyâd Yt.* 5.

² See Chap. XXIX, 4, 10; the name is here written *Kandez* in *K20*. In *M6* the word is *kôf*, 'mountain,' which is almost identical in form; if this be the correct reading, the translation will be, 'a mountain among those in the mountain which they say is agreeable and the delight,' &c. This mountain is, however, probably intended for the Av. *Axtare-kangha*, 'within *Kangha*,' of *Zamyâd Yt.* 4.

³ The *Haraiti-bares* of *Zamyâd Yt.* 1; but it is more usually called *Hara berezaiti* (see Chap. V, 3).

⁴ A central peak of the mythic *Albûrz*, around which the heavenly bodies are said to revolve (see Chap. V, 3). It is the Av. *Taêra*, mentioned in *Yas.* XLI, 24, *Râm Yt.* 7, *Zamyâd Yt.* 6.

⁵ So in *M6*, but *K20* has 'go in.'

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

⁷ See Chap. XIII, 3-5.

⁸ In *Aûharmazd Yt.* 31 and *Zamyâd Yt.* 2, 66, an *Ushidhâo* mountain is mentioned as having many mountain waters around it, but this seems to be a near neighbour of the *Ushidarena* mountain (see § 15). The details in the text correspond with the description of the *Hindva* mountain, given in *Tîstar Yt.* 32, thus: *us Hindvad paiti garôid yô histaiti maidhîm zrayanghō vouru-kashahê*, 'up on the *Hindva* mountain, which stands amid the wide-shored

(*khûn-âhinô*), of the substance of the sky¹, is *in* the midst of the wide-formed ocean, so that its water, which is from Hûgar, pours down into it (the ocean). 7. *Kakâd-i-Dâîtîk* ('the judicial peak') is that of the middle of the world, the height of a hundred men, on which the *Kînvâr* bridge² stands; and they take account of the soul at that place. 8. The *Arezûr*³ ridge [of the *Albûrz* mountain] is a summit at the gate of hell, where they always hold the concourse of the demons. 9. This also is said, that, excepting *Albûrz*, the *Apârsên*⁴ mountain is the

ocean;' and the Pahlavi name, *Aûsîndôm*, has probably arisen from the *us Hindvað* of this passage, as suggested by Justi. (See Chaps. XIII, 5, and XVIII, 10, 11.)

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

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

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

⁴ Justi adopts the reading *Harpârsên*, which occurs in K20 four times out of eleven, but is corrected thrice. Windischmann suggests that this mountain is the Av. *skyata* (or *iskatâ*) *upairi-saêna* of Yas. X, 29, and *Zamyâd Yt.* 3, which the Pahlavi translator of the Yasna explains as 'the *Pârsên* crag.' It seems to be a general name for the principal mountain ranges in the south and east of Iran, as may be seen on comparing this passage and Chap. XXIV,

greatest; the Apârsên mountain they call the mountain of Pârs, and its beginning is in Sagastân¹ and its end in Khûgîstân. 10. Mount Mânûs² is great; the mountain on which Mânûskîhar was born.

11. The remaining mountains have chiefly grown from those; as it is said that the elevation (afšârîh) of the districts had arisen most around those three mountains³. 12. Mount Aîraê⁴ is in the middle from Hamadân to Khvârizem, and has grown from Mount Apârsên. 13. Mount [Kîñö]⁵, which is on its east, on the frontier of Tûrkîstân, is connected also with Apârsên. 14. Mount Kaf⁶ has grown from the same Mount Apârsên. 15. Mount Aûshdâs-

28, with Chap. XX, 16, 17, 21, 22, where the Haro, Hêtûmand, Marv, and Balkh rivers are said to spring from Mount Apârsên; but its application to the southern range is perhaps due to the etymological attempt, in the text, to connect it with Pârs. The Selections of Zâd-spâram, VII, 7, have Kîñîstân for Khûgîstân.

¹ This name can also be read Sîstân.

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

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

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

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

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

târ¹ is in Sagastân. 16. Mount Arezûr² is that which is in the direction of Arûm. 17. The Padash-khvârgar³ mountain is that which is in Taparistân and the side of Gîlân. 18. The Rêvand⁴ mountain is in Khûrâsân⁵, on which the Bûrzn fire⁶ was established; and its *name* Rêvand *means* this, that *it* is glorious. 19. The Vâdgês⁷ mountain is that which is on the frontier of the Vâdgêsians; that quarter is full of timber *and* full of trees. 20. The Bakytr⁸ mountain is that which Frâsiyâv of Tûr used as a stronghold, and he made his residence within *it*; and *in* the days of Yim⁹ a myriad towns and cities were erected on its pleasant *and* prosperous territory. 21. Mount Kabed-sikaft¹⁰ ('very rugged')

¹ The Av. Ushi-darena of Yas. I, 41, II, 54, III, 55, IV, 45, XXII, 31, XXV, 22, Aûharmazd Yt. 31, Zamyâd Yt. 0, 2, 97.

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

³ Evidently the mountain range south of the Caspian, now called Albûrz; but whether this actual Albûrz is to be considered a part of the mythic Albûrz is not very clear.

⁴ The Av. Raêvaus, 'shining,' of Zamyâd Yt. 6. It is also called the Ridge of Vistâsp (see § 34).

⁵ Or, 'the east.'

⁶ See Chap. XVII, 8.

⁷ The Av. Vâiti-gaêsô, the twelfth mountain in Zamyâd Yt. 2; Bâdghês in Persian.

⁸ In § 2 it is Bakyir, which Justi thinks is another name for Mount Dârspêt ('white poplar'); the latter name not being repeated here makes this supposition probable.

⁹ K20 has rûm and M6 has lanman, but both explained by the Pâz. gloss Yim, which is also the reading of the Pâz. MSS. If the gloss be rejected the most probable translation would be, 'and in our days Shatrô-râm (or râmism), the victorious, erected on it a myriad towns and cities.'

¹⁰ Windischmann suggests that this may be intended for the Av. skyata or iskatâ mentioned in the note on Apârsên in § 9.

is that in Pârs, out of the same Mount Apârsên. 22. Mount Styâk-hômand ('being black') *and* Mount Vafar-hômand ('having snow')¹, as far as their Kâvûl borders, have grown out of it (Apârsên) towards the direction of K'îñö. 23. The Spend-yâd² mountain is in the circuit (var) of Rêvand³. 24. The Kôndrâsp⁴ mountain, on the summit of which is Lake Sôvbar⁵, is in the district (or by the town) of Tûs. 25. The Kondrâs⁶ mountain is in Aîrân-vêg. 26. The Asnavand⁷ mountain is in Âtarô-pâtakân. 27. The Rôyisn-hômand⁸ ('having growth') mountain is that on which vegetation has grown.

28. Whatever⁹ mountains are those which are in every place of the various districts *and* various

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

countries, and cause the tillage *and* prosperity therein, are many *in* name and many *in* number, *and* have grown from these same mountains. 29. *As* Mount Ganâvad, Mount Asparôg, Mount Pâhargar, Mount Dimâvand, Mount Râvak, Mount Zarîn, Mount Gêsbakht, Mount Dâvad, Mount Mîgîn, *and* Mount Marak¹, which have all grown from Mount Apârsên, of which the other mountains are enumerated. 30. For the Dâvad² mountain has grown into Khûgîstân likewise from the Apârsên mountain. 31. The Dimâvand³ mountain is that in which Bêvarâsp is bound. 32. From the same Padashkhvârgar mountain unto Mount Kûmîs⁴, *which* they call Mount Madôfryâd ('Come-to-help') — that in which Vistâsp routed Argâsp — is Mount Mîyân-î-dast ('mid-plain')⁵, *and* was broken off from that mountain there. 33. They say, in the war of the religion, when there was confusion among the Iranians it broke off from that mountain, *and* slid down *into* the middle of the plain; the Iranians were saved by

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

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

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

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

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

it, and it was called 'Come-to-help' by them. 34. The Ganâvad¹ mountain is likewise there, on the Ridge of Vistâsp (pûst-i Vistâspân)² at the abode of the Bûrzn-Mitrô fire, nine leagues (parasang) to the west. 35. Râvak Bîsan³ is in Zrâvakad; this place, some say, is Zravad, some call it Bîsan, some Kalâk; from this the road of two sides of the mountain is down the middle of a fortress; for this reason, that is, because it is there formed, they call Kalâk a fortress; this place they also call within the land of Sarak. 36. Mount Asparôg⁴ is established from the country of Lake Kêkast⁵ unto Pârs. 37. Pâhargar ('the Pâhar range') is in Khûrâsân. 38. Mount Marak⁶ is in Lârân. 39. Mount Zartn is in Tûrktstân. 40. Mount Bakht-tan⁷ is in Spâhân.

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

CHAPTER XIII.

1. On the nature of seas it says in revelation, that the wide-formed ocean keeps one-third of this earth on the south side of the border of Albûrz⁸, *and so*

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

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

³ Probably in Kirmân.

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

⁵ See Chap. XXII, 2.

⁶ Probably the Merkhinah range in northern Lâristân.

⁷ The Bakhtiyârî range in the province of Ispahân.

⁸ Or perhaps better thus: 'the wide-formed ocean is in the

wide-formed is the ocean that the water of a thousand lakes is held by it, such as the source Arêdvîvsûr¹, *which* some say is the fountain lake. 2. Every particular lake is of a particular kind², some are great, and some are small; some are so large that a man with a horse might compass *them* around in forty days³, which is 1700 leagues (parasang) in extent.

3. Through the warmth and clearness of the water, purifying more than other waters, everything continually flows from the source Arêdvîvsûr. 4. At the south of Mount Albûrz a hundred thousand golden channels are there formed, *and* that water goes with warmth and clearness, through the channels, on to Hûgar the lofty⁴; on the summit of that mountain is a lake⁵; into that lake it flows, becomes quite purified, and comes back through a different golden channel. 5. At the height of a thousand men an open golden branch from that channel is connected with Mount Aûsîndôm⁶ amid the wide-formed ocean; from there one portion flows forth to the ocean for the purification of the sea, *and* one portion drizzles in moisture upon the whole of this earth, and all the creations of Aûharmazd acquire

direction of the south limit of Albûrz, *and* possesses one-third of this earth.'

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

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

³ Compare Âbân Yt. 101.

⁴ See Chap. XII, 5.

⁵ Lake Urvis (see Chap. XXII, 11).

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

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

6. Of the salt seas three are principal, *and* twenty-three are small. 7. Of the three which are principal, one is the Pûtîk, one the Kamrûd, and one the Sahî-bûn. 8. Of all three the Pûtîk¹ is the largest, in which is a flow *and* ebb, on the same side as the wide-formed ocean, *and* it is joined to the wide-formed ocean. 9. Amid this wide-formed ocean, on the Pûtîk side, it has a sea which they call the Gulf (var) of Satavês². 10. Thick and salt the stench³ wishes to go from the sea Pûtîk to the wide-formed ocean; with a mighty high wind therefrom, the Gulf of Satavês drives away whatever is stench, *and* whatever is pure and clean goes into the wide-formed *ocean* and the source Arêdvîvsûr; *and* that flows back a second *time* to Pûtîk⁴. 11. The control⁵ of this sea (the Pûtîk) is connected with the

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

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

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

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

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

moon and wind; it comes again *and* goes down, in increase and decrease, because of her revolving. 12. The control¹ also of the Gulf of Satavêš is attached to the constellation Satavêš, in whose protection are the seas of the southern quarter, just as *those* on the northern side are in the protection of Haptôk-rîng². 13. Concerning the flow *and* ebb it is said, that everywhere from the presence of the moon two winds continually blow, whose abode is in the Gulf of Satavêš, one they call the down-draught, and one the up-draught; when the up-draught blows *it is* the flow, and when the down-draught blows it is the ebb³. 14. In the other seas there is nothing of the nature of a revolution of the moon therein, *and* there are no flow *and* ebb. 15. The sea of Kamrûd⁴ is that which they pass by, in the north, in Taparistân; that of Sahî-bûn⁵ is in Arûm.

16. Of the small seas that which was most whole-

¹ See p. 43, note 5.

² See Chap. II, 7.

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

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

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

some¹ was the sea Kyânsth², *such* as is in Sagastân; *at* first, noxious creatures, snakes, and lizards (vazagh) were not in *it*, *and* the water was sweeter *than in* any of the other seas; later (dadîgar) *it became* salt; at the closest, on account of the stench, it is not possible to go so near as one league, so very great are the stench and saltness through the violence of the hot wind. 17. When the renovation *of the universe* occurs it *will* again become sweet³.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. On the nature of the five classes of animals (gôspend) it says in revelation, that, when the primeval ox passed away⁴, there where the marrow came out grain grew up⁵ of fifty and five species, *and* twelve⁶ species of medicinal plants grew; as it says, that out of the marrow is every separate creature, every single thing whose lodgment is in the marrow⁷. 2. From the horns *arose* peas (mîgûk),

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

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

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

⁴ See Chaps. IV, 1, and X, 1.

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

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

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

from the nose the leek, from the blood the grapevine¹ from which they make wine—on this account wine abounds with blood—from the lungs the rue-like herbs, from the middle of the heart² thyme *for* keeping away stench, *and* every one of the others as revealed in the Avesta.

3. The seed of the ox was carried up to the moon station³; there it was thoroughly purified, *and* produced the manifold species of animals⁴. 4. First, two oxen, one male and one female, and, afterwards, one pair of every single species was let go into the earth, *and* was discernible in Atrân-vêg *for* a Hâsar ('mile'), which is like a Parasang ('league')⁵; as it says, that, on account of the valuableness of the ox, it was created twice, one time as an ox, and one time as the manifold species of animals. 5. A thousand days and nights they were without eating, and first water and afterwards herbage (aûrvar) were devoured by them.

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

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

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

³ See Chap. X, 2.

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

⁵ Reading mûn aê parasang humânâk; if 3 be read for aê the translation must be, 'three of which are like a Parasang,' for a Hâsar cannot be equal to three Parasangs (see Chaps. XVI, 7, and XXVI). The phrase in the text probably means merely that a Hâsar is a measure for long distances, just as a Parasang is.

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

8. As for the genera (khadûinak), the first genus is that which *has* the foot cloven in two, *and is* suitable for grazing; of which a camel larger than a horse is small *and* new-born. 9. The second genus is ass-footed, of which the swift² horse is the largest, *and* the ass the least. 10. The third genus is that of the five-dividing paw, of which the dog is the largest, *and* the civet-cat the least. 11. The fourth genus is the flying, of which the griffon of three natures³ is the largest, and the chaffinch⁴ the least. 12. The fifth genus is that of the water, of which the Kar fish⁵ is the largest, *and* the Nemadu⁶ the least.

13. These five genera are apportioned out into

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

² Pahl. zibâl = Pers. zîbâl.

³ The Pâz. sin-i se avinâ is the Pahl. sên-i 3 khadûinak of Chap. XXIV, 11, 29, the Sîn bird or Sîmurg of Persian legends, the Av. saêna. The word avinâ is a Pâz. misreading either of âinak, 'kind, sort,' or of anganâk, 'dividing.' The mixture of Pâzand and Pahlavi in this and some other chapters is rather perplexing, but the Pâzand misreadings can usually be corrected after transliterating them back into Pahlavi characters.

⁴ Reading va taru (Pers. tar).

⁵ See Chaps. XVIII, 3, and XXIV, 13.

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

two hundred and eighty-two¹ species (*sardak*). 14. First are five species of goat, the ass-goat², the milch-goat, the mountain-goat, the fawn, *and* the *common* goat. 15. Second, five species of sheep, that with a tail, that which has no tail, the dog-sheep, the wether, *and* the Kûrisk sheep, a sheep whose horn is great; it possesses a *grandeur*³ like unto a horse, *and* they use *it* mostly for a steed (*bâra*), as it is said that Mânûskîhar kept a Kûrisk as a steed. 16. Third, two species of camel, the mountain *one and that* suitable for grazing; for one is fit to keep in the mountain, *and* one in the plain; they are one-humped *and* two-humped. 17. Fourth, fifteen species of ox, the white, mud-coloured⁴, red, yellow, black, *and* dappled, the elk, the buffalo, the camel-leopard ox, the fish-chewing⁵ ox, the Fars ox, the *Kagau*, *and* other species of ox. 18. Fifth, eight species of horse, the Arab, the Persian, the mule⁶, the ass, the wild ass (*gôr*), the hippopotamus (*asp-i âvî*), *and* other species of horse. 19. Sixth, ten species of dog, the shepherd's dog, the village-dog which is the house-protector, the blood-hound, the slender hound⁷, the water-

¹ K20 alone has 272 (see Chap. X, 3).

² The *khar-bûz* (see Chap. XXIV, 2).

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

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

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

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

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

beaver¹ which they call the water-dog, the fox, the ichneumon (râsu), the hedgehog which they call 'thorny-back,' the porcupine², *and* the civet-cat; of which, two species are those accustomed³ to burrows, one the fox *and* one the ichneumon; *and* those accustomed to jungle are such as the porcupine which has spines on *its* back, *and* the hedgehog which is similar. 20. Seventh, five species of the black⁴ hare; two are wild species, one dwelling in a burrow⁵ *and* one dwelling in the jungle. 21. Eighth, eight species of weasel; one the marten, one the black marten, the squirrel, the Bez ermine⁶, the white ermine, *and* other species of weasel. 22. Ninth, eight species of musk *animals*; one is that which is recognised by *its* musk⁷, one

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

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

³ The Pâz. âmokhtes:n, which is an ungrammatical form, is evidently a misreading of the Pahl. âmûkhtagân.

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

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

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

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

the musk *animal* with a bag in which is their pleasant scent, the Bis-musk¹ which eats the Bis-herb, the black musk which is the enemy of the serpent *that is* numerous in rivers, *and* other species of musk *animals*. 23. Tenth, one hundred and ten species of birds; flying creatures (vey = vâî) such as the griffon bird², the Karsipt³, the eagle, the Kahrkâs⁴ which they call the vulture, the crow, the Ardâ, the crane, *and* the tenth⁵ is the bat. 24. There are two of them which have milk in the teat *and* suckle *their* young, the griffon bird and the bat which flies in the night; as they say that the bat is created of three races (sardak), the race (âyina) of the dog, the bird, *and* the musk *animal*; for it flies like a bird, has many teeth like a dog, *and* is dwelling in holes like a musk-rat. 25. These hundred and ten species of birds are distributed into eight groups (khadûinak), mostly as scattered about as when a man scatters seed, *and* drops the seed in *his* fingers to the ground, large, middling, *and* small. 26. Eleventh⁶, fish were created of ten

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

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

³ See Chap. XIX, 16.

⁴ See Chap. XIX, 25.

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

⁶ All the MSS. have 'twelfth,' but they give no 'eleventh' nor 'thirteenth,' though they have 'fourteenth' in § 29. These irre-

species; first, the fish Ariz¹, the Arzuvâ, the Arzukâ, the Marzukâ, *and* other Avesta names².

27. Afterwards, within each species, species within species are created, so the total is two hundred and eighty-two species³.

28. Of the dog they say that out of the star station, that is, *away* from the direction of the constellation Haptôk-rîng, was given to him further by a stage (yôgist)⁴ than to men, on account of *his* protection of sheep, *and* as associating with sheep *and* men; for this the dog is purposely adapted⁵, as three more kinds of advantage are given to him than *to* man, *he has* his own boots, his own clothing⁶, *and* may wander about without self-exertion.

29. The twelfth⁷ is the sharp-toothed beast of

gularities seem to indicate that part of this chapter has been omitted by some old copyist.

¹ See Chaps. XVIII, 5, and XXIV, 13.

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

³ K20 alone has 272 (see Chap. X, 3). The actual total number of species mentioned is 186, leaving ninety-six for the 'species within species.' Zâd-spâram in his Selections, Chap. IX, 14, differs from the numbers given in the text merely in giving ten species of ox, instead of fifteen; so the total of his details is 181, leaving 101 sub-species to make up his grand total of 282 (see App. to Bund.)

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

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

⁶ Compare Vend. XIII, 106.

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

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

30. Aûharmazd said when the bird Vâresha¹ was created by him, *which* is a bird of prey, thus: 'Thou art created by me, O bird Vâresha! so that my vexation may be greater than *my* satisfaction with thee, for thou doest the will of the evil spirit more than that of me; like the wicked man who did not become satiated with wealth, thou also dost not become satiated with the slaughter of birds; but if thou be not created by me, O bird Vâresha! thou wouldst be created by him, the evil spirit, *as* a kite² with the body of a Varpa³, by which no creature would be left alive.'

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

CHAPTER XV.

1. On the nature of men it says in revelation, that Gâyômarđ, in passing away⁴, gave forth seed; that seed was thoroughly purified by the motion of

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

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

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

⁴ See Chap. IV, 1.

the light of the sun, and Nêryôsang¹ kept charge of two portions, and Spendarmad² received one portion. 2. And *in* forty years, with the shape of a one-stemmed Rivâs-plant³, and the fifteen years of its fifteen leaves, Matrô and Matrôyâô⁴ grew up from the earth in such a manner that their arms rested behind on *their* shoulders (dôsh), and one joined to the other they were connected together and both alike. 3. And the waists of both of them were brought close *and* so connected together that it was not clear which is the male and which the female, and which is the *one* whose living soul (nismô) of Aûharmazd is not away⁵. 4. As it is said thus: 'Which is created before, the soul (nismô) or the body? And Aûharmazd said that the soul is created before, and the body after, for him who was

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

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

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

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

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

created; it is given into the body that it may produce activity, and the body is created only for activity;' hence the conclusion is this, that the soul (rûbân) is created before and the body after. 5. And both of them changed from the shape of a plant into the shape of man, *and* the breath (nismô) went spiritually into them, which is the soul (rûbân); and now, moreover, in that similitude a tree had grown up whose fruit was the ten varieties of man¹.

6. Aûharmazd spoke to Mashya *and* Mashyôht thus: 'You are man, you are the ancestry of the world, and you are created perfect in devotion² by me; perform devotedly the duty of the law, think good thoughts, speak good words, do good deeds, and worship no demons!' 7. Both of them first thought this, that one of them should please the other, as he is a man for him; and the first deed done by them was this, when they went out they washed³ themselves thoroughly; and the first words spoken by them were these, that Aûharmazd created the water and earth, plants and animals, the stars, moon, and sun, and all prosperity whose origin and effect are from the manifestation of righteousness⁴. 8. And, afterwards, antagonism rushed into their minds, and their minds were

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

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

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

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

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

10. And they had gone thirty days without food¹, covered with clothing of herbage (*giyâh*); *and* after the thirty days they went forth into the wilderness, came to a white-haired goat, and milked the milk from the udder with their mouths. 11. When they had devoured the milk *Mâshya said* to *Mâshyôt* thus: 'My delight was owing to it when I had not devoured the milk, and my delight is more delightful now when it is devoured by my vile body.'

12. That second false speech enhanced the power of the demons, and the taste of the food was taken away by them, so that out of a hundred parts one part remained.

13. Afterwards, in another thirty days and nights they came to a sheep, fat² *and* white-jawed, and they slaughtered *it*; and fire was extracted by them out of the wood of the lote-plum³ and box-tree, through the guidance of the heavenly angels, since both woods were most productive of fire for them;

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

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

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

and the fire was stimulated by their mouths; and the first fuel kindled by them was dry grass, *kendâr*, *lotos*, date palm leaves, *and* myrtle; and they made a roast of the sheep. 14. And they dropped three handfuls of the meat into the fire, *and* said: 'This is the share of the fire ¹.' One piece of the rest they tossed to the sky, *and* said: 'This is the share of the angels.' A bird, the vulture, advanced *and* carried *some* of it away from before *them*, as a dog ate the first meat. 15. And, first, a clothing of skins covered them; afterwards, it is said, woven garments were prepared *from* a cloth woven ² in the wilderness. 16. And they dug out a pit in the earth, and iron was obtained by them and beaten out with a stone, and without a forge they beat out a cutting edge ³ from it; and they cut wood with it, *and* prepared a wooden shelter from the sun (*pês-khûr*).

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

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

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

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

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

thus : 'You are man ; worship the demon ! so that your demon of malice may repose.' 19. Mâshya went forth and milked a cow's milk, *and* poured it out towards the northern quarter ; through that the demons became more powerful, and *owing to* them they both became so dry-backed that in fifty winters they had no desire for intercourse, and though they had had intercourse they would have had no children. 20. And on the completion of fifty years the source of desire arose, first *in* Mâshya and then *in* Mâshyôî, for Mâshya said to Mâshyôî thus : 'When I see thy shame my desires arise.' Then Mâshyôî spoke thus : 'Brother Mâshya ! when I see thy great desire I am also agitated¹.' 21. Afterwards, it became their mutual wish that the satisfaction of their desires should be accomplished, as they reflected thus : 'Our duty even for those fifty years was this.'

22. From them was born in nine months a pair, male and female ; *and* owing to tenderness for offspring² the mother devoured one, and the father one.

23. And, afterwards, Aûharmazd took tenderness for offspring away from them, so that *one* may nourish a child, and the child may remain.

24. And from them arose seven pairs, male *and*

¹ This is merely a paraphrase of the original.

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

female, *and* each was a brother and sister-wife; and from every one of them, in fifty years, children were born, and they themselves died in a hundred years.

25. Of those seven pairs one was Sîyâkmak, the name of the man, and Nasâk¹ of the woman; and from them a pair was born, whose names were Fravâk of the man and Fravâkain of the woman.

26. From them fifteen pairs were born, every single pair of whom became a race (*sardak*); and from them the constant continuance of the generations of the world arose.

27. Owing to the increase (*zâyisn*) of the whole fifteen races, nine races proceeded on the back of the ox Sarsaok², through the wide-formed ocean, to the other six regions (*kêshvar*), and stayed there; and six races of men remained in Khvantras.

28. Of those six races the name of the man of one pair was Tâz and of the woman Tâzak, and they went to the plain of the Tâzikân (Arabs); and of one pair Hôshyang³ was the name of the man and Gûzak of the woman, and from them arose the Afrânakân (Iranians); and from one pair the Mâzendarâns⁴ have arisen. 29. Among the number (*pavan aê mar*) were those who are in the coun-

¹ Or 'Varâk.'

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

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

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

tries of Sûrâk¹, those who are in the country of Anêr², those who are in the countries of Tûr, those who are in the country of Salm which is Arûm, those who are in the country of Sênî, that which is Kînistân, those who are in the country of Dâi³, and those who are in the country of Sînd⁴. 30. Those, indeed, throughout the seven regions are all from the lineage of Fravâk, son of Stiyâkmak, son of Mâshya.

31. As there were ten varieties of man⁵, and fifteen races from Fravâk, there were twenty-five races all from the seed of Gâyômarđ; *the varieties are such as those* of the earth, of the water, the breast-eared, the breast-eyed, the one-legged, those also who have wings like a bat, *those* of the forest, with tails, and who have hair on the body⁶.

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

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

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

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

⁵ Grown on a separate tree (see § 5).

⁶ Only seven varieties of human monsters are here enumerated,

CHAPTER XVI.

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

4. The female seed is cold and moist, and *its* flow is from the loins, and the colour is white, red, and yellow; and the male seed is hot and dry, *its* flow is from the brain of the head, *and* the colour is white and mud-coloured (*hasgûn*). 5. All¹ the seed of the females *which* issues beforehand, takes a place within the womb, and the seed of the males will remain above it, *and* will fill the space of the womb; whatever refrains therefrom becomes blood again, enters into the veins of the females, *and* at the time any one is born it becomes milk and

for the last three details seem to refer to one variety, the monkeys. The Pârsî MS. of miscellaneous texts, M7 (fol. 120), says, 'The names of the ten species of men are the breast-eyed, the three-eyed, the breast-eared, the elephant-eared, the one-legged, the web-footed, the leopard-headed, the lion-headed, the camel-headed, *and* the dog-headed.'

¹ M6 has 'always.'

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

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

7. As regards the fish¹ it says that, at the time of excitement, they go forwards and come back in the water, two *and* two, the length of a mile (hâsar), which is one-fourth of a league (parasang), in the running water; in that coming *and* going they then rub *their* bodies *together*, and a kind of sweat drops out betwixt them, *and* both become pregnant.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. On the nature of fire it says in revelation, that fire is produced of five kinds, namely, the fire Berezi-savang², the fire which shoots up before Aû-harmazd the lord; the fire Vohu-fryân³, the fire which is in the bodies of men and animals; the fire Urvâzist⁴, the fire which is in plants; the fire

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

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

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

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

Vâzist¹, the fire which is in a cloud *which* stands opposed to Spêngargâk in conflict; the fire Spênist², the fire which they keep in use in the world, likewise the fire of Vâhrâm³. 2. Of those five fires one consumes both water and food, as that which is in the bodies of men; one consumes water *and* consumes no food, as that which is in plants, which live and grow through water; one consumes food *and* consumes no water, as that which they keep in use in the world, and likewise the fire of Vâhrâm; one consumes no water and no food, as the fire Vâzist. 3. The Berezi-savang is that in the earth and mountains *and* other things, which⁴ Aûharmazd created, *in* the original creation, like three breathing souls (nismô); through the watchfulness and protection *due* to them the world ever develops (vakhshêd).

4. And in the reign of Takhmôrup⁵, when men continually passed, on the back of the ox Sarsaok⁶, from Khvanîras to the other regions, one night

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

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

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

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

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

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

amid the sea the wind rushed upon¹ the fireplace—the fireplace in which the fire was, such as was provided in three places on the back of the ox—which the wind dropped with the fire into the sea; and all those three fires, like three breathing souls, continually shot up in the place and position of the fire on the back of the ox, so that it becomes quite light, *and* the men pass again through the sea.

5. And in the reign of Yim² every duty was performed more fully through the assistance of all those three fires; and the fire Frôbak³ was established by him at the appointed place (dâd-gâs) on the Gadman-hômand ('glorious') mountain in Khvârizem⁴, which Yim constructed for them; and the glory of Yim saves the fire Frôbak from the hand of Dahâk⁵.

6. In the reign of King Vistâsp, upon revelation from the religion⁶, it was established, out of Khvârizem, at the Rôshan ('shining') mountain in Kâvulistân, the country of Kâvul (Kâbul), just as it remains there even now.

7. The fire Gûsasp, until the reign of Kaî-Khûsrôb⁷, continually afforded the world protection in the manner *aforesaid*⁸; *and* when Kaî-Khûsrôb⁷ was

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

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

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

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

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

⁶ Or, 'upon declaration from revelation.'

⁷ Here written Kaî-Khûsrôbî.

⁸ In § 3. The 'three breathing souls' of spiritual fire are sup-

extirpating the idol-temples of Lake *Kêkast*¹ it settled upon the mane of *his* horse, and drove away the darkness and gloom, and made *it* quite light, so that they might extirpate the idol-temples; in the same locality the fire *Gûsasp* was established at the appointed place on the Asnavand mountain².

8. The fire *Bûrzîn-Mitrô*, until the reign of King *Vistâsp*, ever assisted³, *in* like manner, in the world, *and* continually afforded protection; *and* when the glorified⁴ *Zaratûst* was introduced to produce confidence in the progress of the religion, King *Vistâsp* and *his* offspring were steadfast in the religion of God⁵, *and* *Vistâsp* established *this fire* at the appointed place on Mount *Rêvand*, where they say the Ridge of *Vistâsp* (*pûst-i Vistâspân*) is⁶.

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

posed to be incorporated in its three earthly representatives, the fires *Frôbak*, *Gûsasp*, and *Bûrzîn-Mitrô* respectively.

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

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

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

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

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

⁶ See Chap. XII, 18, 34.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. On the nature of the tree they call Gôkard¹ it says in revelation, that *it was* the first day when the tree they call Gôkard grew in the deep mud² within the wide-formed ocean; *and* it is necessary as a producer of the renovation *of the universe*, for they prepare its immortality therefrom. 2. The evil spirit has formed therein, among those which enter as opponents, a lizard³ as an opponent in that deep water, so that it may injure the Hô⁴. 3. And for keeping away that lizard, Aûharmazd has created there ten Kar fish⁵ which, at all times, continually circle around the Hô⁴, so that the head of one of those fish is continually towards the lizard. 4. And together with the lizard those fish are spiritually fed⁶, that is, no food is necessary for them; *and* till the renovation *of the universe* they remain in contention. 5. There are places *where* that fish is

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

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

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

⁴ That is, the Gôkard tree, which is the white Hô⁴ (see Chap. XXVII, 4).

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

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

written *of as* 'the Ariz¹ of the water;' as it says that the greatest of the creatures of Aûharmazd is that fish, and the greatest of those *proceeding* from the evil spirit is that lizard; with the jaws of *their* bodies, moreover, they snap in two whatever of the creatures of both *spirits has* entered between them, except that one fish which is the Vâs of Pankâsadvarân². 6. This, too, is said, that those fish are so serpent-like³ in that deep water, they know the scratch (mâlisn) of a needle's point by which the water shall increase, or by which it is diminishing.

7. Regarding the Vâs of Pankâsadvarân it is declared that it moves within the wide-formed ocean, and its length is as much as what a man, while in a swift race, will walk *from* dawn till when the sun goes down; so much that it does not itself move⁴ the length of the whole of its great body. 8. This, too, is said, that the creatures of the waters live also specially *under* its guardianship.

9. The tree of many seeds has grown amid the wide-formed ocean, and in its seed are all plants; some say *it is* the proper-curing, some the energetic-curing, some the all-curing⁵.

¹ See Chaps. XIV, 26, and XXIV, 13.

² The Av. vâsîm yām pankâsadvarām of Yas. XLI, 27.

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

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

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

10. Between¹ these trees of such kinds² is formed the mountain with cavities, 9999 thousand myriads *in number*, each myriad being ten thousand.

11. Unto that mountain is given the protection of the waters, so that water streams forth from there, in the rivulet channels, to the land of the seven regions, as the source of all the sea-water in the land of the seven regions is from there³.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. Regarding the three-legged ass⁴ they say, that it stands amid the wide-formed ocean, and its feet are three, eyes six, mouths⁵ nine, ears two, and horn

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

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

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

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

⁵ This is the traditional meaning of the word, which (if this

one, body white, food spiritual, *and* it is righteous. 2. And two of its six eyes are in the position of eyes, two on the top of the head, and two in the position of the hump¹; with the sharpness of those six eyes it overcomes *and* destroys. 3. Of the nine mouths three are in the head, three in the hump, and three in the inner part of the flanks; and each mouth is about the size of a cottage, and *it is* itself as large as Mount Alvand². 4. Each one of the three feet, when it is placed on the ground, is as much as a flock (*gird*) of a thousand sheep comes under when they repose together; *and* each pastern³ is so great in its circuit that a thousand men with a thousand horses may pass inside. 5. As for the two ears *it is* Mâzendarân which they will encompass. 6. The one horn is as it were of gold *and* hollow, and a thousand *branch* horns⁴ have grown upon it, some befitting⁵ a camel, some befitting a horse, some befitting an ox, some befitting an ass, both great and small. 7. With that horn it will vanquish *and* dissipate all the vile corruption *due to* the efforts of noxious creatures.

meaning be correct) ought probably to be read *yông*, and be traced to Av. *ēaungh* (Yas. XXVIII, 11). In the MSS. the word is marked as if it were pronounced *günd*, which means 'a testicle.'

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

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

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

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

⁵ Reading *zîyâk*; compare Pers. *ziyâdan*, 'to suit, befit.'

8. When that ass shall hold *its* neck in the ocean *its* ears will terrify (*asahmêd*), *and* all the water of the wide-formed ocean will shake with agitation, *and* the side of Ganâvad¹ will tremble (*shivanêd*).

9. When it utters a cry all female water-creatures, of the creatures of Aûharmazd, will become pregnant; and all pregnant noxious water-creatures, when they hear that cry, will cast *their* young.

10. When it stales in the ocean all the sea-water will become purified, which is in the seven regions of the earth—*it is* even on that account when all asses which come into water stale in the water—as it says thus: 'If, O three-legged ass! you were not created for the water, all the water in the sea would have perished from the contamination which the poison of the evil spirit has brought into its water, through the death of the creatures of Aûharmazd.'

11. Tîstar seizes the water² more completely from the ocean with the assistance of the three-legged ass. 12. Of ambergris also (*ambar-ikê*) *it* is declared, that it is the dung of the three-legged ass; for if it has much spirit food, then also the moisture of the liquid nourishment goes through the veins *pertaining* to the body into the urine, *and* the dung is cast away.

13. Of the ox Hadhayôš³, which they call Sar-saok⁴, it says, that in the original creation men passed from region to region *upon it*, *and* in the

¹ A mountain (see Chap. XII, 29, 34).

² See Chap. VII, 11.

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

⁴ See Chaps. XV, 27, XVII, 4.

renovation of the universe they prepare Hûsh (the beverage producing immortality) from it. 14. It is said, that life is in the hand of that foremost man, at the end of *his* years¹, who has constructed the most defences around this earth, until the renovation of the universe is requisite.

15. Regarding the bird *Kâmrôs*² it says, that *it* is on the summit of Mount Albûrz; and every three years many come from the non-Iranian districts for booty (*gird*)³, by going to bring damage (*zîyân*) on the Iranian districts, and to effect the devastation of the world; then the angel *Bûrg*⁴, having come up from the low country of Lake Arag⁵, arouses that very bird *Kâmrôs*, and it flies upon the loftiest of all the lofty mountains, and picks up all those non-Iranian districts as a bird *does* corn.

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

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

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

³ Or, 'to an assembly.'

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

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

⁶ The Av. *vis karsipta* of Vend. II, 139, where, however, *vis*

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

18. The griffon bird¹, which is a bat, is noticed (*karđ*) twice in another chapter (*babâ*).

19. Regarding the bird *Ashôzust*², which is the bird *Zobara*³-*vahman* and also the bird *Sôk*⁴, they say that it has given an Avesta with *its* tongue; when it speaks the demons tremble at it and take nothing away there; a nail-paring, when it is not prayed over (*afsûd*), the demons and wizards seize, and like an arrow it shoots at and kills that bird.

20. On this account the bird seizes and devours a nail-paring when it is prayed over, so that the demons may not control *its* use; when it is not prayed over it does not devour *it*, and the demons are able to commit an offence with it.

21. Also other beasts and birds are created all in opposition to noxious creatures, as it says, that when the birds and beasts are all in opposition to noxious creatures and wizards, &c.⁵ 22. This, too, it says, that of all precious⁶ birds the crow (*valâgh*) is the most precious. 23. Regarding the white falcon it

does not mean 'bird,' and the Pahlavi translator calls it 'a quadruped.' In the Pahl. Visp. I, 1, 'the Karsipt is the chief of flying creatures,' and the Bundahis also takes it as a bird (see Chaps. XIV, 23, XXIV, 11).

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

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

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

⁴ Compare Pers. *sak*, 'a magpie.'

⁵ This quotation is evidently left incomplete.

⁶ The Pahlavi word is ambiguous; it may be read *zîl*, 'cheap, common,' or it may be *zagar* = *yakar*, 'dear, precious,' but the

says, that it kills the serpent with wings. 24. The magpie (kâskînak) bird kills the locust, *and* is created in opposition to it. 25. The Kahrkâs¹, dwelling in decay, which is the vulture, is created for devouring dead matter (na sât); so also are the crow (valâk)² and the mountain kite.

26. The mountain ox, the mountain goat, the deer, the wild ass, *and* other beasts devour all snakes. 27. So also, of other *animals*, dogs are created in opposition to the wolf species, *and* for securing the protection of sheep; the fox is created in opposition to the demon Khava; the ichneumon is created in opposition to the venomous snake (garzak) *and* other noxious creatures in burrows; so also the great musk-*animal* is created in opposition³ to ravenous intestinal worms (kadûk-dânak garzak). 28. The hedgehog is created in opposition to the ant which carries off grain⁴, as it says, that the hedgehog, every time that it voids urine into an ant's nest, will destroy a thousand ants; when the grain-carrier travels over the earth it pro-

latter seems most probable, although the crow is perhaps as 'common' as it is 'precious,' as a scavenger in the East. Singularly enough Pers. arzân is a synonym to both words, as it means both 'cheap' and 'worthy.'

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

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

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

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

duces a hollow track¹; when the hedgehog travels over it the track goes away from it, and it becomes level. 29. The water-beaver is created in opposition to the demon which is in the water. 30. The conclusion is this, that, of all beasts and birds and fishes, every one is created in opposition to some noxious creature.

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

33. The cock is created in opposition to demons *and* wizards, co-operating with the dog; as it says in revelation, that, of the creatures of the world, those which are co-operating with Srôsh², in destroying the fiends, are the cock and the dog. 34. This, too, it says, that it would not have *been* managed if I had not created the shepherd's dog, which is the Pasus-haurva³, *and* the house watch-dog, the Vis-haurva³; for it says in revelation, that the dog is a destroyer of such a fiend as covetous-

¹ Comparing sŭrâk with Pers. surâgh in preference to sŭrâkh or sŭlâkh, 'a hole.'

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

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

ness, among those which are in the nature (a^ltⁱh) of man and of animals. 35. Moreover it says, that, inasmuch as it will destroy all the disobedient, when it barks it will destroy pain¹; and its flesh and fat are remedies for driving away decay and pain from men².

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

CHAPTER XX.

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

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

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

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

mazd¹; one towards the west, that is the Arag²; *and* one towards the east, that is the Vêh river. 2. After them eighteen rivers flowed forth from the same source, just as the remaining waters have flowed forth from them in great multitude; as they say that they flowed out so very fast, one from the other, as when a man recites one Ashem-vohû³ of a series (padîsâr). 3. All of those, with the same water, are again mingled with these rivers, that is, the Arag river *and* Vêh river. 4. Both of them continually circulate through the two extremities of the earth, and pass into the sea; and all the regions feast owing to the discharge (za hâk) of both, which, after both arrive together at the wide-formed ocean, returns to the sources whence they flowed out; as it says in revelation, that just as the light comes in through Albûrz *and* goes out through Albûrz⁴, the

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

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

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

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

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

⁴ See Chap. V, 5.

water also comes out through Albûrz and goes away through Albûrz. 5. This, too, it says, that the spirit of the Arag begged of Aûharmazd thus: 'O first omniscient creative power¹! from whom the Vêh river begged for the welfare that thou mightest grant, do thou then grant *it* in my quantity!' 6. The spirit of the Vêh river similarly begged of Aûharmazd for the Arag river; *and* on account of loving assistance, one towards the other, they flowed forth with equal strength, as before the coming of the destroyer they proceeded without rapids, and when the fiend shall be destroyed² they *will* again be without rapids.

7. Of those eighteen principal rivers, distinct from the Arag river *and* Vêh river, and the other rivers which flow out from them, I *will* mention the more famous³: the Arag river, the Vêh river, the Diglat⁴ river they call also again the Vêh river⁵, the Frât river, the Dâttk river, the Dargâm river, the Zôndak river, the Harôt river, the Marv river, the Hêtûmand river, the Akhôshir river, the Nâvadâ⁶ river, the Zîsmand river, the Khvegand river, the Balkh river, the Mehrvâ river they call the Hendvâ river, the Spêd⁷ river, the Rad⁸ river which they call also the Koir, the Khvaraê river which they call

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

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

³ For details regarding these rivers see the sequel.

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

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

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

⁷ K20 has 'Spend.'

⁸ Called Tort in S. & C.

also the Mesrgân, the Harhaz¹ river, the Teremet river, the Khvanaîdis² river, the Dâraga river, the Kâstk river, the Sêd³ ('shining') river Pêdâ-meyan or Katru-meyan river of Mokarstân.

8. I *will* mention them also a second time: the Arag⁴ river is that of which it is said that it comes out from Albûrz in the land of Sûrâk⁵, *in* which they call it also the Âmi; it passes on through the land of Spêtos, which they also call Mesr, and they call it there the river Niv⁶. 9. The Vêh⁷ river

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷ The 'good' river, which, with the Arag and the ocean, completes

passes on in the east, goes through the land of Sînd¹, and flows to the sea in Hindûstân, and they call it there the Mehrâ² river. 10. The sources of the Frât³ river are from the frontier of Arûm, they feed *upon it* in Sûristân, and it flows to the Diglat river; and of this Frât *it is*⁴ that they produce irrigation over the land. 11. It is declared that Mânûskîhar excavated the sources, and cast back the water all to one place, as it says thus: 'I reverence the Frât, full of fish, which Mânûskîhar excavated for *the benefit of* his own soul, and he seized the water and gave to drink⁵.' 12. The Diglat⁶ river comes out from Salmân⁷, and flows to the sea in Khûgistân. 13. The Dâitk⁸ river is the river

the circuit of the known world, and is evidently identified with the Indus; sometimes it seems also to include the Âmû (Oxus), as Bactria was considered a part of India; thus we find the Balkh and Teremet rivers flowing into the Vêh (see §§ 22, 28).

¹ See § 30.

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁸ The Av. Dâitya of Vend. XIX, 5, Aûtharmazd Yt. 21, Âbân Yt. 112, Gôs Yt. 29. The 'good dâitya of Airyana-vaêgô' is also

which comes out from Aîrân-vêg, *and* goes out through the hill-country¹; of all rivers the noxious creatures in it are most, as it says, that the Dâîtîk river is full of noxious creatures. 14. The Dargâm river is in Sûde. 15. The Zend² river passes through the mountains of Pangistân, *and* flows away to the Haro river. 16. The Haro³ river flows out from the Apârsên range⁴. 17. The Hêtûmand⁵ river is in Sagastân, and its sources are from the Apârsên range; this is distinct from that which Frâsîyâv conducted away⁶. 18. The river Akhôshir is in Kûmîs⁷. 19. The Zîsmand⁸ river, in the direc-

mentioned in Vend. I, 6, II, 42, 43, Âbân Yt. 17, 104, Râm Yt. 2, but this may not be a river, though the phrase has, no doubt, led to locating the river Dâîtîk in Aîrân-vêg.

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

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

³ This is the Heri, which flows past Herat.

⁴ See Chap. XII, 9.

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

⁶ See § 34 and Chap. XXI, 6.

⁷ The district about Dâmaghân.

⁸ Perhaps the Zaratân.

tion of Soghd, flows away towards the Khvegand river. 20. The Khvegand¹ river goes on through the midst of Samarkand *and* Pargâna, and they call it also the river Ashârd. 21. The Marv² river, a glorious river in the east³, flows out from the Apârsên range. 22. The Balkh river comes out *from* the Apârsên mountain of Bâmikân⁴, *and* flows on to the Vêh⁵ river. 23. The Spêd⁶ river is in Âtarô-pâtakân; they say that Dahâk begged a favour⁷ here from Aharman and the demons. 24. The Tort⁸ river, which they call also the Koir, comes out from

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

² The Murghâb.

³ Or, 'in Khûrâsân.'

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

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

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

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

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

the sea of Gîklân¹, and flows to the sea of Vergân². 25. The Zahâvayi³ is the river *which* comes out from Âtarô-pâtakân, and flows to the sea in Pârs. 26. The sources of the Khvaraê⁴ river are from Spâhân⁵; it passes on through Khûgîstân, flows forth to the Diglat⁶ river, and in Spâhân they call it the Mesrkân⁷ river. 27. The Harhaz⁸ river is in Tapa-ristân, and its sources are from Mount Dimâvand. 28. The Teremet⁹ river flows away to the Vêh river. 29. The Vendeses¹⁰ river is in *that part of* Pârs which they call Sagastân. 30. The Kâsak¹¹ river comes out through a ravine (kâ f) in the province of Tûs¹², and they call it there the Kasp river; more-

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

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

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

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

⁵ Ispahân in Persian.

⁶ Miswritten Dayrid in Pâzand (see § 12).

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

⁸ Flows into the Caspian near Amûl.

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

¹⁰ Called Khvanâidis, or Khvanâinidis, in § 7.

¹¹ Called Kâsîk in § 7.

¹² Close to Meshhed.

over, the river, which is there the Vêh, they call the Kâsak¹; even in Sînd they call *it* the Kâsak. 31. The Pêdâk-mîyân², which is the river Katru-mîyân, is that which is in Kangdez³. 32. The Dâraga river is in Aîrân-vêg, on the bank (bâr) of which was the dwelling of Pôrûshasp, the father of Zaratûst⁴. 33. The other innumerable waters and rivers, springs *and* channels are one in origin with those⁵; so in various districts *and* various places they call *them* by various names.

34. Regarding Frâsiyâv⁶ they say, that a thousand springs were conducted away by him into the sea Kyânsîh⁷, suitable for horses, suitable for camels, suitable for oxen, suitable for asses, both great and small⁸; and he conducted the spring Zarînmând (or golden source), which is the Hêtûmand⁹ river, they say, into the same sea; and he conducted the seven navigable waters of the source of the Vakaêni¹⁰ river into the same sea, *and* made men settle *there*.

¹ Or, 'this same Vêh river they call there the Kâsak; even in Sênî they call *it* the Kâsak;' Sênî is apt to be miswritten Sênd or Sînd (see Chap. XV, 29).

² See § 7. The latter half of both names can also be read mâhan, mâhô, or mahân. Pêshyôtan, son of Vistâsp, seems to have taken a surname from this river (see Chap. XXIX, 5).

³ See Chap. XXIX, 10.

⁴ See Chaps. XXIV, 15, XXXII, 1, 2.

⁵ Or, 'are from those as a source.'

⁶ The MSS. have 'Pôrûshasp,' but compare § 17 and Chap. XXI, 6. The two names are somewhat alike in Pahlavi writing.

⁷ See Chap. XIII, 16.

⁸ Compare Chap. XIX, 6. K20 omits the words 'suitable for asses' here.

⁹ Another Hêtûmand according to § 17. Possibly a dried-up bed of that river.

¹⁰ K20 has Vataêni; *k* and *t* being much alike in Pâzand. The

CHAPTER XXI¹.

1. In revelation they mention seventeen² species of liquid (mayâ), as one liquid resides in plants³; second, that which is flowing from the mountains, that is, the rivers; third, that which is rain-water; fourth, that of tanks *and* other special *constructions*; fifth, the semen of animals and men; sixth, the urine of animals and men⁴; seventh, the sweat of animals and men; the eighth liquid is that in the skin of animals and men; ninth, the tears of animals and men; tenth, the blood of animals and men; eleventh, the oil in animals and men, a necessary in both worlds⁵; twelfth, the saliva of animals and men, with which they nourish the embryo⁶; the thirteenth is that which is under the bark⁷ of plants, as it is said that every bark has a liquid, through which a drop *appears* on a twig (têkh) *when placed* four finger-breadths before a fire⁸; fourteenth, the milk of animals and men. 2. All these, through growth, or

'navigable (nâvtâk) waters' may be 'the Nâvadâ river' of § 7, 'the river Nâhvtâk' of Chap. XXI, 6, and Nâîvtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.

¹ This chapter is evidently a continuation of the preceding one.

² Only fourteen are mentioned in the details which follow.

³ Most of these details are derived from the Pahl. Yas. XXXVIII, 7-9, 13, 14; and several varieties of water are also described in Yas. LXVII, 15.

⁴ This sixth liquid is omitted by K20.

⁵ Departed souls are said to be fed with oil in paradise.

⁶ K20 omits the word pûs, 'embryo.'

⁷ The meaning 'bark' for Pâz. ay van is merely a guess; Anquetil has 'sap' (compare Pers. âvînâ, 'juice'), but this is hardly consistent with the rest of the sentence.

⁸ See Chap. XXVII, 25.

the body which is formed, mingle again with the rivers, for the body which is formed *and* the growth are both one.

3. This, too, they say, that of these three rivers, that is, the Arag river, the Marv river, *and* the Vêh¹ river, the spirits were dissatisfied, so that they would not flow into the world, owing to the defilement of stagnant water (armêst) which they beheld, so that they were in tribulation through it until Zarâtûst was exhibited to them, whom I (Aûharmazd) will create, who *will* pour sixfold holy-water (zôr) into it *and* make *it* again wholesome; he will preach carefulness². 4. This, too, it says, that, of water whose holy-water is more and pollution less, the holy-water has come in excess, *and* in three years it goes back to the sources³; *that* of which the pollution *and* holy-water have both become equal, arrives back in six years; *that* of which the pollution is more and holy-water less, arrives back in nine years. 5. So, also, the growth of plants is connected, in this manner, strongly with the root⁴; so, likewise, the blessings (âfrîn) which the righteous utter, come back, in this proportion, to themselves.

6. Regarding the river Nâhvâtâk⁵ it says, that Frâstiyâv of Tûr conducted it away; *and* when⁶

¹ K20 has 'Hêtûmand,' but M6 has 'Sapîr,' the Huz. equivalent of 'Vêh,' which is more probable.

² Or, 'abstinence *from impurity*.'

³ The source Arêdvîvsûr (see Chap. XIII, 3, 10).

⁴ That is, by the sap circulating like the waters of the earth. The greater part of this sentence is omitted in K20.

⁵ Probably 'the Nâvadâ' and 'navigable waters' of Chap. XX, 7, 34, and Nâivtâk of Chap. XXIX, 4, 5.

⁶ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see note to Chap. I, 7).

Hûshêdar¹ comes it *will* flow again suitable for horses; so, also, *will* the fountains of the sea Kyânsih². 7. Kyânsih² is the one where the home (gînâk) of the Kayân race is.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. On the nature of lakes it says in revelation, that thus many fountains of waters have come into notice, which they call lakes (var); counterparts of the eyes (kashm) of men are those fountains (kashmak) of waters; such as Lake Kêkast, Lake Sôvbar, Lake Khvârizem³, Lake Frazdân, Lake Zarinmand, Lake Âsvast, Lake Husru, Lake Satavês, Lake Urvis.

2. I *will* mention them also a second time: Lake Kêkast⁴ is in Âtarô-pâtakân, warm is the water *and* opposed to harm, so that nothing whatever is living in *it*; and its source is connected with the wide-formed ocean⁵. 3. Lake Sôvbar is in the upper district and country on the summit of the mountain of Tûs⁶; as it says, that the Sûd-bâhar⁷ ('share of benefit') is propitious and good from which abound-

¹ Written Khûrshêdar, as usual in Bundahis (see Chap. XXXII, 8).

² Written Kayâseh in Pâzand (see Chap. XIII, 16).

³ Pâz. Khvârazm both here and in § 4.

⁴ Av. Kêkastâ of Âbân Yt. 49, Gôr Yt. 18, 21, 22, Ashi Yt. 38, 41, Sîrôz. 9. The present Lake Urumiyah in Âdarbîgân, which is called Khêgest, or Kêgest, by 'Hamdu-l-lâh Mustaûfi.

⁵ Implying that the water is salt.

⁶ The Kôndrâsp mountain (see Chap. XII, 24). This lake is probably a small sheet of water on the mountains near Meshhed.

⁷ Evidently a punning etymology of the name of this lake.

ing liberality is produced. 4. Regarding Lake Khvârizem¹ it says that excellent benefit is produced from it, *that is*, Arshisang² the rich in wealth, the well-portioned *with* abounding 'pleasure. 5. Lake Frazdân³ is in Sagastân; they say, where a generous man, *who is* righteous, throws anything into it, it receives *it*; when not righteous, it throws *it* out again; its source also is connected with the wide-formed *ocean*. 6. Lake Zartnmand is in Hamadân⁴. 7. Regarding Lake Âsvast it is declared that the undefiled⁵ water which it contains is always constantly flowing into the sea, so bright and copious⁶ that *one* might say that the sun had come into it *and* looked at Lake Âsvast, into that water which is requisite for restoring the dead in the renovation *of the universe*. 8. Lake Husru⁷ is within fifty⁸

¹ The province of Khvârizem was between the Aral and Caspian, along the ancient course of the Oxus (see Chap. XVII, 5). This lake has been identified with the Aral.

² Av. *ashis vanguhi*, 'good rectitude,' personified as a female angel whose praises are celebrated in the *Ashi Yast*; in later times she has been considered as the angel dispensing wealth and possessions. She is also called *Arđ* (Av. *areta*, which is synonymous with *asha*), see Chap. XXVII, 24.

³ The 'Frazdânava water' of Âbân Yt. 108 and Farhang-i Oim-khadûk, p. 17. Justi identifies it with the Âb-istâdah ('standing water') lake, south of Ghaznî. It is here represented as a salt lake.

⁴ K20 adds, 'they say.' This lake cannot be the spring Zartnmand of Chap. XX, 34.

⁵ Pâz. *avnasti* transcribed into Pahlavi is *avinastag*, 'unspoiled,' the equivalent of Av. *anâhita* in Yas. LXIV, 1, 16, Visp. I, 18.

⁶ K20 has 'glorious' as a gloss to 'copious.'

⁷ The Av. *Haosravangha* of Sîroz. 9, 'the lake which is named *Husravau*' of Zamyâd Yt. 56. It may be either Lake Van or Lake Sevan, which are nearly equidistant from Lake Urumiyah.

⁸ M6 has 'four leagues.'

leagues (parasang) of Lake *Kêkast*. 9. Lake (or, rather, Gulf) *Satavêš*¹ is that *already* written *about*, between the wide-formed ocean *and* the *Pûtîk*. 10. It is said that in *Kamîndân* is an abyss (*zafar*), from which everything they throw in always comes *back*, and it *will* not receive it unless alive (*gânvar*); when they throw a living creature into it, it carries *it* down; men say that a fountain from hell is in it. 11. Lake *Urvis* is on *Hûgar* the lofty².

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. On the nature of the ape *and* the bear they say, that *Yim*, when reason (*nismô*) departed from him³, for fear of the demons took a demoness as wife, and gave *Yimak*, who was *his* sister, to a demon as wife; and from them have originated the tailed ape and bear *and* other species of degeneracy.

2. This, too, they say, that in the reign of *Az-i Dahâk*⁴ a young woman was admitted to a demon, and a young man was admitted to a witch (*parîk*), and on seeing them they had intercourse; owing to that one intercourse the black-skinned negro arose from them. 3. When *Frêdûn*⁵ came to them they fled from the country of Iran, *and* settled upon the sea-coast; now, *through* the invasion of the Arabs, they are again diffused through the country of Iran.

¹ See Chap. XIII, 9-13.

² See Chaps. XII, 5, XIII, 4.

³ See Chap. XXXIV, 4. This is the *Jamshêd* of the *Shâh-nâmâh*. Perhaps for 'reason' we should read 'glory.'

⁴ See Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

⁵ See Chap. XXXIV, 6.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. On the chieftainship of men and animals *and* every single thing it says in revelation, that first of the human species Gâyômarđ was produced, brilliant and white, with eyes which looked out for the great *one*, him who *was* here the Zaratûstrôtûm (chief high-priest); the chieftainship of all things was from Zaratûst¹. 2. The white ass-goat², which holds *its* head down, is the chief of goats, the first of those species created³. 3. The black sheep which is fat and white-jawed is the chief of sheep; it was the first of those species created³. 4. The camel with white-haired knees *and* two humps is the chief of camels. 5. First the black-haired ox with yellow knees was created; he is the chief of oxen. 6. First the dazzling white (arûs) horse, with yellow ears, glossy hair, *and* white eyes, was produced; he is the chief of horses. 7. The white, cat-footed⁴ ass is the chief of asses. 8. First of dogs the fair (arûs) dog with yellow hair was produced; he is the chief of dogs. 9. The hare was produced brown

¹ So in all MSS., but by reading mûn, 'who,' instead of min, 'from,' we should have, 'him who *was* here the chief high-priest *and* chieftainship of all things, who was Zaratûst.' The Pahlavi Visp. I, 1, gives the following list of chiefs: 'The chief of spirits is Aûharmazd, the chief of worldly existences is Zaratûst, the chief of water-creatures is the Kar-fish, the chief of *land*-animals is the ermine, the chief of flying-creatures is the Karsipt, the chief of the wide-travellers is the . . . , the chief of those suitable for grazing is the ass-goat.'

² See Chap. XIV, 14.

³ It is doubtful whether the phrase, 'the first of those species created,' belongs to this sentence or the following one.

⁴ Or, 'cat-legged.'

(bûr); he is the chief of the wide-travellers. 10. Those beasts which have no dread whatever of the hand are evil. 11. First of birds the griffon of three natures¹ was created, not for here (this world), for the Karsipt² is the chief, which they call the falcon (*kark*), that which revelation says was brought to the enclosure formed by Yim. 12. First of fur animals the white ermine was produced; he is the chief of fur animals; as it says that *it is* the white ermine which came unto the assembly of the arch-angels. 13. The Kar-fish, *or* Ariz³, is the chief of the water-creatures. 14. The Dâtîk⁴ river is the chief of streams. 15. The Dâraga⁵ river is the chief of exalted rivers, for the dwelling of the father of Zaratûst was on its banks⁶, and Zaratûst was born there. 16. The hoary forest⁷ is the chief of forests. 17. Hûgar the lofty⁸, on which the water of Arêdvîvsûr flows and leaps, is the chief of summits, since *it is that* above which is the revolution of the constellation Satavêš⁹, the chief of reser-

¹ The Sîmurgh (see § 29 and Chap. XIV, 11, 23, 24). In Mkh. LXII, 37-39, it is mentioned as follows: 'And Sinamrû's resting-place is on the tree which is opposed to harm, of all seeds; and always when he rises aloft a thousand twigs will shoot forth from that tree; and when he alights he will break off the thousand twigs, and he sheds their seed therefrom.'

² See Chap. XIX, 16. In § 29 *Kamrôs* is said to be the chief.

³ See Chaps. XIV, 12, 26, XVIII, 3-6.

⁴ See Chap. XX, 13.

⁵ See Chap. XX, 32.

⁶ The MSS. have 'in Balkh' instead of 'on the banks.'

⁷ The *arûs-i razur* is the Av. *spaêtitem razurem* of Râm Yt. 31.

⁸ See Chap. XII, 5.

⁹ See Chap. II, 7.

voirs¹. 18. The Hôrn which is out-squeezed is the chief of medicinal plants². 19. Wheat is the chief of large-seeded³ grains. 20. The desert wormwood is the chief of unmedicinal⁴ *plants*. 21. The summer vetch, which they also call 'pag' (gâvirs), is the chief of small-seeded grains⁵. 22. The Kûstik (sacred thread-girdle) is the chief of clothes. 23. The Bââyvâna⁶ is the chief of seas. 24. Of two men, when they come forward together, the wiser and more truthful is chief.

25. This, too, it says in revelation, that Aûharmazd created the whole material world one abode, so that all may be one; for there is much splendour and glory of industry in the world. 26. Whatsoever he performs, who practises that which is good, is the value of the water of life⁷; since water is not created alike⁸ in value, for the undefiled water of Arêdvîvsûr is worth the whole water of the sky and earth of Khvanîras⁹, except the Arag river¹⁰, created by Aûharmazd. 27. Of trees the myrtle *and* date,

¹ The meaning of Pâz. gobarâ is doubtful, but it is here taken as standing for Pahl. gôbalân, equivalent to the plural of Pers. gôl or kôl, 'a reservoir;' Satavêš being a specially 'watery' constellation (see Tîstar Yt. o). Justi traces gobarân to Av. gufra, and translates it by 'protecting stars.'

² Pâz. khvad and ba³agâ evidently stand for Pahl. hûd (Av. huta) and bezashk.

³ Compare Av. as-dânunâm-ka yavananâm (Tîstar Yt. 29).

⁴ Pâz. aba³agâ stands for Pahl. abezashk.

⁵ Compare Av. kasu-dânunâm-ka vâstranâm (Tîstar Yt. 29).

⁶ Justi identifies this with Lake Van, but perhaps Lake Sevan may be meant.

⁷ Or, 'its value is water.' Kzo omits the word 'water.'

⁸ Reading ham instead of hamâk, 'all.'

⁹ See Chap. XI, 2-6.

¹⁰ See Chap. XX, 8.

on which *model*, it is said, trees were formed, are worth all the trees of Khvanîras, except the Gôkard tree¹ with which they restore the dead.

28. Of mountains Mount Apârsên's beginning is *in* Sagastân *and* end in Khûgîstân, some say *it is* all the mountains of Pârs, *and* is chief of all mountains except Albûrz. 29. Of birds *Kâmrôs*² is chief, who is worth all the birds in Khvanîras, except the grifon of three natures. 30. The conclusion is this, that every one who performs a great duty has then much value.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. On matters of religion³ it says in revelation thus: 'The creatures of the world were created by me complete in three hundred and sixty-five days,' that is, the six periods of the Gâhanbârs which are completed in a year. 2. It is always necessary first to count the day *and* afterwards the night, for first the day goes off, *and* then the night comes on⁴. 3. And from the season (gâs) of Mêdôk-shêm⁵,

¹ See Chap. XVIII, 1-4.

² See Chap. XIX, 15, where it is written *Kâmrôs*. This § is at variance with § 11, which gives the chieftainship to Karsipt.

³ That is, 'on the *periods* for observance of religious duties.'

⁴ The Jewish and Muhammadan practice is just the contrary.

⁵ The Av. maidhyô-shema of Yas. I, 27, II, 36, III, 41, Visp. I, 3, II, 1, Âfrîngân Gâhanbâr 2, 8. It is the second season-festival, held on the five days ending with the 105th day of the Parsi year, which formerly corresponded approximately to mid-summer, according to the Bundahis. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of water.

which is the auspicious¹ day Khûr of the month Tîr², to the season of Mêthyârêm³, which is the

¹ A dispute as to the meaning of this word formed no small part of the Kabîsah controversy, carried on between the leaders of the two rival sects of Parsis in Bombay about fifty years ago. Dastur Edalji Dârâbji, the high-priest of the predominant sect (who adhered to the traditional calendar of the Indian Parsis), insisted that it meant 'solar,' or 'belonging to the calendar rectified for solar time by the intercalation of a month every 120 years;' Mullâ Fîrûz, the high-priest of the new sect (who had adopted the calendar of the Persian Parsis, which is one month in advance of the other), asserted that the word had no connection with intercalation, but meant 'commencing,' or 'pertaining to New-year's day,' as translated into Sanskrit, by Nêryôsang, in Mkh. XLIX, 27. Anquetil translates it either as 'inclusive' or 'complete;' Windischmann simply skips it over; and Justi translates it everywhere as 'inclusive.' Dastur Edalji reads the word vehîgakî or vehîgak; Nêryôsang has vaheza; Mullâ Fîrûz reads nâîkakîk in the Bundahis, but vehîgakîk in the Dînkard, where the word also occurs; Justi has nâîkakîk. The meaning 'inclusive' suits the context in nearly all cases in the Bundahis, but not elsewhere; if it had that meaning the most probable reading would be vikhêgakîk or nikhêgakîk, 'arising, leaping over, including.' It is nearly always used in connection with dates or periods of time, and must be some epithet of a very general character, not only applicable to intercalary periods, but also to New-year's day and dates in general; something like the Arabic epithet mubâarak, 'fortunate,' so commonly used in Persian dates. Dastur Edalji compares it with Pers. bîhrak or bihtarak, 'intercalary month,' which is probably a corruption of it; and this suggests veh, 'good,' as one component of the epithet. The word may be read veh-yazakîk, 'for reverencing the good,' but as veh, 'good,' is an adjective, this would be an irregular form; a more probable reading is veh-îkakîk, 'for anything good,' which, when applied to a day, or any period of time, would imply that it is suitable for anything good, that is, it is 'auspicious.' Sometimes the word is written vehîzak, vehîzakîk, or vehîkô; and epithets of similar forms in Pahlavi are applied by the writers of colophons to themselves, but these should be read vakhêzak or nisîvak, 'lowly, abject.'

² The eleventh day of the fourth month, when the festival commences.

³ The Av. maidhyâirya of Yas. I, 30, II, 39, III, 44, Visp. I,

auspicious day Vâhrâm of the month Dîn¹—the *shortest* day—the night increases; and from the season of Mêdîyârêm to the season of Mêdôk-shêm the night decreases *and* the day increases. 4. The summer day is as much as two of the shortest² winter days, *and* the winter night is as much as two of the shortest summer nights³. 5. The summer day is twelve Hâsars, the night six Hâsars; the winter night is twelve Hâsars, the day six; a Hâsar *being a measure of time and*, in like manner, of land⁴. 6. In the season of Hamêspamadâyêm⁵, that is, the

6, II, 1, Âf. Gâhan. 2, 11. It is the fifth season-festival, held on the five days ending with the 290th day of the Parsi year, which formerly corresponded approximately to midwinter, according to the Bundahis. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of animals.

¹ The twentieth day of the tenth month, when the festival ends.

² The word kah-aît is merely a hybrid Huzvâris form of kahist, 'shortest,' which occurs in the next phrase.

³ This statement must be considered merely as an approximation. The longest day is twice the length of the shortest one in latitude 49°, that is, north of Paris, Vienna, and Odessa, if the length of the day be computed from sunrise to sunset; and, if twilight be included, it is necessary to go still further north. In Âdarbigân, the northern province of Persia, the longest day is about 14½ hours from sunrise to sunset, and the shortest is about 9½ hours.

⁴ According to this passage a hâsar of time is one hour and twenty minutes; it is the Av. hâthra of the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 43, ed. Hoshangji), which says, 'of twelve Hâsars is the longest day, *and* the day *and* night in which is the longest day are twelve of the longest Hâsars, eighteen of the medium, and twenty-four of the least—an enumeration of the several measures of the Hâsar.' For the hâsar measure of land, see Chap. XXVI.

⁵ So in K20, but this name is rarely written twice alike; it is the Av. hamaspathmaêdaya of Yas. I, 31, II, 40, III, 45, Visp. I, 7, II, 1, Âf. Gâhan. 2, 12. It is the sixth season-festival, held on the five Gâtha days which conclude the Parsi year, just before

five *supplementary* days at the end of the month Spendarmad, the day *and* night are again equal.

7. As from the auspicious day Aûharmazd of the month Fravardîn to the auspicious day Anîrân of the month Mitrô¹ is the summer of seven months, *so* from the auspicious day Aûharmazd of the month Âvân to the auspicious month Spendarmad, on to the end of the five *supplementary* days², is the winter of five months. 8. The priest fulfils the regulation (*vaçar*) about a corpse *and* other things, by this calculation as to summer and winter. 9. In those seven months³ of summer the periods (*gâs*) of the days and nights are five—since *one* celebrates the Rapîtvin—namely, the period of day-break is Hâvan, the period of midday is Rapîtvin, the period of afternoon is Aûzêrîn, when the appearance of the stars *has* come into the sky⁴ until midnight is the period of Aîbisrûtêm, from midnight until the stars become imperceptible is the period of Aûshahîn⁵. 10. In winter are four periods, for *from* daybreak till Aûzêrîn is all Hâvan, *and* the rest as I *have* said; and the reason of it is this, that the appearance⁶ of winter is in the direction of the

the vernal equinox, according to the Bundahis. Later writings assert that it commemorates the creation of man.

¹ That is, from the first day of the first month to the last day of the seventh month.

² That is, from the first day of the eighth month to the last of the five Gâtha days, which are added to the twelfth month to complete the year of 365 days.

³ All MSS. have 'five months' here.

⁴ Kzo has 'when the stars *have* come into sight.'

⁵ The Avesta names of the five Gâhs are Hâvani, Rapithwina, Uzayêirina, Aiwisrûthrema, and Ushahina.

⁶ Pâz. ashâris is evidently a misreading of Pahl. âshkârîh.

north, where the regions Vôrûbarst¹ and Vôrûgarst are; the original dwelling of summer, too, is in the south, where the regions Fradaðafsh *and* Vîdaðafsh are; on the day Âûharmazd of the auspicious month Âvân the winter acquires strength *and* enters into the world, *and* the spirit of Rapitvîn goes from above-ground to below-ground, where the spring (khânî) of waters is, *and* diffuses² warmth and moisture in the water, *and* so many roots of trees do not wither with cold and drought. 11. And *on* the auspicious day Âtarô of the month Dîn³ the winter arrives, with much cold, at Afrân-vêg; *and* until the end, in the auspicious month Spendarmad, winter advances through the whole world; on this account they kindle a fire everywhere *on* the day Âtarô of the month Dîn, *and* it forms an indication that winter *has* come. 12. In those five months the water of springs *and* conduits is all warm⁴, for Rapitvîn keeps warmth *and* moisture there, *and* one does not celebrate the period of Rapitvîn. 13. As the day Âûharmazd of the month Fravardîn advances it diminishes the strength which winter possesses, *and* summer comes in from its own original dwelling, *and* receives strength *and* dominion. 14. Rapitvîn comes up from below-ground, *and* ripens the fruit of the trees; on this account

¹ See Chaps. V, 8, XI, 3. The north, being opposed to the south or midday quarter, is opposed to the midday period of Rapitvîn, which, therefore, disappears as winter approaches from the north.

² If, instead of khânî for khânîk, 'spring,' we read ahû-i, 'lord of,' the translation will be, 'so that the angel of waters may diffuse,' &c.

³ The ninth day of the tenth month.

⁴ That is, warmer than the air, as it is cooler in summer.

the water of springs is cold in summer¹, for Rapítvīn is not there; *and* those seven² months *one* celebrates the Rapítvīn, *and* summer advances through the whole earth. 15. And yet in the direction of Hindûstân, there *where* the original dwelling of summer is nearer, it is always neither cold nor hot; for in the season which is the dominion of summer, the rain always dispels most of the heat, *and* it does not become perceptible; in the winter rain does not fall, *and* the cold does not become very perceptible³. 16. In the northern direction, where the preparation of winter is, *it is* always cold⁴; for in the summer mostly, on account of the more oppressive winter there, it is not possible so to dispel the cold that *one* might make *it* quite warm. 17. In the middle localities the cold of winter *and* heat of summer *both* come on vehemently.

18. Again, the year *dependent* on the revolving moon is not equal to the computed year on this account, for the moon⁵ returns one time in twenty-nine, *and* one time in thirty *days*, and there are four

¹ K20 has 'winter' by mistake.

² K20 has 'six,' and M6 'five,' instead of 'seven.'

³ This is a fairly accurate account of the effect of the monsoons over the greater part of India, as understood by a foreigner unacquainted with the different state of matters in a large portion of the Madras provinces.

⁴ M6 has khûrâsân instead of ârâyisn, 'preparation,' which alters the sense into 'that is, Khûrâsân, of which the winter is always cold.'

⁵ The MSS. have the Huzvâris term for 'month,' which is sometimes used, by mistake, for 'moon.' It is doubtful which word the author intended to use here, but it is usual to count the days of a lunar month from the first actual appearance of the new moon, which usually occurs a full day after the change of the moon.

hours (*zamân*) more than such a one of its *years*¹; as it says, that every one deceives where they speak about the moon (or month), except when they say that it *comes* twice in sixty days. 19. Whoever keeps the year by the revolution of the moon mingles summer with winter *and* winter with summer².

20. This, *too, it says*, that the auspicious month Fravardîn, the month Ardavahist, *and* the month Horvada³ are spring; the month Tir, the month Amerôdad, *and* the month Shatvaîrô are summer; the month Mitrô, the month Âvân, *and* the month Âtarô are autumn; the month Dîn, the month Vohûman, *and* the month Spendarmad are winter⁴.

21. And the sun comes from the sign (*khûrdak*) of Aries, into which it proceeded in the beginning, back to that *same* place in three hundred and sixty-five days and six short times (hours), which are one year. 22. As every three months it (the sun) advances through three constellations, more or less, the moon comes, in a hundred and eighty days, back to the place out of which it travelled in the beginning⁵.

¹ Meaning, probably, that the lunar year is four hours more than twelve months of 29 and 30 days each, alternately. It should be 8 hours, 48 minutes, and 37 seconds. The sentence seems defective, but it is evident from § 21 that *zamân* means 'hour.'

² That is, the lunar year being eleven days shorter than the solar one, its months are constantly retrograding through the seasons.

³ Generally written *Avardâd* in *Pâzand*, and *Khurdâd* in Persian.

⁴ The names of the months are selected from the names of the days of the month (see Chap. XXVII, 24), but are arranged in a totally different order.

⁵ Probably meaning, that the new moon next the autumnal

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. A Hâsar¹ on the ground is a Parasang of one thousand steps of the two feet. 2. A Parasang² is a measure as much as a far-seeing man may look out, see a beast *of burden*, and make known that *it* is black or white. 3. And the measure of a man is eight medium spans³.

equinox is to be looked for in the same quarter as the new moon nearest the vernal equinox, the moon's declination being nearly the same in both cases.

¹ Av. hâthra of Vend. II, 65, VIII, 280, 287, 291, Tîstar Yt. 23, 29. The statements regarding the length of a Hâsar are rather perplexing, for we are told that it 'is like a Parasang' (Chap. XIV, 4), that 'the length of a Hâsar is one-fourth of a Parasang' (Chap. XVI, 7), and that 'a medium Hâsar on the ground, which they also call a Parasang, is a thousand steps of the two feet when walking with propriety' (Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, ed. Hosh. p. 42). To reconcile these statements we must conclude that the Hâsar is like a Parasang merely in the sense of being a long measure of distance, that it is really the mille passus or mile of the Romans, and that it is a quarter of the actual Parasang. At the same time, as it was usual to call a Hâsar by the name of a Parasang, we are often left in doubt whether a mile or a league is meant, when a Hâsar or Parasang is mentioned. The Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 41) also mentions other measures of distance, such as the takar (Av. takara) of two Hâsars, the asvâst (or aêast) of four Hâsars, the dashmêst (Av. dakhshmaiti) of eight Hâsars, and the yôgêst (Av. yigaiasti or yugaiasti) of sixteen Hâsars.

² A Parasang is usually from 3½ to 4 English miles, but perhaps a Hâsar is meant here.

³ Reading vitast-i miyânak instead of vitast damânak. The Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk (p. 41) mentions three kinds of spans, the Av. vitasti (Vend. VIII, 243, XVII, 13) of twelve finger-breadths (angûst), or about 9 inches, which is a full span between the thumb and little finger (the one mentioned in the text); the Av. disti (Vend. XVII, 13) of ten finger-breadths, or about 7½ inches, which is a span between the thumb and middle finger; and the

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. On the nature of plants it says in revelation, that, before the coming of the destroyer, vegetation had no thorn and bark about it; and, afterwards, when the destroyer came, it became coated with bark *and* thorny¹, for antagonism mingled with every single thing; owing to that cause vegetation is also much mixed with poison, like Bîs the height of hemp (kand)², that is poisonous, for men when they eat *it* die.

2. In like manner even as the animals, with grain of fifty and five species *and* twelve species of medicinal plants, have arisen from the primeval ox³, ten thousand⁴ species among the species of principal

Av. uzasti (Pahl. lâ-lâ-ast) of eight finger-breadths, or about 6 inches, which is a span between the thumb and fore-finger. Other measures mentioned by the same authority are the pâi (Av. padha, Vend. IX, 15, 20, 29), 'foot,' of fourteen finger-breadths, or about 10½ inches; the gâm (Av. gâya, Vend. III, 57, &c.), 'step,' which 'in the Vendidad is three pâi,' or about 2 feet 7½ inches, 'and in other places is said to be two frârâst' (Av. frârâthni in Vend. VII, 76, 79, 87); so the frârâst, which is probably the distance from the neck to the extended elbow, is half a gâm, or from 15 to 16 inches. Two other measures are mentioned in Vend. VII, 79, 87, 90, IX, 8, the Av. frâbâzu, 'fore-arm or cubit' from elbow to finger-ends, which is about 18 inches (or it may be a half fathom); and Av. vîbâzu, which is probably the 'fathom,' or extent of the two arms out-stretched, from 5½ to 6 feet.

¹ M6 has 'poisonous,' but is evidently copied from an original almost illegible in some places.

² Perhaps 'hemp the height of Bîs' would better express the Pahlavi words, but Bîs (Napellus Moysis) is often mentioned as a poisonous plant. The phrase may also be translated 'like Bîs *and* tall hemp.'

³ See Chap. XIV, 1.

⁴ M6 has 'a thousand,' but marks an omission. See Chap. IX, 4.

plants, *and* a hundred thousand species among *ordinary* plants have grown from all these seeds of the tree opposed to harm¹, the many-seeded, *which* has grown in the wide-formed ocean. 3. When the seeds of all these plants, with those from the primeval ox, have arisen upon it, every year the bird² strips that tree *and* mingles all the seeds in the water; Tistar seizes *them* with the rain-water *and* rains *them on* to *all* regions. 4. Near to that tree the white Hôṃ, the healing and undefiled, has grown at the source of the water of Arêdvivsûr³; every one who eats *it* becomes immortal, and they call it the Gôkard⁴ tree, as it is said that Hôṃ is expelling death⁵; also in the renovation *of the universe* they prepare its immortality therefrom⁶; *and* it is the chief of plants⁷.

5. These are as many genera of plants as exist: trees and shrubs, fruit-trees, corn, flowers, aromatic herbs, salads, spices, grass, wild plants, medicinal

¹ See Chaps. IX, 5, XVIII, 9, XXIX, 5.

² The apparently contradictory account in Chap. IX, 2, refers only to the first production of material plants from their spiritual or ideal representative. The bird here mentioned is *Kamrôṣ* (see Chaps. XIX, 15, XXIV, 29), as appears from the following passage (Mkh. LXII, 40-42): 'And the bird *Kamrôṣ* for ever sits *in* that vicinity; and his work is this, that he collects that seed which sheds from the tree of all seeds, which is opposed to harm, and conveys *it* there where Tistar seizes the water, so that Tistar may seize the water with that seed of all kinds, and may rain *it* on the world with the rain.'

³ See Chaps. XII, 5, XIII, 3-5.

⁴ Here written Gôkarn in all MSS. See Chaps. IX, 6, XVIII, 1, 2.

⁵ That is, in Yas. IX, where Haoma is entitled *dûraosha*.

⁶ See Chap. XXIV, 27.

⁷ See Chap. XXIV, 18.

plants, gum *plants*, and all producing¹ oil, dyes, and clothing. 6. I *will* mention them also a second time: all whose fruit is not welcome as food of men, and are perennial (sâlvâr), as the cypress, the plane, the white poplar, the box, and others of this genus, they call trees and shrubs (dâr va dirakht). 7. The produce of everything welcome as food of men, *that* is perennial, as the date, the myrtle, the lote-plum², the grape, the quince, the apple, the citron, the pomegranate, the peach, the fig, the walnut, the almond, and others in this genus, they call fruit (mîvak). 8. Whatever requires labour with the spade³, and is perennial, they call a shrub (dirakht). 9. Whatever requires that they take its crop through labour, and *its* root withers away, such as wheat, barley, grain, various kinds⁴ of pulse, vetches, and others of this genus, they call corn (gûrdâk). 10. Every *plant with* fragrant leaves, *which* is cultivated by the hand-labour of men, and is perennial (hamvâr), they call an aromatic herb (siparam). 11. Whatever sweet-scented blossom arises *at* various seasons through the hand-labour of men, or has a perennial root and blossoms in *its* season with new shoots and sweet-scented blossoms, as the rose, the narcissus, the jasmine, the dog-rose (nêstarûn),

¹ Comparing this list with the subsequent repetition it appears probable that hamâk barâ is a corruption of aesam bôd (see §§ 19, 21), and that we ought to read 'gum *plants*, woods, scents, and *plants* for oil, dyes, and clothing.' M6 has 'oil and dyes for clothing.'

² The kûnâr (see Chap. XV, 13).

³ The Pâz. pêhani (which is omitted in K20) is evidently a misreading of Pahl. pashang, 'a hoe-like spade.'

⁴ M6 adds Pâz. gavina (Pahl. gûnak) to gvîd gvîd mungân, without altering the meaning materially.

the tulip, the colocynth (kavastîk), the pandanus (kêdi), the *kamba*, the ox-eye (hêri), the crocus, the swallow-wort (zarda), the violet, the *kârda*, and others of this genus, they call a flower (gûl). 12. Everything whose sweet-scented fruit, or sweet-scented blossom, arises in *its* season, without the hand-labour of men, they call a wild plant (vahâr or nihâl). 13. Whatever is welcome as food of cattle and beasts *of burden* they call grass (giyâh). 14. Whatever enters into cakes (pês-pârakîhâ) they call spices (âvzârîhâ). 15. Whatever is welcome in eating of bread, as torn shoots¹ of the coriander, water-cress (kakîg), the leek, and others of this genus, they call salad (têrak)². 16. Whatever is like spinning³ cotton, and others of this genus, they call clothing *plants* (gâmak). 17. Whatever lentil⁴ is greasy, as sesame, dûshdâng, hemp, zandak⁵, and others of this genus, they call an oil-seed (rôkanô). 18. Whatever *one* can dye clothing with, as saffron, sapan-wood, zakava, vaha, and others of this genus, they call a dye-plant (rag). 19. Whatever root, or gum⁶, or wood

¹ Reading stâk darið; Justi has 'baked shoots;' Anquetil has 'the three following;' M6 has stâk va karafs, 'shoots and parsley.'

² Or târak in § 5, Pers. tarah.

³ Reading Huz. neskhuân, 'twisting,' but the word is doubtful; Justi has 'sitting *on the plant*,' which is a rather singular description for cotton.

⁴ Reading maḡag; Anquetil, Windischmann, and Justi read mazg, 'marrow,' but this is usually written otherwise.

⁵ Perhaps for zêtô, 'olive,' as Anquetil supposes, and Justi assumes.

⁶ Reading tûf (compare Pers. tuf, 'saliva').

is scented, as frankincense¹, varâst², kust, sandal-wood, cardamom³, camphor, orange-scented mint, *and* others of this genus, they call a scent (bôd). 20. Whatever stickiness comes out from plants⁴ they call gummy (zadâk). 21. The timber which proceeds from the trees, when it is either dry or wet, they call wood (kîbâ). 22. Every one of all these plants which is so, they call medicinal (dârûk)⁵.

23. The principal fruits are *of* thirty kinds (kha-dûînak), and ten species (sardâk) of them are fit to eat inside and outside, as the fig, the apple, the quince, the citron, the grape, the mulberry, the pear, *and* others of this kind; ten are fit to eat outside, *but* not fit to eat inside, as the date, the peach, the white apricot, *and* others of this kind; those which are fit to eat inside, *but* not fit to eat outside, are the walnut, the almond, the pomegranate, the cocoa-nut⁶, the filbert⁷, the chesnut⁸, the pistachio nut, the vargân, *and* whatever else of this description are very remarkable.

24⁹. This, too, it says, that every single flower is appropriate to an angel (ameshôspend)¹⁰, as the

¹ Pâz. kendri for Pahl. kundur probably.

² Justi compares Pers. barghast.

³ Pâz. kâkura may be equivalent to Pers. qaqulah, 'cardamoms,' or to Pers. kâkul or kâkûl, 'marjoram.'

⁴ K20 omits a line, from here to the word 'either.'

⁵ The line which contained this sentence is torn off in K20.

⁶ Pâz. anârsar is a misreading of Pahl. anârgîl (Pers. nârgîl, 'cocoa-nut').

⁷ Pâz. pendak, a misreading of Pahl. funduk.

⁸ Pâz. shahbrôd, a misreading of Pahl. shahbalût; omitted in M6.

⁹ M6 begins a new chapter here.

¹⁰ These are the thirty archangels and angels whose names are applied to the thirty days of the Parsi month, in the order in

white¹ jasmine (*saman*) is for Vohûman, the myrtle and jasmine (*yâsmin*) are Aûharmazd's own, the mouse-ear (or sweet marjoram) is Ashavahist's² own, the basil-royal is Shatvaîrô's own, the musk flower is Spendarmad's, the lily is Horvada'd's, the *kamba* is Amerôdad's, Dîn-pavan-Âtarô *has* the orange-scented mint (*vâdrang-bôd*), Âtarô *has* the marigold³ (*âdargun*), the water-lily is Âvân's, the white marv is Khûrshêd's, the ranges⁴ is Mâh's, the violet is Tîr's, the mên⁵ is Gôs's, the *kârda* is Dîn-pavan-Mitrô's, all violets are Mitrô's, the red chrysanthemum (*khêr*) is Srôsh's, the dog-rose (*nestran*) is Rashnû's, the cockscomb is Fravar-dîn's, the sisebar is Vâhrâm's, the yellow chrysanthemum is Râm's, the orange-scented mint is Vâd's⁶, the trigonella is Dîn-pavan-Dîn's, the hundred-petalled rose is Dîn's, all kinds of wild flowers (*vahâr*) are Ard's⁷, Âstâd *has* all the white Hôm⁸, the bread-baker's basil is Âsmân's, Zamyâd *has* the crocus, Mâraspend *has the flower*⁹ of Ardashîr,

which they are mentioned here, except that Aûharmazd is the first day, and Vohûman is the second.

¹ M6 has 'yellow.'

² Synonymous with the Arđavahist of Chap. I, 26.

³ Anquetil, Windischmann, and Justi have 'the poppy.'

⁴ M6 has Pâz. *lg* as only the first part of the word, and Justi translates it by 'red lac,' which is not a plant. Transcribing the Pâzand into Pahlavi, perhaps the nearest probable word is *rand*, 'laurel.'

⁵ M6 has Pâz. *mênr*; Anquetil has 'vine blossom,' and is followed by Windischmann and Justi, but the word is very uncertain.

⁶ The remainder of this chapter is lost from K20.

⁷ This female angel is also called Arshirang (see Chap. XXII, 4).

⁸ See § 4.

⁹ M6 leaves a blank space for the name of the flower; perhaps it is the *marv-i Ardashîrân*.

Anîrân *has* this Hôh of the angel Hôh¹, of three kinds.

25. It is concerning plants that every single kind *with* a drop of water on a twig (teh) they should hold four finger-breadths in front of the fire²; most of all it is the lotos (kûnâr) they speak of.

CHAPTER XXVIII³.

[1. On the evil-doing of Aharman *and* the demons it says in revelation, that the evil which the evil spirit has produced for the creation of Aûharmazd it is possible to tell by this winter⁴; and his body is that of a lizard (vazagh)⁵ *whose* place is filth (kalê). 2. [He does not think, nor speak, nor act *for* the welfare (nadûkîh) of the creatures of Aûharmazd; and his business is unmercifulness and the destruction of this *welfare*,] so that the creatures which Aûharmazd shall increase he will destroy; and *his* eyesight (kashm mîkîsn)⁶ does not refrain from doing the creatures harm. 3. As it says that, 'ever

¹ Reading, in Pahlavi, Hôh yêdatô aê hôh.

² See Chap. XXI, 1. Referring to the necessity of drying fire-wood before putting it on the fire. The kûnâr is specially mentioned, as one of the first fire-woods used by mankind, in Chap. XV, 13.

³ Chaps. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXI are omitted in M6 and all MSS. descended from it, whether Pahlavi or Pâzand; and, owing to the loss of a folio from K20 before any of its extant copies were written, the first quarter of Chap. XXVIII has hitherto been missing, but is here supplied (enclosed in brackets) from TD, a MS. belonging to Mobad Tahmuras Dinshaw (see Introduction).

⁴ Winter being one of the primary evils brought upon creation by Angra-mainyu (see Vend. I, 8-12).

⁵ See Chap. III, 9.

⁶ Referring to 'the evil eye.'

since a creature was created by us, I, who am Aûharmazd, have not rested at ease, on account of providing protection for my own creatures; and likewise not even he, the evil spirit, on account of contriving evil for the creatures.' 4. And by *their* devotion to witchcraft (yâtûk-dînôth) he seduces mankind into affection for himself and disaffection to Aûharmazd¹, so that they forsake the religion of Aûharmazd, and practise that of Aharman. 5. He casts this into the thoughts of men, that this religion of Aûharmazd is nought, and it is not necessary to be steadfast in it. 6. Whoever gives that man anything, in whose law (dâd) this saying is established, then the evil spirit is propitiated by him, that is, he has acted by his pleasure.

7. The business of Akôman² is this, that he gave vile thoughts and discord to the creatures. 8. The business of the demon Andar is this, that he constrains the thoughts of the creatures from deeds of virtue, just like a leader who *has* well-constrained (sardâr-i khûp afsârdô); *and* he casts this into the thoughts of men, that it is not necessary to have the *sacred* shirt *and* *thread*-girdle. 9. The business of the demon Sâvar³, that is a leader of the demons, is this, that is, misgovernment, oppressive anarchy, and drunkenness. 10. The business of the demon Nâikîyas⁴ is this, that he gives discontent to the creatures; as it says, that should this *one*

¹ Compare Chap. I, 14.

² The six arch-fiends of this paragraph are those mentioned in Chaps. I, 27, XXX, 29.

³ Written Sôvar in Chap. I, 27.

⁴ Written Nâkahêd in Chap. I, 27, Nâikîyas when repeated in this sentence, and Pâz. Nâûnghas in Chap. XXX, 29.

give anything to those men whose opinion (*dâd*) is this, that it is not necessary to have the *sacred* shirt and thread-girdle, then Andar, Sâvar, and Nâiktyas are propitiated by him. 11. The demon Taprêv¹ is he who mingles poison with plants and creatures; as it says thus: 'Taprêv the frustrater, and Zâîrîk the maker of poison.' 12. All those six, it is said, are arch-fiends² of the demons; the rest are co-operating and confederate with them. 13. This, too, it says, that]³ should *one* give [anything to] a man who says [that it is proper to have one boot], and in his law walking with one boot [is established, then]⁴ the fiend Taprêv is propitiated [by him].

14. The demon Tarômat⁵ [is he who] produces disobedience; the demon Mitôkht⁶ is the liar (*drôgan*) of the evil spirit⁷; the demon Arask⁸ ('malice') is the spiteful fiend of the evil eye. 15. Theirs are the same⁹ appliances as the demon Aeshm's¹⁰, as it

¹ Written Tâîrêv in Chap. I, 27.

² See Chap. III, 2.

³ From this point the Pahlavi text is extant in K20, except some illegible words, the translation of which (supplied from TD) is here enclosed in brackets.

⁴ Anquetil, misled by the lacuna in his MS., thought that there was a change of subject here, and began a new chapter at this point. On this account the numbers of his chapters are henceforth one in excess of those in this translation.

⁵ Written Tarôkmatô in TD, and identified with Nâûnghas (Nâiktyas) in Chap. XXX, 29; a personification of the Av. tarô-maiti, 'disobedience,' of Yas. XXXIII, 4, LIX, 8.

⁶ A personification of the Av. mithaokhta, 'false-spoken,' of Yas. LIX, 8, Vend. XIX, 146, Visp. XXIII, 9, Zamyâd Yt. 96.

⁷ TD has drûg gûmânîkîh, 'the fiend of scepticism.'

⁸ Av. araska of Yas. IX, 18, Râm Yt. 16, personified.

⁹ The word hômanam in K20 is a false Huzvâris reading of ham, owing to the copyist reading am, 'I am;' TD has ham-afzâr, 'having like means.'

¹⁰ Or Khashm, 'wrath;' so written in K20, but it is usually

says that seven powers are given to Aeshm¹, that he may utterly destroy the creatures therewith; with those seven powers he will destroy seven² of the Kayân heroes in his own time, *but* one will remain. 16. There where Mîtôkht ('falsehood') arrives, Arask ('malice') becomes welcome, [and there where Arask is welcome]³ Aeshm lays a foundation⁴, and there where Aeshm has a foundation⁵ many creatures perish, *and* he causes much non-Iranianism⁶. 17. Aeshm mostly contrives all evil for the creatures of Aûharmazd, *and* the evil deeds of those Kayân heroes have been more complete through Aeshm, as it says, that Aeshm, the impetuous assailant, causes them most⁷.

18. The demon Vîzarêsh⁸ is he who struggles with the souls of men which *have* departed, those

Aêshm elsewhere; the Av. aêshma of Vend. IX, 37, X, 23, 27, &c. The Asmodeus of the Book of Tobit appears to be the Av. Aêshmô daêvô, 'demon of wrath.'

¹ TD has 'there were seven powers of Aêshm.'

² TD has 'six,' which looks like an unlucky attempt to amend a correct text. Tradition tells us that only five Kayâns reigned (see Chap. XXXIV, 7), and the Shâhnâmah also mentions Siyâwush (Pahl. Kaî-Siyâvakhsh), who did not reign; but eight Kayâns, besides Lôharâsp and Vistâsp, who were of collateral descent (see Chap. XXXI, 28), are mentioned in the Avesta, whence the author of the Bundahis would obtain much of his information (see Fra-vardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, 74).

³ The phrase in brackets occurs only in TD.

⁴ Reading bunak as in TD; K20 has 'sends down a root.'

⁵ So in TD; K20 has 'where Aeshm keeps on.'

⁶ That is, 'many foreign customs.'

⁷ The word vêsh, 'most,' is only in TD.

⁸ So in TD; K20 has Vigêsh. He is the Av. Vîzaresha of Vend. XIX, 94, who is said to convey the souls of the departed to the Kînvad bridge.

days and nights¹ when *they remain* in the world; he carries *them* on, terror-stricken, *and* sits at the gate of hell. 19. The demon Uda² is he who, when a man sits in a private place, or when he eats at meals, strikes *his* knee spiritually on *his* back³, so that he bawls out [*and* looks out, that chattering he may eat, chattering] he may evacuate (riêd), and chattering he may make water (mêzêd), so that he may not attain [unto the] best existence⁴.

[20. The demon Akâtâsh⁵ is the fiend of perversion (nikîrâyîh), who makes the creatures averse (nikîrât) from proper things; as it says, that whoever *has* given anything to that person (tanû) whose opinion (dâd) is this, that it is not necessary to have a high-priest (dastôbar), then the demon Aeshm is propitiated by him. 21. Whoever *has* given anything to that person whose opinion is this, *and* who says, that it is not necessary to have a snake-killer (mâr-van), then Aharman, with the foregoing demons, is propitiated by him; this is said of him who, when he sees a noxious creature, does not kill *it*. 22. A snake-killer (mârô-gnô)⁶ is a stick on the end of which a leathern *thong* is

¹ TD has 'those three nights,' referring to the period that the soul is said to remain hovering about the body after death (see Hâdôkht Nask, ed. Haug, II, 1-18, III, 1-17).

² So in K20; TD has Aûdak (see Pahl.Vend. XVIII, 70).

³ TD has merely 'strikes a slipper (pađîn-pôsh) spiritually,' that is, invisibly, for the purpose of startling the man.

⁴ The short phrases in brackets are taken from TD to supply words torn off from K20, which passes on to Chap. XXIX at this point, but TD supplies a continuation of Chap. XXVIII, which is added here, and enclosed in brackets.

⁵ The Av. Akatasha of Vend. X, 23 Sp., XIX, 43 W.

⁶ See Pahlavi Vend. XVIII, 5, 6.

provided; and it is declared that every one of the good religion must possess one, that they may strike *and* kill noxious creatures *and* sinners more meritoriously with it.

23. Zarmân¹ is the demon who makes decrepit (dûspad), whom they call old age (pîrîh). 24. Kîshmâk² is he who makes disastrous (vazandak), and also causes the whirlwind³ *which* passes over for disturbance. 25. The demon Varenô⁴ is he who causes illicit intercourse, as it says thus: 'Varenô the defiling (âlati).' 26. The demon Bûsh-âsp⁵ is she who causes slothfulness; Sêg is the fiend (drûg) who causes annihilation; and the demon Nîyâz is he who *causes* distress.

27. The demon Âz⁶ ('greediness') is he who swallows everything, and when, through destitution, nothing has come he eats himself; he is that fiendishness which, although the whole wealth of the world be given up to it, does not fill up and is not satisfied; as it says, that the eye of the covetous is a noose (gamand), and *in* it the world is nought. 28. Pûs⁷ is the demon who makes a hoard, *and*

¹ A personification of the Av. zaurva of Vend. XIX, 43 W., Yas. IX, 18 Sp., Gôz Yt. 10, Râm Yt. 16.

² The reading of this name is uncertain.

³ The small whirlwinds, which usually precede a change of wind in India, are commonly known by the name of shaîtân, which indicates that such whirling columns of dust are popularly attributed to demoniacal agency.

⁴ A personification of Av. varena, 'desire,' in an evil sense.

⁵ Av. Bûshyâsta of Vend. XI, 28, 29, 36, 37, XVIII, 38, &c. The names of the three demons in this sentence are Persian words for 'sloth,' 'trouble,' and 'want.'

⁶ Av. Âzi of Vend. XVIII, 45, 50, Yas. XVII, 46, LXVII, 22, Âstâd Yt. 1.

⁷ Compare Pers. payûs, 'covetous,' and piyûs, 'avarice.' Pûs is evidently the demon of misers, and Âz that of the selfish.

does not consume *it*, *and* does not give to any one; as it says, that the power of the demon Âz is owing to that person who, not content with his own wife, snatches away even those of others.

29. The demon Nas¹ is he who causes the pollution and contamination (nistrûstñh), which they call nasât ('dead matter'). 30. The demon Friftâr ('deceiver') is he who seduces mankind. 31. The demon Spazg² ('slander') is he who brings *and* conveys discourse (milayâ), *and* it is nothing in appearance such *as* he says; and he shows that mankind fights *and* apologizes (avakhshîñêd), individual with individual. 32. The demon Arâst³ ('untrue') is he who speaks falsehood. 33. The demon Aîghâsh⁴ is the malignant-eyed fiend who smites mankind with *his* eye. 34. The demon Bût⁵ is he whom they worship among the Hindûs, and his growth is lodged in idols, as one worships the horse *as* an idol⁶. 35. Astô-vidâd⁷ is the evil flyer (vâê-i sarîtar) who seizes the life; as it says that, when

¹ Av. Nasu of Vend. V, 85-106, VI, 65, 72, 74, 79, VII, 2-27, 70, VIII, 46, 48, 132-228, IX, 49-117, &c.

² Av. spazga of Ardabahist Yt. 8, 11, 15.

³ Always written like anâst.

⁴ Av. aghashi of Vend. XX, 14, 20, 24, which appears to be 'the evil eye;' but see § 36.

⁵ Av. Bûiti of Vend. XIX, 4, 6, 140, who must be identified with Pers. but, 'an idol,' Sans. bhûta, 'a goblin,' and not with Buddha.

⁶ Reading afas vakhsh pavan bûtîhâ mâhmânô, kîgûn bût asp parastêdô, which evidently admits of many variations, but the meaning is rather obscure.

⁷ Here written Astî-vidâd (see Chap. III, 21). Vend. V, 25, 31 says, 'Astô-vidhôtû binds him (the dying man); Vayô (the flying demon) conveys him bound;' from which it would appear that Astô-vidâd and 'the evil flyer' were originally considered as distinct demons.

his hand strokes a man *it is* lethargy, when he casts *it* on the sick *one it is* fever, when he looks in his eyes he drives away the life, and they call it death. 36. The demon of the malignant eye (*sûr-kashmîh*) is he who will spoil anything which men see, *when* they do not say 'in the name of God' (*yazdân*).

37. With every one of them are many demons *and* fiends co-operating, to specify whom a second time *would be* tedious; demons, too, who are furies (*khashmakân*), are in great multitude it is said.

38. They are demons of ruin, pain, and growing old (*zvârân*), producers of vexation and bile, revivers of grief (*nîvagîh*), the progeny of gloom, and bringers of stench, decay, and vileness, who are many, very numerous, and very notorious; and a portion of all of them is mingled in the bodies of men, *and their* characteristics are glaring in mankind.

39. The demon *Apâôsh*¹ and the demon *Aspengargâk*² are those who remain in contest with the rain. 40. Of the evil spirit³ are the law of vileness, the religion of sorcery, the weapons of fiendishness, and the perversion (*khâmîh*) of God's works; and

¹ Av. *Apaosha* of *Tistar Yt.* 21, 22, 27, 28, *Âstâd Yt.* 2, 6; see also Chap. VII, 8, 10, 12.

² Here written *Aspengarôgâ*, but see Chaps. VII, 12, XVII, 1. He is the Av. *Spengaghra* of *Vend. XIX*, 135, and, being a demon, is not to be confounded with the demon-worshipper, *Spingauruska*, of *Gôš Yt.* 31, *Ashi Yt.* 51.

³ The 'evil spirit,' *Ganrâk-maînôk*, seems to be here treated as a demon distinct from *Aharman*, which is inconsistent with what is stated in §§ 1-6, and is contrary to general opinion. This inconsistency would indicate the possibility of this continuation of Chap. XXVIII in TD, or a portion of it, having been added by an editor in later times (although it is difficult to discover any difference of style in the language), if we did not find a similar confusion of the two names in Chap. XXX, 29, 30.

his wish is this, that is: 'Do not ask *about* me, and do not understand me! for if ye ask *about* and understand me, ye *will* not come after me¹.' 41. This, too, it says, that the evil spirit remains at the distance of a cry, even at the cry of a three-year-old cock (kûlêng), even at the cry of an ass, even at the cry of a righteous man when *one* strikes *him* involuntarily *and* he utters a cry². 42. The demon Kûndak³ is he who is the steed (bârak) of wizards.

43. Various new demons *arise* from the various new sins the creatures may commit, *and* are produced for such *purposes*; who make even those planets rush *on* which are in the *celestial* sphere, *and* they stand very numerously in the conflict. 44. Their ringleaders (kamârikân) are those seven *planets*, the head and tail of Gôkîhar, and Mûspar⁴

¹ Compare Mkh. XL, 24-28: 'The one wish that Hôrmezd, the lord, desires from men is this, that "ye shall understand me (Hôrmezd), since every one who shall understand me comes after me, and strives for my satisfaction." And the one wish that Aharman desires from men is this, that "ye shall not understand me (Aharman), since whoever shall understand me wicked, *his* actions proceed not after me, and, moreover, no advantage and friendship come to me from that man."'

² The sentence is rather obscure, but it seems to imply that such cries keep the evil spirit at a distance; it is, however, just possible that it means that the cry of the evil spirit can be heard as far as such cries.

³ Av. Kunda of Vend. XI, 28, 36, XIX, 138.

⁴ TD has Gôk-îhar and Mûs-parîk here, but see Chap. V, 1, where these beings are included among the seven planetary leaders, and not counted in addition to them. This is another inconsistency which leads to the suspicion that this continuation of the chapter may have been written by a later hand. According to this later view, the sun and moon must be included among those malevolent orbs, the planets.

provided with a tail, *which* are ten. 45. And by them these ten worldly creations, *that* is, the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, metals, wind, light, fire, and mankind, are corrupted with all this vile-ness; and from them calamity, captivity, disease, death, and other evils and corruptions ever come to water, vegetation, and the other creations which exist *in* the world, owing to the fiendishness of those ten. 46. They whom I *have* enumerated are *furnished* with the assistance and crafty (afzâr-hômand) nature of Aharman.

47. Regarding the cold, dry, stony, and dark interior of mysterious (târik dên afrâg-pêdâk) hell it says, that the darkness is fit to grasp with the hand¹, and the stench is fit to cut with a knife; and if they inflict the punishment of a thousand men within a single span, they (the men) think in this *way*, that they are alone; *and* the loneliness is worse than its punishment². 48. And its connection (band) is with the seven planets, be it through much cold like Saturn³ (Kêvân), be it through much heat like Aharman; and their food is brimstone (gandak), and of succulents the lizard (vazagh), *and* other evil *and* wretchedness (patyân).]

¹ Compare Mkh. VII, 31: 'and always their darkness is such-like as though it be possible to grasp with the hand.'

² Compare Ardâ-Vîrâf-nâmak (LIV, 5-8): 'As *close* as the ear to the eye, and as many as the hairs on the mane of a horse, so *close and* many in number, the souls of the wicked stand, but they see not, and hear no sound, one from the other; every one thinks thus, "I am alone."'

³ Or, 'with more cold than Saturn.'

CHAPTER XXIX¹.

1. On [the *spiritual* chieftainship² of the regions of the earth] it says in revelation, that every one of those six chieftainships³ has one *spiritual* chief; as the chief of Arzah is Ashâshagahad-ê Hvandkân⁴, the chief of Savah is Hoazarôdathhri-hanâ Parêstyarô⁵, the chief of Fradadafsh is Spîtôd-i Âuspôsinân⁶, [the chief of Vîdadafsh is Aîrîz-râsp Âuspôsinân⁷,] the chief of Vôrûbarst is Huvâsp⁸, the chief of Vôrûgarst is Kakhrevâk⁹. 2. Zaratûst is

¹ For this chapter, which is numbered XXX by previous translators, we have to depend only on K20 and TD (see the note on the heading of Chap. XXVIII); and the words enclosed in brackets are supplied from TD, being either illegible or omitted in K20.

² Perhaps 'patriarchate' or 'episcopate' would be a better translation of rad'ih, and 'patriarch' or 'bishop' of rad, in this chapter, as the chief high-priest (dastûr-i dastûrân) and his office are evidently meant by these words.

³ Of the six other regions, distinct from this one of Khvanîras, see Chap. XI, 2-4.

⁴ TD has Ashashâg, hê-ê aîgh Nêvandân; both MSS. giving these names in a barbarous Pâzand form which cannot be relied on. Perhaps this Dastûr is the Av. Ashâvanghu Bivândangha of Fravardîn Yt. 110.

⁵ TD has Hôazarôkakhhr-hanâ Parêstyrô, all in Pâzand in both MSS., except Huz. hanâ, which stands for Pâz. ê, here used for the idhâfat i. Perhaps this Dastûr is the Av. Garô-danghu Pairistîra of Fravardîn Yt. 110.

⁶ So in TD; K20 has Pâz. Spaitanid-i Huspâsnyân. This Dastûr is, no doubt, the Av. (gen.) Spitôis Uspâsnaos of Fravardîn Yt. 121.

⁷ Omitted in K20, but, no doubt, this Dastûr is the Av. Erez-râspa Uspâsnu of Fravardîn Yt. 121.

⁸ Av. Hvaspa of Fravardîn Yt. 122.

⁹ So in both MSS. As in the case of each of the preceding two pair of regions, two consecutive names of Dastûrs have been taken from the Fravardîn Yast, it may be supposed that the names

spiritual chief of the region of Khvanîras, and also of all the regions; *he is* chief of the world of the righteous, *and* it is said that the whole religion was received by them from Zaratûst¹.

3. In the region of Khvanîras are many places, from which, in this evil time of violent struggling with the adversary, a passage (*vidarg*) is constructed by the power of the spiritual world (*maînôkîh*), *and one* calls *them* the beaten tracks² of Khvanîras.

4. Counterparts of those other regions³ are *such places* as Kangdez, the land of Saukavastân, the plain of the Arabs (*Tâzikân*), the plain of Pêsyânsaî, the river Nâivtâk⁴, Aîrân-vêg, the enclosure (*var*) formed by Yim, *and* Kasmîr in India⁵. 5. And one immortal chief acts in the government of *each*

taken for this third pair of regions will also be consecutive, and this Dastûr must, therefore, be identified with the Av. *Kathwaraspa* of Fravardîn Yt. 122.

¹ TD has 'Zaratûst is chief of this region of Khvanîras, and also of the whole world of the righteous; all chieftainship, also, is from Zaratûst, so that the whole religion,' &c.

² Justi has 'zones, climates;' but transcribing Pâz. *habâvanhâ* back into Pahlavi we have a word which may be read *khâbânôhâ*, pl. of *khâbân*, 'a trampling-place' (comp. Pers. *khâbîdan*). TD has *khvabîsnô-gâs*, which has the same meaning.

³ Meaning, probably, that they resemble the six smaller regions in being isolated and difficult of access; in other words, either mythical, or independent of Iranian rule.

⁴ So in TD, which also omits the second, third, and fourth of these isolated territories. In Kzo we might read *rad va khûdâk*, 'chief and lord,' as an epithet of Aîrân-vêg. This river must be the Nâivtâk of Chap. XXI, 6.

⁵ Reading Kasmîr-i andar Hindû, but TD has Kasmîr-i andarûnô; perhaps the last word was originally *anîrânak*, in which case we should read 'the non-Iranian Kasmîr.'

of them; as it says, that Pêshyôtanû¹ son of Vis-tâsp, whom they call Kîtrô-mainô², is in the country of Kangdez³; Aghrêrad⁴ son of Pashang is in the land of Saukavastân⁵, and they call him Gôpat-shah⁶; Parsadgâ⁷ Hvembya is in the plain of

¹ The Av. Peshôtanu of Vishtâsp Yt. 4, where he is described as free from disease and death. TD has Pêshyôk-tanû. See also Chaps. XXXI, 29, XXXII, 5.

² TD has Kîtrô-mâônô, and it may be doubted whether the latter portion of the name be derived from Av. mainyu, 'spirit,' or maunghô, 'moon.' The Dâdîstân-i Dînik (Reply 89) calls him 'Patshâyôtanû who is called from the Kîtrôk-mâhanô (or mîyânô),' the Katru-mîyân river of Chap. XX, 7, 31.

³ See § 10. TD has Kangdez-i bâmîk, 'Kangdez the splendid.'

⁴ The Av. Aghraêratha Narava of Gôš Yt. 18, 22, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Ashi Yt. 38, Zamyâd Yt. 77; he is Aghrîrath, brother of Afrâsiyâb, in the Shâhnâmah; see also Chap. XXXI, 15.

⁵ TD has Pahl. Sakîkstân here, but Sôkapastân in § 13 (the letters îk and p being often much alike in Pahlavi writing). K20 has Pâz. Sâvkavatân, Saukâvasta, and Sâvkavastân.

⁶ TD has Gôpat-malkâ, 'king of Gôpat;' and Dâd. (Reply 89) states that 'the reign of Gôpatshah is over the country of Gôpatô, coterminous with Aîrân-vêg, on the bank of the water of the Dâîtîk; and he keeps watch over the ox Hadhayâs, on whom occurred the various emigrations of men of old.' Mkh. (LXII, 31-36) says, 'Gôpatshâh remains in Aîrân-vêg, within the region of Khvanîras; from foot to mid-body *he is* a bull, and from mid-body to top *he is* a man; at all times he stays on the sea-shore, and always performs the worship of God, and always pours holy-water into the sea; through the pouring of that holy-water innumerable noxious creatures in the sea will die; for if he should not mostly perform that ceremonial, and should not pour that holy-water into the sea, and those innumerable noxious creatures should not perish, then always when rain falls the noxious creatures would fall like rain.' In Chap. XXXI, 20, he is said to be a son of Aghrêrad.

⁷ So in K20; and Av. Parshadgau occurs in Fravardîn Yt. 96, 127; but TD has Fradakhstar Khûmbîkân, and Dâd. (Reply 89) mentions 'Fradakhstô son of Khûmbîkân' as one of the seven

Pêsyânsa¹, and he is *Hvembya* for this reason, because they brought *him* up in a *hvemb* ('jar') for fear of *Khashm* ('Wrath'); [*Asâm-i*² *Yamâhust* is in the place which they call the River *Nâtvtâk*]; the tree opposed to harm³ is in *Aitrân-vêg*; *Urvatadnar*⁴ son of *Zaratûst* is in the enclosure formed by *Yim*. 6. Regarding them it says, they are *those* who are immortal, as are *Narsih*⁵ son of *Vîvanghâû*, *Tûs*⁶ son of *Nôdar*⁷, *Gîw*⁸ son of *Gûdarz*, *Ibairaz*⁹ the causer of strife, and *Ashavazd* son of *Pourudhâkhst*¹⁰; and they will all¹¹ come forth, to the

immortal lords of *Khvanîras*, which name corresponds with the Av. *Fradhâkhsti Khunbya* of *Fravardîn Yt.* 138.

¹ TD has always Pahl. *Pêrânsih*. No doubt the *Pisîn* valley is meant (see § 111).

² Or it may be read *Aêshm-i*. This phrase occurs only in TD, but *Dâd.* (Reply 89) mentions 'the Avesta *Yakhmâyîrad*, son of the same *Fryânô*,' as one of the seven immortal lords of *Khvanîras*.

³ See Chap. XXVII, 2.

⁴ See Chap. XXXII, 5.

⁵ Or *Narsâe* in TD; K20 has *Pâz. Narêi*, but see Chap. XXXI, 3, 5.

⁶ Av. *Tusa* of *Âbân Yt.* 53, 58, and an Iranian warrior in the *Shâhnâmah*.

⁷ Av. *Naotara*, whose descendants are mentioned in *Âbân Yt.* 76, 98, *Fravardîn Yt.* 102, *Râm Yt.* 35.

⁸ Av. *Gaêvani* of *Fravardîn Yt.* 115 is something like this name of one of the Iranian warriors in the *Shâhnâmah*.

⁹ TD has *Pâz. Bairazd*. Perhaps it is not a name, but a *Pâzand* corruption of Pahl. *aêvarz*, 'warrior, trooper' (traditionally); in which case we should have to read 'the warrior who was a causer of strife.'

¹⁰ So in TD; K20 has 'Ashavand son of *Porudakhst*,' and *Dâd.* (Reply 89) mentions 'Ashavazang son of *Pôrûdakhstôih*' as one of the seven immortal lords of *Khvanîras*. He is the Av. 'Ashavazdangh the *Pourudhâkhstiyân*' of *Âbân Yt.* 72, *Fravardîn Yt.*

112.

¹¹ So in TD, but K20 has 'always.'

assistance of Sôshyans, on the production of the renovation of *the universe*.

7. Regarding Sâm¹ it says, that he became immortal, *but* owing to his disregard of the Mazdayasnian religion, a Tûrk whom they call Nihâg² wounded *him* with an arrow, when he was asleep there, in the plain of Pêsyânsaî; and it had brought upon him the unnatural lethargy (bûshasp) *which* overcame *him in* the midst of the heat³. 8. And the glory (far) of heaven stands over him⁴ for the purpose that, when Az-i Dahâk⁵ becomes unfettered (arazak), he may arise and slay him; and a myriad guardian spirits of the righteous are as a protection to him. 9. Of Dahâk, whom they call Bêvarâsp, this, too, it says, that Frêdûn when he captured Dahâk was not able to kill *him*, and afterwards confined him in Mount Dimâvand⁶; when he becomes unfettered, Sâm arises, and smites and slays him.

10. As to Kangdez, *it is* in the direction of the east, at many leagues from the bed (var)⁷ of the

¹ This is not Sâm the grandfather of Rustam, but the Av. Sâma, who appears to have been an ancestor of Keresâspa (see Yas. IX, 30), called Sam, grandfather of Garsâsp, in a passage interpolated in some copies of the Shâhnâmah (compare Chap. XXXI, 26, 27). Here, however, it appears from the Bahman Yast (III, 59, 60) that Keresâspa himself is meant, he being called Sâma Keresâspa in Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136.

² It can also be read Nihâv or Niyâg in K20, and Nihâv or Nihân in TD.

³ TD has 'as he lay *in* the midst of the heat.'

⁴ TD has 'and the snow (vafar) has settled (nishast) over him.'

⁵ See Chaps. XXXI, 6, XXXIV, 5.

⁶ See Chap. XII, 31.

⁷ TD has agvar, 'above,' instead of min var, 'from the bed.'

wide-formed ocean towards that side. 11. The plain of Pêsyânsaî is in Kâvulistân, as it says, that the most remarkable upland (bâlist) in Kâvulistân is where Pêsyânsaî is; there it is hotter, on the more lofty elevations there is no heat¹. 12. Atrân-vêg is in the direction of Âtarô-pâtakân². 13. The land of Saukavastân is on the way from Tûrkistân to Kînistân, in the direction of the north. 14. [The enclosure]³ formed by Yim is *in* the middle of Pârs, in Sruvâ⁴; thus, they say, that *what* Yim formed (Yim-kard) is below Mount Yimakân⁵. 15. Kasmîr is in Hindûstân.

CHAPTER XXX⁶.

1. On the nature of the resurrection and future existence it says in revelation, that, whereas Mâshya and Mâshyôl, who grew up from the earth⁷, first fed upon water, then plants, then milk, *and* then meat, men also, when their time of death *has* come, first desist from eating meat, then milk, then from

¹ Or, 'the hottest there, through the very lofty elevation, is not heat.'

² Pers. Âdarbîgân.

³ The word var is omitted in K20.

⁴ TD has Pahl. Srûbâk.

⁵ Or it may be read Damakân, but TD has Kamakân. It can hardly be Dâmaghân, as that is a town and district in Khurâsân; Justi also suggests the district of Gamagân in Pârs, and thinks Sruvâ means 'cypress wood,' there being a Salvastân between Shîrâz and Fasâ.

⁶ This chapter is found in all MSS., and has been numbered XXXI by former translators.

⁷ See Chaps. XV, 2-16, XXXIV, 3.

bread, till when¹ they shall die they always feed upon water. 2. So, likewise, in the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh², the strength of appetite (âz) will thus diminish, when men *will* remain three days and nights in superabundance (sîrth) through one taste of consecrated food. 3. Then they will desist from meat food, *and* eat vegetables *and* milk; afterwards, they abstain from milk food *and* abstain from vegetable food, *and* are feeding on water; *and* for ten years before Sôshyans³ comes they remain without food, *and* do not die.

4. After Sôshyans *comes* they prepare the raising of the dead, as it says, that Zaratûst asked of Aûharmazd thus: 'Whence does a body form again, which the wind *has* carried *and* the water conveyed (vazîd)⁴? *and* how does the resurrection occur?'

5. Aûharmazd answered thus: 'When through me the sky *arose* from the substance of the ruby⁵, without columns, on the spiritual support of far-compassed light; when through me the earth arose, which⁶ bore the material life, *and* there is no

¹ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see the note on Chap. I, 7).

² Written Khûrshêdar-mâh, or Khûrshêd-mâh, in the Bundahis; see Chap. XXXII, 8, and Bahman Yt. III, 52, 53.

³ See Chaps. XI, 6, XXXII, 8, Bahman Yt. III, 62.

⁴ Compare (Vend. V, 26) 'the water carries *him* up, the water carries *him* down, the water casts *him* away.'

⁵ Compare Mkh. IX, 7.

⁶ All MSS. have min, 'out of,' but translators generally suppose it should be mûn, 'which,' as the meaning of 'brought out of material life' is by no means clear. Perhaps the two phrases might be construed together, thus: 'there is no *other* maintainer of the worldly creation, brought from the material life, than it.' Windischmann refers to Fravardîn Yt. 9.

maintainer of the worldly creation but it; when by me the sun and moon *and* stars are conducted in the firmament (andarvâi) of luminous bodies; when by me corn was created so that, scattered about in the earth, it grew again *and* returned with increase; when by me colour¹ of various kinds was created in plants; when by me fire was created in plants *and* other things² without combustion; when *by me* a son was created *and* fashioned³ in the womb of a mother, *and* the structure (pîsak) severally of the skin, nails, blood, feet, eyes, ears, and other things was produced; when by me legs were created for the water, so that it flows away, *and* the cloud was created which carries the water of the world *and* rains there where it has a purpose; when by me the air was created which conveys *in one's* eyesight, through the strength of the wind, the lowermost upwards according to *its* will, *and one* is not able to grasp *it* with the hand out-stretched; each one of them, when created by me, was herein more difficult than causing the resurrection, for⁴ *it is* an assistance to me in the resurrection that they exist, *but* when they were formed it was not *forming* the future out of the past⁵. 6. Observe that when that which was not was then produced, why is it not possible to

¹ Former translators all read rag, 'vein, pore;' but it probably stands for rang, 'colour, dye,' as in Chap. XXVII, 5, 18.

² See Chap. XVII, 1, 2.

³ Pâz. srahtîd is evidently a misreading of Pahl. srîstîd, 'formed, shaped.' Windischmann compares Fravardîn Yt. 11, 22, 28.

⁴ Here kîm is the Pâzand of Huz. mamanam, 'for to me;' being a different word from the interrogative kîm, 'why?' of the next §.

⁵ Literally, '*what* becomes out of *what* was.'

produce again that which was? for at that time *one will* demand the bone from the spirit of earth, the blood from the water, the hair from the plants, *and* the life from fire, since *they* were delivered to them in the original creation.'

7. First, the bones of Gâyômarđ are roused up, then those of Mâshya *and* Mâshyôł, then those of the rest of mankind; in the fifty-seven years of Sôshyans¹ they prepare all the dead, *and* all men stand up; whoever is righteous *and* whoever is wicked, every human creature, they rouse up from the spot where its life departs. 8. Afterwards, when all material living beings assume again their bodies *and* forms, then they assign (barâ yehabûnd) them a single class². 9. Of the light accompanying (levatman) the sun, one half will *be* for Gâyômarđ, and one half will give enlightenment among the rest of men, so that the soul *and* body will know that this is my father, and this is my mother, and this is my brother, and this is my wife, and these are some other of my nearest relations.

10. Then is the assembly of the Sadvâstarân³, where all mankind will stand at this time; in that assembly every one sees his own good deeds and his own evil deeds; *and* then, in that assembly, a wicked *man* becomes as conspicuous as a white sheep among those which are black. 11. In that

¹ K20 omits 'Sôshyans.'

² The phrase is obscure, and K20 omits the numeral 'one' (the idhâfat of unity); but the meaning is probably that all former distinctions of class, or caste, are abolished.

³ Windischmann suggests that it may be 'the assembly of Isadvâstar,' the eldest son of Zaratûst (see Chap. XXXII, 5); perhaps supposed to be presided over by him as the first supreme high-priest after Zaratûst's death.

assembly whatever righteous *man* was friend of a wicked *one* in the world, *and* the wicked *man* complains of him who is righteous, thus: 'Why did he not make me acquainted, when in the world, with the good deeds which he practised himself?' if he who is righteous did not inform him, then it is necessary for him to suffer shame accordingly in that assembly¹.

12. Afterwards, they set the righteous *man* apart from the wicked; *and* then the righteous is for heaven (*garôdmân*), and they cast the wicked back to hell. 13. Three days *and* nights they inflict punishment bodily in hell, *and* then he beholds bodily those three days' happiness in heaven². 14. As it says that, on the day when the righteous *man* is parted from the wicked, the tears of every one, thereupon, run down unto *his* legs. 15. When, after they set apart a father from his consort (*ham-bâz*), a brother from his brother, and a friend from

¹ In the *Ardâ-Vîrâf*-namak (Chap. LXVIII) it is related that *Ardâ-Vîrâf* saw the souls of a husband and wife, that of the husband destined for heaven, and that of the wife for hell; but the wife clung to her husband and asked why they should be separated, and he told her it was on account of her neglect of religious duties; whereupon she reproached him for not teaching and chastising her. 'And, afterwards, the man went to heaven and the woman to hell. And owing to the repentance of that woman she was in no other affliction in hell but darkness and stench. And that man sat in the midst of the righteous of heaven in shame, from not converting and not teaching the woman, who might have become virtuous in his keeping.'

² As an aggravation of his punishment in hell. It has generally been supposed that this last phrase refers to the reward of the righteous man, but this cannot be the case unless *akhar* be taken in the sense of 'other,' which is unlikely; besides, beholding the happiness of others would be no reward to an Oriental mind.

his friend, they suffer, every one for his own deeds, *and* weep, the righteous for the wicked, and the wicked about himself; for there may be a father who is righteous *and* a son wicked, *and* there may be one brother who is righteous *and* one wicked. 16. Those for whose peculiar deeds it is appointed, such as Dahâk and Frâstyâv of Tûr, *and* others of this sort, as those deserving death (marg-argânân), undergo a punishment no other men undergo; they call *it* 'the punishment of the three nights'¹.

17. Among his producers of the renovation of *the universe*, those righteous men of whom it is written² that they are living, fifteen men and fifteen damsels, will come to the assistance of Sôshyans. 18. As Gôkthar³ falls in the *celestial* sphere from a moon-beam on to the earth, the distress of the earth becomes such-like as *that of* a sheep when a wolf falls *upon it*. 19. Afterwards, the fire and halo⁴ melt the metal of Shatvatrô, in the hills *and* mountains, *and* it remains on this earth like a river.

¹ According to the Pahlavi Vend. VII, 136 (p. 96, Sp.) it appears that a person who has committed a marg-argân or mortal sin, without performing patîr or renunciation of sin thereafter, remains in hell till the future existence, when he is brought out, beheaded three times for each mortal sin unrepented of, and then cast back into hell to undergo the punishment tishrām khshafnām ('of the three nights') before he becomes righteous; some say, however, that this punishment is not inflicted for a single mortal sin. This period of three nights' punishment is quite a different matter from the three nights' hovering of the soul about the body after death.

² See Chap. XXIX, 5, 6. As the text stands in the MSS. it is uncertain whether the fifteen men and fifteen damsels are a portion of these righteous immortals, or an addition to them.

³ Probably a meteor (see Chap. V, 1).

⁴ Reading khîrman; M6 has 'the fire and angel Aîrman (Av. Airyaman) melt the metal in the hills,' &c.

20. Then all men will pass into that melted metal and will become pure; when *one* is righteous, then it seems to him just as though he walks continually in warm milk; *but* when wicked, then it seems to him in such manner as though, in the world, he walks continually in melted metal.

21. Afterwards, with the greatest affection, all men come together, father and son and brother and friend ask one another thus: 'Where has it¹ been these many years, and what was the judgment upon thy soul? hast thou been righteous or wicked?'

22. The first soul the body sees, it enquires of it with those words (gûft). 23. All men become of one voice *and* administer loud praise to Aûharmazd and the archangels.

24. Aûharmazd completes *his work* at that time, *and* the creatures become so that it is not necessary to make any effort about them; *and* among those by whom the dead are prepared, it is not necessary *that* any effort be made. 25. Sôshyans, with his assistants, performs a Yazisn *ceremony* in preparing the dead, *and* they slaughter the ox Hadhayôs² in that Yazisn; from the fat of that ox and the white Hôm³ they prepare Hûsh, *and* give *it* to all men, and all men become immortal for ever *and* everlasting. 26. This, too, it says, that whoever has been the size of a man, they restore him then with an age of forty years; they who have been little *when* not dead, they restore then with an age of fifteen years; and they give every one *his* wife, and

¹ K20 has 'have I;' probably hômanîh, 'hast thou,' was the original reading.

² See Chap. XIX, 13.

³ See Chap. XXVII, 4.

show *him his* children with the wife ; so they act as now in the world, but there is no begetting of children.

27. Afterwards, Sôshyans *and his assistants*, by order of the creator Aûharmazd, give every man the reward and recompense suitable to *his* deeds ; this is even the righteous existence (ait) where it is said that they convey *him* to paradise (vahist), and the heaven (garôdmân) of Aûharmazd takes up the body (kerp) as itself requires ; with that assistance he continually advances for ever *and* everlasting. 28. This, too, it says, that whoever has performed no worship (yast), and has ordered no Gêti-kharîd¹, and has bestowed no clothes as a righteous gift, is naked there ; and he performs the worship (yast) of Aûharmazd, and the heavenly angels² provide him the use of his clothing.

¹ The Sad-dar Bundahis says that by Gêti-kharîd 'heaven is purchased in the world, and one's own place brought to hand in heaven.' The Rivâyat of Dastûr Barzû (as quoted in MS. 29 of Bombay University Parsi Collection) gives the following details in Persian : 'To celebrate Gêti-kharîd it is necessary that two hêrbads (priests) perform the Nâbar, and with each khshnûman which they pray it is fit and necessary that both hêrbads have had the Nâbar ; and the first day they recite the Nônâbar yast, and consecrate the Nônâbar drôn and the Nônâbar âfrîngân which they recite in each Gâh ; in the Hâvan Gâh it is necessary to recite fravarânê (as in Yas. III, 24 W. to end), ahurahê mazdau raêvatô (as in Aûharmazd Yt. 6, to) frasastayaêka, then Yas. III, 25 W., XVII, 1-55 Sp., ashem vohû thrice, âfrînâmi khshathryân (as in Âfrîngân I, 14, to end). The second day the Srôsh yast and Srôsh drôn and âfrîngân are to be recited ; and the third day it is necessary to recite the Sîrôzah yast, the Sîrôzah drôn and âfrîngân dahmân ; and it is needful to recite the second and third âfrîngâns in each Gâh, and each day to consecrate the barsom and drôn afresh with seven twigs, so that it may not be ineffective.'

² Pâz. gehân is probably a misreading of Pahl. yazdân, as

29. Afterwards, Aûharmazd seizes on¹ the evil spirit, Vohûman *on* Akôman², Ashavahist *on* Andar³, Shatvairô *on* Sâvar, Spendarmad *on* Tarômat who is Nâûnghas⁴, Horvada*d* and Amerôdad *on* Tâtrêv and Zâîrîk⁵, true-speaking *on* what is evil-speaking, Srôsh⁶ *on* Aeshm⁷. 30. Then two fiends remain at large, Aharman⁸ and Âz⁹; Aûharmazd comes to the world, himself the Zôta and Srôsh the Râspî¹⁰, and holds the Kûstî in *his* hand;

neither 'the spirit of the world,' nor 'the spirit of the Gâhs' is a likely phrase. It is possible, however, that *mainôk gehân* is a misreading of *min aîvyahân*, 'from the girdle,' and we should translate as follows: 'and out of its girdle (that is, the *kûstî* of the barsom used in the ceremony) he produces the effect of his clothing.'

¹ Instead of *vakhdûnd*, 'seize on,' we should probably read *vânend*, 'smite,' as in the parallel passages mentioned below.

² Compare *Zamyâd Yt.* 96. Each archangel (see Chap. I, 25, 26) here seizes the arch-fiend (see Chaps. I, 27, XXVIII, 7-12) who is his special opponent.

³ Here written *Pâz. Inder.* Compare *Pahlavi Yas.* XLVII, 1: 'When among the creation, in the future existence, righteousness smites the fiend, Ashavahist *smites* Indar.'

⁴ Written *Nâkahêd* in Chap. I, 27, and *Nâîkiyas* in Chap. XXVIII, 10, where he is described as a distinct demon from *Tarômat* in XXVIII, 14.

⁵ Here written *Tâtrêv* and *Zâîrîk*.

⁶ *Av. Sraosha*, a personification of attentive hearing and obedience, who is said to watch over the world and defend it from the demons, especially at night; see *Vend.* XVIII, 48, 51, 70, &c., *Yas.* LVI, *Srôsh Yt.* *Hâdôkht*, &c.

⁷ See Chap. XXVIII, 15-17.

⁸ Comparing § 29 with § 30 it is not very clear whether the author of the *Bundahis* considered *Aharman* and the evil spirit as the same or different demons; compare also Chap. XXVIII, 1-6 with 40, 41.

⁹ See Chap. XXVIII, 27.

¹⁰ The *Zôta* is the chief officiating priest in all ceremonies, and the *Râspî* is the assistant priest.

defeated by the Kûstî¹ formula the resources of the evil spirit and Âz act most impotently, *and* by the passage through which he rushed into the sky² he runs back to gloom *and* darkness. 31. Gôkhar³ burns the serpent (mâr)⁴ in the melted metal, *and* the stench and pollution *which* were in hell are burned in that metal, *and* it (hell) becomes quite pure. 32. He (Aûharmazd) sets the vault⁵ into which the evil spirit fled, in that metal; he brings the land of hell back for the enlargement of the world⁶; the renovation arises in the universe by *his* will, *and* the world is immortal for ever *and* everlasting.

33. This, too, it says, that this earth *becomes* an iceless⁷, slopeless plain⁸; even the mountain⁹,

¹ The words zak g, hâni, for ân g, hâni, are probably a misreading of ašvyahân, 'the kûstî or sacred thread-girdle,' which is tied round the waist in a peculiar manner, during the recital of a particular formula, in which Aûharmazd is blessed and Aharman and the demons are cursed.

² See Chap. III, 10-12.

³ See § 18 and Chap. V, 1.

⁴ Probably referring to Âz, which means both 'greediness' and 'serpent.' It is, however, possible to read 'Gôkhar the serpent burns in' &c., and there can be no doubt that Gôkhar is represented as a malevolent being.

⁵ Or, perhaps, 'hiding-place.' Comparing K20 and M6 together the word seems to be alôm, which may be compared with Heb. מִלְּאָה 'a vault,' or Chald. מִלְּאָה 'a porch;' it may, however, be vâlôm, which may be traced to מִלְּאָה 'to conceal.' In the old MSS. it is certainly not shôlman, 'hell,' which is an emendation due to the modern copy in Paris.

⁶ Or, 'to the prosperity of the world.'

⁷ Former translators read anhîkhar, 'undefiled,' but this does not suit the Pahlavi orthography so well as anhasâr, 'iceless' (compare Pers. hasar, khasar, or khasâr, 'ice'); cold and ice, being produced by the evil spirit, will disappear with him.

⁸ Pâz. âmâvan is a misreading of Pahl. hāmûn, so the reading is ansîp (compare Pers. sîb) hāmûn. Mountains, being the work of the evil spirit, disappear with him.

⁹ Kakâd-i-Dâtîk, see Chap. XII, 7.

whose summit is the support of the *K'invar bridge*, they keep down, *and it will not exist.*]

CHAPTER XXXI¹.

o. On the race and genealogy of the Kayâns.

1. Hôshyang² *was son of Fravâk, son of Styâk-mak³, son of Mâshya⁴, son of Gâyômarâ.* [2. Takhmôrup⁵ *was son of Vîvanghât⁶, son of Yanghad⁷, son of Hôshyang.* 3. Yim,]⁸ Takhmôrup, Spîtûr⁹, *and Narsih¹⁰, whom they also call 'the Rashnû of K'inô¹¹,'*

¹ For this chapter, which is numbered XXXII by previous translators, we have to depend only on K20, TD, and K20b (a fragment evidently derived from the same original as K20 and M6, but through some independent line of descent).

² So in K20, but usually Hôshâng (see Chaps. XV, 28, XXXIV, 3, 4).

³ See Chap. XV, 25, 30.

⁴ See Chaps. XV, 2-24, 30, XXXIV, 3.

⁵ Av. Takhmô-urupa of Râm Yt. 11, Zamyâd Yt. 28, Âfrîn Zarat. 2; written Tâkhmôrup in TD, which is the only MS. in which the passage enclosed in brackets is found, the omission of which by K20 was suspected by Windischmann (*Zoroastrian Studien*, p. 199). This king is the Tahmûras of the *Shâhnâmâh*. See also Chaps. XVII, 4, XXXIV, 4.

⁶ Av. Vîvanghau of Yas. IX, 11, 20, XXXII, 8, Vend. II, 8, 28, 94, Fravardîn Yt. 130, Zamyâd Yt. 35.

⁷ As this Pâzand name or title begins with a *medial y*, its initial vowel is probably omitted (see p. 141, note 8).

⁸ Av. Yima or Yima khshaêta of Vend. II, &c., the Jamshêd of the *Shâhnâmâh* (see Chaps. XVII, 5, XXXIV, 4).

⁹ Av. Spityura of Zamyâd Yt. 46.

¹⁰ Here written Nârsî in K20 and K20b, and Nôsfî in TD; but see § 5 and Chap. XXIX, 6. Windischmann suggests that he may be the Av. Aoshnara pouru-gîra of Fravardîn Yt. 131, Âf. Zarat. 2.

¹¹ An epithet equivalent to 'the Minos of China;' Rashnû being the angel of justice, who is said to weigh the meritorious deeds of

were all brothers. 4. From Yim and Yimak¹, who was *his* sister, was born a pair, man *and* woman, and they became husband *and* wife together; Mîrak the Âsپیān² and Ztyānak Zardāhim were *their* names, *and* the lineage went on. 5. Spîtûr was he who, with Dahāk, cut up Yim³; Narsih⁴ lived then⁵ also, *whom* they call Nêsr-gyāvân⁶; they say that such destiny (gadman) is allotted to him⁷, that he shall pass every day in troubles, and shall make all food purified *and* pure.

6. Dahāk⁸ *was* son of Khrûtâsp, *son* of Zâtîngâv,

the departed soul against its sins. Neither word is, however, quite certain, as rashnûk may stand for rasnîk, 'spear,' and has also been translated by 'light' and 'hero;' Kîñö, moreover, was probably not China, but Samarkand (see Chaps. XII, 13, 22, XV, 29).

¹ See Chap. XXIII, 1.

² Av. Âthwyāna of Âbân Yt. 33, Gôr Yt. 13, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Zamyād Yt. 36, &c., where it is the family name of Thraêtaona, who is said to be a son of Âthwya in Yas. IX, 23, 24. In the text this name seems to be used rather as a title than a patronymic, and in § 7 it appears to be a family surname.

³ As stated in Zamyād Yt. 46.

⁴ Here written Nârsak in K20 and K20b, and Nôsfîh in TD.

⁵ TD has 'together,' instead of 'then.'

⁶ So in K20, but K20b has Narst-gyāvân, and TD has Nôsfîh-vîyāvânîk (or nîyâzânîk). Perhaps we may assume the epithet to have been nîgîr-vîyāvânîk (or nîyâzânîk), 'one with a bewildering (or longing) glance.'

⁷ Justi supposes this clause of the sentence refers to Yim and the disease which attacked his hand. If this be the case it may be translated as follows: 'they say aîghash is produced on his hand (yadman), so that,' &c.; aîghash being a disease, or evil, mentioned in Vend. XX, 14, 20, 24; compare Chap. XXVIII, 33.

⁸ Or As-i Dahāk, the Av. Azi Dahâka, 'destructive serpent,' of Yas. IX, 25, Vend. I, 69, Âbân Yt. 29, 34, Bahrâm Yt. 40, Zamyād Yt. 46-50. A name applied to a foreign dynasty (probably Semitic) personified as a single king, which conquered the dominions of Yim (see Chap. XXXIV, 5).

*son of Virafsang, son of Tâz, son of Fravâk, son of Sîyâkmak*¹; by *his* mother Dahâk *was* of Udaï², *son of Bayak, son of Tambayak, son of Owokhm*³, *son of Pairi-urvaêsm*⁴, *son of Gadhwithw*⁵, *son of Drûgâskân*⁶, *son of the evil spirit.*

7. Frêdûn the Âspiyan⁷ *was son of Pûr-tôrâ*⁸ the Âspiyan, *son of Sôk-tôrâ*⁹ the Âspiyan, *son of Bôr-tôrâ the Âspiyan, son of Sîyâk-tôrâ the Âspiyan, son of Spêd-tôrâ the Âspiyan, son of Gefar-tôrâ the Âspiyan, son of Ramak-tôrâ the Âspiyan, son of*

¹ For the last three names, see Chap. XV, 25, 28.

² Pahl. Aûd in TD; compare 'the demon Uda' of Chap. XXVIII, 19. The following two names look like 'fear' and 'gloom-fear,' both appropriate names for demons.

³ TD has Pâz. Owôikh; compare Av. aoiwra, 'a species of nightmare,' observing that r and ô are often written alike in Pahlavi.

⁴ TD and K20 have Pâz. Pairi-urva-urvaêsm, and K20 has Pai-urvaêsm.

⁵ TD has Pâz. Gawithw.

⁶ So in TD, but K20 has Pâz. Drus-i ayaskâ, and K20b has Drug-i ayaskâ. It corresponds to Av. drugaska in Vend. XIX, 139, Vistâsp Yt. 26. This genealogy appears to trace Dahâk's maternal descent through a series of demons.

⁷ Av. Thraêtaona, son of Âthwya, but generally called 'the Âthwyânian,' who slew the destructive serpent (*asi dahâka*), see Yas. IX, 24, 25, Vend. I, 69, Âbân Yt. 33, 61, Gôs Yt. 13, Fravardîn Yt. 131, Bahrâm Yt. 40, Râm Yt. 23, Ashi Yt. 33, Zamyâd Yt. 36, 92, Âf. Zarat. 2. In the Shâhnâmah he is called Ferîdûn son of Abtîn.

⁸ This name is omitted in K20, but occurs in the other two MSS.; it is a Huzvâris hybrid equivalent to Pâz. Pûr-gau and Av. Pouru-gau, which is a title of an Âthwyânian in Âf. Zarat. 4, Vistâsp Yt. 2. This genealogy consists almost entirely of such hybrid names, which have a very artificial appearance, though suitable enough for a race of herdsmen, meaning, as they severally do, 'one with abundant oxen, with useful oxen, with the brown ox, with the black ox, with the white ox, with the fat ox, and with a herd of oxen.'

⁹ So in TD, but the other two MSS. have Sîyâk-tôrâ, which is probably wrong, as the same name occurs again in this genealogy.

Vanfraghesn¹ the Âspiyân, *son* of Yim, *son* of Vivanghâû; as these, apart from the Âspiyân Pûr-tôrâ, were ten generations, they every one lived a hundred years, which becomes one thousand years; those thousand years were the evil reign of Dahâk. 8. By the Âspiyân Pûr-tôrâ was begotten Frêdûn, who exacted vengeance for Yim; together *with him*² also were the sons Barmâyûn *and* Katâyûn, *but* Frêdûn was fuller of glory than they.

9. By Frêdûn three sons were begotten, Salm and Tûg and Atrîk³; and by Atrîk one son *and* one pair⁴ were begotten; the names of the couple of sons were Vânidâr *and* Anastokh⁵, *and* the name of the daughter was Gûzak⁶. 10. Salm *and* Tûg slew *them* all, Atrîk *and* *his* happy sons, *but* Frêdûn kept the daughter in concealment, *and* from that daughter a daughter was born⁷; they became aware *of it*, *and* the mother was slain by them. 11. Frêdûn provided for the daughter⁸, also in concealment, for

¹ In TD this name can be read Vanfrôkîsn or Vanfrôkgân.

² TD has 'as well as *him*.' K2ob omits most of this sentence by mistake.

³ These sons, as Windischmann observes, are not mentioned in the extant Avesta, but their Avesta names, Sairima, Tûirya or Tûra, and Airya or Airyu, may be gathered from the names of the countries over which they are supposed to have ruled (see Fravardîn Yt. 143).

⁴ TD has 'two sons *and* one daughter.'

⁵ TD has Anîdâr and Anastabô.

⁶ Or Gûgak, in TD; the other MSS. have Pâz. Ganga here, but Guzak in § 14; it is identical with the name of Hôshyang's sister and wife in Chap. XV, 28. In the Pâzand Gâmâsp-nâmah the name of Frêdûn's daughter is written Vîrak.

⁷ Reading *min zak dûkht dûkht-1 zâd*, as in K2ob and TD; some uncertainty arises here from the words *dûkht*, 'daughter,' and *dvâd*, 'pair,' being written alike in Pahlavi.

⁸ TD has *bartman*, 'daughter,' indicating that the word in K2o must be read *dûkht*, and not *dvâd*, 'pair.'

ten generations, when Mânûs-i Khûrshêd-vînk was born from *his* mother, [*so called* because, as he was born, *some of*]¹ the light of the sun (khûrshêd) fell upon *his* nose (vînk). 12. From Mânûs-i Khûrshêd-vînk *and his* sister² was Mânûs-khûrnar, *and* from Mânûs-khûrnar [*and his* sister] was Mânûskîhar born³, by whom Salm and Tûg were slain in revenge for Aîrîk⁴. 13. By Mânûskîhar were Fris, Nôdar⁵, and Dûrâsrôb⁶ begotten.

14. Just as Mânûskîhar *was* of Mânûs-khûrnar, of Mânûs-khûrnâk⁷, who was Mâm-sozak⁸, of Aîrak, of Thritak, of Bîtak, of Frazûsak, of Zûsak⁹, of Fragûzak, of Gûzak, of Aîrîk, of Frêdûn, *so* Frâstiyâv¹⁰ *was*

¹ The phrase in brackets occurs only in TD; and the whole passage from 'vînk' to 'sun' is omitted in K20, evidently by mistake.

² TD has 'from Mânûs and *his* sister,' and K20b has 'from Mânûs-hûkîhar *and* Mânûs-khûrshêd.'

³ The words in brackets occur only in TD, and K20b has 'from Mânûs-khûrnar also was Mânûs-khûrnâk, *from* Mânûs-khûrnâk was Mânûskîhar born,' but this introduction of an extra generation is not confirmed by the list of names in § 14. The term khûrnâk (or khûrnak) seems to be merely a transcript of the Avesta word of which khûrshêd-vînk, 'sun-nose,' is a translation. The other term khûrnar can also be read khûrvar, but K20 has Pâz. *hvar-nar*. Mânûskîhar is the Av. Manusîthra of Fravardîn Yt. 131, where he is styled the Airyavan, or descendant of Airyu (Aîrîk).

⁴ TD has '*and* vengeance exacted for Aîrîk.'

⁵ See Chap. XXIX, 6.

⁶ Pâz. Durâsro, but the Pahlavi form, given in the text, occurs in § 31 and Chap. XXXII, 1 in TD, which MS. omits this § by mistake.

⁷ The same as Mânûs-i khûrshêd-vînk, as noted above.

⁸ This Pâzand epithet seems to mean 'mother-burning,' and may have some connection with the legend mentioned in § 11. TD has mûn am Gûgak, 'whose mother was Gûgak.'

⁹ K20b omits the five names from Aîrak to Zûsak.

¹⁰ Av. Frangrasyan, the Tûryan, of Yas. XI, 21, Âbân Yt. 41,

of Pashang, of Zaêsm¹, of Tûrak, of Spaênyasp, of Dûrôshasp, of Tûg, of Frêdûn. 15. He (Frâstyâv) as well as Karsêvaz², whom they call Kadân³, and Aghrêrad⁴ were all three brothers.

[16⁵. Pashang and Vîsak were both brothers. 17. By Vîsak were Pîrân⁶, Hûmân, Sân⁷, and other brothers begotten. 18. By Frâstyâv were Frasp-i Kûr, Sân, Shêdak⁸, and other sons begotten; and Vispân-fryâ⁹, from whom Kat-Khûsrôb was born, was daughter of Frâstyâv, and was of the same mother with Frasp-i Kûr. 19. From Frasp-i Kûr were Sûrâk, Asûrîk, and other children; and by them were Khvâst-atrikht, Yazdân-atrikht, Yazdân-sarâd, Frêh-khûrd, Lâ-vahâk¹⁰, and others begotten; a recital of whom *would* be tedious.

20. By Aghrêrad was Gôpatshah¹¹ begotten. 21. When Frâstyâv made Mânûskîhar, with the Iranians, captive in the mountain-range (gar) of Padashkh-

Gôr Yt. 18, 22, Ashi Yt. 38, 42, Zamyâd Yt. 56-63, 82, 93; called Afrâsiyâb in the Shâhnâmâh.

¹ Zâdram in the Shâhnâmâh.

² Garsîvaz in the Shâhnâmâh.

³ TD has Pahl. Kîdân.

⁴ See Chap. XXIX, 5.

⁵ The remainder of this chapter is found only in TD.

⁶ Pîrân Vîsah is Afrâsiyâb's chief general in the Shâhnâmâh, and Hûmân and Pîlsam are his brothers.

⁷ This name is very ambiguous in Pahlavi, as it can be read many other ways.

⁸ Shêdah in the Shâhnâmâh.

⁹ She is called Farangîs in the Shâhnâmâh.

¹⁰ The reading of several of these names is more or less uncertain, but the object of the author is evidently to apply opprobrious epithets to all the male descendants of Afrâsiyâb.

¹¹ TD has Gôpat-malkâ here, as also in Chap. XXIX, 5, where it is said to be a title of Aghrêrad (always written Agrêrad in TD).

vâr¹, *and* scattered ruin *and* want among them, Aghrêrad begged a favour of God (yazdân), and he obtained the benefit that the army and champions of the Iranians were saved by him from that distress. 22. Frâstyâv slew Aghrêrad for that fault; *and* Aghrêrad, as his recompense, begat *such* a son as Gôpatshah.

23. Aûzôbô the Tûhmâspian², Kanak-i Barzist, Arawisanasp, *and* Vaêtand-i Râghinôid *were* the three sons *and* the daughter of Agâimasvâk³, the *son* of Nôdar, *son* of Mânûskîhar, who begat Aûzôbô.

24. Kavâd⁴ was a child in a waist-cloth (kuspûd); they abandoned *him* on a river, *and* he froze upon the door-sills (kavâdakân); Aûzôbô perceived and took *him*, brought *him* up, *and* settled the name of the trembling child.

25. By Kavâd *was* Kaî-Aptvêh begotten; by Kaî-Aptvêh *were* Kaî-Arsh, Kaî-Vyârsh, Kaî-Pisân, and Kaî-Kâûs begotten; by Kaî-Kâûs *was* Styâvakhsh begotten; by Styâvakhsh *was* Kaî-Khûsrôb⁵

¹ The mountains south of the Caspian (see Chap. XII, 17).

² Av. Uzava Tûmâspana of Fravardîn Yt. 131, called Zav, or Zâb, son of Tahmâsp, in the Shâhnâmah.

³ None of these names, which TD gives in Pâzand, are to be found in the portion of the Avesta yet extant.

⁴ Av. Kavi Kavâta of Fravardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, called Kaî-Qubâd in the Shâhnâmah. There appears to be an attempt, in the text, to derive his name from the 'door-sill' on which he is said to have been found.

⁵ The Avesta names of these seven other Kayâns are, respectively, Kavi Aipi-vanghu, Kavi Arshan, Kavi Byârshân, Kavi Pisanangh, Kavi Usadhan, Kavi Syâvarshân, and Kavi Husravangh (see Fravardîn Yt. 132, Zamyâd Yt. 71, 74); omitting the third, they are called, respectively, Armîn, Aris, Pasîn, Kaî-Kâvûs, Siyâvush, and Kaî-Khusrô in the Shâhnâmah. TD, omitting the first letter, has Sâno for Pisân; it also writes Kaî-Kâyûks and Kaî-Khûsrôvî.

begotten. 26. Keresâsp¹ and Aûrvakhsh² were both brothers. 27. Athrat³ was son of Sâhm, son of Tûrak, son of Spaênyasp, son of Dûrôshasp⁴, son of Tûg, son of Frêdûn. 28. Lôharâsp⁵ was son of Aûzâv⁶, son of Mânûs, son of Kaî-Pisîn⁷, son of Kaî-Aptvêh, son of Kaî-Kavâd. 29. By Kaî-Lôharâsp were Vistâsp, Zarîr⁸, and other brothers begotten; by Vistâsp were Spend-dâd⁹ and Pêshyôtanû¹⁰ begotten; and by Spend-dâd were Vohûman¹¹, Âtarô-tarsah, Mitrô-tarsah, and others begotten.

30. Artakhshatar descendant of Pâpak—of whom his mother was daughter—was son of Sâsân¹², son of

¹ Av. Keresâspa of Yas. IX, 31, 36, 39, Vend. I, 36, Âbân Yt. 37, Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136, Râm Yt. 27, Zamyâd Yt. 38-44, Âf. Zarat. 3; he is called Garrâsp in the Shâhnâmah.

² Av. Urvâkhshaya of Yas. IX, 31, Râm Yt. 28, Âf. Zarat. 3. These brothers were sons of Thrîta or Athrat, mentioned in the next §.

³ Av. Thrîta of the Sâma race (see Yas. IX, 30, Vend. XX, 11) and father of Keresâspa, whose genealogy is given in a passage interpolated in some copies of the Shâhnâmah as follows: Garrâsp, Atrat, Sam, Tûrag, Sîdasb, Tûr, Jamshêd.

⁴ Written Dûrôshap in TD, both here and in § 14.

⁵ Av. Aurvad-aspa of Âbân Yt. 105, Vistâsp Yt. 34, 46, called Luhrâsp in the Shâhnâmah.

⁶ Reading doubtful.

⁷ Written Ka-Pisîn here, but he is the same person as Kaî-Pisân of § 25; the latter part of the name is written both Pisanangh and Pisina in the Avesta.

⁸ Probably Zargar (being Av. Zairivairi of Âbân Yt. 112, 117, Fravardîn Yt. 101), but called Zarîr in the Shâhnâmah.

⁹ Av. Spentô-dâta of Fravardîn Yt. 103, Vistâsp Yt. 25, called Isfendiyâr in the Shâhnâmah.

¹⁰ See Chaps. XXIX, 5, XXXII, 5.

¹¹ Called Bahman in the Shâhnâmah, and Ardashîr the Kayânian in Bahman Yt. II, 17; the successor of his grandfather Vistâsp (see Chap. XXXIV, 8).

¹² The text is rather obscure, but the Kârnâmak of Ardashîr-i Pâpakân states clearly that Ardashîr was son of Sâsân by the

Vêh-âfrîd and ¹ Zarîr, son of Sâsân, son of Artakhshatar who was the said Vohûman son of Spend-dâd.

31. The mother of Kai-Apîvêh was Farhank ², daughter of him who is exalted on the heavenly path ³, Urvad-gâi-frâst ⁴, son of Râk, son of Dûrâsrôb, son of Mânûskîhar. 32. This, too, it says, that the glory ⁵ of Frêdûn settled on the root of a reed (kanyâ) in the wide-formed ocean; and Nôktargâ ⁶, through sorcery, formed a cow for tillage, and begat children there; three years he carried the reeds there, and gave them to the cow, until the glory went on to the cow; he brought the cow, milked her milk, and gave it to his three sons; as their walking was on hoofs, the glory did not go to the sons, but to Farhank. 33. Nôktargâ wished to injure ⁷ Farhank, but Farhank went with the glory away from

daughter of Pâpak, a tributary ruler of Pârs under Ardavân, the last of the Askâniyân monarchs.

¹ So in the Pahlavi text, which therefore makes Vêh-âfrîd a woman's name (like Pers. Beh-âfrîn); but this is doubtful, as the MSS. often confound *va*, 'and,' and *i*, 'son of.'

² In the Shâhnâmah Farhang is mother of Kai-Kâvûs. The Pahlavi name can also be read Farânak, the name of the mother of Ferîdûn in the Shâhnâmah.

³ Pâz. vîdharg-âfrâstaka, which looks more like an epithet than a name.

⁴ Or, perhaps, 'Urvad-gâ son of Frâst.'

⁵ The divine glory which was supposed to accompany all legitimate sovereigns of Iran, from the time of Hôshyang even to that of the Sasanian dynasty; it is the Av. *hvaranagh* of the Zamyâd Yast, and is said to have fled to the ocean for refuge during the reign of foreign dynasties and wicked kings (see Âbân Yt. 42, Zamyâd Yt. 51, 56, 59, 62).

⁶ The last syllable is so written, in Pâzand, in § 33.

⁷ Reading *hangîdanô*, 'to injure,' instead of *khungdanô*, which may mean 'to embrace;' the difference between the two words being merely the letter *h*.

the fierce (tīb) father, and made a vow (patyastāk) thus: 'I will give *my* first son to Aûshbâm¹.' 34. Then Aûshbâm saved her from the father; and the first son, Kaŭ-Apîvêh, she bore and gave to Aûshbâm, was a hero associating with Aûshbâm, and travelled in Aûshbâm's company.

35. The mother of Aûzôbô was the daughter of Nâmûn the wizard, when Nâmak² was with Frâsiyâv.

36. And, moreover, together with those begotten by Sâm³ were six children in pairs, male *and* female; the name of one *was* Damnak, of one Khûsrôv, *and of one* Mârgandak, *and* the name of *each* man and woman together was one. 37. And the name of one *besides* them was Dastân⁴; he was considered more eminent than they, and Sagânsih⁵ and the southern quarter were given to him; and Avar-shatrô⁶ and the governorship were given by him to Avarnak. 38. Of Avar-shatrô this is said, that *it is* the district of Avarnak, *and* they offered blessings to Srôsh and Ardavahist in succession; on this account is *their* possession of horses and possession of arms; and on account of firm religion, purity, and manifest joy, good estimation and extensive fame are greatly

¹ This name means 'the dawn;' perhaps it may be identified with Av. Usinemangh or Usenemangh of Fravardîn Yt. 113, 140, whose wife Frēni may possibly be the Farhank (or Frânak) of the text.

² So in TD, but it is probably only a variant of Nâmûn.

³ The grandfather of Rustam (see § 41). In the Avesta he is usually called Sâma Keresâspa with the title Nairimanau; while in the Shâhnâmah Sâm is son of Narîmân.

⁴ Another name for Zâl, the father of Rustam, in the Shâhnâmah.

⁵ The same as Sagastân.

⁶ Or, perhaps, 'the upper district.'

among them. 39. To Damnak the governorship of Asûristân was given; sovereignty and arranging the law of sovereignty, wilfulness and the stubborn defects they would bring, were among them. 40. To Sparnak¹ the governorship of Spâhân² was given; to Khûsrôv the governorship of Râi³ was given; to Mârgandak the kingdom, forest settlements, and mountain settlements of Padashkhvârgar were given; *where* they travel nomadically, and *there* are the forming of sheep-folds, prolificness, easy procreation, and continual triumph over enemies. 41. From Dastân proceeded Rûdâstâm⁴ and Hûzavârak⁵.]

CHAPTER XXXII⁶.

1. On the kindred of Pôrûshasp⁷, son of Patti-râsp⁸, son of Aurvadasp⁹, son of Hâêkadâsp¹⁰, son of

¹ He would seem not to have been a son of Sâm, as he is not mentioned before. The reading of all these names is uncertain.

² The Pahlavi form of Ispahân.

³ Av. Ragha of Yas. XIX, 51, Vend. I, 60, whose ruins are near the modern Teherân.

⁴ The usual Pahlavi form of Rustam.

⁵ Or Aûzvârak; Rustam's brother is called Zavârah in the Shâhnâmah.

⁶ This chapter, which is numbered XXXIII by previous translators, is found in all MSS., but in TD it forms a continuation of the preceding chapter, beginning with the name Pôrûshasp.

⁷ Av. Pourushaspa of Yas. IX, 42, 43, Vend. XIX, 15, 22, 143, Âbân Yt. 18, &c.

⁸ K20 has Pâz. Spitarasp, and M6 has Pâz. Pirtrasp (see note on Chap. XXXIII, 1). The reading in the text is doubtful.

⁹ Omitted in K20 and TD.

¹⁰ Av. Hâêkadâspa of Yas. XLV, 15, LII, 3.

*Kakhshnûs*¹, son of *Pâtîrâsp*, son of *Hardarsn*², son of *Hardâr*³, son of *Spîtâmân*⁴, son of *Vîdast*⁵, son of *Ayazem*, son of *Ragan*⁶, son of *Dûrâsrôb*⁷, son of *Mânûskîhar*⁸. 2. As *Pâtîrâsp* had two sons, one *Pôrûshasp* and one *Ârâsti*⁹, by *Pôrûshasp* was *Zaratûst* begotten for a sanctuary of good religion¹⁰, and by *Ârâsti* was *Mêdyôk-mâh*¹¹ begotten. 3. *Zaratûst*, when he brought the religion, first celebrated

¹ Windischmann suggests Av. *Kâkhshnôis* (gen.) of *Fravardîn* Yt. 114.

² K20 has *Pâz. Harsn* and TD has *Harakîdârsnô*.

³ TD has *Harâîdâr*, or *Arâîdâr*.

⁴ Or *Spîtâm* (as the last syllable is the patronymical suffix), Av. *Spîtâma*, the usual patronymic of *Zaratûst*.

⁵ May be read *Vâdist* in TD.

⁶ Possibly the same person as *Râk* in Chap. XXXI, 31; but see XXXIII, 3.

⁷ So in TD, but *Pâz. Durâsrûn* in K20, M6.

⁸ This genealogy is somewhat differently given in the *Vagarkard-i Dînfk* (pp. 28, 29), as published in Bombay by Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjânâ in 1848; and is extended back, through the generations mentioned in Chap. XXXI, 1, 2, 7, 14, to *Gâyômarz*, as follows: '*Pôrûshâspô* son of *Paîtîrâsp*, and *Arâspô* son of *Paîtîrâsp*, *Urvandasp*, *Haêtadasp*, *Kîkhshnûs*, *Paêtîrâsp*, *Hardarsn*, *Haridâr*, *Spîtâmânô*, *Vaêdist*, *Nayâzem*, *Ragîsn*, *Dûrâsrôb*, *Mânûskîhar* sovereign of Iran, *Mânus-khûrnar*, *Mânus-khûrnâk*, *Nêryôsang*, *Varsîd-dîn*, *Vîzak*, *Airyak*, *Aithritak*, *Ibitak*, *Frazîsak*, *Zîsak*, *Frasîzak*, *Izak*, *Aîrîâ*, *Frêdûn* lord of *Khvanîras*, *Pûr-tôrâ* the *Âspîkân*, *Nêvak-tôrâ* the *Âspîkân*, *Sôg-tôrâ* the *Âspîkân*, *Gêfar-tôrâ* the *Âspîkân*, *Vanô-i-fravîsn* the *Âspîkân*, *Yim* lord of the seven regions, *Vîvanghâû*, *Ayanghad*, *Ananghad*, *Takhmôrup*, *Hôshâng* the *Pêrdâd*, lord of the seven regions, *Fravâk*, *Sîyâmak*, *Mashyô* whose wife was *Mashyâk*, *Gâyôkmarz* the first man, and father of all mankind in the material world.'

⁹ Av. *Ârâstaya* of *Fravardîn* Yt. 95; TD has *Ârâstih*.

¹⁰ The *Pâzand* words *dargâ hidainis* appear to be merely a misreading of Pahl. *dargâs-i hûdîndîh*.

¹¹ Av. *Maidhyô-maungha* of *Yas. L*, 19, *Fravardîn* Yt. 95, 106. He is said to have been *Zaratûst*'s first disciple.

worship¹ and expounded in Atrân-vêg, and Mêdyôk-mâh received the religion from him. 4. The Môbads² of Pârs are all traced back to this race of Mânûskîhar.

5. Again, I say, by Zaratûst³ were begotten three sons and three daughters⁴; one son was Isadvâstar⁵, one Aûrvatađ-nar⁶, and one Khûrshêd-kîhar⁷; as Isadvâstar was chief of the priests he became the Môbad of Môbads, and passed away in the hundredth year of the religion; Aûrvatađ-nar was an agriculturist, and the chief of the enclosure formed by Yim⁸, which is below the earth; Khûrshêd-kîhar was a warrior, commander of the army of Pêshyôtanû, son of Vistâsp, and dwells in Kangdez⁸; and of the three daughters the name of one was Frên, of one Srtt, and of one Pôrukîst⁹. 6. Aûrvatađ-nar and Khûrshêd-kîhar were from a serving (kakar) wife¹⁰, the rest were from a privileged (pâdakhshah) wife.

¹ Reading frâg yast; but it may be frâg gast, 'wandered forth.'

² The class of priests whose special duty is to perform all religious rites and ceremonies.

³ This paragraph is quoted, with a few alterations, in the Vagarkard-i Dînik, pp. 21-23.

⁴ K20 omits the 'three daughters' here, by mistake.

⁵ Av. Isad-vâstra of Yas. XXIII, 4, XXVI, 17, Fravardîn Yt. 98.

⁶ Av. Urvatađ-nara of Vend. II, 143, Fravardîn Yt. 98. K20 and M6 have Aûrvatađ-nar, and TD has Aûrvâtad-nar.

⁷ Av. Hvare-kîthra of Fravardîn Yt. 98; TD has Khûr-kîhar.

⁸ See Chap. XXIX, 5. Windischmann and Justi consider the clause about Pêshyôtanû as inserted by mistake, and it is omitted in the Vagarkard-i Dînik (p. 21); it is found, however, in all MSS. of the Bundahis.

⁹ These daughters are the Av. Frêni, Thrîti, and Pouru-kîsta of Fravardîn Yt. 139; the last is also mentioned in Yas. LII, 3.

¹⁰ The following is a summary of the Persian descriptions of the five kinds of marriage, as given in the Rivâyats:—

A pâdshâh ('ruling, or privileged') wife is when a man marries,

7¹. By Isadvâstar was begotten a son *whose* name was Ururviga², and they call him Arang-i Bîrâdân³ ('fore-arm of brothers') for this reason, that, as they

with the parents' consent, an unbetrothed maiden out of a family, and she and her children remain his in both worlds.

A yûkan or ayûk ('only child') wife is an only child, married with the parents' consent, and her first child belongs to them; after its birth she becomes a pâdshâh wife. She is entitled to one-third of her parents' property for giving up the child.

A satar ('adopted') wife is when a man over fifteen years of age dies childless and unmarried, and his relatives provide a maiden with a dowry, and marry her to another man; when half her children belong to the dead man, and half to the living, and she herself is the dead man's wife in the other world.

A kâkar or kâkar ('serving') wife is a widow who marries again; if she had no children by her first husband she is acting as a satar wife, and half her children by her second husband belong to her first one; and she herself, in any case, belongs to her first husband in the other world.

A khûd-sarâf or khûd-sarâf ('self-disposing') wife is one who marries without her parents' consent; she inherits no property from her parents until her eldest son has given her as a pâdshâh wife to his father.

¹ Instead of this sentence the Vagarkard-i Dînfk (pp. 21, 22) has the following, which appears to rest upon a misinterpretation of the text:—

'And Zaratûst the righteous had three wives; all three were in the lifetime of Zaratûst, and all three wives were living throughout the lifetime of Zaratûst; the name of one was Hvôv, of the second Urvig, of the third Arnig-baredâ. And from Urvig, who was a privileged wife, four children were born; one was the son Isadvâstar, and the three daughters, namely, Frên, Srîtak, and Pôrukist; these four were from Urvig. And from the wife Arnig-baredâ two sons were born, one Aûrvart-nar, and the second Khûrshêd-kîhar; and Arnig-baredâ was a serving wife, and the name of the former husband of Arnig-baredâ was Mitrô-ayâr. And from Hvôv, who was a privileged wife, *were* three sons, namely, Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshâns, as it says, &c. (as in § 8).

² TD has Pahl. Aûrvavîgak or Khûrûrûpak.

³ So in TD.

were from a serving wife, *she* then delivered them over to Isadvâstar through adoption. 8. This, too, *one* knows, that three sons of Zaratûst, namely, Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh¹, and Sôshyans², were from Hvôv³; as it says, that Zaratûst went near unto Hvôv three times, *and* each time the seed went to the ground; the angel Nêryôsang⁴ received the brilliance and strength of that seed, delivered *it* with care to the angel Anâhîd⁵, *and* in time will blend *it* with a mother. 9. Nine thousand, nine hundred, and ninety-nine, and nine myriads⁶ of the guardian spirits of the righteous are intrusted with *its* protection, so that the demons may not injure *it*⁷.

10. The name of the mother of Zaratûst was Dughdâ⁸, *and* the name of the father of the mother of Zaratûst was Frahimravâ⁹.

¹ Av. Ukhshyad-ereta and Ukhshyad-nemangh of Fravardîn Yt. 128.

² Av. Saoshyâs of Vend. XIX, 18, Fravardîn Yt. 129, &c. See Chaps. XI, 6, XXIX, 6, XXX, 3, 4, 7, 17, 25, 27.

³ Av. Hvôvi of Fravardîn Yt. 139, Dîn Yt. 15; the Pahlavi form of the name, as given once in TD, is Hûvâôbô.

⁴ See Chap. XV, 1.

⁵ Av. anâhita of Âbân Yt. 1, &c.; a female personification of 'unsullied' water, known generally by the epithet ardvî sûra (the Arêdvîvsûr of Chap. XIII), and whose name is also applied to the planet Venus (see Chap. V, 1).

⁶ So in M6; other MSS. have '9,999 myriads,' but see Fravardîn Yt. 62.

⁷ This last phrase, about the demons, is omitted in TD and the Vagarkard-i Dînik.

⁸ The Avesta word for 'daughter.'

⁹ TD has Pâz. Fereâhimruvânâ.

[CHAPTER XXXIII¹.

o. The family of the Mōbads ('priests').

1. Bahak² *was* son of Hūbakht, *son* of Âtarô-bôndak, *son* of Mâhdad, *son* of Mēdyôk-mâh, *son* of Frâh-vakhsh-vindâd³, *son* of Mēdyôk-mâh, *son* of Kâd⁴, *son* of Mēdyôk-mâh, *son* of Ârâstih, *son* of Paltirâsp⁵. 2. As Bahak was Mōbad of Mōbads (high-priest) unto Shâhpûhar⁶, son of Aûharmazd, so Kâd was the great preceptor (farmâdâr) unto Dârâi⁷.

3. Âtarô-pâd⁸ *was* son of Mâraspend, *son* of Dâd-ardâ, *son* of Dâdîrâd, *son* of Hûdînô, *son* of Âtarô-dâd, *son* of Mânûskîhar, *son* of Vohûman-kîhar, *son* of Fryânô⁹, *son* of Bâhak¹⁰, *son* of Frêdûn, *son* of Fra-

¹ This chapter is found only in TD, where it forms a continuation of the preceding, and affords a means (see §§ 10, 11) for determining the age of the recension of the text contained in that MS. As nearly all the names are written in Pahlavi letters, the pronunciation of many of them is merely a matter of guess.

² Here written Bôhak, but it is Bahak or Bâk in § 2; compare Bâhak in § 3, and Av. Baungha of Fravardîn Yt. 124.

³ Compare Av. Frashâvakhsha of Fravardîn Yt. 109.

⁴ Compare Av. Kâta of Fravardîn Yt. 124.

⁵ See Chap. XXXII, 2, for the last three generations; TD has Pirtarâsp here, like the variant of M6 in Chap. XXXII, 1.

⁶ The Sasanian king Shâpûr II, who reigned A.D. 309-379.

⁷ According to the chronology of the Bundahis (Chap. XXXIV, 8, 9), Dârâi lived only some four centuries before Shâpûr II, for which period only seven generations of priests are here provided. This period, moreover, is certainly about three centuries less than the truth.

⁸ This priest was prime minister of Shâpûr II.

⁹ Compare Av. Fryâna of Yas. XLV, 12.

¹⁰ This name is repeated in TD, probably by mistake (compare Bahak in §§ 1, 2).

shâltar¹, son of Pôrushasp, son of Vînâsp, son of Nivar, son of Vakhsh, son of Vahidhrôs, son of Frast, son of Gâk², son of Vakhsh, son of Fryân, son of Ragan, son of Dûrâsrôb, son of Mânûskîhar³.

4. Mitrô-varâz was son of Nigâs-afzûd-dâk, son of Shîrtashôsp, son of Parstva, son of Urvad-gâ, son of Tâham, son of Zarîr, son of Dûrâsrôb, son of Mânûs⁴.

5. Dûrnâmîk was son of Zâgh, son of Masvâk, son of Nôdar⁵, son of Mânûskîhar.

6. Mitrô-akâvîd is son of Mardân-vêh⁶, son of Afrôbag-vindâd, son of Vindâd-i-pêdâk, son of Vâê-bûkht⁷, son of Bahak, son of Vâê-bûkht. 7. The mother from whom I was born is Hûmât, daughter of Freh-mâh, who also was the righteous daughter⁸

¹ This is probably a semi-Huzvâris form of Frashôstar.

² Perhaps this name should be read along with the next one, so as to give the single Pâzand name Skinas or Skivas.

³ See Chap. XXXII, 1, for the last three generations. According to this genealogy Âtarôpâd-i Mâraspendân was the twenty-third in descent from Mânûskîhar, whereas his contemporary, Bahak (§ 1), was twenty-second in descent from the same.

⁴ No doubt Mânûskîhar is meant; if not, we must read Mânûs-dûrnâmîk in connection with § 5.

⁵ Here written Nîdar, but see Chaps. XXIX, 6, XXXI, 13.

⁶ Here written Mard-vêh, but see § 8.

⁷ Here written Aê-vûkht, but see § 8; it may be Vîs-bûkht, or Vêr-bûkht.

⁸ The text is amîdar mûnas li agas zerkhûnd Hûmôf dûkht-i Freh-mâh-ik aharôb vûkht (dûkht?). We might perhaps read 'Freh-mâh son of Kahârôb-bûkht,' but it seems more probable that §§ 7, 8 should be connected, and that the meaning intended is that Hûmât was daughter of Freh-mâh (of a certain family) and of Pûyisn-shâd (of another family); she was also the mother of the editor of that recension of the Bundahis which is contained in TD; but who was his father? The singularly unnecessary repetition of the genealogy of the two brothers, Mitrô-akâvîd and Pûyisn-shâd, in §§ 6, 8, leads to the suspicion that if the latter

of Mâh-ayâr *son* of Mâh-bôndak, *son* of Mâh-bûkht.
8. Pûyisn-shâd *is son* of Mardân-vêh, *son* of Afrôbag-vindâd, *son* of Vindâd-i-pêdâk, *son* of Vâê-bûkht, *son* of Bahak, *son* of Vâê-bûkht. .

9. All the other Môbads who have been renowned in the empire (khûdâ-yîh) *were* from the same family it is said, *and* were of this race of Mânûskîhar¹. 10. Those Môbads, likewise, who now exist are all from the same family they assert, and I, too, they boast, whom they call² 'the administration of perfect rectitude' (Dâdakhî-i Ashôvahistô)³. 11. Yûdân-Yim *son* of Vâhrâm-shâd, *son* of Zaratûst, Âtarô-pâd *son* of Mâraspend, *son* of Zâd-sparham⁴,

were his mother's father, the former was probably his own father or grandfather. Unfortunately the text makes no clear statement on the subject, and § 10 affords further material for guessing otherwise at his name and connections.

¹ Compare Chap. XXXII, 4.

² Reading va lîk laband-i karîftûnd.

³ This looks more like a complimentary title than a name, and if the editor of the TD recension of the Bundahîr were the son or grandson of Mitrô-akâvîd (§ 6) we have no means of ascertaining his name; but if he were not descended from Mitrô-akâvîd it is possible that §§ 10, 11 should be read together, and that he was the son of Yûdân-Yim. Now we know, from the heading and colophon of the ninety-two questions and answers on religious subjects which are usually called the Dâdîstân-i Dînik, and from the colophons of other writings which usually accompany that work, that those answers were composed and certain epistles were written by Mânûskîhar, son of Yûdân-Yim, who was high-priest of Pârs and Kirmân in A.Y. 250 (A.D. 881), and apparently a more important personage than his (probably younger) brother Zâd-sparham, who is mentioned in § 11 as one of the priests contemporary with the editor of the TD recension. If this editor, therefore, were a son of Yûdân-Yim (which is a possible interpretation of the text) he was most probably this same Mânûskîhar, author of the Dâdîstân-i Dînik (see the Introduction, § 4).

⁴ The last name is very probably superfluous, Zâd-sparham

*Zâd-sparham son of Yûdân-Yim*¹, *Âtarô-pâd son of Hâmîd*², *Ashôvahist son of Freh-Srôsh*, and the other *Môbads* have sprung from the same family.

12. This, too, it says, that 'in one winter I *will* locate (*gâkînam*) the religion of the Mazdayasnians, *which* came out into the other six regions.']

having been written twice most likely by mistake. This *Âtarô-pâd* son of *Mâraspend* was probably the one mentioned in the following extract from the old Persian *Rivâyat* MS., No. 8 of the collection in the Indian Office Library at London (fol. 142 a) :—

'The book *Dînkard* which the *dastûrs* of the religion and the ancients have compiled, likewise the blessed *Âdarbâd* son of *Mahraspend*, son of *Asavahist* of the people of the good religion, in the year three hundred of *Yazdagard Shahryâr*, collected some of the more essential mysteries of the religion as instruction, and of these he formed this book.' That is, he was the last editor of the *Dînkard*, which seems to have remained unrevised since his time, as the present copies have descended from the MS. preserved by his family and first copied in A.Y. 369.

¹ *Zâd-sparham* was brother of the author of the *Dâdîstân-i Dînik* ; he was high-priest at *Sîrkân* in the south, and evidently had access to the *Bundahis*, of part of which he wrote a paraphrase (see Appendix). His name is usually written *Zâd-sparam*.

² In the history of the *Dînkard*, given at the end of its third book (see *Introd. to Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk*, p. xxxiv), we are told as follows :—

'After that, the well-meaning *Âtarô-pâd* son of *Hêmîd*, who was the leader of the people of the good religion, compiled, with the assistance of God, through inquiry, investigation, and much trouble, a new means of producing remembrance of the *Mazdayasnian* religion.' He did this, we are further told, by collecting all the decaying literature and perishing traditions into a work 'like the great original *Dînkard*, of a thousand chapters' (*mânâk-i zak rabâ bûn Dînô-kartô 1000-darakô*). We thus learn from external sources that the group of contemporary priests, mentioned in the text, was actively employed (about A.D. 900) in an attempted revival of the religious literature of the *Mazdayasnians*, to which we owe either the revision or compilation of such works as the *Dînkard*, *Dâdîstân-i Dînik*, and *Bundahis*.

CHAPTER XXXIV¹.o. On the reckoning of the years².

1. Time was *for* twelve thousand years; *and* it says in revelation, that three thousand years was the duration of the spiritual *state*, where the creatures were unthinking, unmoving, *and* intangible³; *and* three thousand years⁴ was the duration of Gâyômarđ, with the ox, in the world. 2. As *this* was six thousand years the series of millennium reigns⁵ of Cancer, Leo, and Virgo had elapsed, because it was six thousand years when the millennium reign came to Libra, the adversary rushed in, and Gâyômarđ lived thirty years in tribulation⁶. 3. After the thirty years⁷ Mâshya *and* Mâshyôġ grew up; it was fifty years while they were not wife *and* husband⁸, *and* they were ninety-three years together *as* wife *and* husband till the *time* when Hôshyang⁹ came.

4. Hôshyang *was* forty years¹⁰, Takhmôrup¹¹ thirty years, Yim till *his* glory¹² departed six hundred and

¹ This chapter is found in all the MSS.

² TD adds 'of the Arabs (Tâzîkân).'

³ See Chap. I, 8.

⁴ See Chaps. I, 22, III, 1.

⁵ This system of a millennium reign for each constellation of the zodiac can hardly have any connection with the precession of the equinoxes, as the equinoxes travel backwards through the zodiac, whereas these millennium reigns travel forwards.

⁶ See Chap. III, 21-23.

⁷ That is, forty years after the thirty (see Chap. XV, 2).

⁸ See Chap. XV, 19, 20.

⁹ See Chaps. XV, 28, XXXI, 1.

¹⁰ K20 omits, by mistake, from 'together' in § 3 to this point.

¹¹ See Chap. XXXI, 2.

¹² So in K20, but M6 has nismô, 'soul, reason,' as in Chap. XXXIII, 1; the word 'glory' would refer to the supposed divine glory of the Iranian monarchs (see Chap. XXXI, 32).

sixteen years and six months, *and* after that he was a hundred years in concealment. 5. Then the millennium¹ reign came to Scorpio, and Dahâk² ruled a thousand years. 6. After the millennium reign came to Sagittarius, Frêdûn³ *reigned* five hundred years; in the same five hundred years of Frêdûn *were* the twelve years of Atrîk; Mânûskîhar⁴ *was* a hundred and twenty years, *and* in the same reign of Mânûskîhar, when he was in the mountain fastness (dûshkhvâr-gar)⁵, *were* the twelve years of Frâstiyâv; Zôb⁶ the Tûhmâspian *was* five years.

7. Kaî-Kabâd⁷ *was* fifteen years; Kaî-Kâûs, till he went to the sky, seventy-five years, *and* seventy-five years after that, altogether a hundred and fifty years; Kaî-Khûsrôv sixty years; Kaî-Lôrâsp⁸ a hundred and twenty years; Kaî-Vistâsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years⁹, altogether a hundred and twenty years.

8. Vohûman¹⁰ *son* of Spend-dâd a hundred and

¹ The seventh millennium, ruled by Libra, is computed by Windischmann as follows: $30 + 40\frac{1}{2} + 50 + 93 + 40 + 30 + 616\frac{1}{2} + 100 = 1000$. The eighth millennium, ruled by Scorpio, is the thousand years of Dahâk.

² See Chap. XXXI, 6.

³ See Chap. XXXI, 7-11.

⁴ See Chap. XXXI, 12-14.

⁵ See Chap. XXXI, 21.

⁶ Written Aûzôbbô in Chap. XXXI, 23, 24.

⁷ Usually written Kaî-Kavâd in Pahlavi (see Chap. XXXI, 24, 25).

⁸ Also written Kaî-Lôharâsp (see Chap. XXXI, 28, 29).

⁹ This is the end of the ninth millennium, ruled by Sagittarius, which is computed by Windischmann as follows: $500 + 120 + 5 + 15 + 150 + 60 + 120 + 30 = 1000$.

¹⁰ See Chap. XXXI, 29, 30, where he is said to have been also called Artakhshatar, which seems to identify him with Artaxerxes Longimanus and his successors down to Artaxerxes Mnemon; so that Hûmât may perhaps be identified with Parysatis, and Dârâî Kîhar-âzâdân with Artaxerxes Ochus, as Dârâî Dârâyân must be

twelve years; Hûmâi, who *was* daughter of Vohûman, thirty years; Dârâi son of Kîhar-âzâd¹, that is, *of the daughter* of Vohûman, twelve years; Dârâi son of Dârâi fourteen years; Alexander the Rûman² fourteen years.

9. The Askânians bore the title in an uninterrupted (a-arûbâk) sovereignty two hundred and eighty-four years³, Ardashîr son of Pâpak *and* the number of the Sâsânians four hundred and sixty years⁴, *and* then it went to the Arabs.

Darius Codomannus, while the reign of Kaî-Vistâsp seems intended to cover the period from Cyrus to Xerxes.

¹ A surname of Hûmâi.

² Sikandar-i Arûmâk, that is, Alexander the Roman (of the eastern or Greek empire), as Pahlavi writers assume.

³ This period is nearly two centuries too short.

⁴ The actual period of Sasanian rule was 425 years (A. D. 226-651). According to the figures given in the text, the tenth millennium, ruled by Capricornus, must have terminated in the fourth year of the last king, Yazdakard. This agrees substantially with the Bahman Yast, which makes the millennium of Zaratûst expire some time after the reign of Khûsrô Nôshirvân; probably in the time of Khûsrô Parvîz, or some forty years earlier than the fourth year of Yazdakard. According to the text we must now be near the end of the first quarter of the twelfth and last millennium.

APPENDIX TO THE BUNDAHIS.

SELECTIONS OF ZÂD-SPARAM,

BROTHER OF THE DASTÛR OF

PÂRS AND KIRMÂN,

A. D. 881.

PART I, CHAPTERS I-XI.

(PARAPHRASE OF BUNDAHIS, I-XVII.)

OBSERVATIONS.

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

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

7. The MS. mentioned in the notes is K₃₅ (written probably A. D. 1572), No. 35 in the University Library at Copenhagen.

SELECTIONS

OF

Z Â D - S P A R A M.

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

CHAPTER I.

o. In propitiation of the creator Aûharmazd and all the angels—who are the whole of the heavenly and earthly sacred beings (*yazdân*)—*are* the sayings of Herbad Zâd-sparam, son of Yûdân-Yim, who is of the south¹, about the meeting of the beneficent spirit *and* the evil spirit.

1. It is in scripture thus declared, that light *was* above and darkness below, and between those two was open space. 2. [Aûharmazd *was* in the light, and Aharman in the darkness²; Aûharmazd *was* aware of the existence of Aharman and of *his* coming for strife; Aharman was not aware of the existence of light *and* of Aûharmazd³.] 3. It happened to Aharman, in the gloom *and* darkness, *that*

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

² See Bund. I, 2-4.

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

he was walking humbly (*frô-tanû*) on the borders, *and* meditating other *things* he came up to the top, and a ray of light was seen by him; and because of *its* antagonistic nature to him he strove that he might reach it, so that it might also be within his absolute power. 4. And as he came forth to the boundary, accompanied by certain others¹, Aûharmazd came forth to the struggle for keeping Aharman away from His territory; and He did it through pure words, confounding witchcraft, and cast him back to the gloom.

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

7. Aûharmazd answered thus: 'Thou art not a doer of everything, O fiend²!']

8. And, again, Aharman retorted thus: 'I will seduce all material life into disaffection to thee and affection to myself³.'

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

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

² Bund. I, 16.

³ Bund. I, 14.

(lâ barînnam) during a period of struggle.' 10. And he demanded of him a period for friendship¹, for it was seen by him that Aharman does not rely upon the intervention of any vigorous ones, *and* the existence of a period is obtaining the benefit of the mutual friendship *and* just arrangement of both; and he formed it into three periods, each period being three millenniums. 11. Aharman relied upon *it*, and Aûharmazd perceived that, though it is not possible to have Aharman sent down, ever when he wants he goes back to his own requisite, which is darkness; *and* from the poison which is much diffused endless strife arises².

12. And after the period was appointed by him, he brought forward the Ahûnavar *formula*³; and in his Ahûnavar these⁴ kinds of benefit were shown:—

13. The first is that, of all things, [that is proper which is something declared *as* the will of Aûharmazd; so that, whereas that is proper which is declared the will of Aûharmazd, where anything exists which is not within the will of Aûharmazd, it is created injurious from the beginning, a sin of a distinct nature.] 14. The second is this, that [whoever shall do that which is the will of Aûharmazd, his reward *and* recompense are his own; and of him who shall not do that which is the will of Aûharmazd, the punishment at the bridge⁵ owing thereto

¹ Bund. I, 17, 18.

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

³ Bund. I, 21.

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

⁵ The *Kîvad* or *Kînar* bridge (see Bund. XII, 7).

is his own; which is shown from this ¹ *formula*; and the reward of doers of good works, the punishment of sinners, and the tales of heaven *and* hell are from it. 15. Thirdly, *it is* shown that the sovereignty of Aûharmazd increases that which is for the poor, *and* adversity is removed; by which *it is* shown that there are treasures for the needy *one*, *and* treasures are to be *his* friends; as the intelligent creations *are* to the unintelligent, so also *are* the treasures of a wealthy *person* to a needy *one*, treasures liberally given which are his own. 16. And the creatures of the trained hand of Aûharmazd are contending *and* angry (ârdîk), one with the other, as the renovation *of the universe* must occur through these three things. 17. That is, first, true religiousness in oneself, *and* reliance upon a man's original hold on the truly glad tidings (nav-barhâm), that Aûharmazd is all goodness without vileness, and his will is a will altogether excellent; *and* Aharman is all vileness without goodness. 18. Secondly, hope of the reward *and* recompense of good works, serious fear of the bridge *and* the punishment of crime, strenuous perseverance in good works, *and* abstaining from sin. 19. Thirdly, the existence of the mutual assistance of the creatures, or along with and owing to mutual assistance, *their* collective warfare; it is the triumph of warfare over the enemy which is one's own renovation².

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

² This commentary on the Ahûnavar, or Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula, is rather clumsily interpolated by Zâd-sparam, and is much more elaborate than the usual Pahlavi translation and explanation of this formula, which may be translated as follows:—

20. By this formula he (Aharman) was confounded, *and* he fell back to the gloom¹; *and* Aûharmazd produced the creatures bodily for the world; first, the sky; the second, water; the third, earth; the fourth, plants; the fifth, animals; the sixth, mankind². 21. Fire was in all, diffused originally through the six substances, of which it was as much the confiner of each single substance in which it was established, it is said, as an eyelid when they lay one down upon the other.

22. Three thousand years the creatures were possessed of bodies and not walking on *their* navels; *and* the sun, moon, *and* stars stood still. 23. In the mischievous incursion, at the end of the period, Aûharmazd observed thus: 'What advantage is there from the creation of a creature, although thirstless, which is unmoving *or* mischievous?' 24.

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

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

¹ Bund. I, 22.

² Bund. I, 28.

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

27. At the same time Aharman came from accompanying Time out to the front, out to the star station; the connection of the sky with the star station *was* open, which showed, since it hung down into empty space, the strong communication of the lights and glooms, the place of strife in which is the pursuit of both. 28. And having darkness with himself he brought it into the sky, *and* left the sky so to gloom that the internal deficiency in the sky extends as much as one-third² over the star station.

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

² Compare Bund. III, 11.

CHAPTER II.

1. On the coming in of Aharman to the creatures it is thus declared in revelation, that *in* the month Fravardîn *and* the day Aûharmazd, at noon¹, he came forth to the frontier of the sky. 2. The sky sees *him* and, on account of *his* nature, fears as much as a sheep trembles at a wolf; *and* Aharman came on, scorching *and* burning into it. 3. Then he came to the water which was arranged below the earth², and darkness without an eyelid was brought on by him; and he came on, through the middle of the earth, as a snake all-leaping comes on out of a hole; and he stayed within the whole earth. 4. The passage where he came on is his own, the way to hell, through which the demons make the wicked run.

5. Afterwards, he came to a tree, such as was of a single root, the height of which *was* several feet, and *it was* without branches and without bark, juicy *and* sweet; and to keep the strength of all kinds of trees in its race, it was in the vicinity of the middle of the earth; and at the self-same time *it became* quite withered³.

6. Afterwards, he came to the ox, the sole-created⁴, as it stood as high as Gâyômarđ on the

¹ Bund. III, 12.

² Bund. III, 13.

³ Bund. III, 14, 16.

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

bank of the water of Dâitih¹ *in* the middle of the earth; and its distance from Gâyômarđ being as much as its own height, it was also distant from the bank of the water of Dâitih by the same measure; and it was a female, white *and* brilliant as the moon. 7. As the adversary came upon *it* Aûharmazd gave *it* a narcotic, which is also called 'bang,' to eat, and to rub the 'bang' before the eye², so that the annoyance from the assault of crimes may be less; it became lean and ill, *and* fell upon its right breast³ trembling.

8. Before the advance to Gâyômarđ, who was then about one-third the height of Zaratûst, *and* was brilliant as the sun, Aûharmazd forms, from the sweat⁴ on the man, a figure of fifteen years, radiant *and* tall, and sends it on to Gâyômarđ; and he also brings his sweat⁵ on to him as long as one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô⁶ is *being* recited. 9. When he issued from the sweat, and raised his eyes, he saw the world when it was dark as night⁷; on the whole earth were the snake, the scorpion, the lizard (*vazak*), and noxious creatures of many kinds; *and* so the other kinds of quadrupeds stood among the

¹ The Dâitik river (see Bund. XX, 13).

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

³ See Bund. IV, 1.

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

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

⁶ See Bund. I, 21.

⁷ Bund. III, 20.

reptiles; every approach of the whole earth was as though not as much as a needle's point remained, in which there was no rush of noxious creatures. 10. *There were* the coming of a planetary *star* into planetary conjunction, and the moon and planets at sixes and sevens¹; many dark forms with the face and curls of Az-i Dahâk suffered punishment in company with certain non-Iranians; *and* he was amazed at calling the wicked out from the righteous.

11. Lastly, he (Aharman) came up to the fire, and mingled darkness and smoke with it².

CHAPTER III.

1. And Gôstûrvan, as she was herself the soul of the primeval ox, when the ox passed away, came out from the ox, even as the soul from the body of the dead, and kept up the clamour of a cry to Aûhar-mazd in such fashion as that of an army, a thousand strong, when they cry out together³. 2. And Aû-harmazd, in order to be much more able to keep watch over the mingled creatures than in front of Gâyômarđ, went from the earth up to the sky. 3. And Gôstûrvan continually went after him crying, and she kept up the cry thus: 'With whom may the guardianship over the creatures be left by thee?'

CHAPTER IV.

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

¹ Literally, 'in fours and fives.'

² Bund. III, 24.

³ Bund. IV, 2.

had, for the disfigurement of the creatures; and he took as much as one-third of the base of the sky¹, in a downward direction, into a confined *and* captive state, so that it was all dark *and* apart from the light, for it was itself, at the coming of the adversary, *his* enemy among the struggles for creation. 2. And this is opposing the renovation *of the universe*, for the greatest of all the other means of the fiend, when he *has* come in, are of like origin and strength this day, in the sleep² of the renovation, *as on* that when the enemy, who is fettered on coming in, is kept back.

3. Amid all this struggling were mingled the instigations of Aharman, *crying* thus: 'My victory *has* come completely, for the sky is split and disfigured by me with gloom and darkness, and taken by me as a stronghold; water is disfigured by me, and the earth, injured by darkness, is pierced by me; vegetation is withered by me, the ox is put to death by me, Gâyômarđ is made ill by me, and opposed to those revolving³ are the glooms and planets arranged by me; no one *has* remained for me to take *and* pervert in combat except Aûharmazd, and of the earth *there* is only one man, who is alone, what is he able to do?'

4. And he sends Astô-vidâd⁴ upon him with the thousand decrepitudes (aûzvârânô) *and* diseases

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

² The word seems to be khvâpîsnô.

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

⁴ See Bund. III, 21, and XXVIII, 35.

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

7. For in the beginning it was so appointed that the star Jupiter (A ûharmazd) was life towards the creatures, not through its own nature, but on account of *its* being within the control (band) of the luminaries¹; and Saturn (Kêvân) was death towards the creatures. 8. Both were in their supremacy (bâlîst)² at the beginning of the crea-

¹ These luminaries are the fixed stars, especially the signs of the zodiac, to whose protection the good creation is committed (see Bund. II, 6-4); whereas Jupiter and all other planets are supposed to be, by nature, disturbers of the creation, being employed by Aharman for that purpose (see Mkh. VIII, 17-21, XII, 7-10, XXIV, 8, XXXVIII, 5).

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

tures, as Jupiter was in Cancer on rising, that which is also called *Givân* ('living')¹, for it is the place in which life is bestowed upon it; *and* Saturn was in Libra, in the great subterranean, so that its own venom and deadliness *became* more evident and more dominant thereby. 9. And it was when both shall not be supreme *that* *Gâyômarđ* was to complete his own life, which is the thirty years² Saturn came not again to supremacy, that is, *to* Libra. 10. And at the time when Saturn came into Libra, Jupiter was in Capricornus³, on account of whose own lowness⁴, and the victory of Saturn over Jupiter, *Gâyômarđ* suffered through those very defects which came and are to continue advancing, the continuance of that disfigurement which Aharman can bring upon the creatures of Aûharmazd.

here), and might each be supposed to be exercising its maximum astrological influence, so that the presumed deadly power of Saturn would be neutralised by the supposed reviving influence of Jupiter.

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER V.

1. When in like manner, and equally oppressively, as his (Aûharmazd's) creatures were disfigured, then through that same deterioration his own great glory was exhibited; for as he came within the sky¹ he maintains the spirit of the sky, like an intrepid warrior who has put on metal armour²; and the sky in its fortress³ spoke these hasty, deceitful words to Aharman, thus: 'Now when thou shalt have come in I *will* not let thee back;' and it obstructed *him* until Aûharmazd prepared another rampart, that is stronger, around the sky, *which* is called 'righteous understanding' (ashôk âkâsîh). 2. And he arranged the guardian spirits⁴ of the righteous who are warriors around that rampart, mounted on horses and spear in hand, in such manner as the hair on the head; and they acquired the appearance of prison guards who watch a prison from outside, and would not surrender the outer boundaries to an enemy descended from the inside.

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

¶4. As it is said in the Gâthas, thus⁵: 'So also

¹ See Chap. III, 2.

² Compare Bund. VI, 2.

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

⁴ Bund. VI, 3, 4.

⁵ This quotation from the Gâthas is from the Pahlavi Yas. XXX, 4, and agrees with the Pahlavi text, given in Dastûr Jâm-

both those spirits have approached together unto that which was the first creation—that is, both spirits have come to the body of Gâyômarđ. Whatever is in life is so through this purpose of Aûhar-mazd, that is: So that I may keep it alive; whatever is in lifelessness is so through this purpose¹ of the evil spirit, that is: So that I may utterly destroy it; and whatever is thus, is so until the last in the world, so that they (both spirits) come also on to the rest of mankind. And on account of the utter depravity of the wicked *their* destruction is fully seen, *and* so is the perfect meditation of him who is righteous, the hope of the eternity of Aûharmazd.]

5. And this was the first contest², *that of* the sky with Aharman.

CHAPTER VI.

1. And as he (Aharman) came secondly to the water, together with him rushed in, *on* the horse Cancer, he who is the most watery Tistar; the equally watery *one*, that is called Avrak³, gave forth a cloud *and* went down in the day; that is

âspji's old MS. of the Yasna in Bombay, very nearly as closely as Spiegel's edition does. It appears, therefore, that Dâd-spam used the same Pahlavi translation of the Yasna as the Parsis do at the present day.

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

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

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

declared as the movement of the first-comers of the creatures. 2. Cancer became a zodiacal constellation (akhtar); it is the fourth constellation *of the zodiac* for this reason, because the month Tîr is the fourth month of the year¹.

3. And as Tîstar begged for assistance, Vohû-man and Hôm are therefore co-operating with him in command, Bûrg of the waters and the water in mutual aid, and the righteous guardian spirits in keeping the peace. 4. He was converted into three forms, which are the form of a man, the form of a bull, *and* the form of a horse; and each form was distinguished in brilliance for ten nights, and lets its rain fall on the night for the destruction of noxious creatures. 5. The drops became each separately *like* a great bowl in which water is drawn; and as to that on *which* they are driven, they kill all the noxious creatures except the reptiles², who entered into the muddiness of the earth.

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

7. It (the ocean) keeps one-third of this earth³,

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

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

³ Compare Bund. XIII, 1, 2.

and among its contents are a thousand sources *and* fountains, such as are called lakes (var); a thousand water-fountains, whose water is from the ocean, come up from the lakes *and* are poured forth into it. 8. And the size of some of all the lakes and all the fountains of water is as much as a fast rider on an Arab horse, *who* continually compasses *and* canters around *them*, will attain in forty days, which is 1900¹ long leagues (parasang-i akarîk), each league *being* at least 20,000 feet.

9. And after the noxious creatures died², and the poison therefrom was mixed up in the earth, in order to utterly destroy that poison Tistar went down into the ocean; and Apâôsh, the demon, hastened to meet him, and *at* the alarm of the first contest Tistar was in terror (*pard*). 10. And he applied unto Aûharmazd, *who* brought such power unto Tistar *as* arises through propitiation and praise and invoking by name³, and they call forth such power unto Tistar *as that of* ten vigorous horses, ten vigorous camels, ten vigorous bulls, ten mountains when hurled, and ten single-stream rivers when together. 11. And without alarm he drove out Apâôsh, the demon, and kept him away from the sources of the ocean.

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

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

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

³ The Av. aokhtô-nâmana yasna of Tistar Yt. II, 23, 24.

and made *it* rain down¹ much more prodigiously, for destruction, drops as large as men's heads and bulls' heads, great and small. 13. And in that cloud and rain were the chastisement *and* beating which Tistar and the fire Vâzist *inflicted* on the opposition of Apâôsh; the all-deciding (vispô-viêtr) fire Vâzist struck down with a club of fire, all-deciding among the malevolent (kêbarânô).

14. Ten days *and* nights there was rain, and its darting² *was* the shooting of the noxious creatures; afterwards, the wind drove *it* to the shore of the wide-formed ocean, and it is portioned out into three, and three seas arose from it; they are called the Pûtîk, the Kamîrid, and the Gêhân-bûn³. 15. Of these the Pûtîk itself is salt water, in which is a flow *and* ebb⁴; and the control of its flow and ebb is connected with the moon, and by its continual rotation, in coming up *and* going down, that of the moon is manifested. 16. The wide-formed *ocean* stands forth on the south side as to (pavan) Albûrz⁵, and the Pûtîk stands contiguous to it, and amidst it is the gulf (var) of Satavês, whose connection is with Satavês, which is the southern quarter. 17. In the activity of the sea, and in the increase and decrease of the moon, whose circuit is the whole of Iran, are the flow *and* ebb; of the

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

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

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

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

⁵ Compare Bund. XIII, 1.

curving tails in front of the moon two issue forth, *and* have an abode in Satavês; one is the up-drag *and* one the down-drag; through the up-drag occurs the flood, *and* through the down-drag occurs the ebb¹. 18. And Satavês itself is a gulf (var) and side *arm* of the wide-formed ocean, for it drives back the impurity *and* turbidness which *come* from the salt sea, when they are continually going into the wide-formed ocean, with a mighty high wind², while that which is clear through purity goes into the Arêdvisûr sources of the wide-formed ocean. 19. Besides these four³ there are the small seas⁴.

20. And, afterwards, *there* were made to flow from Albûrz, out of its northern border, two rivers⁵, which *were* the Arvand⁶—that is, the Diglit, *and* the flow

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

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

³ The ocean and three principal seas.

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

⁵ Bund. VII, 15, 16, XX, 1.

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

of that river *was* to those of the setting *sun* (val frôd-yehevundânô)—*and* the Vêh¹ was the river of the first-comers to the sun; formed as two horns they went on to the ocean. 21. After them eighteen² great rivers came out from the same Albûrz; *and* these twenty rivers, whose source is in Albûrz, go down into the earth, and arrive in Khvanîras.

22. Afterwards, two fountains of the sea are opened out for the earth³, which are called the Kêkast⁴—a lake which has no cold wind, *and* on whose shore rests the triumphant fire Gûsnasp⁵—*and*, secondly, the Sôvar⁶ which casts on *its* shores all turbidness, and keeps its own salt lake clear *and* pure, for it is like the semblance of an eye which casts out to *its* edges every ache and every impurity; and on account of its depth it is not reached to the bottom, for it goes into the ocean; and in its vicinity rests the beneficial fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô⁷.

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

CHAPTER VII.

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

Nôshirvân, Aûharmazd IV, and Khusrô Parvîz; but since the early part of the seventh century the Tigris has practically been their extreme western limit; hence the change of the old Arag or Arang into the very similarly written Arvand, a name of the Tigris.

¹ See Bund. XX, 9.

² Bund. XX, 2, 7.

³ Bund. VII, 14.

⁴ Bund. XXII, 2.

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

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

⁷ Bund. XVII, 8.

since *there was* an animation of the earth through the shattering—Albûrz grew up¹, which is the boundary of the earth, *and* the other² mountains, which are amid the circuit of the earth, come up 2244 in number³. 2. And by them the earth *was* bound together and arranged, and on them *was* the sprouting *and* growth of plants, wherefrom *was* the nourishment of cattle, and therefrom was the great advantage of assistance to men.

3. Even so it is declared that before the coming of the destroyer to the creatures, for a thousand years the substance of mountains was created in the earth—especially as antagonism came on the earth, *and* settled on *it* with injury—*and* it came up over the earth just like a tree *whose* branch *has* grown at the top, and its root at the bottom. 4. The root of the mountains is passed on *from* one to the other, *and* is arranged in connection *with them*, and through it is produced the path *and* passage of water *from* below to above, so that the water may flow in it in such manner as blood in the veins, from all *parts* of the body to the heart, the latent vigour which they possess. 5. And, moreover, in six hundred years⁴, at first, all the mountains apart from Albûrz were completed. 6. Albûrz was growing during eight hundred years⁵; in two hundred years it grew up to

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

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

³ Bund. XII, 2.

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

⁵ Bund. XII, 1.

the star station, in two hundred years up to the moon station, two hundred years up to the sun station, *and* two hundred years up to the sky. 7. After Albûrz the Aparsên mountain¹ is the greatest, as it is also called the Avar-rôyisn² ('up-growth') mountain, whose beginning is in Sagastân and its end unto Pârs *and* to Kînistân³.

8. This, too, is declared, that after the great rain in the beginning of the creation⁴, *and* the wind's sweeping away the water to the ocean, the earth is in seven portions⁵ a little above *it*, as the compact earth, after the rain, is torn up by the noise and wind *in* various places. 9. One portion, moreover, as much as one-half the whole earth, is in the middle, and in *each of* the six portions around is as much as Sagastân; moreover, as much as Sagastân is the measure *of what* is called a kêshvar ('region') for the reason that one was defined from the other by a kêsh ('furrow'). 10. The middle *one* is Khvanîras, of which Pârs is the centre, and those six regions are like a coronet (a vîsar) *around it*. 11. One part of the wide-formed ocean wound around it, among those six regions; the sea and forest seized upon the south side, *and* a lofty mountain grew up on the north, so that they might become separate, one from the other, *and* imperceptible.

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

¹ The Apârsên of Bund. XII, 9.

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

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

⁴ Literally, 'creature.'

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

CHAPTER VIII.

1. As he (Aharman) came fourthly to the plants—which have struggled (kûkhshî-aitō) against him with the whole vegetation—because the vegetation *was* quite dry¹, Amerôdad, by whom the essence of the world's vegetation² was seized upon, pounded it up small, and mixed *it* up with the rain-water of Tistar. 2. After the rain the whole earth is discerned sprouting, and ten thousand³ special species and a hundred thousand⁴ additional species (levatman sardakō) so grew as if *there were* a species of every kind; and those ten thousand species are provided for⁵ keeping away the ten thousand³ diseases.

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

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

¹ This chapter is a paraphrase of Bund. IX.

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER IX.

1. As he (Aharman) came fifthly to cattle—which struggled against him with all the animals—and likewise as the primeval ox¹ passed away, from the nature of the vegetable principle it possessed, fifty-five² species of grain and twelve species of medicinal plants grew from *its* various members; *and* forasmuch as they should see from which member each one *proceeds*, it is declared in the Dâmdâd Nask³. 2. And every plant grown from a member

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

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

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

'Of the fifth the name is Dvâzdah-homâst, and the interpretation of this is "the book about help" (dar imdâd, but this is probably a corruption of dâmdâd). And this book has thirty-two sections (kardah) that the divine and omnipotent creator sent down, in remembrance of the beginning of the creatures of the superior world and inferior world, and *it is* a description of the whole of them and of that which God, the most holy and omnipotent, mentioned about the sky, earth, and water, vegetation and

promotes that member, as it is said that there *where* the ox scattered *its* marrow¹ on to the earth, grain afterwards grew up, corn² and sesame, vetches³ *and* peas; so sesame, on account of⁴ *its* marrow quality, is itself a great thing for developing marrow. 3. And it is also said that from the blood is the vine⁵, a great vegetable thing—as wine itself is blood—for more befriending the sound quality of the blood. 4. And it is said that from the nose is the pulse (*mâys* or *mâsah*) which is called *dônak*, and was a variety of sesame (*samagâ*)⁶, *and it is* for other noses.

fire, man and quadrupeds, grazing and flying *animals*, and what he produced for their advantage and use, and the like. Secondly, the resurrection and *heavenly* path, the gathering and dispersion, and the nature of the circumstances of the resurrection, as regards the virtuous and evil-doers, through the weight of every action they perform for good and evil.'

This description corresponds very closely with what the Bundahis must have been, before the addition of the genealogical and chronological chapters at the end; and Dâd-spāram mentions in his text here, and again in § 16, particulars regarding the Dâmdâd which also occur in the Bundahis (XIV, 2, 14–18, 21–24). There can be very little doubt, therefore, that the Bundahis was originally a translation of the Dâmdâd, though probably abridged; and the text translated in this volume is certainly a further abridgment of the original Bundahis, or Zand-âkâs. Whether the Avesta text of the Dâmdâd was still in existence in the time of Dâd-spāram is uncertain, as he would apply the name to the Pahlavi text. At the present time it is very unusual for a copyist to write the Pahlavi text without its Avesta, when the latter exists, but this may not always have been the case.

¹ Or 'brains.'

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

³ Assuming the MS. *alûnô* or *arvanô* to be a corruption of *alûm* or *aršanô*.

⁴ Reading *rât* instead of *lâ*.

⁵ Compare Bund. XIV, 2.

⁶ Either this sentence is very corrupt in the MS. or it cannot be

5. And it is also said that from the lungs are the rue-like herbs¹ *which* heal, and are for the lung-disease of cattle. 6. This, rooted amid the heart, is thyme, from which is Vohûman's thorough withstanding of the stench of Akôman², and *it is* for that which *proceeds* from the sick and yawners.

7. Afterwards, the brilliance of the seed, seized upon, by strength, from the seed *which* was the ox's, they would carry *off* from it, *and* the brilliance was intrusted to the angel of the moon³; in a place therein that seed was thoroughly purified by the light of the moon, and was restored in its many qualities, and made fully infused with life (*gânvar-hômand*). 8. Forth from there it produced for Aitrân-vêg, first, two oxen, a pair, male and female⁴, *and*, afterwards, other species, until the completion of the 282 species⁵; and they were discernible as far as two long leagues *on* the earth. 9. Quadrupeds walked forth on the land, fish swam in the water, *and* birds flew *in* the atmosphere; *in* every two, at the time good eating is enjoyed, a longing (*âv-dahân*) arose therefrom, and pregnancy and birth.

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

reconciled with the corresponding clause of Bund. XIV, 2. Altering *dônak* and *gûnak* into *gandanak*, and *samagâ* into *samasdar*, we might read, 'from the nose is *mâys*, which is called the leek, and the leek was an onion;' but this is doubtful, and leaves the word *mâys* unexplained.

¹ The MS. has *gôspendânô*, 'cattle,' instead of *sipandânô*, 'rue herbs.'

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

³ Bund. X, 2, XIV, 3.

⁴ Bund. X, 3, XIV, 4.

⁵ Bund. X, 3, XIV, 13.

and birds flying in the atmosphere. 11. Then, into five classes¹, that is, the quadruped which is round-hoofed, the double-hoofed, the five-clawed, the bird, *and* the fish, whose dwellings are in five places, *and* which are called aquatic, burrowing, oviparous, wide-travelling, *and* suitable for grazing. 12. The aquatic are fish *and* every beast of burden, cattle, wild beast, dog, *and* bird which enters the water; the burrowing are the marten (samûr) and musk *animals*, and all other dwellers and movers in holes; the oviparous are birds of every kind; the wide-travelling sprang away for help, and are also those of a like kind; those suitable for grazing are whatever are kept grazing in a flock.

13. And, afterwards, they were divided into genera, as the round-hoofed are one, *which* is all called 'horse;' the double-hoofed are many, as the camel and ox, the sheep and goat, *and* others double-hoofed; the five-clawed are the dog, hare, musk *animals*, marten, *and* others; then are the birds, and then the fish. 14. And then they were divided into species², as eight species of horse, two species of camel, ten³ species of ox, five species of sheep, five species of goat, ten of the dog, five of the hare, eight of the marten, eight of the musk *animals*, 110 of the birds, and ten of the fish; some are counted for the pigs, and with all those declared *and* all those undeclared *there were*, at first, 282 species⁴; *and* with the species within species *there were* a thousand varieties.

¹ Bund. XIV, 8-12.

² Bund. XIV, 13-23, 26, 27.

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

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

15. The birds are distributed¹ into eight groups (rîstakô), and from that which is largest to that which is smallest *they* are so spread about as *when* a man, who is sowing grain, first scatters abroad *that* of heavy weight, then that which is middling, *and* afterwards that which is small.

16. And of the whole of the species, as enumerated a second time in the Dâmdâd *Nask*², and written by me in the manuscript (nipîk) of 'the summary enumeration of races'³—this is a lordly⁴ summary—the matter which is shown is, about the species of horses, the first is the Arab, and the chief of them⁵ is white *and* yellow-eared, and secondly the Persian, the mule, the ass, the wild ass, the water-horse, *and* others. 17. Of the camel *there are* specially two, *that for* the plain, *and* the mountain *one which* is double-humped. 18. Among the species of ox are the white, mud-coloured, red, yellow, black, and dappled, the elk, the buffalo, the camel-leopard⁶, the ox-fish, *and* others. 19. Among sheep are those having tails and those which are tailless, also the wether and the Kûrisk *which*, because of its trampling the hills, *its* great horn, and also being suitable

¹ Bund. XIV, 25.

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

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

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

⁵ Bund. XXIV, 6.

⁶ Literally, 'camel-ox-leopard.'

for ambling, became the steed of Mânûskêthar. 20. Among goats are the ass-goat, the Arab, the fawn (varîkô), the roe, *and* the mountain goat. 21. Among martens are the white ermine, the black marten, the squirrel, the beaver (khaz), and others. 22. Of musk *animals* with a bag, one is the Bîsh-musk—which eats the Bîsh poison and does not die through it, and it is created for the great advantage that it should eat the Bîsh, *and less of it* should succeed in poisoning the creatures—*and* one is a musk *animal* of a black colour which they desired (ayûftô) who were bitten *by* the fanged serpent—as the serpent of the mountain water-courses (makô) is called—which is numerous on the river-banks; *one* throws the same unto it for food, which it eats, *and* then the serpent enters its body, when his¹ serpent, at the time *this* happens, feeds upon the same belly in which the serpent is, and he will become clear from that malady. 23. Among birds two were produced of a different character from the rest, and those are the griffon bird *and* the bat, which have teeth *in* the mouth, *and* suckle *their* young with animal milk from the teat.

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

CHAPTER X.

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

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

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

3. *Spendarmad* received the gold of the dead *Gâyômarđ*¹, *and* it was forty years in the earth. 4. At the end of the forty years, *in* the manner of a *Rivâs-plant*, *Mashya and Mashyôî*² came up, and, one joined to the other, *were* of like stature *and* mutually adapted³; and its middle, on which a glory came, through their like stature⁴, *was* such that it was not clear which is the male and which the female, and which is the one with the glory which *Aûharmazd* created. 5. This is that glory for which man is, indeed, created, as it is thus said in revela-

¹ Compare Bund. XV, 1.

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

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

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

tion: 'Which existed before, the glory¹ or the body?' And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'The glory was created by me before; afterwards, for him who is created, the glory is given a body so that it may produce activity, and its body is created only for activity.' 6. And, afterwards, they changed from the shape of a plant into the shape of man², *and* the glory went spiritually into them.

CHAPTER XI.

1. As he (Aharman) came seventhly to fire, which was all together *against* him, the fire *separated* into five kinds³, which are called the Propitious, the Good diffuser, the Aûrvâzist, the Vâzist, *and* the Supremely-benefiting. 2. And it produced the Propitious fire itself in heaven (garôdmân); its manifestation is in the fire which is burning on the earth, and its propitiousness is this, that all the kinds are of its nature. 3. *The Good diffuser* is that which is in men and animals⁴, and its business *consists* in the digestion of the food, the sleeping of the

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

² Bund. XV, 5.

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

⁴ See Bund. XVII, 2.

body, *and* the brightening of the eyes. 4. The Aûrvâztst is that which is in plants, in whose seed *it* is formed, and its business *consists* in piercing the earth, warming the chilled water¹ and producing the qualities and fragrance of plants and blossoms therefrom, and elaborating the ripened produce into many fruits. 5. And the Vâztst is that which has its motion in a cloud, and its business *consists* in destroying the atmospheric gloom and darkness, and making the thickness of the atmosphere fine and propitious in quality, sifting the hail, moderately warming the water which the cloud holds, *and* making sultry weather showery. 6. The Supremely-benefiting, like the sky, is that glory whose lodgment is in the Behrâm fire², as the master of the house is over the house, *and* whose propitious power *arises* from the growing brightness of the fire, the blazing forth in³ the purity of the place, the praise of God (yazdânö), *and* the practice of good works. 7. And its business is *that* it struggles with the spiritual fiend, it watches the forms of the witches—who walk up from the river⁴, wear woven clothing, disturb the luminaries by the concealment of stench, *and* by witchcraft injure the creatures—and the occurrences of destruction, burning, and celebration of witchcraft, especially at night; being an assistant of Srôsh the righteous.

¹ Reading mayâ-i afsardînîdö tâftanö instead of the seemingly unmeaning mayâ asardînîdö âftanö of the MS.

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

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

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

8. And in the beginning of the creation¹ the whole earth was delivered over into the guardianship of the sublime Frôbak fire, the mighty Gûsnasp fire, and the beneficial Bûrzn-Mitrô fire², *which* are like priest, warrior, and husbandman. 9. The place of the fire Frôbak was formed *on* the Gadman-hômand ('glorious') mountain in Khvârizem³, the fire Gûsnasp *was* on the Asnavand mountain in Âtarô-pâtakân, *and* the fire Bûrzn-Mitrô on the Rêvand mountain which is in the Ridge *of* Vistâsp, and its material manifestation in the world was the most complete.

10. In the reign of Hôshâng⁴, when men were continually going forth to the *other* regions (kêsh-var) on the ox Srûvô⁵, one night, half-way, while admiring the fires, the fire-stands which were prepared in three places on the back of the ox, *and* in which the fire was, fell into the sea, and the substance of that one great fire *which* was manifest, is divided into three, *and* they established *it* on the three fire-stands, and it became itself three glories whose lodgments are in the Frôbak fire, the Gûsnasp fire, and the Bûrzn-Mitrô⁶.

¹ Literally, 'creature.'

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

³ See Bund. XVII, 5, 7, 8.

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

⁵ Sarsaok or Srisaok in the Bundahis.

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

The coming of the religion, beginning in the time of Frâ-sîyâv and Mânûskîhar, with an anecdote of Kâî-ûs and the hero Sritô (Av. Thrîta). The manifestation of the glory of Zarâtûst

before his birth. The begetting of Zaratûst through the drinking of h  m-juice and cow's milk infused, respectively, with his guardian spirit and glory, as declared in the manuscript on 'the guidance of worship.' The connection of Zaratûst with A  harmazd, traced back through his genealogy as far as G  y  mar  . The persistent endeavours of the fiends to destroy Zaratûst at the time of his birth, and how they were frustrated. His receiving the religion from A  harmazd, with another anecdote of K  i-  s and S  rit  , and of Zaratûst's exclamation on coming into the world. The enmity borne to him by five brothers of the Karap  n family, and how it was frustrated; his own four brothers, and some of his wonderful deeds. The worthiness of his righteousness; his compassionate and liberal nature; his giving up worldly desires; his pity; his good selection of a wife; and what is most edifying for the soul. What occurred when he was thirty years old, and his being conducted by the archangel Voh  man to the assembly of the spirits. The questions asked by Zaratûst, and A  harmazd's replies thereto. The seven questions he asked of the seven archangels in seven different places, in the course of one winter. [Westergaard's MS. K35 ends in the middle of the second of these questions.] The five dispositions of priests, and the ten admonitions. The three preservatives of religion, with particulars about the G  thas and the connection of the Ahunavar with the Nasks. Zaratûst's obtaining one disciple, M  dy  k-m  h, in the first ten years, and the acceptance of the religion by Vist  sp two years afterwards.

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

BAHMAN YAST,
OR
ZAND-I VOHÛMAN YASNO,
OF WHICH ZAND, OR COMMENTARY,
THIS WORK SEEMS TO BE AN EPITOME.

OBSERVATIONS.

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

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

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are:—

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

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

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

BAHMAN YAST.

CHAPTER I.

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

1. As ² it is declared by the Stûdgar Nask³ that

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

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

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

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

3. Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân¹ thus : ' That root of a tree which thou sawest, and those four branches, are the four periods which *will*

that the passage mentioned here, in the text, constituted the seventh fargard of the Nask, the contents of which are detailed as follows :—

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

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

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

come. 4. That of gold is when I and thou converse, *and* King Vistâsp shall accept the religion, and shall demolish the figures of the demons, *but* they *themselves* remain for¹ . . . concealed proceedings. 5. And that of silver is the reign of Ardakhshîr² the Kayân king (Kai shah), and that of steel is the reign of the glorified (anôshak-rûbân) Khûsrô son of Kêvâd³, and that which was mixed with iron is the evil sovereignty of the demons with dishevelled hair⁴ of the race of Wrath⁵, and when it is the end of the tenth hundredth winter (satô zim) of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân!'

*late, discarded
(Mackenzie)*

6. It is declared in the commentary (zand)⁶ of the Vohûman Yast, Horvadað Yast, and Âstâd Yast

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

² See Chap. II, 17.

³ Khusrô Nôshirvân son of Qubâd, in modern Persian, who reigned in A. D. 531-579. Kêvâd is usually written Kavâd.

⁴ The epithet *vigârd-vars* may also mean 'dressed-hair,' but the term in the text is the more probable, as the Persian version translates it by *kushâdah muî*, 'uncovered hair.' That it is not a name, as assumed by Spiegel, appears clearly from the further details given in Chap. II, 25.

⁵ Or, 'the progeny of Aêshm,' the demon. Wrath is not to be understood here in its abstract sense, but is personified as a demon. It is uncertain whether the remainder of this sentence belongs to this § or the next.

⁶ If there were any doubt about *zand* meaning the Pahlavi translation, this passage would be important, as the Avesta of the Horvadað (Khordâd) and Âstâd Yasts is still extant, but contains nothing about the heretic Mazdîk or Mazdak (see Chap. II, 21). No Avesta of the Vohûman Yast is now known.

that, during this time, the accursed Mazdāk son of Bāmdād, who is opposed to the religion, comes into notice, and is to cause disturbance among those in the religion of God (yazdān). 7. *And* he, the glorified *one*¹, summoned Khûsrô son of Mâh-dād and Dād-Aûharmazd of Nishâpûr, who were high-priests of Âtarô-pâtakân, and Âtarô-frôbâg the un-deceitful (akadbâ), Âtarô-pâd, Âtarô-Mitrô, and Bakht-âfrîd to *his* presence, and he demanded of them a promise², thus: 'Do not keep these Yasts in concealment, *and* do not teach the commentary except among your relations³.' 8. *And* they made the promise unto Khûsrô.

CHAPTER II.

1. In the Vohûman Yast commentary (zand) it is declared⁴ that Zaratûst asked for immortality from

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

² The Pers. version says nothing about this promise, but states that Khûsrô sent a message to the accursed Mazdak, requiring him to reply to the questions of this priestly assembly on pain of death, to which he assented, and he was asked ten religious questions, but was unable to answer one; so the king put him to death immediately.

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

⁴ This seems to imply that this text is not the commentary

Aûharmazd a second time, *and* spoke thus: 'I am Zaratûst, more righteous and more efficient among these thy creatures, O creator! when *thou* shalt *make* me¹ immortal, as the tree opposed to harm², and Gôpatshah, Gôst-i Fryân, *and* Kîtrôk-miyân son of Vistâsp, who is Pêshyôtanû, were made³. 2. When thou shalt make me immortal they in thy good religion *will* believe that the upholder of religion, who receives from Aûharmazd his pure *and* good religion of the Mazdayasnians, will become immortal; then those men *will* believe in thy good religion.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke⁴ thus: 'When I shall make thee immortal, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! then Tûr-i Brâdarvash the Karap⁵ will become immortal, and

itself, but merely an epitome of it. The Pâz. MSS. which have been examined, begin with this chapter.

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

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

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

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

⁵ According to an untranslated passage in the Selections of Zâd-spâram, mentioned in the note on p. 187, this is the name of

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

4. Zaratûst seemed uneasy about *it* in *his* mind¹; and Aûharmazd, through the wisdom of omniscience, knew what was thought by Zaratûst the Spîtâmân with the righteous spirit, and he² took hold of Zaratûst's hand. 5. And he, Aûharmazd the propitious spirit, creator of the material world, the righteous *one*, even he put the omniscient wisdom, in the shape of water, on the hand of Zaratûst, and said to him thus: 'Devour it.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ This verb is omitted in K20 by mistake.

² Or else 'dirty.'

³ Reading afam instead of minam, both here and in § 14 ; the

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

15. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I say beforehand, the one tree which thou sawest is the world which I, Aûharmazd, created; and those seven branches thou sawest are the seven periods which *will* come. 16. And that which was golden is the reign of King Vistâsp, when I and thou converse about religion, *and* Vistâsp shall accept that religion and shall demolish the figures of the demons, and the demons desist from demonstration into concealed proceedings; Aharman and the demons rush back to darkness, and care for water, fire, plants, and the earth of Spendarmad³ becomes apparent. 17. And that which was of silver⁴ is the reign of Ardâshîr⁵ the

copyist of K20 having confounded these two words, like those mentioned in the note on § 4.

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

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

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

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

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

Kayân (Kai), whom¹ they call Vohûman son of Spend-dâd², who is he who separates the demons from men, scatters *them* about, and makes the religion current *in* the whole world. 18. And that which was brazen³ is the reign of Ardakhshîr⁴, the arranger and restorer of the world, and that of King Shahpûr, when he arranges the world which I, Aûharmazd, created; he makes happiness (bûkhtakîh)⁵ prevalent in the boundaries of the world, and goodness shall become manifest; and Âtarô-pâd of triumphant destiny, the restorer of the true religion, with the prepared brass⁶, brings this religion, together with the transgressors, back to the truth. 19. And that which was of copper is the reign of the Askânian king⁷, who removes from the world

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

the heterodoxy (*gavtd-rastakth*) which existed, and the wicked Akandgar-i Kilisyâkth¹ is utterly destroyed by this religion, *and* goes unseen and unknown from the world. 20. And that which was of tin is the reign of King Vâhrâm Gôr², when he

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

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

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

makes the sight¹ of the spirit of pleasure manifest, and Aharman with the wizards rushes back to darkness *and* gloom. 21. And that which was of steel is the reign of King Khûsrô son of Kêvâd², when he keeps away from this religion the accursed Mazdik³, son of Bâmdâd, who remains opposed to the religion along with the heterodox. 22. And that which was mixed with iron [is the reign of the demons with dishevelled hair⁴ of the race of Wrath, when it is the end of the tenth hundredth winter of thy millennium], O Zaratûst the Sptâmân !'

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

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

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

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

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

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

race of Wrath, rush into the country of Iran (Aîrân shatrô) from the direction of the east¹, which *has* an inferior race and race of Wrath. 25. They have uplifted banners, they slay those living in the world², they have *their* hair dishevelled on the back, and they are mostly a small and inferior (nîtûm) race, forward in destroying the strong doer; O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the race of Wrath is miscreated (vi-shûd) and its origin is not manifest. 26. Through witchcraft they rush into these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created, since they burn and damage many things; and the house of the house-owner, the land of the land-digger, prosperity, nobility, sovereignty, religion³, truth, agreement, security, enjoyment, and every characteristic which I, Aûharmazd, created, this pure religion of the Mazdayasnians, and the fire of Vâhrâm, which is set in the appointed place, encounter annihilation, and the direst destruction and trouble will come into notice. 27. And that which is a great district will become a town; that which is a great town, a village; that

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

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

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

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

30. 'And at that time, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! all men will become deceivers, great friends will become of different parties, and respect, affection, hope², and regard for the soul will depart from the world; the affection of the father will depart from the son; and *that of* the brother from *his* brother; the son-in-law will become a beggar (kîdyak or kasîk) from his father-in-law³, and the mother will be parted and estranged from the daughter.

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

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

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

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

men¹; and the crop will not yield the seed, *so* that of the crop of the corn-fields in ten *cases* seven will diminish and three² will increase, and that which increases does not become ripe³; and vegetation, trees, and shrubs will diminish; when one shall take a hundred, ninety will diminish and ten will increase, and that which increases gives no pleasure and flavour. 32. And men are born smaller, and their skill and strength are less; they become more deceitful and more given to vile practices; they have no gratitude and respect for bread and salt, and they have no affection for their country (dêsak).

33. 'And in that most evil time a boundary has most disrespect⁴ where it is the property of a suffering man of religion; gifts are few among their deeds, and duties and good works proceed but little from their hands; and sectarians of all kinds are seeking mischief for them⁵. 34. And all the world will be burying *and* clothing the dead, and burying the dead *and* washing the dead *will be* by law; the burning, bringing to water and fire, and eating of dead matter they practise by law and do not abstain from. 35. They recount largely about duties and good works, and pursue wickedness and the road to hell; and through the iniquity, cajolery, and craving of wrath and avarice they rush to hell.

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

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

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

³ Literally, 'white.'

⁴ Reading anâzarm instead of hanâ âzarm.

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

Sptâmân!—the reign of Wrath with infuriate spear¹ and the demon with dishevelled hair, of the race of Wrath,—the meanest slaves walk forth with the authority of nobles of the land; and the religious, who wear *sacred thread*-girdles on the waist, are then not able *to perform* their ablution (pâdîyâvîh), for in those last times dead matter and bodily refuse become so abundant, that *one who* shall set step to step walks upon dead matter; or when he washes in the barashnûm *ceremony*, and puts down a foot from the stone *seat* (magh)², he walks on dead matter; or when he arranges the *sacred* twigs (bare-sôm) and consecrates the sacred cakes (drônô) in their corpse-chamber (nasât katak)³ it is allowable.

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

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

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

37. Or, in those last times, it becomes allowable to perform a ceremonial (*yazisn*) with two men, so that this religion may not come to nothing and collapse¹; there *will* be only one in a hundred, in a thousand, in a myriad, who believes in this religion, and even he does nothing of it though *it be* a duty²; and the fire of Vâhrâm, which will come to nothing and collapse, *falls* off from a thousand to one care-taker, and even he does not supply it properly with fire-wood and incense; or when a man, *who* has performed worship and does not know the Nirangistân³ ('code of religious formulas'), shall kindle *it* with good intentions, it is allowable.

38. 'Honourable⁴ wealth will all proceed to those of perverted faith (*kêvîd-kêshân*); it comes to the transgressors, and virtuous doers of good works, from the families of noblemen even unto the priests (*môg-mardân*), remain running about uncovered; the lower orders take in marriage the daughters of nobles, grandees, *and* priests; and the nobles, grandees, and priests come to destitution *and* bondage. 39. The misfortunes of the ignoble will overtake greatness and authority, and the helpless and ignoble will come to the foremost place *and* advancement; the words of the upholders of religion, and the seal and decision of a just judge will become the

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

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

³ The name of a work which treats of various ceremonial details, and appears to be a portion of the Pahlavi translation of the seventeenth or Hûspâram Nask, containing many Avesta quotations which are not now to be found elsewhere.

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

words of random speakers (andêzö-gôkân) *among* the just *and* even the righteous; and the words of the ignoble and slanderers, of the disreputable *and* mockers, and of those of divers opinions they consider true and credible, about which they take¹ an oath, although with falsehood, and thereby give false evidence, and speak falsely and irreverently about me, Aûharmazd. 40. They who bear the title of priest and disciples wish evil concerning² one another; he speaks vice and they look upon vice; and the antagonism of Aharman and the demons is much brought on by them; of the sin which men commit, out of five³ sins the priests and disciples commit three sins, and they become enemies of the good, so that they may thereby speak of bad faults relating to one another; the ceremonies they undertake they do not perform, and they have no fear of hell.

41. 'And in that tenth hundredth winter, *which* is the end of thy millennium, O righteous Zaratûst! all mankind will bind torn hair, disregarding revelation⁴, so that a willingly-disposed cloud and a

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

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

³ The Persian paraphrase has 'eight.'

⁴ Referring probably to the injunctions regarding cutting the hair and paring the nails, with all the proper precautions for preventing any fragments of the hair or nails from lying about, as given in Vend. XVII. One of the penalties for neglecting such precautions is supposed to be a failure of the necessary rains. The

righteous wind are not able to produce rain in its proper time and season. 42. And a dark cloud makes the whole sky night, and the hot wind and the cold wind arrive, and bring along fruit and seed of corn, even the rain in its proper time; and it does not rain, *and* that which rains also rains more noxious creatures than water; and the water of rivers and springs will diminish, and there will be no increase. 43. And the beast of *burden* and ox *and* sheep bring forth more painfully¹ and awkwardly, and acquire less fruitfulness; and *their* hair is coarser *and* skin thinner; the milk does not increase and has less cream (*kərbist*); the strength of the labouring ox is less, and the agility of the swift horse is less, and it carries less in a race.

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

words anâstak dînô can also be translated by 'despising the religion.'

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

bestow no gifts and alms, and even those [they bestow]¹ they repent of again. 46. And even those men of the good religion, who have revered the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, proceed in conformity with (*bar-hamakö rûbîsn*) those ways and customs², and do not believe their own religion. 47. And the noble, great, and charitable³, who are the virtuous of their own country and locality, will depart from their own original place and family⁴ as idolatrous; through want they beg something from the ignoble and vile, and come to poverty and helplessness; through them⁵ nine in ten of these men will perish in the northern quarter.

48. 'Through their way of misrule everything comes to nothingness and destitution, levity and infirmity; and the earth of Spendarmad opens *its* mouth wide, *and* every jewel and metal becomes exposed, such as gold and silver, brass, tin, and lead. 49. And rule *and* sovereignty come to slaves, such as the Tûrk and non-Tûranian (*Atûr*) of the army⁶, and are turbulent as among the moun-

¹ This verb is omitted in K20.

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

³ Or *dahâkân* may mean 'the skilful.'

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

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

⁶ Very little reliance can be placed upon the details of this sentence, but it is difficult to make any other complete and consistent translation. Darmesteter suggests the reading *hênô*, 'army,' but another possible reading is *Khÿôn* (Av. *Hvyaona*), the old name

taineers¹; and the *K'inf*², the *Kâzûlt*, the *Sôftî*, the *Rûman* (*Arûmâyak*), and the white-clothed *Karmak*³ then attain sovereignty in my countries of Iran, *and* their will and pleasure will become current in the world. 50. The sovereignty will come from those leathern-belted ones⁴ and Arabs (*Tâzîgân*) and *Rûmans* to them, *and* they will be so misgoverning that when they kill a righteous man who is virtuous and a fly, it is all one⁵ in their eyes. 51. And the security, fame, and prosperity, the country and families, the wealth and handiwork, the streams, rivers, and springs of Iran, and of those of the good religion, come to those non-Iranians; and the army and standards of the frontiers come to them, and a rule with a craving for wrath advances in the world. 52. And their eyes of avarice are not sated with wealth, and they form hoards of the world's wealth, and conceal *them* underground; and through wickedness they commit sodomy, hold much intercourse with menstruous *women*, and practise many unnatural lusts.

of some country probably in Turkistân, as *Argâsp*, the opponent of *Vistâsp*, is called 'lord or king of *Khyôn*' in the *Yâdkâr-i Zarîrân* (see also *Gôs Yt.* 30, 31, *Ashi Yt.* 50, 51, *Zamyâd Yt.* 87).

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

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

³ The *Kâbulî* and Byzantine *Rûman* are plain enough; not so the *Sôftî* and *Karmak* (*Kalmak* or *Krimak*).

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

⁵ Literally, 'both are one.'

53. 'And in that perplexing time the night is brighter¹, and the year, month, and day will diminish one-third; the earth of Spendarmad² arises, and suffering, death, and destitution become more severe in the world.'

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

55. So Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst the Sptâmân thus: 'Enquire fully and learn by heart² thoroughly! teach *it* by Zand, Pâzand, and explanation! tell *it* to the priests and disciples *who* speak forth in the world, *and* those who are not aware of the hundred winters, tell *it* then to them! so that, for the hope of a future existence, *and* for the preservation of their own souls, they may remove the trouble, evil, and oppression which those of other religions cause in the ceremonies of religion (dînô yêsnân). 56. And, moreover, I tell thee this, O Zaratûst the Sptâmân! that whoever, in that time, appeals for the body is not able to save the soul, for *he is* as it were fat, and *his* soul is hungry *and* lean in hell; whoever appeals for the soul, *his* body is hungry *and* lean through the misery of the world, and destitute, and his soul is fat in heaven.'

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

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

² Literally, 'make easy.'

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

58. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst thus: 'Of the best men is he who, in that perplexing time, wears the *sacred thread-girdle* on the waist, and celebrates religious rites with the *sacred twigs*, *though* not as in the reign of King Vistâsp. 59. Whoever in that perplexing time recites Itâ-âd-yazam (Av. ithâ âd yazamaidê, Yas. V and XXXVII)³ and one Ashem-vohû⁴, and has learned *it* by heart, is as though, in the reign of King Vistâsp, *it were* a Dvâzdah-hômâst⁵ with holy-water (zôhar). 60. And by

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

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

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

⁴ See Bund. XX, 2.

⁵ For the following explanation of the various kinds of hô mâst I am indebted to Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji Jâmâsp-Âsâ-nâ of Bombay:—

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

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

2. Khadûk-hô mâst, 'one hô mâst,' differs from the last merely in adding a Vendidad every twelfth day, to be recited in the Ush-

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

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

ahin Gâh (12 P. M. to 6 A. M.) in honour of the angel whose propitiation ends that day.

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

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

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

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

numerously, and their disturbance by Aharman and the demons was less. 63. For in their evil reigns, within the countries of Iran, there were not seven¹ towns which *were* desolate as they *will be* when it is the end of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! for all the towns of Iran *will be* ploughed up by their horses' hoofs, and their banners *will* reach unto Padashkhvârgar², and they *will* carry away the sovereignty of the seat of the religion I approve from there; and their destruction comes from that place, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I foretell.'

64. Whoever³ of those existing, thus, with reverence unto the good, performs much worship for Aûharmazd, Aûharmazd, aware of *it* through righteousness, gives *him* whatsoever Aûharmazd is aware of through righteousness, as remuneration *and* reward of duty *and* good works, and *such* members of

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

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

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

Yênhê hâtâm âad, yêsnê paitî,
vanghō mazdau ahurō vaêthâ, ashâd haâ,
yaunghâmâtâ, tâskâ tausâtâ yazamaidê.

And it may be translated in the following manner:—

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

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

CHAPTER III.

1. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus : ' O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit ! creator of the material world, righteous *one* ! whence do they restore this good religion of the Mazdayasnians ? and by what means will they destroy these demons with dishevelled hair¹, of the race of Wrath ? 2. O creator ! grant me death ! and grant my favoured ones death ! that they may not live in that perplexing time ; grant *them* exemplary living ! that they may not prepare wickedness and the way to hell.'

3. Aûharmazd spoke thus : ' O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân ! after the ill-omened² sovereignty of those of the race of Wrath³ there is a fiend, Shêdâspîh⁴ of the Kilisyâkîh, from the countries of Salmân⁵ ;' Mâh-

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

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

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

⁴ This fiend appears to be a personification of Christianity or ' ecclesiasticism ' (Kilisyâkîh, see Chap. II, 19), and the writer seems to place his appearance some time in the middle ages, probably before the end of the thirteenth century (see the note on § 44). Darmesteter suggests that Shêdâsp may have been intended as a modern counterpart of Bêvarâsp (Az-i Dahâk), the ancient tyrant ; and that this Christian invasion may be a reminiscence of the crusades.

⁵ I have formerly read Mûsulmân instead of min Salmân, and hence concluded that the text must have been written long

vand-dâd said that *these people* are Rûman (Arû-mâyîk), and Rôshan¹ said that they have red weapons, red banners, *and* red hats (kûlâh). 4. 'It is when a symptom of them appears, as they advance, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! the sun and the dark show signs, and the moon becomes manifest of various colours; earthquakes (bûm-guzand), too, become numerous, and the wind comes more violently; in the world want, distress, and discomfort come more into view; and Mercury and Jupiter advance the sovereignty for the vile², *and* they are *in* hundreds and thousands and myriads. 5. They have the red banner of the fiend Shêdâsph of Kili-syâkth, and they hasten much their progress to these countries of Iran *which* I, Aûharmazd, created, up to the bank of the Arvand³, some have said⁴ the Frât⁵ river, 'unto the Greeks (Yûnân) dwelling in Asûristân;' they are Greeks by strict reckoning⁶,

after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia; but this reading is irreconcilable with the context. The position of Salmân (Av. Sairima) is defined by Bund. XX, 12, which places the sources of the Tigris in that country.

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

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

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

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

⁵ The Euphrates.

⁶ Or, 'of strict reckoning,' reading sâkht amâr, but both reading and meaning are very uncertain. As it stands in K20 it

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

6. 'They turn back those of the race of Wrath¹ in hundreds and thousands and myriads; *and* the banners, standards, and an innumerable army of those demons with dishevelled hair will come to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created. 7. And the army of the invader² is an extending enemy of the Tûrk³ and even the Karm⁴, be it with banners aloft when he shall set up a banner, be it through the excessive multitude which will remain—like *hairs in* the mane of a horse—in the countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created.

8. 'The leathern-belted Tûrk *and* the Rûman Shêdâspth of Kilisyâkth come forth with simultaneous movement⁵, and in three places, with similar strife, there was and *will* be three times a great contest (ârdîh), O Zaratûst the Sptâmân! 9. One in the reign of Kai-Kâûs⁶, when through

may be sâkht gumâl, 'extreme beauty,' or Sâkhtîmâr (the name of a place), or this may stand for sâkht tîmâr, 'severe misfortune;' and other readings are possible.

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

² Literally, 'extender,' that is, one engaged in extending his own dominions.

³ The remainder of this § (except the verb 'remain') is Pâzand written in Persian characters in K20.

⁴ Possibly the Karmak of Chap. II, 49. In § 20 the Kurđ and Karmân (or Karms) may refer to the Tûrk and Karm of this §, so it is doubtful whether Tûrk or Kurđ is meant.

⁵ Or, 'for the encounter,' pavan ham-rasîrñh.

⁶ See Bund. XXXI, 25, XXXIV, 7. The letters are here joined together, so as to become Kai-gâûs, and this form of the name is

the assistance of demons *it was* with the archangels; and the second when thou, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! receivedst the religion and *hadst* thy conference, *and* King Vistâsp and Argâsp¹, miscreated by wrath, *were*, through the war of the religion, in the combat of Spêd-razûr ("the hoary forest²"), some have said *it was* in Pârs; 'and the third when it is the end of thy millennium, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! when all the three, Tûrk, Arab, and Rûman, come to this³ place,' some have said the plain of Nîsânak⁴. 10. 'And all *those of* the countries of Iran, which I, Aûharmazd, created, come from their own place unto Padashkhvârgar⁵, owing to those of the race of Wrath, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! so that a report of something of the cave dwellings, mountain dwellings, and river dwellings of these people will remain at Padashkhvârgar and Pârs; some have *said* the fire Visnâsp⁶, on the deep Lake Kêkast which has medicinal water opposed to the demons, is there (in Padashkhvârgar?) as it were conspicuous,' some have said 'originating⁷, 'so that

often read Kâhûs or Kahôs in Pâzand (see Mkh.VIII, 27, XXVII, 54, LVII, 21). The Pâz. MSS. omit § 9.

¹ See Bund. XII, 32, 33.

² See Bund. XXIV, 16.

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

⁴ The reading of this name is quite uncertain.

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

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

⁷ The most obvious reading of this word is mâhîk, 'fish,' which can hardly be reconciled with the context. The view here taken is that the writer was translating from an Avesta text, and met

they may use *it* anew, *and* the fire may become shining in these countries of Iran which I, Aûhar-mazd, created. 11. For when one shall be able to save his own life, he has then no recollection of wife, child, and wealth, that they may not live, *in* that perplexing time, O Zaratûst! yet the day when the hundredth winter becomes the end of thy millennium, which is *that* of Zaratûst, is so that nothing wicked may go from this millennium into that millennium¹.

with the word *kithra*, which means both *pêdâk*, 'clear,' and *tôkhmak*, 'originating,' but to express the latter meaning he used the synonym *mâyakîk*, which can be written exactly like *mâhîk*. Owing to the involved character of this section it is not very clear in English, but it is still more obscure in the Pahlavi text, in which the whole of this clause about the fire is inserted parenthetically after the first mention of *Paðashkhvâgar*.

¹ This last clause may be read several ways, and it is by no means easy to ascertain clearly the chronological order of the events which are jumbled together in this last chapter. But it would appear that Zaratûst's millennium was to end at a time when the religion was undisturbed, and just before the incursion of the demons or idolators, the details of which have been given in Chap. II, 22-III, 11, and which is the first event of Hûshêdar's millennium (see § 13). Now according to Bund. XXXIV, 7-9, the interval from 'the coming of the religion,' in the reign of Kafr-Vistâsp, to the end of the Sasanian monarchy was $90 + 112 + 30 + 12 + 14 + 14 + 284 + 460 = 1016$ years. If by 'the coming of the religion' be meant the time when Zaratûst received it, as he was then thirty years old, he must have been born 1046 years before the end of the Sasanian monarchy (A. D. 651), and the end of his millennium must have been in A. D. 605, the sixteenth year of Khûsrô Parvîz, when the Sasanian power was near its maximum, and only a score of years before it began suddenly to collapse. This close coincidence indicates that the writer of the Bahman Yast must have adopted the same incorrect chronology as is found in the Bundahis. If, however, 'the coming of the religion' mean its acceptance by Vistâsp, which occurred in Zaratûst's fortieth or

12. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit! creator of the material world, righteous *one*! when they are so many in number, by what means will they be able to perish¹?'

13. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! when the demon with dishevelled hair of the race of Wrath comes into notice in the eastern quarter, first a black token becomes manifest, and Hûshêdar son of Zaratûst is born on Lake Frazdân².

14. It is when he comes to his conference *with me*³, Aûharmazd, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân!' *that in* the direction of Kînistân⁴, *it* is said—some have said among the Hindus—'is born a prince (kaî); it is his father, a prince of the Kayân race, approaches the

forty-second year, his birth must have been ten or twelve years earlier, and his millennium must have ended A. D. 593–595. But according to the imperfect chronology of Bund. XXXIV the tenth millennium of the world, that of Capricornus, commenced with 'the coming of the religion,' and ended, therefore, in A. D. 635, the fourth year of Yazdakard, the last Sasanian king, when the Muhammadans were just preparing for their first invasion; so the millennium of Aquarius is very nearly coincident with that of Hûshêdar, and may probably be intended to represent it. It appears, therefore, that the millennium of Hûshêdar is altogether past, having extended from A. D. 593–635 to A. D. 1593–1635.

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

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

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

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

women, and a religious prince is born to him; he calls *his* name Vâhrâm the Vargâvand¹, some have said Shahpûr. 15. 'That a sign may come to the earth, the night when that prince is born, a star falls from the sky; when that prince is born the star shows a signal.' 16. It is Dâd-Aûharmazd² *who* said that the month Âvân and day Vâd³ is his father's end; 'they rear *him* with the damsels of the king, *and* a woman becomes ruler.

17. 'That prince when he is thirty years old'—some have told the time—'*comes* with innumerable banners *and* divers armies, Hindu and Kînt⁴, having uplifted banners—for they set up *their* banners—having exalted banners, and having exalted weapons; they hasten up with speed⁵ as far as the Vêh river'—some have said the country of Bambô⁶—'as far as Bukhâr and the Bukhârâns within *its* bank,

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

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

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

⁴ That is, Bactrian and Samarkandian.

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

⁶ Spiegel was inclined to identify this name with Bombay, but this is impossible, as the MS. K20 (in which the name occurs) was written some two centuries before the Portuguese invented the name of Bombay. Its original name, by which it is still called by

O Zaratûst the Sptâmân! 18. When the star Jupiter comes up to *its* culminating point (bâlist)¹ and casts Venus down, the sovereignty comes to the prince. 19. Quite innumerable are the champions, furnished with arms *and* with banners displayed,² some have said from Sagastân, Pârs, and Khûrâsân, some have said from the lake of Padashkhvârgar³, some have said from the Hirâtis⁴ and Kôhistân, some have said from Taparistân⁵; and from those directions 'every suppliant for a child⁶ comes into⁶ view. 20. It is concerning the displayed banners and very numerous army, which were the armed men, champions, and soldiers from the countries of Iran *at* Padashkhvârgar—whom *I* told thee⁷ that they call both Kurđ and Karmân—it is declared

its native inhabitants, being Mumbaî. The locality mentioned in the text is evidently to be sought on the banks of the Oxus near Bukhârâ; the Oxus having been sometimes considered the upper course of the Arag, and sometimes that of the Veh (see Bund. XX, 22, note 5). It is hardly probable that either Bâmî (Balkh) or Bâmiyân would be changed into Bambö, and the only exact representative of this name appears to be Bamm, a town about 120 miles S. E. of Kirmân; this is quite a different locality from that mentioned in the text, but it is hazardous to set bounds to the want of geographical knowledge displayed by some of the Pahlavi commentators.

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

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

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

⁴ See Bund. XII, 17, XIII, 15.

⁵ That is, every man able to bear arms.

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

⁷ See § 10, but as nothing is said there about Kurđ or Karmân, it is possible that the writer meant to say, 'of whom I told thee,

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

21. 'Those of the race of Wrath and the extensive army¹ of Shêdâspîh, *whose* names are the two-legged wolf and the leathern-belted demon on the bank of the Arvand², wage three battles, one in Spêd-razûr³ and one in the plain of Nîsânak;' some have said that *it was* on the lake of the three races, some have said that *it was* in Marûv⁴ the brilliant, *and* some have said in Pârs. 22. 'For the support of the countries of Iran is the innumerable army of the east; its having exalted banners⁵ is that they have a banner of tiger skin (bôpar pôst), and their wind banner is white cotton⁶; innumerable are the mounted troops, and they ride up to the *lurking*-holes⁷ of the demons; they will slay so that a thousand women can afterwards see and kiss *but* one man.

and whom they call both Kurd' and Karmân.' It is more probable, however, that he is referring to § 7.

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

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

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

⁴ Marv in the present Turkistân.

⁵ Referring to § 17.

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

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

23. 'When it is the end of the time¹, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! those enemies will be as much destroyed as the root of a shrub when *it is* in the night on which a cold winter arrives, and in this night it sheds *its* leaves; and they *will* reinstate these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created².

24. 'And with speed rushes the evil spirit, with the vilest races of demons and Wrath with infuriate spear³, *and* comes on to the support and assistance of those demon-worshippers and miscreations of wrath, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! 25. And I, the creator Aûharmazd, send Nêryôsang the angel and Srôsh the righteous⁴ unto Kangdez⁵, which the illustrious Siyâvakhsh⁶ formed, *and to* Kîtrô-mtyân⁷ son of Vistâsp, the glory of the Kayâns, the just restorer of the religion, *to speak* thus: "Walk forth, O illustrious Pêshyôtanû! to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created; consecrate the fire *and* waters for the Hâdôkht⁸ *and* Dvâzdah-hômâst!

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

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

³ See Chap. II, 36.

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

⁵ See Bund. XXIX, 10.

⁶ See Bund. XXXI, 25.

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

⁸ This was the twentieth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard; but the Dînvagarkard and the Rivâyats make it the twenty-first, and say very

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

little about its contents (see Haug's Essays, pp. 133, 134). The Dinkard, in its eighth book, gives the following account of this Nask :—

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

'The middle *division has* 102 sections, treatises on spiritual and worldly diligence, the leadership of the diligent, and their mighty

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

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

means, all former deeds of righteousness; righteousness kindling the resolution is the reward of merit, each for each, and is adapted by it for that *of* which it is said that *it is* the *Hâdôkht* which is the maintaining of righteousness, so that they may make righteousness more abiding in the body of a man.

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

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

¹ See Bund. XII, 7.

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

the fire of the waters; *with* the illustrious Hâdôkht they bless me, Aûharmazd, with the archangels; and after that it demolishes one-third of the opposition. 29. And the illustrious Pêshyôtanû walks forth, with the hundred and fifty men who wear black marten fur, and they celebrate the rituals (yasnân) of the Gadman-hômand ("glorious") fire, which they call the Rôshanô-kerp ("luminous form")¹, which is established at the appointed place (dâtô-gâs), the triumphant ritual of the Frôbâ fire, Horvadađ, and Amerôdađ, and the ceremonial (yazisn) with his priestly co-operation; they arrange and pray over the *sacred* twigs; *and* the ritual of Horvadađ and Amerôdađ, in the chapter of the code of religious formulas (nîrangistân)² demolishes three-thirds of the opposition. 30. Pêshyôtanû son of Vistâsp walks forth, with the assistance of the Frôbâ *fire*, the fire Gûsnâsp, and the fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô³, to the great idol-temples, the abode of *the demons*⁴; and the wicked evil spirit, Wrath with infuriate spear⁵, and all demons and fiends, evil races and wizards, arrive at the deepest *abyss* of hell; *and* those idol-temples are extirpated by the exertions of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû.

31. 'And I, the creator Aûharmazd, come to Mount Hûkafrâyâđ⁶ with the archangels, and I issue

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

² See Chap. II, 37.

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

⁴ Supplying the word *jêdâân*, 'the demons,' in accordance with §§ 36, 37; there being clearly some word omitted in K20.

⁵ See Chap. II, 36.

⁶ Hûgar the lofty in Bund. XII, 2, 5.

orders to the archangels that they should speak to the angels of the spiritual existences thus : "Proceed to the assistance of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû !" 32. Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures, Srôsh the vigorous, Rashn the just, Vâhrâm¹ the mighty, Âstâd the victorious, *and* the glory of the religion of the Mazda-yasnians, the stimulator of *religious* formulas (nî-rang), the arranger of the world, *proceed*² to the assistance of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû, through the order of which I, the creator, have just written³.

33. 'Out of the demons of gloomy race the evil spirit cries to Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures thus : "Stay above in truth⁴, thou Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures !"

34. 'And then Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries thus : "Of these nine thousand years' support, which during its beginning produced Dahâk of evil religion, Frâstyâv of Tûr, *and* Alexander⁵ the Rû-man, the period of one thousand years of those leathern-belted demons with dishevelled hair is a more than moderate reign to produce⁶."

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

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

² This verb is omitted by mistake in K20.

³ Literally, 'arrive at the writing.'

⁴ Or, 'stand up with honesty !'

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

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

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

37. 'And the illustrious Pêshyôtanû advances, and the fire Frôbâ, the fire Gûsnasp, and the triumphant fire Bûrzîn-Mitrô will smite the fiend of excessive strength; he will extirpate the idol-temples that are the abode of demons; and they celebrate the ceremonial (*yazisn*), arrange the *sacred* twigs, solemnize the Dvâzdah-hômâst, and praise me, Aûharmazd, with the archangels; this is what I foretell¹. 38. The illustrious Pêshyôtanû walks forth to these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created, to the Arvand and Vêh river²; when the wicked see him they will be terrified, those of the progeny of gloom and those not worthy.

39. 'And regarding that Vâhrâm the Vargâvand it is declared that he comes forth in full glory, fixes upon Vandîd-khîm³ ("a curbed temper"), and *having* intrusted *him* with the seat of mobadship of the

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

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

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

mobads¹, and the seat of true explanation of the religion, he restores again these countries of Iran which I, Aûharmazd, created; and he drives² away from the world covetousness, want, hatred, wrath, lust, envy, and wickedness. 40. And the wolf period goes away, and the sheep period comes on; they establish the fire Frôbâ, the fire Gûsnâsp, *and* the fire Bûrzn-Mitrô again at their proper places, and they will properly supply the firewood and incense; and the wicked evil spirit becomes confounded and unconscious, with the demons and the progeny of gloom. 41. And so the illustrious Pêshyôtanû speaks thus: "Let the demon be destroyed, and the witch be destroyed! let the fiendishness and vileness of the demons be destroyed! and let the gloomy progeny of the demons be destroyed! The glory³ of the religion of the Mazdayasnians prospers, and let it prosper! let the family⁴ of the liberal and just, who are doers of good deeds, prosper! and let the throne of the religion and sovereignty have a good restorer!" 42. Forth comes the illustrious Pêshyôtanû, forth he comes with a hundred and fifty men of the disciples who wear black marten fur, and they take the throne of their own religion and sovereignty.'

43. Aûharmazd said to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân: 'This is what I foretell, when it is the end of thy millennium it is the beginning of *that* of Hûshêdar⁵.

¹ The supreme high-priesthood, or primacy.

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

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

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

⁵ The writer having detailed the supernatural means employed for restoring the religion, now returns to the birth of Hûshêdar

44. Regarding Hûshêdar it is declared that he will be born in 1600¹, and at thirty years of age he comes to a conference with me, Aûharmazd, and receives the religion. 45. When he comes away from the conference he cries to the sun with the swift horse², thus: "Stand still!"

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

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

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

² The usual epithet of the sun in the Avesta.

days and nights; and when this happens all the people of the world abide by the good religion of the Mazdayasnians. 47. Mitrô of the vast cattle-pastures cries to Hûshêdar, *son* of Zaratûst, thus: "O Hûshêdar, restorer of the true religion! cry to the sun with the swift horse thus: 'Move on!' for it is dark in the regions of Arzâh and Savâh, Fradadafsh and Vidadafsh, Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst, and the illustrious Khvanîras¹."

48. 'Hûshêdar *son* of Zaratûst cries, to the sun he cries, thus: "Move on!" 49. The sun with the swift horse moves on, *and* Vargâvand² and all mankind fully believe in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians.'

50. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! this is what I foretell, that this one brings the creatures back to their proper state. 51. When it is near the end of the millennium Pêshyôtanû³ son of Vistâsp comes into notice, who is a Kayân that advances triumphantly; and those enemies who relied upon fiendishness, such as the Tûrk, Arab, and Rûman, and the vile ones who control⁴ the Iranian sovereign with insolence and oppression and enmity to the sovereignty, destroy the fire and make the religion weak; and they convey *their* power and success to him and every one who accepts the law and religion willingly; if he

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

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

³ See §§ 25-30.

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

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

52. 'And, afterwards, when the millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh comes, through Hûshêdar-mâh² the creatures become more progressive, and he utterly destroys the fiend of serpent origin³; and Pêshyôtanû son of Vistâsp becomes, in like manner, high-priest and primate (*rad'*) of the world⁴. 53. In that millennium of Hûshêdar-mâh mankind become so versed in medicine, and keep and bring physic and remedies so *much* in use, *that* when they are confessedly at the point of death they do not thereupon die, nor when they smite and slay *them* with the sword and knife⁵.

54. 'Afterwards, *one* begs a gift of *any* description out of the allowance of heretics, *and* owing to depravity *and* heresy they do not give *it*. 55. And Aharman rises through that spite⁶ on to the moun-

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

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

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

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

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

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

tain of Dimâvand¹, which is the direction of Bêvarâsp, *and* shouts thus: "Now it is nine thousand years, *and* Frêdûn is not living; why do you not rise up, although these thy fetters are not removed, when² this world is full of people, and they have brought them from the enclosure which Yim formed³?"

56. 'After that apostate shouts like this, *and* because of it, Az-i Dahâk⁴ stands up before *him*, *but*, through fear of the likeness of Frêdûn in the body of Frêdûn, he does not first remove those fetters and stake from *his* trunk until Aharman removes *them*. 57. And the vigour of Az-i Dahâk increases, the fetters being removed from *his* trunk, *and* *his* impetuosity remains; he swallows down the apostate on the spot⁵, and rushing into the world to perpetrate sin, he commits innumerable grievous sins; he swallows down one-third of mankind, cattle, sheep, and other creatures of Aûharmazd; he smites the water, fire, and vegetation, and commits grievous sin.

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

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

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

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

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

⁵ The *Pâz*. MSS. end here.

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

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

60. 'Then Srôsh and Nêryôsang the angel go to Keresâsp¹; three times they utter a cry, and the fourth time Sâm rises up with triumph, and goes to meet Az-i Dahâk. 61. And² Sâm does not listen to his words, and the triumphant club strikes him on the head, and smites and kills *him*; afterwards, desolation *and* adversity depart from this world, while I make a beginning of the millennium³. 62. Then Sôshyans⁴ makes the creatures again pure, and the resurrection and future existence occur.'

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

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

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

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

⁴ See Bund. XXXII, 8.

SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST

OR

THE PROPER AND IMPROPER.

AN OLD

PAHLAVI RIVÂYAT

OR

MISCELLANY OF TRADITIONAL MEMORANDA.

OBSERVATIONS.

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

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

7. The manuscripts mentioned in the notes are :—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST.

PART I.—*The Original Treatise.*

CHAPTER I.

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

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

¹ See the note on B. Yt. I, o.

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

'By the man whose weapon (or blow) is upraised for striking a man, that which is his Âgerept is thus implanted in *him*. When it *has* moved forward—that is, he makes *it* advance—*it* is thus his Avôirîst, that is, Avôirîst is implanted in him *and* the Âgerept merges into it, some say that it does not exist. When he comes on to him *with* thoughts of malice—that is, he places a hand upon him—*it* is thus his Aredûs, that is, Aredûs is implanted in him and the Avôirîst merges into it, some say that it does not exist. *At* the fifth Aredûs the man even becomes a Tanâpûhar; *things* at

are mentioned in revelation, *which* are Farmân, Âgerept, Avôirîst¹, Aredûs, Khôr, Bâzâî, Yât, and Tanâpûhar². 2. A Farmân is the weight of four

sunrise (*avar-khûrshêdîh*) and in the forenoon (*kâtîfîh* = *kâstîfîh*) are no more apart. . . . Whoever inflicts the Aredûs blow on a man *it is* one-fifth of a wound (*rêsh*). . . . Whoever inflicts that which is a cruel Khôr ('hurt') on a man *it is* one-fourth of a wound. . . . Whoever inflicts that which is a bleeding Khôr on a man *it is* one-third of a wound. . . . Whoever shall give a man a bone-breaking Khôr *it is* half a wound. . . . Whoever strikes a man the blow *which puts him* out of consciousness shall give a whole wound.'

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

¹ Also written avôirîst, avîrist, aivîrist, avôkîrist, and avakôrist in other places.

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

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

stîrs, and each stîr is four dirhams (*gûgan*)¹; of Âgerept and Avôirîst that which is least is a scourging (*tâzânô*), and the amount of them which was specially *that* which is most is said *to be* one dirham²; an Aredûs is thirty stîrs³; a Khôr is sixty stîrs; a Bâzât is ninety stîrs; a Yât is a hundred and eighty stîrs; and a Tanâpûhar is three hundred stîrs⁴.

the blood comes, irrespective of where, how, how much, *and* where-with it is inflicted; *it is* that which is a wound from the beginning, *and* that which will result therefrom.'

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

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

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

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

⁴ All authorities agree about the amounts of the last five degrees of sin. These amounts are the supposed weights of the several sins in the golden scales of the angel Rashnû (see AV. V, 5), when the soul is called to account, for its actions during life, after the

3. In the administration of the primitive faith¹ there are *some* who have been of different opinions

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

¹ In M6 pôryôdkêshîh, but pôryôdkêshân, 'of those of the primitive faith,' in K20; from the Av. paoryôdkaêsha of Yas. I, 47, III, 65, IV, 53, XXII, 33, Fravardin Yt. 0, 90, 156, Âf. Rapiithwin, 2. It is a term applied to what is considered as the

about it, for Gôgôsp¹ spoke otherwise than the teaching² (*kâstak*) of Âtarô-Aûharmazd³, and Sôshyans⁴ *otherwise* than the teaching of Âtarô-frôbâg Nôsfâ⁵, and Mêdôk-mâh⁶ *otherwise* than the teaching of Gôgôsp⁷, and Afarg⁸ *otherwise* than the teaching

true Mazdayasnian religion in all ages, both before and after the time of Zaratûst.

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

² Probably a written exposition or commentary is meant.

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

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

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

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

⁷ Gôsp in M6.

⁸ This commentator is mentioned in Chaps. II, 2, 64, 73, 88, 115, V, 5, 6; also in Pahl. Vend. III, 48, 115, V, 6, 14, 22, 58,

of Sôshyans. 4. And all those of the primitive faith rely upon these six¹ teachings, and there are *some* who rely more weakly and some more strongly *upon some* of them.

146, VI, 9, VII, 6, 61, 93, 136, VIII, 48, 64, 110, 250, IX, 132, XIII, 99, XIV, 14, 37, XIX, 84, Pahl. Yas. LXIV, 37, once in Farh. Okh., and thirty-eight times in the Nîrangistân.

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

Several other commentators are mentioned in Pahlavi books, such as Âtarô-pâd, son of Dâd-farukh, twice in the Nîrangistân; Âzâd-mard nine times in Nîr.; Barôshand Aûharmazd once in Nîr.; Dâd Aûharmazd in B. Yt. I, 7, III, 16, Pahl. Yas. X, 57, XI, 22; Dâd-farukh in Pahl. Vend. V, 112, VI, 64, and twice in Nîr.; Dâd-i-vêh seventeen times in Nîr.; Farukhō thrice in Nîr.; Kîrâtânō-bûgêd in Pahl. Vend. V, 80, VI, 15, IX, 184, XIII, 20, he is called the Kîr-mânîk in Pahl. Vend. IV, 35, and Dastûr Hoshangji thinks his name is merely a variant of the next; Kûshtânō-bûgêd in Sls. II, 57, 81, 118, VI, 6, VIII, 17, Pahl. Vend. III, 64, 69, IV, 6, V, 48, VI, 53, 64, 73, VIII, 28, XVI, 17, 21, 22, 27, and twenty-two times in Nîr.; Mâh-Aûharmazd in Pahl. Vend. VII, 82; Mâh-gôspô, Mâh-gôspô, Mâh-gôspô, or Mâh-vasp in Pahl. Yas. IX, 33, Pahl. Vend. III, 138, and ten times in Nîr.; Mâhvand-dâd or Mâh-vindâd in B. Yt. III, 3, Pahl. Yas. IX, 33, X, 57, XI, 22, XIX, 27; Mard-bûd in Sls. II, 86, and twice in Nîr., where he is called the son of Dâd-gun; Nêryôsang in Sls. VIII, 13, Pahl. Vend. V, 22; Nikhshâ-pûhar, or Nîshapûhar in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, V, 112, VI, 71, VIII, 64, XVI, 10, 17, AV.I, 35, and twenty-four times in Nîr.; Nôsâi Bûrz-Mitrô in Sls. VIII, 18; Parîk or Pîrîk in Pahl. Vend. III, 138, V, 14, 134, VII, 82, 93, VIII, 64, and once in Nîr.; Rôshan or Rôshanô (which, as the Sikand-gûmânî states, was the name of a commentary written by Rôshan son of Âtarô-frôbâg) in Sls. II, 39, 86, 107, B. Yt. III, 3, Pahl. Yas. IX, 5, 14, Pahl. Vend. III, 48, V, 112, 134, 176, VII, 93, XVII, 11, and eleven times in Nîr.; disciples of Vakht-âfrîdō (possibly the Bakht-âfrîd of Sls. XX, 11, B. Yt. I, 7) are mentioned once in Nîr.; Vand-Aûharmazd in Sls. II, 2, 6, 44, XIV, 5, Pahl. Vend. VI, 73; and Vêh-dôst once in

CHAPTER II.

1. For in the third fargard ('chapter') of the Vendidad of Mêdôk-mâh¹ *it* is declared that when life is resigned without effort², at the time when the life departs, when a dog is tied to his foot, even then the Nasûs³ rushes upon it, and afterwards, when seen by it, the Nasûs is destroyed by it. 2. This is where *it is stated* which is the dog which destroys the Nasûs⁴, the shepherd's dog, the village-dog, the blood-hound, the slender hound⁵, and the rûkûnk⁶;

the Nîrangistân. It must, however, be observed that the reading of some of these names is very uncertain.

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

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

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

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

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

⁶ Probably the Av. sukuruna of Vend. V, 100, XIII, 48, which

and as to the rūkûnîk there have been divers opinions, *as* Vand-Aûharmazd¹ asserted, from the teaching of Afarg, that it does not destroy *it*. 3. The dog destroys the Nasûs at the time when it sees the flesh, and when it sees the hair or nails it does not destroy *it*². 4. A blind dog also destroys *it* at the time when it places a paw³ on the corpse; and when it places *it* upon the hair or nails it does not destroy *it*⁴. 5. The birds which destroy the Nasûs are three: the mountain kite, the black crow, and the vulture⁵; the bird, moreover, destroys *it* at the time when *its* shadow falls upon it; when it sees it in the water, a mirror, or a looking-glass, it does not destroy *it*⁶.

is translated by hûkar or hûkûr in the Pahlavi version. This fifth kind of dog is called 'the blind (kûr) dog' in the Persian Rivâyats; but Pahl. Vend. VII, 4 asserts that 'Sôshâns said the rūkûnîk also destroys it,' and then speaks of the blind dog as in § 4.

¹ See the note on Chap. I, 4.

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

³ See Pahl. Vend. VII, 4.

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

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

⁶ This sentence is probably defective, as the last clause evidently refers to the dog's gaze (see Pahl. Vend. III, 138), and not to the bird's shadow; the rule, however, is applicable to both. Thus the Persian Rivâyats state that if the bird's shadow falls upon the hair or the nails of the corpse, or if the bird's shadow, or the dog's gaze falls upon a corpse in the water, or upon its reflection in a mirror, the Nasûs is not destroyed. Dastûr Jâmâspji is of opinion that the utility of the bird's shadow is intended to apply only to cases of death in uninhabited places, where a dog is not procurable. As all three birds are such as feed upon corpses, it seems probable that the rule as to their utility was intended to pre-

6. Vand-Aûharmazd said, where a pregnant woman is to be carried by two men¹, both are to be cleansed by the Bareshnûm ceremony², and the head of the corpse, when they carry it away, is to be set towards the Dakhma³. 7. And on account of contamination

vent any neglect of corpses found in wild places, where some of these birds would be sure to approach and let their shadows fall upon the dead, after which the finder of the corpse would suppose that the Nasûs was destroyed or driven away, and the corpse safer to approach.

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

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

³ The building in which the dead are finally deposited; here called by its Huzvâris name, khazân. The Dakhmas used by the Parsis in India are like low circular towers in external appearance, and consist of a high wall enclosing a larger or smaller circular space which is open to the sky. The only opening in the wall is a small doorway, closed with an iron door. In the centre of the circular area is a circular well a few feet in depth, and the space around it is paved so as to slope gently downwards from the enclosing wall to the brink of the well. This paved annular area is divided (by shallow gutters grooved into its surface) into spaces, each large enough for one corpse to be laid upon it, with the head towards the wall and the feet towards the well. These spaces are arranged in two or more concentric rings around the well, and the gutters (which isolate each space on all four sides) drain into the

(padvîshak)¹ two are not to be carried at one time, and two by one person are not proper; one dog and one person are proper². 8. Every one who understands the care of a corpse is proper; two boys of eight years old, who understand the care, are proper; a woman free from menstruation, or free from dead

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

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

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

matter¹, or a man, with a woman or a child of eight years old, is proper.

9. It is not to be carried all covered up², for *that* is burying the corpse; to carry *it* in the rain is worthy of death³. 10. When clouds have been around⁴, it is allowable to carry *it* away from the house; and when rain sets in upon the road it is not allowable to carry *it* back to the house; *but* when it is before a veranda (dâhlîz) *one* should put *it* down there; that is allowable when he who owns the veranda is apprehensive, *and* when he does not allow *it* inside; and, afterwards, it is to be carried away to its place, and when the water stands the height of a javelin (nîzak) inside⁵, *one* puts *it* down *and* brings *it* away yet again. 11. Mêdôk-mâh⁶ says that there should be a shelter (var)⁷ *one* should

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

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

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

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

⁵ Inside the Dakhma apparently. The meaning seems to be, that when the Dakhma is flooded the corpse is to be laid down in some dry place in its vicinity until the flood has abated. But according to Pahl. Vend. VIII, 17, it is allowable to throw the corpse in when the Dakhma is full of water.

⁶ See Chaps. I, 3, II, 1. Here, again, the quotation must be from his complete commentary, as it is not extant in the present Pahlavi Vendidad.

⁷ From Av. var, 'to cover, to shelter;' compare Pers. *gullah*, 'a bower or shed.' Nowadays the Parsis have a permanent shelter near the Dakhma. Pahl. Vend. VIII, 17 says, 'to carry

fasten above that place, *and* it would make *it* dry below¹; *one* should place the corpse under that shelter, and they may take the shelter *and* bring *it* away.

12. From the fifth fargard of the Vendidad of Mêdôk-mâh² they state thus, that at the place where one's life goes forth, when he shall die upon a cloth, and a hair or a limb remains upon the bed-place and the ground³, the ground conveys the pollution, even not originating with *itself* (ahambûnikê), in like manner down unto the water⁴. 13. And when *he is* on a bedstead, and *its* legs are not connected with the ground, when a hair or a limb remains behind on the bedstead, it does not convey *the pollution* down. 14. When he shall die on a plastered floor the plaster is polluted, and when they dig up that plaster and spread *it* again afterwards, it is clean. 15. When he shall die on a stone, and the stone is connected with the ground, the stone will become clean, *along* with the ground, in the length of a year; and when they dig up the place, the stone *being* polluted is to be washed at the time. 16. When a stone is connected with the ground, or is separated, and *one* shall die upon it, so much space of the stone as the corpse occupied is polluted⁵;

an umbrella (avargash) from behind, *or* to hold up a shelter, is of no use.'

¹ Or, 'it would make *it* very dry,' if we read avîr, 'very,' instead of agîr, 'below;' these two words being written alike in Pahlavi.

² Quoting again from his lost commentary.

³ Or, perhaps, 'floor.'

⁴ This translation is somewhat doubtful, but the text seems to imply that the ground is polluted as deep as it contains no water.

⁵ K20 has had, 'the stone is all polluted, *and* will become clean at the time when they dig *it* up, the stone is all polluted, in so

when they shall leave it, in the length of a year it will become clean *along* with the ground; and when they dig *it* up, the stone is all polluted, *and* is to be washed at the time; when the stone is not made *even* with the ground, above the ground the stone is all polluted, *and* is to be washed at the time.

17. Dung-fuel *and* ashes, when the limbs of a menstruous woman come upon them, are both polluted; and the salt and lime for washing *her* shift (kartak-shûf) are *to be treated* just like stone¹.

18. If *one* shall die on a terrace roof (bân)², when one of his limbs, or a hair, remains behind at the edge of the roof, the roof is polluted *for* the size of the body as far as the water; and they should carry down all the *sacred* twigs (baresôm)³ in the house, from the place where the pollution is, until there are thirty steps of three feet⁴ to the *sacred* twigs, so that the *sacred* twigs may not be polluted; and when his hair or limb has not come to the eaves (parakân) the roof is polluted to the bottom (tôhîk).

19. And when *one* shall die on a rîâ⁵ *it* is polluted

much space as the corpse occupied *it is* polluted;' but the additional matter seems to be struck out. Something analogous to the details in this paragraph will be found in Pahl. Vend. VI, 9.

¹ This section would be more appropriate in Chap. III.

² Or 'an upper floor;' Pahl. Vend. VI, 9 has, 'when he shall die on an upper floor, when nothing of him remains behind at the partitions (pardakân), the floor is polluted as far as the balcony (âskûp) *and* the balcony alone is clean; when anything of him remains behind at the partitions, the floor is polluted as far as the balcony, the ground is polluted as far as the water, *about* the balcony alone it is not clear.'

³ See note on Chap. III, 32.

⁴ The gâm, 'step,' being 2 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches (see note on Bund. XXVI, 3) these thirty steps are about 79 English feet.

⁵ Meaning uncertain; the word looks like Huzvâris, but it is possible to read rîd-aê instead of rîâ-1.

for the size of the body as far as the water ; *in* the length of a year it will become clean *along* with the ground. 20. A built bridge is *liable* just like a terrace roof. 21. When *one* shall die on the terrace roof of a trellised *apartment* (varam), that is also *liable* just like a terrace roof. 22. When he shall die in a trellised *apartment*, when one of his limbs, or a hair, does not remain on the borders (parakân), it does not convey the pollution down, but when *any* of him remains behind it conveys *it* down ; it is allowable when they dig *it* up¹, and *one* also spreads *it* again afterwards, and *it* is clean.

23. When *one* shall die by strangulation and a rope in a crowd, when *there* is no fear of his falling down they should not carry *him* down ; and when *there* is a fear of his falling down, when that fear is as regards one side of him, they should carry *him* down on that side ; and when *he* has fallen down they should carry *him* down *in* such *place* as *he* has fallen. 24. When *one* is seated upright and shall die, when *there* is fear of his falling on one side they should carry *him* down *on* that one side, and when there is fear on all four sides, *then* on all four sides ; and when *he* has fallen down they should carry *him* down *in* such *place* as *he* has fallen².

25. And when *one* shall die on a tree, when its

¹ That is, the floor of the apartment ; which would probably be formed of earth beaten down, which, in India, is nearly always overspread with diluted cow-dung to hinder cracks in the smooth surface. A better class of floor is spread with lime plaster on a stony surface.

² The object of these rules is evidently to avoid disturbing the corpse more than is absolutely necessary, provided there be no fear of its polluting more of the ground by falling upon it.

bark is green and *there* is no fear of falling off, they should not carry *him* down; and when *there* is fear of it, they should carry down the whole of the body (tanû masât). 26. And when the bark of the tree is withered, when *there* is fear of it and when *there* is no fear of it, they should carry *it* down. 27. When he shall die on a branch of a tree which is green, when *there* is no fear of his falling off they should not carry *him* down. 28. And when *there* is fear of it, or *it* is a branch of a withered tree, when also, a hair originating with him, or a limb, remains behind on the particular tree, they should carry down the whole of the body¹. 29. And when it does not remain behind him on the particular tree, but when *there* is fear of its falling off, they should not carry it below (vad frôd')².

30. When a corpse (nasât-î)³, from outside of it, remains behind on a jar (khûmbö) in which *there* may be wine, the jar is polluted, *and* the wine is clean. 31. And when *one* shall die inside, in the wine in the jar, if not even a hair or a curl originating with him remains behind on the jar, the wine is polluted and the jar not polluted⁴. 32. When *it* is

¹ K20 has a portion of § 30 inserted here by mistake.

² The object of these rules is likewise to prevent the risk of the corpse defiling more of the ground than is absolutely necessary by falling upon it, as it might do by the breaking of a dead branch.

³ Nasât (Av. nasu) means not only a corpse or carcase of a human being, dog, or other animal of the good creation, but also any portion of such corpse or carcase; that is, *solid* 'dead matter' in general, as distinguished from dirt or refuse from the living body, or any *liquid* exudation from a corpse or carcase, which is called hîkhar (Av. hikhra).

⁴ Pahl. Vend. VI, 9 states, that 'when *one* shall die on a jar of wine, the jar is useless, and the wine becomes just as though *its*

a jar in which *there* is oil ¹, and dead matter (na sâl), from outside of it, remains behind on it, this is even *as* though it remains inside it, because the oil comes outside and goes back to the inside, *and* both are polluted, the jar and the oil; and even on making the jar dry² it is not fit to put anything in.

33. When a serpent (garzak) is in a jar in which *there* is wine, both are useless and polluted, for it makes *them* contaminated (padvîshak). 34. And when corn shall be in *it*, the jar is polluted and the corn clean; and when nothing originating with *the serpent* inside the jar remains behind on the jar, so much of the corn as includes the serpent, and upon *which* the touch (mâlîsn) of the serpent has gone—because the touch of the serpent's seed might be the death of one—is to be taken out *and* to be thrown away. 35. And when hair or dead matter, even not originating with *the serpent*, remains behind on the jar, the jar is polluted, but is serviceable (shâyad) on making *it* dry³.

36. Brick, earth, and mortar are separated by

course (ravisn) had been within three steps *of the corpse*. And when he shall die in the wine, when nothing of him remains behind on the jar, the jar is proper on making *it* dry' (or, perhaps, 'the jar is fit for bran-flour').

¹ Or 'clarified butter;' in this case the 'jar' is probably a globular vessel, or carboy, made of hide, through which the oil, or liquid butter, penetrates so far as to keep the outer surface greasy, which accounts for the remark about the oil passing in and out. Such vessels, called *dabar*, are commonly used for oil and liquid butter in India.

² Assuming that *khûskar* stands for *khûsk-kar*, as it does in Pahl. Vend. VI, 71; otherwise we should have to read thus: 'and the jar is not even fit to put any bran-flour in.'

³ Again assuming as in § 32; otherwise we must read thus: 'but is fit for bran-flour (*khûskar*).'

their own substance (pavan mindavam-i nafs-man), and are connected with the ground; being separated by their own substance is this, that so much space as dead matter¹ comes upon is polluted; being connected with the ground is this, that they would convey the pollution down unto the water. 37. Dung-fuel, ashes, flour, and other powdered things are connected with their own substance, and are separated from the ground; being connected with their own substance is this, that when dead matter comes upon them the whole of them is polluted; and being separated from the ground is this, that when dead matter comes upon them it does not make the ground polluted².

38. *At* a house *in* which the *sacred* ceremony (yazisn) is prepared, and a dog or a person passes³ away in it, the first business to be done is this, that the fire is to be preserved from harm; moreover, if it be only possible to carry the fire so that they would carry *it* away within three steps of the corpse⁴, even then it is to be carried away, *and* the

¹ Or 'a corpse;' K20 has 'stands upon.' The meaning is that these substances do not communicate the contamination throughout their own substance, but only downwards to the ground, which conveys it farther down, so far as it contains no water.

² That is, these substances communicate the contamination throughout their own substance, but not down to the ground.

³ The verb *vidardanō* (Huz. *vabrûntanō*), 'to cross over, to pass away' (Av. *vi + tar*, Pers. *gudhastan*), can only be used when referring to the death of *good* people or animals; but the verb *mûrdanō* (Huz. *yemîtûntanō*), 'to die, to expire' (Av. *mar*, Pers. *murdan*), can be used generally, though usually applied to the wicked and to evil creatures. Pahl. Vend. V, 134 contains nearly the same text as §§ 38, 39.

⁴ Under ordinary circumstances fire must not be brought within thirty steps, or about 79 English feet, of a corpse (see Vend. VIII,

wall is not to be cut. 39. Rôshan¹ said that an earthen *one* is to be cut into, *but* a mortar *one* is not to be cut; below and above no account *is taken* of damaging (bôdôzêdîh)² the wall³. 40. To bring the fire within⁴ the three steps from the corpse is a Tanâpûhar sin; and when exudation happens to the corpse, it is worthy of death⁵. 41. The prepared food in that house is all useless, and that which is not prepared is usable in the length of nine nights

17). But the spirit of the Mazdayasnian law is reasonable, and, although strict, it allows for practical difficulties and chooses the least of two evils in a more judicious manner than might be expected (a fact which it would be well for Parsis and others to observe in doubtful cases). Here, breaking through the wall of a house is considered a greater evil than the possible pollution of the fire by passing at a distance of three steps, or eight English feet, from a corpse.

¹ The name of a commentator, or commentary, often quoted in Pahlavi translations (see the note on Chap. I, 4).

² Literally, 'destroying the consciousness,' or 'injuring the existence.' Bôdôzêd or bôdyôzad is a particular kind of sin which appears to consist chiefly of the ill-treatment of animals and injury of useful property. It is mentioned in Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 1b, Pahl. Vend. V, 107, XIII, 38, Farh. Okh. pp. 32, 33; and in some editions of the Khurda Avesta it is defined as selling stolen men or animals into misery, or one's own domestic cattle to the butcher, also spoiling and tearing up good clothing, or wasting and spoiling good food.

³ The meaning is, that if it became necessary to break through the wall in order to remove the fire unpolluted, the sin committed through damaging the wall will not be punished either in this world or the next.

⁴ That is, nearer than three steps, which is considered to be the minimum distance at which any degree of purity can be maintained.

⁵ A marg-argân sin, on committing which the sinner is required to place his life at the disposal of the high-priest (see Chap. VIII, 2, 5, 6, 21). It is usually considered equivalent to fifteen Tanâpûhars (see Chap. I, 1, 2).

or a month¹. 42. Clothing also *in* like manner, except that which *one* wears on the body; that, even in that time, is not clean, since it remains in use. 43. And the holy-water (zôhar)², too, which is taken and remains *in* that place, is to be carried away immediately to the water; also the sacred milk (gîv)³ and butter (gum)⁴ *in* like manner. 44. Of the prayer⁵ clothing Vand-Aûharmazd⁶ said that it is usable in the length of nine nights *or* a month; the writer⁷ (dapîr) said that it is when they perform the washing of hands, and wash *it* thoroughly, it will become clean at the time.

45. If in a house there are three rooms (gungî-nak), and *one* shall die in the entrance place (dargâs), if *it be* so that they may set the door open, and the corpse comes to this side, only this

¹ According to the season of the year, the period of uncleanness being nine nights in the five winter months, and a month in the seven summer months (see Vend. V, 129).

² Av. zaothra; this holy-water is consecrated by the priest reciting certain prayers while holding the empty metal cups in his hands, while filling them with water, and after filling them (see Haug's Essays, p. 397).

³ The Av. gâus gîvya, '*product of the living cow*,' which is kept in a metal saucer during the ceremonies, and used for sprinkling the sacred twigs (baresôm), and for mixing with the holy-water and Hô-m-juice in the mortar (see Haug's Essays, pp. 403, 405, 406).

⁴ Compare Pers. kûm, 'fat'; it is the Av. gâus hudhau, '*product of the well-yielding cow*,' a small piece of which is placed upon one of the sacred pancakes, or wafers (drôn), during the ceremonies (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396, 407).

⁵ Reading yast; but it may be gast, 'changed.'

⁶ See the note on Chap. I, 4.

⁷ There appear to be, as yet, no means of ascertaining the name of the writer of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, who gives his own opinion here.

side is polluted; and if the corpse comes to that side, only that side is polluted; when it comes to both sides at once (aêvâê), only the entrance place is polluted alone, both the dwelling-rooms (khânak) are clean.

46. And the vault of the sacred fires¹ alone does not become polluted.

47. If *one* shall die in a wild spot (vaskar), prepared food which is within three steps is all useless, and beyond four steps it is not polluted. 48. Prepared food is this, such as bread, boiled and roast meat, and prepared broth².

49. And the ashes (var) of the sacred fire³ become in a measure polluted.

50. Should they carry in the fire into that house in which the length of nine nights *or* a month is requisite for becoming clean, *there* is a sin of one Tanâpûhar⁴ through carrying *it* in, and one Tanâpûhar through kindling *it*; and every trifling *creature* (khûr or khûl) which shall die and shall remain *causes* a sin of one Tanâpûhar. 51. Also through carrying water in, *there* is a sin of one Farmân; and to pour water on the place where *any* one's life departs is a sin of one Tanâpûhar, and to pour *it* on a different place is a sin of one Yât. 52. And to

¹ Literally, 'the vault of the fires of Vâhrâm.' Pahl. Vend. V, 134 says 'the vault of the fires is *liable* just like an empty house.' Both this section and § 49 seem out of place.

² See Pahl. Vend. V, 134.

³ Literally, 'the produce of the fire of Vâhrâm,' a term for 'ashes,' which is used in Pahl. Vend. V, 150 along with the equivalent phrase, 'clothing of the fire' (see Chap. III, 27).

⁴ See Chap. I, 1, 2 for the degrees of sin mentioned in §§ 50, 51, 53.

undergo ablution¹ inside *the unclean house* is all non-ablution. 53. And whoever goes into it needlessly, *his body and* clothes are to be every time thoroughly washed, and his sin is one Tanâpûhar; and when he goes in needfully *it* is neither good work nor sin².

54. And this pollution is all in the sharp account (tîkhak amâr) when the life departs³; the only *thing* which amounts to polluting is contact with the flesh, and even with the hair and nails. 55. Of the contact which is stated in the Avesta⁴, the account is *that it is* from one side, and it ever cleaves to *one*; the curse (gazisn)⁵ which is stated in the Avesta advances from all four sides. 56. Sôshyans⁶ said it is, until its exhibition to a dog, just as it becomes at the time when its life departs⁷; a priest, a

¹ That is, the ceremonial ablution (pâdîyâvîh), or 'washing, with water, the hands and arms up to the elbows, the face as far as behind the ears, and the feet up to the ankles,' whilst a certain form of prayer is recited (see AV. p. 148, note).

² Here again, as in § 38, the strict letter of the law is relaxed in case of necessity.

³ Meaning, apparently, that any pollution is taken into account, as a sin, in the investigation the soul has to undergo upon entering the other world. Much of this paragraph will be found in Pahl. Vend. V, 107.

⁴ Referring to Vend. V, 82-107, which gives an account of the number of persons through whom the pollution of a corpse or carcase will pass, which is in proportion to the importance of the dead individual. The statement here made is that the infection, passing from one to the other, enters each person only on one side, but the demon of corruption attacks them on all sides.

⁵ Meaning, probably, the Nasûr, or demon of corruption (see § 1), who is said to rush upon all those polluted as detailed in Vend. V, 82-107.

⁶ See Chap. I, 3.

⁷ That is, until seen by the dog the corpse remains pervaded by the demon of corruption and hazardous to approach (see §§ 1-4).

warrior, and a husbandman are no use, for merely a dog is stated. 57. Kûshtanô-bûgêd¹ said the account is at the time when its life departs; and that which Kûshtanô-bûgêd specially said is, 'when anything is inside it (the place) the pollution is as far as to the place where that thing stands.' 58. When a dog, or a goat, or a pig is requisite (dârvâi)² it is proper, for *the pollution* does not attack further there; and the pollution of a child in the womb is *along* with the mother.

59. The direct pollution of a hedgehog³ cleaves to *one*, and not the indirect pollution. 60. Direct pollution (hamrêd)⁴ is that when the body is in contact with a corpse, and indirect pollution (paît-

¹ See Chap. I, 4, note. This name is nearly always written Kushtanô-bûgêd in Sls. in K20 and M6; it is not mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 107, although the details here quoted are there given in part.

² The meaning is not quite clear, but this sentence is probably to be read in connection with the preceding one, as implying that where such domestic animals are kept they can be used for stopping the infection, as effectually as any inanimate object. The pig is here mentioned as a common domestic animal, but Parsis have long since adopted the prejudices of Hindus and Muhammadans as regards the uncleanness of the pig.

³ As Vend. V, 108-112 says the same of the dog urupi, it would seem that the writer of our text considered the urupi to be a hedgehog (zûzak); the Pahlavi translation of the Vendidad renders it by rapuk or rîpûk, which appears to be merely an approximate transcript of the Avesta word; traditionally, this is read raspûk and compared with Pers. râsû, 'ichneumon;' its identification with the hedgehog is certainly doubtful, although it appears to be admitted in Pahl. Vend. V, 112, where the same words are used as in this section.

⁴ The technical terms hamrêd and paîtrêd, for contagion and infection, are merely corruptions of Av. hām-raêthwayêiti and paiti-raêthwayêiti. The definition of the latter one is omitted in K20 by mistake.

rêd) is that when¹ *one* is in contact with him who touched the corpse; and from contact with him who is the eleventh² indirect pollution cleaves to *one* in the same manner. 61. The indirect pollution of an ape³ and a menstruous woman, not acting the same way, remains. 62. The shepherd's dog, and likewise the village-dog, and others also of the like kind carry contamination to eight⁴; and when they shall carry *the carcase* down on the ground *the place*⁵ is clean immediately; and that, too, which dies on a balcony (âskûp), until they shall carry *it* down to the bottom, is polluted *for* the length of a year.

63. Whoever brings dead matter (nasât) on any person is worthy of death; he is thrice worthy of

¹ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mîn, 'which' (see note to Bund. I, 7).

² Vend. V, 86, 87 limits the pollution to the eleventh person infected, in the extreme case of the corpse having been a priest; but Pahl. Vend. V, 107 quotes the opinion of Sôshâns that until a dog has gazed at the corpse the pollution extends to the twelfth, but only the first ten require the ceremonial purification of the barešnûm, the others being cleansed by ordinary washing with bull's urine and water.

³ Pahl. Vend. V, 107 states, however, that 'everything of the ape (kapîk) is just like mankind.' The meaning of § 61 is very uncertain, as the text can be both read and translated several ways, and none of them are very satisfactory.

⁴ That is, in the case of the shepherd's dog (see Vend. V, 92, 93); the carcases of other dogs occasion the indirect pollution of fewer persons, in proportion to their inferior importance; but Pahl. Vend. V, 107 states, with regard to this importance, that when 'in doubt, every man is to be considered as a priest, and every dog as a shepherd's dog,' so as to be on the safe side, by exacting the maximum amount of purification in all doubtful cases.

⁵ The Pahlavi text leaves it doubtful whether the place, the people, or the carcase becomes clean, but the first is the most probable.

death¹ at the time when a dog *has* not seen the corpse (nasât); and *if* through negligence of appliances and means (*kâr va tûbânö*) he disturbs *it*, and disturbs *it* by touching it, he knows that *it is* a sin worthy of death; and *for* a corpse that a dog *has* seen, and *one that* a dog *has* not seen, the accountability is to be understood *to be* as much², and *for* the death and sickness³ of a feeble man *and* a powerful *one*. 64. Afarg has said there is no account of appliances and means⁴, for *it* is not allowable to commit a sin worthy of death in *cases of* death and sickness.

65. When they move a corpse which a dog *has* not seen with a thousand men, even then the bodies of the whole *number* are polluted⁵, and are to be washed for them with ceremony (pîsak)⁶. 66. And *for* that which a dog *has* seen, except that one only when a man shall move *it* all⁷ by touching *it*, his washing is then not *to be* with ceremony. 67. And when he is in contact *and* does not move *it*, he is to be washed with bull's urine *and* water. 68. And

¹ That is, he has committed a sin equivalent to three mortal sins (marg-argân).

² Reading *ves* as equivalent to *vêš*.

³ Reading *râkhtakîh* (compare Pers. *rakhtah*, 'sick, wounded').

⁴ This opinion of Afarg (see Chap. I, 3) is also quoted in Pahl. Vend. III, 48.

⁵ This statement is repeated in Chap. X, 33.

⁶ That is, with the Bareshnûm ceremony.

⁷ This exception (which is repeated in §§ 68, 71) seems to imply that §§ 66, 68, 71 refer to the collection of any fragments of a corpse found in the wilderness, or in water; and the exemption from the troublesome purification ceremony in such cases, is probably intended to encourage people to undertake the disagreeable duty of attending to such fragments.

when he shall move with a stake (dâr)¹ a corpse which a dog *has* not seen, except that one only when he shall move *it* all, the washing for him is not *to be* with ceremony.

69. And when a man shall move a corpse, which a dog *has* not seen, by the hand of another man, *he* who moves it by the hand of a man, *and* he also whose own hand's strength *does it* are polluted in the bodies of both; and it is the root of a Tanâpûhar² *sin* for him himself and of a Tanâpûhar for the other one, for this *reason*, because his own body and that also of the *other* are both made polluted through sinfulness. 70. And when there is not in him, nor even originating with *him* (ahambûnikê), the strength of him whose own hand *it is*, it is just as though he would move it (the corpse) with a stake³; and he who held *it* in the way of contact with his hand is to be washed with ceremony; and it is the root of a Tanâpûhar sin for him whose own hand *it is*, and of a Khôr⁴ for himself. 71. When he shall move a corpse by the hand of a man, and the corpse is of those which a dog *has* seen—except that one only when he shall move it all⁵—the washing for him is not *to be* with ceremony.

¹ The interposition of the stake, or piece of wood, prevents the direct attack of the Nasûr, or demon of corruption, which has not been driven away by a dog. That inanimate objects are supposed to stop the progress of the pollution appears from § 57.

² See Chap. I, 1, 2. A sin is figuratively said to take root in the body, when it has to be eradicated, or figuratively dug up.

³ See § 68. If he employs another man to move the corpse merely because he is physically unable to do it himself, he escapes with less pollution than when he is able to do the work himself; but the man employed suffers the same in both cases.

⁴ See Chap. I, 1, 2.

⁵ See § 66.

'72. When *one* is going *by* a place at night, and comes back there *on* the morrow, and a corpse lies there, and he does not know whether the evil (dûs) was there when he came by¹, or not, it is to be considered by him that it was not there.

73. Of a flock in which is a sheep by whom dead matter is eaten, of a forest in which is a tree with which dead matter is mingled, and of a firewood-stand (aesamdân) in which is a stick of firewood with which grease is mingled, Afarg said that it is not proper to make the flock and the forest fruitful, and the firewood is useless².

74. *About* a door on which a corpse impinges; as to the door of a town and city they have been of the same opinion, that *it* is to be discarded by *his* comrades (hamkâr)³; as to a door which is mostly closed (badtûm)⁴ they have been of different opinions,

¹ Literally, 'when I came by;' the usual Persian idiom in such phrases.

² This statement of Afarg's, so far as it relates to greasy firewood, will be found in Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

³ Or, 'by the community.' The same rule is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

⁴ There is some uncertainty about this word. It is not the Pers. badtum, 'worst, vilest,' because that is written vadtûm or vatûm in Pahlavi; besides, the rule must apply to other than the vilest doors, otherwise it would not harmonize with § 75. It is not a miswriting of nîdûm, 'lowest, most debased,' for the same reason, and because it occurs elsewhere. It is not a miswriting of bêdman, a possible variant of bêdâ, 'a house' (although 'a house-door' would suit the context very well), because it occurs also in Pahl. Vend. V, 14, XI, 10, in which latter place it is clearly an adjective partially translating Av. bēdvô. And it would be hazardous to connect it with Pers. bîdûn, 'outside,' which seems merely a corruption or misreading of bîrûn. The view taken here is that badtûm stands for bandtûm, 'most shut up,' the nasal being often dropped in Pahlavi, as in sag for sang, 'stone,' &c.

Gôgôasp¹ said that discarding *it* by *his* comrades is likewise proper, and Sôshyans said that it is not proper; and as to other doors they have been of the same opinion, that it is not proper. 75. The door of one's own chief apartment (*shah-gâs*) is fit for that of the place for menstruation (*dastân-istân*), and that of the place for menstruation is fit for that of the depository *for the dead* (*khazânö*)², and that of the depository of the dead is not fit for any purpose whatever³; that of the more pleasant is fit for that of the more grievous.

76. Any one who, through sinfulness, throws a corpse into the water, is worthy of death on the spot⁴; when he throws only one *it is* one *sin* worthy of death, *and* when he throws ten at one time *it is* then one *sin* worthy of death; when he throws *them* separately *it is* a *sin* worthy of death for each one.

77. Of the water, into which *one* throws dead matter, the extent of pollution is three steps of three feet *in* the water advancing, nine steps of three feet *in* the water *passed* over, and six steps of three feet *in* the water alongside⁵; six steps of three feet in the depth of the water, and three steps of three feet in the water pouring over the dead matter are polluted as regards the depth⁶. 78. When it is thrown *into* the midst of a great standing water, in like manner, the proportion it comes is ever as much as it goes, *and*

¹ See Chap. I, 3.

² The Huz. equivalent of Pâz. *dakhmak* (see § 6).

³ See Pahl. Vend. V, 14.

⁴ Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 66.

⁵ See Vend. VI, 80.

⁶ That is, the pollution extends about eight English feet up-stream and upwards, sixteen feet sideways and downwards, and twenty-four feet down-stream. Some of the latter part of the sentence is omitted in K20 by mistake.

is the proportion of it they should always carry away with *the dead matter* ¹.

79. And when a man comes forth, and a corpse lies in the water, when he is able to bring it out, and it is not an injury to him, it is not allowable to abandon *it* except when he brings *it* out ². 80. Sôshyans ³ said that, when it is an injury, it is allowable when ⁴ he does not bring *it* out; and when it is not an injury, and he does not bring *it*, his sin is a Tanâpûhar ⁵. 81. Kûshtanô-bûgêd ⁶ said that even in *case of* injury it is not allowable to abandon *it*, except when he brings *it* out; when he does not bring *it* *he* is worthy of death. 82. And Gôgôsp ⁷ said that it is even in *case of* injury not allowable, except when he brings *it* out; and when, in *case of* injury, he does not bring *it* out his sin is a Tanâpûhar; and when it is no injury to him, and he does not bring *it*, *he* is worthy of death.

83. And when he shall wish to bring *it* his clothing is to be laid aside ⁸, for it makes the clothing

¹ The sentence is obscure, but this seems to be the meaning; that is, when a corpse or any dead matter is thrown into a pond or tank, the pollution extends sixteen feet from it in all directions; and that quantity of water ought to be drawn off, in order to purify the tank (see Vend. VI, 65-71). As the corpse, in nearly all cases, must be either at the bottom or on the surface, the quantity of polluted water to be drawn off must be a hemispherical mass sixteen feet in radius, or about forty-eight tons of water.

² See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64, where it states that bringing it out is a good work of one Tanâpûhar, and leaving it is a sin of the same amount.

³ See Chap. I, 3.

⁴ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

⁵ See Chap. I, 1, 2.

⁶ See Chap. I, 4, note.

⁷ See Chap. I, 3.

⁸ See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64.

polluted, and whatever *he* is first able *and* best able *to bring* is to be brought out by him. 84. When, too, he is able to bring *it* out through the breadth of the water, then also it is to be brought out so¹; and when he is not able, it is to be brought out through the length of the water; and showing *it to* a dog *and* the two men are not to be waited for².

85. And it is to be carried by him so much away from the neighbourhood of the water that, when he puts *it* down, the water which comes out dropping from the corpse does not reach back to the water; for when the water which comes out from the corpse reaches continuously back to the water *he* is worthy of death; and after that (*min zak frâg*) it is to be shown *to* a dog, and it is to be carried away by two men. 86. And when he wishes to throw *it* out from the water, *Mard-bûd*³ said it is allowable to throw *it* out thus, so that the water of the dripping corpse does not reach continuously back to the water; *Rôshan* said it would be allowable to throw *it* out far.

87. To drag *it* over the water is allowable, to grasp and relinquish *it* is not allowable⁴; and when it is possible to act so that he may convey *it* from a great water to a small water, when the water is

¹ So that less water may be polluted by the corpse taking the shortest route through it; but if that be impossible it must come out quickly, at any rate.

² That is, the otherwise indispensable dog's gaze and two bearers must be dispensed with, if not at hand, in order to save time, until the corpse is out of the water (see § 85).

³ It might be, 'there was a man *who* said,' but *Mard-bûd* occurs in the *Nîrangistân* as the name of a commentator (see Chap. I, 4, note).

⁴ See *Pahl. Vend.* VI, 64 for this prohibition.

connected *it* is allowable, and when separated *it* is not allowable. 88. Afarg¹ said it is allowable to drag *it* below through the water, but to drag *it* over is not allowable, for this has come *on* the water *as* a danger², and that has not come *on it as* a danger. 89. Mêdôk-mâh¹ said it is allowable to drag *it* above, *but* to drag *it* below is not allowable, for the danger has gone out across the water, and the danger is not now to be brought upon it; and on that which is below, *on* which the danger has not come, the danger will at last arrive.

90. When he goes into the water he is to go into it with this idea, that 'should there be many below, then I will even bring all;' for whoever goes in not with this idea, and shall disturb any other one which lies there, will become polluted³. 91. And if the corpse be heavy *and* it is not possible to bring *it* out by one person, *and* he goes out with this idea, that 'I *will* go and prepare means, and bring this corpse out of the water;' and when through sinfulness⁴ he does not go back his body is polluted *and* worthy of

¹ See Chap. I, 3.

² Or 'fear.' The difference of opinion between the two commentators on this question in casuistry, appears to have arisen from Afarg regarding the water merely as the representative of a spirit, who might be endangered or frightened by the source of impurity becoming more visible when above the water, while Mêdôk-mâh considered the water in its material aspect, and wished to save it from the further pollution consequent upon drawing the corpse through more of it.

³ See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64.

⁴ These rules generally distinguish clearly between offences committed 'through sinfulness,' that is, wilfully, and those arising from accidental inability; more stress being laid upon the intention than upon the action.

death, and when he is unable to go back he is not polluted.

92. When the corpse is so decomposed (*pûḍak*), when *it* is thus necessary to bring it out, that he must cut off various fragments, even after he cuts *them* off *they* are to be brought out; and for every fragment his hands and knife are to be washed with bull's urine (*gômêz*), and with dust and moisture (*nambō*) *they* are clean¹. 93. And *they* are to be torn off² by him, and for every single fragment which he brings out his good work is one Tanâpûhar.

94. And when rain is falling the corpse lies in the water; to take *it* from the water to deposit *it* in the rain is not³ allowable.

95. Clothing which is useless⁴, this is that in which they should carry a corpse, and that even when very much *or* altogether useless; of that on which they shall decompose⁵ (*barâ vishûpênd*), and of that on which the excretions (*hîkhar*) of the dead come, so much space is to be cut away⁶, and the rest is to be

¹ See Pahl. Vend. VI, 64 for §§ 92, 93.

² Or 'twisted off;' the Huz. *neskhûntanō* must be traced to Chald. ܢܚܢܐ 'to pluck out, to tear away,' and seems to have a similar meaning in Pahlavi; its Pâz. equivalent *vîkhtanō* (Av. *vig*) ought to be compared rather with Pers. *kîkhtan*, 'to bruise or break,' than with *bêkhtan* or *pêkhtan*, 'to twist.'

³ This negative is omitted in M6 by mistake.

⁴ Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 32.

⁵ Or 'go to pieces;' that this is the meaning of *vishûpênd* appears clearly from Pahl. Vend. VII, 123, but a Persian gloss in the modern MS. M9 explains it as 'deposit fragments from the beak of a bird,' meaning, of course, fragments of dead matter dropped by a carrion bird.

⁶ As useless, being incapable of purification; such cuttings are to be buried, according to the Avesta of Vend. VII, 32, though the Pahlavi commentary explains that they are to be thrown away.

thoroughly washed for the six-months' *period*¹. 96. That which a menstruous woman has in wear (*mah-mânth*)² is to be discarded in like fashion.

97. The clothing which is to be washed for the six-months' *period* is such as is declared in the Avesta³. 98. If the clothing be leathern it is to be thoroughly washed three times with bull's urine (*gômêz*), every time to be made quite dry with dust, and to be thoroughly washed three times with water, and to be laid out three months in a place to be viewed by the sun⁴; and then it is proper for an unclean person (*armêst*)⁵ who has not performed

¹ *Khshvâs-mâûgôk* is merely a corruption of the Av. *khshvas maunghô*, 'six months,' of Vend. VII, 36, where this form of cleansing is thus described: 'If (the clothing) be woven, they should wash *it* out six times with bull's urine, they should scour *it* six times with earth, they should wash *it* out six times with water, they should fumigate *it* six months at the window of the house.'

² See Pahl. Vend. VII, 32.

³ That is, woven clothing, as declared in Vend. VII, 36 (quoted above in note 1).

⁴ See Vend. VII, 35.

⁵ A Persian gloss defines *armêst* as 'a woman who has brought forth a dead child,' and this is the general opinion; but that seems to be only a particular example of an unclean person who would be included under the general term *armêst*, for according to Pahl. Vend. IX, 133, 137, 141 a man when only partially purified must remain apart in the place for the *armêst* (Av. *airima*, compare Sans. *il* or *rf*) for a certain time. Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit translation of Mkh. (XXXVII, 36, XXXIX, 40, LI, 7), explains *armêst* as 'lame, crippled, immobility;' it also means 'stagnant,' when applied to water; and its primitive signification was, probably, 'most stationary,' an appropriate term for such unclean persons as are required to remain in a particular place apart from all others, as well as for helpless cripples, and insane persons under restraint (see Chap. VI, 1). The meaning 'most polluted' would hardly apply to tank water.

worship, or it is proper for a menstruous woman. 99. Other clothing, when hair is on it¹, is *liable* just like woven *cloth* (*tadak*); all the washing of wool, floss silk, silk, hair, and camel's hair is just like *that of* woven *cloth*; and woven clothing is to be washed six times².

100. Wool which is connected together, when one *part* is twisted over another, and a corpse rests³ upon it, is all polluted on account of the connection; and when fleece (*mêsh*) rests upon fleece, then so much space as the corpse rests upon is polluted. 101. When *one* shall die upon a rich carpet (*bûp*) when the carpet is on a coarse rug (*namad*) *and* is made connected, the rug and carpet are both polluted, and when separated the rug is clean. 102. When several cushions are heaped (*nikîd*) one upon the other, and are not made connected, and dead matter comes upon them, they have been unanimous that only that one is polluted on which the dead matter came. 103. A cushion *together* with wool⁴ is *liable* just like a carpet with a rug⁵. 104. Of several cushions which are tied down together, when dead matter comes to the tie, both are polluted, the cord *and* the cushions; and when the dead matter comes to a cushion, and does not come to the tie, the cushions are all polluted on account of the connection, and the tie is clean⁶.

¹ Pahl. Vend. VII, 35 says 'when a single hair is on it.'

² As mentioned in a note on § 95.

³ Literally, 'impinges.' Here, as in many other places, 'dead matter' may be read instead of 'corpse,' as *nasâi* means both or either of them.

⁴ That is, laid upon wool.

⁵ See § 101.

⁶ See Pahl. Vend. VII, 27.

105. A pregnant woman who devours dead matter through sinfulness is polluted *and* worthy of death, and there is no washing for her¹; and *as for* the child, when it *has* become acquainted with duties (pīśak-shinās), ashes² and bull's urine are for its eating and for its washing. 106. *As for* a child who is born of solitary carriers *of the dead*³, although its father and mother may both have devoured dead matter through sinfulness, that which is born is clean on the spot, for it does not become polluted *by* birth.

107. Rôshan⁴ said that every one, who, through sinfulness, has become polluted by means of dead matter, is worthy of death, and his polluted body never becomes clean; for this *one* is more wretched than the fox which *one* throws into the water living, and in the water it will die. 108. *One* worthy of death never becomes clean; *and* a solitary carrier *of the dead* is to be kept at thirty steps from *ceremonial* ablution (pâdīyâvīth).

109. Whichsoever of the animal species has eaten their dead matter⁵, its milk, dung, hair, *and* wool are polluted the length of a year; and *if* pregnant when it has eaten *it*, the young one has also eaten *it*, and the young one is clean after the length of a year from being born of the mother. 110. When a male which has eaten *it* mounts a female, the female is not polluted. 111. When dead matter is eaten by it,

¹ That is, she cannot be purified.

² Reading var (see note on § 49).

³ Carrying a corpse by a single person being prohibited (see §§ 7, 8); but why he is supposed to devour it is not clear.

⁴ See Chap. I, 4, note.

⁵ Compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 192.

and even while it is not digested it shall die, it is *liable* just like a leathern bag (anbân) in which is dead matter.

112. Gold, when dead matter comes upon it, is to be once thoroughly washed with bull's urine (gô-mêz), to be once made quite dry with dust, and to be once thoroughly washed with water, and *it is* clean¹. 113. Silver is to be twice thoroughly washed with bull's urine, and to be made quite dry with dust, and is to be twice thoroughly washed with water, and *it is* clean². 114. And iron, *in like manner*, three times, steel four times, and stone six times³. 115. Afarg said: 'Should it be quicksilver (âvğînak)⁴ it is *liable* just like gold, and amber (kahrupâi) just like stone, and all jewels just like iron.' 116. The pearl (mûrvârîd)⁵, amber, the

¹ The purification here detailed is prescribed for golden vessels in Vend. VII, 186.

² This is the purification prescribed for silver vessels in Vend. VII, 74 W.; it is found in the Vendidad Sâdah, but is omitted (evidently by mistake) in the Vendidad with Pahlavi translation, and has, therefore, been omitted in Spiegel's edition of the texts. By this accidental omission in the MSS. silver is connected with the purification for stone (see § 114).

³ See Vend. VII, 75 W., much of which is omitted in the Vendidad with Pahlavi translation, and in Spiegel's edition (see the preceding note), the sixfold washing of stone being erroneously applied to silver (see Vend. VII, 187 Sp.), owing to this omission of the intervening text. It appears from this section that the Av. haosafna, which has usually been translated as 'copper,' was understood to be pûlâvd, 'steel,' by the Pahlavi translators.

⁴ Or 'a mirror' (Pers. âbgînah), but the word is evidently used for a metal in SZS. X, 2, and very likely here also.

⁵ Most of the substances mentioned in §§ 115, 116 are detailed in Pahl. Vend. VII, 188, where it is stated that 'as to the pearl *there* have been different opinions, some say that it is *liable* just like gold, some say that it is just like the other jewels, *and* some say that there is no washing *for it*.'

ruby (yâkand) gem, the turquoise¹, the agate (shapak), coral-stone (vasadîn sag), bone, and other substances (gôhar) which are not particularly mentioned, are to be washed just like wood²; and when they are taken into use there is no washing³, and when they are not taken their washing is once. 117. Of earthen *and* horny *articles* there is no washing; and of other substances which are not taken for use the washing is once, and *they are* declared out of use.

118. Firewood, when green, is to be cut off the length of a span (vitast), one by one, as many *sticks* as there are—and when dry one span and two finger-breadths⁴—and is to be deposited *in* some place the length of a year, and water is not to be dropped upon *it*; and *it is* drawn out *after* the length of a year; Sôshyans⁵ said that it is proper as firewood for *ordinary* fires, and Kûshtanô-bûgêd⁶ said that *it is* just as declared in the Avesta: 'The

¹ This is doubtful; the word can be read pirînak, and has the Pers. gloss pîrûzah, 'turquoise,' in some MSS. If read pilînak it might perhaps be taken for 'ivory.' But in Pahl. Vend. VII, 188 it is vafarînô, 'snowy,' and the reading there seems to be 'jet-black *and* snow-white stone-coral;' so here the original meaning may have been 'snow-white and jet-black coral-stone.'

² Vend. VII, 188 says that 'earthen or wooden or porcelain vessels are impure for everlasting.'

³ Meaning, apparently, that they cannot be purified for immediate use.

⁴ That is, one-sixth longer than when green, the vitast being twelve finger-breadths, or nine inches (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note). The purification of firewood, here prescribed, is simply drying it for a year in short lengths; but Vend. VII, 72-82 requires it also to be sprinkled once with water, and to be cut into longer pieces.

⁵ See Chap. I, 3.

⁶ See Chap. I, 4, note.

washed *one*, even then, is proper in dried clothing ¹.
 119. About corn ² they have been unanimous that so much space is polluted as the dead matter comes upon; and of that which is lowered into pits ³, or is wanted *to be so*, and of that which is scattered (*afsta*) at such a place *there are* different opinions; Sôshyans said: 'Should it be of such a place *it* is polluted as much as the dead matter *has* come upon it;' and Gôgôsp ⁴ said: 'Should it be *so it* is all polluted, *and* the straw is all polluted.'

120. A walnut ⁵, through *its* mode of connection, is all polluted, and the washing of both its shell and kernel (*pôst va mazg*) is just like *that of* wood.

121. A pomegranate also is of such nature as a walnut. 122. *As to* the date, when its stalk ⁶ is not connected the date is polluted and the stalk *and* stone (*âstak*) are clean; the washing of the date is just like *that of* corn; and when it is touched upon the stalk, when the stalk, stone, and date are connected, the whole is polluted; *as to* the date when not connected with the stalk, *and* touched at the

¹ Something similar is said in Pahl. Vend. VI, 71.

² According to Vend. VII, 83-93 polluted corn and fodder are to be treated like polluted firewood, but to be cut into pieces of about double the length.

³ Reading *dên gôpân farôstak*; the practice of storing corn in dry pits underground is common in the East and in some parts of Europe. In Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 it is *dên gôpân âvist*, 'concealed in pits.'

⁴ See Chap. I, 3.

⁵ Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 classes the almond with the walnut as a connected fruit, and the date with the pomegranate as a separated one.

⁶ The word is *kûrâpak* or *kûrâzak*, but its meaning is doubtful.

stalk, the date is clean, and the washing of the stone is just like *that of* wood. 123. The pomegranate, citron, quince, apple, pear, and other fruit, when in bearing and the rind (pazâvisnō) is perceptible on it, when dead matter comes upon it *there* is no pollution of it; and when the rind (pazâmisnō) is not perceptible on it, its washing is just like *that of* corn; and rind is ever with the citron¹. 124. *For* meat, butter, milk, cheese, and preserves (rikâr) there is no washing².

CHAPTER III.

1. The clothing of a menstruous woman which they shall take new for her use is polluted, and that which is in use is not polluted³. 2. When a bed-chamber (shâd-aûrvân) is overspread, and a carpet (bûp) is laid upon it and a cushion *on* the two⁴, *and*

¹ Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 says, 'fruit whose rind (pazâv) exists is also just like that in a pod (kûvak), and *for* that which does not remain in a rind, when *pollution* shall come upon it, *there* is no *cleansing* whatever. Afarg said that *there* is ever a rind (pazâvisnō) with the citron.'

² Pahl. Vend. VII, 93 says, '*for* everything separated *there* is a washing, except meat *and* milk.' Articles for which there is no washing cannot be purified.

³ Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5 says, 'when in the place she remains in for the purpose, she does not make the clothing she wears on *her* body polluted, it remains for use within the place.' The meaning is, probably, that clothing already set apart for the purpose does not become further polluted, so as to be unfit for her use. It appears also (Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5) that on the spot where menstruation first appears, not even the twigs uplifted in the sacred ceremony are polluted, unless the circumstances are abnormal.

⁴ This phrase, about the carpet and cushion, is omitted in K20 by mistake.

a woman sits upon *it* and menstruation occurs, when she puts a foot from the cushion on to the carpet, and from the carpet out into the bed-chamber, the carpet and bed-chamber are both polluted, for *they are* taken newly for her use, *but* of the cushion *there* is no pollution for this reason, because *it is* in use.

3. And when she sits on the cushion so that she shall have both the carpet and cushion in use, the bed-chamber is polluted by itself; and when all three shall be in use *there* is no pollution whatever ¹.

4. Just as she knows that *it is* menstruation, in the place *she is* in for the purpose ², first the necklace, then the ear-rings, then the head-fillet (*kambar*), and then the *outer* garments (*gâmak*) are to be put off by her. 5. When in the place she remains in for the purpose, even though she may remain a very long time for that purpose, yet then the *outer* garments are clean, *and there* is no need of leather covering and leather shoes ³.

6. When she knows for certain (*aêvar*) that *it is* menstruation, until the complete changing (*gûharî-danö*) of all *her* garments, and she shall *have* sat down in the place for menstruation ⁴, a prayer is to

¹ §§ 2, 3 are merely corollaries from § 1.

² Or, possibly, 'on the spot *she is* in on the occasion;,' although it would appear from § 5 that the place referred to is the *dashtânistân*, or place of retirement for the unclean.

³ Reading *mask va salmîhâ*, but both reading and meaning are doubtful. The first word may be *muskö*, 'musk,' and the other can be read *sharmgâh*, but, if so, the construction of the sentence is defective, as it stands in the MSS.

⁴ The *dashtânistân*, a comfortless room or cell provided in every Parsi house for unclean persons to retire to, where they can see neither sun, moon, stars, fire, water, sacred vessels, nor righteous men; it ought to be fifteen steps (39½ feet) from fire,

be retained *inwardly*¹. 7. When worship is celebrated a prayer is to be retained² *inwardly*, and should menstruation occur the prayer is to be spoken out by her. 8. When in speaking *out* the prayer should menstruation occur, both afterwards, when the time was certain (*avtġûmân*), and now *she* is certain³. 9. When she retains a prayer *inwardly*, and a call of nature arises, there is no need for her to speak *out* the prayer, for the formula for the call is to be spoken by her⁴.

10. Hands sprinkled in *ceremonial* ablution (*pâdīyâv*), when a menstruous woman sees *them*, become quite unclean (*apâdīyâv*) by *her* look⁵, and even when she looks hastily, and does not see the *sacred* twigs (*baresôm*), it is the same. 11. And *on* the subject of a house (*khânak*-ī *babâ*), when a menstruous *woman* is above *in* it, and the *sacred* twigs

water, and the sacred twigs, and three steps (8 feet) from righteous men (see § 33 and Vend. XVI, 1-10).

¹ This kind of prayer (*Av. vâk*, 'a word or phrase,' Pahl. *vâg*, Pers. *bâz*) is a short formula, the beginning of which is to be muttered in a kind of whisper, or (according to the Pahlavi idiom) it 'is to be taken' and 'retained' inwardly (as a protection while eating, praying, or performing other necessary acts) by strictly abstaining from all conversation, until the completion of the act, when the prayer or *vâg* 'is to be spoken out,' that is, the conclusion of the formula is to be uttered aloud, and the person is then free to speak as he likes. Different formulas are used on different occasions.

² K20 has, 'she retains a prayer.' See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5.

³ The meaning is, however, uncertain.

⁴ The Pahlavi text is as follows: *Amat vâg yakhsenunêd, pê-sînkâr* (Pers. *pêsyâr*) *barâ yâtûnêd, as vâg gûstânô kâr lôit mamas nask-i pavan kâmisn yemalelunisnô*. Compare Pahl. Vend. XVI, 5.

⁵ See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 10.

stand right below, if even fully fifteen steps below, even then the *sacred* twigs are unclean (apâdīyâv)¹; but when not right *below* fifteen steps are plenty.

12. Prepared food which is within three steps of a menstruous woman is polluted by her, and food which she delivers up (barâ pardazêd) from her morning meal (kâsht) is not fit for the evening meal (sâm), nor that which she delivers up from her evening meal for the morning meal; it is not fit even for the same woman²; and water which is within three steps of her, when they shall put *it* into a pail (dûbal) or ablution-vessel (pâdīyâvdân), and shall do *it* without handling (ayadman), is *fit* for the hands in *ceremonial* ablution. 13. When she touches the bedding³ and garments of any one, Sôshyans⁴ said that so much space is to be washed with bull's urine (gômêz) and water; her bedding which touches the bedding of any one does not make *it* polluted.

14. A menstruous woman who becomes clean in three nights is not to be washed till the fifth day; from the fifth day onwards to the ninth day, when-

¹ Pahl. Vend. XVI, 10 says, 'everything, when at the right distance, is proper, except only that one *case*, when uncleanness is above and cleanness also right below; although it be even much below, yet it is not proper.' In such a case the prescribed distance of fifteen steps is not sufficient; therefore, the dashtânistân should be on the ground floor, not over an underground water-tank, nor within fifteen steps of the water in such a tank.

² Or, possibly, ham nêrman may mean 'a companion woman,' when two or more are secluded at the same time. Pahl. Vend. XVI, 17 says, 'food delivered up by a menstruous woman is of no use whatever, it is not proper; in *parts* free from pollution (gavid-varnô), in those likewise it is not proper;' the reading *gavid-varnô* (proposed by Dastûr Hoshangji) is, however, doubtful.

³ Or 'clothing,' vistarg.

⁴ See Chap. I, 3.

ever she becomes clean, *she* is to sit down in cleanliness one day for the sake of her depletion (tîhîk), and then *she* is *fit* for washing; and after nine nights the depletion is no matter¹.

15. A woman who *has* brought forth or miscarried (nasât), during forty days sees whenever *she* is polluted; but when she knows for certain that *she* is *free* from menstruation *she* is, thereupon, to be associated with meanwhile (vadas), from the forty days² onward; but when she knows for certain that *there is something* of it, she is to be considered meanwhile as menstruous.

16. A menstruous woman when she *has* sat one month as menstruous, and becomes clean on the thirtieth day, when at the very same time she became quite clean she also becomes again menstruous, her depletion (tîhîk) is from *its* beginning, and till the fifth day washing is not allowable. 17. And when she is washed from the menstruation, *and has* sat three days in cleanliness, and again becomes menstruous as from the beginning, four days are to be watched through by her, and the fifth day is for washing³. 18. When she *has* become *free*

¹ See Pahl. Vend. XVI, 22. The Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 19) prescribes a fixed period of seven days, except in abnormal cases.

² The same period of seclusion as appointed by the Hebrew law, after the birth of a man child (see Lev. xii. 2-4). The Avesta law (Vend. V, 135-159) prescribes only twelve nights' seclusion, divided into two periods of three and nine nights respectively, as the Hebrew woman's seclusion is divided into periods of seven and thirty-three days.

³ The substance of §§ 16, 17 is given in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 22, but in language even more obscure than here. The washing mentioned here is merely for the first menstruation; that for the second one being prescribed in § 18.

from the second menstruation she is not in cleanliness *for* nine days *and* nights,—these days *and* nights are for watching,—*and* then *she* is to be washed; when the nine days *and* nights are completed, on the same day washing is good¹.

19. Of leucorrhœa (*kitharak*)², when it *has* quite changed colour, that which comes on before *and* also that which is after menstruation, the pollution is just like *that of* menstruation.

20. When she *has* become so completely clean from menstruation that her washing may be as usual (*dastôbarag hâe*), she does not make the *sacred* twigs (*baresôm*), *nor* even other things, polluted *when* beyond three steps.

21. On account of severe cold it is allowable *for her* to sit out towards³ the fire; and while she washes a prayer (*vâg*) is to be taken *inwardly* by her⁴, and the washing of her hands, except with bull's urine (*gômêz*), is not proper till *then*; and when *they are* washed by her, two hundred noxious creatures are to be destroyed by her as atonement for sin.

22. A woman who goes beyond the period of menstruation⁵, and, afterwards, sees *she* is polluted, when her pregnancy is certain—except when her

¹ In such abnormal cases the Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 25-28) prescribes seven days' seclusion after recovery.

² Av. *kithra*, see explanation of *kitharak-hômand* (Av. *kithra-vand*) in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 1, 34.

³ *Dastûr Jâmâspji* reads *val bavan-i âtâsh*, 'to the part of the fire.' From what follows it would seem doubtful whether this distant approach to the fire is allowable until she is ready for washing.

⁴ See § 6, note.

⁵ Or, 'goes up from the place of menstruation.'

miscarriage (*nasât yehevûntanô*) is evident—is then to be washed with bull's urine and water; when her pregnancy is not certain *she* is to be considered as menstruous. 23. Some say¹, moreover, that when miscarriage is certainly manifest *she* is, meanwhile, to be considered as menstruous. 24. Some say that when *she* is doubtful about the miscarriage she is to be washed with ceremony².

25. And for any one³ who comes in contact with a menstruous woman, or with the person whom it is necessary to wash with water and bull's urine, *it* is the root of a sin of sixty stîrs⁴. 26. And for whom-ever knowingly has sexual intercourse with a menstruous woman *it* is the root of a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars and sixty stîrs⁵.

27. Of a menstruous *woman* who sees a fire the sin is one Farmân⁶, and when she goes within three steps *it* is one Tanâpûhar, and when she puts a hand on the fire itself⁷ *it* is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars; and *in* like manner *as to* the ashes⁸ and *water* goblet⁹. 28. When she looks at water *it* is a

¹ Literally, 'there is *one* who says thus.'

² See Chap. II, 65.

³ Reading *aîs* instead of *adînas*, 'then for him.'

⁴ That is, the sin is a Khôr (see Chap. I, 2).

⁵ According to the Avesta (Vend. XV, 23, 24) he becomes a *peshôtanu* (Pahl. *tanâpûhar*). The Hebrew law (Lev. xv. 24) makes him unclean for seven days.

⁶ See Chap. I, 2. That it was sinful for her to look at fire, even in Avesta times, appears from Vend. XVI, 8.

⁷ Literally, 'on the body of the fire.'

⁸ That *libûsyâ* means 'ashes' appears from Pahl. Vend. V, 150; literally it is *Huzvârîs* for 'clothing or covering,' and is so used in Pahl. Vend. VI, 106, VII, 122. Metaphorically, ashes are the clothing of the fire.

⁹ Reading *dûbalak*; but the word is doubtful. Possibly it

sin of one Farmân; when she sits in water *it* is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars; and when through disobedience she walks out in the rain every single drop is a sin of fifteen Tanâpûhars for her. 29. And the sun and other luminaries are not to be looked at by her, and animals and plants are not to be looked at by her, and conversation with a righteous man is not to be held by her; for a fiend so violent is that fiend of menstruation¹, *that*, where another fiend does not smite anything with a look (akhsh), it smites with a look.

30. *As to* a house² in which is a menstruous woman, the fire of that house is not to be kindled; food which is delivered up from before a menstruous woman is not proper for the same woman³.

31. A tray-cloth (khvânǎ gâmak) which stands before *her*, when it is not in contact with her, is not polluted; a table-napkin (pataskhûr) when apart from *her* thigh, *and* contact does not occur, is proper⁴.

32. When *one*⁵ wishes to consecrate the sacred cakes (drôn)⁶, when *one* holds up the *sacred* twigs

should be read gôbarak for gâv-bar, 'bull's produce,' referring to the bull's urine which, with ashes, is prescribed (Vend. V, 148) as the first food for a woman after miscarriage.

¹ The demoness Gêh (see Bund. III, 3-9).

² By khânak, 'house, abode,' must here be understood merely the woman's place of seclusion. K20 inserts âtâs dên after mûn, which renders it possible (by assuming another preposition) to translate as follows: '*As to* a house in which is a fire, the fire in that house is not to be kindled by a menstruous woman.'

³ See § 12.

⁴ Fit to use again.

⁵ Perhaps we should read '*she*' throughout this section, as a woman can perform these rites among women (see Chap. X, 35).

⁶ The drôn (Av. draona, corrupted into drûn or darûn by

(baresôm)¹ from the twig-stand (baresôm-dân), and menstruation occurs, and just as it came to *one's* knowledge *one* puts down the *sacred* twigs and goes out, the *sacred* twigs are not polluted.

Pâz. writers) is a small round pancake or wafer of unleavened bread, about the size of the palm of the hand. It is made of wheaten flour and water, with a little clarified butter, and is flexible. A drôn is converted into a frasast by marking it on one side, before frying, with nine superficial cuts (in three rows of three each) made with a finger-nail while thrice repeating the words humat hûkht huvarst, 'well-thought, well-said, well-done,' one word to each of the nine cuts. Any drôn or frasast that is torn must not be used in any ceremony. In the drôn ceremony two drôns are placed separately by the priest upon a very low table before him, on its left side, the nearer one having a small piece of butter (gâus hudhau) upon it; two frasasts are similarly placed upon its right-hand side, the farther one having a pomegranate twig (urvarâm) upon it; and between this and the farther drôn an egg is placed. The sacred twigs (baresôm) must also be present on their stand to the left of the priest, and a fire or lamp must stand opposite him, on the other side of the table. The priest recites a certain formula of consecration (chiefly Yas. III, 1-VIII, 9), during which he uplifts the sacred twigs, and mentions the name of the angel, or of the guardian spirit of a deceased person, in whose honour the ceremony is performed. After consecration, pieces are broken off the drôns by the officiating priest, and are eaten by himself and those present, beginning with the priests (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396, 407, 408, AV. p. 147).

¹ The baresôm (Av. baresma) consists of a number of slender rods or tâf (Pahl. tâf), formerly twigs of some particular trees, but now thin metal wires are generally used. The number of these twigs varies according to the nature of the ceremony, but is usually from five to thirty-three. These twigs are laid upon the crescent-shaped tops of two adjacent metal stands, each called a mâh-rû, 'moon-face,' and both together forming the baresôm-dân or 'twig-stand.' The baresôm is prepared for the sacred rites by the recital of certain prayers by the officiating priest, during which he washes the twigs with water, and ties them together with a kûstîk or girdle formed of six thread-like ribbons split out of a leaflet of the date-palm and twisted together; this girdle, being

33. And during her menstruation *she* is to be so seated that, from her body, *there* are fifteen steps of three feet to water, fifteen steps to fire, fifteen steps to the *sacred* twigs, and three steps to a righteous man¹. 34. And her food is to be carried forth in iron or leaden *vessels*; and the person (*valman*) who shall carry forth the food stands at three steps away from her². 35. When worship is celebrated, every time at the dedication (*shnûmanê*)³ of the consecration of sacred cakes (*drôn yast*) *it* is to be uttered aloud *by her*; some say the *Ithâ and Ashem-vohû*⁴.

CHAPTER IV.

1. A *sacred thread-girdle* (*kûstîk*), should it be made of silk (*parvand*), is not proper; the hair (*pashm*) of a hairy goat and a hairy camel is

passed twice round the twigs, is secured with a right-handed and left-handed knot on one side, and is then passed round a third time and secured with a similar double knot on the other side, exactly as the *kûstîk* or sacred thread-girdle is secured round the waist of a Parsi man or woman (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396-399).

¹ See Vend. XVI, 9, 10. All the ceremonial apparatus must be kept as far removed as the sacred twigs.

² See Vend. XVI, 11-14, which states that the food is to be carried forth on iron, lead, or the basest metal.

³ This is the time when the name of the angel or spirit is mentioned, in whose honour the cakes are consecrated (see § 32, note on *drôn*, and Chap. VII, 8).

⁴ The *Ithâ* is Yas. V (so called from its first word), which forms a part of the *drôn yast* or formula of consecration (see § 32, note on *drôn*). The *Ashem-vohû* is probably that in Yas. VIII, 9, which concludes the consecration. The same details are given in Pahl. Vend. XVI, 17. These prayers also form a portion of all ceremonial worship, including the Yazisn.

proper, and from *other* hairy creatures (mûyīnō) it is proper among the lowly (nakhêzīk). 2. The least fulness¹ necessary for *it* is exactly three finger-breadths; when *it* is exactly three finger-breadths altogether² from one side, *and* when the rest is cut off, it is proper. 3. When *one* retains the prayer *inwardly*³ and has tied his girdle, and ties *it* anew once again, he will untie that which he has tied, *and* it is not proper⁴.

4. Cloth of thick silk brocade (dīpākō) and figured silk (parnīkânō) is not good for girdling⁵; and *cloth* of hide when the hair is stripped from it, of wool, of hair, of cotton, of dyed silk, and of wood⁶ is proper for shirting (sapīkīh). 5. Four finger-breadths of shirt⁷ is the measure of *its* width *away*

¹ Literally, 'width;' that is, *extra* width, or slackness round the waist, as the girdle sits very loosely over a loose shirt; or, as the text implies, the slackness ought to admit three fingers together, projecting edgeways from the waist. After tying it so loosely, any unnecessary length of string may be cut off, when the girdle is put on for the first time. The necessary looseness is again mentioned in Chap. X, 1.

² Literally, 'extreme to extreme;' rôēsman-â-rôēsman being Huzvāris for sarāsar.

³ That is, has begun the prayer formula (requisite while tying on the girdle) with a *bâz* or muttered prayer (see Chap. III, 6, note).

⁴ The meaning appears to be that he must not tie the girdle a second time without recommencing the prayer formula.

⁵ This word, ayībyâēg, hânīh, is chiefly a transcript from the Avesta name of the kûstīk or girdle, aiwyzunghana. Probably garments in general are meant.

⁶ Perhaps dārīn may mean cloth of bark, hemp, or flax here.

⁷ The sacred shirt, worn by Parsis of both sexes (young children excepted) in India, is a very loose tunic of white muslin, with very short loose sleeves covering part of the upper arm. It is called sadaro (Pers. sudarah) in Gugarāti, and shapīk (Pers. shabī) in Pahlavi.

from each side, from the neck to the skirt (parîk); and *as to* the length before and behind, as much as is proper to cover up is good. 6. So much length and breadth, when it is double or thickened ¹, are not proper; when on the separation (dûrmânak) of the two folds *one* remains clothed on one side, both when he wears the girdle (kûstîk), *and* when he does not wear the girdle, even then it is not undress (vishâdakth) ².

7. When a shirt of one fold is put on, *and* the skirt has concealed both sides, the girdle is tied over it, *and* it is proper. 8. When two shirts are put on, and they shall tie the girdle over that which is above, then *it* is for him a root of the sin owing to ³ running about uncovered ⁴.

9. By a man and woman, until fifteen years of age, *there* is no committal of *the sin of* running about uncovered ⁵; *and* the sin of unseasonable

¹ Assuming that aîtabarîd stands for astabarîd; the Huz. aît being substituted for the Pâz. ast. The text appears to refer to lined or stuffed shirts, such as would be very suitable for the cold winters of Persia, like the clothing padded with cotton wool used by natives of the cooler parts of India in the cold season.

² That is, the degree of nakedness which is sinful (see §§ 8-10).

³ Kzo has lâ, 'not,' instead of râî, 'owing to;' this would reverse the meaning of the sentence, but it is not the usual place for the negative particle.

⁴ This sin is called vishâd-dûbârisnîh; it is mentioned in Pahl. Vend. V, 167, VII, 48, but not described there. The usual definition of the sin is 'walking about without the sacred thread-girdle;' and it is generally classed with the two other Parsi sins of 'walking with one boot' and 'making water on foot' (see AV. XXV, 5, 6); sometimes a fourth Parsi sin, 'unseasonable chatter,' is associated with them, as in the text, but this is supposed to be punished in a different manner in hell (see AV. XXIII).

⁵ Indicating that it is not absolutely necessary to wear the sacred thread-girdle till one is fifteen years old (see Chap. X, 13).

chatter¹ arises after fifteen years of age². 10. The sin of running about uncovered, as far as three steps, is a Farmân each step; at the fourth step *it* is a Tanâpûhar³ *sin*.

11. A girdle to which *there* is no fringe is proper; and when they shall tie a woman's ringlet (gurs)⁴ *it* is not proper.

12. Walking with one boot⁵ as far as four steps is

¹ This sin is called drâyân-gûyisnîh, literally, 'eagerness for chattering,' and consists in talking while eating, praying, or at any other time when a prayer (vâg) has been taken inwardly and is not yet spoken out; many details regarding it are given in the next chapter. The sin consists in breaking the spell, or destroying the effect, of the vâg.

² This is modified by Chap. V, 1, 2.

³ See Chap. I, 1, 2. These particulars are deduced by the Pahlavi commentator from Vend. XVIII, 115, which refers, however, to a special case of going without girdle and shirt. He says (Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 116), 'so that as far as the fourth step it is not more than (ai) a Srôshô-karanâm, and at the fourth step it amounts to the root of a Tanâpûhar within him; some say that *he* is within what is allowed him in going three steps. When he walks on very many steps it is also not more than a Tanâpûhar, *and* when he stops again *it* is counted from the starting-point' (compare § 12).

⁴ Probably referring to the possibility of tying the girdle over a woman's hair, when hanging loose down to her waist. The present custom among Parsi women in India is to cover up the whole of their hair with a white handkerchief tied closely over the head; but whether this is an ancient custom is uncertain.

⁵ This sin, which is mentioned in Bund. XXVIII, 13, is called aê-mûk-dûbârisnîh or khadû-mûk-dûbârisnîh, literally, 'running in one boot,' and is usually so understood, but how there can be any risk of the committal of so inconvenient an offence is not explained. Dastûr Hoshangji thinks that aê-mûk, 'one boot,' was formerly written avî-mûk, 'without boots;' and no doubt avî is sometimes written exactly like khadû, 'one,' (indicating, possibly, a phonetic change of avî into agvi). Perhaps, however, the word alludes to the Persian practice of wearing an outer boot

a Tanâpûhar *sin*, when with one¹ movement; and after the fourth step as much as *one* shall walk is a Tanâpûhar; and when he sits down and walks on the sin is the same that *it would be* from his starting-point (bûnth); and *there were some* who said *it* is a Tanâpûhar for each league (parasang).

13. At night, when they lie down, the shirt *and* girdle are to be worn, for *they are* more protecting for the body, and good for the soul. 14. When they lie down with the shirt and girdle, before sleep *one* shall utter one Ashem-vohû², and with every coming and going of the breath (vayô) is a good work of three Srôshô-karanâms³; and if in that

(mûk) over an inner one of thinner leather, when walking out of doors; so that the sin of 'running in one pair of boots' would be something equivalent to walking out in one's stockings; and this seems all the more probable from the separate account of walking 'without boots or stockings,' avîmûgak, given in Chap. X, 12. But whatever may have been the original meaning of the word, Parsis nowadays understand that it forbids their walking without shoes; this should be recollected by any European official in India who fancies that Parsis ought to take off their shoes in his presence, as by insisting on such a practice he is compelling them to commit what they believe to be a serious sin.

¹ Assuming that hanâ, 'this,' stands for aê, 'one' (see p. 218, note 3). The amount of sinfulness in walking improperly shod appears to be deduced from that incurred by walking improperly dressed (see § 10).

² See Bund. XX, 2. The same details are given in Chap. X, 24.

³ The Av. sraoshô-karana appears to have been a scourge with which offenders were lashed by the assistant priests (see Vend. III, 125, 129, IV, 38, &c.), and a Srôshô-karanâm was, therefore, originally one lash with a scourge. As the gravity of an offence was measured by the number of lashes administered, when this term was transferred from the temporal to the spiritual gravity of sin, it was considered as the unit of weight by which sins were estimated; and, by a further process of reasoning, the good works

sleep decrease occurs, his renunciation of sin is accomplished¹.

CHAPTER V.

1. Of unseasonable chatter² that of children of five years of age has no root; and from five years till seven years, when *one* is under the tuition of his

necessary for counterbalancing sins were estimated by the same unit of weight. Regarding the amount of a Srôshô-*karanâm* there is much uncertainty; according to Chap. XVI, 5 and Pahl.Vend. VI, 15 it is the same as a Farmân, and this appears to be the case also from a comparison of § 10 with Pahl.Vend. XVIII, 116 (see note on § 10); but according to Chap. XI, 2 it is half a Farmân, and the Farmân is also probably the degree meant by the frequent mention of three Srôshô-*karanâms* as the least weight of sin or good works that will turn the scale in which the soul's actions are weighed after death (see Chap. VI, 3). This uncertainty may perhaps have arisen from aê, 'one,' and the cipher 3 being often written alike in Pahlavi. But, besides this uncertainty, there is some discordance between the various accounts of the actual weight of a Srôshô-*karanâm*, as may be seen in Chaps. X, 24, XI, 2, XVI, 5. As a weight the Srôshô-*karanâm* is not often mentioned in the Pahlavi Vendidad, for wherever it translates the Av. sraoshô-*karana* it means 'lashes with a scourge;' but the weight of one Srôshô-*karanâm* is mentioned in Pahl.Vend. VI, 15, three Srôshô-*karanâms* in IV, 142, VII, 136, XVII, 11, XVIII, 55, 116, and five Srôshô-*karanâms* in XVI, 8.

¹ Patîtikîh, 'the dropping' or renunciation of sin, is effected by confessing serious offences to a high-priest, and also by the recitation of a particular formula called the Patit, in which every imaginable sin is mentioned with a declaration of repentance of any such sins as the reciter may have committed. The priest ordains such atonement as he thinks necessary, but the remission of the sins depends upon the after performance of the atonement and the effectual determination to avoid such sins in future (see Chap. VIII, 1, 2, 8).

² See Chap. IV, 9.

father *and* innocent¹, it has no root *in* him, and when sinful it has root *in* the father². 2. And from eight years till *they are* man and woman of fifteen years, if even *one* is innocent during the performance of the ritual (yastô), but is able to say its Ithâ and Ashem-vohû³, and does not say *them*, *it* is the root of unseasonable chatter for him⁴; and when *he* is able to perform *his* ritual by heart (narm), and says *only* the Ithâ *and* Ashem-vohû, some *have* said that such is as when his ritual is not performed *and there* is no offering (yastôfrîd), and some *have* said that it is not unseasonable chatter.

3. Unseasonable chatter *may* occur at every ceremonial (yazisnô); *for* him who has performed the ritual *it* is a Tanâpûhar *sin*⁵; *for* him who has not performed the ritual *it* is less, some *have* said three Srôshô-karanâms⁶. 4. The measure of unseasonable chatter is a Tanâpûhar *sin*; this is where every ceremony, or every morsel, or every *drop of* urine is not completed⁷. 5. Of the unseasonable chatter of

¹ That is, intending no harm, as contrasted with sinful or wilful chatter in defiance of instruction.

² Because the father is supposed to be responsible, in the next world, for the sins of the child, even as he will profit by its good works (see Chaps. X, 22, XII, 15).

³ See Chap. III, 35.

⁴ Inattention to prayers evinced by improper silence is thus put upon the same footing as inattention evinced by improper talking. This portion of the sentence is omitted in K20.

⁵ See Chap. I, 1, 2. It is a greater sin in the officiating priests than in the other persons present at the ceremony.

⁶ Probably a Farmân sin (see Chap. IV, 14, note).

⁷ Referring to the three principal occasions when a prayer (vâg) is taken inwardly and retained until the completion of the action; during which time it is unlawful to say anything but the prescribed prayers (see Chap. III, 6, note).

him who has not performed the ritual Afarg¹ said this degree is slighter; Mêdôk-mâh¹ said both are alike, and he spoke further of this, since for him who has not performed the ritual, and does not attend to² saying its Ithâ and Ashem-vohû, it is more severe than for him who has performed the ritual, and does not attend to consecrating its sacred cake (drôn). 6. Mêdôk-mâh said that it (the ceremonial)³ does not become Gêtd-kharîd⁴; Afarg said that it amounts to an offering (yastôfrîd)⁵ for every one, except for that person who *knows* the ritual by heart, and through sinfulness will not perform *it*; and it becomes *his* at the time when, during his life *and* by his command, it is recited with this intention, namely: 'I wish to do *it*, my faith (astôbânîh) is in the religion⁶.'

7. The deaf and dumb when it is not possible for him to say an Ashem does not commit unseasonable chatter⁷; and when it is possible for him to say an Ashem he shall three times say of it, 'Ashem, ashem, ashem;' and if it be possible for him to say

¹ See Chap. I, 3.

² Literally, 'believe or trust to.'

³ During which unseasonable chatter occurs.

⁴ Generally written Gêtd-kharîd (see Bund. XXX, 28); but, perhaps, we should here read yastôfrîd, 'offering,' though gêtôk-kharîd occurs in Chap. XII, 30.

⁵ The MSS. have merely stôfrîd, which differs from the foregoing gêtô-kharîd only in one Pahlavi letter, so we should probably read the same word in both cases, but which of them it ought to be is uncertain.

⁶ Meaning, apparently, that he can obtain the benefit of any past ceremony, forfeited by wilful negligence, by repentance and a repetition of the ceremony during his lifetime.

⁷ By omitting to say it (see § 2). This clause of the sentence is omitted in K20.

'ithâ' and 'ashem-vohû' it is well, and when it is only possible for him to say 'ithâ' it matters not¹.

CHAPTER VI.

1. The deaf and dumb and helpless (*armêst*)², though of unblemished conduct and proper disposition, is incapable of doing good works, and from the *time* when he is born till the *time* when he shall die, all the duty and good works which they may perform in the world become his property (*nafs-man*) as much as his even by whom *they* are performed; some say that it is thus: as much as they belong to Zaratûst³. 2. Though he does not do the good works not really originating with (*ahambûnikê*) him, and does not commit the sin not really originating with *him*, *it* is better than though *he were* able to do the good works not really originating with him, *and* should not do *them*; but should commit the sin not really originating with *him*; when, afterwards, he passes away, and then also comes to *his* account as to sin and good works, when the good works not really originating with him are more *he is* in heaven (*vahist*), when the sin

¹ That is, any one barely able to speak must repeat so much of the indispensable prayers as he is able to pronounce, otherwise he will commit sin.

² That is, any one compelled to remain stationary or secluded, owing to bodily or mental infirmity (see Chap. II, 98); an idiot, or insane person, is probably meant here.

³ This comment seems to imply that its writer was translating from an Avesta text, and here met with a word which some persons thought contained a reference to Zaratûst, but which he first translated so as to suit the context; perhaps Av. zarazdâiti may be suggested.

not really originating with *him* is more *he is* in hell, and when both are equal *he is* among the ever-stationary (hamîstakân)¹. 3. When the good works are three Srôshô-karanâms² more than the sins *he is* in heaven (vahist), when the good works are one Tanâpûhar more he attains to the best existence (pâhlûm ahvân)³, when his ceremony (yast) is per-

¹ That is, he is treated, with regard to the actions merely imputed to him, precisely as all others are with regard to their own actions. With reference to the hamîstakân, Ardâ-Vîrâf states (AV. VI, 2, 5-12) that on his journey to the other world he 'saw the souls of several people who remain in the same position,' and he was informed that 'they call this the place of the Hamîstakân ("those ever-stationary"), and these souls remain *in* this place till the future existence; and *they are* the souls of those people whose good works and sin were equal. Speak out to the worldlings thus: "Consider not the easier good works with avarice and vexation! for every one whose good works are three Srôshô-karanâms more than *his* sin is for heaven, *they* whose sin is more are for hell, they *in* whom both are equal remain among these Hamîstakân till the future existence." And their punishment is cold or heat from the changing of the atmosphere; and they have no other adversity.'

² Probably equivalent to a Farmân sin (see Chaps, I, 1, 2, IV, 14, note).

³ This appears to be another name for Garôdmân, 'the abode of song,' which is the highest heaven, or dwelling of Aûharmazd. The lower heaven is here called Vahist, which is a general term for heaven in general. AV. VII-X, XVII, 27, and Mkh. VII, 9-12, 20, 21 describe four grades in heaven and four in hell, besides the intermediate neutral position of the Hamîstakân (AV. VI, Mkh. VII, 18, 19). The four grades of heaven, proceeding upwards, are Hûmat for good thoughts in the station of the stars, Hûkht for good words in the station of the moon, Hûvarst for good deeds in the station of the sun, and Garôdmân where Aûharmazd dwells (Vend. XIX, 121). And the four grades of hell, proceeding downwards, are Dûs-hûmat for evil thoughts, Dûs-hûkht for evil words, Dûs-hûvarst for evil deeds, and the darkest hell (Vend. XIX, 147) where the evil spirit dwells. The pâhlûm ahvân of

formed¹. 4. Sôshyans² said that to come into that best existence it is not necessary to perform the ceremony, for when his good works are one³ Tanâpûhar more than the sin he attains to the best existence, and no account is *taken* of performing his ceremony; because in the heavenly existence (garôdmânîkîh) it is not necessary to perform a ceremony, for an excess of good works must attain Garôdmân⁴. 5. As Sôshyans said, in heaven (vahist) he who is below is elevated to him who is above; *and* it says thus: 'Happy indeed art thou, O man! who art in any way near unto that imperishable existence⁵.'

6. Kûshtanô-bûgêd⁶ said that an infidel (ak-dînô)⁷, when *his* good works are one Tanâpûhar more than *his* sin, is saved from hell.

the text is merely the Pahlavi form of Av. vahistem ahûm (Vend. VII, 133, XVIII, 69, XIX, 120, Yas. IX, 64), whence the term vahist (Pers. bahist) is also derived.

¹ That is, when his surviving relatives have performed the proper religious ceremonies after his death.

² See Chap. I, 3.

³ Reading aê, 'one,' and supposing that this Pâz. form has been substituted for an original Huz. khadûk, 'one.' This supposition being necessary to account for the aê preceding its noun, instead of following it; and without it we ought to read 'three' instead of 'one,' which seems, however, hardly reconcileable with the context (but compare Pahl. Vend. VII, 136). This is an instance of the ambiguity occasioned by aê, 'one,' and the cipher 3 being often written alike in Pahlavi, as already noticed in p. 289, note 3. The word might also be taken as the conditional verbal form aê, 'shall be,' but in that case it is likewise misplaced.

⁴ See note on pâhlûm ahvân in § 3.

⁵ A somewhat similar exclamation to that in Vend. VII, 136.

⁶ See Chap. I, 4, note.

⁷ That is, one of another religion; not an apostate, nor an atheist.

7. Of a pure law (*dâd*) are we of the good religion, and we are of the primitive faith; of a mixed law are *those* of the Sînik congregation¹; of a vile

¹ It is not easy to identify this Sînik *vaskardîh*, but Professor J. Darmesteter suggests that the term may have been applied to the Manicheans settled in eastern Turkistân and western China, whence they may have been called Sînik (the country of the Sênî, Av. Sâini, being identified with Kînstân or China in Bund. XV, 29, because *T*Sîn is the Arabic name of the latter). This is confirmed, to some extent, by a passage in the *Dînkard* (see Dastûr Pêshôtan's edition of the Pahlavi text, p. 27), where three foreign religions are mentioned, that of the Jews from Arûm, that of the Messiah from the west, and that of Mânih from Turkistân. Darmesteter further points out the following passages in Barbier de Meynard's French translation of *Mas'aûdî*, which show that the Manicheans had considerable influence in eastern Turkistân as late as A.D. 944:—

(Meynard, I, 268): '... the Turks, the Khuzlug, and the Taghazghaz, who occupy the town of Kûrân, situated between Khurâsân and China, and who are now (A.D. 944) the most valiant, most powerful, and best governed of all the Turkish races and tribes. Their kings bear the title of *îrkhân* ("sub-khân"), and they alone, among all these nations, profess the religion of Mânî.'

Again, after stating that the Chinese were at first Samanians (Buddhists), it is added (Meynard, II, 258): 'Their kingdom is contiguous to that of the Taghazghaz, who, as we have said above, are Manicheans, and proclaim the simultaneous existence of the two principles of light and darkness. These people were living in simplicity, and in a faith like that of the Turkish races, when there turned up among them a demon of the dualist sect, who showed them, in tempting language, two opposing principles in everything that exists in the world, such as life and death, health and sickness, riches and poverty, light and darkness, union and separation, connection and severance, rising and setting, existence and non-existence, night and day, &c. Then, he spoke to them of the various ailments which afflict rational beings, animals, children, idiots, and madmen; and he added that God could not be responsible for this evil, which was in distressing contradiction to the excellence which distinguishes his works, and that he was

law are the Zandîk¹, the Christian (Tarsâk), the Jew (Yahûd), and others of this sort (sanô)².

CHAPTER VII.

1. The morning sun it is necessary to reverence (yastanô) till midday, and that of midday it is necessary to reverence till the afternoon time, and that of the afternoon time it is necessary to reverence till night³; whenever *one* is quite prepared

above any such imputation. By these quibbles, and others like them, he carried away their minds, and made them adopt his errors.'

The tenets of the Manicheans ought, no doubt, to have been considered by the Zoroastrians as a mixture of truth and error, just as those of the Sînfk congregation are represented to be in our text; but such tenets being an heretical offshoot of Zoroastrianism, it argues unusual liberality in the priests if they preferred Manicheans to Christians, that is, heretics to infidels.

K20 has altered sînfk vaskardâh into nisînfk (or vîdînfk) sikaftîh, which appears to be an attempt to bring the words within the limits of the writer's knowledge, without paying much attention to their collective meaning.

¹ A sect which (according to its name) probably adhered to a certain heretical interpretation (zand) in preference to the orthodox Avesta and Zand. Nêryôsang, in his Sanskrit version of Mkh. XXXVI, 16, explains a Zandîk as one who 'thinks well of Aharmān and the demons.'

² Unless this paragraph be a continuation of the quotation from Kûshtanô-bûgêd's commentary, which seems unlikely, its contents have an important bearing upon the age of the Shâyast lâ-shâyast. As it does not mention Muhammadanism by name it could hardly have been written after the fall of the Sasanian dynasty, when that new faith had become much more important, in Persia, than those of the Christians and Jews.

³ Referring to the recitation of the Khûrshêd Nyâyis, or 'salutation of the sun,' which should be performed thrice a day, in the Hâvan, Rapîtvîn, and Aûzêrîn Gâhs, or periods of the day (see

for activity (khvēskārth), and shall then do reverence, it is proper. 2. And when anything of that happens which *indicates* when it is not proper to wash the hands, and about this he considers that when he does not reverence the sun it will stop¹, *at* the time previous *to that* in which it occurs the sun is to be fully revered by him, and, afterwards, when *his* hands are washed, it is to be revered again; and when he does not reverence *it*, except when innocent through not reverencing *it*², then it becomes irreverence (lā yast) of the sun *for* him³.

3. *As to* the sun it is better when *one* reverences *it* every time at the proper period (pavan gâs-i nafsman); when he does not reverence *it for* once *it* is a sin of thirty stlrs⁴. 4. Reverencing the sun is every time a good work of one Tanâpûhar⁵; and *so* of the moon and fire *in* like manner⁶. 5. When on account of cloudiness the sun is not visible (pêdâk), and *one* shall reverence *it*, it is proper.

Bund. XXV, 9); a few sentences in the Nyâyis, or formula of salutation, are altered to suit the particular Gâh in which it is recited.

¹ K20 has, 'it will protect *it*;' having read netrûnêd instead of ketrûnêd in its original. To pray with unwashed hands would be sinful (see Pahl. Vend. XIX, 84).

² That is, except when the omission is to avoid a worse evil, as in the instance just mentioned.

³ Or, perhaps, 'it does not become a Khûrshêd Yast ("a formula of praise in honour of the sun") *for* him.' This Yast forms a part of the Nyâyis.

⁴ That is, an Aredûs sin (see Chap. I, 2). M6 has, 'when he does not reverence *it* again.'

⁵ That is, a good work sufficient to counterbalance a Tanâpûhar sin, which puts the performance of a Nyâyis on the same footing as the consecration of a sacred cake or drôn (see Chap. XVI, 6).

⁶ The moon and fire have each a separate Nyâyis.

6. And while *one* does not reverence the sun, the good works which they do that day are not their own; some say that of the good works which they do within the law (*dâd*) of the good religion he has no share. 7. While they do not wash dirty hands any good work which they do is not their own, for while *one* does not utterly destroy corruption (*na-sûs*)¹ *there* is no coming of the angels to his body, and when *there* is no coming of the angels to his body he has no steadfastness in the religion, and when he has no steadfastness in the religion no good work whatever reaches unto him.

8. When *one* wishes to perform the propitiation (*shnûman*)² of fire, it is allowable to perform one '*âthrô*' by itself, and, when two *and* the '*mad vîspaêibyô âterebyô*,' these three are thus the propitiation everywhere³; some say that it would be proper to perform *it* while allowable, except that of the heterodox.

¹ That is, the demon of corruption, who is supposed to enter and reside in all filth of the nature of dead matter, until expelled or destroyed by cleansing.

² A *shnûman* or *khshnûmanô* (Av. *khshnûman*) is a short formula of praise, reciting all the usual titles of the spirit intended to be propitiated by it, and is used for dedicating the prayers or ceremony specially to his service (see Chaps. III, 35, X, 2, XIV, 3). The propitiatory formulas for the thirty angels and arch-angels who preside over the days of the month constitute the *Sîrôzah*, or form of prayer 'relating to the thirty days.'

³ The propitiation of fire (as given in *Sîrôz*. I, 9, *Âtar Nyâyis* 5, 6) consists of five sentences, each beginning with the word *âthrô*, 'of the fire,' and the last sentence also contains the words *mad vîspaêibyô âterebyô*, 'with all fires.' The meaning of the text appears to be that it is allowable to use only one of these sentences (probably the last), but if two are used besides the last they are amply sufficient for practical purposes.

9. Whoever shall extinguish¹ a fire, by him ten fires are to be gathered together, by him ten punishments are to be endured, by him ten ants are to be destroyed², and by him holy-water (zôhar) is to be presented to the sacred fire (â tâs-i Vâhrâm).

CHAPTER VIII.

1. Sin which *affects* accusers³ is to be atoned for (vigârisn) among the accusers, and that *relating* to

¹ Literally, 'kill.'

² The ant being a creature of the evil spirit, on account of its carrying away corn.

³ Vinâs-i hamêmâlân, 'sin *relating* to adversaries.' Sins appear to be divided into two great classes, hamêmâl and rûbânîk. A hamêmâl sin seems to be any secular offence which injures some person or animal who, thereupon, becomes a hamêmâl, 'accuser' (Av. hameretha, 'opponent,' Yas. LVI, x, 10), and who must first be satisfied by atonement, before confession to the high-priest, or renunciation of sin, can be of any avail for removing the sin (compare Matthew v. 23-26). The Rivâyats assert that if a person dies without atoning for a hamêmâl sin, his soul will be stopped at the *Kinvad* bridge (see Bund. XII, 7) on its way to the other world, and kept in a state of torment until the arrival of the 'accuser,' and after he is satisfied the sinner's soul will be disposed of, in the usual manner, according to the balance of its good and bad actions. It is also probable that only a man of 'the good religion,' or an animal of the good creation, can be an 'accuser.' A rûbânîk sin, on the other hand, seems to be one which affects only the sinner's own soul, and for which the high-priest can prescribe a sufficient atonement. It is doubtful, however, whether the Parsis nowadays have any very clear notions of the exact distinction between these two classes of sins, although aware of their names, which are mentioned in their Patit, or renunciation of sin. The explanations given in some editions of their Khurdah Avesta, or prayer-book, are confined to mentioning certain special instances of each class of sin ; thus,

the soul is to be atoned for among the high-priests (*radân*), and when they do whatever the high-priests of the religion command the sin will depart, and the good works which they may thenceforth do will attain completion (*avaspôrtk*). 2. The sin of him who is worthy of death (*marg-argân*) is to be confessed (*garzisd*) unto the high-priests, *and he* is to deliver up *his* body¹; except *to* the high-priests he is not to deliver up *his* body.

3. On account of the dexterity (*farhâng*) of horsemen it is not *their* business to hunt (*nakhêr kardân*); and it is not allowable for any one else to hunt for game, except *for him* whose wealth is less *than* three hundred stîrs².

murder, seduction, unnecessary slaughter of cattle, embezzlement, slander, seizing land by force, and a few other evil deeds are stated to be *hamêmâl* sins; while unnatural offences and intercourse with women of another race and religion are said to be *rûbânîk* sins. In the Pahlavi Vendidad these classes of sins are rarely mentioned, but *hamêmâlân* occurs in Pahl. Vend. III, 151, IV, 23, XIII, 38; *hamêmâlîh* in III, 119; and *rûbânîk* in XIII, 38; although, perhaps, not always in the sense of sin.

¹ By committing a *marg-argân* or mortal sin, that is, a sin worthy of death, he has forfeited his life, and ought to place it at the disposal of the *rad*, or high-priest.

² This section, intended to preserve game for the poor, is evidently out of place here, as it has no connection with the context. - With reference to the property qualification for hunting, it appears, from a passage in the Persian MS. M5 about the proper dowry for a privileged wife, that 2000 dirhams of silver were worth 2300 *rûpîs*, and that 2 dirhams were $2\frac{1}{2}$ *tolas*; this was written in A.D. 1723, when neither the *rûpî* nor the *tola* were of uniform amount, though now the *rûpî* is exactly a *tola* weight of silver. As the *stîr* was four dirhams (see Chap. I, 2), three hundred *stîrs* would have been 1380 *rûpîs* or 1350 *tolas* of silver, according to the standards mentioned in M5; so that hunting was intended to be confined to those whose property was less than 1350-1380 *rûpîs*; but how

4. The ceremonial worship (*yazisn*) of those worthy of death, which they do not perform by way of renunciation *of sin*¹, is the ceremonial *which* is demon worship; and when the *officiating* priest (*aêrpat*) does not know *it* the merit (*kirfak*) of the ceremonial goes to the store (*gang*) of the angels, and they give the enjoyment which *arises* from that merit in the spiritual *existence* to the soul of that person who *has* at once (*aêvâk*) become righteous in mind.

5. When the mortal sinner (*marg-argânō*) *has* delivered his body and wealth at once to the high-priests, and engages mentally in renunciation as to the sin which *has* occurred, and the high-priests give him *their* decision (*dastōbarīh*) as to duty and good works, the duty and good works which *were* before performed by him come back *to him*; and when they inflict punishment for three nights², he does not enter hell. 6. And if the high-priest orders the cutting off of *his* head *he* is righteous on the spot³, and the three *nights*' (*satûīh*) *ceremony* is to be celebrated for *him*, and the account of the

this limitation is to be reconciled with the fact that hunting was a favourite pursuit of kings and nobles does not appear, unless it be considered as a sacerdotal protest against that practice.

¹ That is, in those cases when they do not have the *yazisn* performed as an atonement for sin, by order of the high-priest after confession.

² This appears to refer to temporal punishment, inflicted by order of the high-priest, for the purpose of saving him from the 'punishment of the three nights' in the other world, mentioned in Bund. XXX, 16.

³ Reading *pavan gînâk*; but M6 marks the phrase as *pavan dînâk* (for *dînâ*), 'through the decree,' which is probably an error.

three *nights* (satûih) does not affect him ¹. 7. And if *he does* not *engage* in renunciation *he is* in hell till the future existence; and in *his* future body they will bring *him* from hell, and for every mortal *sin* they will cut off *his* head once, and the last time they *will* make *him* alive again, and will inflict (numâyend) three *nights'* severe punishment ².

8. However a man engages in renunciation of sin the duty of his state of renunciation (patitih) is to be engaged therein openly and mentally in renunciation; the duty of openness is this, that the sin which he knows *has* assailed him ³, is to be specially confessed (barâ gôbisnô) by him; *and* the mental duty is this, that he engages in renunciation with this thought, that 'henceforth I *will* not commit sin.' 9. And that which occurs before the renunciation, except pious alms, it is well for him not to be overlooked ⁴ by him, *and* not to be kept ⁵ secret by him; for when he shall overlook ⁶, or shall keep secret, about sin committed, it becomes for him as

¹ That is, the usual ceremonies after death are not to be withheld in this world, and his soul is able to pass through the usual investigation, as to his sins and good works, on its way to the other world, without delay. This period of three nights (satûih, 'the triplet'), which Pâzand writers miscall sedôš or sadis, is the time during which the soul is supposed to hover about the body, before finally departing for the other world (see Mkh. II, 114, 158-160, AV. IV, 9-14, XVII, 2-9).

² The same statement is made in nearly the same words in Pahl. Vend. VII, 136. This is the future three nights' punishment for impenitent sinners, mentioned in Bund. XXX, 16.

³ Literally, 'which he knows thus: "It assailed me."'

⁴ Reading avênisnô, but the word can also be read khunînisnô, 'to be made celebrated, to be boasted of.'

⁵ Literally, 'carried on, borne away.'

⁶ Reading avênêd, but it may be khunînêd, 'boast of.'

much, some say, as three Srôshô-karanâms¹; some say that when he keeps secret about a sin of three Srôshô-karanâms he is worthy of death; some say much otherwise². 10. Âtarô-pâd son of Zaratûst³ had remarked (pêdâkînlâ) to a disciple, about this duty, thus: 'Conform to the renunciation of sin!' and one⁴ time a secret was kept by him, and he ordered him thus: 'Henceforth be thou never apparent in this duty!' and after that he looked upon the supplication (avakhshîh) and much repentance of that disciple, and even then he did not become the high-priest (dastôbar) over him.

11. *The rule is*⁵ this, that of those who would be proper for this priestly duty (dastôbarîh), that person is proper who is perfect in (narm) the commentary (zand) of the law, and the punishment of sin is easy for him, and he has controlled himself; some say thus: 'By whom a course of priestly studies (aêrpatastân) is performed.' 12. And the punishment of sin *being* easy for him, and his *having* controlled himself are proper; and when, in danger before a menstruous woman, he engages in renunciation it is proper.

¹ Probably the same as a Farmân sin (see Chaps. I, 1, 2, IV, 14).

² Or 'many other things.'

³ This Âtarô-pâd-i Zaratûstân is mentioned in a manuscript about 500 years old, belonging to Dastûr Jâmâspji, in Bombay, as having lived for 160 years, and having been supreme high-priest for ninety years: he is also mentioned in the sixth book of the Dînkard. He may, possibly, have been the Âtarô-pâd mentioned in B. Yt. I, 7, but it is hazardous to identify an individual by a single name so common as Âtarô-pâd used to be.

⁴ Reading aê, 'one,' instead of hanâ, 'this' (see p. 218, note 3).

⁵ Assuming that the word âfnak has been omitted at the beginning of this section (see Chap. X, 1).

13. Nêryôsang¹ said thus: 'Thou deemest *it* most surprising that, of the renunciation *of sin* with energy, whatever may be its efficacy, they have been so *much* of the same² opinion, so that whenever they perform renunciation, however they perform *it*, and before whomever they perform *it*, whenever a *sin* is not even mentally originating with one³ a renunciation should be performed by him; and when very many mortal sins (*margargân*) are committed by him, and he engages mentally in renunciation of every one separately, he is not on⁴ the way to hell, owing to his renunciation; and if there be one of which he is not in renunciation the way to hell⁵ is not closed to him, for he does not rely upon the beneficence (*sûd*) of Aûharmazd, and it is allowable to appoint a priestly retribution (*rad tûgîsn*) to fully atone for it, and when thou appointest a priestly retribution for it, and dost not fully atone, it is allowable to inflict *it* justly and strongly (*drûbô*).'

14. When his sin is committed against (*dên*)

¹ This cannot be the learned Parsi translator of several Pahlavi texts into Sanskrit, who bore the same name, and is supposed to have lived in the fifteenth century. Being quoted in the Pahlavi Vendidad (see Chap. I, 4, note) he must have been one of the old commentators.

² K20 has *hômanam*, 'I am,' instead of *ham*, 'the same;' a mistake arising from reading *am*, 'I am,' for *ham*.

³ This applies to all cases of merely imputed sin, such as those committed by children, which are imputed to the father, and for which he is spiritually, as well as temporally, responsible.

⁴ Reading *pavan*, 'on,' instead of *barâ*, 'out of' (see p. 176, note 5).

⁵ Most of this clause is omitted in K20 by mistake.

accusers¹ it will be necessary to act so that the head of the family (mīrak) shall not become evil-minded², and shall not divorce the wife from matrimony, and they shall not bring³ *him* on unto him; before his accusers *he* is to be engaged in renunciation, and when not, *he* is to be engaged in renunciation *of the sin* before the high-priests (radân), and it will become debts, and debt does not make a man wicked⁴; its effect is this, that in the future existence they may quite forsake him, and this becomes a great shame, and they disturb (kâvênd) his enjoyment. 15. *As to* the sin which *affects* the accusers, when the female *has* atoned for it, its stem (pâyak) is atoned for; some say that the stem (pâyakghîh) has no root; some say that *it is* just like a tree whose leaves wither away.

16. Sin *relating* to the soul⁵, when *one* engages in renunciation, stays away *from* him; when it shall be fully atoned for *it* is well, and when he does not fully atone they will make him righteous by the three *nights'* (satûîh) punishment. 17. Kûshtanôbûgêd⁶ said that even that which *affects* accusers, when *one* engages in renunciation, stays away *from* him.

¹ Hamêâmâlân (see § 1); the particular instance of hamêâmâl sin here referred to is seduction.

² Reading dûsmînân instead of the unmeaning dûsmîyân of the MSS.

³ Reading yâftyûnâ instead of the unmeaning yâitam of the MSS.; â being often written very much like m in Pahlavi.

⁴ This clause about the hamêâmâl sin becoming a debt, to be settled with the 'accuser,' either here or hereafter, is taken from Pahl. Vend. III, 151.

⁵ That is, rûbânîk sin (see § 1, note).

⁶ See Chap. I, 4, note.

18. Nôšât Bûrz-Mitrô¹ spoke these three sayings, that is, 'Next-of-kin marriage will extirpate mortal sins (marg-argânân), and the *sacred* twigs when their ablution is *such* as *renders them* improper for firewood, and a man when his wife *becomes* pregnant by him.'

19. Whoever commits a sin against (dên) water, *and* kills a lizard, or other noxious water-creature, has atoned for it; also when thou atonest to (dên) fire for that *against* water it is proper², *and* when thou atonest to water for that *against* fire it is proper; some say that even a scorpion is proper *to be killed*. 20. And when a sin of one Tanâpûhar³ is committed by him, and he shall consecrate a sacred cake (drôn), or shall accomplish a good work of one Tanâpûhar⁴, it has atoned for it.

21. When he has committed a mortal *sin* (marg-argân), and engages mentally in renunciation, and the high-priest (rad') knows that, though he ought to give up his body, he *will* not give *it* up, it is allowable when he shall kill him; that is, because he relies upon the beneficence (sûd') of Aûharmazd. 22. Moreover, from the rule (man k) 'yazemna⁵ kad' nâ hakad' ('through being worshipped what then at

¹ See Chap. I, 4, note.

² A blank space is left for this verb in M6, indicating that that MS. was copied from an original already old and not very legible.

³ See Chap. I, 1, 2.

⁴ Consecrating a sacred cake is a Tanâpûhar good work (see Chap. XVI, 6). The theory of counterbalancing sins by good works of the same weight is here clearly enunciated.

⁵ Written izimn in the MSS. This quotation appears to be, from some part of the Avesta, no longer extant, and being only the first words of the passage its exact meaning is very uncertain. The section, generally, seems to refer to the beneficence of Aûharmazd.

once,' &c.) it is evident, and it becomes his through *ceremonial* ablution of the hands; it amounts to a whole quarry (kânǎ) of good works, and the worship of God (yazisn-i yazdânǎ) is to be performed for him¹. 23. Âtarô-pâd² son of Mâraspend said that it is always necessary to be more diligent in performing one's worship of God *at* the time that many mortal *sins* are committed; all sins *being* admissible into renunciation, when thou shalt atone by complete self-sacrifice (pûr-gân-dâdîhâ), *and* when *one* engages in renunciation of the sin from *its* root, he becomes *free* from the sin in renunciation of which sin he engaged; for Aûharmazd will not leave his own creatures unto the evil spirit, unless on the path of non-renunciation.

CHAPTER IX.

1. The greater Hâsar is one part in twelve parts of the day and night, and the lesser Hâsar is one part in eighteen parts³.

¹ It seems that the execution of the sinner after repentance is here considered as furnishing him with a store of good works, so that it is allowable to perform such ceremonies for him, after death, as are usually performed for righteous men; the reason being given in § 23. The end of this section and beginning of the next are omitted in K20.

² Whether the prime minister of Shâpûr II, or the last editor of the Dînkard (see Bund. XXXIII, 3, 11), is not clear.

³ The Hâsar is not only a measure of distance (see Bund. XXVI, 1), but also a measure of time (see Bund. XXV, 5). According to the text here the greater Hâsar must be two hours, and the lesser Hâsar (which is not mentioned in M6) must be one hour and twenty minutes. But Farh. Okh. (p. 43) says, 'dvadasang-hâthrem asti aghrem ayare, "of twelve Hâsars is the

2. The priest (âsrûk) who passes away in idolatry¹ (aûzdâyakth) thou hast considered as desolate (vîrân)²; and there is a high-priest (dastôbar) who is of a different opinion, there is *one* who says *he is as* a non-Iranian (anâîrân) country³. 3. It is declared that, when a supreme high-priest (zaratûstrotûm) passes away in idolatry, an apostate (aharmôk) will be born in that dwelling, and a rumour of this calamity is uttered⁴ by that supreme high-priest.

4. In order to be steadfast in the good religion it is to be discussed with priests *and* high-priests, and when *one* does not discuss it is proper that he do not teach it.

longest day;" the day and night in which is the longest day are twelve of the greatest Hâsars, eighteen of the medium, and twenty-four of the least;' according to which statement there are three kinds of Hâsar, that are respectively equivalent to two hours, one hour and twenty minutes, and one hour. As the longest day is said (Bund. XXV, 4) to be twice the length of the shortest day, and the greatest Hâsar is twice the length of the least one, it may be conjectured that the Hâsar varied with the length of the day, being a subdivision (one-eighth) of the time the sun was above the horizon; this would account for the greatest and least Hâsars, which are one-eighth of the longest and shortest days, respectively; but it does not account for the medium Hâsar, which is not a mean between the two extremes, but one-ninth (instead of one-eighth) of the mean day of twelve hours. If the Hâsar of distance were really a Parasang, as is sometimes stated, the connection between it and the Hâsar of time would be obvious, as the average Hâsar of one hour and twenty minutes is just the time requisite for walking a Parasang, which seems indeed to be stated in Farh. Okh. p. 42.

¹ Or it may be 'passes over into idolatry.'

² K20 has girân, 'grievous.'

³ That is, he reads anâîrân instead of vîrân in the foregoing statement.

⁴ Or, perhaps, 'this calamity is at once announced.'

5. The ceremonial worship (*yazisn*) which they perform in a fire-temple¹, when not *done* aright, does not reach unto the demons; *but* that which they perform *in* other places, when they do not perform *it* aright, does reach unto the demons; for there is no medium in worship, it reaches either unto the angels or unto the demons. 6. Of a man who has relinquished a *bad* habit, and through his good capabilities *engages* in renunciation of *sin*², the good work advances unto the future existence.

7. Any one who shall die in a vessel (*kasttk*) it is allowable, for fear of contamination (*padvîshak*), to throw into the water; some say that the water itself is the receptacle for the dead (*khazânîh*).

8. This, too, *is declared*: 'When in the dark it is not allowable to eat food; for the demons and fiends seize upon one-third of the wisdom and glory of him who eats food in the dark;' and it is declared by that passage (*gîrnâk*) which Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst, thus: 'After the departure of the light let him not devour, with unwashed hands, the water and vegetables of Horvadað and Amerôdað³; for if after the departure of the light thou devourest, with unwashed hands, the water and vegetables of Horvadað and Amerôdað, the fiend seizes away from thee two-thirds of the existing original wisdom

¹ Literally, 'in the dwelling of fires.' The fire must always be sheltered from the sun's rays, and in a fire-temple it is kept in a vaulted cell, with a door and one or two windows opening into the larger closed chamber which surrounds it.

² K20 has, 'and it shall happen through his good capabilities.'

³ The two archangels whose chief duties are the protection of water and plants, respectively (see Chap. XV, 5, 25-29, Bund. IX, 2).

which, when he seizes *it* away, is the glory and religion which are auspicious for thee that day, so that diligence becomes a vexation this day¹.

9. In a passage of the fifth fargard of the *Pâzôn Nask*² it is declared that *one* mentions these charac-

¹ This passage does not appear to be now extant in the Avesta.

² This was the sixth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazda-yasnian literature, according to the *Dînkard*, which calls it *Pâzi* or *Pâzag*; but according to the *Dîni-vagarkard* and the *Rivâyats* it was the seventh nask, called *Pâgam*. For its contents, as given by the *Dîni-vagarkard*, see Haug's Essays, pp. 128, 129. The following is a short summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the *Dînkard* (that published in the Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, pp. 184, 185, being taken from the fifteenth nask, whose contents were mixed up with those of the seventh through the abstraction of several folios from the Iranian MS. of the *Dînkard* before M13, or any other copy, was written in India):—

The *Pâzi* (or *Pâzag*) is about the lawful slaughtering of animals in the ceremonial rites of fire and water at the season-festivals; also where, when, and how the festivals are to be celebrated, their advantages, and the duties of the officiating priests. The rotation of days, months, and years, summer and winter, the ten days at the end of the winter, when the guardian spirits visit the world, and the ceremonies to be then performed. The time for gathering medicinal plants. The retribution necessary for the various sins affecting the soul, the advantage of providing for such retribution, and the harm from not providing it. The thirty-three principal chiefs of the spiritual and worldly existences. The miracles of great good works, and the heinous sinfulness of apostasy. How far a wife can give away her husband's property, and when it is lawful for him to recover it. Whither winter flees when summer comes on, and where summer goes when winter comes on. The amount of disaster (*vôighn*) in one century, and the duration of everything connected with such disaster. The summer and winter months, the names of the twelve months, their meaning, and the angels they are devoted to; also the thirty days of the month, and the five *Gâtha* days at the end of the year, when the guardian spirits are to be revered.

The fifth fargard, quoted in the text, was probably that portion of the *Nask* which described the duties of the officiating priests.

teristics of four kinds of worship of the celestial beings (yazdân) :—one is that whose Avesta is correct, *but* the man is bad ; the second is that whose Avesta is faulty (zîfânö)¹, *but* the man is good ; the third is that whose Avesta is correct, *and* the man is good ; *and* the fourth is that whose Avesta is faulty *and* the man is bad. 10. *That* whose Avesta is correct, *but* the man bad, the archangels will approach and will listen to, *but* do not accept ; *that* whose Avesta is faulty, *but* the man good, the archangels *and* angels² will approach, *but* do not listen to, *and* will accept ; *that* whose Avesta is correct, *and* the man good, the archangels *and* angels will approach, will come to, will listen to, and will accept ; *that* whose Avesta is faulty, *and* the man bad, they do not approach, do not listen to, and do not accept.

11. In every ceremonial (yazisnö), at the beginning of the ceremony³, and the beginning of the sacred-cake *consecration* (drôn)⁴, the angels *and* guardian spirits of the righteous are to be invited to the ceremony. 12. When they invoke the angels they will accept the ceremony, and when they do

¹ K20 has hûzvân, 'tongue, speech,' for zîfân, 'faulty' (compare Pers. zîf, 'sin'), in all occurrences of the word.

² K20 omits from this word to 'will approach' in the next clause of the sentence.

³ That is, shortly before beginning the regular recitation of the Yasna, the angels, in whose honour the ceremony is being performed, are invited to approach by reciting their proper Kîshnûmans, or propitiatory formulas (see Chap. VII, 8, and Haug's Essays, p. 404).

⁴ This begins with Yas. III, 1, and the spirits are to be invited by adding their proper Kîshnûmans to those contained in Yas. III, 3-20 (see Haug's Essays, p. 408).

not invoke them, all the guardian spirits of the righteous are to be invoked at the beginning of 'staomi¹;' and when not, they watch until *the words* 'frashô-karethrām saoshyantām²,' and when they shall invoke them there they will accept the ceremony; and when not, they will watch until *the words* 'vīspau fravashayô ashaonām yazamaidê³,' and when they shall invoke *them* there they will accept⁴ the ceremony; and when not, *they will watch* until *the words* 'tauskâ yazamaidê⁵;' and when they invoke them⁶ at the threefold 'ashem vohû' and *the word* dāmanām⁷,' at the twice-told 'aokhtô-nāmanô⁸,' the 'ashād hakâ⁹,' or the 'yâtumanahê gasaiti¹⁰,'

¹ This may be at the 'staomi' of Yas. XII, 6, which is recited before the Yasna is commenced; but K20 alters the meaning (by inserting the relative particle) into '*they* are to be invoked at "staomi," the beginning of "all the guardian spirits of the righteous" (Yas. XXVI, 1).'

² Yas. XXVI, 20.

³ Yas. XXVI, 34.

⁴ K20 has, 'shall not invoke,' and 'will not accept.'

⁵ The concluding words of the yēnhê hâtām formula, probably of that one at the end of Yas. XXVII, just preceding the recital of the Gāthas, up to which time the spirits wait, but, if not invoked, they are then supposed to ascend, away from the ceremony, as mentioned in the text.

⁶ K20 has, 'when they do not invoke them.'

⁷ Yas. VIII, 10; which is preceded by a thrice-told 'ashem vohû,' at which the officiating priest tastes the sacred cake, being the end of the Drōn ceremony (see Haug's Essays, pp. 404, 408).

⁸ Yas. XXII, 33 (§§ 14-33 being recited twice). At this point the officiating priest brings out the mortar for pounding the Hōm twigs (see Haug's Essays, p. 405); Yas. XXII being called the beginning of the Hōmâst in the Vistâsp Yast Sâdah.

⁹ Yas. XXIV, 30, when the officiating priest turns the mortar right side upwards.

¹⁰ Yas. VIII, 9, which is practically the same place as the three-fold 'ashem vohû' before mentioned.

they will accept¹; and when not, they go up the height of a spear (nīzak) and will remain. 13. And they speak thus: 'This man does not understand that it will be necessary even for him² to go from the world, and our prayer (apistân) is for reminding men; it is not *that* our uneasiness *arises* from this, that we are in want of their ceremony, but our uneasiness *arises* from this, that when they do not reverence and do not invoke us, when evil comes upon them it is not possible for us to keep *it* away.'

14. 'O creator! how much is the duration in life of him who is dead?' And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'As much as the wing of a fly, O Zaratûst the Spîtâ-mân! or as much as the hearing a wing unto a sightless *one*³.'

CHAPTER X.

1. The rule⁴ is this, that a *sacred thread-girdle* (kûstik) be three finger-breadths loose transversely

¹ K20 has, 'they will not accept.'

² Literally, 'for me,' which seems to refer to the man, and not to the spirits.

³ This appears to be the complete translation of the Avesta sentence partially quoted in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 64: 'yatha makhshyau perenem, yatha vâ perenahê,' &c. The last clause is doubtful; the reading adopted here is *kand zak-i shinavâk-i par andarg avênâk*, as nothing more satisfactory suggests itself; it might also be translated by 'as much as the sound of a wing in the invisible.'

⁴ Reading âînak; Pâzand writers convert it into yak, which can, however, have the same meaning, though they evidently take the word to be Huz. khadûk, 'one,' which is written precisely like âînak in Pahlavi characters. Most of the miscellaneous statements, contained in the latter part of Sls., commence with this phrase.

(pavan targûn)¹, as is said in every teaching (kâstak)², and when it is less it is not proper.

2. The rule is this, that the sacred cake (drôn), set aside at the dedication *formula* (shnûmanê) on the days devoted to the guardian spirits³, is to be used at the season-festivals, the Nônâbar⁴, the three nights' ceremony⁵, the Hôm-drôn, and other rites of the righteous guardian spirits; and when they shall not do so, according to some teachings, it is not proper.

3. In the exposition (kâstak) of the Nihâdûm Nask⁶ it says that a man is going to commit rob-

¹ That is, round the waist (see Chap. IV, 1).

² That is, 'interpretation or exposition' (see Chap. I, 3, 4). Kzo has, 'and by every teaching it is proper.'

³ These fravarđikân are, strictly speaking, the five supplementary days at the end of the Parsi year, but the last five days of the last month are usually added to them, so as to make a period of ten days at the end of the year, during which the guardian spirits of the departed are supposed to revisit their old homes, and for whom the sacred cake is set aside.

⁴ The initiatory ceremony of a young priest (see Chap. XIII, 2).

⁵ The ceremonies performed by the survivors for three nights after a death (see Chaps. VIII, 6, XVII, 3, 4).

⁶ This was the fifteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Nikâdûm; but according to the Dîni-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the sixteenth nask, called Niyârum. For its contents, as given by the Dîni-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 132. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard, where it occupies twenty-five quarto pages of that work :—

The beginning of the law (dâd) is the Nikâdûm of thirty far-gards. The section Patkâr-radîstân ('the arbitrator's code') is about umpires and arbitration, contracts by words of four kinds and by signs of six kinds; and twelve sorts of arbitrators are described in four sub-sections, according as they decide by hearing or seeing, and with regard to women and children, foreigners and

bery, *and* a wall falls in upon him, *it is* his destroyer; when a man strikes at him *he is* his adversary, *and* both are in sinfulness; when he is going to perform the worship of God (*yazisnô-i yazdânô*) both of them are in innocence.

4. The rule is this, that when a woman becomes pregnant, as long as it is possible, the fire is to be maintained most carefully in the dwelling, because it is declared in the *Spend Nask*¹ that *towards*

those worthy of death. The second section, *Zadāmistân* ('the assault code'), is a treatise on assault and the consequences of assault, pain, blood, and unconsciousness; on blows and conflicts, man with man, women with women, and child with child, with their proper penalties; also the murder of slaves and children. The third section, *Rêshistân* ('the wound code'), is a treatise on various kinds of wounds and their characteristics. The fourth section, *Hamêmistân* ('the accuser's code'), is a treatise on accusation and false accusation of various specified crimes, on lying and slander, the care of pregnant women, impenitence and various offences against priests and disciples, remitting penalties, abetting and assisting criminals, mediation, punishment of children, smiting foreigners, murder, medical treatment, and many other things (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, p. 184, where they are erroneously ascribed to the *Pâzôn Nask*, owing to the defective text of the MS. M13). The fifth section contained twenty-four treatises on miscellaneous subjects connected with crime and sin (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, pp. 184, 185).

The passage mentioned in the text cannot be recognised in any of the details supplied by the *Dīnkard*.

¹ This was the thirteenth *nask* or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to all authorities, but is called *Sfend* in the *Rivâyats*. For its contents, as given by the *Dīnf-vagarkard*, see Haug's *Essays*, pp. 131, 132. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the *Dīnkard*:—

The *Spend* is a treatise on the origin and combination of the existence, guardian spirit, and glory of *Zarātūst*; on his generation and birth; on the coming of the two spirits, the good one to sustain, and the bad one to destroy him, and the victory of the good

Dûkdâv¹, the mother of Zaratûst, when she was pregnant with Zaratûst, *for* three nights, every night a leader (khûdâ)² with a hundred and fifty³ demons rushed for the destruction of Zaratûst, *but* owing to the existence of the fire in the dwelling they knew no means of accomplishing *it*.

5. The rule is this, that they have a tank (môg) for the disciples, when they are going to perform the worship of God, *and* are sprinkling the stone seat (magôk)⁴; and lest they should make a wet place by that sprinkling through taking *water* out from it, it is to be done sitting; for in the Vendidad⁵ the high-priests *have* taught, about making

spirit; on his going, at thirty years of age, to confer with Aûhar-mazd, and his seven conferences in ten years; on the seven questions he proposed to the archangels on those occasions; on the conveyance of the omniscient wisdom into him, showing him heaven and hell, and the intermediate place of those 'ever-stationary,' the account taken of sin and good works, the future existence, and the fate of the religion on earth till the renovation of the universe, with the coming of his future sons, the last three apostles.

¹ The Pâz. Dughdâ of Bund. XXXII, 10 would indicate Pahl. Dûkdân, but the Dînkard has Dûkdâûbô and Dûkdâûbag (pointing to Av. Dughdhavan), and the Persian forms are Dughdû and Dughdavîh. Here the name is Dûkdâvô, which is transposed into Dûdkâv in Chap. XII, 11; it must have meant either 'milk-maid' or 'suckler' originally.

² K20 has sêdâ, 'a demon,' and in Chap. XII, 11, where this section is repeated, the word can be read either sêdâ, 'a demon,' or shâh, 'a king or ruler;' of course 'an arch-fiend' is meant.

³ M6 appears to have 'sixty,' instead of 'fifty,' but see Chap. XII, 11.

⁴ Or magh, on which they squat in the purification ceremony (see B. Yt. II, 36).

⁵ Referring probably to Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 98; the ground is not to be wetted further than the length of the fore-part of the foot beyond the toes, that is, not more than a hand's breadth; this

water *when standing* on foot¹, that the measure it refers to applies to everything else, not even of a like origin; by him who makes water the Avesta² for making water is to be uttered, *and then it* is the root of a Tanâpûhar sin³ for *him*, and when he does not utter *it he* is more grievously sinful.

6. The rule is this, that to recite the Gâthas over those passed away is not to be considered as beneficial, since it is not proper to recite the three Hâs⁴ which are the beginning of the Aûstûvat Gâtha whenever *one is* on the road; whenever *one* recites *them* over a man in the house *they are* healing.

7. The rule is this, that in the night wine and aromatic herbs (sparam) and anything like food are not to be cast away towards the north quarter, because a fiend⁵ *will* become pregnant; and when *one* casts *them* away one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô⁶ is to be uttered.

measure is here extended to washing water, hence the necessity of squatting during such ablutions.

¹ This is a sin which is usually classed with 'running about uncovered' and 'walking with one boot' (see Chap. IV, 8, note).

² This Avesta is prescribed in Vend. XVIII, 97, and is still in constant use; it consists of three Ashem-vohûs (see Bund. XX, 2), two Humatanâms (Yas. XXXV, 4-6), three Hukhshathrômâtâis (Yas. XXXV, 13-15), four Ahunavars (see Bund. I, 21), and one Yênhê-hâtâm (see B. Yt. II, 64).

³ See Chap. I, 1, 2.

⁴ The three chapters (Yas. XLII-XLIV) which begin the Ustavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XLII-XLV).

⁵ A drûg, or fiend, is usually considered as a female demon (see Vend. XVIII, 70-77); and the demons are supposed to come from the north, where they congregate on the summit of Aresûr, at the gates of hell (see Vend. XIX, 1, 140, 142, Bund. XII, 8).

⁶ See Bund. I, 21. This statement is repeated in Chap. XII, 18.

8. The rule is this, that reverential *should be* the abstinence from unlawfully slaughtering of *any* species of animals; for in the *Stûdgar Nask*¹ it is said, concerning those who *have* unlawfully slaughtered animals, the punishment is such that *each* hair of those animals becomes like a sharp dagger (*têkh*), and he who is unlawfully a slaughterer is slain. 9. Of animals, the slaughtering of the lamb, the goat (*vahîk*), the ploughing ox, the war-horse, the hare, the bat (*êlharâz*), the cock or bird of Vohûman, and the magpie (*kâskînak*) bird, and of birds *that* of the kite, eagle (*hûmât*), and swallow is most to be abstained from.

10. A pregnant woman who passes away is not to be carried away by less than four men², who are at it constantly with united strength; for *with* other corpses, after a dog's gaze, when they carry *them* along by two men with united strength, they do not become polluted; *but* for a pregnant woman two dogs are necessary, to whose united power *she* is to be exposed; *and* they carry *her* along by four men with united strength, *and* they do not become polluted; *but* when they carry *her* along by two men *they* are to be washed with ceremony (*pîsak*)³.

11. The rule is this, that when they beg forgiveness for a person (*marđûm*) who *has* passed away,

¹ See B.Yt. I, 1. The passage here referred to is probably one in the middle of the seventeenth fargard of this Nask, which is mentioned as follows, in the ninth book of the *Dînkard*: 'And this too, namely, those who unlawfully slay sheep and cattle, which diminishes their life and glory.'

² This is the usual custom, while that mentioned in Chap. II, 6 is the exceptional case, mentioned at the end of this section, which necessitates extraordinary purification.

³ That is, with the Bareshnûm ceremony (see Chap. II, 6).

such a *prayer* is more significant when *one* says thus : 'Whenever a trespass (*vinâs*) of mine *has* occurred against him, you will take account of *it along* with those of his *which have* occurred against me, and the trespasses *have* passed away one through the other ; *any* further trespasses of his *which have* occurred against me are then made a righteous gift by me¹.'

12. The rule is this, that *one* should not walk without boots² ; and his advantage therefrom is even this, that when a boot (*mûgak*) is on *his* foot, *and* he puts the foot upon dead matter, and does not disturb the dead matter, he does not become polluted ; when a boot is not on *his* foot, and he puts the foot upon dead matter, and does not disturb *it*, *he is polluted*³, except when he knows for certain (*aêvar*) that a dog *has* seen *it*, or *if* not it is to be considered *as* not seen by a dog⁴.

13. The rule is this, as revealed *in* the *Dûbâsrûgêd Nask*⁵, where a day in the year is indicated,

¹ That is, I pardon them in charity.

² Or, perhaps, 'without stockings,' *avîmûgak* ; this seems to be something different from the sin of *aê-mûk-dûbârisnîh*, 'running in one boot' (see Chap. IV, 12).

³ Without these words, which do not exist in the MSS., the sentence seems to have no clear meaning.

⁴ And, therefore, still containing the *Nasûs*, or fiend of corruption, who will enter into any one who merely touches the dead matter, without disturbing it, and can be driven out only by the tedious and troublesome *Bareshnûm* ceremony.

⁵ This was the sixteenth *nask* or 'book' of the complete *Mazdayasnian* literature, according to the *Dînkard*, which calls it *Dûbâsrûgêd* or *Dûbâsrûd* ; but according to the *Dînî-vagarkard*, which calls it *Dvâsrûzd*, and the *Rivâyats*, which call it *Dvâsrûgad*, *Dvâsrûngad*, or *Dvâsrûb*, it was the eighteenth *nask*. For its contents, as given by the *Dînî-vagarkard*, see Haug's *Essays*, pp. 132, 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given

that the *sacred thread-girdle* of every one who shall be one day more than fourteen years *and* three months *old* is to be tied on—*it is* better so than when he remains unto fifteen years, *and then* ties on the girdle—who is more cared for, that way, than a five-months' child¹, on whom they should put *it* in the womb of *its* mother.

14. The rule is this, that when *one* retains a prayer *inwardly*², *and* wind shall come *from* below, *or* wind shall come from the mouth, it is all one³.

in the eighth book of the *Dinkard*, which occupies ten quarto pages of that work:—

Of the first eighteen sections of the *Dûbâsrûgd* the first is a treatise on thieves, their arrest, imprisonment, and punishment, with the various kinds of robbery; the second section is about the irresponsibility of a father for the crimes of a grown-up son, and of a husband for those of a separated wife, about the time for instructing children, and when they first become responsible for sin, the crime of giving weapons to women, children, and foreigners, about warriors plundering, the various kinds of judges and their duties, and offences against accusers. Of the twelve next sections one, called *Pasûs-hôrivistân* ('the shepherd's dog code'), is about shepherd's dogs, their duties and rights. Of the last thirty-five sections the first, called *Stôristân* ('the beast of burden code'), is about the sin, affecting the soul, of unlawfully beating and wounding cattle and beasts of burden, birds and fish; the second section, *Argistân* ('the value code'), is a treatise on the value of animate and inanimate objects; the third section, *Aratêstâristân* ('the warrior code'), is a treatise on warriors, arms, armies, generals, battles, plunder, &c.; the fourth section is about warm baths, fires, clothing, winter stores, reaping fodder and corn, &c.

The passage mentioned in the text was probably in that part of the second section which referred to the responsibility of children. The words from 'as revealed' to 'indicated' are omitted in K20.

¹ K20 has 'nine-months' child.'

² See Chap. III, 6.

³ Literally, 'both are one;' that is, in either case the spell of the *vâg* or prayer is broken.

15. Also this, that ten women are necessary for affording assistance *to* a woman who is in labour : five women for directing the making of the cradle (gavâarak), one woman should be opposite the left shoulder, and one to hold the right shoulder, one woman to throw a hand on her neck, one woman to hold her waist, and one woman, when the infant shall be born, to take *it* up and cut the navel cord, and to make the fire blaze¹. 16. Three days and three nights no one is to pass between the fire and the child, nor to show the child to a sinful man *or* woman ; *they are* to triturate a little sulphur in the sap (mayâ) of a plant, *and* to smear it over the child ; *and* the first food to give *it* is Hôm-juice (parâhôm) and aloes (shapyâr).

17. The rule is this, that in case any one shall beat an innocent man, until the pain shall cease it becomes every day the root of a Tanâpûhar sin² for him.

18. The rule is this, that when in a country they trust a false judge, and keep *him* among *their* superiors, owing to the sin and breach of faith which that judge commits, the clouds *and* rain, in that country, are deficient, a portion (bavan) of the deliciousness, fatness, wholesomeness, and milk of the cattle and goats diminishes³, and many children become destroyed in the mother's womb.

19. The rule is this, that a man, when he does not wed a wife, does not become worthy of death ; *but* when a woman does not wed a husband it

¹ Literally, 'make the fire high.'

² See Chap. I, 1, 2.

³ Most of these evils are also ascribed (see B. Yt. II, 41-43) to neglect of the precautions prescribed with regard to hair-cuttings.

amounts to *a sin* worthy of death; because *for* a woman *there* is no offspring except by intercourse with men, and no lineage proceeds from her; *but for* a man without a wife, when he shall recite the Avesta, as it is mentioned in the Vendidad¹, *there may be* a lineage which proceeds onwards *to* the future existence.

20. The rule is this, that a toothpick is to be cut out clear of bark (pôst pâk)², for the high-priests *have* taught that when one's toothpick—made for the mouth with the bark—shall fall, and when a pregnant woman puts a foot upon it, *she* is apprehensive about *its* being dead matter³.

21. The rule is this, that in accepting the child of a handmaid (*kakar*)⁴ discrimination is to be exercised; for in the fourteenth *of the* Nask Hûspâram⁵

¹ This reference is probably to the circumstances detailed in Vend. XVIII, 99-112, but the Pahlavi commentary on §§ 111, 112 of that passage is missing in all MSS. The Avesta to be recited in such cases is precisely the same as that detailed in a note on § 5.

² This translation is in accordance with the seventeenth chapter of the prose Sad-dar Bûndahis, or 'Bûndahis of a hundred chapters,' a Pâzand work of later times; but the text here might be translated 'cut out of clean skin,' and in Chap. XII, 13, where the statement is repeated, the word used is also ambiguous.

³ The Sad-dar Bûndahis says, 'the fear arises that the infant may come to harm.' This section and the three which follow are repeated in Chap. XII, 13-16.

⁴ This might mean a *kakar*, or 'serving' wife (see Bund. XXXII, 6), but the further details given in Chap. XII, 14, where this statement is repeated, make it more probable that a concubine is meant.

⁵ As this was the seventeenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to all authorities, it is probable that the word 'fourteenth,' in the text here, refers to some particular chapter or fargard, most likely to the last group of fourteen

the high-priests *have* taught thus : 'My son is suitable also as thy son, *but* my daughter is not suitable also as thy daughter.'

sections, mentioned below, in the summary of its contents; and this is confirmed by another reference in Chap. XII, 7. This nask is called Aspâram in the Rivâyats, and Aspârûm in the Dînî-vagarkard; for its contents, as given by the latter, see Haug's Essays, p. 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard, where it occupies sixteen quarto pages of that work :—

Of the first thirty sections of the Hûspâram, one is the Aêrpastîstân ('the priest's code'), a treatise on priestly studies, priests, disciples, and their five dispositions. One section is the Nfrangistân ('religious formula code'), a treatise on the formulas of worship, the Avesta to be recited by the officiating priests twice, thrice, and four times, the five periods of the day and their proper ceremonies, the season-festivals, the sacred girdle and shirt, cutting the sacred twigs, reverencing water, the families of Zarâtûst, Hvôv, and Vistâsp, &c. One section is the Gôharîkistân ('quality code'), a treatise on nobility and superiority, buying and selling, cattle, slaves, servants, and other property, houses where men or dogs have been sick, dealings with foreigners, &c. And other sections are about appropriating the property of others, obedient and disobedient wives, foreign wives, advantages of male and female offspring, breeding of cattle, treatment of labourers and children, the evil eye, judges, the origin and cultivation of corn, the degrees of crime and punishment, &c. Of the next twenty sections, one is about the treatment of furious cattle and mad dogs, and the damage they may do. One section on the means of accumulating wealth, the giving of sons and daughters in marriage, the goodness of charity and evil of waste, the five best actions and the five worst, unlawful felling of trees, the sin of burying the dead, &c. And one section on the begetting, birth, and treatment of children. Of the last fourteen sections, one is a treatise, in six fargard's, on the ownership of property and disputes about it, on one's own family, acquiring wife and children, adoption, &c. And a section of seven fargard's, at the end, is a treatise on the sufferings of men, women, children, and dogs, on the connection of owner and herds, priest and disciple, on various offences and sins, spiritual and worldly healing, physic and physicians, astrology,

22. The rule is this, that *one* perseveres much in the begetting of offspring, for the acquisition of abundance of good works at once; because, in the Nihâdûm Nask¹, the high-priests *have* taught that the duty and good works which a son performs are as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand; and in the Dâmdâd Nask² it is revealed thus: 'Likewise, too, the good works, *in* like measure, which come into the father's possession.'

23. The rule is this, that they shall give to the worthy as much of anything as is proper for eating *and* accumulating; because in the Nihâdûm Nask³ the high-priests *have* taught thus: 'A man gives a hungry *one* bread, *and it is* too much, yet all the good works, which he shall perform through that superabundance, become as much his *who gave it* as though they had been done by his own hand.'

24. The rule is this, where *one* lies down, in circumstances of propriety and innocence, one Ashem-vohû is to be uttered⁴, and *in* like manner when he

the proper feeding of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and pigs, the duty of a frontier governor during a foreign invasion, &c.

The passage mentioned in the text was probably in that portion of the last group of fourteen sections which treated of wives, children, and adoption.

¹ See § 3; the passage mentioned here cannot be traced in the account of this Nask given in the Dînkard.

² See SZS. IX, 1. The passage here quoted cannot be traced in any of the short accounts of the contents of this Nask. This section is repeated, with a few verbal alterations, in Chap. XII, 15.

³ See § 3; the passage here quoted is also not to be traced in the account of this Nask given in the Dînkard. This section is repeated, with a few verbal alterations, in Chap. XII, 16.

⁴ Compare Chap. IV, 14, where much the same is stated as what occurs in this section.

gets up well; when he does so, every single drawing of the breath (vayô) becomes a good work of three Srôshô-karanâms, that is, a weight of ten dirhams of the full weight of four mads¹.

25. The rule is this, that when an action or an opinion comes forward, and *one* does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, when possible it is to be abandoned *and* not executed by him; as it says in the Sakâdûm Nask² that Zaratûst *has*

¹ Reading i mad-4, instead of va maz-4; the word mad (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glossary, p. 21) being Huz. for the dang or quarter-dirham. The amount of the Srôshô-karanâm, as deduced from this statement, differs from those given in Chaps. XI, 2, XVI, 5, and must be awkwardly fractional, unless the sentence be altered into 10 gûgan sang nêh zîs pûr sang yehevûnêd, 'a weight of ten dirhams *and* a half, which is its full weight;' in which case one Srôshô-karanâm would be 3½ dirhams, as in Chap. XVI, 5.

² This was the eighteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard; but according to the Dîni-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the nineteenth nask, called Askârûm or Askâram. For its contents, as given by the Dîni-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 133. The following is a brief summary of the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard, where it occupies twenty quarto pages of that work:—

Of the first thirty sections of the Sakâdûm one is a treatise on the necessity of obedience and understanding the laws, on new-born infants and their proper treatment, on the care of fire and sharp-pointed things, on race-courses, the use of water, salt and sweet, warm and cold, flowing and stagnant, &c. One section is the Hakîdakânistân ('annoyances code'), a treatise on irritating words and ill-treatment of living creatures and trees, the finding of buried treasure at various depths and in different places, &c. And one section is the Zîyânakistân ('damage code'), a treatise on damage to animate and inanimate objects. Of the last twenty-two sections, one is the Vakhshistân ('increase code'), a treatise on the progress of growth, breeding of cattle and other animals, pleadings regarding debts, growth of corn, &c. One section is the Varistân ('ordeal code'), a treatise on the detection of witchcraft by ordeal, by heat and cold, &c. One section on asking assistance

not provided about everything whatever, but three times *it has been done* by Zarātūst about this duty, that is, so that the Avesta *and* Zand, when *one has* learned it thoroughly by heart¹, is for recitation, *and* is not to be mumbled² (*gûyisnō*), for in mumbling (*gûdanō*) the parts of the Ahunavar³ are more chattering⁴. 26. As it says in the Bagh *Nask*⁵

and rewarding it, on the unjust judge and the sagacious one, on daughters given in marriage by mothers and brothers, on the disobedient son, &c. And one section on the spirits of the earthly existences, the merit of killing noxious water-creatures, the animal world proceeding from the primeval ox, the evil spirit not to be worshipped, and much other advice.

The passage mentioned in the text appears to have been in the first section of this Nask, as the Dīnkard says it treated, among other matters, 'about a man's examining an action before doing it, *and* when he does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, when possible, *he* is to set it aside *and* not to do *it*.' But nothing is said there about Zarātūst, and what is said here seems to have very little connection with the 'rule' laid down in this section.

¹ Literally, 'made it quite easy.'

² Literally, 'not to be devoured or gnawed.'

³ The formula commencing with the words *Yathâ ahû vairyô* (see Bund. I, 21); its parts or *bagha* are the phrases into which it may be divided (see Yas. XIX, 4, 6, 9, 12).

⁴ Reading *drâitar*, 'more clamorous or chattering;' but the word is ambiguous, as it may be *darâktar*, 'more rending,' or *girâitar*, 'more weighty, more threatening,' &c.

⁵ M6 has *Bak*. This was the third *nask* or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dīnkard, which calls it *Bakô*; but according to the Dīnī-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the fourth *nask*. For its contents, as given by the Dīnī-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 127. In the Dīnkard, besides a very brief account of it, in the eighth book, which states that it was a treatise on the recitation of the revealed texts, there is, in the ninth book, a long description of the contents of each of its twenty-two *fargard*s, occupying fifty quarto pages in the MSS. of the Dīnkard. From this it appears that the passage quoted in our text probably occurred in the first

thus: 'Whoever shall mutter, O Zaratûst! my allotment of the Ahunavar¹—that is, shall softly take *it inwardly*—and shall let *it* escape² again—that is, shall utter *it aloud*—so much as a half, or one-third, or one-fourth, or one-fifth, his soul will I shield, I who am Aûharmazd, from the best existence—that is, I *will* keep it away—by so much of an interval as the width of this earth.'

27. The rule is this, that *one* is to proceed with great deliberation when he does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, that is, it is not to be done.

28. The rule is this, that an opinion (andâzak) of anything is to be formed through consultation

fargard. It also occurs, in nearly the same words, in Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12–15, and as Yas. XIX is called 'the beginning of the Bakân' in some MSS., it is possible that the three Hâs (Yas. XIX–XXI) which relate to the three short Avesta formulas are really the first three fargards of the Bagh Nask, which are said to have treated of the same subjects.

¹ The text is corrupted into *min zak-i li, Zaratûst! bêstârîh-i min Ahunavar drûgist*, which might be translated, in connection with the following phrase, thus: 'Of my vexation, O Zaratûst! from the Ahunavar, the most fiendish is that *one* shall softly take *it*,' &c. But very slight alterations of the Pahlavi letters (in accordance with Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12) convert *min* into *mûn*, *bêstârîh* into *bâkhtârîh*, and *drûgist* into *drengâd*. Instead of 'allotment of the Ahunavar' we might read 'predestination, or providence, from the Ahunavar;' because the Pahlavi translator, by using the word *bâkhtârîh* or *bakhtârîh*, appears to have understood the Av. *bagha* in its sense of 'divinity, providence,' rather than in that of 'part, portion.'

² Reading *rânînêd* or *rahônêd*. The Pahlavi translator seems to think the sin consists in breaking the spell of the *vâg* or inward prayer (see Chap. III, 6) by speaking part of it aloud; but the original Avesta of this passage attributes the sin to obscuring the meaning by imperfect recitation.

with the good; even so it is revealed in the *Kidrast Nask*¹ that Spendarmad spoke to Mânûskîhar thus: 'Even the swiftest horse requires the whip (tâzâ-

¹ This was the twelfth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the *Dînkard*, which calls it *Kidrastô* or *Kidrôstô*; but according to the *Dînî-vagarkard* and the *Rivâyats* it was the fourteenth nask called *Girast*. For its contents, as given by the *Dînî-vagarkard*, see Haug's *Essays*, p. 131. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the *Dînkard*:—

The *Kidrôstô* is a treatise on the race of man; how Aûharmazd produced the first man, *Gâyômar*d, how the first pair, *Mashya* and *Mashyôî*, arose, with their progeny, till the region of *Khvanîras* was full, when they supplied the six surrounding regions, till they filled and cultivated the whole world. The *Pêsdâdîan* dynasty of *Hôshâng*, *Tâkhmôrupô*, and *Yim*, the evil reign of *Dahâk*, descended from *Tâz*, the brother of *Hôshâng* and father of the Arabs, then *Frêdûn* who divided *Khvanîras* between his three sons, *Salm*, *Tûg*, and *Aîrîk*, who married the daughters of *Pâtsrôbô* (compare *Pahl. Vend. XX, 4*) king of the Arabs, then *Mânûskîhar*, descendant (*nâpô*) of *Aîrîk*, the penal reign of *Frâsîyâv* ruler of *Tûrân*, then *Aûzôbô* the *Tûmâspian*, descendant of *Mânûskîhar*, then *Kaî-Kavâd* and the penal reign of *Karsâspô*. The *Kayânian* dynasty of *Kaî-Us*, *Kaî-Khûsrôb* son of *Sîyâvakhsh*, with many tales of the specially famous races of *Iran*, *Tûrân*, and *Salmân*, even to the reigns of *Kaî-Lôharâsp* and *Kaî-Vistâsp*. The apostle *Zaratûst*, and the progress of time and events from the reign of *Frêdûn* till *Zaratûst*'s conference with *Aûharmazd*. The race of *Mânûskîhar*, *Nôdar*, and others. *Avarethrabau*'s (see *Fravardîn Yt. 106*) father, *Âtarô-pâd* son of *Mâraspend*. On future events and the reign of the renovation of the universe; the origin of the knowledge of occupation, and the care and industry of the period; the great acquaintance of mankind with the putting aside of injury from the adversary, the preservation of the body, and the deliverance of the soul, both before and after the time of *Zaratûst*.

As *Mânûskîhar* is several times mentioned there are several places in this *Nask* where the statement, quoted in the text as a saying of *Spendarmad*, the female archangel who has special charge of the earth (see *Chap. XV, 5, 20-24*, and *Bund. I, 26*), may have occurred.

nak), the sharpest steel knife requires the whetstone (afsân), and the wisest man requires counsel (ham-pûrsth).'

29. The rule is this, that when *one* laughs outright (barâ khandêd) the Avesta and Zand are not to be mumbled, for the wisdom of Aûharmazd is omniscient, *and* good works are a great exercise of liberality, but an extreme abstinence from producing irritation (hangtdâr-dahtsnth); because in the Ratûstâtîth *Nask*¹ many harsh things are said about the severe punishment of producers of irritation, in the spiritual *existence*.

30. The rule is this, that *as* there *may* be *some* even of those of the good religion *who*, through unacquaintance with the religion, when a female *fowl* crows in the manner of a cock, will kill the

¹ This was the seventh nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which calls it Ratûstâtîf; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the eighth nask called Ratustâtî. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 129. The following is a summary of the short account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard:—

The Ratûstâtî is a treatise on indispensable religious practices, the reason of the worthiness and superexcellence in a purifying priest, and how to distinguish worthiness and superexcellence from unworthiness, in the priesthood of each of the seven regions of the earth; on the indication and manifestation of an assemblage of the archangels, the formulas and means to be employed in reverencing the angels, the position and duties of the two officiating priests in the ceremonies, and all the business of the orderers of ceremonies, with their various duties; on the greatness and voluntariness of good works, the kinds of voluntariness, and the proximity of Aûharmazd to the thoughts, words, and deeds of the material world.

It is uncertain under which of these heads the passage mentioned in the text may have occurred.

fowl, so those of the primitive faith¹ *have* said that there *may* be mischief (vinâstârîh) from wizards in that dwelling, *which* the cock is incapable of keeping away, and the female *fowl* makes that noise for the assistance of the cock², especially when the bringing of another cock into that dwelling is necessary.

31. The rule is this, that when *one* sees a hedgehog, then *along* with it³ a place in the plain, free from danger, is to be preserved; for in the Vendidad⁴ the high-priests *have* taught that it is when the hedgehog every day voids urine into an ant's nest that a thousand ants will die.

32. The rule is this, that in the Vendidad⁵ seven kinds of things are mentioned, *and* when they are the cause of a man's death, until the forthcoming period *of the day* (gâs-i levîn) comes on, contami-

¹ See Chap. I, 3.

² The cock is considered to be an opponent of demons and wizards (see Bund. XIX, 33), and to warn men against the seductions of the demoness of lethargy (see Vend. XVIII, 33-42, 52).

³ Assuming that levatman val means levatman valman, but the reading 'he takes *it* back to (lakhvâr val) the plain,' which occurs in the repetition of this section in Chap. XII, 20, seems preferable.

⁴ The details which follow are to be found in Bund. XIX, 28, but they appear to be no longer extant in the Pahlavi Vendidad; though the hedgehog is called 'the slayer of the thousands of the evil spirit,' in Vend. XIII, 5, of which passage the statement in our text seems to be an illustration. The ant is considered noxious.

⁵ Vend. VII, 5, 6, where, however, eight modes of death are mentioned, which delay the arrival of the Nasûr, or fiend of corruption, till the next period of the day; these are when the person has been killed by a dog, a wolf, a wizard, anxiety, falling into a pit, the hand of man as sentenced by law, illegal violence, or strangulation. In all other cases it is supposed that the fiend of corruption enters the corpse immediately after death (see Vend. VII, 2-4).

nation (nisrûst)¹ does not rush upon him; and for this reason, this, too, is well *for* the good, that is, to show a dog rightly again a previous corpse in the forthcoming period *of the day*².

33. The rule is this, that by those who attend to a corpse among the pure *it* is then to be shown *to* a dog very observant of the corpse; for when even a thousand persons shall carry away a corpse which a dog *has* not seen, they are all polluted³.

34. The rule is this, that meat, when there is stench or decomposition not even originating with *it*, is not to be prayed *over*⁴; *and* the sacred cake (drôn) and butter (gâûs-dâk) which are hairy are also not to be prayed over⁵.

35. A woman is fit for priestly duty (zôttih) among women⁶, and when she is consecrating⁷ the sacred

¹ See Bund. XXVIII, 29.

² In order that there may be no risk of the fiend of corruption having entered the corpse after it was first exhibited to a dog.

³ This statement has been already made in Chap. II, 65.

⁴ That is, it is not to be used in any religious ceremony. Small pieces of meat are consecrated, along with the sacred cakes, in the Drôn and Âfrîngân ceremonies at certain festivals.

⁵ So in K20; but M6 has, 'the sacred cake they present, even that is not to be prayed over.' Although M6 is more carefully written than K20, it seems to have been copied from an original which was hardly legible in some places, of which this is one. The presence of a hair in the cake or butter would render it useless for religious purposes.

⁶ But only for some of the minor priestly offices, such as consecrating the sacred cake. According to Avesta passages, quoted in the Nîrangistân, any man who is not a Tanâpûthar sinner can perform certain priestly duties for virtuous men, and any woman who is not feeble-minded (kasu-khrathwa) can perform them for children.

⁷ M6 has, 'when she does not consecrate.'

cake (drôn), and one Ashem-vohû¹ is uttered by her, she puts the *sacred* twigs (baresôm) back on the twig-stand, brings *them* away, and the utterance of another one is good; when she says it is not expedient to do *it* with attention before a meal, it is proper. 36. The sacred cake of a disreputable woman is not to be consecrated, but is to be rendered ineligible (avigînakö).

37. When *one* places a thing before the fire observantly, and does not see the splendour itself, 'tava âthrô²' is not to be said.

38. At night, when³ *one* lies down, the hands are to be thoroughly washed. 39. That which comes from a menstruous woman to any one, or to anything, is all to be thoroughly washed with bull's urine (gômêz) and water⁴.

[40. The rule is this, as Âtarô-pâd *son of* Mâraspend⁵ said when every one passed away:—'The mouth-veil⁶ and also the clothing are to be well

¹ See Bund. XX, 2; it is rather doubtful whether we should read 'one' or 'two.'

² These Avesta words, meaning 'for thee, the fire,' are used when presenting anything to the fire, such as firewood and incense (see Yas. VII, 3, XXII, 10, 22, &c.)

³ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

⁴ Here ends the original Shâyast lâ-shâyast. § 40 is found only in M6, and is evidently a later addition to that MS. by another hand. Then follows the Farhang-i Oîm-khadûk, both in M6 and K20; this is an old Avesta-Pahlavi Glossary which has no connection with Sls., although it may be of the same age, as it quotes many Avesta sentences which are no longer extant elsewhere, and amongst others passages from the Nihâdûm Nask (see Sls. X, 3) and the commentary of Afarg (see Sls. I, 3).

⁵ See Bund. XXXIII, 3.

⁶ The padâm (Av. paitidâna, Pâz. penôm) 'consists of two

set *apart* from the gifts (dâsarân), so that his soul may become easier.' Completed in peace and pleasure.]

PART II.—*A Supplementary Treatise*¹.

CHAPTER XI.

1. The degrees of sin are these², such as a Farmân, Srôshô-karanâm, Âgerept, Atvrist, Aredûs, Khôr, Bâzât, Yât, and Tanâpûhar, and I *will* mention each of them a second time. 2. A Farmân is the weight of three dirhams of four mads³; a

pieces of white cotton cloth, hanging loosely from the bridge of the nose to at least two inches below the mouth, and tied with two strings at the back of the head. It must be worn by a priest whenever he approaches the sacred fire, so as to prevent his breath from contaminating the fire. On certain occasions a layman has to use a substitute for the penôm by screening his mouth and nose with a portion of his muslin shirt.' (Haug's Essays, p. 243, note 1; see also Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 1-4.)

¹ This second part is evidently by another writer, for he not only repeats several passages (Chaps. XI, 1, 2, XII, 11, 13-16, 18, 20), which are given in the first part, but he also writes generally in a less simple style. In some MSS. of Sls. alone, such as M9, the second part immediately follows the first, as in this translation; indicating that it has been accepted as a part of the same work. But in M6 the two parts are separated by the Farh. Okh., occupying twenty folios; and in K20 there is an interval of ninety-two folios, containing the Farh. Okh., Bund., B. Yt., and several other texts.

² §§ 1, 2 are a repetition of Chap. I, 1, 2, with a few variations. The number of degrees is here raised to nine by the addition of the Srôshô-karanâm (see Chap. X, 24), which is written Srôsha-karanâm in both these sections.

³ Reading i mad-4, instead of va m-4; the mad being a quarter-dirham (see Chap. X, 24, note); or we can read 'weight and quantity (mâyah) of three dirhams.' The amount of the Farmân

Srôshô-karanâm is one dirham *and* two mads; three Srôshô-karanâms are the weight of four dirhams and two mads¹; an Âgerept is thirty-three stîrs²; an Atvrist is the weight of thirty-three dirhams; an Aredûs is thirty stîrs³; a Khôr is sixty stîrs; a Bâzâl is ninety stîrs; a Yât is a hundred and eighty stîrs, and a Tanâpûhar is three hundred stîrs.

3. Every one ought to be unhesitating *and* unanimous about this, that righteousness is the one thing, and heaven (garôdmân)⁴ the one place, *which* is good, and contentment the one thing more comfortable.

4. When a sheep⁵ is slaughtered and divided, its meat-offering (gâvûs-dâk)⁶ is to be thus presented:—the tongue, jaw, and left eye are the

here given appears to agree with that stated in Chap. XVI, 1, but differs very much from the sixteen dirhams mentioned in Chap. I, 2, and the twenty-eight dirhams quoted by Spiegel.

¹ That is, one Srôshô-karanâm is one dirham and a half, and three of them, therefore, are four dirhams and a half; the mad being a quarter-dirham. This computation differs considerably from the amounts stated in Chaps. X, 24, XVI, 5, but corresponds better with the supposition (see Chap. IV, 14, note) that a Srôshô-karanâm is one-third of a Farmân.

² Both this amount and the next are evidently wrong, and no doubt the Pahlavi ciphers have been corrupted. Chap. XVI, 5 gives 'sixteen' and 'twenty-five' stîrs, which are probably correct, though the computation in Chap. I, 2 is very different.

³ Written Aredûs 30 sî, 'an Aredûs is 30 (thirty),' as in Chap. I, 2; with which also all the remaining amounts correspond.

⁴ See note on pâhlûm ahvân in Chap. VI, 3.

⁵ Or 'goat.'

⁶ Av. gâus hudhau, which is generally represented by a small piece of butter placed upon one of the sacred cakes; but on certain occasions small pieces of meat are used. The object of this section is to point out what part of the animal is suitable for use in a ceremony dedicated to any one of the angels, or spirits, mentioned.

angel Hôm's¹ own; the neck is Ashavahist's² own; the head is the angel Vâê's³ own; the right shoulder (arm) is Ardvîsûr's⁴, the left is Drvâsp's⁵; the right thigh (hakht) is *for the guardian spirit*⁶ of Vistâsp, and the left *for the guardian spirit* of Gâmâsp⁷; the back is *for the supreme chief*⁸; the loin is the spirits' own; the belly is Spendarmad's⁹; the testicles¹⁰ are *for the star* Vanand¹¹; the kidneys are

¹ Av. haoma, the angel of the Hôm plant (see Yas. IX-XI, Bund. XVIII, 1-3, XXVII, 4, 24), the juice of which is used in ceremonial worship by the Parsis.

² The same as Ardavahist (see Bund. I, 26).

³ M6 has 'Râm' as a gloss; he is the Vayô of the Râm Yt., 'the good Vaê' of Mkh. II, 115, who assists the righteous souls in their progress to the other world; his name, Râm, is given to the twenty-first day of the Parsi month (see Chap. XXII, 21).

⁴ Av. Ardvî sûra of the Âbân Yt., a title of Anâhita, the female angel of the waters (see Bund. XXXII, 8). This title is written Arêdvîsûr in the Bundahis, and applied to the source of pure water (Bund. XIII); while the name Âvân, 'waters,' is given to the eighth month and the tenth day of each month in the Parsi year.

⁵ Av. Drvâspa of the Gôs Yt., the name of the female angel of cattle, called Gôsûrvan in Bund. IV; her alternative name, Gôs, is given to the fourteenth day of the Parsi month.

⁶ The word fravash-i, 'the guardian spirit of,' is evidently omitted here, as it occurs with the next name. For Vistâsp, see Bund. XXXI, 29, XXXIV, 7.

⁷ Av. Gâmâspa of Yas. XIII, 24, XLV, 17, XLVIII, 9, L, 18, Âbân Yt. 68, &c., the prime minister of Vistâsp.

⁸ Ratpôk berêzad stands for the Av. rathwô berezatô of Yas. I, 46, &c., a 'supreme chief' who is often associated with the chiefs of the various subdivisions of time, and seems to be Aûtharmazd himself (see Yas. LVI, i, 10).

⁹ The female archangel who has charge of the earth (see Chap. XV, 5, 20-24, and Bund. I, 26).

¹⁰ The word gûnd has here, in most MSS., the usual Persian gloss dahân, 'mouth' (see Bund. XIX, 1), which is a very improbable meaning in this place.

¹¹ Probably Fomalhaut (see Bund. II, 7, note).

Haptôring's¹; the ventricle (naskadakö)² is *for* the guardian spirit of priests; the lungs are *for* the guardian spirit of warriors; the liver is *for* compassion and sustenance³ of the poor; the spleen is Mânsarspend's⁴; the fore-legs (bâzât) are *for* the waters; the heart is *for* the fires; the entrail fat is Ardât-fravard's⁵; the tail-bone (dunb-gazakö) is *for* the guardian spirit of Zaratûst the Sptâmân⁶; the tail (dunbak) is *for* Vâd⁷ the righteous; the right eye is in the share of the moon⁸; and any⁹ *that* may be left over from those is *for* the other arch-angels. 5. *There* have been *those* who may have spoken about protection, and *there* have been *those* who *may have done so* about meat-offerings; whoever *has* spoken about protection is such as *has*

¹ Ursa Major, called Haptôk-rîng in Bund. II, 7.

² Translating in accordance with the Persian gloss *kustah*, given in the modern MS. M9; but *nas-kadakö* may perhaps mean 'the womb.'

³ Reading *sar-âyisnô*, 'maturity,' the usual equivalent of *Av. thraosta* (see *Yas. XXXIV, 3*), and not *srâyisnô*, 'chanting.'

⁴ *Av. mâtthra spenta*, 'the beneficent sayings, or holy word,' of which this angel is a personification; his name is often corrupted into *Mahrspend* or *Mâraspend*, and is given to the twenty-ninth day of the Parsi month (see *Chap. XXII, 29*).

⁵ A personification of the *Av. ashaonām fravashayô*, 'guardian angels of the righteous' (see *Fravardîn Yt. 1, &c.*), whence the first month, and the nineteenth day of each month, in the Parsi year, are called *Fravardîn*.

⁶ This clause and the next are omitted in K20.

⁷ The angel of the wind, whose name is given to the twenty-second day of the Parsi month (see *Chap. XXII, 22*).

⁸ Or its angel, *Mâh*, whose name is given to the twelfth day of the Parsi month.

⁹ M6 has *va aê-maman = va aêk* (*Pers. îk*, 'any'); K20 has *kolâ maman*, 'whatever,' and omits the words 'may be left over' and 'other.'

spoken well, and whoever *has* spoken about meat-offerings has not spoken everything which is noteworthy¹. 6. When *one* shall offer up² *what* pertains to one (khadûkag) on account of another it is proper; except the tongue, jaw, and left eye, for *that* those are the angel Hôm's own is manifest from the passage: 'Hizvãm frerenaod³,' &c.

CHAPTER XII.

I. The rule is this, that when one's *form of worship* (yast)⁴ is performed, and it is not possible for him to prepare *it*, the practice of those of the primitive faith⁵ is, when the girdle (aŋpiyâûng) is twined about a *sacred* twig-bundle (baresôm)⁶ of seven twigs (tâk), to consecrate a sacred cake (drônô) thrice, which becomes his *form of worship* that is performed one degree better through the sacred cake; and of the merit of a threefold *consecration*

¹ Meaning, apparently, that to pray for protection as a favour is better than to pray for it as a return for an offering.

² K20 has 'shall give up.'

³ It is doubtful if this passage can be found in the extant Avesta; but a passage of similar meaning, and containing the words frerenaod' and hizvô, occurs in Yas. XI, 16, which states that 'the righteous father, Ahuramazda, produced for me, Haoma, as a Draona, the two jaws, with the tongue and the left eye;' and it then proceeds (Yas. XI, 17-19) to curse any one 'who shall deprive me of that Draona, or shall himself enjoy, or shall give away what the righteous Ahuramazda gave me, the two jaws, with the tongue and the left eye.'

⁴ A Yast is a formula of praise in honour of the sun, moon, water, fire, or some other angel, as well as a term for prayers and worship in general.

⁵ See Chap. I, 3.

⁶ See Chap. III, 32, note.

of the sacred cake the high-priests *have* specially taught, in the Hûspâram *Nask*¹, that *it* is as much as *that* of a lesser *form* of worship.

2. The rule is this, that he who is himself more acquainted with religion is he who considers him who is more acquainted with religion than himself as high-priest, and considers *him* as high-priest² so that he may not destroy the bridge of the soul³; as it says in the Sakâdûm *Nask*⁴ that no one of them, that is an inattentive (asrûshdâr) man who has no high-priest, attains to the best existence⁵, not though his recitations should be so many that they have made his duty and good works as much as the verdure (sapdak) of the plants when it shoots forth in spring, the verdure which Aûharmazd *has* given abundantly.

3. The rule is this, that they keep a fire⁶ in the house, because, from not keeping the fire properly, *there* arise less pregnancy of women and a weeping (âv-dîdanô) for the loss of strength (tanû) of men⁷; and the chilled charcoal (angist) and the rest which are without advantage (bar) are to be

¹ See Chap. X, 21. The passage mentioned in the text was probably in the section called Nîrangistân.

² K20 omits this repetition.

³ That is, may not render the passage of his soul to heaven, over the *Kinvađ* bridge (see Bund. XII, 7), impossible, owing to the sin of arrogance in this world.

⁴ See Chap. X, 25; the passage alluded to was probably at the beginning of the *Nask*, which treated of 'the reward of the precepts of religion, and the bridge of the destroyers of good preceptors, adapted to their destruction.'

⁵ See Chap. VI, 3.

⁶ K20 has 'that a fire is to be properly kept.'

⁷ K20 has 'and a loss of the strength and wealth of men.'

carried away from the fire; and in the *Spend Nask*¹ *it* is revealed that a fire, when they shall make it quite clean from its chilled charcoal, *has* as much comfort as a man whose clothing they should make clean.

4. The rule is this, that when any one passes away it is proper to render useless² as much as the smallest mouth-veil³, for it says in the *Vendidad* 'that 'if even those Mazdayasnians should leave on him who is dead, in parting with him, as much as that which a damsel would leave in parting with the food-bowl (*padmânakö*)—that is, a bag (*anbâ-nakö-hanâ*)⁴—the decree is this, that *it* is a *Tanâ-*

¹ See Chap. X, 4; the passage mentioned was probably in that part of the *Nask* which described the protection afforded by the fire to the new-born *Zaratûst*.

² Probably a negative is omitted, or *akârînistânö* should be translated 'to make no use of.'

³ See Chap. X, 40. *K20* has 'garment.'

⁴ Always written *Vadîkdâd* in this second part of *Sls.*, except in Chap. XIII, 7; whereas in the first part it is written in its uncorrupted form *Gavîd-dêf-dâd* or *Gavîd-sêdâ-dâd*, 'the law opposed to the demons.' The passage here quoted is *Pahl. Vend. V*, 171, 172, with one or two verbal variations.

⁵ Standing for *anbânak-aê*, which is corrupted in the *Vendidad MSS.* into the unintelligible form *andanakö-1*, so that this old quotation throws a rather unexpected light upon a passage in the *Vendidad* which translators would be almost certain to misunderstand. The allusion is to the bags used by a menstruous woman, when eating, to prevent contamination of the food. The Persian *Rivâyats* state that three bags (*kîsah*) are made of two thicknesses of strong linen, one bag to wear on each hand, and the third, which is larger, to hold the metal food-bowl and water-goblet. After thoroughly washing her hands and face, she puts the two bags on her hands, taking care that they do not touch her food, or clothes, or any other part of her body. She then feeds herself with a metal spoon, which must not touch her nose; and when the meal

pûhar *sin*¹ at root, which is hell; *and* in the Vendidad² it says that the clothing of the charitable (dahisn-hômand) soul, and even the clothing which they will give *it*, are out of almsgivings (dâsarân)³.

5. The rule is this, that when any one passes away, after keeping fasting the three *nights*⁴, still the presentation of holy-water (zôhar) to the fire is to be performed, which is the presenting of the holy-water to the nearest fire; for in the Dâmdâd Nask⁵ *it* is revealed that when they sever (te-brûnd) the consciousness of men it goes out to the nearest fire, then out to the stars, then out to the

is finished the food-bowl and water-goblet are placed on the large bag, and the two smaller bags inside it, till wanted again.

¹ See Chap. I, 1, 2.

² This passage does not appear to be now extant in the Vendidad, and it is possible to read Nask Dâd instead of Vadîkdâd. The Dâdî or Dâdak Nask was the eleventh nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard, which merely says that its 'Avesta and Zand are not communicated to us by the high-priest.' According to the Dînî-vagarkard, which calls it Khûstô, and the Rivâyats, which call it Khast, it was the twelfth Nask, and they give its contents in more detail than usual (see Haug's Essays, pp. 130, 131).

³ Meaning that the dead require no clothing, as their future bodies will be clothed out of the garments they have given away in charity. The resemblance of this statement to that contained in Bund. XXX, 28, which must have been abridged from the Dâmdâd Nask (see SZS. IX, 1), renders it possible that it may have been taken from that Nask.

⁴ No fresh meat is to be cooked or eaten for the first three days after a death in the house, according to the Sad-dar Bundahis, LXXVIII (compare Chap. XVII, 1-3).

⁵ See SZS. IX, 1. The passage here quoted may perhaps be found in the complete text of the Bundahis, as given in TD (Chap. 37; see Introduction, p. xxxvii).

moon, and then out to the sun¹; and *it* is needful that the nearest fire, which is that to which it *has* come out, should become stronger (zôr-hômand-tar)².

6. The rule is this, that they should not leave a nail-*paring* unprayed over (anâfsûdak), for if it be not prayed over (afsând)³ it turns into the arms and equipments of the Mâzanân demons⁴; *this* is explicitly shown in the Vendidad⁵.

7. The rule is this, that the labour of child-birth⁶ is not to be accomplished at night, except while with the light of a fire, or the stars and moon, upon *it*; for great opposition is connected with it, and in the twentieth of the Hûspâram Nask⁷ it is shown *that* over the soul of him who works in the dark *there is* more predominance of the evil spirit.

8. The rule is this, that they should allow the egg and other food⁸ for those gifts *and* favours of the

¹ A righteous soul is supposed to step out first to the star station, then to the moon station, and then to the sun station, on its way to 'Garôdmân, the highest heaven; but if its righteousness is imperfect it has to stop at one of these three stations, which are the three lower grades of heaven (see note on pâhlûm ahvân, Chap. VI, 3).

² Or 'more provided with zôr,' which may mean 'holy-water,' as the two words zôr and zôhar are occasionally confounded.

³ Or, perhaps, 'if they shall not pray over *it*.'

⁴ See Bund. III, 20, XIX, 19, 20.

⁵ Vend. XVII, 29.

⁶ Barman-zerkhûnisnîh may also mean 'begetting a son.'

⁷ See Chap. X, 21. The word 'twentieth' appears to refer to the second group of twenty sections, one of which treated of the begetting, birth, and treatment of children.

⁸ Referring to the egg, drôns, frasasts, and gâus hudhau or 'meat-offering' (which may be either butter or meat, see Chap. XI, 4) that are used in the drôn ceremony, or consecration of the sacred cakes (see note on drôn, Chap. III, 32). The object of

sovereign moon (*mâh-i khûdâi*) and the other angels; if so, it is to be allowed by them thus: 'I will consecrate so much food for such an angel,' and not thus: 'One sacred cake (*drônô*) in so much food.' 9. And the reason of it is this, that *they* who shall allow thus: 'One sacred cake out of so much food,' and of which *it* is one thing less, even though *one* shall consecrate *it* many times, still then he *has* not repaid; and *they* who should allow thus: 'I will consecrate so much food for such an angel,' though *one* shall reverence *him* with many sacred cakes, it is proper. 10. And in the twenty-two *sections* of the *Sakâdûm Nask*¹ grievous things are shown about those who do not make offerings (*aûstôfrîd*) unto the angels.

11. The rule is this, that when a woman becomes pregnant, as long as it is possible, a fire *one* cares for well is to be maintained in the house, because it is revealed² in the *Spend Nask* that *to Dûkdâv*³, the mother of *Zaratûst*, when she was pregnant with *Zaratûst*, for three nights, every night a leader (*shâh*)⁴ with a hundred and fifty demons came for the destruction of *Zaratûst*, and yet, owing to the existence of the fire in the dwelling, they knew no means *for it*.

this paragraph is, evidently, to reprove niggardliness in such offerings, and to prevent their being mere pretexts for feasting.

¹ See Chap. X, 25. The passage alluded to here was probably in that section, of the last twenty-two, which treated of the spirits of the earthly existences, one portion of which was 'about preparing offerings (*aûstôfrîd*) to the angels.'

² M6 has 'the fire of *Aûharmazd* is to be fully maintained, *and* it is revealed,' &c. This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 4, with a few variations.

³ Here written *Dûdkâv*.

⁴ Or it may be read *sêdâ*, 'a demon,' meaning 'an arch-fiend.'

12. The rule is this, where a child is born, *during* three days, for protection from demons, wizards, and witches, a fire is to be made at night until *daylight*, and is to be maintained there in the day, and pure incense is to be put upon it, as is revealed in the thirtieth of the *Sakādūm Nask*¹.

13. The rule is this², that from a toothpick the bark³ is to be well cut off, for there are *some* of those of the primitive faith⁴ who *have* said that, when⁵ they shall make it for the teeth *with* the bark on, and they throw *it* away, a pregnant woman, who puts a foot upon it, is doubtful about *its* being dead matter.

14. The rule is this, that *it* is well *if any one of* those who have their handmaid (*kakar*) in cohabitation (*zanth*), and offspring is born of her, shall accept all those who are male as sons; *but* those who are female are no advantage, because an adopted *son* (*satôr*) is requisite, and in the fourteenth of the *Hûspâram Nask*⁶ the high-priests

¹ That is, in the first thirty sections of the *Nask* (see Chap. X, 25); the passage alluded to must have been in that portion which treated of new-born infants and their proper treatment.

² §§ 13-16 are a repetition of Chap. X, 20-23, with a few variations.

³ The word appears to be *tôpö* or *tûfö*, which would rather mean 'scum' or 'gum' (see Bund. XXVII, 19), unless it be considered a miswriting of *tôgö* or *tôzö*, which would mean 'thin bark' or 'bast.' It can also be read *tûpar*, 'a leather bag,' and the sentence can be so translated as to imply that a toothpick should be cut out of a leather bag, an alternative similar to that suggested by the text of Chap. X, 20.

⁴ See Chap. I, 3.

⁵ Reading *amat*, 'when,' instead of *mûn*, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

⁶ See Chap. X, 21.

have taught thus: 'My son is suitable also as thy son, *but* my daughter is not suitable also as thy daughter;' and *there* are many who¹ do not appoint an adopted *son with* this idea, that: 'The child of a handmaid may be accepted by us as a son.'

15. The rule is this, that *one is* to persevere much in the begetting of offspring, since *it is* for the acquisition² of many good works at once; because in the Spend³ and Nihâdûm Nasks⁴ the high-priests *have* taught that the duty and good works which a son performs are as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand; and in the Dâmdâd Nask⁵ it is revealed thus: 'Likewise, too, the good works, *in* like manner, which come *to* the father as his own.'

16. The rule is this, that what they shall give to the worthy is as much as is proper and beyond, for eating *and* accumulating; because in the Nihâdûm Nask⁶ the high-priests *have* taught thus: 'When a man gives bread to a man, even though that man *has* too much bread, all the good works, which he shall perform through that superabundance, become as much his *who gave it* as though they had been done by his own hand.'

17. The rule is this, that in the night water is

¹ The writer of M6 evidently found his original illegible at this place, as he wrote . . . m a m a n instead of mûn denman.

² M6 has 'performance,' which is probably a misreading, due to the original of that MS. being partially illegible.

³ See Chap. X, 4. This Nask is not mentioned in Chap. X, 22, and the passage here alluded to is not to be traced in any of the short accounts of its contents.

⁴ See Chap. X, 3, 22.

⁵ See SZS. IX, 1, and Chap. X, 22.

⁶ See Chap. X, 3, 23.

not to be drawn¹ from a well, as in the Bâg-yasnô² notice is given about the uncleanness (ayosdâsarîh) of well-water at night.

18. The rule is this, that in the night anything eatable is not to be cast away to the north, because a fiend *will* become pregnant; and when it is cast away one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô³ is to be uttered. 19. Those of the primitive faith⁴ who *used* to act more orthodoxically (hû-rastakîhâtar), when food *was* eaten by them in the night, for the sake of preservation from sin owing to the coming of strainings *and* sprinklings *on* to the ground, directed a man to chant the Ahunavar⁵ from the beginning of the feast

¹ K20 has 'that water is not to be drawn on foot.'

² Probably the Bakân-yastô is meant, which was the fourteenth nask or 'book' of the complete Mazdayasnian literature, according to the Dînkard; but according to the Dînî-vagarkard and the Rivâyats it was the fifteenth nask, called Baghân-yast. For its contents, as given by the Dînî-vagarkard, see Haug's Essays, p. 132. The following is the account of it given in the eighth book of the Dînkard:—

'The Bakân-yastô is a treatise, first, on the worship (yastô) of Aûharmazd, the most pre-eminent of divinities (bakân avartûm), and, secondly, the worship of the angels of the other invisible and visible worldly existences, out of whom are even the names of the days, and the glory, power, triumph, and miraculousness of their life also is extreme; the angels who are invoked by name in their worship, and the attention *and* salutation *due* to them; the worthiness *and* dispensation of favour for worshippers, *and* the business of their many separate recitations unto the angels; the business of unlimited acquaintance with knowledge about the promoters of the treasures of the period, unto whom the creator Aûharmazd *is* to intrust them, *and* they remain to cause industry. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.'

³ See Bund. I, 21. This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 7, with a few variations.

⁴ See Chap. I, 3.

⁵ That is, the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô (see Bund. I, 21).

(myazd) unto the end, more especially at the feast of the season-festivals; as it says in the Hâdôkht *Nask*¹, that of the sayings which are spoken out the Ahunavar is that *which* is most triumphant.

20. The rule is this, that when *one* sees a hedgehog he takes *it* back to the plain, and its own place is to be preserved free from danger; for in the Vendidad the high-priests *have* taught, that every day, when the hedgehog voids urine into an ant's nest, a thousand ants will die².

21. The rule is this, that some who are of the good religion *say*, where *one* is washing *his* face, one Ashem-vohû³ is always to be uttered, *and* that Ashem-vohû is to be uttered before the *washing*; for when he utters *it* while washing *his* face, *he* is doubtful (var-hômand) about the water coming to *his* mouth.

22. The rule is this, that they select from the purifiers⁴—when their business (mindavam) is as important (rabâ) as purity and impurity—*him* with whom the control⁵ of ablution (pâdîyâvîh)⁶ and non-ablution is connected; they select *him* especially

¹ See B.Yt. III, 25. The passage here quoted must have been in the first division of the Nask.

² This section is a repetition of Chap. X, 31.

³ See Bund. XX, 2.

⁴ The yôsdâsarân, 'purifiers' (Av. yaosdâthrya), are those priests who retain so much of the purifying effect of the Bareshnûm ceremony (see Chap. II, 6) as to be able to assist in purifying others by means of the same ceremony. When that effect has passed away a priest can no longer perform the sacred rites, until he has again undergone the nine nights' purification of the Bareshnûm.

⁵ Reading band, but it may be bôd, 'vitality, essence.'

⁶ See Chap. II, 52.

with regard to the good disposition and truthful speaking of the man, and *to* the particular work ; and on account of *his being* in innocence *he* is to be considered more righteous. 23. As in the Vendidad¹ it says, about the two shares of righteousness, how *one* should tell that *he is* 'a righteous man, O Zarâtûst the Spîtâmân ! who is a purifier, who should be a speaker that speaks truly, an enquirer of the *sacred* texts—that is, he has performed his ritual (yast)—a righteous *one* who specially understands purification from the religion of the Mazdayas-nians, that is, he understands its *religious* formulas (nîrang).' 24. When *it* is so that the control of their ablution is connected with him, so that they consider what *pertains* to the *purifying* bowl (zak-i tâstîk) as his, and ever abstain from it, though the angels hear and consider *them* as clean, and they select for him those who consecrate the water and bull's urine (gômêz) on account of *their* control of purification (yôsdâsarkarîh), *and it* is to be performed very observantly by the consecrators at the place which is to be measured with a measure and very exactly (khûptar)². 25. And the purifier is so much the better when washed again, and when *it is* by some one through whose periodic (zamânîk)

¹ The passage here quoted is from Pahl. Vend. IX, 4-6.

² Referring to the Bareshnûm-gâh, or place prepared for the Bareshnûm ceremony of purification with bull's urine and water, which are handed to the person undergoing purification by an officiating priest (see Chap. II, 6). The place is marked out with furrows in the ground, and furnished with stones (magh) to squat upon during the ablutions (see B. Yt. II, 36). The construction of this paragraph is very obscure in many places, and its proper division into sentences is, therefore, uncertain.

care *he* is thus done; for in the periodic interval many secret¹ kinds of pollution are produced. 26. Of the celebrators of the Vendidad the good are *they* who shall again perform the Navashâdar rite²; for, on account of the same nicety (nâzûkîh) which is written above by me, *and* on account of much also *that is* secret, which has happened *and* mostly arises about it, *there* is no harm from performing *it*. 27. And *any one* of those who shall receive the water and bull's urine *it* is very important to wash beforehand (pavan pês)³; because, if *there* be impurity *about* him⁴, *and* he puts a hand to the cup (gâmak), the water, *and* the bull's urine, *they* are unclean (apâdâvö)⁵; when *it is* so that *there* be some one, when so, *it* is better *that* they always wash his eyelids (môyak gâs), *and* to wash them by the clean is good.

28. The rule is this, that thou shouldst not consider even any one hopeless (anâîmêd) of heaven,

¹ Reading nihân, but we might perhaps read 'causes (vahân) of pollution of many kinds.' The meaning of the section is, that it is necessary for the purifying priest to maintain his own purity by frequently undergoing the Bareshnûm ceremony himself.

² Yast-i Navashâdar in all MSS., but the latter word is most probably a corruption of Av. navakhshapara, 'a period of nine nights,' for which length of time the Bareshnûm ceremony must be continued (see Vend. IX, 144, XIX, 80). The 'Navashâdar rite' is, therefore, 'the ceremony of the nine nights,' which should be frequently undergone by the priests who celebrate the Vendidad ceremonial.

³ M6 has pavan pîsak, 'with ceremony.'

⁴ M6 has 'them.'

⁵ M6 has 'one knows it is unto the cup and bull's urine;' but as M6 was evidently copied from a MS. already nearly illegible in some places, it is generally safer to follow K20, except when M6 supplies words omitted by the more careless writer of K20.

and they should not set *their* minds steadfastly on hell; thereby much sinfulness for which *there* is a desire would be undesirable, because *there* is nothing which is a sin *in* my religion for which *there* is no retribution, as it says in the Gâthas¹ thus:—‘Of those who are aware that thou art, O Aûharmazd! is even he who is infamous (raspakö); and they know the punishment of him even who is very sinful.’ 29. And *as to* him even who is a very sinful person, through the desire² of good works which is entertained by him, *there* then comes more fully to him the joy of a soul newly worthy (nuk shâyad); as in the Spēd Nask³ it was shown to Zaratûst about one man, that all *his* limbs were in torment, and one foot was outside; and Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd about the reason *of it*; and Aûharmazd said that he was a man, Davâns⁴ by name; he was ruler over thirty-three⁵ districts, and he never practised

¹ The passage here quoted from the Gâthas will be found in Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 7.

² M6 has merely ‘through the good works which are practised by him;’ but K20 has ‘r hamak’ inserted at this point, which seems to indicate the existence of the nearly identical Pahlavi letters kâmak, ‘desire,’ in the original from which it was copied.

³ See Chap. X, 4. The passage here quoted was no doubt contained in that part of the Nask which treated of the exhibition of heaven and hell to Zaratûst, which must have been very similar to the Ardâ-Vîrâf-nâmak, in which most of the details of this story about Davâns are given (see AV. XXXII).

⁴ This is, no doubt, the Av. davās of Yas. XXXI, 10, which may be translated ‘hypocrite.’ The Pahlavi translation of the line in which the word occurs is thus rendered in Haug’s Essays (p. 351): ‘Aûharmazd does not allot to him who is an idler, the infidel who is any hypocrite (davās) in the sacred recitations. In the good religion it is asserted that even as much reward as they give to the hypocrite they do not give to the infidel.’

⁵ K20 has ‘thirty-four.’

any good work, except one time when fodder *was* conveyed by him to a sheep with that one foot.

30. The rule is this, that when a man has performed his *form of* worship (yast), and his wife has not performed *it*, *it* is extremely necessary to perform the suitable *form of* worship, or to order a Gêtô-kharîd¹, so that they may become such as are dwelling more closely *together* in the spiritual *existence* than in the world; and in the Hâdôkht Nask² it says that a woman (nâtrîk) who shall be reverent (tarsak) is to be considered as much as she who is suitable (zîtyâk).

31. The rule is this, that these five ceremonies (yazisn), when they shall perform *them*, are good works³; when *one* does not perform *them*, and the time is manifest to him, and when he shall set *them* aside to perform *them* out of the proper time, they shall go to the bridge⁴ *as* sin; the ceremonies which go to the bridge are these, and in the Hûspâram Nask⁵ it says that *they are* the non-celebration of the rites (lâ yastanô) of the season-festivals⁶, the

¹ Here written gêtôk-kharîd, but see Chap. V, 6, and Bund. XXX, 28.

² See B. Yt. III, 25; but the passage here quoted is not clearly indicated in the accounts we have of the contents of this Nask.

³ The distinction between these ceremonies and those whose values as good works are given in Chap. XVI, 6, appears to be that any omission in performing these five at their proper times amounts to an absolute sin, whereas the others are not so indispensable.

⁴ That is, they will be taken into account at the judgment on the soul's actions at the Kinvad bridge (see Bund. XII, 7).

⁵ See Chap. X, 21. The passage here quoted was probably in the section called Nirangistân.

⁶ The Gâsânbârs or Gâhanbârs (see Bund. XXV, 1-6).

Rapitvîn¹, the three *nights*² after a death, the days devoted to the guardian spirits³, and the sun and moon⁴.

32. The rule is this, that at every one of these three things, *which* come through hungry living, that is, sneezing, yawning, and sighing, *one* is to speak out a Yathâ-ahû-vairyô and one Ashem-vohû⁵; and also when *one* hears the sneezing of any one, to speak *in* like manner is so considered as an action of the good⁶; and in the Stûdgar Nask⁷ it says thus: "What prepares sneezing? that is, through what process (kâr) does it come?" And Aûharmazd said thus: "Hungry living, O Zaratûst! because the remedy for its existence is the Ahunavar, O Zaratûst! and righteousness⁸."

CHAPTER XIII.

o. The signification of the Gâthas⁹.

1. These three Ashem-vohûs (Yas. XI, end) which

¹ The midday period (see Bund. II, 8, 9, XXV, 9-14).

² See Chap. VIII, 6.

³ See Chap. X, 2.

⁴ See Chap. VII, 1-5.

⁵ See Bund. I, 21, XX, 2.

⁶ That is, it is commendable, though not obligatory. The practice of uttering a blessing on hearing a sneeze is still common in many parts of Europe.

⁷ See B. Yt. I, 1. The passage here quoted is not to be traced in any of the accounts of this Nask.

⁸ 'The Ahunavar and praise of righteousness' would be a Pahlavi equivalent for 'the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô and Ashem-vohû.'

⁹ That is, the mystical meaning or influence supposed to attach to various parts of the ancient hymns, or to the manner in which they are chanted. The term Gâtha or 'hymn' (Pahl. gâs) is applied, in this chapter, not only to the five Gâthas properly so called, but also to the Yasna of seven chapters, and apparently to

*represent*¹ the Fravarânê (Yas. XI, end) of the preliminary ritual (pêš nîrang) and the rotation of these three Hâs ('chapters'), the Fravarânê, Frastuyê, and Âstuyê—*fravarânê being* the beginning of the Fravarânê² *which extends* as far as frastayaêka³, frastuyê⁴, the beginning of the Frastuyê (Yas. XII, 1–XIII, 26) *which extends* up to the Âstuyê, and âstuyê⁵, the beginning of the Âstaothwanem⁶ (Yas. XIII, 27–XIV, end) *which extends* as far as âstaothwanemkâ daênayau Mâzdayasnôis—*also represent* the Vîsâi-ve-ameshâ-spentâ (Yas. XV), *which is* the beginning of the Stôtân-yasnô ('the ritual of praisers')⁷, and these three Hâs of the Baghâm (Yas. XIX–XXI).

2. In the exposition (*kashîdak*) and through the

other portions of the Yasna written in the Gâtha dialect of the Avesta.

¹ This appears to be the meaning, but the construction of this section is altogether very obscure, and the text is more or less corrupt in all MSS. In the celebration of the Yasna or Yazšn the officiating priest tastes the Hôš juice during the recitation of Yas. XI (see Haug's Essays, p. 404), and shortly afterwards he commences the preliminary prayers mentioned in the text.

² Both K20 and M6 have Frerân in Pâzand.

³ Both K20 and M6 omit the initial f.

⁴ M6 has âstuyê.

⁵ M6 omits this word.

⁶ This is the Avesta name of the Hâ or chapter consisting of Yas. XIII, 27–XIV, 19; as Fraoreti is the name of the preceding Hâ, consisting of Yas. XII, 1–XIII, 26.

⁷ Probably consisting of the three Hâs, Yas. XV–XVII; in which case, the meaning seems to be that the three Ashem-vohûs, at the beginning of this preliminary ritual, are symbolical of each of the three triplets of chapters which follow them; first, of the Fravarânê, Fraoreti, and Âstaothwanem chapters; secondly, of the three chapters of the Stôtân-yasnô; and thirdly, of those of the Baghân Yart.

evidence of revelation (dînô) the wise of those of the primitive faith¹ *have* thus said, that a man of fifteen years², and a son and brother of Mazdayas-nians—when he confesses *his* failings (mândak) to the high-priests (radân), and they shall bring him the whip and scourge³, and these five Gâthas⁴ are chanted and the good waters consecrated by him, and the whole of the renewed-birth ceremony (navîd-zâdîth)⁵ is performed by him—*becomes* a mature youth and not a child, and a share of the prayers of initiation (nâpar) and of the fires is to be given over to him⁶; and when thus much is not performed by him, a share is not to be given. 3. These five⁷ Gâthas are made up from the body of a righteous man.

¹ See Chap. I, 3.

² Referring to one about to become a priest.

³ The Av. astra and sraoshô-karana of Vend. IV, 38-114, &c., which were formerly used for the temporal punishment of sinners. Whether they are here brought to the neophyte as a token of his admission to the priesthood, or are administered to him as a punishment for his offences, is not quite clear.

⁴ The five Gâthas are the Ahunavaiti (Yas. XXVIII-XXXIV), the Ustavaiti (Yas. XLII-XLV), the Spentâ-mainyû (Yas. XLVI-XLIX), the Vohû-khshathra (Yas. L), and the Vahistôisti (Yas. LII); these collections of hymns are thus named from the words with which each of them commences, excepting the first, which derives its name from the Ahunavar (see Bund. I, 21) which is written in the same metre.

⁵ This is the Pahlavi form of the Parsi navazûdî, a term applied to the whole initiatory ceremonial of a nônâbar, or newly initiated priest; the term evidently implies that the ceremony is considered somewhat in the light of 'regeneration.'

⁶ That is, he can take his part in the regular priestly duties, including the initiation of other neophytes.

⁷ Both K20 and M6 have four in ciphers, which can hardly be right; the sentence is clear enough, but the idea of its writer is rather obscure.

4. Ahyâ-yâsâ (Yas. XXVIII), Khshmaibyâ (Yas. XXIX), and Ad-tâ-vakhshyâ (Yas. XXX) *have*, severally, eleven stanzas (*vaêêst*), because eleven things move spiritually within the bodies of men, as life, consciousness, religion, soul, guardian spirit, thought, word, deed, seeing, smelling, and hearing; and the bodies of men and other creatures are formed of water, fire, and wind¹.

5. Ashem-Ahurem-mazdâh (Visp. XV) is *to be recited*² three times before the coming of Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshyans; and when they also recite the chapter (*hâd*) well, and by line (*gâs*) and stanza, those *apostles* are present³, and the

¹ These first three chapters of the Ahunavaiti collection of hymns are here supposed to symbolize the three material elements, whose union distinguishes a man's body from inorganic substances; while the eleven stanzas, which each of these chapters contains, symbolize the eleven immaterial existences said to be contained in the same body.

² This is doubtful, as no verb is expressed, and the word bâr, 'time,' is struck out in M6, so it is possible to read 'the "three foremost" of the Ashem-Ahurem-mazdâh are the coming of Hûshêdar,' &c. The 'three foremost' (3 levînôg) would be a possible Pahlavi translation of the Av. *tisrô paoiryô* and *tisra paoirya* of Visp. XV, 4-6, instead of the actual 'three first' (3-i fratûm), as may be seen from Pahl. Visp. VIII, 17, 20; where both *pêš* (= *levînô*) and *fratûm* are used indifferently for Av. *paoiryô*. At any rate the idea embodied in the text is that these 'three first' have some reference to the three future apostles of the Parsi religion (see Bund. XXXII. 8, B. Yt. III, 13, 44, 52, 62). In fact, however, they seem to refer to the first three chapters of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha, immediately after which this chapter (Visp. XV) is recited in the full Parsi ritual; the phrase being rendered in the Pahlavi translation thus:—'I reverence the three first by not speaking out, that is, I do not say anything during them, and not wearing out, that is, I do not doze away during them.'

³ K20 has 'arrive early.'

country becomes more flourishing and more dominant in the world.

6. The twenty-two stanzas of *Tâ-ve-urvâtâ* (Yas. XXXI) are the twenty-two judgments (*dâdîstân*) of which it speaks in the *Hâdôkht Nask*¹ thus:— ‘*Anaomô mananghê daya vîspâi kva, kva parô?*’ (‘where are *they* to be produced beyond every thought? *and* where before?’) ‘Lodging in the judge, that while *he has* twenty-two judgments *he may be* more just;’—so that when they pray the *Tâ-ve-urvâtâ* chapter well, and recite *it* by line and stanza, the judges possess those twenty-two judgments more correctly, and judiciousness is more lodging *in them*.

7. The sixteen stanzas of the *Hvaêtumaithi chapter* (Yas. XXXII)² are lodging in warriors, so that it becomes possible, during their good protection, to force the enemy *away* from those sixteen countries which the *Vendidad*³ mentions in *its* first fargard.

¹ See B. Yt. III, 25. Both the Avesta text here quoted and the translation suggested must be received with caution, as the MSS. do not agree in the three central words; K20 has *mananhê dya vîspâi kaua*, and M6 has *mananhê kya vîsâi kaia*. The former reading has been adopted, with very slight correction, as it seems the more intelligible; but the meaning of the preceding word, *anaomô*, is far from certain. The writer seems to have been quoting from a Pahlavi version of the *Nask* which contained this Avesta quotation.

² This *Hâ*, which begins with the words *a hvyâkâ hvaêtus*, is not called by its initial words, as the preceding chapters are, but has this special name (see the prayers at the end of it) derived from its second word, and which is corrupted in Pahlavi into *Khvêtmanô*.

³ Here written *Gavîd-sêdâ-dâd* as in Sls. Part I, and not *Va-dîkdâd* as in other parts of Sls. Part II (see § 19 and Chap. XII, 4, 6, 20, 23, 26). *Vend. I* contains an account of the sixteen

8. The fourteen stanzas of Yathâ-âis (Yas. XXXIII) are for this reason, because seven archangels are more diligent in activity *for* the spirit, and seven archangels¹ for the world, so that they may attain 'to heaven, the home (mêhônô) of Âû-harmazd, the home of the archangels, the home of those righteous ones,' avi garô-nmânem, maêthanem Ahurahê mazdau, maêthanem ameshanâm spentanâm, maêthanem anyaêshâm ashaonâm². 9. The three repetitions (dânar) of Ye-sevistô (Yas. XXXIII, 11)³, and the holding up of the holy-water (zôhar) at these *repetitions*, are for the four classes⁴, and for this *reason* at Ahurâi mazdâi and ashemkâ frâdad⁵ the holy-water is

'best of regions and countries' where the Iranian power and religion extended at an early date.

¹ The seven archangels besides their spiritual duties have severally charge of the seven worldly existences, man, animals, fire, metal, earth, water, and plants (see § 14 and Chap. XV). But perhaps we should read 'angels,' as they are often mentioned as 'the angels of the spiritual and worldly existences.'

² This quotation, of which the Pahlavi translation is first given, and then the Avesta text, is from Vend. XIX, 107.

³ This stanza is recited thrice, and about the same time the officiating priest strains the Hôh juice, and prepares to pour holy-water into the mortar in which the Hôh twigs were pounded (see Haug's Essays, pp. 402, 406).

⁴ Or 'professions' of the community, of which there were originally only three, the priest, warrior, and husbandman; but at a later date the artizan was added. Both K20 and M6 have 'four classes,' but this is inconsistent with the 'three repetitions.' The Avesta generally knows only three classes, but four are mentioned in the Baghân Yast (Yas. XIX, 46).

⁵ That is, probably, at the words Ahurô mazdauskâ in the first line, and ashemkâ frâdad in the second line of the stanza; but this is doubtful, as the MSS. give the words corruptly, in a mixture of Av. and Pahl., as follows: pavan Ahurâi mazdâi ahârayih-i dadôih.

to be held level with the heart of him who is the officiating priest (*zôt*), and at *sraotâ*¹ *it* is to be held level with the arm of him who is the officiating priest, so that while the warriors are in battle with foreigners (*anâîrân*) they may be fuller of breath (*vayô-gîrtar*), and the husbandmen stronger-armed in the tillage and cultivation of the world.

10. The fifteen stanzas of *Yâ-skyaothanâ* (*Yas. XXXIV*) are for this reason, because it is given² for the destruction of those fifteen fiends who are disclosed in the medical part (*bêshâz*) of the *Hâdôkht Nask*³. 11. The four repetitions (*bâr*) of *Mazdâ-ad-môi* (*Yas. XXXIV, 15*)⁴ are for the right coming on of the share of these five chieftainships (*radîh*), the house-ruler, the village-ruler, the tribe-ruler, the province-ruler, and the supreme *Zaratûst*⁵.

12. The two repetitions of *Ahyâ-yâsâ* (*Yas. XXVIII, 1*)⁶ are for this reason, that the sovereign (*dahyûpat*) may not at once seize body, conscious-

¹ The first word in the third line of the stanza ; but this, again, has to be guessed from a Pahlavi version in the MSS. which may be read *va vâ-srôdâân*.

² Or 'produced.'

³ In the last division of that *Nask* (see *B. Yt. III, 25*, note).

⁴ This last stanza of the *Ahunavaiti Gâtha* is recited four times.

⁵ See *Yas. XIX, 50-52*. The last of these rulers must have been the supreme pontiff or patriarch of the province, and in the province of *Ragha* (*Rages* or *Raî*, near *Teheran*) he was both temporal and spiritual ruler.

⁶ This first stanza of the *Ahunavaiti Gâtha* is recited twice, not only in its proper place (as the first stanza of each chapter is, in the *Gâthas*), but also at the end of every chapter of the *Ahunavaiti Gâtha*, while the officiating priest sprinkles the sacred twigs with the sacred milk or *gâus gîvya*, 'living-cow produce' (see *Haug's Essays*, pp. 405, 406).

ness, and soul. 13. Those four Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs of the first *Gâtha*¹ are for this reason, that is, so that inferiors may become more tolerant of the commands of superiors, and good thoughts, good words, and good deeds be more domesticated (*mâh-mântar*) in the world, and the fiend more powerless (*apâdakhshâhtar*).

14. In short (*aê-mar*)², *Ahyâ-yâsâ* is as (*pavan*)³ *Aûharmazd* and the righteous man, *Khshmaibyâ* as *Vohûman* and cattle, *Ad-tâ-vakhshyâ* as *Ardavahist* and fire, *Tâ-ve-urvâtâ* as *Shatvaîrô*⁴ and metal, the *Hvaêtumaithi* as the *Gâtha* of *Spendarmad* and the earth, *Yathâ-âis* as *Horvada* and water, and *Yâ-skyaothanâ* as *Amerôdad* and plants.

15. The progress which is in⁵ the *Ahunavaiti* *Gâtha* the house-rulers should carry on; that which is in the *Ustavaiti* *Gâtha* the village-rulers should carry on; that which is in the *Spentâ-mainyû*⁶ *Gâtha* the tribe-rulers should carry on; that which is in the *Vohû-khshathra* *Gâtha* the province-rulers should carry on; that which is in the *Vahistô-isti* *Gâtha* the supreme *Zaratûsts* should carry on; and

¹ After the two *Ahyâ-yâsâs*, at the end of each chapter of the *Ahunavaiti* *Gâtha*, the *Yathâ-ahû-vairyô* formula (see *Bund. I, 21*) is recited four times.

² Or 'to sum up.'

³ It is not quite clear how *pavan*, 'in, on, with, by, through, as, for,' &c., should be translated in each clause of this section; but the intention is evidently to compare the seven chapters of the *Ahunavaiti* *Gâtha* with the seven archangels and the seven earthly creations which they severally protect (see *Chap. XV*).

⁴ Here written *Shatrîvar*.

⁵ Meaning probably 'the prosperity which is occasioned by;' but the exact signification of the word *frâk-shâm* or *frêh-kashâm* (or however it may be read) is uncertain.

⁶ *Spendômat* or *Spendamat* in Pahlavi.

that which is in the Yasna, which is the place of righteous blessing¹, these four classes themselves should carry on.

16. Of the Yasna of *seven chapters* (Yas. XXXV–XLI, 17) the beginning section (*kardakö*) has nine stanzas; and its beginning² is Humatanām (Yas. XXXV, 4), and its end is Humatanām (Yas. XLI, 17 suppl.)

17. The six stanzas of Ahyâ-thwâ-âthrô (Yas. XXXVI) are owing to the six hot ordeals (*var*) which, in the Hûspâram *Nask*³, are effected by *ka-thrayâim âthraiām*⁴.

18. The five stanzas of Ithâ-âd-yazamaidê (Yas. XXXVII) are thanksgiving and praise for the production of the good creations by Aûharmazd.

19. The five stanzas of Imām-âd-zām (Yas. XXXVIII) are owing to those five comforts and five discomforts of the earth, which, it is declared in the third fargard in the Vendidad⁵, are accomplished

¹ That is, the Yasna of seven chapters (Yas. XXXV–XLI), which is called simply 'the Yasna' in this chapter. This last clause, which is omitted in M6, connects these later hymns with the four classes of the community (see § 9), just as the five older hymns are connected with the five chiefs of the community (see § 11) in the former clauses. This section may be a translation from the Avesta, as the verbs precede their nominatives.

² That is, the beginning of the Yasna of seven chapters.

³ See Chap. X, 21; but the *Sakâdûm Nask* (see Chap. X, 25) is probably meant, as it contained a section on ordeals by heat and cold.

⁴ These Avesta words are evidently corrupt, but perhaps 'a quadruple fire' is meant. K20 has *ka-thrâyâim âthraiām*.

⁵ Here written *Vandikdâd* (see § 7). The passage here cited is not a quotation, but only a brief summary of Vend. III, 1–37; and appears to have been derived direct from the Avesta, without the assistance of the Pahlavi version, as several words differ from that translation.

thus:—‘The first comfort of the earth is from the land on which a righteous man walks forth; the second is when they shall make the dwelling of the good and fires upon it; the third is when they sow corn upon it, and shall take heed of dead matter; the fourth is when all beasts *of burden* are born upon it; the fifth is when every beast *of burden* is on it¹; and its first discomfort is from the Arezûr ridge² and the gate of hell; the second is when they dig³ it up *for* a dead *body*; the third is when *one* constructs a depository *for the dead* (khazân)⁴ upon it; the fourth is from the holes of its noxious creatures; the fifth is when they shall forsake a man in affliction (vardakth) upon it, who is righteous.’

20. The five stanzas of Ithâ (Yas. XXXIX) are just as those which *go* before.

21. The four stanzas of Âhû-ad-paiti (Yas. XL) are about the benefit (arg-hômandth) which is on account of water, earth, plants, and animals.

22. The six stanzas of Stûtô-garô (Yas. XLI, 1-17), the two repetitions of Humatanâm (Yas. XXXV, 4-6), *and* the three repetitions of Hukhsh-athrôtemâi (Yas. XXXV, 13-15) are on account of the existence of the sons of Zaratûst⁵.

¹ The verb is probably omitted by mistake, and we ought to read ‘voids urine upon it,’ in accordance with Vend. III, 20.

² See Bund. XII, 8.

³ Reading kalëndend (Pers. kalandand), as Vend. III, 27 refers to burial of the dead, and the same idea might be obtained, more fancifully, by reading kilînênd, ‘they turn to clay’ (compare Pers. gil, ‘clay’); but the most obvious reading is karînênd, ‘they cut,’ and as the sentence stands it would imply that ‘they cut up its dead.’

⁴ See Chap. II, 6.

⁵ The three apostles expected in the future (see § 5 and Bund. XXXII, 8). It is doubtful whether these three passages in the

23. The two repetitions of Ashahyâ-âad-sairi ¹ (Yas. XXXV, 22, 23) are for the laudation of righteousness and the destruction of the fiend. 24. The two repetitions of Yênhê-hâtâm ² are for the laudation of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and the destruction of the evil spirit and the miscreations (vishûdakân). 25. *The two repetitions of* ³ Thwôi-staotaraskâ (Yas. XLI, 12-14) are for the laudation of ceremonial worship (yazisnô) and the *sacred* feast (mâzd).

26. The two repetitions of Âtaremka (Visp. XIX, 1-8) ⁴ are for the laudation of the Frôbâk fire and the fire Vâzist ⁵.

27. Of the sixteen stanzas of the Ustavaiti *chapter* (Yas. XLII) ⁶ it is related just as about the *Hvaētu-maithi chapter* ⁷.

Yasna are here intended all to refer to the same subject, but no other subject is mentioned for the two former. Having completed the enumeration of the sections of the Yasna of seven chapters, the writer is now proceeding to notice those passages which are recited more than once in the performance of the ritual.

¹ M6 has gairî, 'in a song,' with the obsolete g, which is very like s, and is also used in the word garô in § 22; this is a variant well worth consideration by translators of the Avesta. K20 has only Ashahyâ.

² This formula (see B. Yt. II, 64) is recited after every chapter of the Gâthas, but does not appear to be anywhere recited twice; so the words 2 dânar, 'two repetitions,' may perhaps be inserted here in the wrong place, as they are wanting in § 25.

³ These words are omitted in the Pahlavi text, evidently through mistake.

⁴ Visp. XIX, XX follow Yas. XLI in the full Parsi ritual, and the first of them is recited twice.

⁵ The Frôbâk is the oldest sacred fire on earth, and the Vâzist is the lightning (see Bund. XVII, 1, 5, SZS. XI, 5, 8-10).

⁶ The first chapter of the Ustavaiti Gâtha (see § 2, note 4), so called from its first word ustâ.

⁷ See § 7.

28. The twenty stanzas of *Tad-thwâ-peresâ* (Yas. XLIII) are the twenty judgments (*dâd'istân*) between the beneficent spirit and the evil spirit; and for this *reason* they should every time utter *Tad-thwâ-peresâ* again¹, because they should utter the original judgment again, and the twentieth time the evil spirit becomes confounded.

29. The eleven stanzas of *Ad-fravakhshyâ* (Yas. XLIV) are made up from the six chieftainships² and the five accomplishments (*farhâng*) owing to religion; one is thus, not to do unto others³ all that which is not well for one's self; the second is to understand fully *what* is well-done and not well-done; the third is to turn from the vile and their conversation (*andarag-gûftanô*); the fourth is to confess *one's* failings to the high-priests, and let them bring the whip; the fifth is not to neglect the season-festivals at *their proper* hour (*dên hâsar*), *nor* the other things which go to the bridge⁴; and the six chieftainships are not his property who has not these

¹ That is, the first line (*tad thwâ peresâ eres môi vaokâ Ahurâ!* 'that I shall ask thee, tell *it* me right, O Ahurâ!') is repeated at the beginning of each of the first nineteen stanzas, and the first stanza being recited twice (as in all chapters of the *Gâthas*) these words are recited twenty times before the last stanza is reached. The phrases 'and for this *reason*' and 'because they should utter the original judgment again' are omitted in M6.

² These cannot be the same 'chieftainships' (*rad'ih*) as those mentioned in § 11, of which there are only five; but perhaps they are the spiritual chieftainships, or primacies, of the six other regions of the earth (see Bund. XXIX, 1).

³ Assuming that *aîsan* stands for *aîsân*.

⁴ The *Kinvad* bridge, or route of the soul to the other world (see Chap. XII, 31). Part of these fourth and fifth clauses is omitted in K20 by mistake.

five accomplishments, and he is not fit even for teaching.

30. The nineteen stanzas of Kām-nemôî-zām (Yas. XLV) are for this reason, that every one may so persevere in his own duty (khvêsakânîh)¹, that while those are our nineteen propitiations (aûsô-frîd)², which it says in the Sakâdûm *Nask*³ should be my own, the strength and power of the angels shall become more considerable, and the destroyer more perishable.

31. The Ustavaiti Gâtha is a Gâtha (gâs) of four chapters⁴, and each stanza of five lines (gâs), except Haêkad-aspâ-vakhshyâ (Yas. XLV, 15)⁵. 32. The two repetitions of Ustâ-ahmâi (Yas. XLII, 1)⁶ are, one *as* a retention *and* embrace of Aûharmazd, and one *as* a destruction of the fiends; *and* Usta-Ahurem-mazdâm (Visp. XXI, 1-5)⁷ *in* like manner.

33. Spentâ-mainyû (Yas. XLVI) *has* six stanzas, Yêzi-adâis (Yas. XLVII) twelve stanzas, Ad-mâyavâ (Yas. XLVIII) twelve stanzas, *and* Kad-môî-urvâ (Yas. XLIX) eleven stanzas. 34. The Spentâ-mainyû Gâtha is a Gâtha of four chapters⁸, and

¹ Or, it may be, 'through his own intellect (khvêsak hûsh),' or merely another mode of writing khvêskârîh, 'industry.'

² Considering each of the stanzas as an offering to, or propitiation of, (Av. usefriti) the angels.

³ See Chap. X, 25.

⁴ Those detailed in §§ 27-30.

⁵ Which stanza has only four lines. Pahl. gâs means both the whole hymn and also each line of the hymn.

⁶ The first stanza of the Ustavaiti Gâtha, which is recited twice, both in its proper place and at the end of each chapter of that Gâtha (see § 12, note).

⁷ Visp. XXI follows Yas. XLV in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

⁸ Those detailed in § 33.

each stanza of four lines; it is made up from the five chieftainships and four classes¹. 35. The two repetitions of *Spentâ-mainyû* (Yas. XLVI, 1)² are, one *for* the laudation of the beneficent spirit (*spendamat*), and one for that of the earth³.

36. One *Spentem-Ahurem-mazdâm* (Visp. XXII, 1-11)⁴ is the laudation of the creatures of the beneficent spirit, and one is the destruction of the creatures of the evil spirit.

37. The twenty-two stanzas of the *Vohû-khshathra Gâtha* (Yas. L) are those twenty-two judgments which are lodging within judges, as written above⁵.

38. The two repetitions of *Vohû-khshathrem* (Yas. L, 1)⁶ are, one the laudation of living (*zîndakîh*), and one of the supreme *Zaratûst*.

39. One *Vohû - khshathrem yazamaidê* (Visp. XXIII, 1-9)⁷ is for the laudation of *Shatvatrô*⁸, and one of metal. 40. The two repetitions of *Avi-*

¹ See §§ 9, 11.

² The first stanza of the *Spentâ-mainyû Gâtha*, which is recited twice, both in its proper place and at the end of each chapter of that *Gâtha* (see § 12, note).

³ It seems probable that the Pahlavi writer has here confounded *Spendamat*, 'the beneficent spirit,' with the archangel *Spendarmad* who has special charge of the earth; their names being even more alike in Pahlavi than in English, though corrupted from the distinct Avesta forms *spenta mainyu* and *spenta ârmaiti*, respectively.

⁴ Visp. XXII follows Yas. XLIX in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

⁵ See § 6.

⁶ The first stanza of the *Vohû-khshathra Gâtha*, which is recited twice, both at the beginning and end of the chapter (see § 12, note).

⁷ Visp. XXIII, 1-9 follows Yas. L in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice.

⁸ The archangel who has special charge of metal (see § 14, Chap. XV, 5, 14-19, and Bund. I, 26, XXX, 19); the name is here written *Shatrîvar*.

apām (Visp. XXIV, 1-12)¹ are, one for the laudation of waters, and one of plants.

41. The nine stanzas of the Vahistôisti (Yas. LII) are on account of those nine things which are² . . . the supreme Zaratûstship lodging in the supreme Zaratûsts, the source of fountains, the bridge *over* waters, and even the navigable river, the righteous man, and the righteous woman. 42. And *it is* a Gâtha of one chapter, *and* each stanza of four lines, except Ithâ-t-haithyâ-narô (Yas. LII, 6)³, for *there* is always one lord and sovereign in the world. 43. And those four lines are for this *reason*, because *it* is declared: *kathrus hamayau khshapô dahmayâd parô âfritôid*⁴, 'four times every night is the "blessing of the holy" (Yas. LIX),' and three *times* Srôsh⁵, twice Bûshâsp⁶, and once Aêshm⁷ will come

¹ After the two recitations of Visp. XXIII, 1-9 there follow Vend. XV, XVI, and Visp. XXIII, 10, and then Visp. XXIV, 1-12 is recited twice, in the full Parsi ritual, followed by Visp. XXV.

² Some words are evidently lost here; M6 has m followed by a blank space, and K20 has madam, 'on.' It is not quite certain whether the things mentioned are to be reckoned as four, five, or six; but assuming they are five, it is possible that the four things missing in the text are the four remaining chieftainships (see § 11), the rulerships of the house, village, tribe, and province lodged in the rulers of the same, respectively.

³ Which stanza has five lines, and is, therefore, here considered symbolical of the ruling monarch, or pontiff.

⁴ This Avesta passage does not appear to be extant elsewhere, and its Pahlavi translation, given in the text, is not quite correct; it would be better thus: 'through the "blessing of the holy" four times every night;' dahma âfriti (Pahl. dâhmân âfrînô, 'blessing of the holy') is the technical name of Yas. LIX.

⁵ See Bund. XIX, 33, XXX, 29. This angel, invoked by the 'blessing' (Yas. LIX, 8), comes to defend mankind against the wiles of Bûshâsp and Aêshm.

⁶ The demoness of sloth (see Bund. XXVIII, 26).

⁷ The demon of wrath (see Bund. XXVIII, 15-17, 20).

to the material world. 44. And the five *lines* of that one *stanza* (Yas. LII, 6) are for this *reason*, because the assistants of the supreme Zaratûst are five, the house-ruler, the village-ruler, the tribe-ruler, the province-ruler, and she even who is his own wife (nârîk)¹. 45. The two repetitions of Vahistâ-îstis (Yas. LII, 1)² are, one *for* the laudation of sovereigns, and one for the laudation of peace (pad-mân).

46. The two repetitions of Vahistem-Ahurem-mazdām (Visp. XXVI)³ are, one *for* the laudation of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and one for the destruction of the fiends. 47. The four repetitions of the Airyamana (Yas. LIII)⁴ are for the existence of more submission (atrmânth) in the house, village, tribe, and province. 48. The four repetitions of Avad-mizdem (Visp. XXVII) are for the healing of those⁵ *who* dwell in the house, village, tribe, and province.

49. The section (karḍakö) whose beginning is Tad-sôidhis (Yas. LVII, 1-9)⁶ is, for the completion

¹ Though bound to be strictly obedient to her husband or guardian, a Mazdayasnian woman occupied a more honourable position in the community than was sanctioned by any other oriental religion.

² The first stanza of the Vahistôisti Gâtha, which is recited twice, both at the beginning and end of the chapter (see § 12, note).

³ Visp. XXVI follows Yas. LII in the full Parsi ritual, and is recited twice, followed by Vend. XIX, XX.

⁴ So called from its first words â airyemâ; it is recited four times after Vend. XX, and shortly afterwards Visp. XXVII is also recited four times, as mentioned in § 48.

⁵ M6 has 'of the soul,' which is, no doubt, a blunder due to the illegibility of the MS. from which it was copied.

⁶ This is the Fshûshô-mâthra ('a spell or prayer for prosperity')

of the Gâthas, taught as *pertaining* to the Gâthas (gâsântk kâst).

50. The beginning of the Gâthas is Ahyâ-yâsâ (Yas. XXVIII, 1), and their end is drigavê vahyô (Yas. LII, 9, end); and *there* are 278 stanzas, 1016 lines, 5567 words (vâkak), 9999 mârik, and 16,554 khûrdak¹. 51. For the lines and stanzas of the Gâthas *were* collected by us, and were:—one hundred stanzas of the Ahunavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XXVIII–XXXIV), of which each stanza is three lines; forty stanzas of the Yasna of seven chapters (Yas. XXXV–

of Visp. I, 28, II, 30, Yas. LVI, ix, 6, LVIII, 13. Whether the remainder of Yas. LVII is to be considered as pertaining to the Gâthas is uncertain; it is recited in seven sections by the assistant priest, each section from a different position; these seven positions being the stations of the seven assistant priests who are supposed to be present spiritually, and to be arranged three on each side, and one at the south end, of the ceremonial area, while the chief officiating priest occupies the north end (see Haug's Essays, p. 332).

¹ The numbers of the stanzas and lines are correct, as may be seen from the details given in § 51. Regarding the words there is the uncertainty as to what constitutes a compound word, but, taking each compound in Westergaard's edition of the texts as a single word, the total number of words in the 1016 lines is about 6147; and this could be reduced to 5567 only by omitting the Yasna of seven chapters, and somewhat relaxing the rule as to compound words. The meaning of the last two terms, mârik and khûrdak, is doubtful, but they are certainly not syllables and letters, as the number of syllables exceeds 13,000. In other places (see Bund. I, 21) mârik usually means 'a word,' but that meaning is expressed by the term vâkak here. If the number 9999 be correct, mârik must signify some particular class of syllable which would include about three-fourths of the whole number of syllables. It may be noted, however, that Zâd-sparam, in the particulars he gives about the Gâthas (see SZS. XI, 10, note 6), states the number of mârik at 6666. The khûrdak or 'small' things are probably the consonants.

XLI, 17), of which each stanza is three lines; sixty-six stanzas of the Ustavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XLII—XLV), of which each stanza is five lines, except Haêkad-aspâ (Yas. XLV, 15), for that one is four lines; forty-one stanzas of the Spentâ-mainyû Gâtha (Yas. XLVI—XLIX), of which each stanza is four lines; twenty-two stanzas of the Vohû-khshathra (Yas. L), of which each stanza is three¹ lines; *and* nine stanzas of the Vahistôisti (Yas. LII), of which each stanza is four lines, except Ithâ-î (Yas. LII, 6), for that one is a stanza of five;—the amount of the foregoing² is 278 stanzas³.

CHAPTER XIV⁴.

o. May it be in the name of God (yazdân) and the good creation!

1. When they consecrate^a a sacred cake (drônô), *and* it becomes demon worship^b, what and how many *things* are not proper?

¹ All MSS. have 'four,' and then add the exception about Ithâ-î to the account of this Gâtha, instead of mentioning it in the details of the Vahistôisti; which blunder is here corrected.

² Reading kadmon yehevûnisnô, but the latter word, with part of the ciphers which follow, is torn away in K20, and in M6 it is written so as to resemble the Avesta letters gnn gnn, which are unintelligible, though something like Pahl. yehevûnisnô; there can, however, be little doubt as to the general meaning of the phrase.

³ The number of lines is easily computed from the same details, as follows:—300 + 120 + 329 + 164 + 66 + 37 = 1016 lines, as stated in § 50, and as they still exist in the Gâtha texts.

⁴ This chapter is also found in L15, fols. 1-4, and a Pâzand version of §§ 1-3 exists in L22, fols. 126, 127, and L7, fols. 78, 79.

⁵ That is, it becomes desecrated through some fault in the cere-

2. The decision is this:—Whoever knowingly consecrates a sacred cake with unpurified *sacred* twigs (baresôm-i apâdiyâv)¹, or with a twig-bundle the number of whose twigs (tâk) is *too* many or *too* few, or of another plant not proper *for sacred* twigs; or holds the end of the twig-bundle to the north² *and* utters the Avesta attentively; or whoever consecrates with efficacy unawares, *it* is not to be considered as uttered by him. 3. *Nor by him* who advertently or inadvertently takes a taste (kâshnik), not from the sacred cake with the butter (gâûs-dâê)³, *but* from the frasast; or takes the prayer (vâg)⁴ *inwardly* regarding that cake (drônô) before the officiating priest (zôt) takes a taste from the same cake; or shall utter the length of a stanza *in excess, and* does not again make a beginning of the *consecration of the* sacred cake; or takes *up* the

mony, for any ceremony, which is too imperfect for acceptance by the celestial beings, is supposed to be appropriated by the demons, as performed for their benefit (see Chap. IX, 5). Demon worship is a term also applied to many other evil actions which are supposed to give the demons special power over the perpetrator of them.

¹ See Chap. III, 32, note.

² The supposed direction of the demons (see Chaps. X, 7, XII, 18). When praying, a Parsi must face either the sun, or a fire or lamp; and when the direction of the sun is doubtful, or when it is nearly overhead, he must face to the south, even when he is in so low a latitude that the sun may be somewhat to the north of him.

³ Which usually takes the place of the meat-offering mentioned in Chap. XI, 4–6, and is placed upon one of the cakes on the left side of the table during consecration, while the frasasts are the cakes on the right-hand side of the table (see Chap. III, 32, note).

⁴ That is, prepares for eating by muttering the portion of the grace which is to be recited in a low murmur before eating (see Chap. III, 6, note). This clause is omitted in K20.

dedication *formula* (shn ūmanō)¹ *too* soon or *too* late; or does not utter the Avesta for the fire when he sees the fire.

4. This is how it is when the period *of the day* (gâs)² is retained, and how it should be when *one* may relinquish *it*; that is, when even one of the stars created by Aûharmazd is apparent, *it* is retained, *and* when not *it* is relinquished. 5. It is Vand-Aûharmazd³ *who* said that when, besides Tîstar, Vanand, *or* Satavês⁴, one of the zodiacal stars (akhtarîk) is apparent, *it* is retained, and when not *it* is relinquished. 6. *There* have been *some* who said that when, besides one of those three, three zodiacal stars are apparent, *it* is retained, and when not *it* is relinquished⁵.

¹ See Chaps. III, 35, VII, 8.

² See Bund. XXV, 9. The text appears to refer to the transition from the Ushahina to the Hâvani Gâh at daybreak; and as certain portions of the prayers are varied according to the period of the day, it is very necessary to know precisely when each period commences, so as to avoid vitiating the whole ceremonial by the use of a wrong prayer.

³ See Chap. I, 4, note.

⁴ Three of the leading stars, probably Sirius, Fomalhaut, and Antares (see Bund. II, 7).

⁵ This chapter is followed (in both the old MSS. M6 and K20) by the Pahlavi text of the Patîr-i Khûd, or renunciation of one's own *sin*, a translation of which will be found in Bleeck's English version of the Avesta, London, 1864, III, pp. 159-162, derived from Spiegel's German translation of the Pâzand text. This translation is fairly correct on the whole, although some passages might be improved, thus (p. 162), instead of 'all sins which may attack the character of man [or] have attacked my character, if I, on account of much death, have not recognised the death,' &c., we should read 'of all sins which may become the lot of men, and have become my lot, on account of whose excessive number I do not know the number,' &c.

PART III.—*Appendix*¹.CHAPTER XV².

1. *It* is revealed by a passage of the Avesta that Zaratûst, seated before Aûharmazd, always wanted information (vâk) from him; and he spoke to Aûharmazd thus: 'Thy head, hands, feet, hair, face, and tongue are in my eyes just like those even which are my own, and you have the clothing men have; give me a hand, so that I may grasp thy hand.'

2. Aûharmazd said thus: 'I am an intangible spirit; *it* is not possible to grasp my hand.'

3. Zaratûst spoke thus: 'Thou art intangible, and Vohûman, Ardavahist, Shatvalrô³, Spendarmad, Horvada⁴, and Amerôda⁴ are intangible, and when I depart from thy presence, and do not see thee *nor* even them—since of the person whom⁴ I see and worship *there* is something—*should* thou and the seven archangels be worshipped by me, or not⁵?'

¹ This Appendix consists of a number of fragments found in the old MS. M6, and of somewhat the same character as the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, but they have no claim to be considered as a portion of that work. Excepting Chaps. XVIII, XIX, XXI, they are not found in the other old MS. K20, and beyond the fact that they must be more than five centuries old their age is quite uncertain, though some of them are probably older than others.

² This chapter follows the Patî-i Khûd in M6, and is also found in L15, fols. 16–28; for a Pâzand version of it, see L22, fols. 113–122, and L7, fols. 70–76.

³ Written Shatrôivar throughout this chapter; these six (see Bund. I, 26) with Aûharmazd himself, are the seven archangels.

⁴ Reading mûn, 'whom,' instead of a mat, 'when' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

⁵ Zaratûst is doubtful whether he ought to worship beings of

4. Aûharmazd said thus : ' They *should* be ; I tell thee, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân ! that each individual of us has produced his own one creation (dâyak) for the world, by means of which they may set going in its body, in the world, that activity which they would exercise in the spiritual existence. 5. *In* the world that which is mine, who am Aûharmazd, is the righteous man, of Vohûman are the cattle, of Ardavahist is the fire, of Shatvaîrô is the metal, of Spendarmad are the earth and virtuous woman, of Horvadað is the water, *and* of Amerôdad is the vegetation. 6. Whoever has learned¹ the care of all these seven, acts and pleases well, his soul never comes into the possession of Aharman and the demons ; when he *has* exercised his care of them, he has exercised his care of the seven archangels, *and* ought to teach all mankind in the world.

7. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Aûharmazd in the world, wishes to promote the things of Aûharmazd ; *and* whoever he be, with whom Aûharmazd ever is in every place (gâs)², it is necessary *that* he should³ propitiate the righteous man, in whatever

whose existence he had had no tangible evidence, when he no longer saw them ; fearing, perhaps, that they might have been mere dreams or optical illusions. But he is told that each of these spiritual beings is the protector of one class of worldly existences, and that the proper treatment of these existences is a man's best means of reverencing the spiritual beings interested in their welfare.

¹ Or 'taught,' for the verb has both meanings.

² Or 'at all times ;' it is always doubtful whether gâs means 'time' or 'place.'

³ Throughout this chapter a conditional meaning is given to the verbs by prefixing hanâ, aê, or ı (all representing Pâz. aê or e) to the present tense, instead of affixing it.

has happened *and* whatever occurs to him, *and* should act for his happiness, and afford him protection from the vile. 8. Since the righteous man is a counterpart of Aûharmazd the lord, *and* when the righteous man acts it is caused by him who is Aûharmazd, whoever propitiates the righteous man, his fame and welfare exist a long time in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd and pleasure and joy become his own *in* heaven (*vahist*).

9. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Vohûman in the world, *and* wishes to act for *his* happiness, is *he* who wishes to promote the things of Vohûman; and it is necessary for him, so that Vohûman may be ever with him, *that* he should propitiate, at every place (*gâs*) *and* time, the well-yielding (*hûdhâk*) cattle, in whatever has happened *and* whatever occurs, and should act for *their* happiness; and in the terrible days and the hurried times (*gâs*) which *befall* them, he should afford them protection from the oppressive and idle. 10. He should not give *them* as a bribe to a man who is a wicked tyrant, *but* should keep *them* in a pleasant and warm locality and place (*gâs*); and in summer he should provide them a store of straw and corn, so that it be not necessary to keep *them* on the pastures (*karak*) in winter; and he should not deliver them *up* for this purpose, that is, "So that I may give them up to the vile," because it is necessary to give to the good; and he should not drive them apart from *their* young, and should not put the young apart from their milk. 11. Since they are counterparts of him (Vohûman) himself in the world, the well-yielding cattle, whoever propitiates those which are well-yielding cattle his fame subsists in the world, and

the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* the best existence¹.

12. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Ardavahist in the world is *he* who wishes to promote his things; and it is necessary for him, so that Ardavahist may be with *him* at every place (gâs) and time, *that* he should propitiate the fire of Aûharmazd, in whatever has happened and whatever occurs, *and* should act for *its* happiness; he should not put upon *it* wood, incense, and holy-water² which are stolen and extorted, and he should not cook at it a ration (bâ-har) which is violently extorted from men. 13. For it is a counterpart of him (Ardavahist) himself in the world, the fire of Aûharmazd; and whoever propitiates those which are fires of Aûharmazd his fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* heaven.

14. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Shatvaîrô in the world, and wishes to act for *his* happiness, is *he* who wishes to promote the things of Shatvaîrô; *and* whoever he be, it is necessary, so that Shatvaîrô may be with him at every place and time, *that* he should propitiate melted metal³ at every place and time. 15. And the propitiation of melted metal is this, that he shall practise habits (âiyînô) of the

¹ See Chap. VI, 3.

² Holy-water is not put upon the fire, for that would be sinful, but it is presented to the fire, and the outside of the fire-place is sprinkled or washed with it (see Haug's Essays, p. 403). The 'fire of Aûharmazd' means any fire, whether sacred or used for household purposes.

³ The word may be read either âiyên or asîn (Av. ayangh, Pers. âyan, âhan, or âhîn), which is usually translated 'iron,' but also means 'metal' generally, as it certainly does here, and very probably likewise in B. Yt. I, 1, 5, II, 14, 22.

heart so unsullied and pure that, when they shall drop melted metal upon *it*, it does not burn. 16. And Âtarôpâd son of Mâraspend¹ even acted in this priestly fashion (dastôbarîh), so that the melted metal, when they drop *it* upon the region (khânô) of *his* pure heart, becomes as pleasant to him as though² they were milking milk upon it. 17. When they drop *it* upon the region of the heart of the wicked and sinners, it burns, and they die. 18. And *one* should not commit sin with metal, and with its burning; and should not give gold and silver to the vile. 19. For it is a counterpart of Shatvatrô himself in the world for him, *and* since he propitiates those which are melted metals, his fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his own *in* heaven.

20. 'Whoever wishes to propitiate Spendarmad in the world, wishes to promote the things of Spendarmad; *and* whoever he be, it is necessary, so that Spendarmad may be with him, *that* he should propitiate, at every place and time, the earth and virtuous woman, in whatever has happened and in whatever occurs, *and* should act for *their* happiness. 21. For when he does not spread out (barâ lâ vêshêd) this earth, and it does not separate one *piece* from another, his body also *will* not be always

¹ The primate and prime minister of Shâpûr II (A.D. 309-379), who is said to have undergone the ordeal of having melted metal poured upon his chest, in order to prove the truth of the Mazdayasnian religion. The metal used is generally called rûf, 'brass,' but here it is aîyên, 'iron,' though a more fusible metal than either was, no doubt, used.

² Reading amat, 'though,' instead of mûn, 'which' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

living upon *it at* every place and time¹. 22. On account of the lodgment of Spendarmad in the earth, when a robber, violent and worthy of death, and wives who are disrespectful to *their* husbands walk about in sinfulness in the world, and their husbands are active *and* virtuous, it becomes much distressed (zanōtk). 23. This, too, is declared, that, whenever this *earth* becomes distressed (zanīk), it is most *so* at the time when sinners worthy of death are most; for *it* is declared, when sinners worthy of death walk upon *it*, *its* pain and uneasiness become as distressing (dûskhvâr) to it as the dead son on *her* bosom *to* a mother; *and* the lodgment of Spendarmad in the earth is little *in* that place whereon sinners worthy of death walk. 24. And her² happiness arises from that place when they shall perform tillage and cultivation on it, and a virtuous son is born upon it, and they rear cattle upon it; and it is so one's fame subsists in the world, and the splendour of Aôharmazd becomes one's own *in* heaven.

25. 'Whoever' wishes to propitiate Horvadađ and Amerôdađ in the world, whereas that is necessary which promotes their things, whoever he be it is necessary *that* he should propitiate, at every place and time, the water and vegetation of Horvadađ and Amerôdađ, in whatever has happened and in

¹ Meaning that the earth must be tilled in order to support its inhabitants, but there is some doubt as to the exact wording of the translation.

² Spendarmad is a female archangel; perhaps, however, the earth is meant here, as it is said to be most pleased by the existence of fire-temples, dwellings of righteous people, cultivation, stables, and pastures (see Vend. III, 1-20).

whatever occurs, *and* should seize upon those who consume *and* steal water and vegetation¹. 26. And he should not act oppressively, he should not walk the world in sinfulness, and should not bring bodily refuse (hîkhar), dead matter (nasât)², *or* any other pollution to water; he should not destroy vegetation unlawfully, and should not give fruit to the idle and vile. 27. For when he commits sin against water and vegetation, even when it is committed against merely a single twig of it, and he has not atoned for it, when³ he departs from the world the spirits of all the plants in the world stand up high in front of that man, and do not let him go to heaven. 28. And when he has committed sin against water, even when it is committed against a single drop of it, and he has not atoned for *it*, that also stands up as high as the plants stood, and does not let him go to heaven. 29. Since they are counterparts of Horvadaḍ and Amerôḍaḍ themselves, the water and vegetation, whoever propitiates those which be water and vegetation, his fame subsists in the world, and a share of the splendour of Aûharmazd becomes his *in* heaven.'

30. Aûharmazd said this also to Zaratûst, namely:

¹ Reading mûn, 'who,' instead of amat, 'when,' and dûgend, 'they steal,' instead of dûgd (perhaps for dûgak, 'thievish'); and supposing the verb to be vakhdûnêḍ, 'takes, seizes,' and not vâdûnêḍ, 'makes, acts.' If the reverse be assumed, the translation would be thus: 'should act for their *happiness*. When they consume water and vegetation he should not act thievishly and oppressively.'

² For the meaning of hîkhar and nasât, see note on Chap. II, 30.

³ Reading amat, 'when,' instead of mûn, 'who' (see Bund. I, 7, note).

‘My will and pleasure is *that* the observance and propitiation of these seven archangels shall be *as I have* told thee; and do thou, too, speak thus unto men, so that they may commit no sin and may not become wicked, and the splendour of Aûtharmazd may become their own *in* heaven.’

31. Completed in peace, pleasure, *and* joy¹.

CHAPTER XVI.

o. In the name of God (yazdân) I write a paragraph (babâ) where the sins which are as it were small are *mentioned* one *by* one.

1. The least sin is a Farmân; *and* a Farmân is three coins of five annas², some say three coins. 2. An Âgerept is, as regards whatever weapon (snêš) men strike with in the world, whenever the weapon is taken in hand; and taken up by *any* one four finger-breadths from the ground *it is* the root³ of an

¹ This is the most usual concluding phrase of short Pahlavi texts, and indicates that this account of the best mode of propitiating the archangels is to be considered as a separate text. It is followed in M6 by the paragraphs which constitute the next two chapters.

² Reading 3 nûmâî-i 5 ânak, but this is uncertain, and if correct must have been written in India, as the anna is an Indian coin worth nearly three halfpence. The coin of five annas was probably a dirham, as the dirham being about fifty grains of silver (see note on gûgan in Chap. I, 2), and the rūpî having formerly been less than 180 grains in Gugarât, the former would be nearly five-sixteenths of the latter, that is, five annas. It may, therefore, be assumed that the amount of the Farmân is here taken at three dirhams, as in Chap. XI, 2; but in § 5 it appears to be 3½ dirhams, and in Chap. I, 2 as much as sixteen dirhams.

³ See Chap. II, 69, note.

Âgerept for him ; *and* the retribution and punishment for an Âgerept should be fifty-three dirhams (*gûgan*)¹. 3. When the weapon turns downwards *it is* the root of an Avôtrist for him, and his sentence (*dlnâ*) is to be changed ; his retribution *and* punishment should be seventy-three dirhams², which is when anything further occurs. 4. When he shall lay the weapon on *any* one *it is* the root of an Aredûs for *him*, and his retribution *and* punishment are thirty stîrs ; if the wound thereby made by him be one-fifth of a span (*dîst*)³ *it is* no root of an Aredûs *for* him, and his retribution *and* punishment are the same thirty stîrs.

5. I write the degrees of sin :—A Srôshô-karanâm⁴ is three coins and a half, a Farmân is a Srôshô-karanâm, an Âgerept is sixteen stîrs, an Avôtrist is twenty-five stîrs, an Aredûs is thirty, a Khôr is sixty, a Bâzâf is ninety, a Yât is a hundred and eighty, *and* a Tanâpûhar is three hundred⁵.

6. The good works which are in the *ceremonial*

¹ § 5 says sixteen stîrs, which, if equivalent to these fifty-three dirhams, would imply $3\frac{5}{8}$ dirhams to the stîr, instead of four as usually stated (see Chap. I, 2). The amounts mentioned in Chaps. I, 2, XI, 2 are very different.

² § 5 says twenty-five stîrs, which, at $3\frac{5}{8}$ dirhams to the stîr (as in the case of Âgerept), would be very nearly eighty-three dirhams, which is probably the number we ought to read in the text, and also, possibly, in Chap. XI, 2.

³ The *dîst* is a span of ten finger-breadths (about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches) between the thumb and middle finger (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note).

⁴ See Chap. IV, 14, note. Comparing the amount here mentioned with that of the Farmân in § 1, the Srôshô-karanâm, which is here made equal to the Farmân, appears to amount to $3\frac{1}{2}$ dirhams, which agrees very nearly with the statement in Chap. X, 24, but differs from that in Chap. XI, 2.

⁵ For similar scales of degrees, see Chaps. I, 2, XI, 2.

worship of the sacred beings (*yazisn-i yazdân*):—*Consecrating* a sacred cake (*drôn*)¹ is a good work of one Tanâpûhar²; a *form of worship* (*yast*)³ is a hundred Tanâpûhars; a *Visparad*⁴ is a thousand Tanâpûhars; a *Dô-hômâst*⁵ is ten thousand; a *Dvâzdah-hômâst* is a hundred thousand, *and* the merit (*kirfak*) of every one which is *performed* with holy-water is said *to be* a hundred to one; a *Hâd-ôkht*⁶ is two thousand Tanâpûhars, *and* with holy-water it becomes a hundred to one⁷.

¹ See Chap. III, 32. The Persian Rivâyats explain that this is when the proper ritual is merely recited, without using the sacred twigs and other ceremonial apparatus; when the twigs are used the merit is ten times as great.

² That is, sufficient to counterbalance a Tanâpûhar sin (see Chap. I, 1, 2).

³ A *Yast* is a formula of praise in honour of some particular angel; when recited with all the accessories of sacred twigs and other ceremonial apparatus, the merit is ten times as great as is mentioned in the text.

⁴ The *Visparad* service includes the *Yasna*, and when performed with the use of the sacred twigs, holy-water, and other ceremonial apparatus the merit is ten times as great as here stated; some authorities say it is a hundred times as great.

⁵ This kind of *Hômâst* is not mentioned in Dastûr Jâmâspji's explanation of this species of religious service (see B. Yt. II, 59, note); it occurs, however, in the Nrangistân as a distinct kind, though called merely *Hômâst* in the Persian Rivâyats.

⁶ See B. Yt. III, 25.

⁷ The merits of other prayers and ceremonies are detailed in the Persian Rivâyats; thus, that of the ordinary recital of a *Vendidad* (which includes both *Yasna* and *Visparad*) is sixty thousand Tanâpûhars, and when with sacred twigs and holy-water it is a hundred thousand; that of the recital of any *Nyâys* (see Chap. VII, 4), or of taking and retaining a prayer (*vâg*, see Chap. III, 6) inwardly, is one Tanâpûhar.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. This, too, Zaratûst asked of Aûharmazd, that is: 'Which is the time when *one* must not eat meat?'

2. Aûharmazd gave a reply thus: 'In a house when a person shall die, until three nights are completed, nothing whatever of meat is to be placed on a sacred cake (*drôn*) therein and in *its* vicinity¹; but these, such as milk, cheese, fruit, eggs, and preserves, are to be placed; *and* nothing whatever of meat is to be eaten *by* his relations². 3. In all the three days it is necessary to perform the ceremonial (*yazisn*) of Srôsh for this *reason*, because Srôsh will be able to save his soul from the hands of the demons *for* the three days³; and when *one* con-

¹ Reading *va hamgôshak*, the latter word being apparently used in a parallel passage in Pahl. Vend. VIII, 64 in old MSS.; this reading is, however, somewhat doubtful here, and perhaps we ought to read 'on a sacred cake in that roofed place (*pavan zak vâmkînfh*);' the last word being a possible term for 'roofing' as it stands, though it may be a miswriting of *vâmpôš* (Pers. *bâmpôš*, 'roofing').

² The Parsis, nowadays (Dastûr Hoshangji says), do not cook for three days under a roof where a death has occurred, but obtain food from their neighbours and friends; but if the cookroom be under a separate roof, as often happens in India, they have no objection to cooking there.

³ The soul is supposed to hover about the body for the first three nights after death, during which time it has to rely upon the angel Srôsh (see Bund. XXX, 29) for protection from the demons, which the angel, it is presumed, will afford more efficiently if properly propitiated by the surviving relatives. At the third dawn after death (that is, the dawn of the fourth day inclusive of the day of death) the soul is supposed to depart finally for the other world (see AV. IV, 8-36, XVII, 5-27).

stantly performs a ceremonial *at* every period (gâs)¹ in the three days *it* is *as* good as though they should celebrate the whole religious ritual (hamâk dīnô) at one time. 4. And after the third night, *at* dawn, *one* is to consecrate three sacred cakes (drôn), one *for* Rashnû and Âstâd, the second *for* Vâê the good², and the third *for* the righteous guardian spirit (ardâi fravard); and clothing³ is to be placed upon the sacred cake of the righteous guardian spirit. 5. For the fourth day it is allowable to slaughter a sheep⁴, and the fourth day the ceremonial (yazisn) of the righteous guardian spirit is to be performed; and afterwards are the tenth-day, the monthly, and, then, the annual *ceremonies*; and the first monthly is exactly on the thirtieth day, and the annual on the particular day⁵. 6. When he

¹ These periods of the day are five in summer, and four in winter (see Bund. XXV, 9, 10).

² The usual name of the angel Râm (the Vayu of Râm Yt.) who, with the angels Rashnû and Âstâd, is supposed to be stationed at the Kinvad bridge, where the soul has to give an account of its actions during life shortly after the dawn following the third night after death (see AV. V, 3, CI, 21, note, Mkh. II, 115).

³ This clothing must be new and good, and is supposed to be supplied to the spirit to prevent its appearing unclothed in the other world, where the clothing of the soul is said to be formed 'out of almsgivings' (Chap. XII, 4); to fulfil which condition the clothes provided are presented to the officiating priests (see Sad-dar Bundahis LXXXVII).

⁴ Or 'goat.'

⁵ That is, on the exact anniversary of the death; the sentence is rather obscure, but this appears to be the meaning. With regard to the ceremonies after a death, the Persian Rivâyats give more details, which may be summarized as follows:—On each of the first three days a Srôsh Yast is performed and a Srôsh Drôn consecrated (see Chap. III, 32, note). On the third night, in the middle of the Aiwisrûthrem Gâh (dusk to midnight), a renuncia-

shall die *at* a place distant *from that* where the information arrives, when the three *days' ceremonies* (satûth) are celebrated *at* that place where he shall die *it* is well, when not, their celebration is *to be at* this place, *and* from the *time* when the information arrives, until three nights are completed, it is necessary to perform the ceremonial of Srôsh, *and* after three days and nights it is necessary to perform the ceremonial of the righteous guardian spirit.'

7. *In* one place *it* is declared, that of him whose begetting is owing to the demons, of him who commits sodomy, and of him who performs the religious rites (dînô) of apostasy, of none of the three do

tion of sin is performed in the house of the deceased; and in the Ushahin Gâh (midnight to dawn) four Drôns are consecrated, one dedicated to the good Vâê (Nâ-f veh), one to Rashn and Âstâd, one to Srôsh, and one to the righteous (ashôân), and in front of the last are placed new and clean clothes with fruit, but without an egg. On the fourth day, at sunrise, the Dahmân Âfrîngân (Yas. LIX) is recited, and then the Khûrshêd and Mihir Nyâyis, after which the people in the house can first eat fresh-cooked meat. During the fourth day also the Yast of the righteous is performed, and the Drôn of the righteous is consecrated; and the same again on the tenth day, together with the recitation of the Dahmân Âfrîngân. On the thirtieth day the Sîrôzah (praise of the thirty days) is to be celebrated, with the dedication to the thirty days; thirty-three beans (lûvak) and thirty-three eggs, with fruit, being placed in front of the Drôn, which is consecrated in the presence of fire; and, afterwards, the assistant priest consecrates a Drôn for Srôsh. The next day the chief priest consecrates a Drôn for the righteous; a suit of clothes and fruit being placed in front of the Drôn. And each day a Yast of the righteous is performed, a Drôn of the righteous is consecrated, and an Âfrîngân recited. On the same day every month the same Yast, Drôn, and Âfrîngân are celebrated; a priest also undergoes the Bareshnûm for the deceased, a Gêti-kharîd (see Bund. XXX, 28) is performed, and three Vendidads dedicated to Srôsh. On each day at the end of a year the Sîrôzah Yast is performed, and a Drôn

they restore the dead¹, for this *reason*, because he whose begetting is owing to the demons is himself a demon², and the soul of him who commits sodomy will become a demon³, and the soul of him *who* performs the religious rites of apostasy will become a darting snake⁴.

8. This, too, is revealed by the Avesta⁵, that Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Give ye up the persons of all men, with the submissiveness of worshippers, to that man *to* whom the whole Avesta and Zand is easy⁶, so that he may make you acquainted with duties and good works; because men go to hell for this *reason*, when they do not submit *their* persons to priestly control (aêrpatistân), and do not become acquainted with duties and good works.'

9. Query:—There is an action which, according to the Avesta⁷, is not good for a person to do, *and* the sentence of 'worthy of death' is set upon *it*; for *one's* better preservation is *one* not to do that action,

dedicated to the thirty days is consecrated, thirty-three beans being placed, with one Drôn, one Frasast (see Chap. III, 32, note), one pentagonal Drôn as the sun, one crescent-shaped as the moon, thirty-three eggs, and fruit, in front of the Drôn, which is consecrated in the presence of fire; afterwards, the assistant priest consecrates a Drôn for Srôsh, and recites the Dahmân Âfrîngân, and the next day the chief priest consecrates a Drôn for the righteous, a suit of clothes being placed before the Drôn, and recites the Dahmân Âfrîngân.

¹ That is, there is no resurrection for them.

² And, therefore, not immortal according to the Parsi faith.

³ Compare Vend. VIII, 98-106.

⁴ Which being a creature of the evil spirit is doomed to destruction.

⁵ But it is doubtful if the passage be extant.

⁶ That is, the man who knows the whole scripture and commentary by heart.

⁷ Reading pavan Avistâk, instead of Avistâk pavan.

or to accomplish *and* urge *it* on, for the advance of religion in a state of uncertainty (var-hômandîh)?

10. The answer is this, that when they act well for *their* better preservation *there* is no fear, on account of acting well, but *one* is not to forsake that¹, too, though *it* be not goodness; a forsaken duty is very bad, for a contempt of it enters into one.

11. This, too, is declared, that Zarâtûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'From what place do these people rise again? from that place where they first went into *their* mothers, or from that place where the mothers have given *them* birth, or from that place where *their* bodies happen to be (aûftêd)?'

12. Aûharmazd gave a reply thus: 'Not from that place where they have gone into *their* mothers, nor from that place where they have been born from *their* mothers, nor from that place where *their* bodies and flesh happen to be, for they rise from that place where the life went out from their bodies.'

13. And this, too, he asked, that is: 'Whence do they raise² *him* again who is suspended from anything, *and* shall die in the air?'

14. The reply *was*: 'From that place where his bones and flesh first fall to the ground; hence, except when he shall die on a divan (gâs) or a bed (vistarg), before they carry him away, whatever *it*

¹ The religion in a position of difficulty appears to be the meaning, but the reply to this question of casuistry is by no means clear.

² Literally, 'they rise,' both here and in the next section, but the change to the plural number is perplexing, unless it refers to those who prepare the resurrection of the dead (Bund. XXX, 4, 7, 17), as here assumed by reading 'they raise.'

is, a fragment¹ is to be taken and to be laid across his limbs; for when the usage is not so, they raise him again from that place where his body arrives at the ground.'

15. Completed in peace, pleasure, *and* joy².

CHAPTER XVIII³.

1. It is said in revelation that Aêshm⁴ rushed into the presence of Aharman⁵, and exclaimed thus: 'I *will* not go into the world, because Aôharmazd, the lord, has produced three things in the world, to which it is not possible *for* me to do anything whatever.'

2. Aharman exclaimed thus: 'Say which are those three things.'

3. Aêshm exclaimed thus: 'The season-festival

¹ Apparently a fragment of the place whereon the death took place is meant by *kadâm-1 pârak*.

² The miscellaneous passages which follow Sls. in M6 terminate at this point, which is the end of the first volume of that MS. The next three chapters are taken from the latter end of the other volume of M6.

³ Both this chapter and the next are also found in K20, the first being placed before the first part of Sls., and the second before the second part. Chap. XVIII also occurs in Dastûr Jâmâspji's MS. of the Bundahis, just after Chap. XXXIV of that text (see Introduction, p. xxx), and a Pâzand version of it occupies the same position in L7 and L22, and is translated by Justi as the last chapter of the Bundahis, in his German translation of that work (see Introduction, p. xxvi).

⁴ The demon of wrath (see Bund. XXVIII, 15–17).

⁵ See Bund. I, 3. Aêshm, as the chief agent of the evil spirit in his machinations against mankind, rushes into his master's presence in hell to complain of the difficulties he encounters.

(gâsânbâr)¹, the *sacred* feast (myazd), and next-of-kin marriage (khvêtk-das).'

¹ See Bund. XXV, 1, 3, 6. The six Gâhanbârs or season-festivals are held, respectively, on the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th, and 365th days of the Parsi year. An explanation of the cause of the inequality of these intervals has been proposed by Mr. Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, which is well worthy of attention, and appears to have been first published in 1867 in Nos. 7 and 8 of his Zartosti Abhyas. His view is that the mediæval Zoroastrians, beginning their year at the vernal equinox (Bund. XXV, 6, 13, 21), recognised originally only two seasons, a summer of seven months and a winter of five (Bund. XXV, 7), and they held a festival, not only at the end of each season, that is, on the 210th and 365th days of their year, but also in the middle of each season, that is, on the 105th and 290th days of their year. That these two latter were mid-season festivals is proved by their Avesta names, Maidhyôshema and Maidhyâirya, beginning with the word maidhya, 'middle.' Later on, the Zoroastrians divided their year into four equal seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter (Bund. XXV, 20), and without interfering with their old festivals, they would, no doubt, have wished to celebrate the end and middle of each of their new seasons. The ends of these four seasons occur on the 90th, 180th, 270th, and 365th days of the year, and their mid-points are the 45th, 135th, 225th, and 320th days; but the Zoroastrians already held a festival on the 365th day, and celebrated midsummer and midwinter (the 135th and 320th days of their new calendar) on the 105th and 290th days of their year, and they would consider the 90th, 225th, and 270th days too close to their old festivals of the 105th, 210th, and 290th days to allow of the former being held as new festivals; so that they would have only the midspring festival, on the 45th day, and that of the end of summer, on the 180th day, to add to their old festivals. It may be objected that the end of summer was already celebrated on the 210th day, and, for this reason, it is more probable that the festivals were intended to celebrate the beginnings and mid-points of the seasons, rather than their ends and mid-points. According to this view, the six season-festivals were intended, respectively, to celebrate midspring, midsummer, the beginning of autumn, the beginning of winter, midwinter, and the beginning of spring. That they were also intended to commemorate, respectively, the

4. Aharman exclaimed thus: 'Enter into the season-festival! if one of those *present* shall steal a single thing the season-festival is violated, and the affair is *in accordance* with¹ thy wish; enter into the *sacred* feast²! if only one of those *present* shall chatter the *sacred* feast is violated, and the affair is *in accordance* with thy wish; *but* avoid next-of-kin marriage³! because I do not know a remedy for it; for whoever *has* gone four times near to *it will* not become parted from the possession of Aûharmazd and the archangels⁴.'

creations of the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, and man, is a belief of later times, derived probably from a foreign source.

¹ Reading pavan, 'with,' instead of barâ, 'beyond,' as in the next clause of the sentence (see p. 176, note 5).

² By the sacred feast is meant the consecration of sacred cakes, with meat-offerings and the recital of the Âfrîngâns or blessings (see Chaps. III, 32, XI, 4).

³ By next-of-kin marriage Parsis nowadays understand the marriage of first cousins, which they consider a specially righteous act; and the passages in Pahlavi texts, which appear to approve of marriages between brother and sister, father and daughter, and mother and son, they explain as referring to the practices of heretics (see Dastûr Pêshôtan's English translation of the Dînkard, p. 96, note). How far this explanation may be correct has not been ascertained, for the passages in question are rather obscure, and have not been thoroughly examined. But it is quite conceivable that the Parsi priesthood, about the time of the Muhammadan conquest (when the practice of next-of-kin marriage was most extolled), were anxious to prevent marriages with strangers, in order to hinder conversions to the foreign faith; and that they may, therefore, have extended the range of marriage among near relations beyond the limits now approved by their descendants.

⁴ The object of this chapter is evidently to extol the religious merit of next-of-kin marriage. A Persian version of the passage, contained in M5, fols. 54, 55, adds the following details: 'Therefore it is necessary to understand, that the chief next-of-kin marriage is that of a sister's daughter and brother's son; a medium

CHAPTER XIX.

1. The Yathâ-ahû-vairyô ¹ *formulas* that are necessary in each place, and how *they* are to be spoken in performing anything ².

2. One *by him* who goes forth to an assembly, or before grandees *and* chieftains, or on any business; or when he goes to ask for what he wants (val khvahîsnô); also when he quits any business; in each of these situations *he* is to say only one *formula*, so that his business may proceed more promptly ³.

next-of-kin marriage is that of a brother's son and a younger (dîgar) brother's daughter, or of a sister's son and a younger sister's daughter; and inferior to a medium next-of-kin marriage is that of a sister's son and a younger brother's daughter. It is necessary to know that any person who contracts a next-of-kin marriage, if *his* soul be *fit* for hell, will arrive among the ever-stationary (see Chap. VI, 2), if it is one of the ever-stationary it will arrive at heaven. Another particular is to be added; if any one, in departing, settles and strives for the next-of-kin marriage betrothal (paivand) of a next brother it is a good work of a thousand Tanâpûthars; if any one strives to break off a next-of-kin marriage betrothal he is worthy of death.'

¹ See Bund. I, 21.

² It appears from the ninth book of the Dînkard, that the contents of this chapter are derived from the first fargard of the Sûdkar Nask (see B. Yt. I, 1, note). The account given by the Dînkard contains fewer details, but, so far as it goes, it is in accordance with our text, except that it seems to transfer the object of § 10 to § 12, and removes the objects of §§ 12, 13 one step onwards; it also adds 'going on a bridge' to § 2. The Persian Rivâyat of Bahman Pûngyah gives further details, as will be mentioned in the notes below.

³ The Persian Rivâyat adds to these occasions, when he goes on the water, or a river, or goes to borrow, or to ask repayment of a loan, or goes out from his house, or comes into it.

3. *That* a blessing (âfrînô) may be more benedictory, for this *reason one* utters two *formulas*; for *there* are two kinds of blessing, one is that which is in the thoughts¹, and one is that which is in words.

4. Four are for coming out more thankfully when at a season-festival².

5. Five *by him* who goes to atone for sin, in order to expel the fiend; because it is necessary to undergo punishment by the decision (dastôbarîh) of these five persons, the house-ruler, the village-ruler, *the tribe-ruler*³, the province-ruler, and the supreme Zaratûst; and five Ashem-vohûs⁴ are to be uttered by him at the end.

6. Six *by him* who goes to seek power, and to battle, so that he may be more successful.

¹ The words pavan mînîsn are guessed, for this first clause is omitted by mistake in M6, and these two words are illegible in K20, except part of the last letter.

² K20 substitutes for val, 'at,' the following mutilated phrase: [. . . anhau khshapô kadârkkâi pavan kadârkkâi] madam vazlûnêd râdîh-i; the portion in brackets being evidently a fragment from the Hâdôkht Srôsh Yt. 5 with Pahlavi translation (a passage which treats of the efficacy of reciting the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô). If this fragment be not merely a marginal gloss, which has crept into the text by mistake, we must translate the whole section as follows: 'Four are for the more thankful coming out of the liberality of a season-festival, when the *passage*, "*on that day nor on that night comes there anything whatever on any one*," goes on.' The Dînkard has merely: 'Four *by him* who is at the invocation of the chiefs of *creation and* the celebration of a season-festival.' The Persian Rivâyats omit the section altogether.

³ This person is omitted both in M6 and K20, but he is wanted to make up the five. This section is omitted by the Persian Rivâyats.

⁴ See Bund. XX, 2. These are to be recited after the punishment is over.

7. Seven *by him* who goes to perform the worship of God (yazdân), *so that* the archangels may come more forward¹ at the worship.

8. Eight *by him* who goes to perform the ceremonial of the righteous guardian spirit.

9. Nine *by him* who goes to sow corn; these he utters for this *reason*, because the corn will ripen (rasêd) in nine months, *and* so that the corn may come forward he will make the mischief of the noxious creatures less².

10. Ten *by him* who goes to seek a wife, so that the presents may be favourable for the purpose.

11. Ten *by him* who wishes to allow the male *access* to beasts of *burden* and cattle, so that it may be more procreative³.

12. Eleven *by him* who goes to the lofty mountains, so that the glory of mountains and hills may bless him *and* be friendly⁴.

13. Twelve *by him* who goes to the low districts, so that the glory of that country and district may bless him and be friendly⁵.

14. Thirteen *by him* who shall become pathless; *at* that same place he shall utter *them*; or *by him*

¹ Or 'may arrive earlier;' there being seven archangels has suggested the number seven. This section and the next are omitted by the Persian Rivâyats.

² The Persian Rivâyats add general cultivation, planting trees, and cohabitation with one's wife.

³ Instead of §§ 10, 11 the Persian Rivâyats have buying quadrupeds, and driving pegs into the ground for picketing them.

⁴ The Persian Rivâyats substitute conference with a maiden, seeking a wife, giving one's children in marriage, and obtaining anything from another.

⁵ The Persian Rivâyats add going up hills, mounting anything lofty, going on a bridge, and losing one's way.

who shall pass over a bridge and a river, so that the spirit of that water may bless him¹; because the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô is greater and more successful *than* everything in the Avesta as to all rivers, all wholesomeness, and all protection.

15. Religion is as connected with the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô as the hair is more connected with the glory of the face; any one, indeed, would dread (*samâd*) to separate hairiness *and* the glory of the face.

CHAPTER XX².

1. *In* one place it is declared that it is said by revelation (*dînô*) that a man is to go as much as possible (*kand vês-ast*) to the abode of fires³, and the salutation (*ntyâyisnô*) of fire⁴ is to be performed *with* reverence; because three times every day the archangels form an assembly in the abode of fires, and shed good works and righteousness there; and then the good works and righteousness, which are shed there, become more lodged in the body of *him* who goes much thither, and performs many salutations of fire *with* reverence.

¹ The Persian Rivâyats substitute going to and entering a city or town; they also add twenty-one recitations on setting out on a journey, so that the angel Bahrâm may grant a safe arrival.

² The contents of this chapter conclude the MS. M6; a few lines even having been lost at the end of that MS., though preserved in some of its older copies. A more modern copy, in the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, contains §§ 4-17, appended to the Bundahis. Complete Pâzand versions, derived from M6, occur in L7 and L22, immediately following the Pâzand of Chap. XVIII.

³ The fire-temple.

⁴ That is, the Âtâs Nyâyis is to be recited.

2. This, too, that the nature of wisdom is just like fire; for, in this world, *there* is nothing which shall become so complete as that thing which is made with wisdom; and every fire, too, that they kindle and *one* sees from far, makes manifest *what is* safe and uninjured (atrâkht); whatever is safe in fire is safe for ever, and whatever is uninjured in fire is uninjured for ever.

3. This, too, that a disposition in which is no wisdom is such-like as a clear, unsullied (anâhûk) fountain which is choked (bastö) and never goes into use; and the disposition with which *there* is wisdom is such-like as a clear, unsullied fountain, over which an industrious man stands *and* takes *it* into use; cultivation restrains *it*, and it gives crops (bar) to the world.

4. This, too, that these three things are to be done by men, to force the *demon of* corruption (nasûs)¹ far away from the body, to be steadfast in the religion, and to perform good works. 5. To force the *demon of* corruption far away from the body is this, that before the sun *has* come up *one* is to wash the hands² and face with bull's urine and water; to be steadfast in the religion is this, that *one* is to reverence the sun³; and to perform good works is this, that *one* is to destroy several noxious creatures.

6. This, too, that the three greatest concerns of men are these, to make him who is an enemy a friend, to make him who is wicked righteous, and to make him who is ignorant learned. 7. To make

¹ See Chap. II, 1.

² See Chap. VII, 7.

³ See Chap. VII, 1-6.

an enemy a friend is this, that out of the worldly wealth *one* has before him he keeps a friend in mind; to make a wicked *one* righteous is this, that from the sin, whereby he becomes wicked, *one* turns him away; and to make an ignorant *one* learned is this, that *one* is to manage himself so that he who is ignorant may learn of him.

8. This, too, *that* the walks of men are to be directed chiefly to these three places, to the abode of the well-informed, to the abode of the good, *and* to the abode of fires¹. 9. To the abode of the well-informed, that so *one* may become wiser, and religion be more lodged in *one's* person; to the abode of the good for this *reason*, that so, among good and evil, he may thereby renounce the evil and carry home *the good*²; and to the abode of fires for this *reason*, that so the spiritual fiend may turn away from him.

10. This, too, that *he* whose actions are for the soul, the world is then his own, and the spiritual *existence* more his own; and *he* whose actions are for the body, the spiritual *existence* has *him* at pleasure, *and* they snatch the world from him compulsorily.

11. This, too, that Bakht-âfrîd³ said, that every Gâtha (gâsân)⁴ of Aûharmazd has been an opposi-

¹ The fire-temple.

² Assuming that the word *rapîrîh*, 'the good,' has been omitted by mistake; the sentence appearing to be unintelligible without it.

³ See B. Yt. I, 7.

⁴ The word *gâsân* being plural, Gâtha must be taken in its collective sense as an assemblage of hymns. The word can also be read *dahîsn*, 'creation,' but this meaning seems improbable here.

tion of the one adversary, and the renunciation *of sin* (patittk)¹ for the opposition of every fiend.

12. This, too, that, regarding the world, anxiety is not to be suffered, it is not to be considered as anything whatever, and is not to be let slip from the hand. 13. Anxiety is not to be suffered for this *reason*, because that which is ordained will happen; it is not to be considered as anything whatever for this *reason*, because should it be expedient it is necessary to abandon *it*; and it is not to be let slip from the hand for this *reason*, because it is proper, in the world, to provide a spiritual *existence* for oneself.

14. This, too, that the best thing is truth, and the worst thing is deceit; and *there* is *he* who speaks true *and* thereby becomes wicked, and *there* is *he* who speaks false *and* thereby becomes righteous.

15. This, too, that fire is not to be extinguished², for *this* is a sin; and *there* is *he* who extinguishes *it*, *and* is good.

16. This, too, is declared, that nothing is to be given to the vile; and *there* is *he* by whom the best and most pleasant ragout (khûrdik) is to be given to the vile.

17. On these, too, is the attention of men *to be fixed*, because *there* is a remedy for everything but death, a hope for everything but wickedness, everything will lapse³ except righteousness, it is possible

¹ That is, the Patit or formula of renunciation (see Chap. IV, 14).

² Literally, 'killed.'

³ M6 ends at this point, the next folio being lost. The remainder of the chapter has been recovered from a copy in Bombay, checked by the Pâz. MSS. L7 and L22, all of which must have

to manage everything but temper (gôhar), and it is possible *for* everything to change but divine providence (bakô-bakhtô).

18. This, too, is declared, that Frêdûn¹ wished to slay Az-i Dahâk², *but* Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Do not slay *him* now, for the earth will become full of noxious creatures.'

CHAPTER XXI³.

1. I write the indication of the midday shadow; may it be fortunate!

2. Should the sun come⁴ into Cancer *the shadow* is one foot of the man, *at* the fifteenth *degree* of Cancer *it* is one foot; *when* the sun is at Leo *it* is

been derived from M6 before it lost its last folio; whereas the MS. No. 121 of the Ouseley collection at Oxford, which ends at the same point, must have been written after the folio was lost.

¹ See Bund. XXXI, 7.

² See Bund. XXIX, 9, XXXI, 6, B. Yt. III, 55-61.

³ The contents of this chapter, regarding the lengths of midday and afternoon shadows, immediately follow a tale of Gôst-i Fryânô, which is appended to the book of Ardâ-Vîrâf's journey to the other world, both in M6 and K20. As will be seen from the notes, these details about shadows were probably compiled at Yazd in Persia, as they are suitable only for that latitude.

⁴ Reading âyad-ae (a very rare form), or it may be intended for hômanâe, 'should it be,' but it is written in both MSS. exactly like the two ciphers for the numeral 5. Mullâ Fîrûz in his Avîgeh Dîn, p. 279 seq., takes 5 khadûk pâî as implying that the shadow is under the sole of the foot, or the sun overhead; but neither this reading, nor the more literal 'one-fifth of a foot,' can be reconciled with the other measures; though if we take 5 as standing for pangak, 'the five *soes* or sole,' we might translate as follows: 'When the sun is at Cancer, *the shadow* is the sole of one foot of the man.'

one foot and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Leo *it* is two feet; *when* the sun is at Virgo *it* is two feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Virgo *it* is three feet and a half; *at* Libra *it* is four¹ feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Libra *it* is five feet and a half²; *at* Scorpio *it* is six feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Scorpio *it* is seven³ feet and a half; *at* Sagittarius *it* is eight feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Sagittarius *it* is nine feet and a half; *at* Capricornus *it* is ten feet, *at* the fifteenth of Capricornus *it* is nine⁴ feet and a half; *at* Aquarius *it* is eight⁵ feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Aquarius *it* is seven feet and a half; *at* Pisces *it* is six feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Pisces *it* is five feet and a half; *at* Aries *it* is four feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Aries *it* is three feet and a half; *at* Taurus *it* is two feet and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Taurus *it* is two feet; *at* Gemini *it* is one foot and a half, *at* the fifteenth of Gemini *it* is one foot⁶.

¹ K20 has 'three' by mistake.

² M6 omits 'and a half' by mistake.

³ K20 has 'six' by mistake.

⁴ Both MSS. omit one cipher, and have only 'six,' but the shadow must be the same here as at the fifteenth of Sagittarius.

⁵ Both MSS. have 'seven,' which is clearly wrong.

⁶ It is obvious that, as the length of a man's shadow depends upon the height of the sun, each of these observations of his noonday shadow determines the altitude of the sun at noon, and is, therefore, a rude observation for finding the latitude of the place, provided we know the ratio of a man's foot to his stature. According to Bund. XXVI, 3 a man's stature is eight spans (vitast), and according to Farh. Okh. p. 41 a vitast is twelve finger-breadths, and a foot is fourteen (see Bund. XXVI, 3, note), so that a man's stature of eight spans is equivalent to 6½ feet. Assuming this to have been the ratio adopted by the observer, supposing the obliquity of the ecliptic to have been 23° 35' (as it

3. The midday shadow is written¹, may *its* end be good!

4. I write the indication of the Aûzêrîn (afternoon)² *period of the day*; may it be well and fortunate by the help of God (yazdân)!

5. When the day is at a maximum (pavan afzûnô), and the sun comes unto the head³ of Cancer, and *one's* shadow becomes six feet and two parts⁴, he makes *it* the Aûzêrîn period (gâs). 6.

was about A.D. 1000), and calculating the latitude from each of the thirteen different lengths of shadow, the mean result is $32^{\circ} 1'$ north latitude, which is precisely the position assigned to Yazd (the head-quarters of the small remnant of Zoroastrians in Persia) on some English maps, though some foreign maps place it $15'$ or $20'$ farther south. With regard to the rough nature of this mode of observation it may be remarked that, as the lengths of the shadows are noted only to half a foot, there is a possible error of a quarter-foot in any of them; this would produce a possible error of $2^{\circ} 4'$ in the midsummer observation of latitude, and of $39'$ in the midwinter one; or a mean possible error of $1^{\circ} 22'$ in any of the observations; so that the possible error in the mean of thirteen observations is probably not more than $6'$, and the probable error is even less, provided the data have been assumed correctly.

¹ Reading nipist, but only the first and last letters are legible in M6, and the middle letter is omitted in K20.

² See Bund. XXV, 9.

³ The word sar, 'head,' usually means 'the end,' but it must be here taken as 'the beginning;' perhaps, because the zodiacal signs are supposed to come head-foremost.

⁴ What portion of a foot is meant by bâhar, 'part,' is doubtful. It can hardly be a quarter, because 'two quarters' would be too clumsy a term for 'a half.' But it appears from §§ 5-7 that the shadow, necessary to constitute the Aûzêrîn period, is taken as increasing uniformly from six feet and two parts to fourteen feet and two parts, an increase of eight feet in six months, or exactly one foot and one-third per month, as stated in the text. And, deducting this monthly increase of one foot and one-third from the seven and a half feet shadow at the end of the first month, we have six feet and one-sixth remaining for the shadow at the

Every thirty days it always increases one foot *and* one-third, therefore about every ten days the reckoning is always half a foot ¹, *and when* the sun is at the head of Leo the shadow is seven ² feet *and* a half. 7. In this series every *zodiacal* constellation is *treated* alike, and the months alike, until the sun comes unto the head of Capricornus, *and* the shadow becomes fourteen feet and two parts. 8. In Capricornus it diminishes again a foot *and* one-third ³; *and* from there *where* it turns back, because of the decrease of the night and increase of the day, it always diminishes one foot *and* one-third every one of the months, *and* about every ten days the reckoning is always half a foot, until it comes back to six feet and two parts; every *zodiacal* constellation *being treated* alike, and the months alike ⁴.

beginning of the month. Hence we may conclude that the 'two parts' are equal to one-sixth, and each 'part' is one-twelfth of a foot.

¹ Meaning that the increase of shadow is to be taken into account as soon as it amounts to half a foot, that is, about every ten days. Practically, half a foot would be added on the tenth and twentieth days, and the remaining one-third of a foot at the end of the month.

² Both MSS. have 'eight,' but this would be inconsistent with the context, as it is impossible that 'six feet and two parts' can become 'eight feet and a half' by the addition of 'one foot and one-third,' whatever may be the value of the 'two parts' of a foot.

³ Both MSS. have 3 yak-1 pāî, instead of pāî 3 yak-1.

⁴ This mode of determining the beginning of the afternoon period is not so clumsy as it appears, as it keeps the length of that period exceedingly uniform for the six winter months with some increase in the summer time. In latitude 32° north, where the longest day is about 13 hours 56 minutes, and the shortest is 10 hours 4 minutes, these observations of a man's shadow make the afternoon period begin about 3½ hours before sunset at mid-

CHAPTER XXII¹.

1. May Aûharmazd give *thee* the august rank and throne of a champion ²!

2. May Vohûman give thee wisdom! may the benefit of knowing Vohûman³ be good thought, and mayest thou be acting well, that is, saving the soul!

3. May Ardâvahist, the beautiful, give thee understanding and intellect!

4. May Shatvairô grant thee wealth from every generous one!

5. May Spendarmad grant thee praise through the seed of *thy* body! may she give thee *as* wife a woman from the race of the great!

6. May Horvadađ grant thee plenty and prosperity!

7. May Amerôdad grant thee herds of four-footed *beasts*!

summer, diminishing to $2\frac{3}{4}$ hours at the autumnal equinox, and then remaining very nearly constant till the vernal equinox.

¹ These last two chapters are found written upon some folios which have been added to the beginning of M6; but, though not belonging to that MS. originally, they are still very old. The first of these two chapters has not been found elsewhere; it is an elaborate benediction, in which the writer calls down, upon some one, a series of blessings from each of the thirty archangels and angels whose names are given to the days of the Parsi month in the order in which they here stand (compare the same names in Bund. XXVII, 24).

² The meaning of the word pâdrôg or pâdrang (which occurs also in §§ 12, 26, and appears to be a title) may be guessed from the following passage in the Yâdkâr-i Zarîrân, or Vistâsp-shâh-nâmak: Pavan har razm va pâdrazm-i lak pîrôg va vêh pâdrôg sem yâityûnî-ae, 'in every attack and counter-attack of thine mayest thou bring *away* the title of conqueror and good champion!'

³ The reading is uncertain.

8. May Dīnô always secure¹ *thee* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

9. May the light of the sublime Âtarô² hold thy throne in heaven!

10. May Âvân grant thee wealth from every generous one!

11. May Khûr hold thee without mystery *and* doubt among the great and *thy* compeers (ham-budîkân)!

12. May Mâh give thee an assistant, who is the assistant of champions!

13. May Tîstar hold thee a traveller in the countries of the seven regions!

14. Gôsûrvan the archangel³ is the protection of four-footed *beasts*.

15. May Dīnô always remain *for thee as* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

16. May Mitrô be thy judge, who shall wish thy existence *to be* vigorous!

17. May Srôsh the righteous, the smiter of demons, keep greed, wrath, and want⁴ far from thee! may he destroy *them, and* may he not seize thee *as* unjust!

18. May Rashnû be thy conductor⁵ to the resplendent heaven!

¹ This verb is doubtful; here and in § 23 it is netrûnâd, 'may she guard,' but in § 15 it is ketrûnâd, 'may she remain.'

² Bûrâz âtarô, 'the sublime fire,' seems to be a personification of the fire Berezi-savang of Bund. XVII, 1, 3, the Supremely-benefiting of SZS. XI, 1, 6.

³ She is usually called an angel. Either the verb is omitted in this section, or it is not a blessing; and the same may be said of §§ 20, 25.

⁴ These are the three fiends, Âz, Aeshm, and Nîyâz (see Bund. XXVIII, 15-17, 26, 27).

⁵ It is very possible that the verb should be yehabûnâd,

19. May Fravardîn give thee offspring, which may bear the name of *thy* race!

20. Vâhrâm the victorious is the stimulator of the warlike.

21. May Râm, applauding the life of a praiser of the persistent¹ lord, keep thee perfect (aspar), that is, living three hundred years², undying and undecaying unto the end of *thy* days!

22. May Vâd bring thee peace³ from the resplendent heaven!

23. May Dînô always secure *thee* the support of the creator Aûharmazd!

24. May Dînô become thy guest in thy home and dwelling!

25. Arshisang, the beautiful, is the resplendent glory of the Kayâns.

26. May Âstâd be thy helper, who is the assistant of champions!

27. May Âsmân bless thee with all skill and wealth!

instead of yehevûnâd, in which case we should have 'give thee a passport.'

¹ The meaning of khvâpar (Av. *hvaâpara*) is by no means certain; it is an epithet of Aûharmazd, angels, and spirits, and is then often assumed to mean 'protecting;' but it is also a term applied to the earth and offspring; perhaps 'self-sustaining' would suit both its etymology and its various applications best, but the root *par* has many other meanings.

² That is, two great cycles. It is usual for the copyists of Pahlavi MSS. to wish, in their colophons, that the persons for whom the MSS. are written, whether themselves or others, may retain the MSS. for a hundred and fifty years before leaving them to their children; which period is mentioned because it is supposed to constitute a great cycle of the moon and planets.

³ Written drûd instead of drûd.

28. May Zamyâd destroy for thee the demon and fiend out of thy dwelling!

29. May Mâraspend hold thee a throne in the resplendent heaven!

30. May Anîrân the immortal, with every kind of all wealth, become thy desire! the horses of God (yazdân)¹ who shall come that he may go, and thou mayest obtain a victory.

31. May destiny give thee a helper! he is the guardian of the *celestial* sphere for all these arch-angels whose names I have brought *forward*; may he be thy helper *at* all times, in every good work and duty!

32. Homage to Srit² the teacher! may he live long! may he be prosperous *in* the land! may *his* be every pleasure and joy, *and* every glory of the Kayâns, through the will of the persistent Aûharmazd!

CHAPTER XXIII.

o. In the name of God and the good creation be health³!

1. Aûharmazd is more creative, Vohûman is more

¹ Both nouns are in the plural, and both verbs in the singular. Anîrân is a personification of Av. *anaghra raoḱau*, 'the beginningless lights,' or fixed stars (which, however, are said to have been created by Aûharmazd in Bund. II, 1), and these stars appear to have been considered as horses of the angels (Bund. VI, 3, SZS. VI, 1). There are several uncertain phrases in §§ 30-32.

² This would appear to be the name of the person to whom the benediction is addressed, as it can hardly be meant for the ancient hero Thrîta, the Athrat of Bund. XXXI, 27, and the Sritô of SZS. XI, 10, note.

³ Two versions of this chapter, detailing the qualities of the

embellished¹, *Ardavahist* is more brilliant², *Shatvairô* is more exalted³, *Spendarmad* is more fruitful⁴, *Horvada* is moister⁵, *Amerôdad* is fatter⁶.

2. *Dîn-pa-Âtarô* is just like *Aûharmazd*⁷, *Âtarô* is hotter⁸, *Âvân* is more golden⁹, *Khûr* is more observant¹⁰, *Mâh* is more protective¹¹, *Tîr* is more liberal, *Gôs* is swifter¹².

3. *Dîn¹³-pa-Mitrô* is just like *Aûharmazd*, *Mitrô* is more judicial, *Srôsh* is more vigorous, *Rashn* is more just, *Fravardîn* is more powerful, *Vâhrâm* is more victorious, *Râm* is more pleasing, *Vâd* is more fragrant.

4. *Dîn-pa-Dînô* is just like *Aûharmazd*, *Dînô* is more valuable, *Ard*¹⁴ is more beautiful, *Âstâd* is purer, *Âsmân* is more lofty, *Zamyâd* is more conclusive, *Mâraspend* is more

thirty angels and archangels, are extant; one in M6, which has lost §§ 3-5, and the other in a very old MS. in the library of the high-priest of the Parsis at Bombay. This latter, being complete, is here taken as the text, while the variations of M6, which occur in nearly every epithet, are given in the notes. Which version is the oldest can hardly be ascertained with certainty from the state of the MSS. M6 omits this opening benediction.

¹ M6 has 'more nimble.'

² M6 has 'more discriminative.'

³ M6 has 'more active.'

⁴ M6 has 'more complete.'

⁵ M6 has 'fatter.'

⁶ M6 has 'more fruitful.'

⁷ M6 has 'Dînô is more desirous.'

⁸ M6 has 'more heating.'

⁹ Referring perhaps to the golden channels (Bund XIII, 4, 5) through which the water of *Arêdvîvsûr* (a title of the angel *Âvân*, 'waters') is supposed to flow. M6 has 'more glittering.'

¹⁰ M6 has 'more embellished.'

¹¹ M6 has *varpântar*, the meaning of which is uncertain.

¹² M6 has 'more listening.'

¹³ The version in M6 ends here; the next folio being lost.

¹⁴ The same as *Arshirang* (see Bund. XXII, 4).

conveying the religion, Anrân is the extreme of exertion *and* listening¹.

5. May it be completed in peace and pleasure !

¹ The reading of both these nouns is uncertain. The days of the Parsi month, which bear the names of these thirty angels, are divided, it will be observed, into four nearly equal divisions, resembling weeks, which are here separated in §§ 1-4. The first weekly period begins with a day dedicated to Aûharmazd, and called by his own name ; and each of the three other weekly periods also begins with a day dedicated to Aûharmazd, but called by the name of Dîn, 'religion,' with the name of the following day added as a cognomen. The first week, therefore, consists of the day Aûharmazd followed by six days named after the six archangels respectively (see Bund. I, 23, 26). The second week consists of the day Dîn-with-Âtarô followed by six days named after the angels of fire, waters, the sun, the moon, Mercury, and the primeval ox. The third week consists of the day Dîn-with-Mitrô followed by seven days named after the angels of solar light, obedience, and justice, the guardian spirits, and the angels of victory, pleasure, and wind. And the fourth week consists of the day Dîn-with-Dînô followed by seven days named after the angels of religion, righteousness, rectitude, the sky, the earth, the liturgy, and the fixed stars.

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OBSERVATIONS.

1. The references in this index are to the pages of the introduction, and to the chapters and sections of the translations; the chapters being denoted by the larger ciphers.

2. References to passages which contain special information are given in parentheses.

3. Though different forms of the same name may occur in the translations, only one form is usually given in the index, to which the references to all forms are attached; except when the forms differ so much as to require to be widely separated in the index.

4. Pahlavi forms are always given in preference to Pâzand and Persian, when only one is mentioned; but where only a Pâzand form occurs it is printed in italics, as Pâzand orthography is usually corrupt. In all such italicised names any letters, which would elsewhere be italic, are printed in roman type.

5. Abbreviations used are :—Av. for Avesta word; Bd. for Bundahis; Byt. for Bahman Yast; ch. for chapter of Visparad; com. for commentator and commentary; Gug. for Gugarâti; Huz. for Huzvâris; Int. for Introduction; lun. man. for lunar mansion; m. for mountain; meas. for measure; n for foot-note; Pahl. for Pahlavi; Pâz. for Pâzand; Pers. for Persian; r. for river; Sl. for Shâyast lâ-shâyast; trans. for translation; wt. for weight; zod. for zodiacal constellation; Zs. for Selections of Zâd-spam.

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 — yast, ritual, Byt. 1, 1 n, 6; 2, 1.
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 Vôrûgarst, region, Bd. 5, 8, 9; 11, 3, 4; 25, 10; 29, 1; Byt. 3, 47.
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 — without boots, Sl. 4, 12 n; 10, 12.
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 — the hands, Sl. 7, 2, 7; before sleep, Sl. 10, 38.
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 — jarâd, man, Bd. 31, 19.
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 Yûdân-Yim, man, Int. 42, 46, 47, 64; Bd. 33, 10 n, 11; Zs. 1, 0.
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 — r., Bd. 20, 25 n.
 Zâdram, man, Bd. 31, 14 n.
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Zágb, man, Bd. 33, 5.
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Zâinigâv, man, Bd. 31, 6.
Zâirik, demon, Bd. 1, 27; 28, 11; 30, 29.
Zairivairi, prince, Bd. 31, 29.
Zâl, man, Bd. 31, 37 n.
Zamyâd, angel, Bd. 27, 24; Sl. 22, 28; 23, 4.
Zand (com.), Int. (10), 21; Byt. 1, 6, 7; 2, 1, 55.
Zand-âkâs, book, Int. 23; Bd. 1, 1; Zs. 9, 1 n.
Zandik, sect, Sl. 6, 7.
Zaothra, Av., Sl. 2, 43 n. See Holy-water.
Zarafân r., Bd. 20, 19 n.
Zarah sea, Bd. 13, 16 n.
Zaratûst, apostle, Bd. 4, 2 n; 17, 8; 21, 3; 24, 1, 15; Zs. 11, 10 n; Byt. 1, 7 n; 2, 4-7, 9; Sl. 1, 3 n; 6, 1; 10, 25, 28 n; chief, Bd. 29, 2; his family, Bd. 20, 32; 29, 5; 32, 1-10; Byt. 3, 13, 47, 48; Sl. 10, 4, 21 n; 13, 22; his guardian spirit, Bd. 4, 4; Sl. 11, 4; his millennium, Bd. 34, 9 n; Byt. 1, 5; 2, 22, 24, 31, 41; 3, 11, 43 n, 44 n; attacked by demons, Sl. 10, 4; 12, 3 n, 11; addresses Aûharmazd, Bd. 30, 4; Byt. 1, 1, 2; 2, 1, 12, 23, 57; 3, 1, 12; Sl. 12, 29; 15, 1, 3; 17, 1, 11; addressed by Aûharmazd, Byt. 2, 58; 3, 11; Sl. 9, 8; 10, 26; 12, 32; 15, 30; called righteous, Byt. 2, 11, 24, 41, 62; called the Spîtâmân, Byt. 1, 3, 5; 2, 3, 4, 15, 22, 25, 28, 30, 31, 36, 44, 54-56, 63; 3, 3, 4, 8-10, 13, 14, 23, 24, 43, 50; Sl. 9, 14; 11, 4; 12, 23; 15, 4.
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Zaratûstrôtûm, Bd. 24, 1. See also Supreme high-priest or Zaratûst.
Zardâhim, title, Bd. 31, 4.
Zarid m., Bd. 12, 2, 10 n.
Zarîn m., Bd. 12, 29, 39.
Zarînmand lake, Bd. 22, 1, 6; spring, Bd. 20, 34.
Zarîr, man, Bd. 31, 30; 33, 4; prince, Bd. 31, 29.
Zarmân, demon, Bd. 28, 23.
Zav, king, Bd. 31, 23 n.
Zavârah, man, Bd. 31, 41 n.
Zâvulistân, land, Byt. 3, 13 n.
Zend r., Bd. 20, 15.
Zendah r., Bd. 20, 15 n.
Zisak, man, Bd. 32, 1 n.
Zîrmand r., Bd. 20, 7, 19.
Zîyânak, woman, Bd. 31, 4.
Zôb, king, Bd. 34, 6. See Aûzôbô.
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Zohab, land, Bd. 20, 25 n.
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Zôta (priest), Bd. 30, 30.
Zravad, place, Bd. 12, 35.
Zrâvakad, place, Bd. 12, 35.
Zrvâna, Av., Zs. 1, 24 n.
Zûrak, man, Bd. 31, 14.

ERRATA.

P. 133, note 6, for 'daughter' read 'grand-daughter.'

P. 161, note 4, for 'Dâd-sparam' read 'Zâd-sparam;' also in p. 167, note 5; p. 168, note 2; p. 177, note 3; p. 182, note 1; p. 184, note 1.

P. 199, note 6, for 'Shâpûr I' read 'Shâpûr II.'

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	. . .	. . .	क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k
2 " aspirata	kh	. . .	. . .	ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh
3 Media	g	. . .	. . .	ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	. . .
4 " aspirata	gh	. . .	. . .	घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	. . .
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . .	. . .	ङ	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	. . .
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	. . .	. . .	ञ	{ 3 (ng) 𐬛 (N) 𐬜 (hv)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . .	. . .	ट	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	h, hs
8 " lenis . . . . .	'	. . .	. . .	ड	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	. . .
9 " asper faucalis	'h	. . .	. . .	ण	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	. . .
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	. . .	. . .	त	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	. . .
11 " asper fricatus	'h	. . .	. . .	थ	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	. . .
12 " lenis fricatus	'h	. . .	. . .	द	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	. . .
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	k	. . .	. . .	च	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤	k
14 " aspirata	kh	. . .	. . .	छ	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	kh
15 Media	g	. . .	. . .	ज	𐬦	𐬦	𐬦	𐬦	𐬦	. . .
16 " aspirata	gh	. . .	. . .	झ	𐬧	𐬧	𐬧	𐬧	𐬧	. . .
17 " Nasalis	ñ	. . .	. . .	ञ	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	. . .

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	...	...	य	𐬨 𐬩 𐬪 init.	𐬨	ي	ي	,	y
19 Spiritus asper . . . . .	...	(ȳ)	...	...	...	𐬨	...	...	...	...
20 " lenis . . . . .	...	(ȳ)	...	...	...	𐬨	...	...	...	...
21 " asper assibilatus . . . . .	...	s	...	श	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
22 " lenis assibilatus . . . . .	...	z	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	...	...	त	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	t
24 " aspirata	th	...	...	थ	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	th
25 " assibata . . . . .	...	...	TH	...	...	𐬨	...	...	...	...
26 Media	d	...	...	द	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
27 " aspirata	dh	...	...	ध	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
28 " assibata . . . . .	...	...	DH	...	...	𐬨	...	...	...	...
29 Nasalis	n	...	...	न	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	n
30 Semivocalis	l	...	...	ल	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	l
31 " mollis 1	l	...	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
32 " mollis 2 . . . . .	...	...	L	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	...	...	स	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	s
34 " asper 2 . . . . .	...	...	s (ʃ)	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
35 " lenis	z	...	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z
36 " asperimus 1 . . . . .	...	...	z (ʒ)	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
37 " asperimus 2 . . . . .	...	...	z (ʒ)	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
	0									
1 Neutralis	0			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ɔ			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ɔ			...	...	fin.	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	...	...	...	...
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	𐬁	𐬁	...	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	...	...	...	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	𐬃	𐬃	...	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	ɛ			ए	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	ē			ऐ	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ɪ			ऋ	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	ī			ॠ	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ऋ	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	ē	(e)		ॠ	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	ai	(ai)		ॡ	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " "	ei	(ēi)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " "	oi	(ōi)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ō	(o)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	au	(au)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " "	eu	(ēu)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " "	ou	(ōu)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta	ü			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö			...	...	...	...	...	...	...

1. The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is a subject which has attracted the attention of many scholars and has become one of the most popular fields of research in the United States. The study of the history of the United States is not only a subject of great interest to the American people, but it is also a subject of great importance to the world. The history of the United States is a history of a people who have made a great contribution to the world. The study of the history of the United States is a study of the life and times of a people who have made a great contribution to the world.

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THE

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VOL. VI

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1880

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THE QUR'ÂN

TRANSLATED BY

E. H. PALMER

PART I

CHAPTERS I TO XVI

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1880

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INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE entering upon an intelligent study of the Qur'ân it is necessary to make oneself acquainted with the circumstances of the people in whose midst it was revealed, with the political and religious aspects of the period, and with the personal history of the prophet himself.

Arabia or Gazîrat el 'Arab, 'the Arabian Peninsula,' as it is called by native writers, is bounded on the west by the Red Sea ; on the east by the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman ; on the south by the Indian Ocean ; and on the north it extends to the confines of Babylonia and Syria.

The Arabs were divided into those of the desert and those of the towns.

The first were settled in the sterile country of the Higâz, and the no less barren highlands of Negd.

The principalities bordering on Syria and Persia were vassals of the Roman and Persian empires ; the kingdom of Himyar in Yemen, to the south of the Peninsula, was in free communication with the rest of the world ; but the Higâz, 'the barrier,' had effectually resisted alike the curiosity and the attacks of the nations who fought around it for the empire of the world. Persia, Egypt, Rome, Byzantium had each unsuccessfully essayed to penetrate the country and conquer its hardy inhabitants.

The Higâz consists of the barren ranges of hills which lead up from the lowlands on the Eastern coast of the Red Sea to the highlands of Negd. In its valleys lie the holy cities of Mecca and Medînah, and here was the birthplace of el Islâm.

The Arabs of the desert preserved almost intact the manners, customs, and primeval simplicity of the early patriarchs.

They lived in tents made of hair or woollen cloth, and

their principal wealth consisted in their camels, horses, and male and female slaves.

They were a nomad race, changing their residence to the various places within their own territory, which afforded the best pasturage as the seasons came round.

Brave and chivalrous, the Arab was always ready to defend the stranger who claimed his protection, while he would stand by a member of his own clan and defend him with his life, whether he were right or wrong. This devotion to the tribe was one of the strongest characteristics of the Arabs, and must be borne in mind if we would understand aright the early history of Islâm.

They were generous and hospitable to a fault, and many a tale is told of a chief who gave away his last camel, or slew his favourite horse to feed a guest, while he and his family were well-nigh left to starve.

Pride of birth was their passion, and poetry their greatest delight; their bards recited the noble pedigrees and doughty deeds of their tribes,—as their own proverb has it, ‘the registers of the Arabs are the verses of their bards,’—and in the numerous ancient poems still extant we have invaluable materials for the history of the race.

But their vices were as conspicuous as their virtues, and drunkenness, gambling, and the grossest immorality were very prevalent amongst them. Robbery and murder were their ordinary occupations, for an Arab looked on work or agriculture as beneath his dignity, and thought that he had a prescriptive right to the property of those who condescended to such mean offices. The death of an Arab, however, was revenged with such rigour and vindictiveness by the fierce laws of the blood feud, that a certain check was placed upon their bloodthirsty propensities even in their wars; and these were still further tempered by the institution of certain sacred months, during which it was unlawful to fight or pillage. Cruel, and superstitious too, they were, and amongst the inhuman customs which Mohammed swept away, none is more revolting than that, commonly practised by them, of burying their female children alive.

The position of women amongst them was not an elevated one, and although there are instances on record of heroines and poetesses who exalted or celebrated the honour of their clan, they were for the most part looked on with contempt. The marriage knot was tied in the simplest fashion and untied as easily, divorce depending only on the option and caprice of the husband.

As for government they had, virtually, none; the best born and bravest man was recognised as head of the tribe, and led them to battle; but he had no personal authority over them, and no superiority but that of the admiration which his bravery and generosity gained for him.

The religion of the Arabs was Sabæanism, or the worship of the hosts of heaven, Seth and Enoch being considered as the prophets of the faith.

This cult no doubt came from Chaldea, and the belief in the existence of angels, which they also professed, is traceable to the same source. Their practice of making the circuit of the holy shrines, still continued as part of the 'Hagg ceremonies, probably also arose from this planetary worship.

The comparatively simple star-worship of the Sabæans was, however, greatly corrupted; and a number of fresh deities, superstitious practices, and meaningless rites had been introduced.

The strange sounds that often break the terrible stillness of the desert; the sudden storms of sand or rain that in a moment cover the surface of a plain, or change a dry valley into a roaring torrent; these and a thousand other such causes naturally produce a strong effect upon an imagination quickened by the keen air and the freedom of the desert.

The Arab, therefore, peopled the vast solitudes amidst which he dwelt with supernatural beings, and fancied that every rock, and tree, and cavern had its ginn or presiding genius. These beings were conceived to be both beneficent and malevolent, and were worshipped to propitiate their help or avert their harm. From the worship of these personifi-

cations of the powers of nature to that of the presiding genius of a tribe or of a place, is an easy transition, and we accordingly find that each tribe had its patron deity with the cult of which their interests were intimately bound up. The chief god of this vague national cult was Allâh, and most tribes set up a shrine for him as well as for their own particular deity. The offerings dedicated to the former were set apart for the advantage of the poor and of strangers, while those brought to the local idol were reserved for the use of the priests. If Allâh had by any chance anything better than the inferior deity, or a portion of his offerings fell into the lot of the local idol, the priests at once appropriated it; this practice is reprehended by Mohammed in the Qur'ân (VI, ver. 137).

The principal deities of the Arab pantheon were—

Allâh ta'âlah, the God most high.

Hubal, the chief of the minor deities; this was in the form of a man. It was brought from Syria, and was supposed to procure rain.

Wadd, said to have represented the heaven, and to have been worshipped under the form of a man.

Suwâ'h, an idol in the form of a woman, and believed to be a relic of antediluvian times.

Yaghûth, an idol in the shape of a lion.

Ya'ûq, worshipped under the figure of a horse.

Nasr, which was, as the name implies, worshipped under the semblance of an eagle.

El 'Huzzâ, identified with Venus, but it appears to have been worshipped under the form of an acacia tree, cf. note 2, p. 132.

Allât, the chief idol of the tribe of THaqîf at Tâ'if, who endeavoured to make it a condition of surrender to Mohammed that he should not destroy it for three years, and that their territory should be considered sacred like that of Mecca, a condition which the prophet peremptorily refused. The name appears to be the feminine of Allâh.

Manât, worshipped in the form of a large sacrificial stone by several tribes, including that of Hudheil.

Duwâr, a favourite idol with the young women, who used to go in procession round it, whence its name.

Isâf, an idol that stood on Mount Zafâ.

Naïla, an image on mount Marwâ.

The last two were such favourite objects of worship that, although Mohammed ordered them to be destroyed, he was not able entirely to divert the popular regard from them, and the visitation of Zafâ and Marwâ are still an important part of the 'Hagg rites.

'Hab'hab was a large stone upon which camels were slaughtered.

El 'Huzzâ, Allât, and Manât are mentioned by name in the Qur'ân, see Chapter LIII, vers. 19-20.

The Kaabah, or chief shrine of the faith, contained, besides these, images representing Abraham and Ishmael, each with divining arrows in his hand, and a statue or picture representing the virgin and child.

There were altogether 365 idols there in Mohammed's time.

Another object of worship then, and of the greatest veneration now, is the celebrated black stone which is inserted in the wall of the Kaabah, and is supposed to have been one of the stones of Paradise, originally white, though since blackened by the kisses of sinful but believing lips.

The worship of stones is a very old form of Semitic cult, and it is curious to note that Jacob 'took the stone that he had put for his pillow, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil on the top of it; and he called the name of the place Bethel¹;' and that at Mecca the principal object of sacred interest is a stone, and that the Kaabah has been known, from time immemorial, as Bâit allâh, 'the house of God.'

The ginn, like the angels, were held by the ancient Arabs to be the daughters of Allâh; they were supposed to be created out of fire instead of clay, but in all other respects to resemble mankind, and to be subject to the same laws of procreation and decease.

¹ Genesis xxviii. 18-19.

Mohammed believed that he was sent as an apostle to both men and gins, and Sûrah LXXII contains an allusion to a vision in which he beheld a multitude of the gins bowing in adoration and listening to the message which man had disdainfully refused.

Witches and wizards were also believed to exist, that is, persons who had contrived to subject one or more of these supernatural powers by spells, of which the holy name was the most powerful.

Two fallen angels, Hârût and Mârût, confined in a pit at Babylon, where they are hung by their heels in chains until the judgment day, are always ready to instruct men in the magical art.

The belief in Allâh himself was little more than a reminiscence, and as he had no priesthood, and was not the patron of any particular tribe, his supremacy was merely nominal.

The belief in a future life had not as yet taken a definite hold on the people, and the few who, following the old savage plan, buried a camel with its master or tied it up to die of hunger at his grave, so that he might not be obliged to enter the next world on foot, probably did it rather from custom than from a belief in its real significance.

In short, the Arab of Mohammed's time was what the Bedawi of to-day is, indifferent to religion itself, but using a few phrases and practising, in a merely perfunctory manner, a few observances which his forefathers had handed down to him.

Christianity had already established itself in Arabia. In Yemen, the city of Nagrân had become the seat of a Christian bishopric, and some of the more important tribes, like Kindeh and Ghassân, had embraced Christianity, which was also the religion of most of the Arabs of Syria.

But it had not penetrated deeply into their hearts, and its miracles, its doctrine of the Trinity, and the subtle disputes of monophysites and monothelites were absolutely incomprehensible to them.

Judaism was more in accordance with their habits and traditions: a number of Jews had found their way into the

country after the repression of the revolt against the emperor Adrian, and had made numerous converts. Their creed, however, being based on the idea that they alone are the chosen people, was too exclusive for the majority of the Arabs, while the numerous and vexatious restrictions of its ritual and regulations for every-day life were but ill suited to the free and restless spirit of the sons of the desert.

At the time of Mohammed's appearance the national religion of the Arabs had so far degenerated as to have scarcely any believers. The primeval Sabæanism was all but lost, and even the worship of the powers of nature had become little more than a gross fetishism; as one of Mohammed's contemporaries said, when they found a fine stone they adored it, or, failing that, milked a camel over a heap of sand and worshipped that.

But by far the greater number had ceased to believe in anything at all; the pilgrimages, sacrifices, and worship of the tribal idols were still kept up, but rather for political and commercial reasons than as a matter of faith or conviction. Some, indeed, did consult the oracles, or vow an offering to their god in case of some desired event coming to pass; but, if their hopes were disappointed, the deity was assailed with childish abuse, while, if they succeeded, the vow was evaded by some less expensive sacrifice.

Yet the mere existence amongst them of Christians and of Jews caused the monotheistic idea to attract the attention of some of the more earnest and enquiring minds.

Amongst those who had endeavoured to search for the truth among the mass of conflicting dogmas and superstitions of the religions that surrounded them were Waraqah, the prophet's cousin, and Zeid ibn 'Amr, surnamed 'the Enquirer.'

These enquirers were known as 'Hanîfs, a word which originally meant 'inclining one's steps towards anything,' and therefore signified either convert or pervert.

They did not constitute a united party, but each for himself investigated the truth. There was, however, another

sect who professed to have found the truth, and who preached the faith of their father Abraham, nothing more nor less, in fact, than the doctrine of the unity of God. These also called themselves 'Hanîfs, and Mohammed himself at first adopted the title as expressing the faith of Abraham¹, but subsequently changed it to Muslim.

The chief seat of the cult of the deities of Arabia was Mecca, also called Bekka, both names signifying a place of concourse; another name of the city is Umm el Qurâ, 'the mother of cities,' or metropolis. It was built about the middle of the fifth century of our era by the Qurâis on their obtaining possession of the Kaabah, the most ancient shrine in the country. It is situated in a narrow sandy valley shut in by bare mountains. The soil around the city is stony and unproductive, and the inhabitants are obliged to import their own provisions. To furnish this supply with more regularity Hâshim, Mohammed's grandfather, appointed two caravans, one in winter and the other in summer, to set out yearly; they are mentioned in the Qur'ân, Chapter CVI.

The territory of Mecca was held sacred; it was a sanctuary for man and beast, since it was unlawful to take any life there save those of the animals brought thither for sacrifice, at the time of the great gatherings of pilgrims who flocked yearly to the shrine.

The Kaabah is mentioned by Diodorus as a famous temple whose sanctity was even then revered by all the Arabians; its origin must therefore be ascribed to a very remote period.

The name, which simply means 'a cube,' was given it on account of its shape, it being built square of unhewn stones. It was supposed to have been built by Adam from a model brought from heaven, and to have been subsequently restored by Seth, and later on by Abraham and Ishmael.

The stone on which Abraham stood when rebuilding the

¹ See Qur'ân II, 129.

Kaabah is still shown there ; it is called the maqâm Ibrahîm or Abraham's station, and is mentioned several times in the Qur'ân.

The well Zemzem, amongst the most venerated objects in the sacred precincts of Mecca, is believed to be the spring which Hagar discovered when she fled out into the wilderness with her son Ishmael. It was a small stream flowing from one of the surrounding hills, and this having in course of time dried up, Abd al Muttalib, Mohammed's grandfather, caused the well to be dug on the spot whence the spring originally issued.

The Kaabah, so far as the dim legends of antiquity throw any light on the subject, remained for a long period in the hands of the descendants of Ishmael, and on their migrating to other parts of the peninsula its guardianship became vested in their kinsmen, the Jorhamites. These were driven out by the Amalekites, who were in turn defeated by the combined forces of the Ishmaelites and Jorhamites, the latter of whom again became masters of the temple. The Jorhamites were defeated and deposed by a coalition of the Benu Bakr and Benu 'Huzâ'hah, and the charge of the Kaabah remained with the last-mentioned tribe.

'Amr ibn La'hy, a chief of the Benu 'Huzâ'hah, now assumed the political and religious chieftainship of Mecca, and it was in his reign that the idols were placed in the Kaabah. The result of this was vastly to increase the importance of the city and its temple, as the various objects to which individual tribes paid worship were then all concentrated within its precincts.

Quzâi, an ancestor of the prophet, making common cause with the Benu Kenânah, defeated the Benu Bakr and Benu 'Huzâ'hah and restored the custody of the Kaabah to his own tribe, the Qurâis.

From Quzâi it descended to his eldest son 'Abd ed Dar, from whom the principal offices were however transferred to his brother 'Abd Menâf. These were the privilege of supplying the pilgrims with water and food at the time of the 'Hagg; the command of the army and civic head-

ship of the town; and the custody of the Kaabah before alluded to.

'Abd Menâf left four sons, 'Abd Shems, Hâshim, al Muṭṭalib, and Nâufel. To Hâshim was entrusted the guardianship of the Kaabah and the right of supplying food to the pilgrims, together with the principedom of Mecca, while to the descendants of 'Abd ed Dar was left only the office of supplying them with water.

Hâshim and his son 'Abd al Muṭṭalib filled the office with so much liberality that the wealth of the family, though considerable, was nearly all dissipated, and the rival family of Ommaiyeh, son of 'Abd Shems, took over the more expensive offices with the prestige which they naturally carried. It was during the reign of 'Abd al Muṭṭalib that the invasion of Mecca by the Abyssinian army under Ashram the Abraha took place; they were however repulsed with great loss. This year was afterwards known as the 'Year of the Elephant,' from the fact of these animals having been employed against the holy city. 'Abd al Muṭṭalib's youngest son, Abd allah, married a kinswoman settled at YATHrib (Medînah), by whom he had one posthumous child Mohammed, the future prophet.

The exact date generally given of Mohammed's birth is April 20, 571 A. D., but all that is absolutely certain is that he was born in the Year of the Elephant. All that the child inherited from his father was five camels and a slave girl.

According to the fashion of the country he was provided with a Bedawi wet nurse, one 'Halîmah, who took him with her to the tents of her people and reared him amidst the invigorating surroundings of desert life.

At the age of six Mohammed lost his mother, Amînah.

The orphan was taken care of by his grandfather 'Abd al Muṭṭalib, who showed for him very great affection, and at his death, which happened two years later, left him to the guardianship of his son Abu Tâlib, afterwards one of the most prominent persons in Muslim history.

To support himself the young Mohammed was obliged

to tend the sheep and goats of the Meccans, an occupation which, even at the present day, is considered by the Bedawin as derogatory to the position of a male. Of this part of his life we know but little, for although Muslim historians relate innumerable legends about him, they are for the most part obviously false, and quite unimportant to the real understanding of his life and character.

At the age of twenty-four he was employed by a rich widow, named 'Hadîgah, to drive the caravans of camels with which she carried on an extensive trade.

So well did Mohammed ingratiate himself with his employer, who was also his kinswoman, that she offered him her hand, and although she was forty years of age and he barely twenty-five, their union was eminently a happy one.

Long after her death his love for 'Hadîgah remained fresh in Mohammed's heart; he would never lose an opportunity of extolling her virtues, and would often kill a sheep and distribute its flesh to the poor in honour of her memory.

'Âyeshah, daughter of Abu Bekr, whom he married three years after 'Hadîgah's decease, was in the habit of saying that she was never jealous of any of his wives except 'the toothless old woman.'

Six children were the issue of this marriage, four girls and two boys; both of the latter died at an early age.

But of this portion of his career, too, we have no authentic information; all that is certain is that he was an honest, upright man, irreproachable in his domestic relations and universally esteemed by his fellow-citizens, who bestowed upon him the sôbriquet of El Amîn, 'the trusty.'

Mohammed was a man of middle height, but of commanding presence; rather thin, but with broad shoulders and a wide chest; a massive head, a frank oval face with a clear complexion, restless black eyes, long heavy eyelashes, a prominent aquiline nose, white teeth, and a full thick beard are the principal features of the verbal portraits historians have drawn of him.

He was a man of highly nervous organization, thoughtful,

restless, inclined to melancholy, and possessing an extreme sensibility, being unable to endure the slightest unpleasant odour or the least physical pain.

Simple in his habits, kind and courteous in his demeanour, and agreeable in conversation, he gained many over to his side, as much by the charm of his manners as by the doctrine which he preached.

Mohammed had already reached his fortieth year when the first revelations came to him. They were the almost natural outcome of his mode of life and habit of thought, and especially of his physical constitution. From youth upwards he had suffered from a nervous disorder which tradition calls epilepsy, but the symptoms of which more closely resemble certain hysterical phenomena well known and diagnosed in the present time, and which are almost always accompanied with hallucinations, abnormal exercise of the mental functions, and not unfrequently with a certain amount of deception, both voluntary and otherwise.

He was also in the habit of passing long periods in solitude and deep thought; and he was profoundly impressed with the falsehood and immorality of the religion of his compatriots and with horror at their vicious and inhuman practices, and had for his best friends men, such as his cousin Waraqah and Zâid ibn Amr, who had, professedly, been long seeking after the truth and who had publicly renounced the popular religion.

At length, during one of his solitary sojournings on Mount 'Hirâ, a wild and lonely mountain near Mecca, an angel appeared to him and bade him 'READ¹!' 'I am no reader!' Mohammed replied in great trepidation, whereon the angel shook him violently and again bade him read.

¹ In Arabic *iqra'*; a great difference of opinion exists even among Mohammedans about the exact meaning of this word. I have followed the most generally accepted tradition that it has its ordinary signification of 'reading,' and this is supported by the reference immediately afterwards to writing; others take it to mean 'recite!' Sprenger imagines it to mean 'read the Jewish and Christian scriptures,' which, however ingenious, is, as an Arab would say, *bârid*, singularly frigid and foreign to the spirit of the language.

This was repeated three times, when the angel uttered the five verses which commence the 96th chapter :

‘READ! in the name of thy Lord, who did create—
Who did create man from congealed blood.
READ! for thy Lord is the most generous,
Who has taught the use of the pen,—
Has taught man what he did not know.’

Terribly frightened, he hastened home to his faithful wife ‘*Hadigah*, who comforted him. The vision of the angel was not repeated, but his hallucinations and mental excitement continued to such an extent that a new fear took hold of him, and he began to wonder whether he were not, after all, possessed by a *ginn*, one of those dread supernatural beings of which I have before spoken.

Persons afflicted with epileptic or hysterical symptoms were supposed by the Arabs, as by so many other nations, to be possessed, and we find the constant complaint in the *Qur’ân* that he was regarded as such by his fellow-citizens. Poetic frenzy was evidently recognised by them as nearly akin to demoniacal possession, and of this charge, too, the prophet frequently endeavours to clear himself. His habit of fasting and watching throughout the night would and no doubt did increase his tendency to mental excitement and visionary hallucinations.

The celebrated ‘night journey’ or ‘ascent into heaven,’ which many of the Muslims allow to have been merely a dream, was doubtless the result of one of these fits of mental exaltation. It must be remembered, however, that to an Eastern mind the reducing it to a dream by no means detracts either from its reality or its authority, dreams being supposed to be direct revelations from God; see the *Story of Joseph*, Chapter XII, and the same as recorded in the Old Testament.

That he himself thoroughly believed in the reality of his revelations there can be no doubt, especially during the early part of his prophetic career. The chapters which belong to this period abound in passages which were

evidently uttered in a state of complete ecstasy; but the later portions of the Qur'ân, in which more consecutive stories are told, and in which ordinances are propounded for the general guidance of the believers, or for individual cases, are of course couched in more sober language, and show traces of being composed in a calmer frame of mind.

The thought that he might be, after all, mad or possessed (*magnûn*) was terrible to Mohammed.

He struggled for a long time against the idea, and endeavoured to support himself by belief in the reality of the divine mission which he had received upon Mount 'Hirâ; but no more revelations came, nothing occurred to give him further confidence and hope, and Mohammed began to feel that such a life could be endured no longer. The *Fatrah* or 'intermission,' as this period without revelation was called, lasted for two and a half or three years.

Dark thoughts of suicide presented themselves to his mind, and on more than one occasion he climbed the steep sides of Mount 'Hirâ, or Mount Thabîr, with the desperate intention of putting an end to his unquiet life by hurling himself from one of the precipitous cliffs. But a mysterious power appeared to hold him back, and at length the long looked-for vision came, which was to confirm him in his prophetic mission.

At last the angel again appeared in all his glory, and Mohammed in terror ran to his wife 'Hadîgah and cried *daTHTHirûnî*, 'wrap me up!' and lay down entirely enwrapped in his cloak as was his custom when attacked by the hysterical fits (which were always accompanied, as we learn from the traditions, with violent hectic fever), partly for medical reasons and partly to screen himself from the gaze of evil spirits.

As he lay there the angel again spake to him: 'O thou covered! Rise up and warn! and thy Lord magnify! and thy garments purify; and abomination shun! and grant not favours to gain increase; and for thy Lord await¹!'

¹ Sûrah LXXIV, 1-7.

And now the revelations came in rapid succession. He no longer doubted the reality of the inspiration, and his conviction of the unity of God and of his divine commission to preach it were indelibly impressed upon his mind.

His only convert was at first his faithful wife *'Hadîgah*; she was always at his side to comfort him when others mocked at him, to cheer him when dispirited, and to encourage him when he wavered.

Well, indeed, did she deserve the title by which afterwards knew her of Umm el Mû'minîn, 'the mother of the believers.'

His daughters next believed; his cousin Ali, Abu Tâlib's youngest son, whom Mohammed had adopted to relieve his uncle of some portion of his family cares, soon followed; then came Zâid, his freedman, favourite companion and fellow-seeker after truth; and ere long the little band of believers was joined by Abu Bekr, a rich merchant, and man of the most upright character, who had also been his confidant during that period of doubt and mental strife. Mohammed was wont to say that, 'all the world had hesitated more or less to recognise him as the Apostle of God, except Abu Bekr alone.' Abu Bekr enjoyed immense influence with his fellow-citizens, and had by his probity earned the appellation of el Ziddîq, 'the true.'

The next converts to the new faith were two young men, Zobeir and Sa'ad ibn Waqqâz, both relations of the prophet. Abd er Rahman ibn Auf and Tal'hah, men of mark and military prowess, then joined the Muslim ranks. Othmân ibn Affân, afterwards the third Caliph, a young Arab beau, also embraced Islâm for the sake of obtaining the hand of Mohammed's daughter, Rukaiyah. The accession of these personages opened the eyes of the Qurâis to the importance of the movement, but the number of the faithful was still but small.

His other converts were only women and slaves, the former being won over by the influence of *'Hadîgah*. Amongst the latter was an Abyssinian slave named Bilal, who subsequently underwent cruel persecutions for the

faith, and on the establishment of the religion became the first mu'ezzin or 'crier,' who called to prayer in Islâm.

In the fifth year of his ministry Mohammed made another important convert, Omar ibn el 'Hattâb, a fierce soldier, who had been one of the bitterest opponents of the new religion, but who afterwards proved its chief support.

His conversion carried with it so great weight that the Mohammedan traditions relate it with miraculous attendant details. Omar and Abu Bekr supplied, the one by his vigour and promptitude in action, and the other by his persuasive eloquence and address, the want of the practical element in Mohammed's character. So thoroughly did he rely upon them and seek support from their companionship, that it was always his custom to say, 'I and Abu Bekr and Omar have been to such and such a place, or have done such and such a thing.'

To the great mass of the citizens of Mecca the new doctrine was simply the 'Hanîfism to which they had become accustomed, and they did not at first trouble themselves at all about the matter. Mohammed's claim, however, to be the Apostle of God called forth more opposition, causing some to hate him for his presumption and others to ridicule him for his pretensions; some, as we have seen above, regarded him in the light of one possessed, while another class looked upon him as a mere vulgar soothsayer.

But in preaching the unity of Allâh, Mohammed was attacking the very existence of the idols, in the guardianship of which consisted not only the supremacy of Mecca, but the welfare and importance of the state. The chiefs of the Qurâis therefore began to look with no favourable eye upon the prophet, whom they regarded as a dangerous political innovator.

But Mohammed himself came of the most noble family in Mecca, and could not be attacked or suppressed without calling down upon the aggressors the certain vengeance of his protector Abu Tâlib and his clan. A deputation of the chiefs therefore waited upon Abu Tâlib and begged him to enforce silence upon his nephew, or to withdraw his

protection, which latter alternative was equivalent to handing him over to the summary vengeance of his foes. This Abu Tâlib firmly but politely refused to do, and it was not until they added threats to their entreaties that he consented even to remonstrate with his nephew.

Mohammed, though deeply grieved at losing, as he feared, his uncle's protection and goodwill, exclaimed in reply, 'By Allâh! if they placed the sun on my right hand and the moon on my left, to persuade me, yet while God bids me, I will not renounce my purpose!' and bursting into tears turned to leave the place. But the kind old Abu Tâlib, moved at his nephew's tears, recalled him and assured him of his continued protection.

From his fellow-citizens Mohammed met with nothing but raillery, insults, and actual injuries, when he ventured to announce his mission in public.

In return he could only threaten them with punishment in this world and the next, setting before them the fate of those who had rejected the prophets of old, of the people of Noah and Lot, of the destruction of Pharaoh and other contumacious folk; and painting in vivid colours the dreadful torments of the future life. But the one threat seemed little likely to be realised, and in an existence after death they had no belief. So the prophet's warnings went for naught, and he himself was forced to bear with patience the contumely heaped upon him and the still deeper pain of disappointment and the sense of failure.

In proportion as the new faith incurred the open hostility of the Meccans, the position of its converts became more embarrassing. Those who had powerful protectors could still weather the storm, but the weaker ones, especially the slaves and women, had to endure the severest persecutions, and in some cases suffered martyrdom for their belief.

Some of the slaves were bought off by Abu Bekr, Mohammed's own financial position not allowing him to do this himself; others having no resource apostatized to save their lives.

Under these circumstances the prophet advised his little

band of followers to seek safety in flight; and a few of the most helpless of them accordingly emigrated to the Christian country of Abyssinia. The next year others joined them, until the little colony of Muslim emigrants numbered a hundred souls.

The Qurâis were much annoyed at the escape of the Muslims, as they had hoped and determined to suppress the movement completely: they therefore sent a deputation to the Naggâsî or king of Abyssinia, demanding the surrender of the fugitives. The Naggâsî called his bishops around him, and summoning the refugees to the conference bade them answer for themselves. They told him how they had been plunged in idolatry and crime, and how their prophet had called them to belief in God and to the practice of a better life; then they quoted the words of the Qur'ân concerning Jesus, and finally begged the monarch not to give them up to these men, who would not only persecute them, but force them back into unbelief and sin. The Naggâsî granted their request and sent the messengers back. The failure of this attempt increased the hostility of the Qurâis towards the small remnant of the Muslims who were left in Mecca.

Almost alone, exposed to hourly danger and annoyance, it is not to be wondered at that Mohammed should for a moment have conceived the idea of a compromise.

The chiefs of Mecca cared little for their own idols, but they cared greatly for their traffic and their prestige. If the gods in the Kaabah were false and their service vain and wicked, who would visit the holy shrine? and where would then be the commercial advantages that flowed into Mecca from the pilgrims who crowded yearly to the town? Again, if they allowed the favourite deities of the neighbouring powerful tribes to be insulted or destroyed, how could they expect that these latter would accord safe conduct to their caravans or even allow them to pass through the territories unmolested?

Al 'Huzzâ, Allât, and Manât were the idols of the most important of these neighbouring tribes, and the Qurâis pro-

posed to Mohammed that he should recognise the divinity of these three deities, and promised in their turn that they would then acknowledge him to be the Apostle of Allâh.

One day, therefore, he recited before an assembly of the Qurâis the words of the Qur'ân, Chapter LIII, vers. 19, 20, and when he came to the words, 'Have ye considered Allât and Al 'Huzzâ and Manât the other third?' he added, 'They are the two high-soaring cranes, and, verily, their intercession may be hoped for!' When he came to the last words of the chapter, 'Adore God then and worship!' the Meccans prostrated themselves to the ground and worshipped as they were bidden.

A great political triumph was achieved, the proud and mocking Meccans had acknowledged the truth of the revelations, the city was converted, Mohammed's dream was realised, and he was himself the recognised Apostle of God!

But at what a sacrifice! politically he had gained the position at which he aimed, but it was at the expense of his honesty and his conviction; he had belied and stultified the very doctrine for which he and his had suffered so much. The delusion did not last long; and on the morrow he hastened to recant in the most uncompromising manner, and declared, no doubt with the fullest belief in the truth of what he was saying, that Satan had put the blasphemous words in his mouth. The passage was recited afresh, and this time it read: 'Have ye considered Allât and Al 'Huzzâ and Manât the other third? Shall there be male offspring for Him and female for you? That, then, were an unfair division! They are but names which ye have named, ye and your fathers! God has sent down no authority for them! Ye do but follow suspicion and what your souls lust after! And yet there has come to them guidance from their Lord!'

This incident is denied by many of the Muslim writers, but not only are the most trustworthy histories very explicit on the subject, but it is proved by the collateral evidence that some of the exiles returned from Abyssinia

on the strength of the report that a reconciliation had been effected with the Qurâis.

His recantation brought upon Mohammed redoubled hate and opposition, but his family still stood firmly by him, and his life was therefore safe, for it was no light thing to incur the dread responsibility of the blood feud.

The Qurâis revenged themselves by placing the family under a ban, engaging themselves in writing to contract no marriage or commercial relations with any of them, to accord them no protection, and, in short, to hold no communication whatever with them. This document was solemnly suspended in the Kaabah itself.

The result of this was more than mere social disqualification, for as they could not join the Meccan caravans, and were not rich or powerful enough to equip one of their own, they lost their very means of livelihood, and were reduced to the greatest penury and distress.

Unable to contend openly with so many and such powerful foes, the whole of the Hâsimî family, pagan as well as Muslim, took refuge in the *si'b* or 'ravine' of Abu Tâlib, a long and narrow defile in the mountains to the east of Mecca. One man only kept aloof, and that was Abu Laheb, the uncle of the prophet, the bitterest enemy of El Islâm.

For two years the Hâsimîs lay under the ban, shut up in their ravine and only able to sally forth when the 'Hagg pilgrimage came round' and the sacred months made their persons and their property for the time inviolable.

At length the Qurâis began themselves to tire of the restriction which they had imposed upon the Hâsimî clan, and were glad of an excuse for removing it. It was found that the deed on which it had been engrossed had become worm-eaten and illegible, and this being taken as an evidence of the divine disapproval of its contents, they listened to the appeal of the venerable Abu Tâlib and allowed the prisoners to come forth and mix once more freely with the rest of the world. The permission came none too soon, for their stores were gone and they were on the

brink of actual starvation. During the two weary years of suffering and distress Mohammed had of course made no converts amongst the people of Mecca, and few, if any, members of his own clan had joined him during their seclusion, so that his prospects were gloomier than ever.

To add to his troubles, he lost his faithful wife 'Hadîgah not long after this. Shortly afterwards he married a widow named Sâudâ; and later on he was betrothed to 'Âyeshah, daughter of Abu Bekr, then a mere child, but whom he married in three years time. This woman gained a wonderful ascendancy over the prophet, and exercised considerable influence on Islâm, both during and after his lifetime. On one occasion, when the party were on the move, 'Âyeshah was left behind with a young Arab under circumstances which gave rise to some very unpleasant rumours affecting her, and a special revelation was necessary to clear her character¹. Two other women were presently added to his harîm, 'Hafza, daughter of 'Omar, and Zâinab, widow of a Muslim who had been slain at Bedr.

Another marriage that he contracted gave great scandal to the faithful, namely, that with the wife, also called Zâinab, of his adopted son Zâid, whom her husband divorced and offered to surrender to Mohammed on finding that the latter admired her. This also required a revelation to sanction it².

His uncle and protector Abu Tâlib died not long after 'Hadîgah.

This last loss left him without a protector, and his life would certainly have been in imminent danger had it not been that his uncle Abu Laheb, although one of the most determined opponents of the new religion, accorded him his formal protection for the sake of the family honour. This, however, was shortly afterwards withdrawn, and Mohammed was left more alone and more exposed to danger than ever.

In the desperate hope of finding help elsewhere he set

¹ See Part I, p. 74, note 2.

² See Chapter XXXIII, ver. 36, note.

out for Tâ'if, accompanied by his freedman and adopted son Zâid.

From Tâ'if he was driven forth by the populace, who stoned him as he fled away. Wounded and exhausted, he lay down to rest in an orchard, the proprietor of which refreshed him with some grapes, and as he retraced his steps to Mecca he had a vision by the way. It appeared to him that the hosts of the ginn crowded round him, adoring God, and eager to learn from him the truths of Islâm. Ten years had rolled by and the number of the believers was still very few and the prospects of Islâm darker than they were at first, when the prophet found an unexpected support in the two tribes of El 'Aus and El 'Hazrag, who had towards the end of the fifth century wrested the city of YATHRIB from the Jewish tribes who held it.

Some of these Arabs had embraced the Jewish religion, and many of the former masters of the city still dwelt there in the position of clients of one or other of the conquering tribes, so that it contained in Mohammed's time a considerable Jewish population.

Between the inhabitants of YATHRIB and those of Mecca there existed a strong feeling of animosity; but Mohammed, though sharing the prejudices of his compatriots, was not in a position to refuse help from whatever quarter it presented itself.

The Arab inhabitants of YATHRIB had on their part a good reason for looking with a more favourable eye upon the new prophet.

Imbued with the superstition of the Jews amongst whom they lived, they looked for the coming of a Messiah with no small apprehension of his restoring the Jewish supremacy and of their own consequent downfall.

Mohammed, after all, might be the expected Messiah; he was of their own race and it was at any rate prudent to treat with him before he should cast in his lot, as he possibly might, with their disaffected Jewish subjects.

Lastly, YATHRIB was a prey to incessant agitations and internal discords, and anything that was likely to bind the

conflicting parties together by a tie of common interest could not but prove a boon to the city.

The inhabitants of YaTHrib then were, for many reasons, inclined to acknowledge the mission of Mohammed; and after sundry negotiations between the prophet and the chiefs of the city, he agreed to meet them at a part of the road between Mecca and YaTHrib, where the valley suddenly makes an abrupt descent, from which the spot was known as Akabeh.

A deputation, consisting of twelve men of the Aus and 'Hazrag' tribes, accordingly met him at the appointed spot and pledged him their word to obey his teaching.

The twelve men returned to their native city and preached the doctrine of Islām, which was eagerly accepted by the majority of the pagan inhabitants. The Jews of YaTHrib, struck by this sudden renunciation of idolatry by their fellow-citizens, sent to beg Mohammed to send them a teacher who should instruct them in the new creed that had worked so wonderful a change.

At Mecca things were stationary, and Mohammed could do little more than wait until the time for pilgrimage should again come round and he should get fresh news from YaTHrib.

It was during this year of waiting that the celebrated night journey occurred, which has been the occasion of so much dispute to Mohammedan theologians, and has afforded such a handle to the hostile criticism of European historians. It was, as Mohammed himself persistently asserted, a vision in which he saw himself transported to heaven and brought face to face with that God who had always filled his thoughts. The story is so overlaid with spurious traditional details as to have lost, to a great extent, its real significance. It is referred to obscurely in the Qur'ān in the following passages:

'Celebrated be the praises of Him who took His servant a journey by night from the Sacred Mosque to the Remote Mosque, the precinct of which we have blessed, to show him of our signs!' (XVII, ver. 1.)

‘And we made the vision which we showed thee only a cause of sedition unto men.’ (XVII, ver. 62.)

‘By the star when it falls, your comrade errs not, nor is he deluded! nor speaks he out of lust! It is but an inspiration inspired! One mighty in power taught him, endowed with sound understanding, and appeared, he being in the loftiest tract.

‘Then drew he near and hovered o’er! until he was two bows’ length off or nigher still! Then he inspired his servant what he inspired him; the heart belies not what it saw! What, will ye dispute with him on what he saw?

‘And he saw him another time, by the lote tree none may pass; near which is the garden of the Abode! When there covered the lote tree what did cover it! The sight swerved not nor wandered. He saw then the greatest of the signs of his Lord.’ (LIII, vers. 1-18.)

At length the wished-for time arrived and Mohammed, who had been told by his envoy Muz’hab of the success of his mission, repaired once more to the Akabeh. Here he was met at night by seventy men from YaThrib, who had come to the rendezvous clandestinely by twos and threes, so as not to attract attention and incur the hostility of the Qurâis.

His uncle ‘Abbâs, though an unbeliever accompanied him, explained to them his nephew’s position, and asked them seriously to consider the proposition which it was understood they were about to make. They declared that they were quite earnest in their desire to have Mohammed amongst them, and swore that they would defend him and his cause with their very lives. Mohammed then addressed them, recited to them some portions of the Qur’ân in which the most essential points of his doctrine were set forth, and asked them for a pledge of their good faith. This they gave in simple Bedawi fashion, one after another placing his palm in that of the prophet and taking the oath of fealty. So enthusiastic were their protestations that ‘Abbâs himself was obliged to bid them be silent and urge upon them the danger and imprudence of their noisy demon-

stration. The treaty being thus ratified, Mohammed chose twelve naqîbs or leaders, after the number of the disciples of Jesus, and the voice of some stranger being heard close by the assembly hastily but quietly dispersed.

The Meccans, who had got a hint of the affair, taxed the YaTHrib pilgrims with having conspired with Mohammed against them, but being unable to prove the accusation, the new band of Muslims was enabled to return home in safety.

So hostile was now the attitude of the Qurâis that the believers of Mecca prepared for flight, and at last there were only left in Mecca three members of the community, Mohammed himself, Abu Bekr, and Ali.

The Qurâis now held a solemn council of war, at which, on the suggestion of Abu Gahl, it was determined that eleven men, each a prominent member of one of the noble families of the town, should simultaneously attack and murder Mohammed, and by thus dividing the responsibility should avoid the consequences of the blood feud; for, as they rightly judged, the Hâsimîs, not being sufficiently powerful to take the blood revenge on so many families, would be obliged to accept the blood money instead.

Mohammed had timely warning of this design, and giving Ali his mantle bade him pretend to sleep on the couch usually occupied by himself, and so divert the attention of the would-be murderers who were watching around his house. In the meantime Mohammed and Abu Bekr escaped by a back window in the house of the latter, and the two hid themselves in a cavern on Mount THaur, an hour and a half distant from Mecca, before the Qurâis had discovered the ruse and heard of their flight. A hot pursuit was immediately organized.

For three days they lay concealed, their enemies once coming so near that Abu Bekr, trembling, said, 'We are but two.' 'Nay,' said Mohammed, 'we are three; for God is with us.' The legend tells us that a spider had woven its web across the mouth of the cave, so that the Qurâis, thinking that no one had entered in, passed it over in their search.

At length they ventured once more to set out, and, mounted on fleet camels, reached YATHrib in safety. Three days after they were joined by Ali, who had been allowed to leave after a few hours' imprisonment.

This was the celebrated Higrâh or 'flight,' from which the Mohammedan era dates. It took place on June 16, in the year of our Lord 622. The city of YATHrib was henceforth known as Madînat en Nebî, 'the city of the prophet,' or simply El Medînah.

Once established at El Medînah, Mohammed proceeded to regulate the rites and ceremonies of his religion, built a mosque to serve as a place of prayer and hall of general assembly, and appointed Bilâl, the Abyssinian slave who had been so faithful throughout the former persecutions, as crier to call the believers to the five daily prayers.

His next care was to reconcile, as far as possible, the various opposing parties of the city, and this was by no means an easy task. The two tribes of El 'Aus and El 'Hazrag could not be made entirely to lay aside their ancient rivalry, but they united so far as to make his their common cause. For this they were honoured with the title of Ansâr or 'helpers of the prophet.' The refugees from Mecca were called Muhâgerûn, and to prevent any ill feeling rising up between these two classes, each of the Meccan immigrants was made to take to himself one of the Medînah Muslims, to whom he bound himself by an oath of brotherhood. This institution was, however, abolished a year and a half later, after the battle of Bedr. Of the inhabitants of Medînah, who had not joined in the invitation to Mohammed to sojourn amongst them, some left the town and went over to the Meccans; others remained behind, and though they yielded to the tide of popular opinion, and gave in their formal allegiance to the prophet, they were not completely won over to Islâm, but waited to see how matters would go, ready, as they did on several critical occasions, to desert him should his fortune show signs of a reverse. This disaffected class is spoken of in the Qur'ân by the name of Munâfiqûn or 'hypocrites,'

the chief man among them being one Abdallah ibn Ubai. Although perfectly aware of their designs, Mohammed treated them with singular courtesy and forbearance, and spared no pains to win them over to his side; even when his rule was firmly established, and they were completely in his power, he made no difference in dealing with them until in the course of time they became absorbed into the general band of the faithful.

The Jews of Medinah were much harder to deal with, and although Mohammed, by adapting his religion as far as possible to their own, by appealing to their own scriptures and religious books, by according them perfect freedom of worship and political equality, endeavoured in every way to conciliate them, they treated his advances with scorn and derision. When it became obvious that Islâmism and Judaism could not amalgamate, and that the Jews would never accept him for their prophet, Mohammed withdrew his concessions one by one, changed the qiblah or point to which he turned in prayer from Jerusalem which he had at first adopted to the Kaabah at Mecca, substituted the fast of *Ramadhân* for the Jewish fasts which he had prescribed, and, in short, regarded them as the irreconcilable enemies of his creed.

Soon afterwards he turned his attention to his native city, which had rejected him and driven him out; and feeling himself now sufficiently strong to take the offensive, he began to preach the Holy War. After some petty raids upon the enemies' caravans an event happened which brought the Muslim and the infidel armies for the first time into open collision. In January, 624 A. D., a large caravan from Mecca, which had in the autumn of the previous year escaped an attack by the Muslims, was returning from Syria laden with valuable merchandise, and Mohammed determined to capture it. His intention, however, reached the ears of Abu Sufiyân, who sent a messenger to Mecca to ask for troops for his protection, while he himself followed a different route along the coast of the Red Sea. Mohammed, without waiting for the return of his spies, marched out in the

hopes of surprising Abu Sufiyân at Bedr, where the caravan usually halted, but the Meccan had been too much upon his guard, pressed on with all possible haste, and was soon out of danger. The caravan comprised most of the chief men of Mecca, besides its rich freight. Abu Sufiyân's message, therefore, asking for succour, caused a complete panic in the city. An army of nearly 1,000 men was immediately equipped and marched forth to the rescue, but on the way met a second messenger from Abu Sufiyân with the news that all danger was passed. On this 300 of them returned to Mecca, whilst others hurried to join the caravan. Mohammed was still advancing, in hopes of surprising the caravan, when he was informed of the approach of the Meccan army. After a council of war it was decided to advance and meet the enemy first, as, in the event of victory, they could afterwards pursue the caravan. Arrived at Bedr, the Muslims took up such a position that their foes could not approach the wells, and during the night the rain fell with such violence that the Meccans could scarcely march upon the sodden soil. In the morning these latter were at a great disadvantage, wearied by the state of the ground, and harassed by the blinding sun which shone straight in their faces; but Mohammed, whose numbers were far inferior, awaited the issue of the combat with no little anxiety. During the first part of the engagement the Muslims, by Mohammed's order, stood firm to their posts, whilst he encouraged them by promising the immediate reward of Paradise to those who should fall martyrs in the cause: whilst a fierce winter storm of wind which was blowing at the time, and which added to the discomfort and embarrassment of the enemy, he called the work of Gabriel with a thousand angels fighting for the faith. At length Mohammed gave the expected signal; taking up a handful he threw it towards the Meccans, and exclaimed, 'May their faces be covered with shame! Muslims to the attack!' The condition of the ground so hampered the movements of the Meccans that they were soon completely routed. Several

of Mohammed's bitterest enemies were slain, and a number of prisoners and much booty taken. Of the captives, six were executed by the prophet's order, some embraced Islâm, and others were ransomed by their compatriots. This victory was so important for the cause that Mohammed himself regarded it as brought about by a special miracle, and as such it is spoken of in the Qur'ân, Chap. III, ver. 20.

Mohammed's military as well as religious supremacy was now assured in Medînah, and he lost no time in making his enemies there feel his power. The Jews first experienced the full weight of his wrath; a woman of that persuasion, who had incited her fellow-townsmen against him before the battle of Bedr, was put to death, and not long after the Benu Qâinuqâh, a Jewish tribe, who had risen against his authority, dwelling in a suburb of Medînah, were attacked, their property confiscated, and themselves sent into exile.

The war between Mecca and Medînah in the meantime continued.

Abu Sufiyân invaded the territory of Medînah, and the Muslims, on the other hand, captured a caravan belonging to the Qurâis.

The Meccans, determined to revenge the defeat of Bedr, had devoted the profits of the caravan that had been the cause of the conflict to the equipment of a large army, and in January, 625 A.D., three thousand men marched on to Medînah with Abu Sufiyân at their head. The latter was accompanied by his wife Hind, who had lost her father, brother, and uncle at the battle, and longed for vengeance. They established their camp near Mount Ohod, on the road between the two cities. The Muslims were divided in opinion, whether to await the invaders in the city, or to make a sortie and attack them where they were; and at length, in spite of Mohammed's advice to the contrary, the latter plan was decided on.

They marched forth to the number of a thousand, and of these three hundred belonged to the Hypocrites, or

disaffected party who deserted before the battle commenced.

Mohammed had disposed his forces so that his best trained archers covered the only vulnerable part of his army, the left flank, and these he bade keep to their posts, no matter what happened. The battle commenced with a few single combats and slight skirmishes, in which the Muslims had the advantage, and a few of the latter having reached and pillaged the enemies' camp, the archers, thinking the day already won, forgot their orders and joined in the loot. 'Hâlid, who commanded the Meccan cavalry, seized the opportunity thus afforded, and took the Muslims on the flank and completely routed them. Mohammed himself was wounded in the mouth and narrowly escaped with his life, and 'Hamzah, his uncle, surnamed the Lion of God, was slain.

The Meccans did not pursue their victory, but believing Mohammed, whom they had seen fall, to be dead, returned to their own city.

The defeat placed Mohammed in a very critical position, and he had great difficulty in restoring confidence to his followers¹.

About the beginning of the year 627 A.D. the Muslims were in great jeopardy. 4,000 Meccans and 1,000 men, gathered from the neighbouring tribes, marched upon Medinah, being instigated thereto by the Jews who had been expelled from that city.

Mohammed was only apprised of the movement at the last moment, but he at once took measures for the defence. On the advice of Salmân, a Persian captive, he caused a deep trench to be dug round the city, and earthworks to be raised in those parts where it was undefended, and behind the trench he posted his army, numbering 3,000 men.

The invading Meccans were completely checked by this mode of defence, and although the Beni Qurâidhah, a Jewish tribe, deserted to them from Mohammed's side and

¹ See Chapter III, vers. 115-168.

rendered them every assistance, their attacks were unsuccessful. At length one cold winter's night a violent storm of wind and rain arose, and a complete panic took place in the camp of the Meccans, who broke up and precipitately retired to their homes. This was the siege of the Confederates alluded to in the Qur'ân¹.

The enemy having disappeared, Mohammed at once marched against the traitorous tribe of Qurâidhah, and besieged them in their fortress, about six miles south-west of Medīnah. Being quite unprepared, these were obliged to surrender after fourteen days, which they did on condition that the Benu Aus, their allies in Medīnah, should decide their fate. Mohammed chose for arbitrator one of the chiefs of the Aus tribe, named Saad ibn Moâdh, a fierce soldier, who was at the time dying of the wounds which he had received in the attack upon the fortress. He ordained that the men should be beheaded one and all, the women and children sold as slaves, and the property divided amongst the soldiers. This terrible sentence was promptly executed, and the men, to the number of 800, were beheaded, and the women and children bartered to the Bedawīn in exchange for arms and horses.

Mohammed's power and influence was now extending every day.

For six years neither he nor his followers had visited the Kaabah, or performed the sacred rites of the pilgrimage, and in the year 628 A.D. he resolved to attempt it. The time chosen was in the sacred month of DHu'l Qa'hdah, when the Lesser Pilgrimage was wont to be performed, rather than DHu'l 'Higgeh, that of the Greater Pilgrimage, as less likely to lead to a collision with the other tribes. Fifteen hundred men only accompanied Mohammed, bearing no other arms than those usually allowed to pilgrims, a sheathed sword for each.

The Meccans contemplated Mohammed's advance with no small apprehension, and not believing in his pacific

¹ Chapter XXXIII.

intentions, resolved to bar his progress. Mohammed, thus checked, turned aside towards 'Hudâibîyeh, on the frontier of the sacred territory.

Here, after some negotiations, a treaty was concluded in which a truce of ten years was agreed upon; any of the Meccans who pleased should be at liberty to join Mohammed, and vice versâ, any of the Muslims who chose might enter the Meccan ranks; only those who were clients of powerful chiefs were not to be allowed to become Muslims without the consent of their patrons. Mohammed and his followers were not to enter Mecca that year, but the next year they were to be permitted to do so and to remain for three days.

This was, in reality, a great triumph for Mohammed, as it recognised his position as an independent prince, while the ten years' truce not only enabled him without hindrance to propagate his doctrines at Mecca, but, by removing the constant danger in which he stood from that city, gave him the opportunity of turning his attention elsewhere.

He now not only endeavoured to reduce the Bedawin tribes to submission, but wrote letters to the great kings and emperors of the world, to the Persian Khosrou, to the Byzantine Emperor, and to the Abyssinian Naggâsî, peremptorily bidding them embrace the faith and submit to his rule. The replies that he received were not flattering to his pride, but he or his immediate successors were, ere long, to repeat the summons in a form that admitted neither of denial nor of delay.

One potentate only, the governor of Egypt, Maqauqas, returned a favourable answer, and he sent amongst other presents two slave girls, one of whom, a Coptic girl named Mary, Mohammed took to himself, and by so doing estranged his numerous wives, and was only reconciled by a revelation¹.

In 629 A.D., in the month of DHu'l Qa'hdah (February),

¹ See Chapter LXVI.

the long-expected pilgrimage took place. With two thousand followers the prophet entered the Holy City, and the Meccans having retired to the neighbouring hills, all passed off quietly.

In the course of the short three days' sojourn in Mecca the Muslim ranks were strengthened by the accession of two influential personages, 'Hâlid, who had conquered them at Ohod, and 'Amr, the future conqueror of Egypt.

In this year the Muslim army experienced a terrible defeat at Mûta on the Syrian frontier, in which the prophet's friend Zâid was slain. His prestige, however, was soon re-established by fresh successors and the accession of numerous border tribes.

Two years after the truce of 'Hudâibiyeh, a tribe who were under the protection of Mohammed, were attacked unawares by another tribe in alliance with the Meccans, and some Meccans in disguise were recognised amongst the assailants. This was a violation of the treaty, and Mohammed, on being appealed to by the sufferers, was nothing loth to take advantage of the opportunity afforded him for recommencing hostilities. The Meccans sent Abu Sufiyân to Medinah to offer explanations and procure a renewal of the truce, but without success. Mohammed began to make preparations for an expedition against Mecca, but concealed his plans even from his immediate followers; his Bedawîn allies were ordered either to join him at Medinah, or to meet him at certain appointed places on the route, but it was not until the last moment that his troops knew that their destination was the Holy City. While they were encamped in the immediate neighbourhood, and before the Meccans had any certain knowledge of their approach, the camp was visited at night by Abu Sufiyân, who was introduced to Mohammed by his uncle 'Abbâs, the latter having become converted to Islâm now that he saw that its cause must certainly triumph. Mohammed promised Abu Sufiyân that all those inhabitants of Mecca who should take refuge in his house or in the Kaabah or even in private houses, provided the doors were closed, should be

unmolested, and dismissed him to carry this news to his fellow-citizens, not however before he and 'Abbâs had persuaded the Meccan chief to become a Muslim, which he somewhat unwillingly consented to do. There is good reason to suppose that the whole affair was arranged between Mohammed, 'Abbâs, and Abu Sufiyân, and that the meeting by night at the camp with the somewhat theatrical details with which the historians relate it, and the sudden conversion of the two hitherto irreconcilable chiefs, were part of a plan designed to save Mecca from unnecessary bloodshed now that Mohammed's increased power and the overwhelming numbers he brought with him made a capture of the city inevitable. At any rate it had this effect, the Muslim army entered Mecca almost without resistance, only a few Bedawîn under the command of 'Hâlid being assailed with arrows by some of Mohammed's bitterest opponents, whom he quickly dispersed. Mohammed, seeing him in pursuit of his assailants, was excessively angry until it was explained to him that 'Hâlid's action was unavoidable and only in self-defence.

Mohammed was at length master of the capital of Arabia ; his first act was to repair to the Kaabah, and after making the circuit seven times and respectfully saluting the black stone with his staff, he entered the building and caused the idols to be destroyed. Actuated both by sound policy and by the strong feeling of attachment to his own tribe, which is inherent in every Arab's breast, he proclaimed a general amnesty, and the Meccans readily embraced Islâm and marched under its banner, hoping for the reward of Paradise, and sure of rich booty here on earth. The Bedawîn tribes in the neighbourhood gave him more trouble, but these too were brought into at least nominal subjection ; the tribe of the THaqîf at Tâ'if still held out, and Mohammed attacked them in the valley of 'Honein, where they were surprised by the enemy in a narrow defile, and were in imminent danger of a defeat, had not Mohammed rallied them by appealing to them as 'Ye men of the "Sûrah of the Heifer!" Ye men of the "Tree of Fealty!"'

reminding them of the first portion of the Qur'ân revealed at Medînah, and of the oath of fealty which they had sworn as he sat beneath a tree at 'Hudâibîyeh. On this occasion he took a rich booty, and in order to conciliate the Meccan chiefs he gave them more than their fair share at the division of the spoils. This was particularly displeasing to his Medînah followers, who were only appeased by his declaring his regard for them, and promising never to desert their city or again take up his residence at Mecca. These events are alluded to in the Qur'ân, Chap. IX. After the battle of 'Honein, Mohammed laid siege to Tâ'if, and though he was unable to reduce the place, he so devastated the country around that ambassadors were sent to propose terms of capitulation; they offered to embrace Islâm, provided that their territory should be considered sacred, that they should be excused the more onerous duties of the creed, and should be allowed to retain their favourite idol Allât for at least a year. To these conditions Mohammed was at first inclined to accede, but after a night's reflection, and indignant remonstrance addressed by the fiery Omar to the THaqîfite messengers, they were definitely refused, and the tribe surrendered unconditionally.

The ninth year after the flight is known as the 'Year of Deputations,' the Bedawîn tribes one after another sending in their adhesion to his cause and acknowledging his spiritual and temporal supremacy.

In the same year Mohammed conducted the expedition against Tabûk, which was undertaken with a view to reduce the Syrian tribes to submission, they having been induced by Byzantine influence to rise in insurrection upon the frontier. Sûrah IX contains a violent denunciation of those who on various false pretences held back on the occasion. This was the last military enterprise conducted by Mohammed in person.

The Arabs, with their well-known fickleness, did not continue for long in their allegiance to Islâm and its prophet; even in Mohammed's lifetime, tribe after tribe raised the

standard of revolt, and the repression of these insurrections occupied much of his time and attention during the last years of his life. With true political sagacity he saw that the only way to prevent the newly established kingdom from becoming hopelessly disintegrated was to give its members some common interest and ambition. For this reason he never relinquished his designs upon Syria, where the turbulent tribes might find scope for their warlike propensities, and where a rich booty might be gained. It was to this common bond of unity, the desire for plunder and the love of making border raids, as much as to the religious idea, that the triumph of El Islâm was due.

In March, 632 A.D., he made his last pilgrimage to Mecca, the 'Farewell Pilgrimage,' as Muslims call it, and standing upon Mount Arafât he addressed the assembled multitude, —more than forty thousand of pilgrims,—bade them stand firm by the faith that he had taught them, and called God to witness that he had delivered his message and fulfilled his mission.

In June he fell sick, and himself perceived that his end was drawing nigh.

On Monday, June 8, feeling better, he went to the Mosque of Medînah, where Abu Bekr was conducting the prayers before a crowded congregation who had flocked there to hear news of the prophet. Mohammed's entry was quite unexpected, but in spite of the weakness evident from his faltering gait, his countenance was bright, and his voice as clear and commanding as ever. Mounting the lower steps of the pulpit he said a few last words to the people, and having given some parting injunctions to Osâma, whom he had entrusted with the command of an army to Syria, Mohammed returned to his house and lay down to rest in 'Âyesha's chamber. Here, resting his head upon her bosom, the prophet of Arabia fell asleep.

The question naturally arises, how could a comparatively obscure citizen of a small Arabian town bring about results of such magnitude as Mohammed undoubtedly did?

The secret of his success was, primarily, enthusiasm com-

bined with patriotism. Whether he believed to the full in his divine mission and revelations or not, matters but little ; but it is certain that he did believe in himself as working for the good of his fellow-countrymen. He took the political and religious institutions of his country as he found them, and he strove to eradicate what was bad and to develop what was good. He knew that so long as the various tribes wasted their strength in internecine war there was no hope of their ever becoming a power ; but he knew their character and temperament well enough to perceive that any scheme for bringing about national unity must fail if it involved the necessity of their submitting to any master whatever. He therefore sought to bind them together by what we may call their common religious feeling, but which really meant, as it too often does, common interests, common customs, and common superstitions. At Mecca all was ready to his hand : the Kaabah contained all the gods of the different tribes ; the annual fairs and eisteddfodau (to borrow a Welsh name that exactly expresses the character of these gatherings) were held in the territory, and it was here that the historical and religious traditions of the race were circulated and kept alive. All the elements of centralisation were there, and it only wanted such a master-spirit as Mohammed's to turn their thoughts towards the common idea which should induce them to unite.

A prophet who starts in his career with no better stock-in-trade than visionary enthusiasm or deliberate imposture has but a poor chance. Musâilimah, Mohammed's rival, has left nothing behind him but his sobriquet of El KeDHDHâb, 'the liar,' and a few bitterly satirical parodies on some verses of the Qur'ân, which are still occasionally quoted by the less reverential of Muslims. El Muḡanna', the 'veiled prophet of Khorassan,' earned no more immortality than an occasional mention in Persian poetry, and the honour of being the hero of an English popular poem. Mutanebbî, 'the would-be prophet,' as his name signifies, who flourished in the tenth century of our era, was an Arab of the Arabs,

and one of the greatest poets of his age. He, too, set up as a prophet, but with so little success that he had to retire from the business at an early period of his career. It was probably his wonderful facility in language that induced him to imitate Mohammed's example, and rely upon the 'miraculous' eloquence of his language in support of his pretensions to inspiration. He, however, missed the opportunities which Mohammed had; he was no great reformer himself, and there was no urgent need of a reform at the time. Moreover, he was entirely destitute of religious feeling, and, even in his earliest poems, so blasphemes and sneers at holy names that his most devoted commentators are frequently at a loss to find excuses for him.

In forming our estimate of Mohammed's character, therefore, and of the religion which we are accustomed to call by his name, we must put aside the theories of imposture and enthusiasm, as well as that of divine inspiration. Even the theory of his being a great political reformer does not contain the whole truth; and although it is certain that his personal character exercised a most important influence on his doctrine, yet it is not by any means evident that it even moulded it into its present shape.

The enthusiasm which he himself inspired, and the readiness with which such men as Abu Bekr and Omar, Arabs of the noblest birth, ranged themselves amongst his followers, who consisted for the most part of men of the lowest rank, slaves, freedmen, and the like, prove that he could have been no mere impostor.

The early portions of the Qur'ân are the genuine rhapsodies of an enthusiast who believed himself inspired, and Mohammed himself points to them in the later Sûrahs as irrefragable proofs of the divine origin of his mission. In his later history, however, there are evidences of that tendency to pious fraud which the profession of a prophet necessarily involves. Although commenced in perfect good faith, such a profession must place the enthusiast at last in an embarrassing position, and the very desire to prove the truth of what he himself believes may reduce him to

the alternative of resorting to a pious fraud or of relinquishing all the results which he has previously attained.

At the outset of his career he turned to the Jews, imagining that, as he claimed to restore the original religion of Abraham, and appealed to the Jewish scriptures for confirmation of his teaching, they would support him. Disappointed in this quarter, he treated them with more bitter hostility than any other of his opponents.

In the latter part of his career he took but little notice either of the Jews or Christians, and when he does mention the latter it is without any of the conciliatory spirit which he at first displayed to them, and they are not only sharply reproved for their errors, but are included in the general mass of infidels against whom the true believers are to fight.

Mohammed styles himself in the *Qur'ân* *En Nebîy el'ummîy* (Chap. VII, vers. 156 and 158), which may be interpreted either 'the illiterate prophet' or 'the prophet of the Gentiles,' as the word *'Ummîyûn* in Chap. II, ver. 73 means rather 'those who have no scriptures.'

Mohammedans themselves differ very much as to whether the prophet could read or write, the Sunnîs denying it and the Shî'ahs declaring that he was able to do both. The evidence of the fact, though, is very untrustworthy, and in the traditional accounts of the occasions on which he is said to have written, the words may mean nothing more than that he dictated the documents in question. In the *Qur'ân*, XXIX, 47, it is merely said that he never 'recited a book before this,' and the passages in Chap. XCVI, vers. 1-6, which begin 'Read,' and in which the angel Gabriel is supposed to exhibit the *Umm al Kitâb* (see p. 2, note 2), and to command him to read it, the act implied may be nothing more than an intuitive perception of the contents of the book thus mysteriously shown to him.

It is probable that he could neither read nor write, and it is almost certain that he could not have done so sufficiently to have made use of any of the Jewish or Christian scriptures.

The oral Jewish and Christian traditions incorporated in the *Qur'ân* were, no doubt, current among the Jewish and

Christian tribes ; there is not the least evidence in support of the accusation made against Mohammed by Christian writers, that the greater part of his revelations were due to the suggestions of a Christian monk. The person referred to in the Qur'ân, Chapter XVI, ver. 105, is probably Salmân the Persian ; the Persian legends being in the Arab mind the very archetype of those 'old folks' tales' to which his revelations were so often compared by his contemporaries.

Other stories, such as those of 'Âd and Thamûd ; the legends of their great forefather Abraham ; of the Seil al 'Arim, or the bursting of the dyke at Marab, were all commonplaces of the folk lore of the country.

He, however, told them over again with the additional particulars which he had derived from Jewish and Christian sources, and appealed to this additional information in proof of the divine origin of his version.

The city of YATHRIB, better known afterwards as El Medînah, 'the city,' contained many Jewish inhabitants, and Mecca itself was no doubt also frequented by Jewish Arabs, and the influence of their beliefs and superstitions is apparent throughout the Qur'ân.

Christianity too, as we have seen, contributed considerably to the new religion, though not to so great an extent as Judaism.

It is clear, however, that Mohammed was not acquainted with the originals themselves, either of the Jewish or Christian scriptures. The only passage of the Old Testament quoted in the Qur'ân is in Chapter XXI, vers. 104, 105, 'And already have we written in the Psalms after the reminder that "the earth my righteous servants shall inherit,"' which is an Arabic paraphrase of Psalm xxxvii, ver. 29, 'The righteous shall inherit the land.' The well-known exclusiveness of the Jews and their unwillingness that any Gentile hand should touch their holy Book, renders it extremely improbable that even this sentence was borrowed direct from the scriptures themselves, even if Mohammed could have understood the language in which they are written.

The Qur'ân appeals several times to the prophecies concerning Mohammed which are alleged to exist in the New and Old Testaments: thus in Chap. II, 141, 'Those to whom we have given the Book know him as they know their own sons, although a sect of them do surely hide the truth, the while they know;' and again, VI, 20, 'Those to whom we have brought the Book know him as they know their sons,—those who lose their souls do not believe.'

The allusion is said to be to the promise of the Paraclete in John xvi. 7, the suggestion being that the word *παράκλητος* in the Greek has been substituted for *περικλυτός*, which would be exactly translated by the name A'hmed, or Mohammed. Mohammed, however, certainly had not access to the Greek Testament, and it is doubtful whether an Arabic version even existed at the time, Syriac only being the ecclesiastical language of the Christians of the day: it is more probable that Mohammed may have received the suggestion from some of his Christian friends.

The monotheistic idea, which is the key-word to El Islâm, was not new to the Arabs, but it was distasteful, and particularly so to the Qurâis, whose supremacy over the other tribes, and whose worldly prosperity arose from the fact that they were the hereditary guardians of the national collection of idols kept in the sanctuary at Mecca. Mohammed's message, therefore, sounded like a revolutionary watchword, a radical party-cry, which the conservative Meccans could not afford to despise, and which they combated very energetically. The prophet, therefore, in the first place, met with but little success. 'Hadîgah accepted her husband's mission without hesitation, so did her cousin Waraqah; and Zâid, 'the enquirer,' a man who had spent his life in seeking for the truth, and in fighting against this same idolatry that was so repugnant to Mohammed's ideas, at once gave in his adherence to the new doctrine. For three years, however, only fourteen converts were added to the Muslim church.

The mission of Mohammed, then, appealed forcibly to the Arabs on many grounds. Compared with the prevalent

idolatry of the time, the idea as presented was so grand, so simple, and so true, that reason could scarcely hesitate between the two systems, unless, as in the case of the Qurâis, self-interest were thrown into the scale. Side by side with the religion of the Jews and Christians, as practised in Arabia at least, it appeared more spiritual and more divine, and presented the truths of both religions without the blemishes. It harmonized with the traditional Semitic belief, Arab as well as Jewish, of the coming of a Messiah, or at least of a prophet, who should reveal the truth at last, and set right the order of things which had spiritually and temporally gone so wrong. And lastly, it made no call on their credulity; it only asked them to believe what they might well accept as self-evident, and it only laid claim to one miracle, that of the marvellous eloquence of its delivery, and this neither friends nor foes could deny. It must not be forgotten that this claim of the Qur'ân to miraculous eloquence, however absurd it may sound to Western ears, was and is to the Arab incontrovertible.

In order to understand the immense influence which the Qur'ân has always exercised upon the Arab mind, it is necessary to remember that it consists not merely of the enthusiastic utterances of an individual, but of the popular sayings, choice pieces of eloquence, and favourite legends current among the desert tribes for ages before his time. Arabic authors speak frequently of the celebrity attained by the ancient Arabic orators, such as Shâibân Wâil, but unfortunately no specimen of their works have come down to us. The Qur'ân, however, enables us to judge of the nature of the speeches which took so strong a hold upon their countrymen.

The essence of Mohammedanism is its assertion of the unity of God, as opposed to polytheism and even to trinitarianism. And this central truth was, we repeat, nothing new; it was, as Mohammed said of it, the ancient faith of Abraham, and it was upon that faith that the greatness of the Jewish nation was founded; nay, it was the truth which Christ himself made more fully known and understood.

One great difference between Judaism and Islâm is that the former is not a proselytising religion, while the latter emphatically is so. All the laws and ordinances of the Pentateuch, all the revelations of the Old Testament, are for the Jew alone, and the Gentile was excluded with jealous care from the enjoyment of any of the divine privileges until Christianity proclaimed that revelation was for the world at large. The Arab, on the contrary, was enjoined to propagate his religion. 'There is no god but God,' and man must be 'resigned to His will,' and if he will not, he must be made to; this is what Islâm or 'resignation' really means.

But, it may be asked, why, if Mohammed preached nothing more than the central truth of Judaism and Christianity, did he not rather accept one or other of these creeds, than found a new one? To answer this question, we must regard Judaism and Christianity not as they are understood now, but as they existed in Arabia in Mohammed's time. Judaism was effete, Christianity corrupt. The Hebrew nation had fallen, and Magian superstitions and Rabbinic inventions had obscured the primeval simplicity of the Hebrew faith and marred the grandeur of its law. The Christians were forgetful alike of the old revelation and of the new, and neglecting the teachings of their Master, were split up into numerous sects—'Homoousians and Homoiousians, Monothelites and Monophysites, Jacobites and Eutychians,' and the like—who had little in common but the name of Christians, and the cordial hatred with which they regarded each other.

Mohammed certainly wished his religion to be looked upon as a further fulfilment of Christianity, just as Christianity is the fulfilment of Judaism. He regards our Lord with particular veneration, and even goes so far as to call Him the 'Spirit' and 'Word' of God; 'the Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, is but the apostle of God and His Word, which He cast into Mary and a spirit from Him' (Sûrah IV, 169). The reservation, 'is but the apostle,' &c., is directed against the misconception of the Christian doctrine which

was then prevalent in Arabia, and which was the only one with which Mohammed was acquainted. With the Arab Christian, the Trinity meant nothing more nor less than tritheism, and these three the Father, Virgin-Mother, and Son.

The doctrine of the unity of God, as preached by Mohammed, was a protest against the dualism of Persia as well as the degenerate Christianity of the time and the polytheism of the Arabs who were his contemporaries. Thus the Chapter of Cattle (VI) commences with the words, 'Praise belongs to God who created the heavens and the earth, and brought into being the darkness and the light,' which negatives the Manichæan theory that the two principles of light and darkness were uncreate and eternal, and by their admixture or antagonism gave birth to the material universe.

As for the angelism and demonology of the Qur'ân, they are a mixture of local superstitions, Persian and Jewish tradition. The system was certainly not due to Mohammed's invention, but was evolved out of what he had heard from Jewish, Christian, and other sources, and regarded as revelation, and coloured by his individual local beliefs.

It is a curious thing that the rite of circumcision is not mentioned in the Qur'ân; but there is no doubt that Mohammed insisted upon it as a compromise for more cruel and dangerous practices¹.

The Qur'ân itself is not a formal and consistent code either of morals, laws, or ceremonies.

Revealed 'piecemeal,' particular passages being often promulgated to decide particular cases, it cannot fail to contain many things that are at variance with, or flatly contradict others.

It has, however, a certain unity notwithstanding; for Mohammed had his doctrine of the unity of God, according to the 'Hanîfite conception, always before his mind: he had the immemorial customs of his country and their tribal

¹ See note to vol. ii, p. 110, of Burton's 'Pilgrimage to El Medina and Mecca.'

usages to guide him in his decisions, only instead of being bound by these usages he was able, by virtue of his office of prophet, to alter or abrogate such as appeared to him not to conduce to the welfare of society. The religious observances and ceremonies he retained were also to a great extent forced upon him; the injunctions to prayer and fasting were necessary to keep alive the religious fervour of the converts, and, indeed, to give the character of a religion to the movement and distinguish it from a mere political reform. The ceremonies of the pilgrimage could not be entirely done away with. The universal reverence of the Arab for the Kaabah was too favourable and obvious a means for uniting all the tribes into one confederation with one common purpose in view. The traditions of Abraham, the father of their race and the founder of Mohammed's own religion, as he always declared him to be, no doubt gave the ancient temple a peculiar sanctity in the prophet's eyes, and although he had at first settled upon Jerusalem as his Qiblah, he afterwards reverted to the Kaabah itself. Here, then, Mohammed found a shrine to which, as well as at which, devotion had been paid from time immemorial: it was the one thing which the scattered Arabian nation had in common—the one thing which gave them even the shadow of a national feeling; and to have dreamed of abolishing it, or even of diminishing the honours paid to it, would have been madness and ruin to his enterprise. He therefore did the next best thing, he cleared it of idols and dedicated it to the service of God. Again, the 'Hagg was the occasion on which the tribes assembled at Mecca and, therefore, not only the cause of trading and mutual profit amongst themselves, but upon it depended entirely the commercial prosperity of the Qurâis.

It has been objected to Islâm that neither its doctrines nor its rites are original. No religion, certainly no sacred books of a religion, ever possessed entire originality. The great principles of morality, and the noble thoughts which are common to humanity, must find their way into the Scriptures, if these are to have any hold upon men; and

it would, indeed, be strange if the writers, however inspired, left no trace in their writings of what they had seen, heard, or read. The New Testament, it is well known, contains much that is not original. Many of the parables &c., as a late eminent Orientalist once pointed out, are to be found in the Talmud. We know that St. Paul drew upon classic Greek sources for many of his most striking utterances, not even disdaining to quote the worldly wisdom of the comedian Menander ; and there is at least a curious coincidence between the words used in describing the blindness that fell on the apostle just before his conversion, and its subsequent cure, with the description given by Stesichorus in his 'Palinodia' of a similar incident connected with his own conversion to the worship of the Dioscuri. Even the most divine sentiment in the Lord's Prayer, 'Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us,' is expressed almost in so many words in the advice given by Nestor to the angered Achilles in the first book of Homer's Iliad.

Judged then by the standard which we apply to other creeds, Mohammed's religion stands forth as something strikingly new and original, since it sets before his countrymen, for the first time, the grand conception of one God, which was, as he asserted, the faith of their father Abraham, but which their fetishism had so long obscured.

The Arabs made use of a rhymed and rhythmical prose, the origin of which it is not difficult to imagine. The Arabic language consists for the most part of triliteral roots, i.e. the single words expressing individual ideas consist generally of three consonants each, and the derivative forms expressing modifications of the original idea are not made by affixes and terminations alone, but also by the insertion of letters in the root. Thus **zaraba** means 'he struck,' and **qatala**, 'he killed,' while **mazrûb** and **maqtûl** signify 'one struck' and 'one killed.' A sentence, therefore, consists of a series of words which would each require to be expressed in clauses of several words in other languages, and it is easy to see

how a next following sentence, explanatory of or completing the first, would be much more clear and forcible if it consisted of words of a similar shape and implying similar modifications of other ideas. It follows then that the two sentences would be necessarily symmetrical, and the presence of rhythm would not only please the ear but contribute to the better understanding of the sense, while the rhyme would mark the pause in the sense and emphasize the proposition.

The Qur'ân is written in this rhetorical style, in which the clauses are rhythmical though not symmetrically so, and for the most part end in the same rhyme throughout the chapter.

The Arabic language lends itself very readily to this species of composition, and the Arabs of the desert in the present day employ it to a great extent in their more formal orations, while the literary men of the towns adopt it as the recognised correct style, deliberately imitating the Qur'ân.

That the best of Arab writers has never succeeded in producing anything equal in merit to the Qur'ân itself is not surprising. In the first place, they have agreed beforehand that it is unapproachable, and they have adopted its style as the perfect standard; any deviation from it therefore must of necessity be a defect. Again, with them this style is not spontaneous as with Mohammed and his contemporaries, but is as artificial as though Englishmen should still continue to follow Chaucer as their model, in spite of the changes which their language has undergone. With the prophet the style was natural, and the words were those used in every-day ordinary life, while with the later Arabic authors the style is imitative and the ancient words are introduced as a literary embellishment. The natural consequence is that their attempts look laboured and unreal by the side of his impromptu and forcible eloquence.

That Mohammed, though, should have been able to challenge even his contemporaries to produce anything like the Qur'ân, 'And if ye are in doubt of what we have revealed

unto our servant, then bring a chapter like it . . . But if ye do it not, and ye surely shall do it not, &c.,' is at first sight surprising, but, as Nöldeke¹ has pointed out, this challenge really refers much more to the subject than to the mere style, —to the originality of the conception of the unity of God and of a revelation supposed to be couched in God's own words. Any attempt at such a work must of necessity have had all the weakness and want of prestige which attaches to an imitation. This idea is by no means foreign to the genius of the old Arabs ; thus the learned grammarian and rhetorician 'Harîrî excuses himself in the preface to his celebrated 'Assemblies' for any shortcomings, which might possibly be detected in a composition professedly modelled on that of another, by quoting an ancient poem :

'Twas this affected me, that while I lay
Snatching a breath of sleep for drowsiness,
There wept a dove upon the Aikah bough
Trilling her weeping forth with sweetest notes:
Ah, had I wept—ere she began to weep—
For Sâudâ's love, my soul had found relief!
But 'twas her weeping that excited mine,
And he who comes first must be always best !'

Amongst a people who believed firmly in witchcraft and soothsaying and who, though passionately fond of poetry, believed that every poet had his familiar spirit who inspired his utterances, it was no wonder that the prophet should be taken for 'a soothsayer,' for 'one possessed with an evil spirit,' or for 'an infatuated poet².'

Each chapter of the Qur'ân is called in Arabic a sûrah, a word which signifies a course of bricks in a wall, and is generally used in the body of the work for any connected or continuous portion complete in itself.

¹ Geschichte des Qorâns, p. 43.

² Mohammed may well have repudiated the charge of being a poet, for he is only credited with one verse, and that an involuntary one:

Ana 'nnabîyu lâ Kadhib;
Ana 'bnu 'Abd el Muʿalib.

'I am the prophet who lies not;
I am the son of Abd el Muʿalib.'

The word Qur'ân, 'a reading,' comes from the verb qara'a, 'to read,' though some lexicographers derive it from qara na, 'to join,' and interpret it as meaning the 'collected whole.'

It is also called El Forqân, 'the discrimination,' a word borrowed from the Hebrew and also applied in the Qur'ân to divine inspiration generally.

The individual portions of the Qur'ân were not always written down immediately after their revelation, as we find that Mohammed often repeated them several times until he had learnt them by heart, and the book itself shows that he occasionally forgot them and even altered and supplemented them: 'Whatever verse we may annul or cause thee to forget, we will bring a better one than it, or one like it' (Chapter II, ver. 100). On other occasions he employed an amanuensis, as, for instance, Abdallah ibn Sa'hd ibn Abî Sar'h (see Part I, p. 126, note 2) and Zâid ibn THâbit; and tradition relates that he would frequently direct in which Sûrah the passage dictated was to be placed. That the Qur'ân was, or that even the individual Sûrahs were, however, arranged in the present order by the prophet himself is impossible, both from internal evidence and that of tradition.

At the prophet's death no collected edition of the Qur'ân existed. Scattered fragments were in the possession of certain of his followers, written down at different times and on the most heterogeneous materials, but by far the greater portion was preserved only in the memories of men whom death might at any moment carry off. The death of many Muslim warriors at the battle of Yemâmah opened the eyes of the early Caliphs to the danger that the 'Book of God' might be, ere long, irrevocably lost: they accordingly provided, to the best of their power, against such a contingency. Abu Bekr,—or rather Omar, during his reign,—was the first to take the matter in hand, and employed Zâid ibn THâbit the Ansârî, a native of Medinah, who had acted as amanuensis to Mohammed, to collect and arrange the text. This he did from 'palm-leaves, skins, blade-bones, and the hearts of men,' and presented to the Caliph a copy

of the Qur'ân, which did not probably differ greatly from that which we now possess. As we have already seen, the whole was strung together without any reference to the chronological order, and with very little regard to the logical connection of various passages. The longer Sûrahs were placed at the beginning and the short ones at the end, although the order of their revelation was for the most part just the reverse. And, lastly, many odd verses appear to have been inserted into various Sûrahs for no other reason than that they suit the rhyme.

The text was so far fixed by Zâid, but not the reading of it. In the first place, the vowel points, which make often a very great difference in the meaning of a word, were probably hardly ever, if at all, used; again, many persons were still alive who themselves remembered portions of the Qur'ân by heart, but who did not agree as to individual words, or who remembering the sense only substituted some of the locutions of their own tribe for the actual words of Mohammed.

These tribal dialects often differed diametrically in the use of particular words; thus *i'ḥfa'un* means 'to conceal' in the dialect of one tribe and 'to display' in that of another; when such words occurred, as they often do, in the Qur'ân, they could not fail to give rise to disputes as to their interpretation.

In the present recension of the Qur'ân there are comparatively few various readings recognised, but it is clear that great variations existed from the very first. On more than one occasion Mohammed himself dictated the same passage to different persons with different readings; and the 'traditional saying' ascribed to him, that 'the Qur'ân was revealed according to seven modes of reading,' shows what latitude he himself allowed. The other interpretation of this tradition, namely, that 'the Qur'ân may be read according to the seven Arabic dialects,' was obviously invented to check the tendency to perversion of the text according to individual fancy, and is plainly refuted by the fact that the persons to whom the saying was uttered,

and who had appealed to the prophet to decide upon the reading of a certain text, were both of the tribe of Qurâis.

At length, some twenty years afterwards, the Caliph Othmân, alarmed at the bitter feelings and open quarrels which these differences of reading and interpretation had already engendered, determined to prevent the Muslims from differing amongst themselves in their way of reading the word of God as the Jews and Christians did. He accordingly appointed a commission, consisting of Zâid, the original editor, with three men of the Qurâis (Mohammed's own tribe), to decide, once for all, upon the text and to fix the reading definitely according to the pure Qurâis idiom.

When this edition was completed, Othmân sent copies to all the principal cities in the empire, and caused all the previous copies to be burned. These copies were perhaps not themselves free from small discrepancies; the few slight various readings which have, as I have shown, crept in, are most of them mere matters of orthography, and the rest are unimportant to the general sense. The last named will be found mentioned in the notes to the passages in which they occur in the course of the following translation.

Othmân's recension has remained the authorised text, and has been adopted by all schools of Mohammedan theologians from the time it was made (A. D. 660) until the present day.

In this no further attempt was made at chronological arrangement than in the preceding one. The individual Sûrahs have prefixed to them the name of the place, Mecca or Medînah, at which they were revealed; but this indication, though derived from authentic tradition, is not a sufficient guide, since in many places verses have been inserted in a Meccan Sûrah which were evidently revealed at Medînah, and vice versâ. To clear away this difficulty, and to propose an intelligible chronological arrangement of the Sûrahs, has been the aim of scholars, both Arabic and European; but no one has treated the subject in so

critical or masterly a manner as Nöldeke, and his arrangement may be taken as the best which Arabic tradition, combined with European criticism, can furnish.

To arrive at a decision on this point we must consider first the historical event, if any, to which each text refers; next, the style generally; and lastly, the individual expressions used. Thus, in addressing the Meccans the words *yâ aiyuha 'nnâs*, 'O ye folk!' occur, while the expression *yâ aiyuha 'lladhîn âmanû* is used in speaking to the people of Medînah; though sometimes the former phrase occurs in a verse of a Medînah Sûrah.

The Sûrahs resolve themselves into two great classes, those revealed at Mecca and those revealed at Medînah after the flight; and these are easily distinguished both by their style and subject-matter. The earlier ones especially are grander in style, and testify in every verse to the mental exaltation of the prophet and the earnest belief which he certainly had at this time in the reality and truth of his divine mission.

The Qur'ân falls naturally into these two classes, which represent, in fact, the first development of Mohammed's prophetic office at Mecca, and the later career as a leader and lawgiver after the flight at Medînah.

Sûrahs belonging to the first period of his career are therefore ascribed to Mecca, and those of the latter period to Medînah, although the actual place at which they were delivered may be in certain cases doubtful.

One of the next earliest Sûrahs is that entitled Abu Laheb. Mohammed had at length called together his clansmen, the Banû Hâshim, and bade them accept the new doctrine of Allah's unity. Hereupon 'Abd el 'Huzzah, surnamed Abu Laheb, 'he of the flame,' indignantly exclaimed, 'Perdition to you! is that what thou hast called us for?' Mohammed then proclaimed the Sûrah bearing Abu Laheb's name, in which he enunciates a terrible curse against him and his wife Umm Gemîl, and made of him an irreconcilable foe.

The CVIth Sûrah also belongs undoubtedly to an early

period. In it Mohammed bids the Qurâis 'serve the Lord of this House,' for the two trading caravans they yearly sent out in winter and summer respectively.

In the Meccan Sûrahs Mohammed's one and steady purpose is to bring his hearers to a belief in the one only God; this he does by powerful rhetorical displays rather than logical arguments, by appealing to their feelings rather than their reason; by setting forth the manifestations of God in his works; by calling nature to witness to His presence; and by proclaiming His vengeance against those who associate other gods with Him, or attribute offspring to Him. The appeal was strengthened by glowing pictures of the happiness in store for those who should believe, and by frightful descriptions of the everlasting torments prepared for the unbelievers.

The short Sûrah entitled 'Unity' is said, on the traditional authority of Mohammed himself, to be equivalent in value to two-thirds of the Qur'ân.

'Say, "He is God, one God the eternal. He begets not, and is not begotten; nor is there like unto Him, one."'

This protest is not aimed at the Christian doctrines alone, for the Arab, as we have seen, asserted that their angels and deities were daughters of Allâh, the supreme God.

In the earlier chapters, too, the prophetic inspiration, the earnest conviction of the truth of his mission, and the violent emotion which his sense of responsibility caused him are plainly shown.

The style is curt, grand, and often almost sublime; the expressions are full of poetical feeling, and the thoughts are earnest and passionate, though sometimes dim and confused, indicating the mental excitement and doubt through which they struggled to light.

In the second period of the Meccan Sûrahs, Mohammed appears to have conceived the idea of still further severing himself from the idolatry of his compatriots, and of giving to the supreme deity Allâh another title, Ar-Ra'hmán, 'the merciful one.'

The Meccans, however, seem to have taken these for

the names of separate deities¹, and the name is abandoned in the later chapters.

In the Sûrahs of the second Meccan period we first find the long stories of the prophets of olden time, especial stress being laid upon the punishment which fell upon their contemporaries for disbelief; the moral is always the same, namely, that Mohammed came under precisely similar circumstances, and that a denial of the truth of his mission would bring on his fellow-citizens the self-same retribution.

They also show the transition stage between the intense and poetical enthusiasm of the early Meccan chapters and the calm teaching of the later Medînah ones. This change is gradual, and even in the later and most prosaic we find occasionally passages in which the old prophetic fire flashes out once more.

The three periods again are marked by the oaths which occur throughout the Qur'ân. In the first period they are very frequent and often long, the whole powers of nature being invoked to bear witness to the unity of God and the mission of His Apostle; in the second period they are shorter and of rarer occurrence; in the last period they are absent altogether.

To understand the Medînah Sûrahs we must bear in mind Mohammed's position with respect to the various parties in that city.

In Mecca he had been a prophet with little honour in his own country, looked on by some as a madman, and by others as an impostor, both equally grievous to him, while his following consisted only of the poorest and meanest of his fellow-townsmen.

His own clansmen, for the reason that they were his clansmen and for no other, resented the affronts against him.

In Medînah he appears as a military leader and a prince, though as yet possessing far from absolute authority. Around him in the city were, first, the true believers who had fled with him, El Muhâgerîn; next, the in-

¹ See Part II, p. 13, note 1.

habitants of YaThrib, who had joined him and who were called El Ansâr, 'the helpers;' and lastly, a large class who are spoken of by the uncomplimentary name of Munâfiqûn or 'hypocrites,' consisting of those who went over to his side from fear or compulsion, and lastly those 'in whose heart is sickness,' who, though believing on him, were prevented by tribal or family ties from going over to him openly.

Abdallâh ibn Ubai was a chief whose influence operated strongly against Mohammed, and the latter was obliged to treat him for a long time almost as an equal, even after he had lost his political power.

The other party at Medînah was composed of the Jewish tribes settled in and around the city of YaThrib. The Jews were at first looked to as the most natural and likely supporters of the new religion, which was to confirm their own.

These various parties together with the pagan Arabs of Mecca and the Christians are the persons with whom the Medînah Sûrahs chiefly deal.

The style of the Medînah Sûrahs resembles that of the third period of the Meccan revelations, the more matter-of-fact nature of the incidents related or the precepts given accounting in a great measure for the more prosaic language in which they are expressed.

As in the Meccan Sûrahs it is possible to arrive at a tolerably accurate notion of their chronological order by noting the events to which they refer, and comparing them with the history itself; although the doubtful authority of many of the traditions and the frequent vagueness of the allusions in the Qur'ân itself leave much uncertain.

In the Medînah Sûrahs the prophet is no longer merely trying to convert his hearers by examples, promises, and warnings; he addresses them as their prince and general, praising or blaming them for their conduct, and giving them laws and precepts as occasion required.

Nöldeke has given a masterly analysis of the various historical and other allusions, and has reduced as far as

possible the heterogeneous mass of materials to such order that we may accept his arrangement as at least the most accurate hitherto proposed.

Since, however, many passages are no doubt misplaced and inserted in Sûrahs to which they did not originally belong, nothing but a comprehensive view of the contents of the whole Qur'ân, studied side by side with the history of Mohammed and his contemporaries, will enable us to arrive at an actual decision on the exact chronological sequence of the revelation.

To assist in the investigation of this most important subject I have subjoined a précis of the contents of each chapter.

The following is Nöldeke's chronological order of the Sûrahs :—

Meccan Sûrahs.

First Period (from the first to the fifth year of Mohammed's mission) : XCVI, LXXIV, CXI, CVI, CVIII, CIV, CVII, CII, CV, XCII, XC, XCIV, XCIII, XCVII, LXXXVI, XCI, LXXX, LXVIII, LXXXVII, XCV, CIII, LXXXV, LXXIII, CI, XCIX, LXXXII, LXXXI, LIII, LXXXIV, C, LXXIX, LXXVII, LXXVIII, LXXXVIII, LXXXIX, LXXV, LXXXIII, LXIX, LI, LII, LVI, LXX, LV, CXII, CIX, CXIII, CXIV, I.

Second Period (the fifth and sixth year of his mission) : LIV, XXXVII, LXXI, LXXVI, XLIV, L, XX, XXVI, XV, XIX, XXXVIII, XXXVI, XLIII, LXXII, LXVII, XXIII, XXI, XXV, XVII, XXVII, XVIII.

Third Period (from the seventh year to the flight) : XXXII, XLI, XLV, XVI, XXX, XI, XIV, XII, XL, XXVIII, XXXIX, XXIX, XXXI, XLII, X, XXXIV, XXXV, VII, XLVI, VI, XIII.

Medinah Sûrahs.

II, XCVIII, LXIV, LXII, VIII, XLVII, III, LXI, LVII, IV, LXV, LIX, XXXIII, LXIII, XXIV, LVIII, XXII, XLVIII, LXVI, LX, CX, XLIX, IX, V.

The mysterious letters which are placed at the beginning of certain chapters of the Qur'ân are explained in

various ways by the Muslim commentators. Some suppose them to be part of the revelation itself, and to conceal sublime and inscrutable mysteries; others think that they stand for the names of Allâh, Gabriel, Mohammed, and so on.

Nöldeke has the ingenious theory that they were monograms of the names of the persons from whom Zâid and his companions obtained the portions to which they are prefixed; thus, ALR would stand for Ez-zubâir, ALMR for Al-Mughâirah, TH for Tal'hah, and so on. A comparison of the Arabic letters themselves with the names suggested makes the hypothesis a very probable one. They may have been mere numerical or alphabetical labels for the boxes of scraps on which the original was written; the authors of the Commentary known as El Jelâlâin, however, give the prevailing opinion amongst Muslim scholars when they say, 'God alone knows what He means by these letters.'

The Sûrahs are subdivided into 'âyât, 'verses' (literally 'signs'), which, although they for the most part mark a distinct pause either in the rhyme or sense, are sometimes mere arbitrary divisions irrespective of either.

Besides these, the Qur'ân is divided into sixty equal portions, called a'hzâb (sing. 'hizb), each subdivided into four equal parts; another division is that into thirty 'agzâ' (sing. *guz*') or 'sections, so that the whole may be read through during the month of Ramadhân: these are again subdivided into rukû'h (sing. rak'hah), 'acts of bowing.' By these, rather than by chapter and verse (Sûrah and 'Âyah), the Muslims themselves quote the Book.

Besides the name Qur'ân it is known as El Furqân, 'the Discrimination,' El Mus'haf, 'the Volume,' El Kitâb, 'the Book,' and EDH-DHikr, 'the Reminder.' The title attached to each Sûrah is taken from some striking word which occurs in it.

The creed of Mohammed and the Qur'ân is termed Islâm, 'Resignation,' scil. to the will of God. The religion, as understood and practised, is based upon four rules or fundamental principles:

1. The Qur'ân itself.

2. 'HadîTH (pl. 'a'hâdîTH), the 'traditional' sayings of the prophet which supplement the Qur'ân, and provide for cases of law or ceremonial observance on which it is silent. They also deal with the life of Mohammed and the circumstances attending the revelations, and are therefore of great use in the exegesis of the Book itself. Although the Muslim authorities have been very strict in the canons laid down for the reception or rejection of these traditions, tracing them from hand to hand up to their original sources, a great deal of uncertainty exists as to the authenticity of many of them. The laws embodied in the traditions are called the Sunnah.

3. Igmâ'h or the 'consensus' of opinion of the highest authorities in the Muslim church upon points concerning which neither the Qur'ân nor the 'HadîTH are explicit.

4. Qiyâs or 'Analogy,' that is, the reasoning of the theological authorities by analogy from the Qur'ân, 'HadîTH, and Igmâ'h, where anything in any one or more is still left undecided.

The first principle of the Muslim faith is a belief in Allâh, who, as we have seen, was known to the Arabs before Mohammed's time, and under the title Allâh ta'hâlâ, 'Allâh the most high,' was regarded as the chief god of their pantheon. The epithet ta'hâlâ is, properly speaking, a verb meaning 'be He exalted,' but is used, as verbs sometimes are in Arabic¹, as an epithet. The name Allâh, 'God,' is composed of the article al, 'the,' and ilâh, 'a god,' and is a very old Semitic word, being connected with the el and elohîm of the Hebrew, and entering into the composition of a large proportion of proper names in Hebrew, Nabathean, and Arabic.

According to Muslim theology, Allâh is eternal and everlasting, one and indivisible, not endued with form, nor circumscribed by limit or measure; comprehending all things, but comprehended of nothing.

¹ See my Arabic Grammar, p. 256.

His attributes are expressed by ninety-nine epithets used in the Qur'ân, which in the Arabic are single words, generally participial forms, but in the translation are sometimes rendered by verbs, as, 'He hears' for 'He is the hearer.'

These attributes constitute the *Asmâ' el 'Husnâ*, 'the good names',¹ under which God is invoked by the Muslims; they are ninety-nine in number, and are as follows:—

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. ar-Ra'hmân, the Merciful. | 30. al-Latif, the Subtle. |
| 2. ar-Ra'hîm, the Compassionate. | 31. al-'Habîr, the Aware. |
| 3. al-Mâlik, the Ruler. | 32. al-'Halîm, the Clement. |
| 4. al-Qaddûs, the Holy. | 33. al-'Ha'hîm, the Grand. |
| 5. as-Salâm, Peace. | 34. al-G'hafûr, the Forgiving. |
| 6. al-Mû'min, the Faithful. | 35. as-Sakûr, the Grateful. |
| 7. al-Muhâimun, the Protector. | 36. al-'Halî, the Exalted. |
| 8. al-'Hazîz, the Mighty. | 37. al-Kabîr, the Great. |
| 9. al-Gabbâr, the Repairer. | 38. al-'Hâfîz, the Guardian. |
| 10. al-Mutakabbir, the Great. | 39. al-Muqîr, the Strengtheners. |
| 11. al-Khâliq, the Creator. | 40. al-Hasîb, the Reckoner. |
| 12. al-Bâri', the Creator. | 41. al-G'alîl, the Majestic. |
| 13. al-Muzawwir, the Fashioner. | 42. al-Karîm, the Generous. |
| 14. al-G'haffâr, the Forgiver. | 43. ar-Raqîb, the Watcher. |
| 15. al-Qahhâr, the Dominant. | 44. al-Mugîb, the Answerer of Prayer. |
| 16. al-Wahhâb, the Bestower. | 45. al-Wasî'h, the Comprehensive. |
| 17. ar-Razzâq, the Provider. | 46. al-'Hakîm, the Wise. |
| 18. al-Fattâ'h, the Opener. | 47. al-Wadûd, the Loving. |
| 19. al-'Âlim, the Knowing. | 48. al-Magîd, the Glorious. |
| 20. al-Qâbiz, the Restrainer. | 49. al-Bâ'hîr, the Raiser. |
| 21. al-Bâsî', the Spreader. | 50. as-Sahîd, the Witness. |
| 22. al-'Hâfîz, the Guardian. | 51. al-Haqq, Truth. |
| 23. ar-Râfî', the Exalter. | 52. al-Wakîl, the Guardian. |
| 24. al-Mu'hizz, the Honourer. | 53. al-Qawwî, the Strong. |
| 25. al-Muzîl, the Destroyer. | 54. al-Matîn, the Firm. |
| 26. as-Samî'h, the Hearer. | 55. al-Walî, the Patron. |
| 27. al-Bazîr, the Seer. | 56. al-Hamîd, the Laudable. |
| 28. al-'Hâkim, the Judge. | 57. al-Mu'hsî, the Counter. |
| 29. al-'Hadl, Justice. | |

¹ See Chapter VII, ver. 179.

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|---------------------------------------|---|
| 58. al-Mubbî, the Beginner. | 80. al-Muntaqim, the Avenger. |
| 59. al-Mu'hîd, the Restorer. | 81. al-'Hafû, the Pardoner. |
| 60. al-Mo'hyî, the Quickener. | 82. ar-Ra'ûf, the Kind. |
| 61. al-Mumît, the Killer. | 83. Mâlik al Mulk, the Ruler of the Kingdom. |
| 62. al-'Hâiy, the Living. | 84. Dhu'l'galâl wa'l ikrâm, Lord of Majesty and Liberality. |
| 63. al-Qâiyûm, the Subsisting. | 85. al-Muqsi, the Equitable. |
| 64. al-Wâgid, the Existing. | 86. al-Gâmi'h, the Collector. |
| 65. al-Magîd, the Glorious. | 87. al-G'hanî, the Independent. |
| 66. al-Wâhid, the One. | 88. al-Mughnî, the Enricher. |
| 67. az-Zamad, the Eternal. | 89. al-Mu'hî, the Giver. |
| 68. al-Qâdir, the Powerful. | 90. al-Mâni'h, the Withholder. |
| 69. al-Muqtadir, the Prevailing. | 91. az-Zârr, the Distresser. |
| 70. al-Muwa'h'hir, the Deferrer. | 92. an-Nâfi'h, the Profiter. |
| 71. al-Muqaddim, the Bringer-forward. | 93. an-Nûr, Light. |
| 72. al-Awwal, the First. | 94. al-Hâdî, the Guide. |
| 73. al-Â'hir, the Last. | 95. al-Badî'h, the Incomparable. |
| 74. al-'Thâhir, the Apparent. | 96. al-Bâqî, the Enduring. |
| 75. al-Bâîn, the Innermost. | 97. al-Wârith, the Inheritor. |
| 76. al-Wâlî, the Governor. | 98. ar-Rasîd, the Rightly-directing. |
| 77. al-Muta'hâl, the Exalted. | 99. az-Zabûr, the Patient. |
| 78. al-Barr, Righteousness. | |
| 79. at-Tawwâb, the Relenting. | |

These names are used by Muslims in their devotions, the rosary (*masba'hah*) being employed to check their repetition. Such an exercise is called a *DHikr* or 'remembrance,' a word that is also applied to a recitation of the whole or portions of the *Qur'ân* and to the devotional exercises of the dervishes.

The formula 'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God,' with which every chapter but one of the *Qur'ân* begins, appears to have been adopted from the Persian Zoroastrian phrase, *Benâm i Yezdân i ba'hsâyisgar dâdâr*, 'In the name of God the merciful, the just;' the later Parsee form *Benâm i 'hudawandi ba'hsâyenda ba'hsâyisgar* is the exact equivalent of the Mohammedan phrase.

Besides a belief in God, the *Qur'ân* requires belief in the existence of angels; they are pure, without distinction of sex, created of fire, and neither eat nor drink nor propagate their species.

The archangels are, Gibra'îl, 'Gabriel' (also called er Rû'h el Amîn, 'the faithful spirit,' or er Rû'h el Qudus, 'the holy spirit'), God's messenger by whom the Qur'ân was revealed to Mohammed; Mikâ'il, the guardian angel of the Jews¹; Isrâfîl, the archangel who will sound the last trumpet at the resurrection; Azrâ'îl, the angel of death.

Two angels are appointed to each human being, who stand one on his right and one on his left hand, to record his every action.

One angel, called Razwân, 'goodwill,' presides over heaven; and one, named Mâlik, 'the ruler,' over hell².

Munkir and Nakir are the two angels who preside at 'the examination of the tomb.' They visit a man in his grave directly after he has been buried, and examine him concerning his faith. If he acknowledge that there is but one God and that Mohammed is his prophet, they suffer him to rest in peace, otherwise they beat him with iron maces till he roars so loud that he is heard by all from east to west except by men and ginn. They then press the earth down on the corpse, and leave it to be torn by dragons and serpents till the day of resurrection.

The angelology of Islâm is apparently traceable to Jewish sources, though the ancient Arab cult had no doubt borrowed some portion of it from the Persians, whence too it was introduced into Judaism.

The notions of the bridge over hell, Es Sirât, and of the partition wall, El Aarâf, between paradise and hell³, are also common to the Jewish and Magian traditions.

Iblîs or Saitân, 'the devil' or 'Satan,' was originally an angel who fell from paradise on account of his proudly refusing to adore Adam⁴.

Besides the angels there are the *ginn* (collectively *gânn*), of whom I have before spoken. They are created out of

¹ See Part I, p. 13, note 2.

² Mâlik is evidently identical with Moloch, as *Gehennum*, hell, is the same as the *Gehenna* of the Bible.

³ See Part I, p. 138, note 1.

⁴ See Chapter II, ver. 32.

fire and are both good and evil, the latter being generally called 'Ifrit.' Their abode is Mount Qâf, the mountain chain which encircles the world. These are the creatures over whom Solomon held control, and a tribe of whom were converted to Islâm by Mohammed's preaching on his return from Tâ'if¹.

The two classes of beings, human and superhuman, by which the world is inhabited are called ETH-THAqalân, 'the two weighty matters,' or el 'Hâlamûn, 'the worlds,' as in the expression in the Opening Chapter, 'Lord of the worlds.'

Heaven, according to the Qur'ân and the traditions, consists of seven divisions :

Gannat al 'Huld (Chapter XXV, 16), the Garden of Eternity.

Dâr as Salâm (Chapter VI, 127), the Abode of Peace.

Dâr al Qarâr (Chapter XL, 42), the Abode of Rest.

Gannat 'Hadn (Chapter IX, 72), the Garden of Eden.

Gannat al Mâ'wâ (Chapter XXXII, 19), the Garden of Resort.

Gannat an Na'hîm (Chapter VI, 70), the Garden of Pleasure.

Gannat al 'Hilliyûn (Chapter LXXXIII, 18), the Garden of the Most High.

Gannat al Firdaus (Chapter XVIII, 107), the Garden of Paradise.

Of the presumed sensual character of the Muslim paradise much has been written. It appears, however, from the Qur'ân, to be little more than an intense realisation of all that a dweller in a hot, parched, and barren land could desire, namely, shade, water, fruit, rest, and pleasant companionship and service.

Hell contains also seven divisions² :

Gehennum (Chapter XIX, 44), Gehenna.

La'hâ (Chapter LXX, 15), the Flaming Fire.

Hu'amah (Chapter CIV, 4), the Raging Fire that splits everything to pieces.

Sa'hîr (Chapter IV, 11), the Blaze.

Saqar (Chapter LIV, 58), the Scorching Fire.

Gahîm (Chapter II, 113), the Fierce Fire.

Hâwiyeh (Chapter CL, 8), the Abyss.

¹ See above, p. xxx.

² Cf. Chapter XV, ver. 44.

As to the condition of the soul between death and the resurrection, Islâm has no authoritative teaching; the general opinion is that there is a limbo somewhere or other in which the spirits of the good repose, while those of the wicked are imprisoned elsewhere in a foul dungeon to await their doom.

A great many wonderful signs are to precede the judgment day, of which we need only notice the coming of Mehdi or 'guide,' who shall have the same name as Mohammed himself, and whose father's name shall be the same as his father's name, and who shall govern the Arabians, and fill the earth with righteousness; the appearance of Ed-daggâl, 'the antichrist;' the release of Gog and Magog¹; and the convulsions in heaven and earth described in the Qur'ân itself.

The chief prophets recognised by the Qur'ân are the following: each of whom is said to have had a special revelation, and to possess an appropriate title:

- Adam, Zafîy allâh, the Chosen of God.
- Noah, Nabîy allâh, the Prophet of God.
- Abraham, 'Hafîla 'llâh, the Friend of God.
- Jesus, Rû'ha 'llâh, the Spirit of God.
- Mohammed, Rusûl allâh, the Apostle of God.

Mohammed is also called 'the seal of the prophets,' and the saying traditionally attributed to him, 'There is no prophet after me,' makes it unlawful to expect the advent of another.

Besides these, there are the minor apostles sent to particular tribes, the stories of some of whom are related in the Qur'ân.

The practical duties of Islâm are, 1. The profession of faith in the unity of God, and the mission of Mohammed. 2. Prayer. 3. Fasting. 4. Almsgiving. 5. Pilgrimage.

The first consists in the repetition of the Kelimah or creed, 'There is no god but God, and Mohammed is the Apostle of God.'

¹ See Part II, p. 25.

Prayer consists of the recital of a certain prescribed and invariable formula at five stated times of the day, namely : 1. Between dawn and sunrise. 2. After the sun has begun to decline. 3. Midway between this. 4. Which is said shortly after sunset. 5. At nightfall. These are farz or 'incumbent ;' all others are nafl, 'supererogatory,' or sunnah, 'in accordance with the practices of the prophet.' The prayers are preceded by wuẓû'h, 'ablution ;' they are commenced in a standing position, qiyâm, the hands being so held that the thumbs touch the lobes of the ears, and the face being turned towards the qiblah, that is, in the direction of Mecca. During the prayers inclinations of the body, rukû'h¹, are made, of which a certain number only are incumbent.

The time for prayer is called from the minarets of the mosques by Mu'edHDHins or 'criers,' in the following words :

'God is great !' (four times). 'I bear witness that there is no god but God' (twice). 'I bear witness that Mohammed is the Apostle of God' (twice). 'Come hither to prayers !' (twice). 'Come hither to salvation !' (twice). 'God is great ! There is no other god but God !' and in the early morning the crier adds, 'Prayer is better than sleep !'

This formula appears to have been used by Bilâl, Mohammed's own crier, on the establishment of the first mosque in Medînah. It is called the aDHân or 'call.'

The word 'mosque' is a corruption of masgid, 'a place of adoration' (sigdah), and is applied to the whole precincts of a Muslim place of worship. Another name is gâmi'h, 'the assembling,' especially applied to a cathedral mosque.

The mosques are always open for public prayers, but on Fridays a special service is held, followed by a 'Huṭbah or 'homily.'

Another of the duties incumbent on every believer

¹ 'The lowering of the head, by a person praying [or in prayer], after the act of standing, in which the recitation [of portions of the Qur-ân] is performed, so that the palms of the hand reach the knees, or so that the back becomes depressed,' Lane's Arabic-English Lexicon.

is that of fasting between dawn and sunset throughout *Ramadhân*, the ninth month of the Muslim year. The fast is a most rigorous one, not even a drop of water being allowed to pass the lips even when *Ramadhân* occurs in the hot season. Only the sick and infirm are allowed exemption.

One night between the twenty-first and twenty-ninth of *Ramadhân*, the exact date being uncertain, is called the *Lailat el Qadr* or 'night of power;' in it the *Qur'ân* was said to have been revealed¹.

Zakât, 'almsgiving'² or 'poor rate,' must be given either in money, stock, or goods, and consists of the bestowal in charity of about one-fortieth of all such property as shall have been a year in the owner's possession. In *Mohammed's* time the *zakât* was a contribution by his followers to the expenses of the war against the infidels.

Sadaqah is the name applied to any charitable gifts beyond that prescribed by law, especially to the offerings on the 'hîd al *fitr*, or 'feast of breaking fast,' at the expiration of *Ramadhân*.

Waqf is a religious bequest or endowment.

The 'Hagg or 'pilgrimage,' the last of the five incumbent practices of the religion, is a very ancient institution, and one which, as we have seen, *Mohammed* could not, if he would, have abolished.

The ceremonies observed during the season of the pilgrimage are as follows:—

Arrived at the last of the *mîqât*, or six stages in the immediate vicinity of Mecca, the pilgrim divests himself of his ordinary clothes and assumes the *i'hrâm* or 'garb of sanctity.' This consists of two wrappers without seams, one of which is bound round the waist, and the other thrown loosely over the shoulders, the head being left uncovered. After putting on this it is unlawful to anoint the head, shave this or any other part of the body, pare the nails, or wear any other garment than the *i'hrâm*.

¹ Cf. Chapter XCVII, ver. 1.

² The word originally meant 'purity.'

On reaching Mecca he performs the legal ablutions, proceeds to the Sacred Mosque, and having saluted the 'black stone,' makes the tawâf or circuit of the Kaabah seven times, three times quickly and four times at a slow walk.

He then visits the Maqâm Ibrâhîm or Abraham's station, and afterwards returns and kisses the black stone.

Passing through the gate of the haram leading to Mount Zafâ, he runs seven times between the summit of that hill and that of Merwah¹.

On the eighth day, called tarwî'h, the pilgrims assemble in the valley of Minâ, where they pass the night.

As soon as morning prayers are over they 'rush tumultuously' to Mount Arafât, stay there until sunset, and then proceed to a place called Muzdalifeh, where they again pass the night.

The next day is the 'Hîd al Az'hâ, when the pilgrims again repair to the valley of Minâ, and go through the ceremony of throwing stones at three pillars, called Gamrah. This is in commemoration of Abraham, or, as some say, of Adam, who, meeting the devil at the same spot, drove him away with stones.

The next ceremony is the sacrifice of some animal, a camel, sheep, or goat, in Minâ; after which they divest themselves of the pilgrim garb and get themselves shaved, their nails pared, &c.

The pilgrim should then rest at Mecca for the three following days, the âiyâm et tarîq or 'days of drying up,' scil. the blood of the sacrifices.

The sacrifice is said to have been instituted in commemoration of Abraham's proposed sacrifice of his son Ishmael (not Isaac as in the Bible) in accordance with the divine command.

The pilgrimage must be performed from the seventh to the tenth of the month Dhu'l 'Higgeh. A visit at any other time of the year is termed 'H om rah, 'visitation,' and though meritorious, has not the same weight as the 'Hagg itself.

¹ See p. xiii and Chapter II, ver. 153.

The Kaabah is revisited before the pilgrim leaves Mecca, and the ceremony of the Tawâf again performed. From Mecca the pilgrim proceeds to Medīnah to visit the tomb of the prophet. He is then entitled to assume the title of El 'Hāgg (in Persian and Hindustānī corrupted into 'Hāgī).

It is worth remarking that the word 'Hagg is identical with the Hebrew word used in Exodus x. 9, where the reason assigned for the departure of the Israelites is that they may 'hold a feast ('hagg) unto the Lord' in the wilderness.

Islām inculcates the doctrine of predestination, every act of every living being having been written down from all eternity in the Lau'h el Ma'hfûz, 'the preserved tablet.' This predestination is called taqdîr, 'meting out,' or qismeh, 'apportioning.' The reconciliation of such a doctrine with the exercise of free-will, and the difficulty, if it be accepted, of avoiding the ascription of evil as well as good to God, have furnished materials for never-ending disputes amongst Muslim theologians, and have given rise to innumerable heresies. As the present introduction is only intended to furnish the reader with the necessary information to enable him to understand the Qur'ân and its system, I will not dwell upon these and kindred matters which belong to the later history of the creed.

One of the greatest blots on El Islām is that it keeps the women in a state of degradation, and therefore effectually prevents the progress of any race professing the religion. For this Mohammed is only so far responsible that he accepted without question the prevalent opinion of his time, which was not in favour of allowing too great freedom to women, so that when he had ameliorated their condition by modifying the unjust laws of divorce, by enjoining kindness and equity upon his followers in the treatment of their wives, and by sternly repressing the barbarous custom of female infanticide, he thought, no doubt, that he had done enough for them. Similarly he provided for the better and kinder treatment of slaves, but it could never enter his mind that slavery was in itself a wrong or impolitic institu-

tion. The real fault lies in the unelastic nature of the religion: in his desire to shield it from change and to prevent his followers from 'dividing into sects,' the founder has made it impossible for Islâm to throw off certain customs and restrictions which, however convenient and even necessary to the Arabs at the time, became grievous and unsuitable for other nations at distant periods and in distant lands. The institution of the 'Hagg pilgrimage, for example, was an admirable one for consolidating the Arab tribes, but it is burdensome and useless to the Muslim communities now that they extend over nearly half the civilized world.

That Mohammed had a due respect for the female sex, as far as was consistent with the prevailing state of education and opinion, is evident both from his own faithful affection to his first wife 'Hadîgah, and from the fact that 'believing women' are expressly included in the promises of a reward in the future life which the Qur'ân makes to all who acknowledge one God and do good works.

The language of the Qur'ân is universally acknowledged to be the most perfect form of Arab speech. The Qurâis, as the guardians of the national temple and the owners of the territory in which the great fairs and literary festivals of all Arabia were held, would naturally absorb into their own dialect many of the words and locutions of other tribes, and we should consequently expect their language to be more copious and elegant than that of their neighbours. At the same time we must not forget that the acknowledged claims of the Qur'ân to be the direct utterance of the divinity have made it impossible for any Muslim to criticise the work, and it became, on the contrary, the standard by which other literary compositions had to be judged. Grammarians, lexicographers, and rhetoricians started with the presumption that the Qur'ân could not be wrong, and other works therefore only approached excellence in proportion as they, more or less, successfully imitated its style. Regarding it, however, from a perfectly impartial and unbiassed standpoint, we find that it

expresses the thoughts and ideas of a Bedawî Arab in Bedawî language and metaphor. The language is noble and forcible, but it is not elegant in the sense of literary refinement. To Mohammed's hearers it must have been startling, from the manner in which it brought great truths home to them in the language of their every-day life.

There was nothing antiquated in the style or the words, no tricks of speech, pretty conceits, or mere poetical embellishments; the prophet spoke with rude, fierce eloquence in ordinary language. The only rhetorical ornament he allowed himself was that of making his periods more or less rhythmical, and most of his clauses rhyme,—a thing that was and still is natural to an Arab orator, and the necessary outcome of the structure of the Arabic tongue¹.

It is often difficult to enter thoroughly into the spirit of the old Arab poets, Mohammed's contemporaries or immediate predecessors, because we cannot completely realise the feelings that actuated them or identify ourselves with the society in which they moved. For this reason they have always something remote and obsolete about them, however clear their language and meaning may be. With the Qur'ân it is not so. Mohammed speaks with a living voice, his vivid word-painting brings at once before the mind the scene he describes or conjures up, we can picture his very attitude when, having finished some marvellously told story of the days of yore, uttered some awful denunciation, or given some glorious promise, he pauses suddenly and says, with bitter disappointment, 'These are the true stories, and there is no god but God; and yet ye turn aside!'

To translate this worthily is a most difficult task. To imitate the rhyme and rhythm would be to give the English an artificial ring from which the Arabic is quite free; and the same objection lies against using the phraseology of our authorised version of the Bible: to render it by fine or stilted language would be quite as foreign to the spirit of

¹ How natural this was to an Arab may be inferred from the anecdote related in Part I, note 2, p. 126; see also p. lv.

the original: while to make it too rude or familiar would be to err equally on the other side. I have, therefore, endeavoured to take a middle course; I have translated each sentence as literally as the difference in structure between the two languages would allow, and when possible I have rendered it word for word. Where a rugged or commonplace expression occurs in the Arabic I have not hesitated to render it by a similar English one, even where a literal rendering may perhaps shock the reader.

To preserve this closeness of rendering, I have had in several instances to make use of English constructions which, if not incorrect from a strictly grammatical point of view, are, I am aware, often inelegant. Thus a peculiarity of the Arabic is to use the same preposition with a passive verb as the active and transitive verb required; for instance, *ghaẓaba* 'halâihi, 'he was angered against him,' in the passive, *ghuẓiba* 'halâihi, 'he was angered-against,' and the preservation of this construction is often absolutely necessary to retain the force of the original.

An instance of this occurs in the Opening Chapter, where the words *ellaDHîna an'hamta* 'halâihim, *ghâiral maghẓûbi* 'halâihim are rendered, 'of those thou art gracious to, not of those thou art wroth with;' in Sale's translation, 'of those to whom thou hast been gracious, not of those against whom thou art incensed;' the placing the preposition before the verb gives a completely different ring to the English to that of the Arabic, to say nothing of the absence of that colloquial freedom which distinguishes the original.

I have, as far as possible, rendered an Arabic word by the same English word wherever it occurs; in some cases, however, where the Arabic word has more than one signification, or where it would distort the sense to retain the same expression, I have not scrupled to alter it.

Some of the Arabic words that occur in the Qur'ân are ambiguous, and have given rise to numerous differences of opinion among commentators. Thus the word *istawâ* is applied to God, and is interpreted in some passages to

mean 'he directed himself by his will to the heaven' (Lane), and in others to mean 'he stood straight or erect' (Lane). The expression occurs often in the Qur'ân as descriptive of God's taking up a certain position with regard to the throne or highest heaven, and Muslim theologians have never ceased to debate concerning the exact nature of this position. El Ghazzâlî says that He 'istawâ' upon the throne in the manner he has himself described, and in the sense He himself means, but not by actual contact or local situation, while the throne itself is sustained by Him. To render it then by 'sitting' or 'ascending' would be to adopt a particular view of a very debatable question, and to give to the Arabic word a precision of meaning which it does not possess. The root of the word contains the notions of 'equality of surface' or 'uniformity,' of 'making' or 'fashioning,' and of 'being or going straight.' I have, therefore, adopted a rendering which has a similar confusion of significations, and translated it 'made for,' as in Chapter II, ver. 27, 'He made for the heavens.' Where no question can arise concerning its interpretation, as, for instance, when it is used of a rider balancing himself on the back of his camel, I have rendered it simply 'settled'.¹

The notes that I have appended are only such as are absolutely necessary for understanding the text; for a full account of all the historical allusions, Arabic, Jewish, and Magian legends, with which the native commentators illustrate the Qur'ân, the reader is referred to the notes in Sale's translation. The version of that eminent scholar fully deserves the consideration it has so long enjoyed, but from the large amount of exegetical matter which he has incorporated in his text, and from the style of language employed, which differs widely from the nervous energy and rugged simplicity of the original, his work can scarcely be regarded as a fair representation of the Qur'ân.

Rodwell's version approaches nearer to the Arabic, but even in that there is too much assumption of the literary

¹ See Chapter XLIII, ver. 12.

style. The arrangement of the Sûrahs in chronological order, too, though a help to the student, destroys the miscellaneous character of the book, as used by the Muslims, and as Mohammed's successors left it.

In my rendering I have, for the most part, kept to the interpretation of the Arabic commentator *Bâidhâvî*, and have only followed my own opinion in certain cases where a word or expression, quite familiar to me from my experience of every-day desert life, appeared to be somewhat strained by these learned schoolmen. Chapter XXII, ver. 64, is an instance in which a more simple rendering would be preferable, though I have only ventured to suggest it in a note¹.

I am fully sensible of the shortcomings of my own version, but if I have succeeded in my endeavour to set before the reader plainly what the Qur'ân is, and what it contains, my aim will have been accomplished.

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March, 1880.

¹ See Part II, p. 63, note.

ABSTRACT

OF THE

CONTENTS OF THE QUR'ÂN.

I. THE OPENING CHAPTER. (Mecca.)

Prayer for guidance.

II. THE CHAPTER OF THE HEIFER. (Medînah.)

The Qur'ân a guidance. Rebuke to misbelievers: parable of one who kindles a fire. God is not ashamed of trifling similitudes. The creation of man: Adam taught 'the names': Iblîs refuses to adore him: the temptation and fall. The children of Israel: their trials in Egypt: the golden calf: the manna and quails: bidden to enter the city and say 'hi//atun. Moses strikes the rock: he bids the people slaughter a dun cow to discover a murder. Charge against the Jews of corrupting the Scriptures. The golden calf: the mountain held over them. Gabriel reveals the Qur'ân: Hârût and Mârût. Believers are not to say râ'hinâ, but un//hurnâ. Verses which are annulled will be replaced by better ones. Paradise not exclusively for Jews and Christians. Mosques to be free. Story of Abraham: he rebuilds the Kaabah: was a 'Hanîf. The qiblah fixed. Zafâ and Merwah may be compassed. Proofs of God's unity. Lawful and unlawful food. The law of retaliation for homicide. Testators. The fast of Ramadhân. Rites of the pilgrimage: its duration. Fighting for religion lawful during the sacred months. Wine and gaming forbidden. Marriage with idolaters unlawful. The law of divorce. Of suckling children. The Muhâgerîn to be rewarded. The children of Israel demand a king. Saul (Zâlrût): the shechina: the ark. Saul and Gideon confounded. Goliath. Jesus. The âyat el kursîy ('verse of the throne') asserting the self-subsistence and omnipresence of God. Nimrod and Abraham. Almsgiving. No compulsion in religion. Proofs of the resurrection: Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones

referred to : Abraham and the birds. Almsgiving recommended. Usurers denounced. Laws relating to debt and trading. Persons mentally incapable are to act by agents. The believers' prayer.

III. THE CHAPTER OF IMRÂN'S FAMILY. (Medînah.)

God's unity and self-subsistence. The Qur'ân confirmatory of previous Scriptures. The verses are either decisive or ambiguous. Example of Pharaoh's punishment. The battle of Bedr. Islâm the true religion. Future torment eternal. Obedience to God and the Apostle enjoined. Conception of the Virgin Mary; she is brought up by Zachariah. Birth of John: the annunciation of the Virgin. Birth and infancy of Jesus: the miracle of the birds of clay: the disciples: allusion to Mohammed's dispute with a Christian deputation from Nağran. Abraham a 'Hanîf. Reproof to Jews who pretend to believe and then recant; and who pervert the Scriptures. No distinction to be made between the prophets. The Jews rebuked for prohibiting certain kinds of food. The foundation of the Kaabah. Abraham's station. Pilgrimage enjoined. Schism and misbelief reprovèd. Battle of Ohod referred to. The victory at Bedr due to angelic aid. Usury denounced. Fate of those who rejected the prophets of old. Mohammed's death must not divert the believers from their faith. Promise of God's help. Further account of the battle of Bedr. The Muslim martyrs to enter Paradise. The victory of Bedr more than counterbalanced the defeat at Ohod. The hypocrites detected and reprovèd. Death the common lot even of apostles. Prayer for the believers. Exhortation to vie in good works and be patient.

IV. THE CHAPTER OF WOMEN. (Medînah.)

God creates and watches over man. Women's dowries. Administration of the property of orphans and idiots. Distribution of property among the heirs. Witnesses required to prove adultery. Believers are not to inherit women's estates against their will: no false charge of adultery to be made with a view of keeping a woman's dowry. Women whom it is unlawful to marry. Men are superior to women: punishment of refractory wives. Arbitration between man and wife. Duty towards parents, kinsmen, orphans, the poor, neighbours, &c. Almsgiving for appearance sake a crime. Believers must not pray when drunk or polluted. Sand may be used for purification when water is not to be had. Charge against

Jews of perverting the Scriptures and saying râ'hinâ: they are threatened with transformation, like those who broke the Sabbath, for their unbelief. Idolatry the unpardonable sin. Some who have the Scriptures believe. Trusts to be paid back. Quarrels to be referred to God and the Apostle only. The Apostle will intercede for the believers. Mohammed commanded to settle their differences. Believers to take precautions in sallying forth to battle. They are exhorted to fight, and promised Paradise if they fall. Obedience to the prophet is obedience to God. Salutation to be returned. The hypocrites. Deserters are to be slain, unless they have taken refuge with a tribe in league with the Muslims. Penalty for killing a believer by mistake. Believers are not to plunder others on the mere pretence that they are infidels. Fate of the half-hearted Muslims who fell at Bedr. Precautions to be taken against an attack during prayers. Exhortation to sincerity in supporting the faith. Rebuke to the pagan Arabs for their idolatry and superstitious practices. Islâm the best religion, being that of Abraham the 'Hanîf. Laws respecting women and orphans: equity and kindness recommended. Partiality to one wife rather than another reprovèd. Fear of God inculcated. God does not pardon the unstable in faith or the hypocrites. No middle course is allowed. The Jews were punished for demanding a book from heaven. Of old they asked Moses to show them God openly and were punished. They are reproached for breaking their covenant with God, for calumniating Mary, and for pretending that they killed Jesus, whereas they only killed his similitude, for God took him to Himself. Certain lawful foods forbidden the Jews for their injustice and usury. Mohammed is inspired in the same manner as the other apostles and prophets. Jesus is only an Apostle of God and His Word and a spirit from Him. Doctrine of the Trinity denounced. God has not begotten a son. The law of inheritance in the case of remote kinship.

V. THE CHAPTER OF THE TABLE. (Medînah.)

Believers are to fulfil their compacts. Brute beasts, except those hereafter mentioned, are lawful; but chase during the pilgrimage is unlawful. The rites and sacrifices of the pilgrimage are lawful. The Muslims are not to bear ill-will against the Qurâis who prevented them at 'Hudâibiyeh from making the pilgrimage. Forbidden meats. The food of Jews and Christians is lawful

to Muslims: so too their women. Ablutions before prayers. Rules for purification in cases of pollution. The Muslims are bidden to remember the oath of fealty (at 'Akabah), and how God made a similar covenant with the children of Israel, and chose twelve wardens. Mohammed is warned against their treachery as well as against the Christians. Refutation of the doctrine that Christ is God; and of the idea that the Jews and Christians are 'sons of God' and His beloved. Mohammed sent as a warner and herald of glad tidings. Moses bade the children of Israel invade the Holy Land and they were punished for hesitating. Story of the two sons of Adam: the crow shows Cain how to bury the body of Abel. Gravity of homicide. Those who make war against God and His Apostle are not to receive quarter. Punishment for theft. Mohammed is to judge both Jews and Christians by the Qur'ân, in accordance with their own Scriptures, but not according to 'their lusts.' Or would they prefer to be judged according to the unjust laws of the time of the pagan Arabs? The Muslims are not to take Jews and Christians for patrons. The hypocrites hesitate to join the believers: they are threatened. Further appeal to the Jews and Christians: fate of those before them who were transformed for their sins. The Jews reproved for saying that 'God's hand is fettered.' Some of them are moderate, but the greater part are misbelievers. The prophet is bound to preach his message. Sabæans, Jews, and Christians appealed to as believers. Prophets of old were rejected. Against the worship of the Messiah and the doctrine of the Trinity. Jews and idolaters are the most hostile to the Muslims; and the Christians are nearest in love to them. Expiation for an inconsiderate oath. Wine and gambling forbidden. Game not to be hunted or eaten during pilgrimage. Expiation for violating this precept: fish is lawful at this time. Rites of the 'Hagg to be observed. Believers must not ask about painful things till the whole Qur'ân is revealed. Denunciation of the superstitious practices of the pagan Arabs with respect to certain cattle. Witnesses required when a dying man makes his testament. The mission of Jesus: the miracles of the infancy: the apostles ask for a table from heaven as a sign: Jesus denies commanding men to worship him and his mother as gods.

VI. THE CHAPTER OF CATTLE. (Mecca.)

Light and darkness are both created by God. Rebuke to idolaters. They are exhorted to take warning by the fate of those of old, who rejected the prophets. Had the revelation been a material book they would have disbelieved it: if the prophet had been an angel he would have come in the guise of a man. Attributes of God. Mohammed bidden to become a Muslim. Those who have the Scriptures ought to recognise Mohammed as the one foretold in them. The idolaters will be disappointed of the intercession of their gods on the judgment day. They deny the resurrection day now, but hereafter they will have awful proof of its truth. The next world is preferable to this. Prophets aforetime were also mocked at and they were patient. God could send them a sign if He pleased. Beasts, birds, and the like are communities like men: their fate is all written in the Book: they too shall be gathered on the judgment day. Arguments in proof of the supreme power of God. Mohammed is only a messenger: he is to disclaim miraculous power: is not to repulse believers: he is bidden to abjure idolatry and not follow the lusts of the Meccans. God's omniscience. He takes men's souls to Himself during sleep: sends guardian angels to watch over them: preserves men in danger by land and sea. Mohammed is not to join in discussions on religion with idolaters, nor to associate with those who make a sport of it. Folly of idolatry set forth: God the creator: Abraham's perplexity in seeking after the true God: worships successively the stars, the moon, and the sun, but is convinced that they are not gods by seeing them set. Turns to God and becomes a 'Hanîf. Other prophets of old were inspired: the Qur'ân is also a special revelation from God to the Meccans, fulfilling their Scriptures; but the Jews have perverted or suppressed parts of them. Denunciation of one who falsely pretended to be inspired. The creation a proof of God's unity. Rebuke to those who call the ginn His partners, or attribute offspring to Him. Idolaters are not to be abused lest they too speak ill of God. The Meccans would not have believed even if a sign had been given them. Mohammed is to trust to God alone. Men are not to abstain from food over which God's name has been pronounced. God will vindicate His messenger. Belief or the reverse depends on God's grace. The ginns and false gods, together with their worshippers,

will be condemned to everlasting torment. God never punishes without first sending an apostle with warning. The threatened doom cannot be averted. Denunciation of the idolatrous practices of the Arabs: setting apart portions of the produce of the land for God and for the idols, and defrauding God of His portion: infanticide: declaring cattle and tilth inviolable. God created all fruits and all cattle; both are therefore lawful. Argument proving the absurdity of some of these customs. Enumeration of the only kinds of food that are unlawful. The prohibition to the Jews of certain food was only on account of their sins. God's revealed word is the only certain argument. Declaration of things really forbidden, namely, harshness to parents, infanticide, abominable sins, and murder. The property of orphans is to be respected, and fair dealing to be practised. No soul compelled beyond its capacity. The Qur'ân to be accepted on the same authority as the book of Moses was. Faith required now without signs: no later profession on the judgment day shall profit them. Good works to be rewarded tenfold, but evil works only by the same amount. Islâm is the religion of Abraham the 'Hanîf: a belief in one God, to whom all prayer and devotion is due. Each soul shall bear its own burden. The high rank of some of the Meccans is only a trial from the Lord whereby to prove them.

VII. THE CHAPTER OF AL AARÂF. (Mecca.)

Mohammed is bidden to accept the Qur'ân fearlessly. The Meccans must take warning by the fate of those who rejected the prophets of old. The creation and fall of Adam. Iblîs allowed to tempt mankind. Men are to go to Mosque decently clad. God has only prohibited sinful actions. Men are warned not to reject the mission of the apostles: their punishment at and after death if they do so. The happiness of believers in Paradise. Description of Al Aarâf, the partition between heaven and hell. Immediate belief in the Qur'ân required. God the Creator. Humble and secret prayer enjoined. Proofs of God's goodness. Noah sent to warn his people: he is saved in the ark while they are drowned. Hûd sent to 'Âd: they reject his preaching and are punished. Zâli'h sent to Thamûd: produces the she-camel as a sign: the people hamstring her and are punished. Lot sent to the people of Sodom: their punishment. Sho'hâib sent to Midian: his people reject him and are destroyed. Thus city after city was

destroyed for rejecting the apostles. Moses sent to Pharaoh: the miracles of the snake and the white hand. The magicians contend with Moses, are overcome, and believe. Pharaoh punishes them. The slaughter of the firstborn: the plagues of Egypt. The Israelites are delivered. Moses communes with God, who appears to him on the Mount. The giving of the Law. The golden calf. Moses' wrath against Aaron. The seventy elders. The coming of Mohammed 'the illiterate prophet' foretold. Some Jews are just and rightly guided. The division into twelve tribes. The miracle of smiting the rock: the manna and quails: the command to enter the city, saying 'hiẓatun, and punishment for disobedience. The Sabbath-breaking city: the transformation of the wicked inhabitants into apes. The dispersion of the Jews. The mountain held over the Jews. The covenant of God with the posterity of Adam: 'Am I not your Lord¹?' Humiliation of one who having foretold the coming of a prophet in the time of Mohammed would not acknowledge the latter as such. Many both of the ginn and of mankind predestined for hell. The names of God are not to be perverted². Mohammed is not 'possessed.' The coming of 'the Hour.' Creation of Adam and Eve: conception and birth of their first child, 'Abd el 'Hareth: their idolatry. Idols are themselves servants of God: they have neither life nor senses. Mohammed is bidden to treat his opponents with mildness. The mention of God's name repels devilish influences. Men are recommended to listen to the Qur'ân and to humble themselves before God, whom the angels adore.

VIII. THE CHAPTER OF THE SPOILS. (Medînah.)

Spoils belong to God and the Apostle. Who are the true believers. The expedition of Mohammed against the caravan from Syria under Abu Sufiân. The miraculous victory at Bedr. Address to the Meccans who, fearing an attack from Mohammed, took sanctuary in the Kaabah, and prayed to God to decide between themselves and him. Exhortation to believe and avoid treachery. Plots against Mohammed frustrated by divine interference. The revelation treated as old folks' tales. Rebuke of the idolaters for mocking the Muslims at prayer. Offer of an amnesty to those

¹ This is constantly alluded to in Persian mystical poetry as *Roz i alast*, 'the day of "Am I not?"'

² As Allâh, not Allât, the name of a goddess. See p. 160, note 1.

who will believe. Exhortation to fight the infidels: division of the spoils: description of the battle. The enemy made to seem few in the Muslims' eyes, while they seemed more numerous than they really were. The infidels forsaken by Satan, their leader, on the day of battle. Fate of the hypocrites. Warning from Pharaoh's fate. The infidels who break their treaty. Treachery to be met with the like. God will help the prophet against the traitors. A few enduring believers shall conquer a multitude of infidels. The Muslims are reproved for accepting ransom for the captives taken at Bedr. The spoils are lawful. The Muhâgerîn who fled with Mohammed, and the inhabitants of Medīnah who gave him refuge, are to form ties of brotherhood¹.

IX. THE CHAPTER OF REPENTANCE OR IMMUNITY. (Medinah.)

(This chapter is without the initial formula

'In the name of the merciful,' &c.)

An immunity for four months proclaimed to such of the idolaters as have made a league with the prophet; but they are to be killed wherever found when the sacred months have expired. An idolater seeking refuge is to be helped in order that he may hear the word of God. None are to be included in the immunity but those with whom the league was made at the Sacred Mosque. They are not to be trusted. Exhortation to fight against the Meccans. Idolaters may not repair to the mosques of God. Reproof to Abu 'l 'Abbâs, the prophet's uncle, who, while refusing to believe, claimed to have done enough in supplying water to the pilgrims and in making the pilgrimage himself. The Muhâgerîn are to hold the first rank. Infidels are not to be taken for patrons even when they are fathers or brothers. Religion is to be preferred to ties of kinship. The victory of 'Honein. The idolaters are not to be allowed to enter the Sacred Mosque at Mecca another year. The infidels are to be attacked. The Jews denounced for saying that Ezra is the son of God: the assumption of the title 'Rabbi' reproved. Diatribe against Jewish doctors and Christian monks. Of the sacred months and the sin of deferring them. Exhortation to the Muslims to march forth to battle. Allusions to the escape of Mohammed and Abu Bekr from Mecca and their concealment in a cave. Rebuke to those who seek to be excused from fighting,

¹ See Introduction, p. xxxiv.

and to those who sought to excite sedition in the Muslim ranks. Reproof to the hypocrites and half-hearted and to those who found fault with the prophet for his use of the alms (*zakât*). Proper destination of the alms. Hypocrites and renegades denounced: they are warned by the example of the people of old, who rejected the prophets. Rewards promised to the true believers. Continued denunciation of the hypocrites and of those who held back from the fight. Mohammed is not to pray at the grave of any one of them who dies: their seeming prosperity is not to deceive him. Happiness in store for the Apostle, the believers, and the Muhâgerîn. Those who may lawfully be excused military service. The desert Arabs are among the worst of the 'hypocrites;' though some believe. Some people of Medînah also denounced as hypocrites: others have sinned, but confessed: others wait for God's pleasure. Denunciation of some who had set up a mosque from motives of political opposition. Mohammed is not to sanction this mosque, but rather to use that of Qubâ', founded by him while on his way from Mecca to Medînah during the Flight. God has bought the persons and wealth of the believers at the price of Paradise. The prophet and the believers must not ask forgiveness for the idolaters however near of kin. Abraham only asked pardon for his idolatrous father in fulfilment of a promise. The three Ansârs who refused to accompany Mohammed to Tabûk are forgiven. The people of Medînah and the neighbouring Arabs blamed for holding back on the occasion. All sacrifices for the sake of the religion are counted to them. Exhortation to fight rigorously against the infidels. Reproof to those who receive the revelation suspiciously. God will stand by His Apostle.

X. THE CHAPTER OF JONAH. (Mecca.)

No wonder that the Qur'ân was revealed to a mere man. Mis-believers deem him a sorcerer. God the creator and ruler: no one can intercede with Him except by His permission. Creation is a sign of His power. Reward hereafter for the believers. Man calls on God in distress, but forgets Him when deliverance comes. Warning from the fall of former generations. The infidels are not satisfied with the Qur'ân: Mohammed dare not invent a false revelation. False gods can neither harm nor profit them. People require a sign. God saves people in dangers by land and sea. This life is like grass. Promise of Paradise and threat of Hell.

Fate of the idolaters and false gods at the last day. God the Lord of all. Other religions are mere conjecture. The Qur'ân could only have been devised by God. The Meccans are challenged to produce a single sûrah like it. Unbelievers warned of the last day by the fate of previous nations. Reproval of those who prohibit lawful things. God is ever watchful over the prophet's actions. Happiness of the believers: the infidels cannot harm the prophet. Refutation of those who ascribe offspring to God. Mohammed encouraged by the story of Noah and the other prophets of old. Fate of Pharaoh and vindication of Moses and Aaron. The People of the Book (Jews and Christians) appealed to in confirmation of the truth of the Qur'ân. The story of Jonas. The people of Nineveh saved by repenting and believing in time. The people are exhorted to embrace Islâm, the faith of the 'Hanîf. God alone is powerful. Belief or unbelief affect only the individual himself. Resignation and patience inculcated.

XI. THE CHAPTER OF HÛD. (Mecca.)

The Qur'ân a book calling men to believe in the unity of God: nothing is hidden from Him: He is the creator of all. Men will not believe, and deem themselves secure because their punishment is deferred. They demand a sign, or say the Qur'ân is invented by the prophet; but they and their false gods together cannot bring ten such sûrahs. Misbelievers threatened with future punishment, while believers are promised Paradise. Noah was likewise sent, but his people objected that he was a mere mortal like themselves and only followed by the meaner sort of men. He also is accused of having invented his revelation: he is saved in the ark and the unbelievers drowned: he endeavours to save his son. The ark settles on Mount Gûdf. Hûd was sent to 'Âd: his people plotted against him and were destroyed, while he was saved. Zâli'h was sent to Thamûd: the she-camel given for a sign. The people hamstring her and perish. Abraham entertains the angels who are sent to the people of Lot: he pleads for them. Lot offers his daughters to the people of Sodom, to spare the angels: he escapes by night, and Sodom is destroyed. Sho'hâib is sent to Midian; and his people, rejecting his mission, perish too. Moses sent to Pharaoh, who shall be punished at the resurrection. The Meccans too shall be punished: they are threatened with the judgment day, when they shall be sent to hell, while the believers

are in Paradise. The Meccans are bidden to take warning by the fate of the cities whose stories are related above. These stories are intended to strengthen the prophet's heart: he is bidden to wait and leave the issue to God.

XII. THE CHAPTER OF JOSEPH. (Mecca.)

The Qur'ân revealed in Arabic that the Meccans may understand: it contains the best of stories. Story of Joseph: he tells his father his dream: Jacob advises him to keep it to himself. Jealousy of Joseph's brethren: they conspire to throw him in a pit: induce his father to let him go with them: they cast him in the pit, and bring home his shirt covered with 'lying blood.' Travellers discover him and sell him into Egypt: he is adopted by his master: his mistress endeavours to seduce him: his innocence proved. His mistress shows him to the women of the city to excuse her conduct: their amazement at his beauty. He is imprisoned: interprets the dreams of the baker and the cupbearer. Pharaoh's dream: Joseph is sent for to expound it. He is appointed to a situation of trust in the land. His brethren arrive and do not recognise him: they ask for corn and he requires them to bring their youngest brother as the condition of his giving it to them. The goods they had brought to barter are returned to their sacks. Benjamin is sent back. Joseph discovers himself to him. Joseph places the king's drinking cup in his brother's pack: accuses them all of the theft: takes Benjamin as a bondsman for the theft. They return to Jacob, who in great grief sends them back again to bring him news. Joseph discovers himself to them, and sends back his shirt: Jacob recognises it by the smell. Jacob goes back with them to Egypt. This story appealed to as a proof of the truth of the revelation.

XIII. THE CHAPTER OF THUNDER. (Mecca.)

The Qur'ân a revelation from the Lord, the creator and governor of all. Misbelievers are threatened: God knows all, and the recording angels are ever present. Lightning and thunder celebrate God's praises. All in heaven and earth acknowledge Him. God sends rain and causes the torrents to flow: the scum thereof is like the dross on smelted ore. The righteous and the believers are promised Paradise; and the misbelievers are threatened with hell-fire. Exhortation to believe in the Merciful. Were the

Qur'ân to convulse nature they would not believe. Further threats against misbelievers. God notes the deeds of every soul. Stratagem unavailing against Him. Paradise and Hell. Mohammed bidden to persevere in asserting the unity of God. Had he not followed the Qur'ân God would have forsaken him. Other apostles have had wives and children: none could bring a sign without God's permission: for every period there is a revelation. God can annul or confirm any part of his revelation which He pleases: he has the 'Mother of the Book' (i. e. the Eternal Original). Whether Mohammed live to see his predictions fulfilled or not, God only knows: his duty is only to preach the message. The conquests of Islâm pointed to. God will support the prophet against misbelievers.

XIV. THE CHAPTER OF ABRAHAM. (Mecca.)

The Qur'ân revealed to bring men from darkness into light. God is Lord of all. No apostle sent except with the language of his own people. Moses sent to Pharaoh. The people of Noah, 'Âd, and Thamûd objected that their prophets were mortals like themselves. The prophets relied on God who vindicated them. Frightful description of hell. Misbelievers are like ashes blown away by a stormy wind. Helplessness of the damned: Satan will desert them. But believers are in Paradise. A good word is like a good tree whose root is in the earth and whose branches are in the sky, and which gives fruit in all seasons. A bad word is as a tree that is felled. God's word is sure. Idolaters are threatened with hell-fire. God is the creator of all: He subjects all things to man's use. Abraham prayed that the territory of Mecca might be a sanctuary. The unjust are only respited till the judgment day. The ruins of the dwellings of those who have perished for denying the mission of their apostles are a proof of the truth of Mohammed's mission. The Lord will take vengeance at the last day, when sinners shall burn in hell with shirts of pitch to cover them. The Qur'ân is a warning and an admonition.

XV. THE CHAPTER OF EL 'HAGR. (Mecca.)

Misbelievers will one day regret their misbelief. No city was ever destroyed without warning. The infidels mockingly ask Mohammed to bring down angels to punish them. So did the sinners of old act towards their apostles. There are signs enough

in the zodiac, guarded as they are from the devils who are pelted with shooting-stars if they attempt to listen. All nature is under God's control. Man created from clay, and the *ginn* from smokeless fire. The angels bidden to adore Adam. *Iblîs* refuses; is cursed and expelled; but respited until the day of judgment. Is allowed to seduce mankind. Hell, with its seven doors, promised to misbelievers, and Paradise to believers. Story of Abraham's angelic guests: they announce to him the birth of a son: they proceed to Lot's family. The crime and punishment of the people of Sodom. The ruined cities still remain to tell the tale. Similar fate of the people of the Grove and of El '*Hagr*. The Hour draws nigh. The Lord the Omniscient Creator has sent the Qur'ân and the 'seven verses of repetition' (the Opening Chapter). Mohammed is not to grieve at the worldly success of unbelievers. Those who 'dismember the Qur'ân'¹ are threatened with punishment. Mohammed is encouraged against the misbelievers.

XVI. THE CHAPTER OF THE BEE. (Mecca.)

God's decree will come to pass. He sends the angels to instruct his servants to give warning that there is no other God. The creation and ordering of all natural objects are signs of His power. The false gods are inanimate and powerless. God is but one. The unbelievers who call the revelation old folks' tales must bear the burden of their own sins. On the resurrection day their 'associates' will disown them. Reception by the angels of the wicked and the good in Hell and in Paradise. The infidels strenuously deny the resurrection. The *Muhâgerîn* are promised a good reward. The Jews and Christians to be asked to confirm the Qur'ân. All nature adores God. Unity of God affirmed. When in distress men turn to God, but forget Him and become idolaters when deliverance comes. The practice of setting aside part of their produce for the idols reprov'd. The practice of female infanticide, while they ascribe daughters to God, is reprov'd, and disbelief in the future life also rebuked. Satan is the patron of the infidels. The Qur'ân sent down as a guidance and mercy. The rain which quickens the dead earth, and the cattle which give milk, and the vines which give fruit and wine are signs. The bee is inspired from the Lord to build hives and to use those made first by men. Its honey is lawful. The rich Arabs are reprov'd for

¹ Here used for the Scriptures generally.

their treatment of their slaves. Helplessness of the false gods illustrated by the parable of the slave and of the dumb man. Goodness of God in providing food and shelter for men. Idolaters shall be disowned by the false gods at the resurrection. Every nation shall have a witness against it on that day. Justice and good faith inculcated, especially the duty of keeping to a treaty once made. Satan has no power over believers. Verses of the Qur'ân abrogated: the Holy Spirit (Gabriel) is the instrument of the revelation. Suggestion that Mohammed is helped by some mortal to compose the Qur'ân: this cannot be, as the person hinted at speaks a foreign language and the Qur'ân is in Arabic. Denunciation of misbelievers. Warning of the fate Mecca is to expect if its inhabitants continue to disbelieve. Unlawful foods. God will forgive wrong done through ignorance. Abraham was a 'Hanîf. The ordinance of the Sabbath. Mohammed is to dispute with his opponents kindly. The believers are not to take too savage revenge. They are exhorted to patience and trust in God.

XVII. THE CHAPTER OF THE NIGHT JOURNEY. (Mecca.)

Allusion to the 'Night Journey' from the Sacred Mosque (at Mecca) to the Remote Mosque (at Jerusalem). Moses received the Book. Noah was a faithful servant. Israel's two sins and their punishment. The Qur'ân a guide and glad tidings. Man prays for evil and is hasty. Night and day are two signs. Every man's augury is round his neck. Each one shall have a book on the resurrection day with an account of his deeds. Each is to bear the burden of his own sins. No city is destroyed till warned by an apostle. Choice of good in this world or the next. Mohammed is not to associate others with God. Kindness to parents enjoined. Moderation to be practised. Infanticide and fornication are sins. Homicide is to be avenged except for just cause. Honesty and humility inculcated. The angels are not the daughters of God. If there were other gods they would rebel against God: all in the heavens praise Him. Unbelievers cannot understand the Qur'ân. The unity of God unacceptable to the Meccans. The resurrection. Idolaters not to be provoked. Some prophets preferred over others. False gods themselves have recourse to God. All cities to be destroyed before the judgment day. Had Mohammed been sent with signs, the Meccans would have disbelieved them like Thamûd. The Vision (of the Night Journey) and the

Zaqqûm Tree of Hell are causes of contention. Iblîs' disobedience and fall : he is given permission to delude men. Safety by land and sea a special mercy from God. All shall have justice at the last day. The Thaqlîf tribe at Tâ'if nearly seduced Mohammed into promulgating an unauthorised sentence. Injunction to pray. Man is ungrateful. Departure of the Spirit. Mankind and jinns together could not produce the like of the Qur'ân. Signs demanded of Mohammed : he is only a mortal. Fate of those who disbelieve in the resurrection. Moses brought nine signs, but Pharaoh disbelieved in them : his fate : the children of Israel succeeded him in his possessions. The Qur'ân was revealed as occasion required : those who believe the Scriptures recognise it. God and the Merciful One are not two gods, for God has no partner.

XVIII. THE CHAPTER OF THE CAVE. (Mecca.)

The Qur'ân is a warning especially to those who say God has begotten a son. Mohammed is not to grieve if they refuse to believe. Story of the Fellows of the Cave. Their number known only to God. Mohammed rebuked for promising a revelation on the subject. He is enjoined to obey God in all things, and not to be induced to give up his poorer followers. Hell-fire threatened for the unbeliever and Paradise promised to the good. Parable of the proud man's garden which was destroyed while that of the humble man flourished. This life is like the herb that springs up and perishes. Good works are more lasting than wealth and children. The last day. Iblîs refuses to adore Adam : the men are not to take him for a patron. They shall be forsaken by their patrons at the last day. Men would believe but that the example of those of yore must be repeated. Misbelievers are unjust and shall not be allowed to understand, or be guided. But God is merciful. Story of Moses and his servant in search of El 'Hidhr : they lose their fish at the confluence of the two seas : they meet a strange prophet, who bids Moses not question anything he may do : he scuttles a ship, kills a boy, and builds up a tottering wall : Moses desires an explanation, which the stranger gives and leaves him. Story of Dhu 'l Qarnâin : he travels to the ocean of the setting sun : builds a rampart to keep in Gog and Magog : these are to be let loose again before the judgment day : reward and punishment on that day. Were the sea ink it would not suffice for the words of the Lord. The prophet is only a mortal.

XIX. THE CHAPTER OF MARY. (Mecca.)

Zachariah prays for an heir : he is promised a son, who is to be called John : is struck dumb for three days as a sign. John is born and given the Book, judgment, grace, and purity. Story of Mary : the annunciation : her delivery beneath a palm tree : the infant Jesus in the cradle testifies to her innocence and to his own mission. Warning of the day of judgment. Story of Abraham : he reproves his father, who threatens to stone him : Abraham prays for him : Isaac and Jacob are born to him. Moses communes with God and has Aaron for a help. Ishmael and Idris mentioned as prophets. Their seed when the signs of the Merciful are read fall down adoring. The Meccans, their successors, are promised reward in Paradise if they repent and believe. The angels only descend at the bidding of the Lord. Certainty of the resurrection : punishment of those who have rebelled against the Merciful. Reproof to one who said he should have wealth and children on the judgment day. The false gods shall deny their worshippers then. The devils sent to tempt unbelievers. The gathering of the judgment day. All nature is convulsed at the imputation that the Merciful has begotten a son. This revelation is only to warn mankind by the example of the generations who have passed away.

XX. THE CHAPTER OF T. H. (Mecca.)

The Qur'ân a reminder from the Merciful, who owns all things and knows all things. There is no god but He. His are the excellent names. Story of Moses : he perceives the fire and is addressed from it by God in the holy valley Tuvâ : God shows him the miracle of the staff turned to a snake and of the white hand : sends him to Pharaoh : Moses excuses himself because of the impediment in his speech. Aaron is given him as a minister. Moses' mother throws him in the sea : his sister watches him : he is restored to his mother. Slays an Egyptian and flees to Midian. Moses and Aaron go to Pharaoh and call on him to believe : Pharaoh charges them with being magicians : their contest with the Egyptian magicians, who believe and are threatened with punishment by Pharaoh. Moses leads the children of Israel across the sea by a dry road : Pharaoh and his people are overwhelmed : the covenant on Mount Sinai : the miracle of the manna and quails. Es Sâmârîy makes the calf in Moses' absence. Moses seizes his

brother angrily by the beard and destroys the calf. Misbelievers threatened with the terrors of the resurrection day: fate of the mountains on that day: all men shall be summoned to judgment: no intercession shall avail except from such as the Merciful permits. The Qur'ân is in Arabic that people may fear and remember. Mohammed is not to hasten on its revelation. Adam broke his covenant with God. Angels bidden to adore Adam: Iblîs refuses: tempts Adam: Adam, Eve, and Iblîs expelled from Paradise. Misbelievers shall be gathered together blind on the resurrection day. The Meccans pass by the ruined dwellings of the generations who have been aforetime destroyed for unbelief: but for the Lord's word being passed they would have perished too. Mohammed is exhorted to bear their insults patiently and to praise God throughout the day. Prayer enjoined. The fate of those of yore a sufficient sign. Let them wait and see the issue.

XXI. THE CHAPTER OF THE PROPHETS. (Mecca.)

Men mock at the revelation: they say it is a 'jumble of dreams,' and that Mohammed is a poet, and they ask for a sign. The prophets of old were but mortal: the people who rejected them perished. Heaven and earth were not created in sport. Truth shall crush falsehood. All things praise God. If there were other gods than He heaven and earth would be corrupted. All former prophets were taught that there is no god but God. The Merciful has not begotten children: the angels are only his servants. The separation of earth from heaven, the creation of living things from water, the steadying of the earth by mountains and placing the sky as a roof over it, and the creation of the night and day and of the sun and moon are signs. No one was ever granted immortality: every soul must taste of death. The unbelievers mock at Mohammed and disbelieve in the Merciful. Man is hasty. The infidels are threatened with punishment in the next world. Those who mocked at the prophets of old perished. No one shall be wronged at the last day. Moses and Aaron received a scripture. Abraham destroys the images which his people worshipped: he tells them that it was the largest idol which did it: he is condemned to be burnt alive; but the fire is miraculously made cool and safe. Abraham, Lot, Isaac, and Jacob all inspired. Lot was brought safely out of a city of wrong-doers. Noah also was saved. David and Solomon give judgment about a field. The mountains and

birds are made subject to David: he is taught the art of making coats of mail. The wind and the demons are subjected to Solomon. Job was saved. Ishmael, Idrîs, and Dhu 'l Kifl were patient and entered into the mercy of the Lord. Dhu 'nnûn (Jonah) was saved in the fish's belly. Zachariah had his prayer granted and a son (John) given him. The Spirit was breathed into the Virgin Mary. But their followers have divided into sects. A city once destroyed for unbelief shall not be restored till Gog and Magog are let loose. The promise draws nigh. Idolaters shall be the pebbles of hell. But the elect shall be spared the terror of that day; when the heavens shall be rolled up as Es-Sigill rolls up books. As is written in the Psalms, 'The righteous shall inherit the earth.' Mohammed sent as a mercy to the worlds. God is one God: He knows all: He is the Merciful.

XXII. THE CHAPTER OF THE PILGRIMAGE. (Mecca.)

Terrors of the last day; yet men dispute about God and follow devils. The conception, birth, growth, and death of men, and the growth of herbs in the ground are proofs of the resurrection. But some dispute, others waver between two opinions. The most desperate means cannot thwart the divine decrees. God will decide between the Jews, Christians, Sabæans, Magians, and Idolaters on the judgment day. All nature adores God. The misbelievers are threatened with hell-fire, and the believers promised Paradise. Punishment threatened to those who prohibit men from visiting the Sacred Mosque. Abraham when bidden to cleanse the Kaabah was told to proclaim the pilgrimage. The rules of the 'Hagg enjoined. Cattle are lawful food. Warning against idolatry and exhortation to become 'Hanîfs. Sacrifices at the Kaabah are enjoined. All men have their appointed rite. The name of God is to be mentioned over cattle when slaughtered. Camels may be sacrificed and eaten. God will defend believers, but loves not misbelieving traitors. Those who have been driven from their homes for acknowledging God's unity are allowed to fight. If men did not fight for such a cause, all places of worship would be destroyed. The people of Noah, 'Âd, Thamûd, Abraham, and Lot called their prophets liars and were allowed to range at large, but at last they were punished. Their cities were destroyed and the ruins are visible to travellers still. Mohammed is only sent to warn the Meccans

of a like fate. Satan contrives to suggest a wrong reading to the prophet while reading the Qur'ân¹. The kingdom shall be God's upon the judgment day. Those who flee or are slain in the cause shall be provided for and rewarded. Believers who take revenge and are again attacked will be helped. All nature is subject to God. Every nation has its rites to observe. The idolaters treat the revelation with scorn. The false gods could not even create a fly. Exhortation to worship God and fight for the faith of Abraham, whose religion the Muslims profess. God is the sovereign and helper.

XXIII. THE CHAPTER OF BELIEVERS. (Mecca.)

The humble, chaste, and honest shall prosper. The creation, birth, death, and resurrection of man: God's goodness in providing for men's sustenance. Noah sent to his people, who reject him because he is a mere mortal: they are drowned, and he is saved in the ark. Moses and Aaron were also called liars. Mary and her son the cause of their followers' division into sects. The God-fearing encouraged. The Qurâis rebuked for their pride, and for denying Mohammed, and calling him possessed. They are reminded of the famine and defeat they have already experienced. Doctrine of the resurrection. The unity of God: He has no offspring: is omniscient. Mohammed is encouraged not to care for the false accusations of the Meccans, but to seek refuge in God. Punishment, on the day of resurrection, of those who mocked at the little party of believers.

XXIV. THE CHAPTER OF LIGHT. (Medinah.)

(This chapter deals with the accusation of unchastity against Ayesha.)

Punishment of the whore and the whoremonger. Witnesses required in the case of an imputation of unchastity to a wife. Vindication of Ayesha's character and denunciation of the accusers. Scandalmongers rebuked and threatened with punishment at the last day. Believers are not to enter other persons' houses without permission or in the absence of the owners. Chastity and modest deportment enjoined particularly upon women. Those by whom women may

¹ An allusion to the tradition of Mohammed's acknowledgment of the goddesses Allât, Al 'Huzzâ, and Manât. See Introduction, pp. xxvi and xxvii.

be seen unveiled. Slaves to be allowed to purchase their freedom. Slave girls not to be compelled to prostitute themselves. God the Light of the Heavens. Nothing keeps the believer from the service of God; but the unbeliever's works are like the mirage on a plain or like darkness on a deep sea. All nature is subject to God's control. Reproof to a sect who would not accept the prophet's arbitration. Actual obedience required rather than an oath that they will be obedient. Belief in the unity of God, steadfastness in prayer, and the giving of alms enjoined. Slaves and children not to be admitted into an apartment without asking permission, when the occupant is likely to be undressed. Rules for the social intercourse of women past child-bearing, and of the blind, lame, or sick. Persons in whose houses it is lawful to eat food. Salutations to be exchanged on entering houses. Behaviour of the Muslims towards the Apostle. He is to be more respectfully addressed than other people.

XXV. THE CHAPTER OF THE DISCRIMINATION. (Mecca.)

The 'Discrimination' sent down as a warning that God is one, the creator and governor of all; yet the Meccans call it 'old folks' tales:' they object that the prophet acts and lives as a mere mortal, or is crazy. Hell-fire shall be the punishment of those who disbelieve in the resurrection. Description of the judgment day. The Qurâis object that the Qur'ân was revealed piecemeal. Moses and Aaron and Noah were treated like Mohammed, but those who called them liars were punished: 'Âd and Thamûd perished for the same sin: the ruins of the cities of the plain are existing examples: yet they will not accept the prophet. God controls the shadow; gives night for a repose; quickens the dead earth with rain. He lets loose the two seas, but places a barrier between them. He has created man. He is the loving and merciful God. The Qurâis object to the 'Merciful' as a new God. The lowly and moderate are His servants: they abstain from idolatry, murder, false witness, and frivolous discourse. These shall be rewarded. God cares nothing for the rejection of his message by the infidels: their punishment shall be lasting.

. XXVI. THE CHAPTER OF THE POETS. (Mecca.)

Mohammed is not to be vexed by the people's unbelief. Though called a liar now, his cause shall triumph in the end. Moses sent

to Pharaoh: he fears lest he may be killed for slaying the Egyptian. Pharaoh charges him with ingratitude. Their dispute about God. Pharaoh claims godhead himself. The miracles of the rod and the 'white hand.' Moses' contest with the magicians: the magicians are conquered and believe: Pharaoh threatens them with condign punishment. The Israelites leave Egypt and are pursued. The passing of the Red Sea and destruction of Pharaoh and his hosts. The story of Abraham: he preaches against idolatry. Noah is called a liar and vindicated. Hûd preaches to the people of 'Âd, and Zâli'h to Thamûd: the latter hamstring the she-camel and perish. The crime and punishment of the people of Sodom. The people of the Grove and the prophet Sho'hâib. The Qur'ân revealed through the instrumentality of the Faithful Spirit (Gabriel), in plain Arabic. The learned Jews recognise its truth from the prophecies in their own Scriptures. The devils could not have brought it. Mohammed is to be meek towards believers and to warn his clansmen. Those upon whom the devils do descend, namely, the poets who 'wander distraught in every vale.'

XXVII. THE CHAPTER OF THE ANT. (Mecca.)

The Qur'ân a guidance to believers. God appears to Moses in the fire: Moses is sent to Pharaoh with signs, but is called a 'sorcerer.' David and Solomon endowed with knowledge. Solomon taught the speech of birds. His army of men, ginn, and birds marches through the valley of the ant. One ant bids the rest retire to their holes lest Solomon and his hosts crush them. Solomon smiles and answers her. He reviews the birds and misses the hoopoe, who, returning, brings news of the magnificence of the queen of Sheba. Solomon sends him back with a letter to the queen. A demon brings him her throne. She comes to Solomon; recognises her throne; marvels at the palace with a glass floor, which she mistakes for water: becomes a Muslim. Thamûd reject Zâli'h and perish. Lot is saved, while the people of Sodom are destroyed. The Lord the God of nature; the only God and creator. Certainty of the resurrection. The ruins of ancient cities an example. The Qur'ân decides disputed points for the Jews. Mohammed bidden to trust in God, for he cannot make the deaf to hear his message. The beast that shall appear at the resurrection. Terrors of the last day. The prophet bidden to worship 'the Lord of this land,' to recite the Qur'ân, and to become a Muslim.

XXVIII. THE CHAPTER OF THE STORY. (Mecca.)

The history of Moses and Pharaoh: the latter and his vizier Hâmân oppress the children of Israel. Moses is exposed on the river by his mother: he is adopted by Pharaoh: his sister watches him, and his mother is engaged to nurse him. He grows up and slays the Egyptian: flees to Midian: helps the two maidens to draw water: serves their father Sho'hâib for ten years and then marries his daughter. God appears to him in the fire in the holy valley of Zuvâ, in Sinai. Is sent with his brother Aaron to Pharaoh. Hâmân builds Pharaoh a high tower to ascend to the God of Moses. His punishment. Moses gives the law. These stories are proofs of Mohammed's mission. The Arabs reject the book of Moses and the Qur'ân as two impostures. Those who have the Scriptures recognise the truth of the Qur'ân. The Meccans warned by the example of the cities of old that have perished. Disappointment of the idolaters at the day of judgment. Helplessness of the idols before God. Qarûn's great wealth: the earth opens and swallows him up for his pride and his insolence to Moses. Mohammed encouraged in his faith and purpose.

XXIX. THE CHAPTER OF THE SPIDER. (Mecca.)

Believers must be proved. Kindness to be shown to parents; but they are not to be obeyed if they endeavour to lead their children to idolatry. The hypocrites stand by the Muslims only in success. The unbelievers try to seduce the believers by offering to bear their sins. Noah delivered from the deluge. Abraham preaches against idolatry. Is cast into the fire, but saved: flees from his native land: Isaac and Jacob born to him. Lot and the fate of the inhabitants of Sodom. Midian and their prophet Sho'hâib. 'Âd and Thamûd. Fate of Qarûn, Pharaoh, and Hâmân. Similitude of the spider. Mohammed bidden to rehearse the Qur'ân. Prayer enjoined. Those who have the Scriptures are to be mildly dealt with in disputation. They believe in the Qur'ân. Mohammed unable to read. Signs are only in the power of God. The idolaters reprov'd, and threatened with punishment. The believers promised reward. God provides for all. This world is but a sport. God saves men in dangers by sea, yet they are ungrateful. The territory of Mecca inviolable. Exhortation to strive for the faith.

XXX. THE CHAPTER OF THE GREEKS. (Mecca.)

Victory of the Persians over the Greeks: prophecy of the coming triumph of the latter. The Meccans warned by the fate of former cities. The idols shall forsake them at the resurrection: the believers shall enter Paradise. God is to be praised in the morning and evening and at noon and sunset. His creation of man and of the universe and His providence are signs. He is the incomparable Lord of all. Warning against idolatry and schism. Honesty inculcated and usury reprov'd. God only creates and kills. Corruption in the earth through sin. The fate of former idolaters. Exhortation to believe before the sudden coming of the judgment day. God's sending rain to quicken the earth is a sign of His power. Mohammed cannot make the deaf hear his message. Warning of the last day.

XXXI. THE CHAPTER OF LOQMÂN. (Mecca.)

The Qur'ân a guidance to believers. Denunciation of one who purchased Persian legends and preferred them to the Qur'ân. God in nature. Other gods can create nothing. Wisdom granted to Loqmân: his advice to his son. The obstinacy of the infidels rebuked. If the sea were ink and the trees pens they would not suffice to write the words of the Lord. God manifest in the night and day, in the sun and moon, and in rescuing men from dangers by sea. God only knows the future.

XXXII. THE CHAPTER OF ADORATION. (Mecca.)

The Qur'ân is truth from the Lord. God the creator and governor. The resurrection. Conduct of true believers when they hear the word: their reward: the punishment of misbelievers: description of hell. The people are exhorted to believe and are admonished by the fate of the ruined cities they see around them: they are warned of the judgment day.

XXXIII. THE CHAPTER OF THE CONFEDERATES. (Medînah.)

Mohammed is warned against the hypocrites. Wives divorced by the formula 'thou art henceforth to me like my mother's back' are not to be considered as real mothers and as such regarded as unlawful. Neither are adopted sons to be looked upon as real sons. The real ties of kinship and consanguinity are to supersede

the tie of sworn brotherhood¹. God's covenant with the prophets. Miraculous interference in favour of the Muslims when besieged by the confederate army at Medînah. Conduct of the 'hypocrites' on the occasion. Departure of the invaders. Siege and defeat of the Benu Qurâi'ah Jews: the men are executed: their women and children are sold into slavery and their property confiscated. Laws for the prophet's wives: they are to be discreet and avoid ostentation. Encouragement to the good and true believers of either sex. Vindication of Mohammed's conduct in marrying Zâinab the divorced wife of his freedman and adopted son Zâid (who is mentioned by name). No term need be observed in the case of women divorced before cohabitation. Peculiar privileges granted to Mohammed in the matter of women. Limitation of his license to take wives. Muslims are not to enter the prophet's house without permission: after eating they are to retire without inconveniencing him by familiar discourse: are to be very modest in their demeanour to his wives: are not to marry any of his wives after him. Those relations who are permitted to see them unveiled. God and His angels bless the prophet. Slander of misbelievers will be punished. The women are to dress modestly. Warning to the hypocrites and disaffected at Medînah. The fate of the infidels at the last judgment. Man alone of all creation undertook the responsibility of faith.

XXXIV. THE CHAPTER OF SEBÂ. (Mecca.)

The omniscience of God. Those who have received knowledge recognise the revelation. The unbelievers mock at Mohammed for preaching the resurrection. The birds and mountains sing praises with David: iron softened for him: he makes coats of mail. The wind subjected to Solomon: a fountain of brass made to flow for him: the ginns compelled to work for him: his death only discovered by means of the worm that gnawed the staff that supported his corpse. The prosperity of Sebâ: bursting of the dyke (el 'Arim) and ruin of the town. Helplessness of the false gods: they cannot intercede for their worshippers when assembled at the last day. Fate of the misbelievers on that day: the proud and the weak shall dispute as to which misled the others. The affluence of the Meccans will only increase their ruin. The angels shall disown the worshippers of false gods. The Meccans accuse

¹ See Introduction, p. xxxiv.

Mohammed of imposture; so did other nations deal with their prophets and were punished for it. Mohammed is cleared of the suspicion of insanity. The wretched plight of the misbelievers on the last day.

XXXV. THE CHAPTER OF THE ANGELS, OR, THE CREATOR.
(Mecca.)

Praise of God, who makes the angels his messengers. God's unity: apostles before Mohammed were accused of imposture. Punishment in store for the unbelievers. Mohammed is not to be vexed on their account. God sends rain to quicken the dead earth: this is a sign of the resurrection. The power of God shown in all nature: the helplessness of the idols. They will disclaim their worshippers at the resurrection. No soul shall bear the burden of another. Mohammed cannot compel people to believe: he is only a warner. Other nations have accused their prophets of imposture, and perished. Reward of the God-fearing, of believers, and of those who read and follow the Qur'ân: punishment of hell for the infidels. The idolaters shall be confounded on the judgment day. The Qurâis in spite of their promises and of the examples around them are more arrogant and unbelieving than other people. If God were to punish men as they deserve he would not leave so much as a beast on the earth; but He respites them for a time.

XXXVI. THE CHAPTER OF Y. S. (Mecca.)

Mohammed is God's messenger, and the Qur'ân is a revelation from God to warn a heedless people. The infidels are predestined not to believe. All men's works shall be recorded. The apostles of Jesus rejected at Antioch: 'Habîb en Naggâr exhorts the people to follow their advice: he is stoned to death by the populace: Gabriel cries out and the sinful people are destroyed. Men will laugh at the apostles who come to them; but they have an example in the nations who have perished before them. The quickening of the dead earth is a sign of the resurrection. God's power shown in the procreation of species. The alternation of night and day, the phases of the moon, the sun and moon in their orbits, are signs of God's power. So too the preservation of men in ships at sea. Almsgiving enjoined: the unbelievers jeer at the command. The sudden coming of the judgment day. Blessed

state of the believers in Paradise, and misery of the unbelievers in hell. Mohammed is no mere poet. The Qur'ân an admonition. God's providence. The false gods will not be able to help their worshippers. Proofs of the resurrection.

XXXVII. THE CHAPTER OF THE RANGED. (Mecca.)

Oath by the angels ranged in rank, by those who drive the clouds, and by those who rehearse the Qur'ân that God is one alone ! They guard the gates of heaven, and pelt the devils who would listen there with shooting-stars. Do the Meccans imagine themselves stronger than the angels that they mock at God's signs and deny the resurrection ? The false gods and the Meccans shall recriminate each other at the judgment day. They say now, ' Shall we leave our gods for a mad poet ? ' They shall taste hell-fire for their unbelief, while the believers are in Paradise. Description of the delights thereof : the maidens there : the blessed shall see their unbelieving former comrades in hell. Immortality of the blessed. Ez Zaqqûm the accursed tree in hell : horrors of that place. The posterity of Noah were blessed. Abraham mocks at and breaks the idols. He is condemned to be burnt alive, but is delivered : is commanded to offer up his son Ishmael as a sacrifice ; obeys, but his son is spared. His posterity is blessed. Moses and Aaron too left a good report behind them ; so too did Elias, who protested against the worship of Baal. Lot was saved. Jonas was delivered after having been thrown overboard and swallowed by a fish. The gourd. Jonas is sent to preach to the people of the city (of Nineveh). The Meccans rebuked for saying that God has daughters, and for saying that He is akin to the ginns. The angels declare that they are but the humble servants of God. The success of the prophet and the confusion of the infidels foretold.

XXXVIII. THE CHAPTER OF S. (Mecca.)

Oath by the Qur'ân. Example of former generations who perished for unbelief and for saying that their prophets were sorcerers and the Scriptures forgeries : the Meccans are warned thereby. Any hosts of the confederates shall be routed. Fate of the people of Noah, 'Âd, Pharaoh, Thamûd, and Lot : the Meccans must expect the same. Mohammed exhorted to be patient of what they say : he is reminded of the powers bestowed on David. The parable of the ewe lambs proposed to David by

the two antagonists. David exhorted not to follow lust. The heaven and earth were not created in vain as the misbelievers think : the Qur'ân a reminder. Solomon lost in admiration of his horses neglects his devotions, but repenting slays them. A ginn in Solomon's likeness is set on his throne to punish him : he repents, and prays God for a kingdom such as no one should ever possess again. The wind and the devils made subject to him. The patience of Job. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob : Elisha and Dhu 'l Kifl. Happiness of the righteous in Paradise. Misery and mutual recrimination of the wicked in hell. Mohammed only sent to warn people and proclaim God's unity. The creation of man and disobedience of Iblîs, who is expelled : he is respited till the judgment day that he may seduce people to misbelief. But he and those who follow him shall fill hell.

XXXIX. THE CHAPTER OF THE TROOPS. (Mecca.)

Rebuke to the idolaters who say they serve false gods as a means of access to God himself. The unity of God, the creator and controller of the universe. His independence and omnipotence. Ingratitude of man for God's help. Difference between the believers and unbelievers. Mohammed is called to sincerity of religion and to Islâm : he is to fear the torment at the judgment day if he disobeys the call. Hell-fire is prepared for the infidels. Paradise promised to those who avoid idolatry. The irrigation of the soil and the growth of corn are signs. The Qur'ân makes the skins of those who fear God creep. Threat of the judgment day. The Meccans are warned by the fate of their predecessors not to reject the Qur'ân. Parable showing the uncertain position of the idolaters. Mohammed not immortal. Warning to those who lie against God, and promise of reward to those who assert the truth. Mohammed is not to be frightened with the idols of the Meccans. Their helplessness demonstrated. The Qur'ân is a guide, but the prophet cannot compel men to follow it. Human souls are taken to God during sleep, and those who are destined to live on are sent back. No intercession allowed with God. The doctrine of the unity of God terrifies the idolaters. Prayer to God to decide between them. The infidels will regret on the resurrection day. Ingratitude of man for God's help in trouble. The Meccans are warned by the fate of their predecessors. Exhortation to repentance before it is too late. Salvation of the God-fearing. God the

creator and controller of everything. Description of the last judgment. All souls driven in troops to heaven or to hell.

XL. THE CHAPTER OF THE BELIEVER. (Mecca.)

Attributes of God. Mohammed encouraged by the fate of other nations who rejected their apostles. The angels' prayer for the believers. Despair in hell of the idolaters. The terrors of the judgment day. God alone the omniscient judge. The vestiges of former nations are still visible in the land to warn the people. The story of Moses and Pharaoh: the latter wishes to kill Moses; but a secret believer makes a long appeal: Pharaoh bids Hâmân construct a tower to mount up to the God of Moses. God saves the believer, and Pharaoh is ruined by his own devices. Mutual recrimination of the damned. Exhortation to patience and praise. Those who wrangle about God rebuked. The certain coming of the Hour. The unity of God asserted and His attributes enumerated. Idolatry forbidden. The conception, birth, life, and death of man. Idolaters shall find out their error in hell. Mohammed encouraged to wait for the issue. Cattle to ride on and to eat are signs of God's providence. The example of the nations who perished of old for rejecting the Apostle.

XLI. THE CHAPTER 'DETAILED.' (Mecca.)

The Meccans are called on to believe the Qur'ân. The creation of the heavens and the earth. Warning from the fate of 'Âd and Thamûd. The very skins of the unbelievers shall bear witness against them on the day of judgment. Punishment of those who reject the Qur'ân. The angels descend and encourage those who believe. Precept to return good for evil. Refuge to be sought with God against temptation from the devil. Against sun and moon worship. The angels praise God, though the idolaters are too proud to do so. The quickening of the earth with rain is a sign. The Qur'ân a confirmation of previous scriptures. If it had been revealed in a foreign tongue the people would have objected that they could not understand it, and that the prophet being an Arab should have had a revelation in his own language. Moses' scripture was also the subject of dispute. God is omniscient. The false gods will desert their worshippers at the resurrection. Man's ingratitude for God's help in trouble. God is sufficient witness of the truth.

XLII. THE CHAPTER OF COUNSEL. (Mecca.)

The Qur'ân inspired by God to warn 'the Mother of cities' of the judgment to come. God is one, the creator of all things, who provides for all. He calls men to the same religion as that of the prophets of old, which men have broken up into sects. Mohammed has only to proclaim his message. Those who argue about God shall be confuted. None knows when the Hour shall come but God. The idolaters shall only have their portion in this life. God will vindicate the truth of His revelation. His creation and providence signs of His power. Men's misfortunes by land and sea are due to their own sins. The provision of the next world is best for the righteous. It is not sinful to retaliate if wronged, though forgiveness is a duty. The sinners shall have none to help them on the day of judgment: they are exhorted to repent before it comes. Ingratitude of man. God controls all. No mortal has ever seen God face to face: He speaks to men only through inspiration or his apostles. This Qur'ân was revealed by a spirit to guide into the right way.

XLIII. THE CHAPTER OF GILDING. (Mecca.)

The original of the Qur'ân is with God. The example of the nations of old who mocked at the prophets. God the creator. Men are bidden to praise Him who provides man with ships and cattle whereon to ride. The Arabs are rebuked for attributing female offspring to God, when they themselves repine when a female child is born to any one of them. They are also blamed for asserting that the angels are females. The excuse that this was the religion of their fathers will not avail: it is the same as older nations made: their fate. Abraham disclaimed idolatry. The Meccans were permitted to enjoy prosperity only until the Apostle came; and now that he has come they reject him. They are reprov'd for saying that had the prophet been a man of consideration at Mecca and Tâ'if they would have owned him. Misbelievers would have had still more wealth and enjoyment, but that men would have then all become infidels. Those who turn from the admonition shall be chained to devils, who shall mislead them. God will take vengeance on them whether Mohammed live to see it or not: he is encouraged to persevere. Moses was mocked by Pharaoh, whom he was sent to warn. But Pharaoh and his people

were drowned. Answer to the Arabs who objected that Jesus too must come under the ban against false gods. But Jesus did not assume to be a god. Threat of the coming of the Hour. The joys of Paradise and the terrors of Hell. The damned shall beg Mâlik to make an end of them. The recording angels note down the secret plots of the infidels. God has no son: He is the Lord of all.

XLIV. THE CHAPTER OF SMOKE. (Mecca.)

Night of the revelation of the Qur'ân. Unity of God. Threat of the last day, when a smoke shall cover the heavens, and the unbelievers shall be punished for rejecting the prophet and saying he is taught by others or distracted. Fate of Pharaoh for rejecting Moses: fate of the people of Tubbâ'h. The judgment day: the tree Zaqqûm and the punishment of hell. Paradise and the virgins thereof. The Qur'ân revealed in Arabic for an admonition.

XLV. THE CHAPTER OF THE KNEELING. (Mecca.)

God revealed in nature: denunciation of the infidels: trading by sea a sign of God's providence. The law first given to Israel, then to Mohammed in the Qur'ân. Answer to the infidels who deny the resurrection, and warning of their fate on that day.

XLVI. THE CHAPTER OF EL A'HQÂF. (Mecca.)

God the only God and creator. The unbelievers call Mohammed a sorcerer or a forger. The book of Moses was revealed before, and the Qur'ân is a confirmation of it in Arabic. Conception, birth, and life of man. Kindness to parents and acceptance of Islâm enjoined. The misbelievers are warned by the example of 'Âd, who dwelt in A'hqâf; and by that of the cities whose ruins lie around Mecca. Allusion to the ginns who listened to Mohammed's preaching at Na'zleh on his return from Tâ'if. Warning to unbelievers of the punishment of the last day.

XLVII. THE CHAPTER OF MOHAMMED, ALSO CALLED FIGHT. (Medînah.)

Promise of reward to believers. Exhortation to deal severely with the enemy. Description of Paradise and of Hell. Reproof to some pretended believers and hypocrites who hesitate to obey the command to make war against the unbeliever. Their secret malice shall be revealed. Exhortation to believe, and to obey God and the Apostle, and sacrifice all for the faith.

XLVIII. THE CHAPTER OF VICTORY. (Medînah.)

Announcement of a victory¹. God comforts the believers and punishes the hypocrites and idolaters. The oath of fealty: the cowardice and excuses of the desert Arabs with regard to the expedition of El 'Hudâibîyeh. Those left behind wish to share the spoils gained at Khâibar. The incapacitated alone are to be excused. The oath of fealty at the Tree². God prevented a collision between the Meccans and the Muslims when the latter were prohibited from making the pilgrimage. Prophecy of the pilgrimage to be completed the next year.

XLIX. THE CHAPTER OF THE INNER CHAMBERS. (Medînah.)

Rebuke to some of the Muslims who had presumed too much in the presence of the Apostle, and of others who had called out rudely to him: also of a man who had nearly induced Mohammed to attack a tribe who were still obedient; of certain Muslims who contended together; of others who use epithets of abuse against each other; who entertain unfounded suspicions. Exhortation to obedience and reproof of the hypocrites.

L. THE CHAPTER OF Q. (Mecca.)

Proofs in nature of a future life. Example of the fate of the nations of old who rejected the apostles. Creation of man: God's proximity to him: the two recording angels: death and resurrection. The last judgment and exhortation to believe.

LI. THE CHAPTER OF THE SCATTERERS. (Mecca.)

Oaths by different natural phenomenon that the judgment day will come. Story of Abraham's entertaining the angels: the destruction of Sodom. Fate of Pharaoh, of 'Âd, of Thamûd, and of the people of Noah. Vindication of Mohammed against the charges of imposture or madness.

LII. THE CHAPTER OF THE MOUNT. (Mecca.)

Oath by Mount Sinai and other things. Terrors of the last day. Bliss of Paradise. Mohammed is neither a madman, soothsayer, poet, nor imposter. Reproof of the Meccans for their superstitions, and for proudly rejecting the prophet.

¹ See note to the passage in the translation.

² See Introduction, p. xl.

LIII. THE CHAPTER OF THE STAR. (Mecca.)

Oath by 'the star' that Mohammed's vision of his ascent to heaven was not a delusion. Description of the same. The amended passage relating to Allât, El 'Huzzah, and Manât¹. Wickedness of asserting the angels to be females. God's omniscience. Rebuke of an apostate who paid another to take upon him his burden at the judgment day. Definition of the true religion, and enumeration of God's attributes.

LIV. THE CHAPTER OF THE MOON. (Mecca.)

'The splitting asunder of the moon.' Mohammed accused of imposture. The Meccans warned by the stories of Noah and the deluge, of Thamûd, the people of Sodom, and Pharaoh. The sure coming of the judgment.

LV. THE CHAPTER OF THE MERCIFUL. (Mecca.)

An enumeration of the works of the Lord, ending with a description of heaven and hell. A refrain runs throughout this chapter, 'Which then of your Lord's bounties do ye twain deny?'

LVI. THE CHAPTER OF THE INEVITABLE. (Mecca.)

Terrors of the inevitable day of judgment: description of heaven and hell. Proofs in nature. None but the clean may touch the Qur'ân. The condition of a dying man.

LVII. THE CHAPTER OF IRON. (Medînah.)

God the controller of all nature. Exhortation to embrace Islâm. Those who do so before the taking of Mecca are to have the precedence. Discomfiture of the hypocrites and unbelievers at the last day. The powers vouchsafed to former apostles.

LVIII. THE CHAPTER OF THE WRANGLER. (Medînah.)

Abolition of the idolatrous custom of divorcing women with the formula 'thou art to me as my mother's back.' God's omniscience and omnipresence: He knows the secret plottings of the disaffected. Discourse on the duties of true believers. Denunciation of those who oppose the Apostle.

LIX. THE CHAPTER OF THE EMIGRATION. (Medînah.)

The chastisements of the Jews who would not believe in the

¹ See Introduction, pp. xxvi, xxvii.

Qur'ân. The division of the spoils. The treacherous conduct of the hypocrites. The power of the Qur'ân. God's mighty attributes.

LX. THE CHAPTER OF THE TRIED. (Medînah.)

Exhortations to the Muslims not to treat secretly with the Qurâis. Abraham's example. Other idolaters who have not borne arms against them may be made friends of. Women who desert from the infidels are to be tried before being received into Islâm; if they are really believers they are ipso facto divorced. The husbands are to be recompensed to the amount of the women's dowries.

LXI. THE CHAPTER OF THE RANKS. (Mecca.)

Believers are bidden to keep their word and to fight for the faith. Moses was disobeyed by his people. Jesus prophesies the coming of A'hmed: the Christians rebuked.

LXII. THE CHAPTER OF THE CONGREGATION. (Medînah.)

God has sent the 'illiterate prophet.' The Jews rebuked for unbelief. Muslims are not to leave the congregation during divine service for the sake of merchandise.

LXIII. THE CHAPTER OF THE HYPOCRITES. (Medînah.)

The treacherous designs of the hypocrites revealed.

LXIV. THE CHAPTER OF CHEATING. (Place of origin doubtful.)

God the creator: the resurrection: the unity of God. Wealth and children must not distract men from the service of God.

LXV. THE CHAPTER OF DIVORCE. (Medînah.)

The laws of divorce. The Arabs are admonished, by the fate of former nations, to believe in God. The seven stories of heaven and earth.

LXVI. THE CHAPTER OF PROHIBITION. (Medînah.)

The prophet is relieved from a vow he had made to please his wives. The jealousies in his harem occasioned by his intrigue with the Coptic slave-girl Mary. Exhortation to hostilities against the infidels. The example of the disobedient wives of Noah and Lot: and of the good wife of Pharaoh: and of the Virgin Mary.

LXVII. THE CHAPTER OF THE KINGDOM. (Mecca.)

God the lord of the heavens; the marvels thereof. The discomfiture of the misbelievers in Hell. The power of God exhibited in nature. Warnings and threats of punishment.

LXVIII. THE CHAPTER OF THE PEN (also called Nûn). (Mecca.)

Mohammed is neither mad nor an impostor. Denounced by an insolent opponent. Example from the fate of the owner of the 'gardens.' Unbelievers threatened. Mohammed exhorted to be patient and not to follow the example of Jonah.

LXIX. THE CHAPTER OF THE INFALLIBLE. (Mecca.)

The infallible judgment. Fate of those who denied it, of 'Âd, Thamûd, and Pharaoh. The deluge and the last judgment. Vindication of Mohammed from the charge of having forged the Qur'ân.

LXX. THE CHAPTER OF THE ASCENTS. (Mecca.)

An unbeliever mockingly calls for a judgment on himself and his companions. The terrors of the judgment day. Man's ingratitude. Adultery denounced. Certainty of the judgment day.

LXXI. THE CHAPTER OF NOAH. (Mecca.)

Noah's preaching to the antediluvians: their five idols also worshipped by the Arabs: their fate.

LXXII. THE CHAPTER OF THE GINN. (Mecca.)

A crowd of ginn listen to Mohammed's teaching at Na'zleh: their account of themselves. Mohammed exhorted to persevere in preaching.

LXXIII. THE CHAPTER OF THE ENWRAPPED. (Mecca.)

Mohammed when wrapped up in his mantle is bidden to arise and pray: is bidden to repeat the Qur'ân and to practise devotion by night: he is to bear with the unbelievers for a while. Pharaoh rejected the Apostle sent to him. Stated times for prayer prescribed. Almsgiving prescribed.

LXXIV. THE CHAPTER OF THE COVERED. (Mecca.)

Mohammed while covered up is bidden to arise and preach¹.

¹ This part of the sûrah is the second revelation after the appearance of the archangel Gabriel on Mount Hirâ; see Introduction, p. xx.

Denunciation of a rich infidel who mocks at the revelation. Hell and its nineteen angels. The infidels rebuked for demanding material scriptures as a proof of Mohammed's mission.

LXXV. THE CHAPTER OF THE RESURRECTION. (Mecca.)

The resurrection. Mohammed is bidden not to be hurried in repeating the Qur'ân so as to commit it to memory. Dying agony of an infidel.

LXXVI. THE CHAPTER OF MAN. (Mecca.)

Man's conception and birth. Unbelievers warned and believers promised a reward. Exhortation to charity. Bliss of the charitable in Paradise. The Qur'ân revealed by degrees. Only those believe whom God wills.

LXXVII. THE CHAPTER OF THOSE SENT. (Mecca.)

Oath by the angels who execute God's behests. Terrors of the last day. Hell and heaven.

LXXVIII. THE CHAPTER OF THE INFORMATION. (Mecca.)

Another description of the day of judgment, hell, and heaven.

LXXIX. THE CHAPTER OF THOSE WHO TEAR OUT. (Mecca.)

The coming of the day of judgment. The call of Moses. His interview with Pharaoh: chastisement of the latter. The creation and resurrection.

LXXX. THE CHAPTER 'HE FROWNED.' (Mecca.)

The prophet rebuked for frowning on a poor blind believer. The creation and resurrection.

LXXXI. THE CHAPTER OF THE FOLDING UP. (Mecca.)

Terrors of the judgment day. The female child who has been burned alive will demand vengeance. Allusion to the prophet's vision of Gabriel on Mount Hirâ. He is vindicated from the charge of madness.

LXXXII. THE CHAPTER OF THE CLEAVING ASUNDER. (Mecca.)

Signs of the judgment day. Guardian angels.

LXXXIII. THE CHAPTER OF THOSE WHO GIVE SHORT WEIGHT.
(Mecca.)

Fraudulent traders are warned. Siggîn, the register of the acts of the wicked. Hell and heaven.

LXXXIV. THE CHAPTER OF THE RENDING ASUNDER. (Mecca.)

Signs of the judgment day. The books of men's actions. The resurrection. Denunciation of misbelievers.

LXXXV. THE CHAPTER OF THE ZODIACAL SIGNS. (Mecca.)

Denunciation of those who persecuted believers. Example of the fate of Pharaoh and Thamûd.

LXXXVI. THE CHAPTER OF THE NIGHT STAR. (Mecca.)

By the night star! every soul has a guardian angel. Creation and resurrection of man. The plot of the infidels shall be frustrated.

LXXXVII. THE CHAPTER OF THE MOST HIGH. (Mecca.)

Mohammed shall not forget any of the revelation save what God pleases. The revelation is the same as that given to Abraham and Moses.

LXXXVIII. THE CHAPTER OF THE OVERWHELMING. (Mecca.)

Description of the last day, heaven, and hell.

LXXXIX. THE CHAPTER OF THE DAWN. (Mecca.)

Fate of previous nations who rejected the apostles. Admonition to those who rely too much on their prosperity.

XC. THE CHAPTER OF THE LAND. (Mecca.)

Exhortation to practise charity.

XCI. THE CHAPTER OF THE SUN. (Mecca.)

Purity of the soul brings happiness. Example of Thamûd.

XCH. THE CHAPTER OF THE NIGHT. (Mecca.)

Promise of reward to believers and of punishment to idolaters.

KCIII. THE CHAPTER OF THE FORENOON. (Mecca.)

Mohammed encouraged and bidden to remember how God has

cared for him hitherto; he is to be charitable in return, and to publish God's goodness.

XCIV. THE CHAPTER OF 'HAVE WE NOT EXPANDED?' (Mecca.)

God has made Mohammed's mission easier to him.

XCV. THE CHAPTER OF THE FIG. (Place of origin doubtful.)

The degradation of man: future reward and punishment.

XCVI. THE CHAPTER OF CONGEALED BLOOD. (Mecca.)

Mohammed's first call to 'Read' the Qur'ân. Denunciation of Abu Laheb for his opposition.

XCVII. THE CHAPTER OF 'POWER.' (Place of origin doubtful.)

The Qur'ân revealed on 'the night of power.' Its excellence: angels descend thereon.

XCVIII. THE CHAPTER OF THE MANIFEST SIGN. (Place of origin doubtful.)

Rebuke to Jews and Christians for doubting the manifest sign of Mohammed's mission.

XCIX. THE CHAPTER OF THE EARTHQUAKE. (Place of origin doubtful.)

The earthquake preceding the judgment day.

C. THE CHAPTER OF THE CHARGERS. (Mecca.)

Oath by the charging of war horses. Man is ungrateful: certainty of the judgment.

CI. THE CHAPTER OF THE SMITING. (Mecca.)

The terrors of the last day and of hell-fire.

CII. THE CHAPTER OF THE CONTENTION ABOUT NUMBERS.

(Place of origin doubtful.)

Two families of the Arabs rebuked for contending which was the more numerous. Warning of the punishment of hell.

CIII. THE CHAPTER OF THE AFTERNOON. (Mecca.)

Believers only shall prosper.

CIV. THE CHAPTER OF THE BACKBITER. (Mecca.)

Backbiters shall be cast into hell.

CV. THE CHAPTER OF THE ELEPHANT. (Mecca.)

The miraculous destruction of the Abyssinian army under Abrahah al Asram by birds when invading Mecca with elephants.

CVI. THE CHAPTER OF THE QURÂIS. (Mecca.)

The Qurâis are bidden to give thanks to God for the trade of their two yearly caravans.

CVII. THE CHAPTER OF 'NECESSARIES.' (Place of origin doubtful.)

Denunciation of the unbelieving and uncharitable.

CVIII. THE CHAPTER OF EL KÂUTHAR. (Mecca.)

Mohammed is commanded to offer the sacrifices out of his abundance. Threat that his enemies shall be childless.

CIX. THE CHAPTER OF THE MISBELIEVERS. (Mecca.)

The prophet will not follow the religion of the misbelievers.

CX. THE CHAPTER OF HELP. (Mecca.)

Prophecy that men shall join Islâm by troops.

CXI. THE CHAPTER OF ABU LAHEB. (Mecca.)

Denunciation of Abu Laheb and his wife, who are threatened with hell fire.

CXII. THE CHAPTER OF UNITY. (Place of origin doubtful.)

Declaration of God's unity.

CXIII. THE CHAPTER OF THE DAYBREAK. (Place of origin doubtful.)

The prophet seeks refuge in God from evil influences.

CXIV. THE CHAPTER OF MEN. (Place of origin doubtful.)

The prophet seeks refuge in God from the devil and his evil suggestions.

THE QUR'ÂN.

THE QUR'ÂN.

THE OPENING CHAPTER.

(I. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Praise belongs to God, the Lord of the worlds, the merciful, the compassionate, the ruler of the day of judgment! Thee we serve and Thee we ask for aid. [5] Guide us in the right path, the path of those Thou art gracious to¹; not of those Thou art wroth with; nor of those who err.

¹ See Preface.

THE CHAPTER OF THE HEIFER.

(II. Medina.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

A. L. M.¹ That ² is the book! there is no doubt therein; a guide to the pious, who believe in the unseen, and are steadfast in prayer, and of what we have given them expend in alms; who believe in what is revealed to thee, and what was revealed before thee, and of the hereafter they are sure. These are in guidance from their Lord, and these are the prosperous. [5] Verily, those who misbelieve, it is the same to them if ye warn them or if ye warn them not, they will not believe. God has set a seal upon their hearts and on their hearing; and on their eyes is dimness, and for them is grievous woe. And there are those among men who say, 'We believe in God and in the last day;' but they do not believe. They would deceive God and those who do believe; but they deceive only themselves and they do not perceive. In their hearts is a sickness, and God has made them still more sick, and for them is grievous woe because they lied. [10] And when it is said to them, 'Do not evil in the earth,' they say, 'We do but what is right.' Are not they the evildoers? and yet they do not perceive. And when it is said to them, 'Believe as other men believe,' they say, 'Shall we

¹ For an explanation of these and similar letters see Introduction.

² Although the Arabic demonstrative pronoun means 'that,' the translators have hitherto always rendered it 'this,' forgetting that it is not an address to the reader, but supposed to be Gabriel's words of inspiration to Mohammed while showing him the Umm al Kitâb—the 'Eternal original of the Qur'ân;' cf. Chapter X, which begins 'Read,' and others.

believe as fools believe?' Are not they themselves the fools? and yet they do not know. And when they meet those who believe, they say, 'We do believe;' but when they go aside with their devils, they say, 'We are with you; we were but mocking!' God shall mock at them and let them go on in their rebellion, blindly wandering on.

[15] Those who buy error for guidance, their traffic profits not, and they are not guided. Their likeness is as the likeness of one¹ who kindles a fire; and when it lights up all around, God goes off with their light, and leaves them in darkness that they cannot see. Deafness, dumbness, blindness, and they shall not return! Or like a storm-cloud from the sky, wherein is darkness and thunder and lightning; they put their fingers in their ears at the thunder-clap, for fear of death, for God encompasses the mis-believers. The lightning well-nigh snatches off their sight, whenever it shines for them they walk therein; but when it is dark for them they halt; and if God willed He would go off with their hearing and their sight; verily, God is mighty over all.

O ye folk! serve your Lord who created you and those before you; haply ye may fear! [20] who made the earth for you a bed and the heaven a dome; and sent down from heaven water, and brought forth therewith fruits as a sustenance for you; so make no peers for God, the while ye know!

And if ye are in doubt of what we have revealed unto our servant, then bring a chapter like it, and call your witnesses other than God if ye tell truth. But if ye do it not, and ye shall surely do it not, then

¹ This change of number is of frequent occurrence in the Qur'ân, and is not incompatible with the genius of the Arabic language.

fear the fire whose fuel is men and stones¹, prepared for misbelievers. But bear the glad tidings to those who believe and work righteousness, that for them are gardens beneath which rivers flow; whenever they are provided with fruit therefrom they say, 'This is what we were provided with before,' and they shall be provided with the like²; and there are pure wives for them therein, and they shall dwell therein for aye.

Why, God is not ashamed to set forth a parable of a gnat³, or anything beyond; and as for those who believe, they know that it is truth from the Lord; but as for those who disbelieve, they say, 'What is it that God means by this as a parable? He leads astray many and He guides many;'—but He leads astray only the evildoers; [25] who break God's covenant after the fixing thereof, and cut asunder what God has ordered to be joined, and do evil in the earth;—these it is who lose.

How can ye disbelieve in God, when ye were dead and He made you alive, and then He will kill you and then make you alive again, and then to Him will ye return? It is He who created for you all that is in the earth, then he made for the heavens and fashioned them seven heavens; and He knows all things.

And when thy Lord said unto the angels, 'I am about to place a vicegerent in the earth,' they said,

¹ That is, the idols.

² The vagueness is in the original; it is variously interpreted 'fruits like each other,' or 'like the fruits of earth.'

³ This is in answer to the objections that had been taken against the mention of such small things as the 'spider' and the 'bee,' which give their names to two of the chapters of the Qur'ân.

'Wilt Thou place therein one who will do evil therein and shed blood? [30] we celebrate Thy praise and hallow Thee.' Said (the Lord), 'I know what ye know not.' And He taught Adam the names, all of them; then He propounded them to the angels and said, 'Declare to me the names of these, if ye are truthful¹.' They said, 'Glory be to Thee! no knowledge is ours but what Thou thyself hast taught us, verily, Thou art the knowing, the wise.' Said the Lord, 'O Adam declare to them their names;' and when he had declared to them their names He said, 'Did I not say to you, I know the secrets of the heavens and of the earth, and I know what ye show and what ye were hiding?' And when we said to the angels, 'Adore Adam,' they adored him save only Iblis, who refused and was too proud and became one of the misbelievers. And we said, 'O Adam dwell, thou and thy wife, in Paradise, and eat therefrom amply as you wish; but do not draw near this tree or ye will be of the transgressors. And Satan made them backslide therefrom and drove them out from what they were in, and we said, 'Go down, one of you the enemy of the other, and in the earth there is an abode and a provision for a time.' [35] And Adam caught certain words from his Lord, and He turned towards him, for He is the compassionate one easily turned. We said, 'Go down therefrom altogether and haply there may come from me a guidance, and whoso follows my guidance, no fear is theirs, nor shall they grieve.

¹ That is, truthful in their implied suggestion that man would be inferior to themselves in wisdom and obedience. The whole tradition here alluded to of the creation accords with the Talmudic legends, and was probably current among the Jewish Arab tribes.

But those who misbelieve, and call our signs lies, they are the fellows of the Fire, they shall dwell therein for aye.'

O ye children of Israel! remember my favours which I have favoured you with; fulfil my covenant and I will fulfil your covenant; me therefore dread. Believe in what I have revealed, verifying what ye have got, and be not the first to disbelieve in it, and do not barter my signs for a little price, and me do ye fear. Clothe not truth with vanity, nor hide the truth the while ye know. [40] Be steadfast in prayer, give the alms, and bow down with those who bow. Will ye order men to do piety and forget yourselves? ye read the Book, do ye not then understand? Seek aid with patience and prayer, though it is a hard thing save for the humble, who think that they will meet their Lord, and that to Him will they return.

O ye children of Israel! remember my favours which I have favoured you with, and that I have preferred you above the worlds. Fear the day wherein no soul shall pay any recompense for another soul, [45] nor shall intercession be accepted for it, nor shall compensation be taken from it, nor shall they be helped.

When we saved you from Pharaoh's people who sought to wreak you evil and woe, slaughtering your sons and letting your women live; in that was a great trial for you from your Lord. When we divided for you the sea and saved you and drowned Pharaoh's people while ye looked on. When we treated with Moses forty nights, then ye took the calf after he had gone and ye did wrong. Yet then we forgave you after that; perhaps ye

may be grateful. [50] And when we gave Moses the Scriptures and the Discrimination; perhaps ye will be guided. When Moses said to his people, 'O my people! Ye have wronged yourselves in taking this calf; repent unto your Creator and kill each other¹; that will be better for you in your Creator's eyes; and He turned unto you, for He is the compassionate one easily turned.' And when ye said to Moses, 'O Moses! we will not believe in thee until we see God manifestly,' and the thunderbolt caught you while ye yet looked on. Then we raised you up after your death; perhaps ye may be grateful. And we overshadowed you with the cloud, and sent down the manna and the quails; 'Eat of the good things we have given you.' They did not wrong us, but it was themselves they were wronging. [55] And when we said, 'Enter this city² and eat therefrom as plentifully as ye wish; and enter the gate worshipping and say 'hi//tatun³. So will we pardon you your sins and give increase unto those who do well.'

But those who did wrong changed it for another⁴ word than that which was said to them: and we sent down upon those who did wrong, wrath from heaven for that they had so sinned.

¹ Cf. Exodus xxxii. 24, 26, 27.

² According to some commentators, Jerusalem; and according to others, Jericho.

³ The word means Remission, or laying down the burden (of sins).

⁴ Some say the expression they used was habbah fi sha'hfrah, 'a grain in an ear of barley,' the idea being apparently suggested by the similarity between the words 'hi//ah, as given above, and 'hin/ah, 'a grain of wheat.' The commentators add that they crept in in an indecent posture instead of entering reverently as they were bidden.

When Moses, too, asked drink for his people and we said, 'Strike with thy staff the rock,' and from it burst forth twelve springs; each man among them knew his drinking place. 'Eat and drink of what God has provided, and transgress not on the earth as evildoers.'

And when they said, 'O Moses, we cannot always bear one kind of food; pray then thy Lord to bring forth for us of what the earth grows, its green herbs, its cucumbers, its garlic, its lentils, and its onions.' Said he, 'Do ye ask what is meaner instead of what is best? Go down to Egypt,—there is what ye ask.' Then were they smitten with abasement and poverty, and met with wrath from God. That was because they had misbelieved in God's signs and killed the prophets undeservedly; that was for that they were rebellious and had transgressed.

Verily, whether it be of those who believe, or those who are Jews or Christians or Sabæans, whosoever believe in God and the last day and act aright, they have their reward at their Lord's hand, and there is no fear for them, nor shall they grieve.

[60] And when we took a covenant with you and held the mountain over you¹; 'Accept what we have brought you with strong will, and bear in mind what is therein, haply ye yet may fear.'

Then did ye turn aside after this, and were it not for God's grace towards you and His mercy, ye would have been of those who lose. Ye know too of those among you who transgressed upon the

¹ The Mohammedan legend is that this was done by the angel Gabriel to terrify the people into obedience.

Sabbath, and we said, 'Become ye apes, despised and spurned¹.'

Thus we made them an example unto those who stood before them, and those who should come after them, and a warning unto those who fear.

And when Moses said to his people, 'God bids you slaughter a cow²,' they said, 'Art thou making a jest of us?' Said he, 'I seek refuge with God from being one of the unwise.' They said, 'Then pray thy Lord for us to show us what she is to be.' He answered, 'He saith it is a cow, nor old, nor young, of middle age between the two; so do as ye are bid.' [65] They said, 'Pray now thy Lord to show us what her colour is to be.' He answered, 'He saith it is a dun cow, intensely dun, her colour delighting those who look upon her.'

Again they said, 'Pray thy Lord to show us what she is to be; for cows appear the same to us; then we, if God will, shall be guided.' He answered, 'He saith, it is a cow, not broken in to plough the earth or irrigate the tilth, a sound one with no blemish on her.' They said, 'Now hast thou brought the truth.' And they slaughtered her, though they came near leaving it undone.

When too ye slew a soul and disputed thereupon, and God brought forth that which ye had hidden, then we said, 'Strike him with part of her.' Thus

¹ The tradition is that some inhabitants of Elath (Akabah) were transformed into apes for catching fish on the Sabbath in David's time. Other commentators say that the expression is only figurative.

² The legend embodied in this passage and what follows appears to be a distorted account of the heifer ordered by the Mosaic law to be slain in expiation of a murder, the perpetrator of which had not been discovered. Deut. xxi. 1-9.

God brings the dead to life and shows you His signs, that haply ye may understand.

Yet were your hearts hardened even after that, till they were as stones or harder still, for verily of stones are some from which streams burst forth, and of them there are some that burst asunder and the water issues out, and of them there are some that fall down for fear of God; but God is never careless of what ye do.

[70] Do ye crave that they should believe you when already a sect of them have heard the word of God and then perverted it¹ after they had understood it, though they knew?

And when they meet those who believe they say, 'We believe,' but when one goes aside with another they say, 'Will ye talk to them of what God has opened up to you, that they may argue with you upon it before your Lord? Do ye not therefore understand?' Do they not then know that God knoweth what they keep secret and what they make known abroad?

And some of them there are, illiterate folk, that know not the Book, but only idle tales; for they do but fancy. But woe to those who write out the Book with their hands and say 'this is from' God; to buy therewith a little price! and woe to them for what their hands have written, and woe to them for what they gain!

And then they say, 'Hell fire shall not touch us save for a number of days².' Say, 'Have ye taken a covenant with God?' but God breaks not His

¹ A constant charge against the Jews is that of having corrupted the Scriptures.

² A superstition of certain Jews.

covenant. Or do ye say of God that which ye do not know?

[75] Yea! whoso gains an evil gain, and is encompassed by his sins, those are the fellows of the Fire, and they shall dwell therein for aye! But such as act aright, those are the fellows of Paradise, and they shall dwell therein for aye!

And when we took from the children of Israel a covenant, saying, 'Serve ye none but God, and to your two parents show kindness, and to your kindred and the orphans and the poor, and speak to men kindly, and be steadfast in prayer, and give alms;' and then ye turned back, save a few of you, and swerved aside.

And when we took a covenant from you, 'shed ye not your kinsman's blood, nor turn your kinsmen out of their homes¹:' then did ye confirm it and were witnesses thereto. Yet ye were those who slay your kinsmen and turn a party out of their homes, and back each other up against them with sin and enmity. But if they come to you as captives ye ransom them!—and yet it is as unlawful for you to turn them out. Do ye then believe in part of the Book and disbelieve in part? But the reward of such among you as do that shall be nought else but disgrace in this worldly life, and on the day of the resurrection shall they be driven to the most grievous torment, for God is not unmindful of what ye do.

[80] Those who have bought this worldly life with the Future, the torment shall not be lightened from them nor shall they be helped.

¹ Alluding to some quarrels among the Jewish Arabs.

We gave Moses the Book and we followed him up with other apostles, and we gave Jesus the son of Mary manifest signs and aided him with the Holy Spirit. Do ye then, every time an apostle comes to you with what your souls love not, proudly scorn him, and charge a part with lying and slay a part?

They say, 'Our hearts are uncircumcised;' nay, God has cursed them in their unbelief, and few it is who do believe. And when a book came down from God confirming what they had with them, though they had before prayed for victory over those who misbelieve, yet when that came to them¹ which they knew, then they disbelieved it,—God's curse be on the misbelievers.

For a bad bargain have they sold their souls, not to believe in what God has revealed, grudging because God sends down of His grace on whomsoever of His servants He will; and they have brought on themselves wrath after wrath and for the misbelievers is there shameful woe.

[85] And when they are told to believe in what God has revealed, they say, 'We believe in what has been revealed to us;' but they disbelieve in all beside, although it is the truth confirming what they have. Say, 'Wherefore did ye kill God's prophets of yore if ye were true believers?'

Moses came to you with manifest signs, then ye took up with the calf when he had gone and did so wrong. And when we took a covenant with you and raised the mountain over you, 'Take what we have given you with resolution and hear;'

¹ The Qur'ân,

they said, 'We hear but disobey;' and they were made to drink the calf down into their hearts for their unbelief¹. Say, 'An evil thing is it which your belief bids you do, if ye be true believers.' Say, 'If the abode of the future with God is yours alone and not mankind's: long for death then if ye speak the truth.' But they will never long for it because of what their hands have sent on before; but God is knowing as to the wrong doers.

[90] Why, thou wilt find them the greediest of men for life; and of those who associate others with God one would fain live for a thousand years,—but he will not be reprieved from punishment by being let live, for God seeth what they do.

Say, 'Who is an enemy to Gabriel²?' for he hath revealed to thy heart, with God's permission, confirmation of what had been before, and a guidance and glad tidings to believers. Who is an enemy to God and His angels and His apostles and Gabriel and Michael?—Verily, God is an enemy to the unbelievers. We have sent down to thee conspicuous signs, and none will disbelieve therein except the evildoers. Or every time they make a covenant, will a part of them repudiate it? Nay, most of them do not believe.

[95] And when there comes to them an apostle confirming what they have, a part of those who have received the Book repudiate God's book, casting it behind their backs as though they did not

¹ Exodus xxxii. 20.

² The Jews objected to Mohammed's assertion that the archangel Gabriel revealed the Qur'ân to him, saying that he was an avenging angel, and that had it been Michael, their own guardian angel (Dan. xii. 1), they would have believed.

know. And they follow that, which the devils recited against Solomon's kingdom;—it was not Solomon who misbelieved¹, but the devils who misbelieved, teaching men sorcery,—and what has been revealed to the two angels at Babylon, Hârût and Mârût²; yet these taught no one until they said, 'We are but a temptation, so do not misbelieve.' Men learn from them only that by which they may part man and wife; but they can harm no one therewith, unless with the permission of God, and they learn what hurts them and profits them not. And yet they knew that he who purchased it would have no portion in the future; but sad is the price at which they have sold their souls, had they but known. But had they believed and feared, a reward from God were better, had they but known.

O ye who believe! say not 'rá'hinâ,' but say 'unthurnâ³,' and hearken; for unto misbelievers shall be grievous woe.

They who misbelieve, whether of those who have the Book or of the idolaters, would fain that no good were sent down to you from your Lord; but God specially favours with His mercy whom He will, for God is Lord of mighty grace.

[100] Whatever verse we may annul or cause thee

¹ Solomon's acts of disobedience and idolatry are attributed by Muslim tradition to the tricks of devils, who assumed his form.

² Two angels who having fallen in love with daughters of men (Gen. vi. 2) were condemned to hang in chains in a pit at Babylon, where they teach men magic.

³ The Jewish Arabs used the first of these two words derisively. In Arabic it merely means 'observe us,' but the Jews connected it with the Hebrew root *rû'há*, 'to be mischievous.' *Unthurnâ* signifies 'behold us.'

to forget, we will bring a better one than it, or one like it; dost thou not know that God is mighty over all? Dost thou not know that God's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth? nor have ye besides God a patron or a help.

Do ye wish to question your apostle as Moses was questioned aforetime? but whoso takes misbelief in exchange for faith has erred from the level road.

Many of those who have the Book would fain turn you back into misbelievers after ye have once believed, through envy from themselves, after the truth has been made manifest to them; but pardon and shun them till God brings His command; verily, God is mighty over all.

Be ye steadfast in prayer, and give alms; and whatsoever good ye send before for your own souls, ye shall find it with God, for God in all ye do doth see.

[105] They say, 'None shall enter Paradise save such as be Jews or Christians;' that is their faith. Say thou, 'Bring your proofs, if ye be speaking truth.'

Aye, he who resigns¹ his face to God, and who is kind, he shall have his reward from his Lord, and no fear shall be on them, and they shall not grieve.

The Jews say, 'The Christians rest on nought;' and the Christians say, 'The Jews rest on nought;' and yet they read the Book. So, too, say those who know not, like to what these say; but God shall judge between them on the resurrection day concerning that whereon they do dispute.

¹ The word resignation (Islâm) is that by which Mohammed's religion is known and by which it is spoken of in the Qur'ân.

But who is more unjust than he who prohibits God's mosques¹, that His name should not be mentioned there, and who strives to ruin them? 'Tis not for such to enter into them except in fear, for them is disgrace in this world, and in the future mighty woe.

God's is the east and the west, and wherever ye turn there is God's face; verily, God comprehends and knows.

[110] They say, 'God takes unto Himself a son.' Celebrated be His praise²! Nay, His is what is in the heavens and the earth, and Him all things obey. The Originator of the heavens and the earth, when He decrees a matter He doth but say unto it, 'BE,' and it is.

And those who do not know (the Scriptures) say, 'Unless God speak to us, or there comes a sign.' So spake those before them like unto their speech. Their hearts are all alike. We have made manifest the signs unto a people that are sure.

We have sent thee with the truth, a bearer of good tidings and of warning, and thou shalt not be questioned as to the fellows of hell.

The Jews will not be satisfied with thee, nor yet the Christians, until thou followest their creed. Say, 'God's guidance is the guidance;' and if thou followest their lusts after the knowledge that has come to thee, thou hast not then from God a patron or a help.

[115] They to whom we have brought the Book

¹ Probably alluding to the occasion on which the Meccans prevented Mohammed from using the Kaabah, in the sixth year of the Higraph.

² I.e. God forbid!

and who read it as it should be read, believe therein; and whoso disbelieve therein, 'tis they who lose thereby.

O children of Israel! remember my favours with which I favoured you, and that I have preferred you over the worlds. And fear the day when no soul shall pay a recompense for a soul, nor shall an equivalent be received therefrom, nor any intercession avail; and they shall not be helped.

And when his Lord tried Abraham with words, and he fulfilled them, He said, 'Verily, I will set thee as a high priest¹ for men.' Said he, 'And of my seed?' God said, 'My covenant touches not the evildoers.'

And when we made the House² a place of resort unto men, and a sanctuary, and (said) take the station of Abraham³ for a place of prayer; and covenanted with Abraham and Ishmael, saying, 'Do ye two cleanse my house for those who make the circuit, for those who pay devotions there, for those who bow down, and for those too who adore.'

[120] When Abraham said, 'Lord, make this a town of safety, and provide the dwellers there with fruits, such as believe in God and the last day!' (God) said, 'And he who misbelieves, I will give him but little to enjoy, then will I drive him to the torment of the fire, an evil journey will it be.'

¹ Imâm, the name given to the priest who leads the prayer, it is equivalent to Antistes.

² The Kaabah or square temple at Mecca is spoken of as Bâit Allâh=Bethel, 'the house of God.'

³ The Muqâm Ibrahîm, in the Kaabah enclosure, where a so-called footprint of the patriarch is shown.

And when Abraham raised up the foundations of the House with Ishmael, 'Lord! receive it from us, verily, thou art hearing and dost know. Lord! and make us too resigned¹ unto Thee, and of our seed also a nation resigned unto Thee, and show us our rites, and turn towards us, verily, Thou art easy to be turned and merciful. Lord! and send them an apostle from amongst themselves, to read to them Thy signs and teach them the Book and wisdom, and to purify them; verily, Thou art the mighty and the wise.'

Who is averse from the faith of Abraham save one who is foolish of soul? for we have chosen him in this world, and in the future he is surely of the righteous.

[125] When his Lord said to him, 'Be resigned,' he said, 'I am resigned¹ unto the Lord of the worlds.'

And Abraham instructed his sons therein, and Jacob (saying), 'O my sons! verily, God has chosen for you a religion, do not therefore die unless ye be resigned¹.'

Were ye then witnesses when Jacob was facing death, when he said to his sons, 'What will ye serve when I am gone?' They said, 'We will serve thy God, the God of thy fathers Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, one God; and we are unto Him resigned.'

That is a nation that has passed away, theirs is what they gained; and yours shall be what ye have gained; ye shall not be questioned as to that which they have done.

¹ See note, p. 15. The last sentence might be rendered 'until ye become Muslims.'

They say, 'Be ye Jews or Christians so shall ye be guided.' Say, 'Not so! but the faith of Abraham the 'Hanîf¹, he was not of the idolaters.'

[130] Say ye, 'We believe in God, and what has been revealed to us, and what has been revealed to Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the Tribes, and what was brought to Moses and Jesus, and what was brought unto the Prophets from their Lord; we will not distinguish between any one of them, and unto Him are we resigned.'

If they believe in that in which ye believe, then are they guided; but if they turn back, then are they only in a schism, and God will suffice thee against them, for He both hears and knows.

The dye² of God! and who is better than God at dyeing? and we are worshippers of Him.

Say, 'Do ye dispute with us concerning God, and He is our Lord and your Lord? Ye have your works and we have ours, and unto Him are we sincere.'

Do ye say that Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the Tribes were Jews or Christians? Say, 'Are ye more knowing than God? Who is more unjust than one who conceals a testimony that he has from God?' But God is not careless of what ye do.

[135] That is a nation that has passed away; theirs is what they gained, and yours shall be what ye have gained; ye shall not be questioned as to that which they have done.

¹ The word means in Arabic 'inclining to what is right;' it is often used technically for one who professes El Islâm.

² The metaphor is derived from dyeing cloth, and must not be translated by the technical word baptism, as in Sale's version.

The fools among men will say, 'What has turned them from their qiblah¹, on which they were agreed?'

Say, 'God's is the east and the west, He guides whom He will unto the right path².' Thus have we made you a middle nation, to be witnesses against men, and that the Apostle may be a witness against you.

We have not appointed the qiblah on which thou wert agreed, save that we might know who follows the Apostle from him who turns upon his heels; although it is a great thing save to those whom God doth guide. But God will not waste your faith, for verily, God with men is kind and merciful.

We see thee often turn about thy face in the heavens, but we will surely turn thee to a qiblah thou shalt like. Turn then thy face towards the Sacred Mosque³; wherever ye be, turn your faces towards it; for verily, those who have the Book know that it is the truth from their Lord;—God is not careless of that which ye do.

[140] And if thou shouldst bring to those who have been given the Book every sign, they would not follow your qiblah; and thou art not to follow their qiblah; nor do some of them follow the qiblah of the others: and if thou followest their lusts after the knowledge that has come to thee then art thou of the evildoers.

¹ The point to which they turn in prayer, from qabala, 'to be before.'

² At first Mohammed and his followers adopted no point of adoration. After the higrâh, or flight from Mecca to Medina, however, he bade them turn their face, as did the Jews, to the temple at Jerusalem; but in the second year of the higrâh he resumed the ancient Arab plan, and turned to the Kaabah at Mecca when he prayed.

³ I. e. at Mecca.

Those whom we have given the Book know him¹ as they know their sons, although a sect of them do surely hide the truth, the while they know.

The truth (is) from thy Lord; be not therefore one of those who doubt thereof.

Every sect has some one side to which they turn (in prayer); but do ye hasten onwards to good works; wherever ye are God will bring you all together²; verily, God is mighty over all.

From whencesoever thou comest forth, there turn thy face towards the Sacred Mosque, for it is surely truth from thy Lord; God is not careless about what ye do. [145] And from whencesoever thou comest forth, there turn thy face towards the Sacred Mosque, and wheresoever ye are, turn your faces towards it, that men may have no argument against you, save only those of them who are unjust; and fear them not, but fear me and I will fulfil my favours to you, perchance ye may be guided yet.

Thus have we sent amongst you an apostle of yourselves, to recite to you our signs, to purify you and teach you the Book and wisdom, and to teach you what ye did not know; remember me, then, and I will remember you; thank me, and do not misbelieve³.

O ye who do believe! seek aid from patience and from prayer, verily, God is with the patient. And say not of those who are slain in God's way⁴ (that they are) dead, but rather living; but ye do not perceive.

¹ I. e. know Mohammed from the prophecies the Scriptures are alleged to contain about him. See Introduction.

² On the last day.

³ Or rather be not ungrateful, the word *Kufr* implying negation of benefits received as well as of faith.

⁴ I. e. in the cause of religion.

[150] We will try you with something of fear, and hunger and loss of wealth, and souls and fruit; but give good tidings to the patient, who when there falls on them a calamity say, 'Verily, we are God's and, verily, to Him do we return¹.' These, on them are blessings from their Lord and mercy, and they it is who are guided.

Verily, Zafâ and Merwah² are of the beacons of God, and he who makes the pilgrimage unto the House, or visits it, it is no crime for him to compass them both about; and he who obeys his own impulse to a good work,—God is grateful and doth know.

Verily, those who hide what we have revealed of manifest signs and of guidance after we have manifested it to men in the Book, them God shall curse, and those who curse shall curse them too. [155] Save those who turn and do right and make (the signs) manifest; these will I turn to again, for I am easy to be turned and merciful.

Verily, those who misbelieve and die while still in misbelief, on them is the curse of God, and of the angels, and of mankind altogether; to dwell therein for aye; the torment shall not be lightened for them, nor shall they be looked upon³.

Your God is one God; there is no God but He, the merciful, the compassionate.

Verily, in the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the alternation of night and day, and in the ship that runneth in the sea with that which profits man, and in what water God sends down from heaven and

¹ This formula is always used by Mohammedans in any danger and sudden calamity, especially in the presence of death.

² Two mountains near Mecca, where two idols used to stand.

³ Or, 'respited,' as some interpret it.

quicken therewith the earth after its death, and spreads abroad therein all kinds of cattle, and in the shifting of the winds, and in the clouds that are pressed into service betwixt heaven and earth, are signs to people who can understand.

[160] Yet are there some amongst mankind who take to themselves peers¹ other than God; they love them as they should love God; while those who believe love God more. O that those who are unjust could only see, when they see the torment, that power is altogether God's! Verily, God is keen to torment.

When those who are followed² clear themselves of those who followed them, and see the torment, and the cords³ are cut asunder, those who followed shall say, 'Had we but another turn⁴, then would we clear ourselves of them as they have cleared themselves of us.' So will God show them their works; for them are sighs, and they shall not come forth from out the fire.

O ye folk! eat of what is in the earth, things lawful and things good, and follow not the footsteps of Satan, verily, to you he is an open foe. He does but bid you evil and sin, and that ye should speak against God what ye do not know.

[165] When it is said to them, 'Follow what God has revealed,' they say, 'Nay, we will follow what we found our fathers agreed upon.' What! and though their fathers had no sense at all or guidance—?

The likeness of those who misbelieve is as the likeness of him who shouts to that which hears him

¹ Variouslly interpreted 'idols' and 'chiefs.'

² Chiefs of sects and founders of false religions.

³ I. e. their mutual relations.

⁴ I. e. on earth.

not, save only a call and a cry¹; deafness, dumbness, blindness, and they shall not understand.

O ye who do believe! eat of the good things wherewith we have provided you, and give thanks unto God if it be Him ye serve. He has only forbidden for you what is dead, and blood, and flesh of swine, and whatsoever has been consecrated to other than God²; but he who is forced, neither revolting nor transgressing, it is in no sin for him; verily, God is forgiving and merciful.

Verily, those who hide what God has revealed of the Book, and sell it for a little price, they shall eat nothing in their bellies save fire; and God will not speak to them on the day of resurrection, nor will He purify them, but for them is grievous woe.

[170] They who sell guidance for error, and pardon for torment, how patient must they be of fire!

That (is), because God has revealed the Book with truth, and verily those who disagree about the Book are in a wide schism.

Righteousness is not that ye turn your faces towards the east or the west, but righteousness is, one who believes in God, and the last day, and the angels, and the Book, and the prophets, and who gives wealth for His love to kindred, and orphans, and the poor, and the son of the road³, and beggars, and those in captivity; and who is steadfast in prayer, and gives alms; and those who are sure of

¹ I. e. as cattle hear the sound of the drover without understanding the meaning of his words, so the infidels fail to comprehend the meaning and importance of the words that are preached to them.

² At the time of slaughtering an animal the Muslims always repeat the formula *bismi'llâh*, in the name of God.

³ I. e. the wayfarer.

their covenant when they make a covenant; and the patient in poverty, and distress, and in time of violence; these are they who are true, and these are those who fear.

O ye who believe! Retaliation is prescribed for you for the slain: the free for the free, the slave for the slave, the female for the female; yet he who is pardoned at all by his brother, must be prosecuted in reason, and made to pay with kindness¹.

That is an alleviation from your Lord, and a mercy; and he who transgresses after that for him is grievous woe.

[175] For you in retaliation is there life, O ye possessors of minds! it may be ye will fear.

It is prescribed for you that when one of you is face to face with death, if he leave (any) goods, the legacy is to his parents, and to his kinsmen, in reason. A duty this upon all those that fear.

But he who alters it² after that he has heard it,—the sin thereof is only upon those who alter it; verily, God doth hear and know.

And he who fears from the testator a wrong intention, or a crime, and doth make up the matter between the parties, it is no sin to him; verily, God is forgiving and merciful.

O ye who believe! There is prescribed for you the fast as it was prescribed for those before you; haply ye may fear. [180] A certain number of days, but he amongst you who is ill or on a journey, then (let him fast) another number of days. And

¹ The relations of a murdered man are always allowed to choose the fine instead of the blood revenge.

² The legacy.

those who are fit to fast¹ may redeem it by feeding a poor man; but he who follows an impulse to a good work it is better for him; and if ye fast it is better for you, if ye did but know.

The month of *Ramadhân*, wherein was revealed the *Qur'ân*, for a guidance to men, and for manifestations of guidance, and for a Discrimination. And he amongst you who beholds this month² then let him fast it; but he who is sick or on a journey, then another number of days;—God desires for you what is easy, and desires not for you what is difficult,—that ye may complete the number, and say, 'Great is God,' for that He has guided you; haply ye may give thanks.

When my servants ask thee concerning me, then, verily, I am near; I answer the prayer's prayer whene'er he prays to me. So let them ask me for an answer, and let them believe in me; haply they may be directed aright.

Lawful for you on the night of the fast is commerce with your wives; they are a garment unto you, and ye a garment unto them. God knows that ye did defraud yourselves, wherefore He has turned towards you and forgiven you; so now go in unto them and crave what God has prescribed for you, and eat and drink until a white thread can be distinguished by you from a black one at the dawn. Then fulfil the fast until the night, and go not in unto them, and ye at your devotions in the mosques the while. These are the bounds that God has set, so draw not near thereto. Thus does God make

¹ I. e. able to fast but do not.

² I. e. who is at home during the month *Ramadhân* and not on a journey, or in a place where it is impossible to keep the fast.

manifest His signs to men, that haply they may fear.

Devour not your wealth among yourselves vainly, nor present it to the judges that ye may devour a part of the wealth of men sinfully, the while ye know.

[185] They will ask thee about the phases of the moon; say, 'They are indications of time for men and for the pilgrimage.' And it is not righteousness that ye should enter into your houses from behind them¹, but righteousness is he who fears; so enter into your houses by the doors thereof and fear God; haply ye may prosper yet.

Fight in God's way² with those who fight with you, but transgress³ not; verily, God loves not those who do transgress.

Kill them wherever ye find them, and drive them out from whence they drive you out; for sedition is worse than slaughter; but fight them not by the Sacred Mosque until they fight you there; then kill them, for such is the recompense of those that misbelieve.

But if they desist, then, verily, God is forgiving and merciful.

But fight them that there be no sedition and that the religion may be God's; but, if they desist, then let there be no hostility save against the unjust.

[190] The sacred month for the sacred month⁴;

¹ The Arabs before Mohammed's time had a superstition that it was unlucky to enter their houses by the doors on their return from Mecca, so they made holes in the hinder walls to enter in by instead.

² Or, 'cause,' see note 4, p. 21.

³ By beginning the fight yourselves.

⁴ The other Arabs had attacked them during the month

for all sacred things demand retaliation¹; and whoso transgresses against you, transgress against him like as he transgressed against you; but fear ye God, and know that God is with those who fear.

Expend in alms in God's way and be not cast by your own hands into perdition; but do good, for God loves those who do good.

And fulfil the pilgrimage and the visitation to God; but if ye be besieged, then what is easiest for you by way of gift. But shave not your heads until your gift shall reach its destination; and he amongst you who is sick or has a hurt upon his head, then the redemption is by fasting or by alms or by an offering. But when ye are safe again, then let him who would enjoy the visitation until the pilgrimage² (bring) what is easiest as a gift. And he who cannot find (anything to bring), then let him fast three days on the pilgrimage and seven when ye return; these make ten days complete. That is, for him whose family are not present in the Sacred Mosque; and fear God and know that God is keen to punish.

The pilgrimage is (in) well-known months: whosoever then makes it incumbent on himself (let him have neither) commerce with women, nor fornication, nor a quarrel on the pilgrimage; and whatsoever of good ye do, God knoweth it; then provide yourself for your journey; but the best provision is piety. Fear ye me ye who possess minds.

DHu'lqa'hdah, which was one of their sacred months; the Moslems therefore are bidden to attack them if necessary in the sacred month of *Ramadhân*.

¹ If a breach of their sanctity be committed.

² I. e. going to the visitation at once without waiting for the month of the pilgrimage to come round.

It is no crime to you that ye seek good¹ from your Lord; but when ye pour forth from 'Arafât, remember God by the sacred beacon². Remember Him how He guided you, although ye were surely before of those who err.

[195] Then pour ye forth from whence men do pour forth and ask pardon of God; verily, God is forgiving and merciful.

And when ye have performed your rites, remember God as ye remember your fathers, or with a keener memory still.

There is among men such as says, 'Our Lord! give us in this world;' but of the future life no portion shall he have.

And some there be who say, 'Our Lord! give us in this world good and in the future good; and keep us from the torment of the fire!'

These,—they have their portion from what they have earned; for God is swift at reckoning up.

Remember God for a certain number of days; but whoso hastens off in two days, it is no sin to him, and he who lingers on it is no sin to him,—for him who fears. So fear ye God and know that unto Him shall ye be gathered.

[200] There is among men one³ whose speech about the life of this world pleases thee, and he calls on God to witness what is in his heart; yet is he most fierce in opposition unto thee. And when he turns away, he strives upon the earth to do evil therein, and

¹ By trading during the 'Hagg.

² On the rites and stations of the 'Hagg pilgrimage, see Introduction.

³ A'znas ibn Surâiq عزن ثواقف, a fair spoken man of pleasant appearance, who pretended to believe in Mohammed.

to destroy the tilth and the stock ; verily, God loves not evil doing. And when it is said to him, ' Fear God,' then pride takes hold upon him in sin ; but hell is enough for him ! surely an evil couch is that.

And there is among men one who selleth his soul¹, craving those things that are pleasing unto God ; and God is kind unto His servants.

O ye who believe ! enter ye into the peace², one and all, and follow not the footsteps of Satan ; verily, to you he is an open foe. [205] And if ye slip after that the manifest signs have come to you, then know that God is the mighty, the wise.

What can they expect but that God should come unto them in the shadow of a cloud, and the angels too ? But the thing is decreed, and unto God do things return.

Ask the children of Israel how many a manifest sign we gave to them ; and whoso alters God's favours after that they have come to him, then God is keen at following up.

Made fair to those who misbelieve is this world's life ; they jest at those who do believe. But those who fear shall be above them on the resurrection day. God gives provision unto whom He will without account.

Men were one nation once, and God sent prophets with good tidings and with warnings, and sent

¹ Zuhâib ibn Sinân er Rûmî, who being threatened at Mecca with death unless he apostatized from Islâm, said, ' I am an old man, who cannot profit you if he be with you, nor hurt you if he be against you,' and was allowed to escape to Medina.

² Here used as a synonym for resignation, i. e. Islâm.

down with them the Book in truth, to judge between men in that wherein they disagreed; but none did disagree therein save those who had been given it after that manifest signs had come to them, through greed amongst themselves; and God guided those who did believe to that truth concerning which they disagreed by His permission, for God guides whom He will unto the right path.

[210] Did ye count to enter Paradise, while there had nothing come to you like those who passed away before you; there touched them violence and harm, and they were made to quake, until the Apostle and those who believed with him said, 'When (comes) God's help? Is not God's help then surely nigh?'

They will ask thee what they are to expend in alms: say, 'Whatsoever good ye expend it should be for parents and kinsmen, and the orphan and the poor, and the son of the road; and whatsoever good ye do, verily, of it God knows.'

Prescribed for you is fighting, but it is hateful to you. Yet peradventure that ye hate a thing while it is good for you, and peradventure that ye love a thing while it is bad for you; God knows, and ye,—ye do not know!

They will ask thee of the sacred month,—of fighting therein. Say, 'Fighting therein is a great sin; but turning folks off God's way, and misbelief in Him and in the Sacred Mosque, and turning His people out therefrom, is a greater in God's sight; and sedition is a greater sin than slaughter.'

They will not cease from fighting you until they turn you from your religion if they can; but whosoever of you is turned from his religion and dies

while still a misbeliever; these are those whose works are vain in this world and the next; they are the fellows of the Fire, and they shall dwell therein for aye.

[215] Verily, those who believe, and those who flee¹, and those who wage war² in God's way; these may hope for God's mercy, for God is forgiving and merciful.

They will ask thee about wine³ and el mâisar⁴, say, 'In them both is sin and profit to men; but the sin of both is greater than the profit of the same.'

They will ask thee what they shall expend in alms: say, 'The surplus.' Thus does God manifest to you His signs; haply ye may reflect on this world and the next! They will ask thee about orphans: say, 'To do good to them is best.' But if ye interfere with them—they are your brethren, and God knows the evildoer from the well doer; and if God will He will surely trouble you⁵. Verily, God is mighty, wise.

¹ In the Arabic *hâgarû*, i. e. who fled with Mohammed in his *higrah* or expatriation to Medina, from which the Muslim era dates.

² The *gihâd*, or general war of extermination against infidels, to threaten or preach which is a favourite diplomatic weapon with Mohammedan nations.

³ 'Hamr, which is rendered 'wine,' includes all alcoholic and intoxicating drinks.

⁴ El mâisar was a game of chance, played with arrows, the prize being a young camel, which was slaughtered and given to the poor, the price of it being paid by the losers. This distribution to the poor Mohammed speaks of as useful, but the quarrels and extravagance to which the game gave rise, he considers, overbalanced the profit.

⁵ I. e. if ye wrong orphans.

[220] Wed not with idolatrous women until they believe, for surely a believing handmaid is better than an idolatrous woman, even though she please you. And wed not to idolatrous men until they believe, for a believing slave is better than an idolater, even though he please you.

Those invite you to the fire, but God invites you to paradise and pardon by His permission, and makes clear His signs to men ; haply they may remember.

They will ask thee about menstruation : say, ' It is a hurt.' So keep apart from women in their menstruation, and go not near them till they be cleansed ; but when they are cleansed come in to them by where God has ordered you ; verily, God loves those who turn to Him, and those who keep themselves clean.

Your women are your tilth, so come into your tillage how you choose ; but do a previous good act for yourselves¹, and fear God, and know that ye are going to meet Him ; and give good tidings unto those who do believe.

Make not God the butt of your oaths, that ye will keep clear and fear and make peace amongst men, for God both hears and knows.

[225] He will not catch you up² for a casual word in your oaths, but He will catch you up for what your hearts have earned ; but God is forgiving and clement.

Those who swear off² from their women, they must wait four months ; but if they break their vow God is forgiving and merciful.

¹ Either wishing for a child, or saying, ' in the name of God,' *Bâidhâvî*.

² See note 1, p. 1.

And if they intend to divorce them, verily, God hears and knows.

Divorced women must wait for themselves three courses ; and it is not lawful to them that they hide what God has created in their wombs, if they believe in God and in the last day. Their husbands will do better to take them back in that (case) if they wish for reconciliation ; for, the same is due to them as from them ; but the men should have precedence over them. God is mighty and wise.

Divorce (may happen) twice ; then keep them in reason, or let them go with kindness. It is not lawful for you to take from them anything of what you have given them, unless both fear that they cannot keep within God's bounds. So if ye fear that ye cannot keep within God's bounds there is no crime in you both about what she ransoms herself with¹. These are God's bounds, do not transgress them ; and whoso transgresses God's bounds, they it is who are unjust.

[230] But if he divorce her (a third time) she shall not be lawful to him after that, until she marry another husband ; but, if he divorce her too, it is no crime in them both to come together again, if they think that they can keep within God's bounds. These are God's bounds which He explains to a people who know.

¹ The confusion of numbers and persons is in the original. The meaning of the passage is that 'divorce is allowed twice only, and that on each occasion the man may take the woman back if pregnant during the next four months ; that if a woman be retained after divorce she is to be treated kindly, but if she be sent away she is not to be deprived of her dowry. If, however, they feel that they cannot live together, the woman may give up a part of her dowry to induce her husband to part with her.'

When ye divorce women, and they have reached the prescribed time, then keep them kindly, or let them go in reason, but do not keep them by force to transgress ; for whoso does that, he is unjust to his own soul : and do not take God's signs in jest ; and remember God's favours to you, and what He has sent down to you of the Book and wisdom, to admonish you thereby ; and fear God, and know that God doth all things know.

When ye divorce women, and they have reached their prescribed term, do not prevent them from marrying their (fresh) husbands, when they have agreed with each other reasonably. That is what he is admonished with who amongst you believes in God and in the last day. That is more pure for you and cleaner. But God knows, and ye know not.

Mothers must suckle their children two whole years for one who wishes to complete the time of suckling ; and on him to whom it is born its sustenance and clothing are incumbent ; but in reason, for no soul shall be obliged beyond its capacity. A mother shall not be forced for her child ; nor he to whom it is born for his child. And the same (is incumbent) on the heir (of the father). But if both parties wish to wean, by mutual consent and counsel, then it is no crime in them. And if ye wish to provide a wet-nurse for your children, it is no crime in you when you pay what you have promised her, in reason. Fear God, and know that God on what ye do doth look.

Those of you who die and leave wives behind, let these wait by themselves for four months and ten days ; and when they have reached their prescribed

time, there is no crime in them for what they do with themselves in reason; for God of what ye do is well aware.

[235] Nor is there any crime in you for that ye make them an offer of marriage, or that ye keep it secret, in your minds. God knows that ye will remember them; but do not propose to them in secret, unless ye speak a reasonable¹ speech; and resolve not on the marriage tie until the Book shall reach its time²; but know that God knows what is in your souls; so beware! and know that God is forgiving and clement.

It is no crime in you if ye divorce your women ere you have yet touched them, or settled for them a settlement. But provide maintenance for them; the wealthy according to his power, and the straitened in circumstances according to his power, must provide, in reason;—a duty this upon the kind.

And if ye divorce them before ye have touched them, but have already settled for them a settlement; the half of what ye have settled, unless they remit it, or he in whose hand is the marriage tie remits it³; and that ye should remit is nearer to piety, and forget not liberality between you. Verily, God on what ye do doth look.

Observe the prayers⁴, and the middle prayer⁵, and stand ye attent before God.

¹ I. e. with honest intentions.

² Until the time prescribed by the Qur'ân be fulfilled.

³ That is, unless the wife choose to give up a part of the half which she could claim, or the husband do the same on his part, in which case an unequal partition is lawful.

⁴ See excursus on the Rites and Ceremonies of Islâm.

⁵ Interpreted to mean either the middle or the odd one of the five.

[240] And if ye fear, then afoot¹ or on horseback ; but when ye are in safety remember God, how He taught you while yet ye did not know.

Those of you who die and leave wives, should bequeath to their wives maintenance for a year, without expulsion (from their home) ; but if they go out, there is no crime in you for what they do of themselves, in reason ; but God is mighty and wise.

And divorced women should have a maintenance in reason,—a duty this on those that fear. Thus does God explain to you His signs ; haply ye may understand.

Dost thou not look at those who left their homes by thousands, for fear of death ; and God said to them ‘ Die,’ and then He quickened them again²? Verily, God is Lord of grace to men, but most men give no thanks.

[245] Fight then in God’s way, and know that God both hears and knows.

Who is there that will lend to God a good loan ? He will redouble it many a double ; God closes His hand and holds it out, and unto Him shall ye return.

Dost thou not look at the crowd of the children of Israel after Moses’ time, when they said to a prophet of theirs³, ‘ Raise up for us a king, and we will fight

¹ That is, if ye are in danger, say your prayers, as best you can, on foot or horseback, not staying so as to endanger your lives.

² The legend to which this alludes is variously told, but the most usually accepted version is that a number of the Israelites fled from their homes to avoid a gihād or ‘religious war,’ and were struck dead, and afterwards revived by the prophet Ezekiel’s intervention. The story is apparently a distorted version of Ezekiel’s vision of the dry bones. Ezek. xxxvii. 1-10.

³ Samuel.

in God's way?' He said, 'Will ye perhaps, if it be written down for you to fight, refuse to fight?' They said, 'And why should we not fight in God's way, now that we are dispossessed of our homes and sons?' But when it was written down for them to fight they turned back, save a few of them, and God knows who are evildoers. Then their prophet said to them, 'Verily, God has raised up for you *Tâlût*¹ as a king;' they said, 'How can the kingdom be his over us; we have more right to the kingdom than he, for he has not an amplitude of wealth?' He said, 'Verily, God has chosen him over you, and has provided him with an extent of knowledge and of form. God gives the kingdom unto whom He will; God comprehends and knows.'

Then said to them their prophet, 'The sign of his kingdom is that there shall come to you the ark with the shechina² in it from your Lord, and the relics of what the family of Moses and the family of Aaron left; the angels shall bear it.' In that is surely a sign to you if ye believe³.

[250] And when *Tâlût* set out with his soldiery, he said, 'God will try you with a river, and he who drinks therefrom, he is not of mine; but whoso tastes it not, he is of mine, save he who laps it lapping with his hand⁴.'

And they drank from it save a few of them, and

¹ Saul.

² The commentators do not understand that the word *sakînah*, which is in the original, is identical with the Hebrew *shechina*, and render it 'repose' or 'tranquillity.'

³ 1 Samuel iv, v, vi.

⁴ Gideon and Saul are here confused; this portion of the story is taken from Judges vi.

when he crossed it, he and those who believed with him, they said, 'We have no power this day against Gâlût¹ and his soldiery,' those who thought that they should meet their Lord said, 'How many a small division of men have conquered a numerous division, by the permission of God, for God is with the patient.'

And when they went out against Gâlût and his soldiery, they said, 'Lord, pour out patience over us, and make firm our steps, and help us against the misbelieving people!'

And they put them to flight by the permission of God, and David killed Gâlût, and God gave him the kingdom and wisdom, and taught him of what He willed. And were it not for God's repelling men one with another the earth would become spoiled; but God is Lord of grace over the worlds.

These are the signs of God, we recite them to thee in truth, for, verily, thou art of those who are sent.

These apostles have we preferred one of them above another. Of them is one to whom God spake²; and we have raised some of them degrees; and we have given Jesus the son of Mary manifest signs, and strengthened him by the Holy Spirit. And, did God please, those who came after them would not have fought after there came to them manifest signs. But they did disagree, and of them are some who believe, and of them some who misbelieve, but, did God please, they would not have fought, for God does what He will.

[255] O ye who believe! expend in alms of what

¹ Goliath.

² Moses, called Kalîmu 'Ilâh, 'He with whom God spake.'

we have bestowed upon you, before the day comes in which is no barter, and no friendship, and no intercession; and the misbelievers, they are the unjust.

God¹, there is no god but He, the living, the self-subsistent. Slumber takes Him not, nor sleep. His is what is in the heavens and what is in the earth. Who is it that intercedes with Him save by His permission? He knows what is before them and what behind them, and they comprehend not aught of His knowledge but of what He pleases. His throne extends over the heavens and the earth, and it tires Him not to guard them both, for He is high and grand.

There is no compulsion in religion; the right way has been distinguished from the wrong, and whoso disbelieves in *Tâghût*² and believes in God, he has got hold of the firm handle in which is no breaking off; but God both hears and knows.

God is the patron of those who believe, He brings them forth from darkness into light. But those who misbelieve, their patrons are *Tâghût*, these bring them forth from light to darkness,—fellows of the Fire, they dwell therein for aye.

[260] Do you not look at him who disputed with Abraham about his Lord, that God had given him the kingdom³? When Abraham said, 'My Lord is He who giveth life and death,' he said, 'I give life

¹ This is the famous *âyatu 'l kursîy*, or 'verse of the throne,' considered as one of the finest passages in the Qur'ân, and frequently found inscribed in mosques and the like.

² The idols and demons of the ancient Arabs are so called.

³ Nimrod, who persecuted Abraham, according to the eastern legend; see Chapter XXI, verses 52-69.

and death.' Abraham said, 'But verily, God brings the sun from the east, do thou then bring it from the west?' And he who misbelieved was dumb-founded, for God does not guide unjust folk.

Or like him who passed by a village¹, when it was desolate and turned over on its roofs, and said, 'How will God revive this after its death?' And God made him die for a hundred years, then He raised him, and said, 'How long hast thou tarried?' Said he, 'I have tarried a day, or some part of a day.' He said, 'Nay, thou hast tarried a hundred years; look at thy food and drink, they are not spoiled, and look at thine ass; for we will make thee a sign to men. And look at the bones how we scatter them and then clothe them with flesh.' And when it was made manifest to him, he said, 'I know that God is mighty over all.'

And when Abraham said, 'Lord, show me how thou wilt revive the dead,' He said, 'What, dost thou not yet believe?' Said he, 'Yea, but that my heart may be quieted.' He said, 'Then take four birds, and take them close to thyself; then put a part of them on every mountain; then call them, and they will come to thee in haste; and know that God is mighty, wise².'

The likeness of those who expend their wealth in God's way is as the likeness of a grain that grows to seven ears, in every ear a hundred grains, for God will double unto whom He pleases; for God both embraces and knows.

¹ According to the Arabic commentators, 'Huzair (Esdras) ibn Sara'hyâ or Al 'Hizr (Elias) is the person alluded to; and the 'village' Jerusalem after its destruction by Ba'h'tnazr, Nebuchadnezzar. The legend probably refers to Nehemiah ii. 13.

² Cf. Genesis xv. 9.

Those who expend their wealth in God's way, then do not follow up what they expend by taunting with it and by annoyance, these have their hire with their Lord, and no fear is on them, neither shall they grieve.

[265] Kind speech and pardon are better than almsgiving followed by annoyance, and God is rich and clement.

O ye who believe! make not your almsgiving vain by taunts and annoyance, like him who expends what he has for the sake of appearances before men, and believes not in God and the last day; for his likeness is as the likeness of a flint with soil upon it, and a heavy shower falls on it and leaves it bare rock; they can do nought with what they earn, for God guides not the misbelieving folk.

But the likeness of those who expend their wealth craving the goodwill of God, and as an insurance for their souls, is as the likeness of a garden on a hill. A heavy shower falls on it, and it brings forth its eatables twofold; and if no heavy shower falls on it, the dew does; and God on what ye do doth look.

Would one of you fain have a garden of palms and vines, with rivers flowing beneath it, in which is every fruit; and when old age shall reach him, have weak seed, and there fall on it a storm wind with fire therein, and it gets burnt?

Thus does God manifest to you His signs, mayhap ye will reflect.

O ye who believe! expend in alms of the good things that ye have earned, and of what we have brought forth for you out of the earth, and do not take the vile thereof to spend in alms,—[270] what you would not take yourselves save by connivance

at it¹; but know that God is rich and to be praised.

The devil promises you poverty and bids you sin, but God promises you pardon from Him and grace, for God both embraces and knows. He bringeth wisdom unto whom He will, and he who is brought wisdom² is brought much good; but none will remember save those endowed with minds.

Whatever expense ye expend, or vow ye vow, God knows it; but the unjust have no helpers. If ye display your almsgiving, then well is it; but if ye hide it and bring it to the poor, then is it better for you, and will expiate for you your evil deeds; for God of what ye do is well aware.

Thou³ art not bound to guide them; but God guides whom He will; and whatever good ye expend it is for yourselves, and do not expend save craving for God's face.

And what ye expend of good, it shall be repaid you, and ye shall not be wronged,—unto the poor who are straitened in God's way, and cannot knock about⁴ in the earth. The ignorant think them to be rich because of their modesty; you will know them

¹ I. e. by a mutual understanding between seller and buyer.

² See note 2, p. 1.

³ I. e. Mohammed.

⁴ I must again remind the reader of the remarks made in the Introduction that the language of the Qur'ân is really rude and rugged, and that although the expressions employed in it are now considered as refined and elegant, it is only because all literary Arabic has been modelled on the style of the Qur'ân. The word which I have ventured to translate by this somewhat inelegant phrase (*dharban*) means literally, 'to beat or knock about,' and as colloquial English affords an exact equivalent I have not hesitated to use it.

by their mark, they do not beg from men importunately; but what ye spend of good God knows.

[275] Those who expend their wealth by night and day, secretly and openly, they shall have their hire with their Lord. No fear shall come on them, nor shall they grieve.

Those who devour usury shall not rise again, save as he riseth whom Satan hath paralysed with a touch; and that is because they say 'selling is only like usury,' but God has made selling lawful and usury unlawful; and he to whom the admonition from his Lord has come, if he desists, what has gone before is his¹; his matter is in God's hands. But whosoever returns (to usury) these are the fellows of the Fire, and they shall dwell therein for aye. God shall blot out usury, but shall make almsgiving profitable, for God loves not any sinful misbeliever.

Verily, those who believe, and act righteously, and are steadfast in prayer, and give alms, theirs is their hire with their Lord; there is no fear on them, nor shall they grieve.

O ye who believe! fear God, and remit the balance of usury, if ye be believers; and if ye will not do it, then hearken to the proclamation of war from God and His Apostle; but if ye repent, your capital is yours. Ye shall not wrong, nor shall ye be wronged.

[280] And if it be one in difficulties, then wait for easy circumstances; but that ye remit it as alms is better for you, if ye did but know.

Fear the day wherein ye shall return to God; then shall each soul be paid what it has earned, and they shall not be wronged.

¹ I.e. his former conduct shall be pardoned.

O ye who believe! if ye engage to one another in a debt for a stated time, then write it down, and let a scribe write it down between you faithfully; nor let a scribe refuse to write as God taught him, but let him write, and let him who owes dictate; but let him fear God his Lord, and not diminish therefrom aught; but if he who owes be a fool, or weak, or cannot dictate himself, then let his agent dictate faithfully, and let them call two witnesses out from amongst their men; or if there be not two men, then a man and two women, from those whom he chooses for witnesses, so that if one of the two should err, the second of the two may remind the other; and let not the witnesses refuse when they are summoned; and let them not tire of writing it, be it small or great, with its time of payment. That is more just in the sight of God, and more upright for testimony, and brings you nearer to not doubting. Unless, indeed, it be a ready-money transaction between you, which ye arrange between yourselves, then it is no crime against you that ye do not write it down; but bring witnesses to what ye sell one to another, and let not either scribe or witness come to harm, for if ye do it will be abomination in you; but fear God, for God teaches you, and God knows all things. But if ye be upon a journey, and ye cannot find a scribe, then let a pledge be taken. But if one of you trust another, then let him who is trusted surrender his trust, and let him fear God his Lord, and conceal not testimony, for he who conceals it, verily, sinful is his heart: God knows what ye do.

God's is what is in heaven and in the earth, and if ye show what is in your souls, or hide it, God will call you to account; and He forgives whom He

will, and punishes whom He will, for God is mighty over all.

[285] The Apostle believes in what is sent down to him from his Lord, and the believers all believe on God, and His angels, and His Books, and His apostles,—we make no difference between any of His apostles,—they say, ‘We hear and obey, Thy pardon, O Lord! for to Thee our journey tends. God will not require of the soul save its capacity. It shall have what it has earned, and it shall owe what has been earned from it. Lord, catch us not up, if we forget or make mistake; Lord, load us not with a burden, as Thou hast loaded those who were before us. Lord, make us not to carry what we have not strength for, but forgive us, and pardon us, and have mercy on us. Thou art our Sovereign, then help us against the people who do not believe!’

THE CHAPTER OF IMRÂN'S FAMILY.

(III. Medina.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

A.L.M. God, there is no god but He, the living, the self-subsistent. He has sent down to thee the Book in truth, confirming what was before it, and has revealed the law, and the gospel before for the guidance of men, and has revealed the Discrimination.

Verily, those who disbelieve in the signs of God, for them is severe torment, for God is mighty and avenging.

Verily, God, there is nothing hidden from Him in the earth, nor in the heaven; He it is who fashions

you in the womb as He pleases. There is no God but He, the mighty, the wise.

[5] He it is who has revealed to thee the Book, of which there are some verses that are decisive, they are the mother¹ of the Book; and others ambiguous; but as for those in whose hearts is perversity, they follow what is ambiguous, and do crave for sedition, craving for (their own) interpretation of it; but none know the interpretation of it except God. But those who are well grounded in knowledge say, 'We believe in it; it is all from our Lord; but none will remember save those who possess minds.'

'O Lord! pervert not our hearts again when Thou hast guided them, and grant us mercy from Thee, for Thou art He who grants. O Lord! Thou shalt gather together men unto the day wherein is no doubt. Verily, God will not depart from His promise.'

Verily, those who misbelieve, their wealth shall not help them, nor their children, against God at all; and they it is who are the fuel of the fire.

As was the wont of Pharaoh's people, and those before them, they said our signs were lies, and God caught them up in their sins, for God is severe to punish.

[10] Say to those who misbelieve, 'Ye shall be overcome and driven together to hell, an ill couch will it be.

'Ye have had a sign in the two parties who met; one party fighting in the way of God, the other misbelieving; these saw twice the same number as themselves to the eye-sight², for God aids

¹ I. e. the fundamental part of it.

² On the occasion of the battle of Bedr. See Introduction.

with His help those whom He pleases.' Verily, in that is a lesson for those who have perception. Seemly unto men is a life of lusts, of women, and children, and hoarded talents of gold and silver, and of horses well-bred, and cattle, and tilth;—that is the provision for the life of this world; but God, with Him is the best resort.

Say, 'But shall we tell you of a better thing than this?' For those who fear are gardens with their Lord, beneath which rivers flow; they shall dwell therein for aye, and pure wives and grace from God; the Lord looks on His servants, who say, 'Lord, we believe, pardon Thou our sins and keep us from the torment of the fire,' [15]—upon the patient, the truthful, the devout, and those who ask for pardon at the dawn.

God bears witness that there is no god but He, and the angels, and those possessed of knowledge standing up for justice. There is no God but He, the mighty, the wise.

Verily, (the true) religion in God's sight is Islâm, and those to whom the Book was given disagreed not until after that there was given to them knowledge, through mutual envy. But whoso disbelieves in God's signs, truly God is quick at reckoning up.

And if they would dispute with thee, then say, 'I turn my face with resignation unto God, and whoso follows me.'

And say to those who have been given the Book, unto the Gentiles¹, 'Are ye, too, resigned?' and

¹ The word also means 'illiterate,' and refers here to the Pagan Arabs in Mohammed's time. He seems to have borrowed the expression from the Jews, *ummîyûn* having the same signification as the Hebrew *goyîm*.

² See note, p. 15.

if they are resigned, then are they guided. But if they turn their backs, then thou hast only to preach, and God looks on his servants.

[20] Verily, those who disbelieve in God's signs, and kill the prophets without right, and kill those from among men, who bid what is just,—to them give the glad tidings of grievous woe! These are they whose works are void in this world and the next, and helpers have they none.

Did ye not see those who have been given a portion of the Book? they were called unto the Book of God to decide between them; and then a sect of them turned their backs and turned away;—that is because they say the fire shall not touch us save for a certain number of days. But that deceived them in their religion which they had invented. How will it be when we have gathered them together for a day whereof there is no doubt, when each soul shall be paid what it has earned, and they shall not be wronged?

[25] Say, 'O God, Lord of the kingdom! Thou givest the kingdom to whomsoever Thou pleasest, and strippest the kingdom from whomsoever Thou pleasest; Thou honourest whom Thou pleasest, and abasest whom Thou pleasest; in Thy hand is good. Verily, Thou art mighty over all. Thou dost turn night to day, and dost turn day to night, and dost bring forth the living from the dead, and dost provide for whom Thou pleasest without taking count.'

Those who believe shall not take misbelievers for their patrons, rather than believers, and he who does this has no part with God at all, unless, indeed, ye fear some danger from them. But God

bids you beware of Himself, for unto Him your journey is.

Say, 'If ye hide that which is in your breasts, or if ye show it, God knows it: He knows what is in the heavens and what is in the earth, for God is mighty over all.'

The day that every soul shall find what it has done of good present before it; and what it has done of evil, it would fain that there were between itself and that a wide interval. 'God bids you beware of Himself, but God is gentle with His servants.'

Say, 'If ye would love God then follow me, and God will love you and forgive you your sins, for God is forgiving and merciful.'

Say, 'Obey God and the Apostle; but if ye turn your backs God loves not misbelievers.'

[30] Verily, God has chosen Adam, and Noah, and Abraham's people, and Imrân's¹ people above the world,—a seed, of which one succeeds the other, but God both hears and knows.

When Imrân's wife said, 'Lord! I have vowed to Thee what is within my womb, to be dedicated unto Thee, receive it then from me. Verily, Thou dost hear and know.' And when she brought it forth she said, 'Verily, I have brought it forth a female'—but God knew best what she brought forth; and a male is not like a female—I have called her Mary, and I seek a refuge in Thee for her and for her seed from Satan the pelted².

¹ Amram, who, according to the Mohammedans, was the father of the Virgin Mary, (Miriam.) A confusion seems to have existed in the mind of Mohammed between Miriam 'the Virgin Mary,' and Miriam the sister of Moses.

² The Mohammedan superstition is that the devils listen at the

And her Lord received her with a good reception, and made her grow up with a good growth, and Zachariah took care of her. Whenever Zachariah entered the chamber to her he found beside her a provision, and said, 'O Mary, how hast thou this?' She said, 'It is from God, for God provides for whom He pleases without count.' Therefore prayed Zachariah to his Lord, and said, 'Lord, grant me from Thee a good seed. Verily, Thou hearest prayer.' And an angel cried out to him as he was standing praying in the chamber (and said) that 'God gives thee the glad tidings of John, to confirm the Word from God,—of a chief and a chaste one, and a prophet from amongst the righteous.'

[35] He said, 'My Lord, how can there be to me a boy when old age has reached me, and my wife is barren?' Said he, 'Thus God does what He pleaseth.' He said, 'My Lord, make for me a sign.' He said, 'Thy sign is that thou shalt not speak to men for three days, save by gesture; but remember thy Lord much, and celebrate His praises in the evening and the morning.'

And when the angels said, 'O Mary! verily, God has chosen thee, and has purified thee, and has chosen thee above the women of the world. O Mary! be devout unto thy Lord, and adore and bow down with those who bow. That is (one) of the declarations of the unseen world which we reveal to

gate of heaven for scraps of the knowledge of futurity, and when detected by the angels are pelted with shooting stars. The expression may also refer to the ceremony of 'pelling the devil,' as performed by *Hagg* pilgrims at Minâ, in memory, it is said, of Abraham's having driven Iblîs away with stones when tempted by him to disobey God and refuse to sacrifice Isaac.

thee, though thou wert not by them when they threw their lots¹ which of them should take care of Mary, nor were ye by them when they did dispute.'

[40] When the angel said, 'O Mary! verily, God gives thee the glad tidings of a Word from Him; his name shall be the Messiah Jesus the son of Mary, regarded in this world and the next and of those whose place is nigh to God. And he shall speak to people in his cradle, and when grown up, and shall be among the righteous.' She said, 'Lord! how can I have a son, when man has not yet touched me?' He said, 'Thus God creates what He pleaseth. When He decrees a matter He only says BE and it is; and He will teach him the Book, and wisdom, and the law, and the gospel, and he shall be a prophet to the people of Israel (saying), that I have come to you, with a sign from God, namely, that I will create for you out of clay as though it were the form of a bird, and I will blow thereon and it shall become a bird by God's permission; and I will heal the blind from birth, and lepers; and I will bring the dead to life by God's permission; and I will tell you what you eat and what ye store up in your houses. Verily, in that is a sign for you if ye be believers. And I will confirm what is before you of the law, and will surely make lawful for you some of that which was prohibited from you. I have come to you with a sign from your Lord, so fear God and follow me, for

¹ The legend is, that the priests threw lots by casting arrows into the river Jordan. The word used for arrows means simply unfeathered and unpointed arrows, and is the same as that used in the Arab game mâisar, referred to in page 32.

God is my Lord, and your Lord, so worship Him :—this is the right path.'

[45] And when Jesus perceived their unbelief, He said, 'Who are my helpers for God?' Said the apostles¹, 'We are God's helpers. We believe in God, so bear witness that we are resigned². Lord, we have believed in what Thou hast revealed, and we have followed the Apostle, so write us down with those which bear witness.' But they (the Jews) were crafty, and God was crafty, for God is the best of crafty ones!

When God said, 'O Jesus! I will make Thee die and take Thee up again to me³ and will clear thee of those who misbelieve, and will make those who follow thee above those who misbelieve, at the day of judgment, then to me is your return. I will decide between you concerning that wherein ye disagree. And as for those who misbelieve, I will punish them with grievous punishment in this world and the next, and they shall have none to help them.'

[50] But as for those who believe and do what is right, He will pay them their reward, for God loves not the unjust.

That is what we recite to thee of the signs and of the wise reminder⁴. Verily, the likeness of Jesus

¹ The Arabic expression is 'Havârîyûn, which means 'fullers,' and is explained by the commentators either as referring to their 'trade' or to their 'sincerity and candour.' The word is really derived from an Ethiopic root signifying 'to send.'

² See note 1, page 15.

³ The Mohammedans believe that it was an eidolon and not Jesus himself who was crucified.

⁴ This word *dhikr* is used by Mohammedans for the recitation of the Qur'ân, and is also applied to the religious celebrations of the dervishes.

with God is as the likeness of Adam. He created him from earth, then He said to him BE, and he was;—the truth from thy Lord, so be thou not of those who are in doubt. And whoso disputeth with thee after what has come to thee of knowledge, say, 'Come, let us call our sons and your sons, and our women and your women, and ourselves and yourselves: then we will imprecate and put God's curse on those who lie.'

[55] Verily, those are the true stories, and there is no god but God, and, verily, God He is the mighty, the wise; but if they turn back, God knows the evildoers.

Say, 'O ye people of the Book, come to a word laid down plainly between us and you, that we will not serve other than God, nor associate aught with him, nor take each other for lords rather than God.' But if they turn back then say, 'Bear witness that we are resigned.'

O people of the Book, why do ye dispute about Abraham, when the law and the gospel were not revealed until after him? What! do ye not understand? Here ye are, disputing about what ye have some knowledge of; why then do ye dispute about what ye have no knowledge of? God knows and ye know not.

[60] Abraham was not a Jew, nor yet a Christian, but he was a 'Hanîf¹ resigned, and not of the idolaters. Verily, the people most worthy of Abraham are those who follow him and his prophets, and those who believe;—God is the patron of the believers.

¹ See note 1, p. 19.

A sect of the people of the Book would fain they could lead you astray, but they only lead themselves astray, and they do not perceive.

O people of the Book! why do ye disbelieve in the signs of God, the while ye witness them? O people of the Book! why do ye clothe the truth with falsehood and hide the truth the while ye know? [65] A sect of the people of the Book say, 'Believe in what was revealed to those who believed at the first appearance of the day, and disbelieve it at the end thereof,'—that (others) may perchance go back (from their faith)¹—'do not believe save one who followeth your religion.'

Say, 'Verily, the (true) guidance is the guidance of God, that one should be given like what ye are given.' Or would they dispute with you before your Lord, say, 'Grace is in the hand of God, He gives it to whom he pleases, for God both comprehends and knows. He specially favours with his mercy whom he pleases, for God is Lord of mighty grace.'

And of the people of the Book, there are some of them who, if thou entrust them with a talent² give it back to you; and some of them, if thou entrust them with a dinâr², he will not give it back to thee except so long as thou dost stand over him. That is because they say, 'We owe no duty

¹ This is said to allude to some Jews who professed Islâm in the morning and recanted at night, saying that they had in the meantime consulted their books and found nothing to confirm it, hoping by this stratagem to raise doubts in the believers' minds.

² A 'talent,' qin/âr, is used for any very large sum, a dînâr ('denarius') was a gold coin worth about 10s.

to the Gentiles;' but they tell a lie against God, the while they know.

[70] Yea, whoso fulfils his covenant and fears,—verily, God loves those who fear. Those who sell God's covenant and their oaths for a little price, these have no portion in the future life. God will not speak to them, and will not look upon them on the resurrection day, and will not purify them; but for them is grievous woe.

And, verily, amongst them is a sect who twist their tongues¹ concerning the Book, that ye may reckon it to be from the Book, but it is not from the Book. They say, 'It is from God,' but it is not from God, and they tell a lie against God, the while they know.

It is not right for a man that God should give him a Book, and judgment, and prophecy, and that then he should say to men, 'Be ye servants of mine rather than of God;' but be ye rather masters² of teaching the Book and of what ye learn.

He does not bid you take the angels and the prophets for your lords; shall He bid you misbelieve again when you are once resigned?

[75] And when God took the compact from the prophets '(this is) surely what we have given you of the Book and wisdom. Then shall come to you the Apostle confirming what is with you. Ye must believe in him and help him.' He said, moreover, 'Are ye resolved and have ye taken my compact on that (condition)?' They say, 'We are resolved.'

¹ I. e. pervert it.

² In the original Rabbânîyîn, an expression identical with Rabbani, cf. John xx. 16.

He said, 'Then bear witness, for I am witness with you; but he who turns back after that, these are sinners¹.'

What is it other than God's religion that they crave? when to Him is resigned whosoever is in the heavens and the earth, will he or nill he, and to him shall they return!

Say, 'We believe in God, and what has been revealed to thee, and what was revealed to Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes, and what was given to Moses, and Jesus, and the prophets from their Lord,—we will make no distinction between any of them,—and we are unto Him resigned. Whosoever craves other than Islam for a religion, it shall surely not be accepted from him, and he shall, in the next world, be of those who lose.'

[80] How shall God guide people who have disbelieved after believing and bearing witness that the Apostle is true, and after there come to them manifest signs? God guides the unjust folk.

These, their reward is, that on them is the curse of God, and of the angels, and of men together; they shall dwell therein for aye—the torment shall not be alleviated from them, nor shall they be respited; save those who repent after that, and act aright, for verily, God is forgiving and merciful.

Verily, those who misbelieve after believing, and then increase in misbelief, their repentance shall not be accepted; these are those who err.

[85] Verily, those who misbelieve and die in mis-

¹ The legend, borrowed from Talmudic sources, is that God assembled all past, present, and future prophets on Mount Sinai and entered into the compact mentioned in the text.

belief, there shall not be accepted from any one of them the earth-full of gold, though he should give it as a ransom. For them is grievous woe, and helpers have they none.

Ye cannot attain to righteousness until ye expend in alms of what ye love. But what ye expend in alms, that God knows.

All food was lawful to the children of Israel save what Israel made unlawful to himself before that the law was revealed. Say, 'Bring the law and recite it, if ye speak the truth.' But whoso forges against God a lie, after that, they are the unjust. Say, 'God speaks the truth, then follow the faith of Abraham, a 'hanîf, who was not of the idolaters.'

[90] Verily, the first House founded for men was surely that at Bakkah¹, for a blessing and a guidance to the worlds. Therein are manifest signs,—Abraham's station, and whosoever enters in is safe. There is due to God from man a pilgrimage unto the House, for whosoever can find his way there. But whoso misbelieves—God is independent of the worlds.

Say, 'O people of the Book! why do ye misbelieve in God's signs, while God is witness of what ye do?'

Say, 'O people of the Book! why do ye turn from the way of God him who believes, craving to make it crooked, while ye are witnesses? But God is not careless of what ye do.'

[95] O ye who believe! if ye obey the sect of those to whom the Book was brought, they will turn you, after your faith, to unbelievers again. How can ye

¹ Another name of Mecca.

misbelieve while unto you are recited the signs of God, and among you is His Apostle? But whoso takes tight hold on God, he is guided into the right way.

O ye who believe! fear God with the fear that He deserves, and die not save ye be resigned.

Take tight hold of God's rope altogether, and do not part in sects; but remember the favours of God towards you, when ye were enemies and He made friendship between your hearts, and on the morrow ye were, by His favour, brothers. Ye were on the edge of a pit of fire, but he rescued you therefrom¹. Thus does God show to you His signs, perchance ye may be guided; [100] and that there may be of you a nation who shall invite to good, and bid what is reasonable, and forbid what is wrong; these are the prosperous.

Be not like those who parted in sects and disagreed after there came to them manifest signs; for them is mighty woe, on the day when faces shall be whitened and faces shall be blackened. As for those whose faces are blackened,—‘Did ye misbelieve after your faith, then taste the torment for your misbelief!’ But as for those whose faces are whitened, they are in God's mercy, and they shall dwell therein for aye.

These are the signs of God. We recite them to you in truth, for God desires not wrong unto the worlds.

[105] God's is what is in the heavens and what is in the earth, and unto God affairs return.

¹ Alluding to an occasion in which the ancient rivalry between the two tribes of El Aus and El 'Hazrag, which had been reconciled by Islâm, was on the point of breaking out again.

Ye were the best of nations brought forth unto man. Ye bid what is reasonable, and forbid what is wrong, believing in God. Had the people of the Book believed, it would have been better for them. There are believers among them, though most of them are sinners.

They shall surely not harm you save a hurt¹; and if they fight you, they shall show you their backs, then they shall not be helped.

They are smitten with abasement wherever they be found, save for the rope of God and the rope of man²; and they draw on themselves wrath from God. They are smitten, too, with poverty; that is because they did disbelieve in God's signs, and kill the prophets undeservedly. That is because they did rebel and did transgress.

They are not all alike. Of the people of the Book there is a nation upright, reciting God's signs throughout the night, as they adore the while. [110] They believe in God, and in the last day, and bid what is reasonable, and forbid what is wrong, and vie in charity; these are among the righteous.

What ye do of good surely God will not deny, for God knows those who fear.

Verily, those who misbelieve, their wealth is of no service to them, nor their children either, against God; they are the fellows of the Fire, and they shall dwell therein for aye.

The likeness of what they expend in this life of the world, is as the likeness of wind wherein is a

¹ I. e. only a slight hurt.

² That is, unless they enter into either the spiritual or temporal dominion of Islâm, by professing the Mohammedan creed, or by paying a tribute.

cold blast that falls upon a people's tilth who have wronged themselves and destroys it. It is not God who wrongs them, but it is themselves they wrong.

O ye who believe! take not to intimacy with others than yourselves; they will not fail to spoil you; they would fain ye came to trouble,—hatred is shown by their mouths; but what their breasts conceal is greater still. We have made manifest to you our signs, did ye but understand.

[115] Ye it is who love them, but they love not you; and ye believe in the Book, all of it. But when they meet you they say, 'We believe;' and when they go aside they bite their finger tips at you through rage. Say, 'Die in your rage, for God doth know the nature of men's breasts.'

If good luck touch you it is bad for them, but if bad luck befall you they rejoice therein; yet if ye are patient and fear, their tricks shall not harm you, for what they do God comprehends.

When thou didst set forth early¹ from thy people to settle for the believers a camp to fight;—but God both hears and knows;—when two companies of you were on the point of showing cowardice; but God was their guardian, for on God surely the believers do rely. Why! God gave you victory at Bedr when ye were in a poor way; fear God, then, haply ye may give thanks. [120] When thou didst say unto the believers, 'Is it not enough for you that your Lord assists you with three thousand of the angels

¹ This refers to the battle of Ohod, when Mohammed experienced a severe check, and lost two teeth by a shot from an arrow.

sent down from on high? Yea, if ye are patient and fear God, and they come upon you on a sudden, now, your Lord will assist you with five thousand of His angels, (angels) of mark. God only made this as glad tidings for you to comfort your hearts withal,—for victory is but from God, the mighty, the wise;—to cut off the flank of those who misbelieve, or make them downcast, that they may retire disappointed.'

Thou hast nothing to do with the affair at all, whether He turn towards them again or punish them; for, verily, they are unjust.

God's is what is in the heavens and in the earth. He forgives whom He pleases, and punishes whom He pleases; for God is forgiving and merciful.

[125] O ye who believe! devour not usury doubly doubled, but fear God, perchance ye may be prosperous; fear the fire which is prepared for the unbelievers, and obey God and His Apostle, perchance ye may get mercy. And vie with one another for pardon from your Lord, and for Paradise, the breadth of which is as the heaven and the earth, prepared for those who fear;—for those who expend in alms, in prosperity and adversity, for those who repress their rage, and those who pardon men; God loves the kind. Those who when they do a crime, or wrong themselves, remember God, and ask forgiveness for their sins,—and who forgives sins save God?—and do not persevere in what they did, the while they know;—[130]—these have their reward:—pardon from their Lord, and gardens beneath which rivers flow, dwelling therein for aye; for pleasant is the hire of those who act like this.

Incidents have passed before your time, go on

then in the earth, and see what was the end of those who called (the prophets) liars.

This is an explanation unto men, and a guidance and a warning unto those who fear. Do not give way nor grieve, for ye shall have the upper hand if ye but be believers.

If a sore touch you, a sore like it has touched people : these are days ¹ which we make to alternate amongst mankind that God may know who it is that believe, and may take from you witnesses ², for God loves not the unjust ; [135] and that God may assay those who believe, and blot out the misbelievers. Do ye think that ye can enter Paradise and God not know those of you who have fought well, or know the patient ? Why, ye longed for death before ye met it ! Now ye have looked upon it and ye halt !

Mohammed is but an apostle ; apostles have passed away before his time ; what if he die or is killed, will ye retreat upon your heels ? He who retreats upon his heels does no harm to God at all ; but God will recompense the thankful. It is not for any soul to die, save by God's permission written down for an appointed time ; but he who wishes for the reward of this world we will give him of it, and he who wishes for the reward of the future we will give him of it, and we will recompense the grateful.

[140] How many prophets have myriads fought against ! yet they did not give way at what befel them in God's way ! Nor were they weak, nor did they demean themselves :—God loves the patient. And their word was only to say, ' Lord, forgive us

¹ Or ' battles.'

² Or ' martyrs.'

our sins and our extravagance in our affairs ; and make firm our footing, and help us against the misbelieving folk !' and God gave them the reward of this world, and good reward for the future too, for God doth love the kind.

O ye who believe ! if ye obey those who misbelieve, they will turn you back upon your heels, and ye will retreat the losers. Nay, God is your Lord, He is the best of helpers. We will throw dread into the hearts of those who misbelieve, for that they associate that with God which He has sent down no power for ; but their resort is fire, and evil is the resort of the unjust.

[145] God has truly kept His promise, when ye knocked them senseless by His permission, until ye showed cowardice, and wrangled, and rebelled, after he had shown you what ye loved. Amongst you are those who love this world, and amongst you are those who love the next. Then He turned you away from them to try you ; but He has pardoned you, for God is Lord of grace unto believers,—when ye went up and looked not round upon any one, although the Apostle was calling you from your rear. Therefore did God reward you with trouble on trouble that ye should not grieve after what ye had missed¹, nor for what befel you, for God is well aware of what ye do. Then He sent down upon you after trouble safety,—drowsiness creeping over one company of you, and one company of you getting anxious about themselves, suspecting about God other than the truth, with the suspicion of the ignorant², and saying, 'Have we any chance in

¹ Plunder.

² This word is always used for the pagan Arabs.

the affair?' Say, 'Verily, the affair is God's.' They conceal in themselves what they will not show to thee, and say, 'If we had any chance in the affair we should not be killed here.' Say, 'If ye were in your houses, surely those against whom slaughter was written down, would have gone forth to fight even to where they are lying now; that God may try what is in your breasts and assay what is in your hearts, for God doth know the nature of men's breasts.'

Verily, those of you who turned your backs on that day when the two armies met, it was but Satan who made them slip for something they had earned. But God has now pardoned them; verily, God is forgiving and clement.

[150] O ye who believe! be not like those who misbelieve, and say unto their brethren when they knock about in the earth, or are upon a raid, 'Had they but been at home, they had not died and had not been killed.' It was that God might make a sighing in their hearts, for God gives life and death; and God on what ye do doth look.

And if, indeed, ye be killed in God's way or die, surely forgiveness from God and mercy is better than what ye gather; and if ye die or be killed it is to God ye shall be assembled. It was by a sort of mercy from God thou didst deal gently with them, for hadst thou been rough and rude of heart they had dispersed from around thee. But pardon them, and ask forgiveness for them, and take counsel with them in the affair. As for what thou hast resolved, rely upon God; verily, God loves those who do rely. If God help you, there is none can overcome you; but if He leave you in the lurch, who is

there can help you after Him? Upon God then let believers rely.

[155] It is not for the prophet to cheat; and he who cheats shall bring what he has cheated on the resurrection day. Then shall each soul be paid what it has earned, and they shall not be wronged. Is he who follows the pleasure of God, like him who has drawn on himself anger from God, whose resort is hell? An evil journey shall it be! These are degrees with God, and God sees what ye do.

God was surely very gracious to the believers, when He sent amongst them an apostle from themselves, to recite to them His signs, and purify them, and teach them the Book and wisdom, although they surely were before his time in manifest error. Or when an accident befalls you, and ye have fallen on twice as much, ye say, 'How is this¹?' Say, 'It is from yourselves. Verily, God is mighty over all.'

[160] And what befel you the day when the two armies met, it was by God's permission; that He might know the believers, and might know those who behaved hypocritically; for it was said to them, 'Come, fight in God's way,' or 'repel (the foe);' they said, 'If we knew how to fight we would surely follow you.' They were that day far nigher unto misbelief than they were to faith. They say with their mouths what is not in their hearts, but God doth know best what they hid. Those who said of their brethren, whilst they themselves stayed at home, 'Had they obeyed us they would not have

¹ He means that the loss at Ohod was more than counter-balanced by their previous success at Bedr. For an account of these engagements see Introduction.

been killed.' Say, 'Ward off from yourselves death, if ye do speak the truth.'

Count not those who are killed in the way of God as dead, but living with their Lord;—provided for, rejoicing in what God has brought them of His grace, and being glad for those who have not reached them yet,—those left behind them; there is no fear for them, and they shall not be grieved; [165] glad at favour from God and grace, and that God wasteth not the hire of the believers. Whoso answered to the call of God and of His prophet after sorrow had befallen them, for those, if they do good and fear God, is a mighty hire. To whom when men said, 'Verily, men have gathered round you, fear then them,' it only increased their faith, and they said, 'God is enough for us, a good guardian is He.' Then they retired in favour from God and grace; no evil touched them; they followed the pleasure of God, and God is Lord of mighty grace.

It is only that Satan who frightens his friends. Do not ye fear them, but fear me, if ye be believers.

[170] Let them not grieve thee who vie with each other in misbelief. Verily, they cannot hurt God at all. God wills not to make for them a portion in the future life; but for them is mighty woe.

Verily, those who purchase misbelief for faith, they do not hurt God at all, and for them is grievous woe.

Let not those who misbelieve reckon that our letting them range is good for themselves. We only let them have their range that they may increase in sin. And for them is shameful woe. God would not leave believers in the state which ye are in, until He discerns the vile from the good. And God would not

inform you of the unseen, but God chooses of His apostles whom He pleases. Wherefore believe ye in God and His Apostle; and if ye believe and fear, for you is mighty hire.

[175] And let not those who are niggard of what God has given them of His grace, count that it is best for them;—nay, it is worse for them. What they have been niggard of shall be a collar round their necks upon the resurrection day. And God's is the heritage of the heavens and the earth, and God of what ye do is well aware.

God heard the speech of those who said, 'Verily, God is poor¹ and we are rich.' We will write down what they said, and how they killed the prophets undeservedly, and say, 'Taste ye the torment of burning;' this shall they suffer for what their hands have sent on before;—for, verily, God is no unjust one to His servants,—who say, 'Verily, God has covenanted with us that we should not believe in an apostle until he gives us a sacrifice which fire devours².'

[180] Say, 'There have come to you apostles before me with manifest signs, and with what ye talk

¹ Mohammed, in his message to the Jewish tribe of Kainûka, used the words of the Qur'ân, and bade them 'lend to God at good interest,' when Phineas Ibn Azûra mockingly said, 'Surely, God is poor since they try to borrow for him!' Whereupon Abu Bekr, who had brought the letter, smote him on the face and said, that, but for the truce between them, he would have smitten off his head. On complaint being made of this conduct to Mohammed the above verse was revealed.

² The commentators say that the Jewish Rabbis demanded of Mohammed this proof of his prophetic mission, having regard, probably, to the contest between Elijah and the priests of Baal on Mount Carmel.

about; why then did ye kill them, if ye speak the truth?’

And if they did call thee a liar, apostles before thee have been called liars too, who came with manifest signs, and with scriptures, and with the illuminating Book.

Every soul must taste of death; and ye shall only be paid your hire upon the resurrection day. But he who is forced away from the fire and brought into Paradise is indeed happy; but the life of this world is but a possession of deceit. Ye shall surely be tried in your wealth, and in your persons, and ye shall surely hear from those who have had the Book brought them before you, and from those who associate others with God, much harm. But if ye be patient and fear,—verily, that is one of the determined affairs.

When God took the compact from those who have had the Book brought them that ‘Ye shall of a surety manifest it unto men, and not hide it,’ they cast it behind their backs, and bought therewith a little price,—but evil is what they buy.

[185] Count not that those who rejoice in what they have produced, and love to be praised for what they have not done,—think not that they are in safety from woe,—for them is grievous woe!

God’s is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and God is mighty over all!

Verily, in the creation of the heavens and the earth, and in the succession of night and day, are signs to those possessed of minds; who remember God standing and sitting or lying on their sides, and reflect on the creation of the heavens and the earth. ‘O Lord! thou hast not

created this in vain. We celebrate Thy praise; then keep us from the torment of the fire! Lord! verily, whomsoever Thou hast made to enter the fire, Thou hast disgraced him; and the unjust shall have none to help them.

[190] 'Lord! verily, we heard a crier calling to the faith, "Believe in your Lord," and we did believe. Lord! forgive us our sins and cover our offences, and let us die with the righteous. Lord! and bring us what Thou hast promised us by Thy apostles, and disgrace us not upon the resurrection day; for, verily, Thou dost not break Thy promises!' And the Lord shall answer them, 'I waste not the works of a worker amongst you, be it male or female,—one of you is from the other¹.

'Those who fled, and were turned out of their houses, and were harmed in my way, and who fought and were killed, I will cover their offences, and I will make them enter into gardens beneath which rivers flow.' [195] A reward from God; for God, with Him are the best of rewards.

Let it not deceive you that those who misbelieve go to and fro in the earth. It is a slight possession, and then their resort is Hell; an evil couch shall it be. But those who fear their Lord, for them are gardens beneath which rivers flow, and they shall dwell therein for aye,—an entertainment from God; and that which is with God is best for the righteous.

Verily, of the people of the Book are some who do believe in God, and in what has been revealed to

¹ This passage was revealed in answer to the objection of Umm Salmâ, one of Mohammed's wives, when the women who fled with him were not mentioned as well as the men in the promised reward of the future life.

you, and what was revealed to them, humbling themselves before God, and selling not the signs of God for a little price. These shall have their reward with their Lord; verily, God is quick at reckoning up.

[200] O ye who believe! be patient and vie in being patient¹, and be on the alert, and fear God, that haply ye may prosper.

THE CHAPTER OF WOMEN.

(IV. Medīnah.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

O ye folk! fear your Lord, who created you from one soul, and created therefrom its mate, and diffused from them twain many men and women. And fear God, in whose name ye beg of one another, and the wombs; verily, God over you doth watch².

And give unto the orphans their property, and give them not the vile in exchange for the good, and devour not their property to your own property; verily, that were a great sin. But if ye fear that ye cannot do justice between orphans, then marry what seems good to you of women, by twos, or threes, or fours; and if ye fear that ye cannot be equitable, then only one, or what your right hands possess³. That keeps you nearer to not being partial.

And give women their dowries freely; and if they

¹ That is, with their enemies.

² That is, fear God, and pay respect to your mothers and wives.

³ That is, female slaves.

are good enough to remit any of it of themselves, then devour it with good digestion and appetite ¹.

But do not give up to fools ² their property which God has made you to stand by; but maintain them from it, and clothe them, and speak to them with a reasonable speech. [5] Prove orphans until they reach a marriageable age, and if ye perceive in them right management, then hand over to them their property, and do not devour it extravagantly in anticipation of their growing up. And he who is rich, let him abstain; but he who is poor, let him devour in reason, and when ye hand over to them their property, then take witnesses against them; but God sufficeth for taking account.

Men should have a portion of what their parents and kindred leave, and women should have a portion of what their parents and kindred leave, whether it be little or much, a determined portion. And when the next of kin and the orphans and the poor are present at the division, then maintain them out of it, and speak to them a reasonable speech. [10] And let these fear lest they leave behind them a weak seed, for whom they would be afraid; and let them fear God, and speak a straightforward speech. Verily, those who devour the property of orphans unjustly, only devour into their bellies fire, and they shall broil in flames.

¹ The Arabic idiom for the enjoyment of property being to eat it up, Mohammed here gives the men permission to enjoy such portion of their wives' dowries as the latter might be pleased to remit, and adds, with a sort of humour, the colloquial expression used by the Arabs when any one is eating. The sentence might be paraphrased 'and if they are kind enough to remit any portion of it of their own accord, then enjoy it, and much good may it do you!'

² To idiots or persons of weak intellect.

God instructs you concerning your children; for a male the like of the portion of two females, and if there be women above two, then let them have two-thirds of what (the deceased) leaves; and if there be but one, then let her have a half; and as to the parents, to each of them a sixth of what he leaves, if he has a son; but if he have no son, and his parents inherit, then let his mother have a third, and if he have brethren, let his mother have a sixth after payment of the bequest he bequeaths and of his debt.

Your parents or your children, ye know not which of them is nearest to you in usefulness:—an ordinance this from God; verily, God is knowing and wise! And ye shall have half of what your wives leave, if they have no son; but if they have a son, then ye shall have a fourth of what they leave, after payment of the bequests they bequeath or of their debts. And they shall have a fourth of what ye leave, if ye have no son; but if ye have a son, then let them have an eighth of what ye leave, after payment of the bequest ye bequeath and of your debts.

[15] And if the man's or the woman's (property) be inherited by a kinsman who is neither parent nor child¹, and he have a brother or sister, then let each of these two have a sixth; but if they are more than that, let them share in a third after payment of the bequest he bequeaths and of his debts, without prejudice²,—an ordinance this from God, and God is knowing and clement!

¹ The word in the original is that always used to express this relationship.

² I. e. to the heirs.

These be God's bounds, and whoso obeys God and the Apostle He will make him enter into gardens beneath which rivers flow, and they shall dwell therein for aye ;—that is the mighty happiness.

But whoso rebels against God and His Apostle, and transgresses His bounds, He will make him enter into fire, and dwell therein for aye ; and for him is shameful woe.

Against those of your women who commit adultery, call witnesses four in number from among yourselves ; and if these bear witness, then keep the women in houses ¹ until death release them, or God shall make for them a way.

[20] And if two of you commit it, then hurt them both ²; but if they turn again and amend, leave them alone, verily, God is easily turned, compassionate.

God is only bound to turn again towards those who do evil through ignorance and then turn again. Surely, these will God turn again to, for God is knowing, wise. His turning again is not for those who do evil, until, when death comes before one of them, he says, 'Now I turn again ;' nor yet for those who die in misbelief. For such as these have we prepared a grievous woe.

O ye who believe ! it is not lawful for you to inherit women's estates against their will ; nor to

¹ Women taken in adultery or fornication were at the beginning of Islâm literally immured.

² The commentators are not agreed as to the nature of the offence here referred to. The text, however, speaks of two of the masculine gender. The punishment to be inflicted is also the subject of dispute, the original merely saying, as I have translated it, 'hurt them.'

hinder them¹, that ye may go off with part of what ye brought them, unless they commit fornication manifestly; but associate with them in reason, for if ye are averse from them, it may be that ye are averse from something wherein God has put much good for you.

But if ye wish to exchange one wife for another, and have given one of them a talent², then take not from it anything. What! would you take it for a calumny and a manifest crime³?

[25] How can ye take it when one of you has gone in unto the other, and they have taken from you a rigid compact?

And do not marry women your fathers married,—except bygoness,—for it is abominable and hateful, and an evil way; unlawful for you are your mothers, and your daughters, and your sisters, and your paternal aunts and maternal aunts, and your brother's daughters, and your sister's daughters, and your foster mothers, and your foster sisters, and your wives' mothers, and your step daughters who are your wards, born of your wives to whom ye have gone in; but if ye have not gone in unto them, then it is no crime in you; and the lawful spouses of your sons from your own loins, and that ye form a connexion between two sisters,—except bygoness,—verily, God is forgiving, merciful; and married women, save such as your right hands possess,—God's Book against you!—but lawful for you is

¹ That is, from marrying again.

² That is, a large dowry.

³ This question is ironical, and intended as a warning against bringing a false accusation of infidelity against a wife for the sake of keeping her dowry when divorced.

all besides this, for you to seek them with your wealth, marrying them and not fornicating; but such of them as ye have enjoyed, give them their hire as a lawful due; for there is no crime in you about what ye agree between you after such lawful due, verily, God is knowing and wise.

But whosoever of you cannot go the length of marrying marriageable women who believe, then take of what your right hands possess, of your maidens who believe;—though God knows best about your faith. Ye come one from the other; then marry them with the permission of their people, and give them their hire in reason, they being chaste and not fornicating, and not receivers of paramours.

[30] But when they are married, if they commit fornication, then inflict upon them half the penalty for married women; that is for whomsoever of you fears wrong; but that ye should have patience is better for you, and God is forgiving and merciful.

God wishes to explain to you and to guide you into the ordinances of those who were before you, and to turn towards you, for God is knowing, wise. God wishes to turn towards you, but those who follow their lusts wish that ye should swerve with a mighty swerving! God wishes to make it light for you, for man was created weak.

O ye who believe! devour not your property amongst yourselves vainly, unless it be a merchandise by mutual consent. And do not kill yourselves; verily, God is compassionate unto you.

But whoso does that maliciously and unjustly, we will broil him with fire; for that is easy with God.

[35] If ye avoid great sins from which ye are for-

bidden, we will cover your offences and make you enter with a noble entrance.

And do not covet that by which God has preferred one of you over another. The men shall have a portion of what they earn, and the women a portion of what they earn; ask God for His grace, verily, God knows all.

To every one have we appointed kinsfolk as heirs of what parents and relatives and those with whom ye have joined right hands leave; so give them their portion, for, verily, God is over all a witness.

Men stand superior to women in that God hath preferred some of them over others, and in that they expend of their wealth: and the virtuous women, devoted, careful (in their husbands') absence, as God has cared for them. But those whose perverseness ye fear, admonish them and remove them into bed-chambers and beat them; but if they submit to you, then do not seek a way against them; verily, God is high and great.

And if ye fear a breach between the two¹, then send a judge from his people and a judge from her people. If they wish for reconciliation, God will arrange between them; verily, God is knowing and aware.

[40] And serve God, and do not associate aught with Him; and to your parents show kindness, and to kindred, and orphans, and the poor, and the neighbour who is akin, and the neighbour who is a stranger, and the companion who is strange, and the son of the road, and what your right hands possess², verily, God loves not him who is proud and boastful;

¹ Man and wife.

² I. e. slaves.

who are miserly and bid men be miserly too, and who hide what God has given them of His grace;—but we have prepared for the misbelievers shameful woe.

And those who expend their wealth in alms for appearance sake before men, and who believe not in God nor in the last day;—but whosoever has Satan for his mate, an evil mate has he.

What harm would it do them if they believed in God and in the last day, and expended in alms of what God has provided them with? but God knows about them.

Verily, God would not wrong by the weight of an atom; and if it's¹ a good work, He will double it and bring from Himself a mighty hire.

[45] How then when we bring from every nation a witness, and bring thee as a witness against these on the day when those who misbelieve and rebel against the Apostle would fain that the earth were levelled with them? but they cannot hide the news from God.

O ye who believe! approach not prayer while ye are drunk, until ye well know what ye say; nor yet while polluted,—unless ye be passing by the way,—until ye have washed yourselves. But if ye are sick, or on a journey, or one of you come from the privy, or if ye have touched a woman, and ye cannot find water, then use good surface sand and wipe your faces and your hands therewith; verily, God pardons and forgives.

Do ye not see those who have been given a portion of the Book? they buy error, and they

¹ The abbreviated form taku (for takun) is used in the Arabic.

wish that ye may err from the way ! But God knows best who your enemies are, and God suffices as a patron, and sufficient is God as a help.

And those who are Jews, and those who pervert the words from their places, and say, 'We hear but we rebel, and do thou listen without hearing,' and (who say) 'râ'hinâ¹,' distorting it with their tongues and taunting about religion. But had they said, 'We hear and we obey, so listen and look upon us,' it would have been better for them and more upright ;—but may God curse them in their misbelief, for they will not believe except a few.

[50] O ye who have been given the Book ! believe in what we have revealed, confirming what ye had before ; ere we deface your faces and turn them into hinder parts, or curse you as we cursed the fellows of the Sabbath² when God's command was done.

Verily, God pardons not associating aught with Him, but He pardons anything short of that to whomsoever He pleases ; but he who associates aught with God, he hath devised a mighty sin.

Do ye not see those who purify themselves ? nay, God purifies whom He will, and they shall not be wronged a straw³.

Behold, how they devise against God a lie, and that is manifest sin enough.

Do ye not see those to whom a portion of the Book has been given ? They believe in *Gibt*⁴ and *Tâghût*⁴, and they say of those who misbelieve,

¹ See note 3, p. 14.

² See Chapter II, verse 61.

³ The word in the original means a fibre in the cleft of a date stone, or the rush wick of a candle.

⁴ Idols of the ancient Arabs ; see p. 40.

'These are better guided in the way than those who believe.' [55] These are those whom God has cursed, and whom God has cursed no helper shall he find.

Shall they have a portion of the kingdom? Why even then they would not give to men a jot¹.

Do they envy man for what God has given of His grace? We have given to Abraham's people the Book and wisdom, and we have given them a mighty kingdom. And of them are some who believe therein, and of them are some who turn from it, but Hell is flaming enough for them.

Verily, those who disbelieve in our signs, we will broil them with fire; whenever their skins are well done, then we will change them for other skins, that they may taste the torment. Verily, God is glorious and wise.

[60] But those who believe and do aright, we will make them enter gardens beneath which rivers flow, and they shall dwell therein for ever and aye, for them therein are pure wives, and we will make them enter into a shady shade. Verily, God bids you pay your trusts to their owners, and when ye judge between men to judge with justice. Verily, God, excellent is what He admonishes you with; verily, God both hears and sees.

O ye who believe! obey God, and obey the Apostle and those in authority amongst you; and if ye quarrel about anything, refer to God and the Apostle, if ye believe in God and the last day; that is better and fairer as a settlement.

Do ye not see those who pretend that they believe in what has been revealed to them, and what was

¹ Literally, a dent or cleft in a date stone.

revealed before thee ; they wish to refer their judgment to *Tāghūt*¹, but they are bidden to disbelieve therein, and Satan wishes to lead them into a remote error. And when it is said to them, 'Come round to what God has sent down and unto the Apostle,' thou seest the hypocrites turning from thee, turning away.

[65] How then when there befalls them a mischance through what their hands have sent on before? then will they come to you, and swear by God, 'We meant naught but good and concord.' These, God knows what is in their hearts. Turn thou away from them and admonish them, and speak to them into their souls with a searching word.

We have never sent an apostle save that he should be obeyed by the permission of God ; and if they, when they have wronged themselves, come to thee and ask pardon of God, and the Apostle asks pardon for them, then they will find God easy to be turned, compassionate.

But no! by thy Lord! they will not believe, until they have made thee judge of what they differ on ; then they will not find in themselves aught to hinder what thou hast decreed, and they will submit with submission. But had we prescribed for them, 'Kill yourselves, or go ye forth out of your houses,' they would not have done it, save only a few of them ; but had they done what they are admonished, then it would have been better for them, and a more firm assurance.

[70] And then we would surely have brought them from ourselves a mighty hire, and would have guided them into a right path.

Whoso obeys God and the Apostle, these are

¹ See note 2, p. 40.

with those God has been pleased with, of prophets and confessors and martyrs and the righteous;—a fair company are they.

That is grace from God, and God knows well enough.

O ye who believe! take your precautions and sally in detachments or altogether. Verily, there is of you who tarries behind, and, if a mischance befalls you, says, 'God has been gracious to me, since I am not with them a martyr.'

[75] But if there befalls you grace from God, he would say—as though there were no friendship between you and him—'O would that I had been with thee to attain this mighty happiness!' Let those then fight in God's way who sell this life of the world for the next; and whoso fights in God's way, then, be he killed or be he victorious, we will give him a mighty hire.

What ails you that ye do not fight in God's way, and for the weak men and women and children, who say, 'Lord, bring us out of this town¹ of oppressive folk, and make for us from Thee a patron, and make for us from Thee a help?'

Those who believe fight in the way of God; and those who disbelieve fight in the way of *Tāghût*; fight ye then against the friends of Satan, verily, Satan's tricks are weak.

Do ye not see those to whom it is said, 'Restrain your hands, and be steadfast in prayer and give alms;' and when it is prescribed for them to fight then a band of them fear men, as though it were the fear of God or a still stronger fear, and they say, 'O our Lord! why hast thou prescribed for us to fight,

¹ Mecca.

couldst thou not let us abide till our near appointed time ?' Say, 'The enjoyment of this world is but slight, and the next is better for him who fears ;'—but they shall not be wronged a straw.

[80] Wheresoe'er ye be death will overtake you, though ye were in lofty towers. And if a good thing befall them, they say, 'This is from God,' but if a bad thing, they say, 'This is from thee.' Say, 'It is all from God.' What ails these people ? they can hardly understand a tale.

What befalls thee of good it is from God ; and what befalls thee of bad it is from thyself. We have sent thee to mankind as an apostle, and God sufficeth for a witness.

Whoso obeys the prophet he has obeyed God ; and he who turns back—we have not sent thee to watch over them.

They say, 'Obedience!' but when they sally forth from you, a company of them brood by night over something else than that which thou hast said ; but God writes down that over which they brood. Turn then from them and rely on God, for God sufficeth for a guardian. Do they not meditate on the Qur'ân ? if it were from other than God they would find in it many a discrepancy.

[85] And when there comes to them a matter of security or fear they publish it ; but if they were to report it to the Apostle and to those in authority amongst them, then those of them who would elicit it from them would know it ; but were it not for God's grace upon you and His mercy ye had followed Satan, save a few.

Fight, then, in the way of God ; impose not aught on any but thyself, and urge on the believers ; it

may be that God will restrain the violence of those who misbelieve, for God is more violent and more severe to punish.

Whoso intercedes with a good intercession shall have a portion therefrom; but he who intercedes with a bad intercession shall have the like thereof, for God keeps watch over all things.

And when ye are saluted with a salutation, salute with a better than it, or return it;—verily, God of all things takes account.

God, there is no God but He! He will surely assemble you on the resurrection day, there is no doubt therein; who is truer than God in his discourse?

[90] Why are ye two parties about the hypocrites, when God hath overturned them for what they earned? Do ye wish to guide those whom God hath led astray? Whoso God hath led astray ye shall not surely find for him a path. They would fain that ye misbelieve as they misbelieve, that ye might be alike; take ye not patrons from among them until they too flee in God's way; but if they turn their backs, then seize them and kill them wheresoever ye find them, and take from them neither patron nor help,—save those who reach a people betwixt whom and you is an alliance—or who come to you while their bosoms prevent them from fighting you or fighting their own people. But had God pleased He would have given you dominion over them, and they would surely have fought you. But if they retire from you and do not fight you, and offer you peace,—then God hath given you no way against them.

Ye will find others who seek for quarter from

you, and quarter from their own people ; whenever they return to sedition they shall be overturned therein : but if they retire not from you, nor offer you peace, nor restrain their hands, then seize them and kill them wheresoever ye find them ;—over these we have made for you manifest power.

It is not for a believer to kill a believer save by mistake ; and whosoever kills a believer by mistake then let him free a believing neck¹ ; and the blood-money must be paid to his people save what they shall remit as alms. But if he be from a tribe hostile to you and yet a believer, then let him free a believing neck. And if it be a tribe betwixt whom and you there is an alliance, then let the blood-money be paid to his friends, and let him free a believing neck ; but he who cannot find the means, then let him fast for two consecutive months—a penance this from God, for God is knowing, wise.

[95] And whoso kills a believer purposely, his reward is hell, to dwell therein for aye ; and God will be wrath with him, and curse him, and prepare for him a mighty woe.

O ye who believe ! when ye are knocking about in the way of God be discerning, and do not say to him who offers you a salutation, ‘Thou art no believer,’ craving after the chances of this world’s life², for with God are many spoils ! So were ye aforetime, but God was gracious to you, be ye then discerning ; verily, God of what ye do is well aware.

¹ Captive.

² Because a believer might not be attacked and plundered as an infidel might be.

Not alike are those of the believers who sit at home without harm, and those who are strenuous in God's way with their wealth and their persons. God hath preferred those who are strenuous with their wealth and their persons to those who sit still, by many degrees, and to each hath God promised good, but God hath preferred the strenuous for a mighty hire over those who sit still,—degrees from him, and pardon and mercy, for God is forgiving and merciful.

Verily, the angels when they took the souls of those who had wronged themselves¹, said, 'What state were ye in?' they say, 'We were but weak in the earth;' they said, 'Was not God's earth wide enough for you to flee away therein?' These are those whose resort is hell, and a bad journey shall it be!

[100] Save for the weak men, and women, and children, who could not compass any stratagem, and were not guided to a way; these it may be God will pardon, for God both pardons and forgives.

Whosoever flees in the way of God shall find in the earth many a spacious refuge; and he who goes forth from his house, fleeing unto God and His prophet, and then death catches him up,—his hire devolves on God, and God is forgiving and merciful.

And when ye knock about in the earth, it is no crime to you that ye come short in prayer, if ye fear that those who disbelieve will set upon you; verily, the misbelievers are your obvious foes.

¹ Alluding to some half-hearted Muslims, slain at Bedr.

When thou art amongst them, and standest up to pray with them, then let a party of them stand up with thee, and let them take their arms ; and when they adore, let them go behind you, and let another party who have not yet prayed come forward and pray with thee ; and let them take their precautions and their arms.

Fain would those who misbelieve that ye were careless of your arms and your baggage, that they might turn upon you with a single turning. And it is no crime to you if ye be annoyed with rain or be sick, that ye lay down your arms ; but take your precautions,—verily, God has prepared for those who misbelieve a shameful woe.

But when ye have fulfilled your prayer, remember God standing and sitting and lying on your sides ; and when ye are in safety then be steadfast in prayer ; verily, prayer is for the believers prescribed and timed !

[105] And do not give way in pursuit of the people ; if ye suffer they shall surely suffer too, even as ye suffer ; and ye hope from God, but they hope not ! and God is knowing, wise.

Verily, we have revealed to thee the Book in truth that thou mayest judge between men of what God has shown thee ; so be not with the treacherous a disputant ; but ask God's pardon : verily, God is forgiving, merciful.

And wrangle not for those who defraud themselves ; for God loves not him who is a fraudulent sinner. They hide themselves from men ; but they cannot hide themselves from God, for He is with them while they brood at night over speeches

that please Him not;—but God doth compass what they do !

Here are ye, wrangling for them about this world's life ;—but who shall wrangle with God for them on the day of judgment, or who shall be a guardian over them?

[110] Yet whoso does evil and wrongs himself, and then asks pardon of God, shall find God forgiving and merciful ; and whoso commits a crime, he only commits it against himself, for God is knowing, wise.

And whoso commits a fault or a sin and throws it on the innocent, he hath to bear a calumny and a manifest sin.

Were it not for God's grace upon thee, and His mercy, a party of them would have tried to lead thee astray ; but they only lead themselves astray ; they shall not hurt you in aught : for God hath sent down upon thee the Book and the wisdom, and taught thee what thou didst not know, for God's grace was mighty on thee.

There is no good in most of what they talk in private ; save in his who bids almsgiving, or kindness, or reconciliation between men ; and whoso does this, craving the good pleasure of God, we will give to him a mighty hire.

[115] But he who severs himself from the prophet after that we have made manifest to him the guidance, and follows other than the way of the believers, we will turn our backs on him as he hath turned his back ; and we will make him reach hell, and a bad journey shall it be.

Verily, God forgives not associating aught with Him, but He pardons anything short of that, to

whomsoever He will; but whoso associates aught with God, he hath erred a wide error.

Verily, they call not beside Him on aught save females; and they do not call on aught save a rebellious devil.

God curse him! for he said, 'I will take from thy servants a portion due to me; and I will lead them astray; and I will stir up vain desires within them; and I will order them and they shall surely crop the ears of cattle; and I will order them and they shall surely alter God's creation¹;' but he who takes the devil for his patron instead of God, he loses with a manifest loss. He promises them, and stirs up vain desires within them; but the devil promises only to deceive.

[120] These, their resort is hell; they shall not find an escape therefrom! But those who believe, and do what is right, we will make them enter into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye,—God's promise in truth; and who is truer than God in speech? Not for your vain desires, nor the vain desires of the people of the Book. He who doeth evil shall be recompensed therewith, and shall not find for him beside God a patron, or a help. But he who doeth good works,—be it male or female,—and believes, they shall enter into Paradise, and they shall not be wronged a jot.

Who has a better religion than he who resigns his face to God, and does good, and follows the faith of

¹ The pagan Arabs used to cut off the ears of cattle, and mutilate their slaves by branding, and filing their teeth, partly that they might recognise them and partly as a superstitious ceremony. See p. 112, note 1.

Abraham, as a 'Hanîf?—for God took Abraham as a friend.

[125] And God's is what is in the heavens and in the earth, and God encompasses all things!

They will ask thee a decision about women; say, 'God decides for you about them, and that which is rehearsed to you in the Book; about orphan women to whom ye do not give what is prescribed for them, and whom ye are averse from marrying; and about weak children; and that ye stand fairly by orphans;—and what ye do of good, verily, that God knows.'

And if a woman fears from her husband perverseness or aversion, it is no crime in them both that they should be reconciled to each other, for reconciliation is best. For souls are prone to avarice; but if ye act kindly and fear God, of what ye do He is aware.

Ye are not able, it may be, to act equitably to your wives, even though ye covet it; do not however be quite partial, and leave one as it were in suspense; but if ye be reconciled and fear, then God is forgiving and merciful; but if they separate, God can make both independent out of His abundance; for God is abundant, wise.

[130] God's is what is in the heavens and what is in the earth! We have ordained to those who have been given the Book before you, and to you too that ye fear God;—but if ye misbelieve, verily, God's is what is in the heavens and what is in the earth, and God is rich and to be praised!

God's is what is in the heavens and what is in the earth! and God sufficeth for a guardian!

If He will He can make ye pass away, O men! and can bring others;—God is able to do all that.

He who wishes for a reward in this world,—with God is the reward of this world and of the next, and God both hears and sees.

O ye who believe! be ye steadfast in justice, witnessing before God though it be against yourselves, or your parents, or your kindred, be it rich or poor, for God is nearer akin than either.

Follow not, then, lusts, so as to act partially; but if ye swerve or turn aside, God of what ye do is well aware.

[135] O ye who believe! believe in God and His apostles, and the Book which He hath revealed to His Apostle, and the Book which He sent down before; for whoso disbelieves in God, and His angels, and His Apostle, and the last day, has erred a wide error.

Verily, those who believe and then misbelieve, and then believe and then misbelieve, and then increase in misbelief, God will never pardon them, nor will He guide them in the path.

Give to the hypocrites the glad tidings that for them is grievous woe!

Those who take the misbelievers for their patron rather than believers,—do they crave honour from them? Verily, honour is altogether God's!

He hath revealed this to you in the Book¹, that when ye hear the signs of God disbelieved in and mocked at, then sit ye not down with them until they plunge into another discourse, for verily, then ye would be like them. Verily, God will gather the hypocrites and misbelievers into hell together.

¹ Chap. VI, v. 67, which chronologically precedes the present; see Introduction.

[140] Those who lie in wait for you, and if the victory be yours from God, say, 'Were we not with you?' and if the misbelievers have a chance, they say, 'Did we not get the mastery over you, and defend you from the believers?' But God shall judge between you on the resurrection day; for God will not give the misbelievers a way against believers.

Verily, the hypocrites seek to deceive God, but He deceives them; and when they rise up to pray, they rise up lazily to be seen of men, and do not remember God, except a few; wavering between the two, neither to these nor yet to those! but whomsoever God doth lead astray thou shall not find for him a way.

O ye who believe! take not misbelievers for patrons rather than believers; do ye wish to make for God a power against you?

Verily, the hypocrites are in the lowest depths of hell-fire, and thou shalt not find for them a help.

[145] Save those who turn again, and do right, and take tight hold on God, and are sincere in religion to God; these are with the believers, and God will give to the believers mighty hire.

Why should God punish you, if ye are grateful and believe? for God is grateful and knowing.

God loves not publicity of evil speech, unless one has been wronged; for God both hears and knows.

If ye display good or hide it, or pardon evil, verily, God is pardoning and powerful!

Verily, those who disbelieve in God and His apostles desire to make a distinction between God and His apostles, and say, 'We believe in part and

disbelieve in part, and desire to take a midway course between the two : ' [150] these are the misbelievers, and we have prepared for misbelievers shameful woe ! But those who believe in God and His apostles, and who do not make a distinction between any one of them,—to these we will give their hire, for God is forgiving and merciful !

The people of the Book will ask thee to bring down for them a book from heaven ; but they asked Moses a greater thing than that, for they said, ' Show us God openly ; ' but the thunderbolt caught them in their injustice. Then they took the calf, after what had come to them of manifest signs ; but we pardoned that, and gave Moses obvious authority. And we held over them the mountain ¹ at their compact, and said to them, ' Enter ye the door adoring ; ' and we said to them, ' Transgress not on the Sabbath day, ' and we took from them a rigid compact.

But for that they broke their compact, and for their misbelief in God's signs, and for their killing the prophets undeservedly, and for their saying, ' Our hearts are uncircumcised, '—nay, God hath stamped on them their misbelief, so that they cannot believe except a few,—[155] and for their misbelief, and for their saying about Mary a mighty calumny, and for their saying, ' Verily, we have killed the Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, the apostle of God, ' . . . but they did not kill him, and they did not crucify him, but a similitude was made for them. And verily, those who differ about him are in doubt concerning him ; they have no knowledge concerning him, but only follow an opinion. They did not kill

¹ See note, p. 8.

him, for sure! nay, God raised him up unto Himself; for God is mighty and wise¹!

And there shall not be one of the people of the Book but shall believe in him before his death²; and on the day of judgment he shall be a witness against them.

And for the injustice of those who are Jews have we forbidden them good things which we had made lawful for them, and for their obstructing so much the way of God, and for their taking usury when we had forbidden it, and for their devouring the wealth of people in vain,—but we have prepared for those of them who misbelieve a grievous woe.

[160] But those amongst them who are firm in knowledge, and the believers who believe in what is revealed to thee, let what is revealed before thee, and the steadfast in prayer, and the givers of alms, and the believers in God and the last day,—unto these we will give a mighty hire.

Verily, we have inspired thee as we inspired Noah and the prophets after him, and as we inspired Abraham, and Ishmael, and Jacob, and the tribes, and Jesus, and Job, and Jonas, and Aaron, and Solomon; and to David did we give Psalms.

Of apostles we have already told thee of some before; and of apostles some we have not told thee of;—

But Moses did God speak to, speaking;—apostles giving glad tidings and warning, that men should have no argument against God, after the apostles, for God is mighty, wise!

¹ See p. 53, note 3.

² This may allude to the time of his death after his second advent, when he shall slay the antichrist.

But God bears witness to what He has revealed to thee : He revealed it in His knowledge, and the angels bear witness too ; though God is witness enough.

[165] Verily, those who misbelieve and obstruct the way of God, have erred a wide error.

Verily, those who misbelieve and are unjust, God will not pardon them, nor will He guide them on the road—save the road to hell, to dwell therein for aye ;—that is easy enough to God !

O ye folk ! the Apostle has come to you with truth from your Lord : believe then, for it is better for you. But if ye misbelieve, then God's is what is in the heavens and the earth, and God is knowing, wise.

O ye people of the Book ! do not exceed in your religion, nor say against God aught save the truth. The Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, is but the apostle of God and His Word, which He cast into Mary and a spirit from Him ; believe then in God and His apostles, and say not ' Three.' Have done ! it were better for you. God is only one God, celebrated be His praise that He should beget a Son ! His is what is in the heavens and what is in the earth ; and God sufficeth for a guardian.

[170] The Messiah doth surely not disdain to be a servant of God, nor do the angels who are nigh to Him ; and whosoever disdains His service and is too proud, He will gather them altogether to Himself.

But as for those who believe and do what is right, He will pay their hire and will give increase to them of His grace. But as for those who disdain and are too proud, He will punish them with a grievous woe, and they shall not find for them other than God a patron or a help.

O ye folk! proof has come to you from your Lord, and we have sent down to you manifest light. As for those who believe in God, and take tight hold of Him, He will make them enter into mercy from Him and grace; and He will guide them to Himself by a right way.

[175] They will ask thee for a decision; say, 'God will give you a decision concerning remote kinship¹.'

If a man perish and have no child, but have a sister, let her have half of what he leaves; and he shall be her heir, if she have no son. But if there be two sisters, let them both have two thirds of what he leaves; and if there be brethren, both men and women, let the male have like the portion of two females. God makes this manifest to you lest ye err; for God all things doth know.

THE CHAPTER OF THE TABLE.

(V. Medīnah.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

O ye who believe! fulfil your compacts.—Lawful for you are brute beasts, save what is here recited to you, not allowing you the chase while ye are on pilgrimage; verily, God ordaineth what He will.

O ye who believe! do not deem the monuments of God to be lawful, nor the sacred month², nor the offering, nor its neck garlands, nor those who sojourn at the sacred house, craving grace from their Lord and His pleasure.

¹ See note 1, p. 73.

² Mu'harram.

But when ye are in lawful state again, then chase ; and let not ill-will against the people who turned you from the Sacred Mosque¹ make you transgress ; but help one another in righteousness and piety, and do not help one another to sin and enmity ; but fear God,—verily, God is keen to punish.

Forbidden to you is that which dies of itself, and blood, and the flesh of swine, and that which is devoted to other than God, and the strangled and the knocked down, and that which falls down, and the gored, and what wild beasts have eaten—except what ye slaughter in time—and what is sacrificed to idols², and dividing carcasses by arrows³.

To-day shall those who disbelieve in your religion despair ; do ye not then fear them, but fear me—
[5] To-day is perfected for you your religion, and fulfilled upon you is my favour, and I am pleased for you to have Islâm for a religion. But he who is forced by hunger, not inclined wilfully to sin, verily, God is forgiving, compassionate.

They will ask thee what is lawful for them ? say, ‘ Lawful for you are good things and what ye have taught beasts of prey (to catch), training them like dogs ;—ye teach them as God taught you ;—so eat of what they catch for you, and mention the name of God over it, and fear God, for verily, God is swift in reckoning up.’

Lawful for you to-day are good things, and the food of those to whom the Book has been given is

¹ The Qurâish, who sent to meet Mohammed with 1400 men at ‘Hudâibîyeh to prevent him from approaching Mecca, A. H. 6.

² Literally, ‘stones set up,’ Dolmens and the like, which are so common throughout Arabia.

³ By the game of mâisar, see p. 32.

lawful for you, and your food is lawful for them; and chaste women of those who believe, and chaste women of those to whom the Book has been given before you,—when you have given them their hire, living chastely and not fornicating, and not taking paramours. But whoso disbelieves in the faith, of a truth his work is vain, and he shall be in the next life of those who lose.

O ye who believe! when ye rise up to prayer wash your faces, and your hands as far as the elbows, and wipe your heads, and your feet down to the ankles. And if ye are polluted, then purify yourselves. But if ye are sick, or on a journey, or if one of you comes from the privy, or if ye have touched women and cannot find water, then take fine surface sand and wipe your faces and your hands therewith. God does not wish to make any hindrance for you; but He wishes to purify you and to fulfil his favour upon you; haply ye may give thanks.

[10] Remember the favour of God to you and His covenant which He covenanted with you, when ye said, 'We hear and we obey¹;' and fear God, verily, God knows the nature of men's breasts.

O ye who believe! stand steadfast to God as witnesses with justice; and let not ill-will towards people make you sin by not acting with equity. Act with equity, that is nearer to piety, and fear God; for God is aware of what ye do.

God has promised to those who believe and work righteousness, that for them is pardon and a mighty hire. But those who disbelieve and call our signs lies, these are the fellows of hell.

¹ Referring to the oath of fidelity which Mohammed's adherents took at 'Akabah.

O ye who believe! remember God's favour towards you, when a people intended to stretch their hands against you, but He withheld their hands from you¹; and upon God let believers rely.

[15] God did take a compact from the children of Israel, and raised up of them twelve wardens; and God said, 'Verily, I am with you, if ye be steadfast in prayer, and give alms, and believe in my apostles, and assist them, and lend to God a goodly loan; then will I cover your offences and make you enter gardens beneath which rivers flow: and whoso disbelieves after that, he hath erred from the level way.

And for that they broke their compact, we cursed them, and placed in their hearts hardness, so that they perverted the words from their places, and forgot a portion of what they were reminded of².

But thou wilt not cease to light upon treachery amongst them, save a few of them; but pardon them and shun them; verily, God loves the kind.

And of those who say, 'Verily, we are Christians,' we have taken a compact; but they have forgotten a portion of what they were reminded of; wherefore have we excited amongst them enmity and hatred till the resurrection day; but God will tell them of what they have done.

O ye people of the Book! our Apostle has come to you to explain to you much of what ye had hidden of the Book, and to pardon much. There has come to you from God a light, and a perspicuous

¹ Various stories are told in explanation of this passage, but they are all obviously apocryphal, the angel Gabriel intervening to prevent some mischief either to the Apostle or his followers.

² That is, the text foretelling the coming of Mohammed; see Introduction.

Book ; God guides thereby those who follow His pleasure to the way of peace, and brings them into a right way.

They misbelieve who say, 'Verily, God is the Messiah the son of Mary ;' say, 'Who has any hold on God, if he wished to destroy the Messiah the son of Mary, and his mother, and those who are on earth altogether ?'

[20] God's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth and what is between the two ; He createth what He will, for God is mighty over all !

But the Jews and the Christians say, 'We are the sons of God and His beloved.' Say, 'Why then does He punish you for your sins ? nay, ye are mortals of those whom He has created ! He pardons whom He pleases, and punishes whom He pleases ; for God's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and what is between the two, and unto Him the journey is.

O people of the Book ! our Apostle has come to you, explaining to you the interval of apostles ; lest ye say, 'There came not to us a herald of glad tidings nor a warner.' But there has come to you now a herald of glad tidings and a warner, and God is mighty over all !

When Moses said to his people, 'O my people ! remember the favour of God towards you when He made amongst you prophets, and made for you kings, and brought you what never was brought to anybody in the worlds. O my people ! enter the Holy Land which God has prescribed for you ; and be ye not thrust back upon your hinder parts and retreat losers. [25] They said, 'O Moses ! verily, therein is a people, giants ; and we will surely not enter therein

until they go out from thence; but if they go out then we will enter in.' Then said two men of those who fear,—God had been gracious to them both,—'Enter ye upon them by the door, and when ye have entered it, verily, ye shall be victorious; and upon God do ye rely if ye be believers.' They said, 'O Moses! we shall never enter it so long as they are therein; so, go thou and thy Lord and fight ye twain; verily, we will sit down here.' Said he, 'My Lord, verily, I can control only myself and my brother; therefore part us from these sinful people.' He said, 'Then, verily, it is forbidden them; for forty years shall they wander about in the earth; so vex not thyself for the sinful people.'

[30] Recite to them the story of the two sons of Adam; truly when they offered an offering and it was accepted from one of them, and was not accepted from the other, that one said, 'I will surely kill thee;' he said, 'God only accepts from those who fear. If thou dost stretch forth to me thine hand to kill me, I will not stretch forth mine hand to kill thee; verily, I fear God the Lord of the worlds; verily, I wish that thou mayest draw upon thee my sin and thy sin, and be of the fellows of the Fire, for that is the reward of the unjust.' But his soul allowed him to slay his brother, and he slew him, and in the morning he was of those who lose. And God sent a crow to scratch in the earth and show him how he might hide his brother's shame, he said, 'Alas, for me! Am I too helpless to become like this crow and hide my brother's shame?' and in the morning he was of those who did repent.

[35] For this cause have we prescribed to the children of Israel that whoso kills a soul, unless it

be for another soul or for violence in the land, it is as though he had killed men altogether; but whoso saves one, it is as though he saved men altogether.

Our apostles came to them with manifest signs; then, verily, many of them did after that commit excesses in the earth.

The reward of those who make war against God and His Apostle, and strive after violence in the earth, is only that they shall be slaughtered or crucified, or their hands cut off and their feet on alternate sides, or that they shall be banished from the land;—that is a disgrace for them in this world, and for them in the next is mighty woe; save for those who repent before ye have them in your power, for know ye that God is forgiving, merciful.

O ye who believe! fear God and crave the means to approach Him, and be strenuous in His way, haply ye will prosper then.

[40] Verily, those who disbelieve, even though they had what is in the earth, all of it, and the like thereof with it, to offer as a ransom from the punishment of the resurrection day, it would not be accepted from them; but for them is grievous woe. They may wish to go forth from the Fire, but they shall not go forth therefrom, for them is lasting woe.

The man thief and the woman thief, cut off the hands of both as a punishment, for that they have erred;—an example from God, for God is mighty, wise.

But whoso turns again after his injustice and acts aright, verily, God will turn to him, for, verily, God is forgiving, merciful.

Do ye not know that God, His is the kingdom of

the heavens and the earth ; He punishes whom He pleases, and forgives whom He pleases, for God is mighty over all ?

[45] O thou Apostle ! let not those grieve thee who vie in misbelief ; or those who say with their mouths ' We believe,' but their hearts do not believe ; or of those who are Jews, listeners to a lie,—listeners to other people, but who come not to thee. They pervert the words from their places and say, ' If this is what ye are given, take it ; but if ye are not given it, then beware !' but he whom God wishes to mislead, thou canst do nothing with God for him ; these are those whose hearts God wishes not to purify, for them in this world is disgrace, and for them in the next is mighty woe,—listeners to a lie, eaters of unlawful things !

But if they come to thee, then judge between them or turn aside from them ; but if thou turnest aside from them they shall not harm thee at all, but if thou judgest, then judge between them with justice, verily, God loves the just. But how should they make thee their judge, when they have the law wherein is God's judgment ? Yet they turn back after that, for they do not believe.

Verily, we have revealed the law in which is guidance and light ; the prophets who were resigned did judge thereby those who were Jews, as did the masters¹ and doctors by what they remembered of the Book of God and by what they were witnesses of. Fear not men, but fear me, and sell not my signs for a little price ; for whoso will not judge by what God has revealed, these be the misbelievers.

¹ See note 2, p. 56.

We have prescribed for thee therein 'a life for a life, and an eye for an eye, and a nose for a nose, and an ear for an ear, and a tooth for a tooth, and for wounds retaliation;' but whoso remits it, it is an expiation for him, but he whoso will not judge by what God has revealed, these be the unjust.

[50] And we followed up the footsteps of these (prophets) with Jesus the son of Mary, confirming that which was before him and the law, and we brought him the gospel, wherein is guidance and light, verifying what was before it of the law, and a guidance and an admonition unto those who fear.

Then let the people of the gospel judge by that which is revealed therein, for whoso will not judge by what God has revealed, these be the evildoers.

We have revealed to thee the Book in truth verifying what was before it, and preserving it; judge then between them by what God has revealed, and follow not their lusts, turning away from what is given to thee of the truth.

For each one of you have we made a law and a pathway; and had God pleased He would have made you one nation, but He will surely try you concerning that which He has brought you. Be ye therefore emulous in good deeds; to God is your return altogether, and He will let you know concerning that wherein ye do dispute.

Wherefore judge thou between them by what God has revealed, and follow not their lusts; but beware lest they mislead thee from part of what God has revealed to thee; yet if they turn back, then know that God wishes to fall on them for some sins of theirs,—verily, many men are evildoers.

[55] Is it the judgment of the Ignorance they

crave¹? but who is better than God to judge for people who are sure?

O ye who believe! take not the Jews and Christians for your patrons: they are patrons of each other; but whoso amongst you takes them for patrons, verily, he is of them, and, verily, God guides not an unjust people.

Thou wilt see those in whose hearts is a sickness vieing with them; they say, 'We fear lest there befall us a reverse.' It may be God will give the victory, or an order from Himself, and they may awake repenting of what they thought in secret to themselves.

Those who believe say, 'Are these they who swore by God with their most strenuous oath that they were surely with you?'—their works are in vain and they shall wake the losers.

O ye who believe! whoso is turned away from his religion—God will bring (instead) a people² whom He loves and who love Him, lowly to believers, lofty to unbelievers, strenuous in the way of God, fearing not the blame of him who blames. That is God's grace! He gives it unto whom He pleases, for God both comprehends and knows.

[60] God only is your patron, and His Apostle and those who believe, who are steadfast in prayer and give alms, bowing down. Whoso taketh as patrons God and His apostles and those who believe;—verily, God's crew, they are victorious!

O ye who believe! take not for patrons those who

¹ The time before the Mohammedan dispensation is always so called.

² I. e. to take his place.

take your religion for a jest or a sport, from amongst those who have been given the Book before and the misbelievers; but fear God if ye be believers. Nor those who, when ye call to prayer, take it for a jest and a sport; that is because they are a people who do not understand.

Say, 'O people of the Book! do ye disavow us, for aught but that we believe in God, and what was revealed to us before, and for that most of you are evildoers?'

[65] Say, 'Can I declare unto you something worse than retribution from God?' Whomsoever God has cursed and been wroth with—and he has made of them apes and swine—and who worship *Tâghût*, they are in a worse plight and are more erring from the level path. When they come to you they say, 'We believe;' but they entered in with unbelief, and they went out therewith, and God knows best what they did hide.

Thou wilt see many of them vieing in sin and enmity, and in eating unlawful things,—evil is it that they have done. The masters and their doctors prohibit them from speaking sin and eating unlawful things,—evil is what they have performed.

The Jews say, 'God's hand is fettered;' their hands are fettered and they are cursed for what they said; nay! His hands are outspread, He expends how He pleases! and that which has been sent down to thee from thy Lord will surely increase many of them in their rebellion and misbelief, for we have cast amongst them enmity and hatred till the resurrection day. Whenever they light a fire¹ for war,

¹ The ancient Arabs always lit a beacon-fire as a proclamation of war, or a notice of the approach of an enemy.

God puts it out; they strive for corruption in the earth, but God loves not the corrupt.

[70] But did the people of the Book believe and fear, we would cover their offences, and we would make them enter into gardens of pleasure; and were they steadfast in the law and the gospel, and what has been sent down to them from their Lord, they should eat from above them and below them. Amongst them are a nation who are moderate, but many of them—bad is what they do.

O thou Apostle! preach what has been revealed to thee from thy Lord; if thou do it not thou hast not preached His message, and God will not hold thee free from men; for God guides not people who misbelieve.

Say, 'O people of the Book! ye rest on naught until ye stand fast by the law and the gospel, and what is revealed to you from your Lord.' But what has been revealed to thee from thy Lord will of a surety increase many of them in rebellion and misbelief, vex not thyself then for a people who misbelieve.

Verily, those who believe and those who are Jews, and the Sabæans, and the Christians, whosoever believes in God and the last day, and does what is right, there is no fear for them, nor shall they grieve.

We took a compact of the children of Israel, and we sent to them apostles; every time there came to them an apostle with what their souls loved not, a part of them they did call liars and a part of them they slew.

[75] And they reckoned that there would be no disturbance; but they were blind and deaf! and then

God turned again towards them : and then many amongst them were blind and deaf ! but God saw what they did.

They misbelieve who say, ' Verily, God is the Messiah the son of Mary ; ' but the Messiah said, ' O children of Israel ! worship God, my Lord and your Lord ; ' verily, he who associates aught with God, God hath forbidden him Paradise, and his resort is the Fire, and the unjust shall have none to help them.

They misbelieve who say, ' Verily, God is the third of three ; ' for there is no God but one, and if they do not desist from what they say, there shall touch those who misbelieve amongst them grievous woe.

Will they not turn again towards God and ask pardon of Him ? for God is forgiving and merciful.

The Messiah the son of Mary is only a prophet : prophets before him have passed away ; and his mother was a confessor ; they used both to eat food.— See how we explain to them the signs, yet see how they turn aside !

[80] Say, ' Will ye serve, other than God, what can neither hurt you nor profit you ? ' but God, He both hears and knows.

Say, ' O people of the Book ! exceed not the truth in your religion, and follow not the lusts of a people who have erred before, and who lead many astray, and who go away from the level path. '

Those of the children of Israel who disbelieved were cursed by the tongue of David and Jesus the son of Mary ; that is because they rebelled and did transgress ; they would not desist from the wrong they did ; evil is that which they did. Thou wilt

see many of them taking those who disbelieve for their patrons; evil is that which their souls have sent before them, for God's wrath is on them, and in the torment shall they dwell for aye. But had they believed in God and the prophet, and what was revealed to him, they had not taken these for their patrons; but many of them are evildoers.

[85] Thou wilt surely find that the strongest in enmity against those who believe are the Jews and the idolaters; and thou wilt find the nearest in love to those who believe to be those who say, 'We are Christians;' that is because there are amongst them priests and monks, and because they are not proud.

And when they hear what has been revealed to the prophet, you will see their eyes gush with tears at what they recognise as truth therein; and they will say, 'O our Lord! we believe, so write us down amongst the witnesses. Why should we not believe in God and the truth that is given to us, nor desire that our Lord should make us enter with the upright people?'

Therefore has God rewarded them, for what they said, with gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye; that is the reward of those who do good; but those who disbelieve and say our signs are lies, they are the fellows of hell.

O ye who believe! forbid not the good things which God has made lawful for you, nor transgress; verily, God loves not the transgressors.

[90] But eat of what God has provided you lawfully of good things; and fear God, in whom ye believe.

God will not catch you up for a casual word in your oaths, but He will catch you up for having

what ye make deliberate oaths about; and the expiation thereof is to feed ten poor men with the middling food ye feed your families withal, or to clothe them, or to free a neck¹; but he who has not the means, then let him fast three days. That is the expiation of your oaths, when ye have sworn to keep your oaths; thus does God explain to you His signs,—haply ye may be grateful.

O ye who believe! verily, wine, and el mâisar², and statues³, and divining (arrows) are only an abomination of Satan's work; avoid them then that haply ye may prosper. Satan only desires to place enmity and hatred between you by wine and mâisar, and to turn you from the remembrance of God and from prayer; but will ye not desist, and obey God, and obey the apostles, and beware, for if ye turn back then know that our Apostle has only his message to preach?

There is no crime in those who believe and do right, for having tasted food, when they fear God, and believe, and do what is right, and then fear Him, and believe, and then fear, and do good, for God loves those who do good.

[95] O ye who believe! God will try you with something of the game that your hands and your lances take, that God may know who fears Him in secret; and whoso transgresses after that, for him is grievous woe.

O ye who believe! kill not game while ye are on

¹ I.e. from the yoke of captivity.

² See note 4, p. 32.

³ This has been thought by strict Musselmans to exclude the game of chess. Sunnis, however, play the game with plain pieces like drafts, though Persians and Indians are not so scrupulous.

pilgrimage. But he amongst you who kills it purposely, his compensation is the like of that which he has killed, in sheep—of which two equitable persons amongst you shall be judge—an offering brought to the Kaabah; or as an expiation, the food of poor persons, or an equivalent thereof in fasting, that he may taste the evil result of his deed. God pardons bygones; but whoso returns, God will take vengeance on him, for God is mighty and the avenger.

Lawful for you is the game of the sea, and to eat thereof; a provision for you and for travellers; but forbidden you is the game of the land while ye are on pilgrimage; so fear God to whom ye shall be gathered.

God has made the Kaabah, the sacred House, to be a station for men, and the sacred month, and the offering and its neck garland; this is that ye may know that God knows what is in the heavens and what is in the earth, and that God knows all things. Know that God is keen to punish, but that God is forgiving, merciful.

The Apostle has only to preach his message, but God knows what ye show and what ye hide.

[100] Say, 'The vile shall not be deemed equal with the good, although the abundance of the vile please thee.' Fear God then, O ye who have minds! haply ye may prosper.

O ye who believe! ask not about things which if they be shown to you will pain you; but if ye ask about them when the (whole) Qur'ân is revealed, they shall be shown to you. God pardons that, for God is forgiving and clement. People before you have asked about that, yet on the morrow did they disbelieve therein.

And God has not ordained any Ba'hîrah or Sâibah, nor Wazîlah nor 'Hâmî¹, but those who misbelieve invent a lie against God, for most of them do not understand.

And when it is said to them, 'Come round to what God has revealed unto His Apostle,' they say, 'Enough for us is what we found our fathers agreed upon.' What! though their fathers knew nothing and were not guided.

O ye who believe! mind yourselves; he who errs can do you no hurt when ye are guided: unto God is your return altogether, and He will declare to you that which ye do not know.

[105] O ye who believe! let there be a testimony between you when any one of you is on the point of death—at the time he makes his will—two equitable persons from amongst you; or two others from some other folk, if ye be knocking about in the land, and the calamity of death befall you; ye shall shut them both up after prayer, and they shall both swear by

¹ These were the names given to certain animals which were marked and allowed to graze at liberty. Ba'hîrah was the name given to a camel which had had ten young ones; her ear was then slit and she was turned loose to feed. When she died her flesh was eaten by the men only, the women being forbidden to touch it. There were, however, cases in which any she-camel was so called and treated. Sâibah signifies merely a camel turned loose, her being so turned out was generally in fulfilment of a vow. Wazîlah was a term applied to any cattle, including sheep and goats, and generally meant a beast who had brought forth a male and female at the seventh parturition. 'Hâmî was a stallion camel which, after begetting ten young ones, was turned loose. As all these customs were connected with the idolatrous superstitions of the pagan Arabs, and tended to keep alive the rites and beliefs of paganism, Mohammed forbade them, with other similar superstitions.

God, if ye doubt them, (saying), 'We will not sell (our testimony) for a price, though it were to a relative, nor will we hide God's testimony, verily, then, we should be among sinners.' But if it shall be lit upon that they too have deserved the imputation of sin, then let two others stand up in their place with those who think them deserving of the imputation, the nearest two in kin, and they shall both swear by God, 'Indeed, our testimony is truer than the testimony of those two, and we have not transgressed, for then we should surely be of the unjust:' thus is it easier for men to bear testimony according to the purport thereof, else must they fear lest an oath be given to rebut their own oath; but let them fear God and listen, for God guides not the people who do ill.

On the day when God shall assemble the apostles and shall say, 'How were ye answered?' they will say, 'We have no knowledge; verily, thou art He who knoweth the unseen.'

When God said, 'O Jesus, son of Mary! remember my favours towards thee and towards thy mother, when I aided thee with the Holy Ghost, till thou didst speak to men in the cradle and when grown up.

[110] 'And when I taught thee the Book and wisdom and the law and the gospel; when thou didst create of clay, as it were, the likeness of a bird, by my power, and didst blow thereon, it became a bird; and thou didst heal the blind from birth, and the leprous by my permission; and when thou didst bring forth the dead by my permission; and when I did ward off the children of Israel from thee, when thou didst come to them with manifest signs, and those who

misbelieved amongst them said, "This is naught but obvious magic."

'And when I inspired the apostles that they should believe in him and in my Apostle, they said, "We believe; do thou bear witness that we are resigned."'

When the apostles said, 'O Jesus, son of Mary! is thy Lord able to send down to us a table from heaven?' he said, 'Fear God, if ye be believers; and they said, 'We desire to eat therefrom that our hearts may be at rest, and that we may know that what thou hast told us is the truth, and that we may be thereby amongst the witnesses.' Said Jesus the son of Mary, 'O God, our Lord! send down to us a table from heaven to be to us as a festival,—to the first of us and to the last, and a sign from Thee,—and grant us provision, for Thou art the best of providers.'

[115] God said, 'Verily, I am about to send it down to you; but whoso disbelieves amongst you after that, verily, I will torment him with the torment which I have not tormented any one with in all the worlds.'

And when God said, 'O Jesus, son of Mary! is it thou who didst say to men, take me and my mother for two gods, beside God?' He said, 'I celebrate Thy praise! what ails me that I should say what I have no right to? If I had said it, Thou wouldst have known it; Thou knowest what is in my soul, but I know not what is in Thy soul; verily, Thou art one who knoweth the unseen. I never told them save what Thou didst bid me,—"Worship God, my Lord and your Lord," and I was a witness against them so long as I was amongst them; but when Thou didst take me away to thyself Thou wert the watcher over them, for Thou art witness over all. If

Thou shouldst punish them, verily, they are Thy servants; if Thou shouldst forgive them, verily, Thou art the mighty and the wise.' God said, 'This is the day when their confession shall profit the confessors, for them are gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for ever and for aye.'

God is well pleased with them, and they well pleased with Him; that is the mighty happiness.

[120] God's is the kingdom of the heavens, and the earth, and all that is therein, and He is mighty over all.

THE CHAPTER OF CATTLE¹.

(VI. Mecca.)

In the name of the merciful and compassionate God!

Praise belongs to God who created the heavens and the earth, and brought into being the darkness and the light². Yet do those who misbelieve hold Him to have peers.

He it is who created you from clay; then He decreed a term,—a term³ ordained with Him. And yet ye doubt thereof.

He is God in the heavens and the earth. He knows your secret conduct and your plain, and He knows what ye earn⁴.

¹ So called from the mention which it contains of the superstitious customs of the Arabs with regard to their cattle.

² Said to be a protest against the dualistic doctrine that Light and Darkness were two co-eternal principles.

³ I.e. a term for your life and another for your resurrection.

⁴ By good or evil works.

There came not to them any sign of the signs of their Lord, but they turned away; [5] and they have called the truth a lie now that it has come to them, but there shall come to them the message of that at which they mocked.

Do not they see how many a generation we have destroyed before them, whom we had settled in the earth as we have not settled for you, and sent the rain of heaven upon them in copious showers, and made the waters flow beneath them? Then we destroyed them in their sins, and raised up other generations after them.

Had we sent down to thee a book on paper, and they had touched it with their hands, still those who misbelieve would have said, 'This is naught but obvious magic.' They say, 'Why has not an angel been sent down to him?' but if we had sent down an angel, the affair would have been decided, and then they would have had no respite.

And had we made him¹ an angel, we should have made him as a man too; and we would have made perplexing for them that which they deem perplexing now.

[10] There have been prophets before thee mocked at, but that encompassed them which the scoffers among them mocked at.

Say, 'Go about in the earth, then wilt thou see how has been the end of those who called them liars.'

Say, 'Whose is what is in the heavens and the earth?'

Say, 'God's, who has imposed mercy on himself.'

¹ I.e. the prophet.

He will surely gather you together for the resurrection day. There is no doubt in that, but those who waste their souls¹ will not believe.

His is whatsoever dwells in the night or in the day, He both hears and knows.

Say, 'Other than God shall I take for a patron, the Originator of the heavens and the earth? He feedeth men, but is not fed.' Say, 'I am bidden to be the first of those resigned;' and it was said to me, 'Be not thou of the idolaters.' [15] Say, 'I fear, if I rebel against my Lord, the torment of the mighty day.'

Whomsoever it is averted from on that day, God will have had mercy on; and that is obvious happiness.

And if God touch thee with harm, there is none to take it off but He; and if He touch thee with good, He is mighty over all. He is sovereign over His servants, He is the wise, the aware!

Say, 'What is the greatest witness?' Say, 'God is witness between you and me.' This Qur'ân was inspired to me to warn you and those it reaches. Do ye really bear witness that with God are other gods? Say, 'I bear not witness thereto:' say, 'He is but one God, and I am clear of your associating (gods with him).'

[20] Those to whom we have brought the Book know him² as they know their sons;—those who lose their souls do not believe.

Who is more unjust than he who forges against God a lie, or says His signs are lies? verily, the unjust shall not prosper.

¹ I.e. their innate propensities to good and their reason.

² Mohammed.

On the day when we shall gather them all together, then shall we say to those who have associated others with ourself, 'Where are your associates whom ye did pretend?' Then they will have no excuse but to say, 'By God our Lord, we did not associate (others with thee)!' See how they lie against themselves, and how what they did forge deserts them! [25] And they are some who listen unto thee, but we have placed a veil upon their hearts lest they should understand it, and in their ears is dulness of hearing; and though they saw each sign they would not believe therein; until when they come to thee to wrangle with thee, the unbelievers say, 'These are but old folks' tales.'

They forbid it and they avoid it;—but they destroy none but themselves; yet they do not perceive.

But couldst thou see when they are set over the fire and say, 'Would that we were sent back! we would not call our Lord's signs lies, but we would be of the believers?' Nay! now is shown to them what they did hide before; and could they be sent back, they would return to that they were forbidden, for they are very liars.

They say there is naught but this life of ours in the world and we shall not be raised. [30] But couldst thou see when they are set before their Lord; he says, 'Is not this the truth?' They say, 'Yea, by our Lord!' he says, 'Then taste the torment, for that ye did misbelieve!'

Losers are they who disbelieved in meeting God, until when the hour comes suddenly upon them they say, 'Woe is us for our neglect thereof!' for they

shall bear their burdens on their backs, evil is what they bear.

The life of this world is nothing but a game and a sport, and surely the next abode were better for those who fear. What! do they not understand?

Full well we know that verily that which they say grieves thee; but they do not call thee only a liar, for the unjust gainsay the signs of God. Called liars too were apostles before thee; but they were patient of being called liars and of being hurt until our help came to them; for there is none to change the words of God—now has there come to thee the story of those He sent.

[35] And if their turning from thee be hard for thee, and if thou canst seek for a shaft down into the earth, or a ladder up into the sky, to bring them a sign—but if God pleased He would bring them all to guidance, be thou not then of the ignorant.

He only answers the prayer of those who listen; but the dead will God raise up, then unto Him shall they return. They say, 'Unless there be sent down some sign from his Lord'—say, 'Verily, God is able to send down a sign, but most of them do not know.'

There is not a beast upon the earth nor a bird that flies with both its wings, but is a nation like to you; we have omitted nothing from the Book; then to their Lord shall they be gathered. Those who say our signs are lies—deafness, dumbness, in the dark! whom He pleases does God lead astray, and whom He pleases He places on the right way.

[40] Say, 'Look you now! if there should come God's torment, or there should come to you the hour, on other than God would ye call, if ye do tell the truth?' Nay, it is on Him that ye would call,

and He will avert that which ye call upon Him for if He but please; and ye shall forget that which ye did associate with Him.

Ere this we sent unto nations before thee, and we caught them in distress and trouble that haply they might humble themselves. And do they not, when our violence falls upon them, humble themselves?—but their hearts were hard, and Satan made seemly to them that which they had done.

And when they forgot what they were reminded of, we opened for them the gates of everything, until when they rejoiced at what they had, we caught them up suddenly, and lo! they were in despair.

[45] And the uttermost part of the people who did wrong were cut off; praise be to God, Lord of the worlds!

Say, 'Look you now! if God should catch your hearing and your sight, and should set a seal upon your hearts—who is god but God to bring you it again?'

Say, 'Look you now! if God's torment should come upon you suddenly or openly, would any perish save the people who do wrong?'

We do not send our messengers save as heralds of glad tidings and of warning, and whoso believes and acts aright, there is no fear for them, and they shall not be grieved, but those who say our signs are lies, torment shall touch them, for that they have done so wrong.

[50] Say, 'I do not say to you, mine are the treasures of God, nor that I know the unseen; I do not say to you, I am an angel—if I follow aught but what I am inspired with—:' say, 'Is the blind equal to him who sees—?' what! do ye not reflect?

Admonish therewith those who fear that they shall be gathered unto their Lord; there is no patron for them but Him, and no intercessor; haply they may fear.

Repulse not those who call upon their Lord in the morning and in the evening, desiring His face; they have no reckoning against thee at all, and thou hast no reckoning against them at all;—repulse them and thou wilt be of the unjust.

So have we tried some of them by others, that they may say, 'Are these those unto whom God has been gracious amongst ourselves?' Does not God know those who give thanks?

And when those who believe in our signs come to thee, say, 'Peace be on you! God hath prescribed for Himself mercy; verily, he of you who does evil in ignorance, and then turns again and does right,—verily, He is forgiving and merciful.'

[55] Thus do we detail our signs, that the way of the sinners may be made plain.

Say, 'I am forbidden to worship those ye call upon beside God;' say, 'I will not follow your lusts, for then should I err and not be of the guided.'

Say, 'I stand on a manifestation from my Lord, which ye call a lie. I have not with me what ye fain would hasten on, that the matter might be settled between me and you; but God knows best who are the unjust.'

With Him are the keys¹ of the unseen. None knows them save He; He knows what is in the

¹ Most of the Mohammedan commentators say this word means 'treasuries.' The allusion, however, is obviously to the Rabbinical tradition of the three keys, in the hands of God.

land and in the sea; and there falls not a leaf save that He knows it; nor a grain in the darkness of the earth, nor aught that is moist, nor aught that is dry, save that is in His perspicuous Book.

[60] He it is who takes you to Himself at night¹, and knows what ye have gained in the day; then He raises you up again, that your appointed time may be fulfilled; then unto Him is your return, and then will He inform you of what ye have done.

He triumphs over His servants; He sends to them guardian angels, until, when death comes to any one of you, our messengers take him away; they pass not over any one, and then are they returned to God, their true sovereign.

Is not His the rule? but He is very quick at reckoning up.

Say, 'Who rescues you from the darkness of the land and of the sea?' ye call upon Him in humility and in secret, 'Indeed, if He would rescue us from this, we will surely be of those who give Him thanks.' Say, 'God rescues from the darkness thereof, and from every trouble, yet ye associate others with Him.'

[65] Say, 'He is able to send torment on you from above you and from beneath your feet, and to confuse you in sects, and to make some of you taste the violence of others.'

See how we turn about the signs, that haply they may discriminate. Thy people called it a lie, and yet it is the truth. Say, 'I have not charge over you; to every prophecy is a set time, and in the end ye shall know.'

¹ In sleep.

When thou dost see those who plunge deeply into the discussion of our signs, turn from them until they plunge deeply into some other discourse; for it may be that Satan may make thee forget; but sit not, after thou hast remembered, with the unjust people.

Those who fear are not bound to take account of them at all, but mind!—haply they may fear.

Leave those who have taken their religion for a play and a sport, whom this world's life hath deceived, and remind them thereby that a soul shall be given up for what it has earned; nor has it, beside God, patron or intercessor; and though it should compensate with the fullest compensation, it would not be accepted. Those who are given up for what they have gained, for them is a drink of boiling water, and grievous woe for that they have misbelieved.

[70] Say, 'Shall we call on what neither profits us nor harms us, and be thrown back upon our heels after God has guided us, like him whom Satan hath led away bewildered in the earth, who has companions who call him to guidance, "Come to us?"' Say, 'Verily, God's guidance is the guidance, and we are bidden to resign ourselves unto the Lord of the worlds, and be ye steadfast in prayer and fear Him, for He it is to whom we shall be gathered.'

He it is who has created the heavens and the earth in truth; and on the day when He says, 'BE,' then it is. His word is truth; to Him is the kingdom on the day when the trumpets shall be blown; the knower of the unseen and of the evident; He is wise and well aware.

When Abraham said to his father Âzar¹, 'Dost thou take idols for gods? verily, I see thee and thy people in obvious error.' [75] Thus did we show Abraham the kingdom of heaven and of the earth, that he should be of those who are sure. And when the night overshadowed him he saw a star and said, 'This is my Lord;' but when it set he said, 'I love not those that set.' And when he saw the moon beginning to rise he said, 'This is my Lord;' but when it set he said, 'If God my Lord guides me not I shall surely be of the people who err.' And when he saw the sun beginning to rise he said, 'This is my Lord, this is greatest of all;' but when it set he said, 'O my people! verily, I am clear of what ye associate with God; verily, I have turned my face to him who originated the heaven and the earth, as a 'Hanîf, and I am not of the idolaters.' [80] And his people disputed with him;—he said, 'Do ye dispute with me concerning God, when He has guided me? but I fear not what ye associate with Him unless my Lord should wish for anything. My Lord doth comprehend all things in His knowledge, will ye not then remember? How should I fear what ye associate with Him, when ye yourselves fear not to associate with God what He has sent down to you no power to do? Which then of the two sects is worthier of belief, if indeed ye know?'

Those who believe and do not obscure their faith with wrong, they are those who shall have security, and they are guided.

¹ The Hebrew Terah is in Arabic Târah. Eusebius gives the form Athar, which may in some measure account for the name here given.

These are our arguments which we gave to Abraham against his people ;—we raise the rank of whom we will ; verily, thy Lord is wise and knowing. And we gave to him Isaac and Jacob, each did we guide. And Noah we guided before and all his seed,—David and Solomon and Job and Joseph and Moses and Aaron,—for thus do we reward those who do good. [85] And Zachariah and John and Jesus and Elias, all righteous ones ; and Ishmael and Elisha and Jonas and Lot, each one have we preferred above the worlds ; and of their fathers and their seed and brethren ; we have chosen them and guided them into a right way.

That is God's guidance ; He guides those whom He will of His servants ; and if they associate aught with Him,—vain is that which they have worked.

It is to these we give the Book and judgment and prophecy ; and if these disbelieve therein we have given them in charge to a people who shall not disbelieve.

[90] It is these that God hath guided, and by their guidance be thou led.

Say, 'I will not ask you for it a hire : it is naught save a reminder to the worlds.'

They do not prize God at His true worth when they say, 'God has never revealed to mortal anything.' Say, 'Who revealed the Book wherewith Moses came, a light and a guidance unto men ? Ye put it on papers which ye show, though ye hide much¹ ;

¹ The Jews are here, as frequently in the Qur'ân, accused of suppressing and altering those parts of their scriptures which referred, according to the Mussulman theory, to the mission of Mohammed.

and ye are taught what ye knew not, neither you nor your fathers.' Say, 'God,' then leave them in their discussion to play.

This is the Book which we have revealed, a blessing and a confirmation to those which were before it, and that the mother of cities¹ may be warned, with those who are round about her. Those who believe in the last day believe therein, and they unto their prayers will keep.

Who is more unjust than he who devises against God a lie, or says, 'I am inspired²,' when he was not inspired at all? and who says, 'I will bring down the like of what God has sent down;' but didst thou see when the unjust are in the floods of death, and the angels stretch forth their hands, 'Give ye forth your souls; to-day shall ye be recompensed with the torment of disgrace, for that ye did say against God what was not true, and were too proud to hear His signs³. And ye come now single-handed as we created you at first, and ye have left behind your backs that which we granted you; and we see not with you your intercessors whom ye pretended were partners⁴ amongst you; betwixt you have the ties

¹ Mecca.

² This refers to Abdallah ibn Sa'hd ibn Abî Sar'h, who acted as amanuensis to Mohammed, and when he came to the words 'We have created man from an extract of clay . . . , then we produced it another creation,' he said, 'and blessed be God, best of creators,' and Mohammed told him to write that down too; whereupon he boasted that he also had been inspired with this sentence which Mohammed acknowledged to be part of the Qur'ân.

³ This word is nearly always used for the verses of the Qur'ân.

⁴ That is, partners with God, idols; to associate being the usual phrase in the Qur'ân for idolatry.

been cut asunder; and strayed away from you is what ye did pretend.'

[95] Verily, God it is who cleaves out the grain and the date-stone; He brings forth the living from the dead, and it is He who brings the dead from the living. There is God! how then can ye be beguiled?

He it is who cleaves out the morning, and makes night a repose, and the sun and the moon two reckonings—that is the decree of the mighty, the wise!

He it is who made for you stars that ye might be guided thereby in the darkness of the land and of the sea. Now have we detailed the signs unto a people who do know.

He it is who made you spring from one soul, and gave you a settlement and a depository¹. Now have we detailed the signs unto a people who discern.

He it is who sends down from the heavens water; and we bring forth therewith growths of everything; and we bring forth therefrom green things, wherefrom we bring forth grain in full ear; and the palm, from its spathe come clusters within reach; and gardens of grapes and olives and pomegranates, alike and unlike;—behold its fruit when it fruits and ripens! verily, in that ye have a sign for the people who believe.

[100] Yet they made the ginn² partners with

¹ In the womb.

² Supernatural beings created, like the devils, of fire instead of clay, and possessed of miraculous powers. They are devoutly believed in by Muslims, and are supposed to be subject to the same controlling laws as mankind, and to have also had prophets sent to them. They are probably a survival of some old worship

God, though He created them! and they ascribed to Him sons and daughters, though they have no knowledge; celebrated be His praise! and exalted be He above what they attribute to Him! The inventor of the heavens and the earth! how can He have a son, when He has no female companion, and when He has created everything, and everything He knows?

There is God for you,—your Lord! There is no god but He, the Creator of everything; then worship Him, for He o'er everything keeps guard!

Sight perceives Him not, but He perceives men's sights; for He is the subtle, the aware.

Now has an insight from your Lord come unto you, and he who looks therewith it is for himself; but he who is blind thereto, it is against his soul; and I am not your keeper.

[105] Thus do we turn about the signs, that they may say, 'Thou hast studied,' and that we may explain to those who know.

Follow what is revealed to thee from thy Lord; there is no god but He, and shun the idolaters.

But had God pleased, they would not have associated aught with Him; but we have not made thee a keeper over them, nor art thou for them a warder.

Do not abuse those who call on other than God, for then they may abuse God openly in their ignorance. So do we make seemly to every nation their work, then unto their Lord is their return, and He will inform them of what they have done.

of the powers of nature. The word *ginn* is the same as that which in the old translation of the Arabian Nights is rendered 'genie.'

They swore by God with their most strenuous oath, that if there come to them a sign they will indeed believe therein. Say, 'Signs are only in God's hands; — but what will make you understand that even when one has come, they will not believe?'

[110] We will overturn their hearts and their eyesights, even as they believed not at first; and we will leave them, in their rebellion, blindly wandering on.

And had we sent down unto them the angels, or the dead had spoken to them, or we had gathered everything unto them in hosts¹, they would not have believed unless that God pleased—but most of them are ignorant.

So have we made for every prophet an enemy,— devils of men and *ginns*; some of them inspire others with specious speech to lead astray; but had thy Lord pleased they would not have done it; so leave them with what they do devise.

And let the hearts of those who believe not in the hereafter listen to it; and let them be well pleased with it; and let them gain what they may gain!

Of other than God shall I crave a decree, when it is He who has sent down to you the Book in detail, and those to whom we gave the Book know that it is sent down from thy Lord, in truth? be thou not then of those who doubt.

[115] The words of thy Lord are fulfilled in truth and justice; there is none to change His words, for He both hears and knows.

But if thou followest most of those who are in the

¹ This word may also be rendered 'before them' or 'a surety' (for the truth of the revelation).

land, they will lead thee astray from the path of God; they only follow suspicion and they only (rest on) conjecture.

Thy Lord, He knows best who errs from His path, and He knows best the guided.

Eat then of what God's name has been pronounced over, if ye believe in His signs. What ails you that ye do not eat from what God's name is pronounced over, when He has detailed to you what is unlawful for you? Save what ye are forced to; but, verily, many will lead you astray by their fancies, without knowledge. Verily, thy Lord knows best the transgressors.

[120] Leave alone the outside of sin and the inside thereof; verily, those who earn sin shall be recompensed for what they have gained.

But eat not of what the name of God has not been pronounced over, for, verily, it is an abomination. Verily, the devils inspire their friends that they may wrangle with you; but if ye obey them, verily, ye are idolaters.

Is he who was dead and we have quickened him, and made for him a light, that he might walk therein amongst men, like him whose likeness is in the darkness whence he cannot come forth? Thus is made seemly to the misbelievers what they have done.

And thus have we placed in every town the great sinners thereof, that they may use craft therein; but they use not craft except against themselves, although they do not understand.

And when there comes to them a sign, they say, 'We will not believe until we are brought like what the apostles were brought;' God knows best where

to put His message. There shall befall those who sin, meanness in God's eyes, and grievous torment for the craft they used.

[125] Whomsoever God wishes to guide, He expands His breast to Islâm; but whomsoever He wishes to lead astray, He makes his breast tight and straight, as though he would mount up into heaven¹; thus does God set His horror on those who do not believe.

This is the way of thy Lord—straight. We have detailed the signs unto a mindful people; for them is an abode of peace; and their Lord, He is their patron for what they have done.

And on the day when He shall gather them all together, 'O assembly of the ginns! ye have got much out of mankind.' And their clients from among mankind shall say, 'O our Lord! much advantage had we one from another;' but we reached our appointed time which thou hadst appointed for us. Says He, 'The fire is your resort, to dwell therein for aye! save what God pleases; verily, thy Lord is wise and knowing.'

Thus do we make some of the unjust patrons of the others, for that which they have earned.

[130] O assembly of ginns and men! did there not come to you apostles from among yourselves, relating to you our signs, and warning you of the meeting of this very day of yours? They say, 'We bear witness against ourselves.' The life of this world deceived them, and they bear witness against themselves that they were unbelievers.

¹ That is, makes him appear as one who would attempt some great but impossible thing and fails therein.

That is because thy Lord would never destroy towns unjustly while their people are careless; but for every one are degrees of what they have done; and thy Lord is not careless of that which they do.

Thy Lord is rich, merciful; if He pleases He will take you off, and will cause what He pleases to succeed you; even as He raised you up from the seed of other people.

Verily, what ye are promised will surely come, nor can ye frustrate it.

[135] Say, 'O my people! act according to your power, verily, I am acting too; and soon shall ye know whose is the future of the abode!' verily, the unjust shall not prosper.

They set apart for God, from what He raises of tilth and of cattle, a portion, and they say, 'This is God's;'—as they pretend—'and this is for our associates¹;' but that which is for their associates reaches not to God, and that which was for God does reach to their associates;—evil is it what they judge².

Thus too have their associates made seemly to many of the idolaters the killing of their children³,

¹ I. e. the idols.

² The pagan Arabs used to set apart certain of the produce of their fields to Allah the chief God, and other portions to minor deities of their pantheon. The fruits of the portion of the latter were reserved for the priests, who were careful to restore to their lot anything that might have fallen into that of Allah, but seldom troubled themselves to do the converse. This custom survives to a certain extent in the desert to the present day, where one tree in every district is devoted to patron saints, and allowed to grow untouched, although the others in the neighbourhood are hacked to pieces as food for camels.

³ Alluding both to human sacrifices to idols and the cruel custom of burying female children alive. See Introduction.

to destroy them, and to obscure for them their religion¹; but had God pleased they would not have done it, leave them alone and that which they have forged.

And they say, 'These cattle and tilth are inviolable; none shall taste thereof, save such as we please'—as they pretend—and there are cattle whose backs are prohibited, and cattle over whom God's name is not pronounced,—forging a lie against Him! He shall reward them for what they have forged.

[140] And they say, 'What is in the wombs of these cattle is unlawful for our wives, but if it be (born) dead, then are they partners therein.' He will reward them for their attribution; verily, He is wise and knowing.

Losers are they who kill their children foolishly, without knowledge, and who prohibit what God has bestowed upon them, forging a lie against God; they have erred and are not guided.

He it is who brought forth gardens with trailed² and untrailed vines, and the palms and corn land, with various food, and olives, and pomegranates, alike and unlike. Eat from the fruit thereof whene'er it fruits, and bring the dues thereof on the day of harvest, and be not extravagant; verily, He loves not the extravagant.

Of cattle are there some to ride on and to spread³. Eat of what God has bestowed upon you, and follow

¹ That is, to obscure what little trace it had of the original faith of Abraham the 'Hanîf.

² Trailed over an 'Arîsh, that is, a sort of hut made of boughs.

³ That is, spread out when slaughtered, or from the hides and wool, &c., of which a bed (farsh) is made.

not the footsteps of Satan; verily, he is to you an open foe.

Eight pairs,—of sheep two, and of goats two; say, 'Are the two males unlawful, or the two females, or what the wombs of the two females contain? inform me with knowledge if ye tell the truth.' [145] And of camels two, and cows two; say, 'Are the two males unlawful, or the two females, or what the wombs of the two females contain? Were ye witnesses when God ordained for you these?—Then who is more unjust than he who devises a lie against God, to lead men astray without knowledge? verily, God guides not the unjust people¹.'

Say, 'I cannot find in what I am inspired with anything unlawful for the taster to taste; unless it be dead (of itself), or blood that has been shed, or the flesh of swine,—for that is a horror—or an abomination that is consecrated to other than God. But he who is forced, not wilfully nor transgressing,—then, verily, thy Lord is forgiving and merciful.'

To those who were Jews did we prohibit everything that hath a solid hoof; and of oxen and sheep did we prohibit to them the fat, save what the backs of both do bear, or the inwards, or what is mixed with bone; with that did we recompense them for their rebellion, for, verily, we are true.

And if they give thee the lie, say, 'Your Lord is of ample mercy, nor shall His violence be turned back from the sinful people.'

¹ The Arabs alternately made it unlawful to eat the males, and then the young of these four kinds of cattle. Mohammed in this passage shows the absurdity of their custom by pointing out the difficulty of deciding which is lawful and unlawful in the case of eight pairs.

Those who associate others with God will say, 'Had God pleased, we had not so associated, nor our fathers; nor should we have forbidden aught.' Thus did they give the lie to those who came before them, until they tasted of our violence! Say, 'Have ye any knowledge? if so, bring it forth to us: ye only follow suspicion, and ye do but conjecture.'

[150] Say, 'God's is the searching argument; and had He pleased He would have guided you all.'

• Say, 'Come on then with your witnesses, who bear witness that God has prohibited these!' but if they do bear witness, bear thou not witness with them; nor follow the lust of those who say our signs are lies, and those who do not believe in the last day, or those who for their Lord make peers.

Say, 'Come! I will recite what your Lord has forbidden you, that ye may not associate aught with Him, and (may show) kindness to your parents, and not kill your children through poverty;—we will provide for you and them;—and draw not nigh to flagrant sins, either apparent or concealed, and kill not the soul, which God hath forbidden save by right¹; that is what God ordains you, haply ye may understand.'

And draw not nigh unto the wealth of the orphan, save so as to better it, until he reaches full age; and give weight and measure with justice. We do not compel the soul save what it can compass; and when ye pronounce, then be just, though it be in the case of a relative.

And God's compact fulfil ye; that is what He

¹ That is, commit no homicide unless it be by legal execution or the slaying of infidels in war.

ordained you, haply ye may be mindful. Verily, this is my right way; follow it then, and follow not various paths, to separate yourselves from His way; that is what He has ordained you, haply ye may fear!

[155] Then we gave Moses the Book, complete for him who acts aright, and a decision and a guidance and a mercy; haply in the meeting of their Lord they will believe.

This is the Book which we have sent down; it is a blessing; follow it then and fear; haply ye may obtain mercy. Lest ye say, 'The Book was only sent down to two sects before us; verily, we, for what they read, care naught.' Or, lest ye should say, 'Had we had a book revealed to us we should surely have been more guided than they;' but there is come to them a manifest sign from their Lord, and a guidance and a mercy; who then is more unjust than he who calls God's signs lies, and turns from them? we will reward those who turn from our signs with an evil punishment for that they turned away.

What do they expect but that the angels should come for them, or that thy Lord should come, or that some signs¹ of thy Lord should come? On the day when some signs do come, its faith shall profit no soul which did not believe before, unless it has earned some good by its faith. Say, 'Wait ye expectant, then we wait expectant too.'

[160] Verily, those who divided their religion and became sects, thou hast not to do with them, their

¹ Signs of the approach of the day of judgment.

matter is in God's hands, He will yet inform them of that which they have done.

He who brings a good work shall have ten like it; but he who brings a bad work shall be recompensed only with the like thereof, for they shall not be wronged.

Say, 'As for me, my Lord has guided me to the right way, a right religion,—the faith of Abraham the 'Hanîf, for he was not of the idolaters.'

Say, 'Verily, my prayers and my devotion and my life and my death belong to God, the Lord of the worlds. He has no partner; that is what I am bidden; for I am first of those who are resigned.'

Say, 'Other than God shall I crave for a Lord when He is Lord of all?' but no soul shall earn aught save against itself¹; nor shall one bearing a burden bear the burden of another; and then unto your Lord is your return, and He will inform you concerning that whereon ye do dispute.

[165] He it is who made you vicegerents, and raised some of you above others in degree, to try you by that which he has brought you;—verily, thy Lord is swift to punish, but, verily, He is forgiving and merciful.

¹ Not receive the recompense of other than persons' evil actions.

THE CHAPTER OF AL AARÂF¹.

(VII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

A. L. M. S. A book revealed to thee,—so let there be no straitness in thy breast, that thou mayest warn thereby,—and a reminder to the believers.

Follow what has been revealed to you from your Lord, and follow not beside Him patrons; little is it that ye mind.

Yet how many a town have we destroyed, and our violence came upon it by night, or while they slept at noon; and their cry, when our violence came upon them, was only to say, 'Verily, we were unjust!' [5] But we will of a surety question those to whom the prophets were sent, and we will narrate to them with knowledge, for we were not absent. The balance on that day is true, and whosoever scales are heavy, they are prosperous; but whosoever scales are light, they it is who lose themselves, for that they did act unjustly by our signs.

We have established you in the earth, and we have made for you therein livelihoods; little is it that ye thank; [10] and we created you, then we fashioned you, then we said unto the angels, 'Adore Adam,' and they adored, save Iblîs, who was not of those who did adore.

Said He, 'What hinders thee from adoring when

¹ The name of the bridge between heaven and hell described in this chapter.

I order thee?' he said, 'I am better than he; Thou hast created me from fire, and him Thou hast created out of clay.'

Said He, 'Then go down therefrom; what ails thee that thou shouldst be big with pride therein? go forth! verily, thou art of the little ones.'

He said, 'Respite me until the day when they shall be raised.' He said, 'Verily, thou art of the respited;' [15] said he, 'For that Thou hast led me into error, I will lie in wait for them in Thy straight path; then I will surely come to them, from before them and from behind them; and most of them Thou shalt not find thankful.' He said, 'Go forth therefrom, despised, expelled; whoso follows thee, I will surely fill hell with you altogether. But, O Adam, dwell thou and thy wife in Paradise and eat from whence ye will, but draw not nigh unto this tree or ye will be of the unjust.'

But Satan whispered to them to display to them what was kept back from them of their shame, and he said, 'Your Lord has only forbidden you this tree lest ye should be twain angels, or should become of the immortals;' [20] and he swore to them both, 'Verily, I am unto you a sincere adviser;' and he beguiled them by deceit, and when they twain tasted of the tree, their shame was shown them, and they began to stitch upon themselves the leaves of the garden. And their Lord called unto them, 'Did I not forbid you from that tree there, and say to you, Verily, Satan is to you an open foe?' They said, 'O our Lord! we have wronged ourselves—and if Thou dost not forgive us and have mercy on us, we shall surely be of those who are lost!' He said, 'Go ye down, one of you to the other a foe; but for you in

the earth there is an abode, and a provision for a season.' He said, 'Therein shall ye live and therein shall ye die, from it shall ye be brought forth.'

[25] O sons of Adam! we have sent down to you garments wherewith to cover your shame, and plumage¹; but the garment of piety, that is better. That is one of the signs of God, haply ye may remember.

O sons of Adam! let not Satan infatuate you as he drove your parents out of Paradise, stripping from them their garments, and showing them their shame; verily, he sees you—he and his tribe, from whence ye cannot see them. Verily, we have made the devils patrons of those who do not believe, and when they commit an abomination they say, 'We found our fathers at this, and God bade us do it.'

Say, 'God bids you not to do abomination; do ye say against God that which ye do not know?'

Say, 'My Lord bids only justice:—set steadfastly you faces at every mosque and pray to Him, being sincere in your religion. As He brought you forth in the beginning, shall ye return. A sect He guides, and for a sect of them was error due; verily, they did take the devils for their patrons instead of God, and they did count that they were guided.'

O sons of Adam! take your ornaments to every mosque²; and eat and drink, but do not be extravagant, for He loves not the extravagant.

[30] Say, 'Who has prohibited the ornaments of God which He brought forth for His servants, and the good things of His providing?' say, 'On the day of

¹ I. e. fine dresses.

² That is, wear your best apparel in the mosque.

judgment they shall only be for those who believed when in the life of this world¹. Thus do we detail the signs unto a people that do know.

Say, 'My Lord has only prohibited abominable deeds, the apparent thereof and the concealed thereof, and sin, and greed for that which is not right, and associating with God what He has sent down no power for, and saying against God that which ye do not know.'

Every nation has its appointed time, and when their appointed time comes they cannot keep it back an hour, nor can they bring it on.

O sons of Adam! verily, there will come to you apostles from amongst you, narrating unto you my signs; then whoso fears God and does what is right, there is no fear for them, nor shall they grieve. But those who say my signs are lies, and who are too big with pride for them, these are the fellows of the Fire, they shall dwell therein for aye!

[35] Who is more unjust than he who devises against God a lie, or says His signs are lies? These, their portion of the Book shall reach them², until when our messengers come to take their souls away, and say, 'Where is what ye used to call upon instead of God?' they say, 'They have strayed away from us;' and they shall bear witness against themselves that they have been misbelievers.

He will say, 'Enter ye—amongst the nations who

¹ Whereas now idolaters share in the good things of this world; but on the day of judgment those only shall enjoy them who were believers here.

² That is, they shall have whatever portion of good or evil is written for them in the book of their fate.

have passed away before you, both of ginn¹s and men—into the fire;’ whenever a nation enters therein, it curses its mate²; until, when they have all reached it, the last of them will say unto the first, ‘O our Lord! these it was who led us astray, give them double torment of the fire!’ He will say, ‘To each of you double! but ye do not know.’ And the first of them will say unto the last, ‘Ye have no preference over us, so taste ye the torment for that which ye have earned!’

Verily, those who say our signs are lies and are too big with pride for them; for these the doors of heaven shall not be opened, and they shall not enter into Paradise until a camel shall pass into a needle’s eye.

It is thus that we reward the sinners; for them is a couch of hell-fire, with an awning above them! thus do we reward the unjust!

[40] But those who believe and do what is right—we will not oblige a soul more than its capacity—they are the fellows of Paradise, they shall dwell therein for aye.

We will strip away what ill feeling is in their breasts—there shall flow beneath them rivers, and they shall say, ‘Praise belongs to God who guided us to this! for we should not have been guided had not God guided us!—the apostles of our Lord did come to us with truth!’ And it shall be cried out to them, ‘This is Paradise which ye have as an inheritance for that which ye have done!’ And the fellows of Paradise will call out to the fellows of the Fire, ‘We have now found that what our Lord promised us is true; have ye found that what your

¹ See p. 127, note 2.

² Literally, his sister.

Lord promised you is true ?' They will say, 'Yea !' And a crier from amongst them will cry out, 'The curse of God is on the unjust who turn from the way of God and crave to make it crooked, while in the hereafter they do disbelieve !'

And betwixt the two there is a veil, and on al Aarâf are men who know each by marks ; and they shall cry out to the fellows of Paradise, 'Peace be upon you !' they cannot enter it although they so desire. [45] But when their sight is turned towards the fellows of the Fire, they say, 'O our Lord ! place us not with the unjust people.' And the fellows on al Aarâf will cry out to the men whom they know by their marks, and say, 'Of no avail to you were your collections, and what ye were so big with pride about ; are these those ye swore that God would not extend mercy to ? Enter ye Paradise ; there is no fear for you, nor shall ye be grieved.'

But the fellows of the Fire shall cry out to the fellows of Paradise, 'Pour out upon us water, or something of what God has provided you with¹.' They will say, 'God has prohibited them both to those who misbelieve ; who took their religion for a sport and a play ; whom the life of the world beguiled.'—To-day do we forget them as they forgot the meeting of this day, and for that they did deny our signs !

[50] Now we have brought them a book explaining it in knowledge, a guidance and a mercy to a people who believe.

Do they wait now for aught but its interpretation?—on the day when its interpretation shall come,

¹ The fruits of Paradise.

those who forgot it before will say, 'There did come to us the apostles of our Lord in truth, have we intercessors to intercede for us? or, could we return, we would do otherwise than we did.' They have lost themselves, and that which they devised has strayed away from them.

Verily, your Lord is God who created the heavens and the earth in six days; then He made for the Throne¹. He covers night with the day—it pursues it incessantly—and the sun and the moon and the stars are subject to His bidding. Aye!—His is the creation and the bidding,—blessed be God the Lord of the worlds!

Call on your Lord humbly and secretly, verily, He loves not the transgressors. And do not evil in the earth after it has been righted; and call upon Him with fear and earnestness; verily, the mercy of God is nigh unto those who do well.

[55] He it is who sends forth the winds as heralds before His mercy; until when they lift the heavy cloud which we drive to a dead land, and send down thereon water, and bring forth therewith every kind of fruit;—thus do we bring forth the dead; haply ye may remember.

And the good land brings forth its vegetation by the permission of its Lord; and that which is vile brings forth naught but scarcity. Thus do we turn about our signs for a people who are grateful.

We did send Noah unto his people, and he said, 'O my people! serve God, ye have no god but Him; verily, I fear for you the torment of the mighty day.' Said the chiefs of his people, 'Verily,

¹ The highest heaven is so called.

we do surely see you in obvious error.' Said he, 'O my people! there is no error in me; but I am an apostle from the Lord of the worlds. [60] I preach to you the messages of my Lord, and I give you sincere advice; and I know from God what ye know not. What! do ye wonder that there came to you a reminder from your Lord by a man from amongst yourselves, to warn you, and that ye may fear? but haply ye may receive mercy.'

But they called him a liar, and we rescued him and those who were with him in the ark; and we drowned those who said our signs were lies, verily, they were a blind people.

And unto 'Âd¹ (we sent) their brother Hûd², who said, 'O my people! serve God, ye have no god save Him; what! will ye not then fear?' Said the chiefs of those who misbelieved amongst his people, 'Verily, we see thee in folly, and, verily, we certainly think thou art of the liars.' [65] He said, 'O my people! there is no folly in me; but I am an apostle from the Lord of the worlds; I preach to you the messages of your Lord; and, verily, I am to you a faithful adviser. What! do ye then wonder that there comes to you a reminder from your Lord by a man from amongst yourselves, to warn you? remember when He made you vicegerents after Noah's people and increased you in length of stature; remember, then, the benefits of God,—

¹ An extinct tribe of the ancient Arabs,

² Hûd and Thamûd, both mentioned in the works of Ptolemy, were two tribes of the ancient Arabs, extinct in Mohammed's time, whose disappearance had been attributed, by popular tradition, to divine vengeance.

haply ye may prosper!' They said, 'Hast thou come to us that we may worship God alone, and leave what our fathers used to worship? then bring us what thou dost threaten us with, if thou art of those who tell the truth!' He said, 'There shall fall upon you from your Lord horror and wrath; do ye wrangle with me about names, which ye and your fathers have named yourselves, for which God sent down no power; wait then expectant, and I with you will wait expectant too! [70] But we rescued him and those with him, by mercy from ourselves, and we cut off the hindermost parts of those who said our signs were lies and who were not believers.'

Unto Thamûd (we sent) their brother Zâli'h, who said, 'O my people! worship God; ye have no god but Him: there has come to you a manifest sign from your Lord. This she-camel of God's is a sign for you; leave her then to eat in the land of God, and touch her not with evil, or there will overtake you grievous woe. And remember how he made you vicegerents after 'Âd and stablished you in the earth, so that ye took for yourselves castles on its plains and hewed out mountains into houses¹; and remember the benefits of God, and waste not the land, despoiling it.' Said the chiefs of those who were big with pride from amongst his people to those who were weak,—to those amongst them who believed, 'Do ye know that Zâli'h is sent from his Lord?' They said, 'We do believe in that with which he is sent.' Said those who were big with pride, 'Verily, in what ye do believe we disbelieve.'

¹ Referring to the numerous excavated rock-dwellings in Idumaea.

[75] Then they did hamstring the camel, and rebelled against the bidding of their Lord and said, 'O Zâli'h! bring us what thou didst threaten us with, if thou art of those who are sent.' Then the earthquake took them, and in the morning they lay prone in their dwellings; and he turned away from them and said, 'O my people! I did preach to you the message of my Lord, and I gave you good advice; but ye love not sincere advisers¹.'

¹ All that has been hitherto written about the legend Zâli'h and his camel is pure conjecture; the native commentators add nothing but a few marvellous details to the story as given in the Qur'ân, and the European annotators can only suggest possible identifications for Zâli'h himself, such as the Schelah of Gen. xi. 13. My own view of the matter is of course an hypothesis too, but it has at least some circumstantial evidence in its favour; it is embodied in the following extract from my 'Desert of the Exodus,' p. 50: 'Near El Watfeyh is situated the tomb of Nebi Sáleh, a wretched little building, but accounted by the Bedawin one of the most sacred spots on the Peninsula (of Sinai). Hither they resort in great numbers at certain seasons of the year to perform ceremonies and sacrificial rites. Who and what was Nebi Sáleh, "the Prophet Sáleh," or, as his name implies, "the Righteous Prophet?" A great saint with the Bedawin, perhaps the ancestor of the Sawáliheh tribe, who are named after him; but this explanation is vague and unsatisfactory, and in the absence of any certain information on the subject I will venture to propound a theory. I must premise that near the summit of Jebel Musa is a peculiar mark in the stone which has a strong resemblance to the imprint of a camel's foot. It is regarded by the Bedawin with great veneration, and the girls, when tending their flocks on the mountains, often milk their goats into it as a sure means of obtaining increase and prosperity. This mark is called Athar Nágat en Nebí, "the footprint of the Prophet's She-camel." It is generally taken for granted that the Prophet in question is Mohammed, but to my mind there are several circumstances which seem to connect the Nebi Sáleh of the tomb with the prophet of the legend. A Bedawin's notions of the separate identity of Moses, Elias, and Sáleh are of the vaguest

And Lot, when he said to his people, 'Do ye approach an abomination which no one in all the world ever anticipated you in? verily, ye approach men with lust rather than women—nay, ye are a people who exceed.' [80] But his people's answer only was to say, 'Turn them out of your village, verily, they are a people who pretend to purity.' But we saved him and his people, except his wife, who was of those who lingered; and we rained down upon them a rain;—see then how was the end of the sinners!

And unto Midian did we send their brother

kind, and if asked to which of his national saints the camel belonged you will find that he has never even thought of the question at all. There is no point in attributing the mysterious footprint to the camel of Mohammed, for the celebrated "night journey" to heaven, the Prophet's only recorded aeronautic trip, was performed on Borák, a creature with the feet of a mule. But Mohammed has a legend in the Qur'ân of a certain "Nebi Sáleh," who was sent as a prophet to the people of Thamûd, and whose divine mission was attested by the production of a she-camel from the rock. The author of "El Islâm" certainly did visit the Sinaitic mountains, and may in all probability have taken the story from the national traditions of the Peninsula. The origin and history of Nebi Sáleh is quite unknown to the present Bedawin inhabitants, but they nevertheless regard him with more national veneration than even Moses himself. I should therefore conclude that the Nebi Sáleh of the tomb in Wády es Sheikl, the prophet of the camel's footprint, and the Sáleh of the Qur'ân are identical, and that the "people of Thamûd" are the Saracen inhabitants of Sinai, who preceded the Mohammedan invasion. Who then was Nebi Sáleh? Looking at the veneration in which his memory is held, and at the character of the miracle attributed to him—the rock smitten with a rod, and a live camel, the greatest of Bedawin blessings, miraculously produced therefrom—with the subsequent rebellion of the people for whom the Prophet worked the sign, I fancy we may recognise in the tradition a distorted reminiscence of the Israelitish lawgiver himself.

Sho'hâib¹, who said, 'O my people! serve God, ye have no god save Him. There has come to you a manifest sign from your Lord; then give good weight and measure, and be not niggardly of your gifts to men, and do not evil in the earth after it has been righted. That is better for you if ye are believers; and sit not down in every path, threatening and turning from the path of God those who believe in Him, and craving to make it crooked. Remember when ye were few and He multiplied you; and see what was the end of the evildoers! [85] And if there be a party of you who believe in what I am sent with, and a party who believe not, then wait patiently until God judges between us, for He is the best of judges.' Said the crowd of those who were big with pride amongst His people, 'We will of a surety turn thee out, O Sho'hâib! and those who believe with thee, from our village; or else thou shalt return unto our faith.' Said he, 'What even if we be averse therefrom? We shall have devised a lie against God if we return unto your faith, after God has saved us from it; and what should ail us that we should return thereto, unless that God our Lord should please? our Lord embraces everything in His knowledge;—on God do we rely. O our Lord! open between us and between our people in truth, for Thou art the best of those who open².' And the chiefs of those who disbelieved amongst

¹ The Jethro of the Bible.

² That is, 'give us a chance,' the idiom is still current in modern parlance. A shopkeeper, for instance, who has not sold anything all day, or who refuses a bargain, always says yefta'h'allah, 'never mind! God will give me a chance of selling it.'

his people said, 'If ye follow Sho'hâib, verily, ye shall be the losers;' then there took them the earthquake, and in the morning they lay in their dwellings prone. [90] Those who called Sho'hâib a liar, (were) as though they had not dwelt therein!—Those who called Sho'hâib a liar, they were the losers then! And he turned away from them and said, 'O my people! I preached to you the messages of my Lord, and I gave you good advice; how should I be vexed for a people who do misbelieve?'

We have not sent unto a city any prophet except we overtook the people thereof with trouble and distress, that haply they might humble themselves; and then did we give them, in exchange for evil, good, until they increased and said, 'Distress and joy both touched our fathers;' then we overtook them suddenly ere they could perceive.—Had the people of the town but believed and feared, we would have opened up for them blessings from the heavens and from the earth; but they said it was a lie, so we overtook them for that which they had earned.

[95] Were the people of these cities then secure that our violence would not come on them by night, while they slept? were the people of these cities secure that our violence would not come on them in the morning whilst they played? were they secure from the craft of God? none feel secure from the craft of God except a people that shall lose.

Is it not shown to those who inherit the earth after its (former) people, that, did we please, we would smite¹ them in their sins, and would set a stamp upon their hearts, and then they should not hear?

¹ The word is used of an arrow that hits a mark, and hence of any sudden calamity that falls on a man.

These cities, we do relate to thee their stories. There came to them our apostles with manifest signs; but they did not at all believe in what they called a lie before.—Thus doth God set a stamp upon the hearts of those who misbelieve.

[100] Nor did we find in most of them a covenant; but we did find most of them workers of abomination.

Then we raised up after them Moses with our signs to Pharaoh and his chiefs; but they dealt unjustly therewith, and see what was the end of the evildoers!

Moses said, 'O Pharaoh! verily, I am an apostle from the Lord of the worlds; it is not right for me to speak against God aught but the truth. I have come to you with a manifest sign from my Lord; send then the children of Israel with me.' Said he, 'If thou hast come with a sign, then bring it, if thou art of those who speak the truth.' Then he threw his rod down, and lo! it was an obvious snake; [105] and he drew out his hand, and lo! it was white to the beholders. Said the chiefs of Pharaoh's people, 'Verily, this is surely a knowing magician; he desires to turn you out of your land;—what is it then ye bid?' They said, 'Give him and his brother some hope; and send into the cities to collect and bring you every knowing magician.' [110] And the magician came to Pharaoh and said, 'Is there indeed a reward for us if we are conquerors?' He said, 'Yea! and ye shall be of those who draw nigh unto me.' They said, 'O Moses! wilt thou cast down (thy rod) or shall we be (first) to throw?' Said he, 'Throw down;' and when they threw down, they did enchant the people's eyes, and made them dread, and brought a

mighty magic. But we inspired Moses (saying), 'Throw down thy rod, and it will gulp down that which they devise;' [115] and the truth stood fast, and vain was that which they had done; and they were conquered there, and turned back feeling small! and the magicians threw themselves down adoring. Said they, 'We believe in the Lord of the worlds, the Lord of Moses and Aaron!' [120] Said Pharaoh, 'Do ye believe in him ere I give you leave? This is craft which ye have devised in the land, to turn its people out therefrom, but soon shall ye know! I will cut off your hands and your feet from opposite sides, then I will crucify you altogether!' They said, 'Verily, we unto our Lord return! nor dost thou take vengeance on us, save for that we believe in the signs of our Lord, when they come to us.

'O our Lord! pour out upon us patience, and take us to Thyself resigned¹.' And the chiefs of Pharaoh's people said, 'Will ye leave Moses and his people to do evil in the land, and to leave thee and thy gods?' Said he, 'We will have their sons slain and their women we will let live, for, verily, we are triumphant over them.'

[125] Said Moses unto his people, 'Ask for aid from God and be patient; verily, the earth is God's! He gives it for an inheritance to whom He pleases of His servants, and the future is for those who fear.' They said, 'We have been hurt before thou didst come to us, and since thou hast come to us.' Said he, 'It may be that your Lord will destroy your foe, and will make you succeed him in the earth; and He will see how ye act.'

¹ Or, cause us to die Moslems.

We had overtaken Pharaoh's people with the years (of dearth) and scarcity of fruits, that haply they might remember; but when there came to them a good thing they said, 'This is ours;' and if there befel them an evil, they took the augury from Moses and those with him;—is not their augury only in God's hands?—but most of them know not.

And they said, 'Whatever thou dost bring us as a sign to enchant us therewith, yet will we not believe in thee.'

[130] Then we sent upon them the flood and the locusts and the lice and the frogs and the blood,—signs detailed; but they were big with pride and were a people who did sin.

And when there fell upon them the plague, they said, 'O Moses! call upon thy Lord for us, as He has covenanted with thee; verily, if thou dost remove the plague from us, we will believe in thee; and we will assuredly send with thee the children of Israel.' But when we removed from them the plague until the appointed time which they should reach, lo! then they broke their promise. But we took vengeance on them, and we drowned them in the sea, for that they said our signs were lies and were careless thereof. And we gave as an inheritance unto the people who had been weak, the eastern quarters of the earth and the western quarters thereof, which we had blest; and the good word of thy Lord was fulfilled on the children of Israel, for that they were patient; and we destroyed that which Pharaoh and his people had made and that which they had piled¹. And with the children of Israel

¹ The word y'arishûn is properly used of making wooden huts,

we passed across the sea ; and they came unto a people devoted to their idols, and said, ' O Moses ! make for us a god as they have gods.' Said he, ' Verily, ye are ignorant people.' [135] Verily, these—destroyed shall be that which they are given to ; and vain is that which they have done.

He said, ' Other than God then do ye crave for a god, when He has preferred you above the worlds ?'

And when we saved you from Pharaoh's people who wrought you evil woe, killing your sons, and letting your women live ; and in that was a mighty trial from your Lord.

And we appointed for Moses thirty nights, and completed them with ten (more), so that the time appointed by his Lord was completed to forty nights. And Moses said unto his brother Aaron, ' Be thou my vicegerent amongst my people, and do what is right, and follow not the path of the evildoers.'

And when Moses came to our appointment, and his Lord spake unto him, he said, ' O my Lord ! show me, —that I may look on thee !' He said, ' Thou canst not see me ; but look upon the mountain, and if it remain steady in its place, thou shalt see me ;' but when his Lord appeared unto the mountain He made it dust, and Moses fell down in a swoon !

[140] And when he came to himself, he said, ' Celebrated be thy praise ! I turn repentant unto Thee, and I am the first of those who are resigned.'

He said, ' O Moses ! verily, I have chosen thee over the people with my messages and my words, take then what I have brought thee, and be of those

but is here applied to any structures, especially the massive temples and other piles of Egyptian buildings.

who thank.' And we wrote for him upon tablets an admonition concerning everything, and a detailing of everything: 'Take them then with firmness, and bid thy people take them for what is best thereof. I will show you the abode of those who work abominations; I will turn from my signs those who are big with pride in the earth without right; and if they see every sign they shall not believe therein, and if they see the path of rectitude they shall not take it for a path; but if they see the path of error they shall take it for a path;—that is because they have said our signs are lies and have been careless of them.'

[145] But those who say our signs and the meeting of the last day are lies,—vain are their works: shall they be rewarded save for that which they have done?

And Moses' people after him took to themselves of their ornaments a corporeal calf that lowed¹; did they not see that it could not speak with them, nor could it guide them in the path? They took it and they were unjust; but when they bit their hands with fruitless rage and saw that they had gone astray, they said, 'Verily, if our Lord have not compassion on us and forgive us we shall surely be of those who lose!'

And when Moses returned unto his people angry and grieved, he said, 'Evil is it that ye have done after me! Would ye hasten on the bidding of your Lord?' and he threw down the tablets and took his brother by the head to drag him towards him, but he said, 'O son of my mother! verily, the people

¹ This is also a Talmudic legend.

weakened me and well-nigh killed me; make not then mine enemies glad about me, and put me not with the unjust people.' [150] He said, 'O Lord! pardon me and my brother, and let us enter into Thy mercy; for Thou art the most merciful of the merciful. Verily, these have taken to themselves a calf; there shall reach them wrath from their Lord, and abasement in the life of this world; for thus do we reward those who forge a lie. But those who have done bad works, and then turn again after them and believe,—verily, thy Lord, after that, is forgiving and merciful.'

And when Moses' wrath calmed down he took the tables, in the inscription of which was guidance and mercy for those who dread their Lord.

And Moses chose from his people seventy men for our appointment; and when the earthquake took them he said, 'O my Lord! hadst Thou willed, Thou hadst destroyed them before and me. Wilt Thou destroy us for what the fools amongst us have done? This is naught but Thy trial, wherewith Thou dost lead astray whom Thou pleasest and guidest whom Thou pleasest; Thou art our patron! forgive us and have mercy on us, for Thou art the best of those who do forgive!

[155] 'And write down for us in this world good, and in the future too; verily, we are guided unto Thee.' He said, 'My punishment—with it I fall on whom I will; and my mercy embraceth everything; and I will write it down for those who fear, and who give alms, and those who in our signs believe,—who follow the Apostle—the illiterate prophet¹, whom

¹ Or, the apostle of the Gentiles.

they find written down with them in the law and the gospel, bidding them what is reasonable and forbidding them what is wrong, and making lawful for them what is good, and making unlawful evil things; and setting down for them their burdens and the yokes which were upon them;—to those who believe in him and aid him and help him and follow the law which has been sent down with him—they shall be the prosperous.’

Say, ‘O ye folk! verily, I am the Apostle of God unto you all,’—of Him whose is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, there is no god but He! He quickens and He kills! believe then in God and His Apostle, the illiterate prophet,—who believes in God and in His words—then follow him that haply ye may be guided.

Amongst Moses’ people is a nation guided in truth, and thereby act they justly.

[160] And we cut them up into twelve tribes, each a nation; and we revealed unto Moses, when his people asked him for drink, ‘Strike with thy staff the rock!’ and there gushed forth from it twelve springs, each folk knew their drinking place. And we overshadowed them with the cloud; and sent down upon them the manna and the quails, ‘Eat of the good things we have provided you with!’—Yet they did not wrong us, but it was themselves they wronged.

And when it was said unto them, ‘Dwell in this city and eat therefrom as ye will, and say *hittatun* and enter the gate adoring; so will we pardon you your sins;—we will increase those who do well.’ But those amongst them who did wrong changed it for another word than which was said to them; and we

sent upon them a plague from heaven for that they were unjust.

Ask them too about the city which stood by the sea, when they transgressed upon the Sabbath; when their fish came to them on the Sabbath day sailing straight up to them; but on the days when they kept not the Sabbath, they came not to them, thus did we try them for the abominations that they wrought¹.

And when a nation from amongst them said, 'Why do ye warn a people whom God would destroy, or punish with severe torment?' they said, 'As an excuse to your Lord, that haply they may fear.' [165] But when they forgot what they had been reminded of, we saved those who forbade evil, but we overtook those who did wrong with punishment;—evil was the abomination that they did, but when they rebelled against what they were forbidden, we said to them, 'Become ye apes, despised and spurned!' and then thy Lord proclaimed that He would surely send against them till the resurrection day, those who should wreak them evil torment; verily, thy Lord is quick at following up, but, verily, He is forgiving, merciful.

We cut them up in the earth into nations. Of them are the righteous, and of them are the reverse of that; we have tried them with good things and with bad things; haply they may return.

But there succeeded them successors who inherited the Book! They take the goods of this lower world and say, 'It will be forgiven us.' But if the like goods came to them they would take them too! Was there not taken from them a covenant by

¹ Cf. Chapter II, 61.

the Book, that they should not say against God aught but the truth? Yet they study therein! But the abode of the future life is better for those who fear—do ye not then understand? But those who hold fast by the Book and are steadfast in prayer—verily, we will not waste the hire of those who do right.

[170] And when we shook the mountain over them, as though it were a shadow, and they thought it would fall upon them (saying), 'Take ye what we have given you with firmness, and remember what is therein; haply ye may fear.'

And when thy Lord took from the children of Adam out of their loins their seed, and made them bear witness against themselves, 'Am I not your Lord?' They said, 'Yea! we do bear witness'—lest ye should say on the day of resurrection, 'Verily, for this we did not care;' or say, 'Verily, our fathers associated others with God before us, and we were but their seed after them: wilt Thou then destroy us for what vaindoers did?'—Thus do we detail the signs; haply they may return.

Read to them the declaration of him to whom we brought our signs, and who stepped away therefrom, and Satan followed him, and he was of those who were beguiled¹. [175] Had we pleased we would have exalted him thereby, but he crouched upon the earth and followed his lust, and his likeness was as the likeness of a dog, whom if thou shouldst attack

¹ Said to refer to Balaam, but also to several pretenders of prophecy amongst the Arabians. By some it is referred to 'Omâiyat ibn Abi Zalt, or to a certain Jewish Rabbi, who had prophesied the coming of a prophet about Mohammed's time, but would not acknowledge the latter as such.

he hangs out his tongue, or if thou should leave him, hangs out his tongue too. That is the likeness of the people who say our signs are lies. Tell them then these tales—haply they may reflect.

Evil is the likeness of a people who say our signs are lies; themselves it is they wrong!

We have created for hell many of the ginn and of mankind; they have hearts and they discern not therewith; they have eyes and they see not therewith; they have ears and they hear not therewith; they are like cattle, nay, they go more astray! these it is who care not.

But God's are the good names; call on Him then thereby, and leave those who pervert His names¹; they shall be rewarded for that which they have done.

[180] And of those whom we have created is a nation who are guided in truth and thereby act with equity; but they who say our signs are lies, we will bring them down by degrees from whence they know not. I will let them range;—verily, my stratagem is efficacious!

Do they not then reflect that their companion² is not possessed³? he is but an obvious warner! Do they not behold the kingdoms of the heavens and of the earth, and what things God has created, and (see that), it may be, their time is already drawing nigh? in what relation then will they believe? [185] He

¹ The word *yul'hidûna* is used in the later Arabic for any form of atheism. The expression in the text means the perversion, as Mohammed called it, of the name *Allâh* in the names of the other gods, such as *Allât*, the feminine form of the same word.

² Mohammed.

³ Literally, under the influence of the ginn.

whom God leads astray there is no guide for him! He leaves them in their rebellion, blindly wandering on.

They will ask you about the Hour, for what time it is fixed?—say, 'The knowledge thereof is only with my Lord; none shall manifest it at its time but He; it is heavy in the heavens and the earth, it will not come to you save on a sudden.'

They will ask as though thou wert privy to it, say, 'The knowledge thereof is only with God,'—but most folk do not know.

Say, 'I cannot control profit or harm for myself, save what God will. If I knew the unseen I should surely have much that is good, nor would evil touch me; I am but a warner and a herald of good tidings unto a people who believe.'

He it is who created you from one soul, and made therefrom its mate to dwell therewith; and when he covered her she bore a light burden and went about therewith; but when it grew heavy they called on God, Lord of them both, 'Surely if thou givest us a rightly-shaped child we shall of a surety be of those who thank.' [190] And when He gave them both a rightly-shaped child they joined partners with Him for that which He had given them, but exalted be God above that which they associate with Him¹. Will they associate with Him those who cannot create aught,

¹ This story is said to refer to Adam and Eve; the act of idolatry mentioned being the naming of their first son, at the instigation of Satan, 'Abd el 'Hareth, 'servant of 'Hareth,' instead of 'servant of God,' 'Hareth being Satan's name among the angels. The legend arose probably from a misunderstanding of the title given to Cain in the Bible, 'Obed Adâma, 'a tiller of the ground,' which would read word for word in Arabic 'Abd el 'Hareth.

but are themselves created, which have no power to help them, and cannot even help themselves?

But if ye call them unto guidance they will not follow you. It is the same to them if Thou dost call them or if Thou dost hold thy tongue.

Those whom ye call on other than God are servants like yourselves. Call on them then, and let them answer you, if so be ye tell the truth! Have they feet to walk with? or have they hands to hold with? or have they eyes to see with? or have they ears to hear with? Call upon your partners; then plot against me, and do not wait.

[195] Verily, my patron is God, who hath sent down the Book, and He is the patron of the righteous. But those whom ye call on beside Him cannot help you, nor can they even help themselves. But if ye call them unto the guidance they will not hear, thou mayest see them looking towards thee, yet they do not see. Take to pardon, and order what is kind, and shun the ignorant; and if an incitement from the devil incites you, then seek refuge in God: verily, He both hears and knows.

[200] Verily, those who fear God, if a wraith from the devil touch, mention Him, and lo! they see¹.

And their brethren he shall increase in error, then they shall not desist.

Shouldst Thou not bring them a sign² they say, 'Hast Thou not yet made choice of one?' Say, 'I only follow what is inspired to me by my Lord.

¹ I. e. if an evil suggestion occurs to them, they mention God's name and immediately see the folly and wickedness thereof.

² That is, a verse in the Qur'ân.

These are perceptions from my Lord, and a guidance and a mercy to a people who believe.'

And when the Qur'ân is read, then listen thereto and keep silence; haply ye may obtain mercy.

And remember thy Lord within thyself humbly and with fear, not openly in words, in the morning and in the evening; and be not of those who do not care. [205] Verily, they who are with my Lord are not too big with pride for His service, but they do celebrate His praise, and Him they do adore.

THE CHAPTER OF THE SPOILS.

(VIII. Medīnah.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

They will ask thee about the spoils. Say, 'The spoils are God's and the Apostle's; fear God and settle it amongst yourselves; obey God and the Apostle if ye do believe.'

Verily, the believers are those who, when God's name is mentioned, their hearts sink with fear; and when His signs are rehearsed to them they increase them in faith; and on their Lord do they rely; who are steadfast in prayer, and of what we have bestowed upon them give in alms; these are in truth believers; to them are degrees with their Lord, and forgiveness, and a generous provision.

[5] As thy Lord caused thee to go forth from thy house¹ with the truth, although a sect of the believers were averse therefrom. They wrangled with thee about the truth after it was made plain, as

¹ At Medīnah.

though they were being driven on to death and looked thereon; and when God promised you that one of the two troops should be yours, and ye would fain have had those who had no arms. God wished to prove the truth true by His words, and to cut off the hindermost parts of those who misbelieve—to prove the truth true, and to make vain the vain, although the sinners are averse¹.

When ye asked for succour from your Lord, and He answered you, 'I will assist you with a thousand angels, with others in reserve.'

[10] God made it only glad tidings to quiet your hearts therewith; for victory is only from God! verily, God is mighty and wise.

When drowsiness covered you as a security from Him, and He sent down upon you from the heavens water to purify you withal, and to take away from you the plague of Satan, and to tie up your hearts and to make firm your footsteps².

When your Lord inspired the angels—'Verily, I am with you; make ye firm then those who believe; I will cast dread into the hearts of those who misbelieve,—strike off their necks then, and strike off from them every finger tip.'

¹ The occasion alluded to was one when Mohammed had made preparations for attacking an unarmed caravan on its way from Syria to Mecca, when Abu Sufân, who was in charge of it, sent to Mecca and obtained an escort of nearly a thousand men; many of Mohammed's followers wished to attack the caravan only, but the prophet and his immediate followers were for throwing themselves on the escort.

² The Muslims were fewer in number than the enemy, and the latter had command of the water, at both of which circumstances their hearts sank. In the night, however, rain fell, refreshed them and supplied their wants.

That is, because they went into opposition against God and His Apostle ; for he who goes into opposition against God and His Apostle—verily, God is keen to punish.

There, taste it ! since for the misbelievers is the torment of the Fire.

[15] O ye who believe ! when ye meet those who misbelieve in swarms, turn not to them your hinder parts ; for he who turns to them that day his hinder parts, save turning to fight or rallying to a troop, brings down upon himself wrath from God, and his resort is hell, and an ill journey shall it be !

Ye did not slay them, but it was God who slew them ; nor didst thou shoot when thou didst shoot, but God did shoot¹, to try the believers from Himself with a goodly trial ; verily, God both hears and knows. There ! verily, God weakens the stratagem of the misbelievers..

If ye wish² the matter to be decided, a decision has now come to you ; but if ye desist, it is better for you ; and if ye turn back we will turn too, and your troop shall avail nothing, great in number though it be, since God is with the believers !

[20] O ye who believe ! obey God and His Apostle, and turn not from Him while ye hear, and be not like those who say, ' We hear,' and yet they hear not.

Verily, the worst of beasts in God's sight are the deaf, the dumb who do not understand. Had God

¹ Alluding to the alleged miracle of the gravel thrown into the eyes of the Qurâis at the battle of Bedr, to which the Muslim victory was due.

² An address to the Meccans who, when threatened with an attack from Mohammed, took sanctuary in the Kaabah, and prayed to God that if they were right He would help them, but that if Mohammed was in the right He would help him.

known any good in them, He would have made them hear; but had He made them hear, they would have turned back and have swerved aside.

O ye who believe! answer God and His Apostle when He calls you to that which quickens you; and know that God steps in between man and his heart; and that to Him ye shall be gathered. [25] And fear temptation, which will not light especially on those of you who have done wrong; but know that God is keen to punish.

Remember when ye were few in number and weak in the land, fearing lest people should snatch you away; then He sheltered you and aided you with victory, and provided you with good things; haply ye may give thanks.

O ye who believe! be not treacherous to God and His Apostle; nor be treacherous to your engagement while ye know!

Know that your wealth and your children are but a temptation, and that God—with Him is mighty hire!

O ye who believe! if ye fear God He will make for you a discrimination¹, and will cover for you your offences, and will forgive you; for God is Lord of mighty grace.

[30] And when those who misbelieve were crafty with thee to detain thee a prisoner, or kill thee, or drive thee forth; they were crafty, but God was crafty too, for God is best of crafty ones!

But when our verses were rehearsed to them they said, 'We have already heard.—If we pleased we could speak like this; verily, this is nothing but tales of those of yore.'

¹ Here used in the sense of victory.

When they said, 'O God! if this be truth, and from Thee, then rain upon us stones from heaven or bring us grievous woe!'

But God would not torment them while thou art amongst them; nor was God going to torment them while they asked Him to forgive. But what ails them that God should not torment them while they turn folk away from the Holy Mosque, though they are not the guardians thereof—its guardians are only the pious?—but most of them know not.

[35] Their prayer at the House was naught but whistling and clapping hands!—taste then the torment for that ye misbelieved!

Verily, those who misbelieve expend their wealth to turn folk from the path of God; but they shall spend it, and then it shall be for them sighing, and then they shall be overcome! Those who misbelieve, into hell shall they be gathered!—that God may distinguish the vile from the good, and may put the vile, some on the top of the other, and heap all up together, and put it into hell!—These are those who lose!

Say to those who misbelieve, 'if they desist they will be forgiven what is past; but if they return,—the course of those of former days has passed away¹.

[40] Fight them then that there should be no sedition, and that the religion may be wholly God's; but if they desist, then God on what they do doth look. But if they turn their backs, then know that God is your Lord; a good Lord is He, and a good help; and know that whenever ye seize anything as

¹ That is, they have the doom of former people as a warning and an example.

a spoil, to God belongs a fifth thereof, and to His Apostle, and to kindred and orphans, and the poor and the wayfarer ; if ye believe in God and what we have revealed unto our servants on the day of the discrimination,—the day when the two parties met ; and God is mighty over all. When ye were on the near side of the valley, and they were on the far side, and the camels were below you ; had ye made an appointment then ¹ ye would have failed to keep your appointment—but it was that God might accomplish a thing that was as good as done ! that he who was to perish might perish with a manifest sign ; and that he who was to live might live with a manifest sign ; for, verily, God hears and knows !

[45] When God showed thee them in thy dream as though they were but few ; but had He shown thee them as though they were many, ye would have been timid, and ye would have quarrelled about the matter ;—but God preserved you ; verily, He knows the nature of men's breasts !

And when He showed them to you, as ye encountered them, as few in your eyes ; and made you seem few in their eyes ; that God might accomplish a thing that was as good as done ; for unto God do things return !

O ye who believe ! when ye encounter a troop, then stand firm and remember God ; and haply ye may prosper ! and fear God and His Apostle, and do not quarrel or be timid, so that your turn of luck go from you ; but be ye patient, verily, God is with the patient. And be not like those who went forth from their homes with insolence, and for appearance sake

¹ That is, had ye agreed to attack them.

before men, and to turn folks off God's way; for all they do God comprehends.

[50] And when Satan made their works appear seemly to them, and said, 'There is none amongst mankind to conquer you to-day, for, verily, I am your neighbour!' and when the two troops came in sight of each other, he turned upon his heels and said, 'Verily, I am clear of you! verily, I see what you see not¹! verily, I fear God, for God is keen to punish!'

And when the hypocrites and those in whose hearts was sickness said, 'Their religion hath beguiled these men², but he who relies upon God, verily, God is mighty and wise.'

Couldst thou see when the angels take away the souls of those who misbelieve; they smite them on their faces and hinder parts.—'Taste ye the torment of burning! that is for what your hands have sent on before; and for that God is no unjust one towards his servants.'

As was the wont of Pharaoh's people and those before them! they disbelieved in the signs of God, and God overtook them in their sins; verily, God is strong and keen to punish.

[55] That is because God is not one to change a favour He has favoured a people with, until they change what they have in themselves, and for that God both hears and knows.

As was the wont of Pharaoh's people and those before them! they said our signs were lies, and we destroyed them in their sins, and drowned

¹ The angels who were fighting on the Muslim side.

² I.e. beguiled them into attacking a force superior in numbers.

Pharaoh's people; and all of them were evil-doers.

Verily, the worst of beasts in God's eyes are those who misbelieve and will not believe; with whom if thou dost make a league, they break their league each time, for they fear not God; but shouldst thou ever catch them in war, then make those who come after them run by their example¹, haply they may remember then.

[60] And shouldst thou ever fear from any people treachery, then throw it back to them in like manner; verily, God loves not the treacherous. Deem not that those who misbelieve can win; verily, they cannot make (God) powerless!

Prepare ye against them what force and companies of horse ye can, to make the enemies of God, and your enemies, and others beside them, in dread thereof. Ye do not know them, but God knows them! and whatever ye expend in God's way He will repay you; and ye shall not be wronged. But if they incline to peace, incline thou to it too, and rely upon God; verily, He both hears and knows.

But if they wish to betray thee, then God is enough for thee! He it is who supports thee with His help and with the believers; and reconciles their hearts! Didst thou expend all that is in the earth thou couldst not reconcile their hearts, but God reconciled them, verily, He is mighty and wise!

[65] O thou prophet! God is sufficient for thee, with those of the believers who follow thee! O thou

¹ That is, make them an example to all future opponents by the severity of thy dealing with them.

prophet! urge on the believers to fight. If there be of you twenty patient men, they shall conquer two hundred; if there be of you a hundred, they shall conquer a thousand of those who misbelieve, because they are a people who did not discern.—Now has God made it light for you; He knows that there is a weakness amongst you: but if there be amongst you but a patient hundred, they will conquer two hundred; and if there be of you a thousand, they will conquer two thousand, by the permission of God,—for God is with the patient!

It has not been for any prophet to take captives until he hath slaughtered in the land! Ye wish to have the goods of this world, but God wishes for the next, for God is mighty, wise! Were it not for a book from God that had gone before, there would have touched you, for that which ye took, a mighty punishment¹.

Eat of what spoils ye have taken, what is lawful and good; and fear God, verily, God is forgiving and merciful.

[70] O thou prophet! say to such of the captives as are in your hands, 'If God knows of any good in your hearts, he will give you better than that which is taken from you, and will forgive you; for God is forgiving and merciful.'

But if they desire to betray thee,—they have betrayed God before! but He hath given you power over them; for God is knowing, wise!

Verily, those who believe and have fled and

¹ Mohammed here blames them for having accepted ransom from the captives which they took at the battle of Bedr; but acknowledges that previously revealed passages of the Qur'ân did in the strict letter allow of such ransom being taken.

fought strenuously with their wealth and persons in God's way, and those who have given refuge¹ and help, these shall be next of kin to each other². But those who believe, but have not fled, ye have naught to do with their claims of kindred, until they flee as well. But if they ask you for aid for religion's sake, then help is due from you, except against a people between whom and you there is an alliance; for God on what ye do doth look.

And those who misbelieve, some of them are next of kin to others—unless ye act the same there will be sedition in the land, and great corruption.

[75] Those who believe and have fled and fought strenuously in God's cause, and those who have given a refuge and a help, those it is who believe; to them is forgiveness and generous provision due. And those who have believed afterwards and have fled and fought strenuously with you; these too are of you, but blood relations are nearer in kin by the Book of God. Verily, God all things doth know.

THE CHAPTER OF REPENTANCE OR IMMUNITY.

(IX. Medīnah.)

AN immunity from God and His Apostle to those idolaters with whom ye have made a league³.

¹ To the prophet.

² The Ansârs and Muhâgerîn, that is, those who lent aid to, and those who fled with Mohammed were at first regarded as next of kin and heirs to each other's property to the exclusion of blood relationship, until the above passage was abrogated by the last words of this chapter.

³ This chapter is without the initial formula 'In the name of God,' &c. The Caliph Othman said that the omission arose from

Roam ye at large in the land for four months, but know that ye cannot make God helpless, and that God disgraces the misbelievers.

A proclamation from God and His Apostle to the people on the day of the greater pilgrimage, that God is clear of the idolaters as is His Apostle ! If then ye repent it is better for you ; but if ye turn your backs, then know that ye cannot make God helpless. Give to those who misbelieve glad tidings of grievous woe !— Except to those of the idolaters with whom ye have made a league, and who then have not failed you at all, and have not backed up any one against you. Fulfil for them then your covenant until the time agreed upon with them ; verily, God loves those who fear.

[5] But when the sacred months are passed away, kill the idolaters wherever ye may find them ; and take them, and besiege them, and lie in wait for them in every place of observation ; but if they repent, and are steadfast in prayer, and give alms, then let them go their way ; verily, God is forgiving and merciful.

And if any one of the idolaters ask thee for aid, then aid him, in order that he may hear the word of God ; then let him reach his place of safety,— that is, because they are a folk who do not know.

How can there be for the idolaters a treaty with God and with His Appstle, save those with whom ye have made a league at the Sacred Mosque !

its having been revealed shortly before Mohammed's death, who left no instructions on the subject. But some commentators assert that it arises from its having originally formed part of the previous chapter.

Then while they stand by you, stand ye by them ; verily, God loves those who fear.

How !—if they prevail against you, they will not observe either ties of blood or ties of clientship ; they please you with their mouths, but their hearts refuse ; and most of them do work abomination. They barter God's signs for a little price, and they turn folk from His way ; verily, they—evil is that which they have done.

[10] They will not observe in a believer ties of kindred nor ties of clientship ; but they it is are the transgressors.

But if they repent and are steadfast in prayer and give alms, then they are your brethren in religion—we detail the signs unto a people that do know.

But if they break faith with you after their treaty, and taunt your religion, then fight the leaders of misbelief ; verily, they have no faith, haply they may desist.

Will ye not fight a people who broke their oaths, and intended to expel the Apostle ? They began with you at first, are ye afraid of them ? God is more deserving that ye should fear Him ! If ye be believers, kill them ! God will torment them by your hands, and disgrace them, and aid you against them, and heal the breasts of a people who believe ; [15] and will remove rage from their hearts ; for God turns unto Him whomsoever He pleases, and God is knowing, wise !

Did ye reckon that ye would be left, when God knows not as yet those of you who fought strenuously, and who did not take other than God and His Apostle, and the believers for an intimate friend ?

for God is well aware of what ye do. It is not for idolaters to repair to the mosques of God, bearing witness against themselves to unbelief; they it is whose works are vain, and in the Fire shall they dwell for aye!

He only shall repair to the mosques of God who believes in God and the last day, and is steadfast in prayer, and gives the alms, and fears only God;—it may be that these will be of those who are guided.

Have ye made out the giving drink to the pilgrims and the repairing to the Sacred Mosque¹ to be like being one who believes in God and in the last day, and is strenuous in the way of God?—they are not equal in God's sight, and God guides not an unjust people.

[20] Those who believe and who have fled and been strenuous in the way of God, with their wealth and with their persons, are highest in rank with God, and these it is who are happy. Their Lord gives them glad tidings of mercy from Himself, and goodwill; and gardens shall they have therein and lasting pleasure, to dwell therein for aye! Verily, God, with Him is mighty here.

O ye who believe! take not your fathers and your brothers for patrons if they love misbelief rather than faith; for whosoever amongst you takes them for patrons these are the unjust.

Say, 'If your fathers, and your sons, and your brethren, and your wives, and your clansmen, and

¹ Abu 'l 'Abbâs, Mohammed's uncle, when taken prisoner and reproached with his unbelief, appealed to his having performed these duties as entitling him to as much consideration as if he had professed Islâm.

the wealth which ye have gained, and the merchandise which ye fear may be slack, and the dwellings which ye love are dearer to you than God and His Apostle, and than fighting strenuously in His way,—then wait awhile, until God brings His bidding, for God guides not a people who work abomination !'

[25] God has helped you in many a place, and on the day of 'Honein'¹ when ye were so pleased with your numbers ; but it did not serve you at all, and the road grew too strait for you, where it had been broad ; and then ye turned your backs retreating ; then God sent down His shechina² upon His Apostle and upon the believers ; and sent down armies which ye could not see, and punished those who misbelieved ; for that is the reward of the misbelievers, then God turns after that to whom He will, for God is forgiving and merciful !

O ye who believe ! it is only the idolaters who are unclean ; they shall not then approach the Sacred Mosque after this year. But if ye fear want³ then God will enrich you from His grace if He will ; verily, God is knowing, wise !

Fight those who believe not in God and in the last day, and who forbid not what God and His Apostle have forbidden, and who do not practice

¹ 'Honein is the name of a valley about three miles to the north-east of Mecca, where, in the eighth year of the Flight, a battle took place between Mohammed and his followers with an army of twelve thousand men, and two tribes of idolatrous Arabs. Too confident in their numbers the Moslems at first received a check, but were rallied by Mohammed and his immediate followers and kindred.

² See p. 38, note 2.

³ That is, from the stoppage of traffic and merchandise.

the religion of truth from amongst those to whom the Book has been brought, until they pay the tribute by their hands and be as little ones.

[30] The Jews say Ezra is the son of God; and the Christians say that the Messiah is the son of God; that is what they say with their mouths, imitating the sayings of those who misbelieved before.—God fight them! how they lie!¹

They take their doctors and their monks for lords² rather than God, and the Messiah the son of Mary; but they are bidden to worship but one God, there is no god but He; celebrated be His praise, from what they join with Him!

They desire to put out the light of God with their mouths, but God will not have it but that we should perfect His light, averse although the mis-believers be!

He it is who sent His Apostle with guidance and the religion of truth, to make it prevail over every other religion, averse although idolaters may be!

O ye who believe! verily, many of the doctors and the monks devour the wealth of men openly, and turn folk from God's way; but those who store up gold and silver and expend it not in God's way,

¹ The Moslem tradition is that Ezra, after being dead 100 years, was raised to life, and dictated from memory the whole of the Jewish Scriptures which had been lost during the captivity, and that the Jews said he could not have done this unless he had been the son of God. There is no Jewish tradition whatever in support of this accusation of Mohammed's, which probably was entirely due to his own invention or to misinformation. Bâidhâvî, the well-known commentator, says that it must have been true because the Jews themselves, to whom the passage was read, did not deny it.

² Alluding to the word *rabbi*, which in Arabic is applied to God alone.

—give them glad tidings of grievous woe ! [35] On the day when it shall be heated in the fire of hell, and their brows shall be branded therewith, and their sides and their backs !—‘ This is what ye stored up for yourselves, taste then what ye stored up !’

Verily, the number of months with God is twelve months in God’s Book, on the day when He created the heavens and the earth ; of these are four that are sacred ; that is the subsisting religion. Then do not wrong yourselves therein, but fight the idolaters one and all, as they fight you one and all, and know that God is with those who fear.

Verily, putting off is but an increase in misbelief¹ to lead astray therewith those who misbelieve. They make it lawful one year, but they make it unlawful another year, that they may come to an understanding as to the number which God has made sacred, and make lawful what God has prohibited. Seemly to them are their evil works, but God guides not a misbelieving people.

O ye who believe ! what ailed you when ye were told to march forth in God’s way, that ye sank down heavily upon the earth ? were ye content with the life of this world instead of the next ? but the provision of this world’s life is but a little to the next. Unless ye march forth He will punish you with grievous woe, and will put in your stead a people other than you ! ye cannot hurt Him at all, for God is mighty over all !

¹ The pagan Arabs used to put off the observance of a sacred month when it was inconvenient to them and observe another instead ; this Mohammed deprecates.

[40] Unless ye help him¹ — and God did help him, when those who misbelieved drove him forth the second of two². When they twain were in the cave; when he said to his comrade, ‘Grieve not, verily, God is with us;’ and God sent down His shechina upon him, and aided him with hosts ye could not see, and made the word of those who misbelieved inferior, and the word of God superior; for God is mighty and wise. March ye then, light and heavy, and fight strenuously with your wealth and persons in God’s way; that is better for you if ye did but know!

Were there goods nigh at hand, and a moderate journey, they would have followed you; but the distance was too far for them; they will swear by God, ‘If we could, we would have gone forth with you.’ They destroy themselves, but God knows that they lie!

God forgive thee; why didst thou give them leave (to stay) until it was made manifest to thee who spake the truth—until thou mightest know the liars?

Those who believe in God and in the last day will not beg off from fighting strenuously with their wealth and their persons; but God knows those who fear.

[45] It is only those who believe not in God and in the last day who beg off from thee, and those whose hearts are in doubt, and in their doubt do hesitate.

Had they wished to go forth, they would have prepared for it a preparation; but God was averse

¹ The prophet.

² That is, with only one companion, namely Abubekr.

from their starting off, and made them halt, and they were told to sit with those who sit. Had they gone forth with you they would but have made you more trouble, and they would have hurried about amongst you craving a sedition; amongst you are some who would have listened to them; but God knows those who are unjust! They used to crave sedition before and upset thy affairs; until the truth came, and God's bidding was made manifest, averse although they were.

Of them are some who say, 'Permit me¹, and do not try me!' Have they not fallen into the trial already, but hell shall encompass the misbelievers.

[50] If good befall thee it seems ill to them; but if a calamity befall thee they say, 'We had taken care for our affair before;' and they turn their backs and they are glad.

Say, 'Nought shall befall us save what God has written down for us; He is our Lord, and upon God believers do rely!'

Say, 'Do ye await for us aught but one of the two best things²?' we too await for you that God will inflict on you torment from Himself, or by our hands. Wait then; and we with you are waiting too!

Say, 'Expend ye in alms, whether ye will or no, it shall not be accepted from you; verily, ye are a people who do work abomination.'

But nought hinders their alms-giving from being accepted save that they misbelieve in God and His Apostle, and perform not prayer save lazily, and expend not in alms save reluctantly.

¹ That is, excuse me from the fighting in the cause of religion.

² I. e. victory or martyrdom.

[55] Let not their wealth please you nor their children, God only wishes to torment them therewith in the life of this world, and that their souls may pass away while still they misbelieve.

They swear by God that, verily, they are of you ; but they are not of you, and they are a people who do stand aside in fear. Could they but have found a refuge, or some caves, or a place in which to creep, they would have turned round in haste thereto.

Of them are some who defame thee, with respect to alms ; though if they are given a part thereof, they are content ; and if they are not given a part thereof, then are they in a rage. Would that they were content with what God and His Apostle had brought them, and would say, 'God is enough for us ! God will bring us of His grace, and so will His Apostle ; verily, unto God is our desire !'

[60] Alms are only for the poor and needy, and those who work for them¹, and those whose hearts are reconciled², and those in captivity, and those in debt, and those who are on God's path, and for the wayfarer ;—an ordinance this from God, for God is knowing, wise.

And of them are some who are by the ears³ with the prophet, and say, 'He is all ear.' Say, 'An ear of good for you !' he believes in God, and believes in those who do believe, and is a mercy unto such of you as believe ; but those who are by the ears with the Apostle of God, for them is grievous woe !

¹ I. e. in collecting or distributing them.

² Reconciled, that is, to Islâm.

³ That is, reproach or quarrel with the prophet ; I have used the old fashion English expression in order to preserve the pun upon the word ear which exists in the original.

They swear by God to please you ; but God and His Apostle are more worthy for them to please if they be believers. Do they not know that whoso setteth himself against God and His Apostle, for him is the fire of hell, to dwell therein for aye ? and that is mighty shame !

[65] The hypocrites are cautious lest there be revealed against them a sûrah¹ to inform them of what is in their hearts ; say, 'Mock ye ! verily, God will bring forth that of which ye are so cautious !' But if thou shouldst ask them, they will say, 'We did but discuss and jest ;' say, 'Was it at God and His signs, and His Apostle, that ye mocked ?'

Make no excuse ! Ye have misbelieved after your faith ; if we forgive one sect of you, we will torment another sect, for that they sinned !

The hypocrites, men and women, some of them follow others, bidding what is wrong and forbidding what is right, and they clench their hands². They forget God and He forgets them ! Verily, the hypocrites, they are the doers of abomination !

God has promised unto the hypocrites, men and women, and unto the misbelievers, hell-fire, to dwell therein for aye ; it is enough for them ! God shall curse them, and theirs shall be enduring woe.

[70] Ye are like those who were before you. They were stronger than you and more abundant in wealth and children ; they enjoyed their portion then, and ye enjoy your portion, as they enjoyed their portion before you ; and ye discuss as they

¹ Chapter of the Qur'ân.

² I. e. are niggardly and refuse to give alms.

discussed. Their works are vain in this world and the next, and they it is who lose.

Did there not come to them the declaration of those who were before them? of the people of Noah and 'Âd and Thamûd, and of the people of Abraham, and the people of Midian? and of the overturned (cities)¹? Their apostles came to them with manifest signs; for God would not wrong them, but it was themselves they wronged.

And the believers, men and women, are some the patrons of others; they bid what is reasonable, and forbid what is wrong, and are steadfast in prayer, and give alms, and obey God and His Apostle. On these will God have mercy; verily, God is mighty, wise!

God has promised to believers, men and women, gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye; and goodly places in the garden of Eden, But good-will from God is the greatest of all! that is the mighty happiness!

O thou prophet! strive strenuously against the misbelievers and the hypocrites, and be stern against them; for their resort is hell, and an ill journey shall it be.

[75] They swear by God they did not speak it, but they did speak the word of misbelief; and they disbelieved after they had embraced Islâm, and they designed what they could not attain; and they only disapproved it because God and His Apostle had enriched them of His grace². If they turn again 'tis

¹ Sodom and Gomorrah.

² A plot had been set afoot at Medînah to kill Mohammed, and was only abandoned because of the increased trade and prosperity which Mohammed's residence then brought.

better for them ; but if they turn their backs, God will torment them with mighty woe in this world and in the next, nor shall they have upon the earth a patron or protector.

And of them are some who make a treaty with God, that 'If He bring us of His grace, we will give alms and we will surely be among the righteous.' But when He gave them of His grace they were niggardly thereof, and turned their backs and swerved aside. So He caused hypocrisy to pursue them in their hearts unto the day when they shall meet Him,—for that they did fail God in what they promised Him, and for that they were liars !

Do they not know that God knows their secrets and their whisperings, and that God knows the unseen things ?

[80] Those who defame such of the believers as willingly give their alms, and such as can find nothing to give but their exertions, and who mock at them,—God will mock at them, and for them is grievous woe !

Ask forgiveness for them or ask not forgiveness for them ! if they shouldst ask forgiveness for them seventy times, yet would not God forgive them ; that is because they disbelieved in God and His Apostle, for God guides not a people who work abomination.

Those who were left behind¹ rejoiced in staying behind the Apostle of God, and were averse from fighting strenuously with their wealth and their persons in God's way, and said, 'March not forth in the heat.' Say, 'The fire of hell is hotter still,

¹ At the battle of Tabûk.

if ye could but discern!’ Let them then laugh little, and let them weep much, as a recompense for that which they have earned!

But if God bring thee back to a sect of them, and they ask thee then for leave to sally forth; say, ‘Ye shall by no means ever sally forth with me, nor shall ye ever fight a foe with me! verily, ye were content to sit at home the first time, sit ye then now with those who stay behind.’

[85] Pray not for any one of them who dies, and stand not by his tomb; verily, they disbelieved in God and His Apostle and died workers of abomination!

Let not their wealth and their children please you, God only wishes to torment them therewith in this world, and that their souls may pass away the while they misbelieve.

Whenever a sûrah is sent down to them, ‘Believe ye in God, and fight strenuously together with His Apostle,’ those of them who have the means will ask thee for leave to stay at home and say, ‘Let us be amongst those who stay behind.’ They are content to be with those who are left behind. A stamp is set upon their hearts that they should not discern.

But the Apostle and those who believe with him are strenuous with their wealth and with their persons; these shall have good things, and these it is shall prosper.

[90] God has prepared for them gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye; that is the mighty happiness!

There came certain desert Arabs that they might be excused; and those stayed behind who had called

God and His Apostle liars. There shall befall those of them who misbelieved, a mighty woe. For the weak, and the sick, and those who cannot find wherewith to expend in alms there is no hindrance, so they be only sincere towards God and His Apostle. There is no way against those who do well; for God is forgiving and merciful. Nor against those to whom, when they came to thee that thou shouldst mount them, thou didst say, 'I cannot find wherewith to mount you,' turned their backs while their eyes poured forth with tears, for grief that they could not find wherewith to expend. Only is there a way against those who ask thee for leave to stay at home while they are rich; content to be with those who are left behind; on whose hearts God has set a stamp, so that they should not know.

[95] They make excuses to you when ye return to them: say, 'Make no excuse, we believe you not; God has informed us concerning you. God sees your works and His Apostle too!' Then shall ye be brought back unto Him who knows the unseen and the seen; and He shall inform you of that which ye have done.

They will adjure you by God when ye have come back to them, to turn aside from them; turn ye aside then from them; verily, they are a plague, and their resort is hell! a recompense for that which they have earned!

They will adjure you to be pleased with them; but if ye are pleased with them, God will not be pleased with a people who work abomination.

The Arabs of the desert are keener in misbelief and hypocrisy, and are more likely not to know

the bounds which God has sent down to His Apostle; but God is knowing and wise.

And of the Arabs of the desert are some who take what they expend to be a forced loan, and they wait a turn of fortune against you; against them shall a turn of evil fortune be; for God both hears and knows.

[100] And of the Arabs of the desert are some who believe in God and the last day, and who take what they expend in alms to be a means of approach to God and to the Apostle's prayers,—is it not a means of approach for them? God will make them enter into His mercy; verily, God is forgiving and merciful.

As for the foremost in the race, the first of those who fled¹, and the helpers², and those who followed them in their kindness, God is well pleased with them, and they are well pleased with Him; He has prepared for them gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye; that is the mighty happiness.

And of those who are round about you of the Arabs of the desert, some are hypocrites, and of the people of Medīnah, some are stubborn in hypocrisy; thou dost not know them—we know them; we will torment them twice over; then shall they be sent off into mighty woe.

And others have confessed their sins,—that they have mixed with a righteous action another evil action;—haply it may be God will turn again to them; verily, God is forgiving and merciful.

¹ The Muhâgerīn, or those who fled with Mohammed from Mecca.

² The Ansârs who helped him while at Medīnah.

Take from their wealth alms to cleanse and purify them thereby; and pray for them; verily, thy prayer is a repose for them; for God both hears and knows.

[105] Do they not know that God accepts repentance from His servants, and takes alms; and that God is He who is easily turned and merciful.

And say, 'Act ye;' and God and His Apostle and the believers shall see your acts, and ye shall be brought back to Him who knows the seen and the unseen, and He shall inform you of that which ye have done.

And others are in hopes of God's bidding; whether He will torment them, or whether He turn again towards them; for God is knowing, wise.

And there are those who have taken to a mosque for mischief, and for misbelief, and to make a breach amongst the believers, and for an ambush for him who made war against God and His Apostle before; they surely swear, 'We only wished for what was good;' but God bears witness that they are liars.

Never stand up therein!—there is a mosque founded on piety from the first day¹: it is more right that thou shouldst stand therein;—therein are men who love to be clean; for God doth love the clean.

[110] Is he who has laid his foundation upon the

¹ The Mosque of Qubá', about two miles from Medînah, the foundation stone of which was laid by Mohammed four days before he entered Medînah on his flight from Mecca, was the first place of public prayer in Islâm. The Beni *Ghanm* had built another mosque to rival this, at the instigation of Abu 'Hâmir, a monk who was opposed to Mohammed, and wished the prophet to consecrate it.

fear of God and of His good-will better, or he who has laid his foundation upon a crumbling wall of sand, which crumbles away with him into the fire of hell?—but God guides not a people who do wrong.

The building which they¹ have built will not cease to be a source of doubt in their hearts until their hearts are cut asunder²; but God is knowing, wise.

Verily, God hath bought of the believers their persons and their wealth, for the paradise they are to have; they shall fight in the way of God, and they shall slay and be slain: promised in truth, in the law and the gospel and the Qur'ân;—and who is more faithful to His covenant than God?

Be ye glad then in the covenant which ye have made with Him, for that is the mighty happiness! Those who repent, those who worship, those who praise, those who fast, those who bow down, those who adore, those who bid what is right and forbid what is wrong, and those who keep the bounds of God,—glad tidings to those who believe!

[115] It is not for the prophet and those who believe to ask forgiveness for the idolaters, even though they be their kindred, after it has been made manifest to them that they are the fellows of hell.

Nor was Abraham's asking pardon for his father aught else but through a promise he had promised him; but when it was made manifest to him that he was an enemy to God, he cleansed himself of him; verily, Abraham was pitiful and clement.

¹ The Beni Gʿhanm.

² I. e. they will feel compunctions about it till the day of their death.

Nor will God lead astray a people after He has guided them until that is made manifest to them which they have to fear ; verily, God all things doth know.

Verily, God's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth ! He quickens and He kills ! Nor have ye beside God a patron or protector.

God has now turned towards the prophet and those who fled with him, and towards the helpers who followed him in the hour of difficulty, after that the hearts of a part of them had well-nigh gone amiss.

Then He turned unto them ; verily, to them He is kind and merciful :—unto the three¹ who were left behind, so that the earth with all its ample space was too strait for them, and their souls were straitened for them, and they thought that there was no refuge for them from God save unto Him.

Then He turned again towards them that they might also turn ; verily, God, He is easily turned and merciful !

[120] O ye who believe ! fear God and be with those who speak the truth.

It was not for the people of Medīnah, and those around about them of the Arabs of the desert, to stay behind the Apostle of God and not to prefer their souls to his : that is because neither thirst, nor toil, nor heat, nor hunger befel them on God's way. Nor do they stop to anger the misbelievers, nor do they get any (harm) from the enemy without

¹ Three of the Ansârs who refused to accompany Mohammed to Tabûk.

a good work being written down to them; verily, God wastes not the hire of those who do well.

Nor do they expend in alms a small or great expense, nor do they cross a wady¹ without it being written down to them; that God may reward them with better than that which they have done.

The believers should not march forth altogether; and if a troop of every division of them march not forth, it is only that they may study their religion and warn their people when they return to them, that haply they may beware.

O ye who believe! fight those who are near to you of the misbelievers, and let them find in you sternness; and know that God is with those who fear.

[125] And whenever a sūrah is sent down, there are some of them who say, 'Which of you has this increased in faith?' But as for those who believe, it does increase them in faith, and they shall rejoice: but as for those in whose hearts is sickness, it only adds a plague to their plague, and they die misbelievers.

Do they not see that they are tried in every year once or twice? Yet they do not turn again, nor do they mind!

And whenever a sūrah is sent down, some of them look at the others—'Does any one see you?'—Then they turn away! God has turned their hearts, for that they are a people who do not discern.

There has come to you an apostle from amongst

¹ A wady is the bed of a torrent, which in Arabia is generally dry, but occasionally after a storm is filled with the torrent.

yourselves; hard for him to bear is it that ye commit iniquity; he is anxious over you after the believers, pitiful, compassionate.

[130] But if they turn their backs, then say, 'God is enough for me! there is no god but He! upon Him do I rely, for He is Lord of the mighty throne!'

THE CHAPTER OF JONAH, (PEACE BE ON HIM!)

(X. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

A. L. R. Those are the signs of the wise Book! was it a wonder to the folk¹ that we inspired a man from amongst themselves, 'Warn thou the folk; and give glad tidings to those who believe, that for them there is an advance of sincerity² gone before them with their Lord?' The misbelievers say, 'Verily, this is an obvious sorcerer!'

Verily, your Lord is God, who created the heavens and the earth in six days; then He made for the throne, to govern the affair; there is no intercessor, except after His permission. That is God for you—your Lord! Then worship Him—do ye not mind?

To Him is your return all of you—God's promise in truth; verily, He produces the creature, then He makes it return again, that He may recompense

¹ Of Mecca.

² I. e. a reward awaiting them for their sincerity.

those who believe and do what is right with justice ; but those who misbelieve, for them is a drink of boiling water, and grievous woe, for that they did misbelieve.

[5] He it is who made the sun for a brightness, and the moon for a light, and decreed for it mansions, that ye may know the number of the years and the reckoning.—God only created that in truth. He details the signs unto a people who do know.

Verily, in the alternation of night and day, and in what God has created of the heavens and the earth, are signs unto a people who do fear.

Verily, those who hope not for our meeting, and are content with the life of this world, and are comforted thereby, and those who are neglectful of our signs,—these, their resort is fire for that which they have earned !

Verily, those who believe and do what is right, their Lord guides them by their faith ; beneath them shall rivers flow in the gardens of pleasure.

[10] Their cry therein shall be, ‘Celebrated be Thy praises, O God!’ and their salutation therein shall be, ‘Peace!’ and the end of their cry shall be, ‘Praise (belongs) to God, the Lord of the worlds!’

And if God should hasten on the bad to men as they would hasten on the good, their appointed time would surely be fulfilled. But we will let those who hope not for our meeting go on in their rebellion, blindly wandering on.

When distress touches man, he calls us to his side, whether sitting or standing ; but when we have removed from him his distress, he passes on

as though he had not called on us in a distress that touched him. Thus unto the extravagant is made seemly that which they have done.

We have already destroyed generations before you when they did wrong, and there came to them their apostles with manifest signs, but they would not believe. Thus do we reward the sinful people.

[15] Then we made you their successors in the earth after them, that we may see how ye will act.

But when our evident signs are recited to them, those who hope not for our meeting say, 'Bring a Qur'ân other than this; or change it.' Say, 'It is not for me to change it of my own accord; I do not follow aught but what I am inspired with; verily, I fear, if I rebel against my Lord, the torment of a mighty day!'

Say, 'Had God pleased, I should not have recited it to you, nor taught you therewith. I have tarried a lifetime amongst you before it;—have ye not then any sense?'

Who is more unjust than he who forges against God a lie, or says His signs are lies? verily, the sinners shall not prosper.

They worship beside God what can neither harm them nor profit them, and they say, 'These are our intercessors with God!' Say, 'Will ye inform God of aught in the heavens or the earth, that He knows not of?' Celebrated be His praise! and exalted be He, above what they associate with Him!

[20] People were but one nation once, then they disagreed; and had it not been for thy Lord's word already passed, there would have been decided between them that concerning which they disagreed.

They say, 'Why is not a sign sent down upon him from his Lord?' Say, 'The unseen is only God's; but wait ye for a while, verily, I with you am one of those who wait!'

When we have let men taste of mercy after distress which has touched them, lo! they use a stratagem against our signs! Say, 'God is quicker at stratagem.' Verily, our messengers¹ write down what stratagem ye use.

He it is who makes you travel in the land and sea, until when ye are in the ships—and these carry them² afloat with a favouring wind, and they rejoice therein, there comes to them a violent wind, and there comes to them the wave from every place, and they think that they are encompassed about; then they call on God, sincere in religion towards Him, 'If thou dost save from this we will surely be of those who thank.' But when He has saved them, lo! they are wilful in the earth unjustly;—O ye folk! your wilfulness against yourselves is but a provision of this world's life; then unto us is your return, and we will inform you of that which ye have done!

[25] Verily, the likeness of this world's life is like water which we send down from the sky, and the plants of the earth, from which men and cattle eat, are mingled therewith; until when the earth puts on its gilding and is adorned, the people thereof think that they have power over it. Our order comes to it by night or day, and we make it as it

¹ The recording angels.

² An instance of the frequent abrupt changes of persons with which the Qur'ân abounds.

were mown down—as though it had not yesterday been rich!—Thus do we detail the signs unto a people who reflect.

God calls unto the abode of peace, and guides whom He will into the right path.

To those who do what is good, goodness and increase! nor shall blackness or abasement cover their faces! these are the fellows of Paradise, they shall dwell therein for aye.

But, as for those who have earned ill, the reward of evil is the like thereof; abasement shall cover them! they shall have none to defend them against God;—as though their faces were veiled with the deep darkness of the night; these are the fellows of the Fire, and they shall dwell therein for aye.

And on the day we gather them all together then we will say to those who associated other gods (with us), 'To your places, ye and your associates!' and we will part them; and their associates will say, 'It was not us ye worshipped.—[30] But God is witness enough between us and you, that we were heedless of your worshipping us.' There shall every soul prove what it has sent on before; and they shall be returned unto God, their God, their true sovereign, and that which they devised shall stray away from them.

Say, 'Who provides you from the heaven and the earth? who has dominion over hearing and sight? and who brings forth the living from the dead, and brings forth the dead from the living? and who governs the affair?' And they will say, 'God.' Say, 'Do ye not then fear?'

That is God, your true Lord! and what is there

after the truth but error? how then can ye turn away?

Thus is the word of thy Lord verified against those who commit abomination; verily, they will not believe. Say, 'Is there any of your associates who can produce a creature and then turn it back again?' Say, 'God produces a creature, then turns it back again; how then can ye lie?' [35] Say, 'Is there any of your associates who guides unto the truth?' Say, 'God guides unto the truth.' Is then He who guides unto the truth more worthy to be followed, or he that guides not except he be himself guided? What ails you then, how ye judge?

But most of them follow only suspicion; verily, suspicion does not avail against the truth at all; verily, God knows what they do.

This Qur'ân could not have been devised by any beside God; but it verifies that which was before it, and details the Book—there is no doubt therein—from the Lord of the worlds.

Do they say, 'He¹ hath devised it?' say then, 'Bring a sûrah like it,—and call, if ye can, on other than God, if ye do tell the truth!'

[40] Yet they call that a lie, the knowledge of which they cannot compass, while its interpretation has not yet come to them; so did those before them charge with lying, and see what was the end of the unjust!

Of them are some who believe therein; and of them are some who do not believe therein; but thy Lord knows best who are corrupters.

¹ I. e. Mohammed.

But if they call thee liar, say, 'I have my work, and ye have your work; ye are clear of what I work, and I am clear of what ye work.'

There are some of them who listen to thee—canst thou make the deaf to hear, although they have no sense? And of them are some who look at thee—canst thou guide the blind, although they cannot see?

[45] Verily, God wrongs not man at all, but men do wrong themselves.

And on the day when we will gather them together it will be as though they had not tarried save an hour of the day, they shall know each other. Lost are those who called the meeting with God a lie, and were not guided!

Either we will show thee something of that with which we threatened them, or we will take thee to ourself, for unto us is their return; then is God a witness to what they do.

Every nation has its apostle; and when their apostle comes to them, it is decided between them with justice, and they are not wronged.

But they say, 'When is this threat (to come), if ye tell the truth?'

[50] Say, 'I have no power over myself for harm or for profit, save what God will. Every nation has its appointed time; when their appointed time comes to them they cannot delay it for an hour or bring it on.'

Say, 'Let us see now when the torment comes to you, by night or day, what will the sinners fain bring on thereof? And when it has fallen—will ye believe in it now!—And yet ye wish to bring it on! Then shall it be said to those who have done

wrong, Taste ye the torment of eternity ! shall ye be recompensed except for that which ye have earned ?' They will ask thee to inform them whether it be true. Say, 'Aye, by my Lord ! verily, it is the truth, nor can ye weaken him.'

[55] And if every soul that hath done wrong had whatever is in the earth, it would give it as a ransom. They will utter their repentance when they see the torment ; and it shall be decided between them with justice, nor shall they be wronged.

Is not indeed what is in the heavens and what is in the earth God's ? is not indeed the promise of God true ? Though most of them know not. He quickens and He kills, and unto Him are ye returned !

O ye folk ! there has come to you a warning from your Lord, and a balm for what is in your breasts, and a guidance and a mercy to believers.

Say, 'By the grace of God and by His mercy,—and in that let them rejoice ! It is better than that which they collect !'

[60] Let us see now what God has sent down to you of provision ! and yet ye have made of it unlawful and lawful. Say, 'Does God permit you, or against God do ye forge lies ?'

What will those who forge lies against God think on the resurrection day ? Verily, God is Lord of grace towards men, but most of them do not give thanks !

Nor shalt thou be in any affair, nor shalt thou recite concerning it a Qur'ân¹—nor shall ye do a work, without our being witness against you, when

¹ A portion of the Qur'ân. The word means reading.

ye are engaged therein : nor does the weight of an atom escape thy Lord in earth or in heaven ; nor is there less than that or greater, but it is in the perspicuous Book.

Are not, verily, the friends of God those on whom there is no fear, neither shall they be grieved?—They who believed and who did fear—[65] for them are good tidings in the life of this world, and in the future too ; there is no changing the words of God ! That is the mighty happiness !

Let not their speech grieve thee ; verily, power is wholly God's ! He both hears and knows.

Is not, verily, whoever is in the heavens and whoever is in the earth God's ? What then do they follow who call on associates other than God ?

Verily, they follow nothing but suspicion, and verily, they are telling naught but lies.

He it is who made for you the night, that ye might rest therein, and the day to see therein ; verily, in that are signs unto a people who can hear.

They say, ' God has taken to Himself a son.' Celebrated be His praises ! He is the rich one ! His is whatever is in the heavens, and whatever is in the earth. Ye have no authority for this ! will ye say against God, that which ye do not know ?

[70] Say, ' Verily, those who forge against God a lie shall not prosper !'

A provision in this world—then unto us is their return ! then we will make them taste keen torment for that they misbelieved.

Recite to them the story of Noah, when he said to his people, ' O my people ! if my stay with you be grievous to you, and my reminding you of the signs of God, yet upon God do I rely ! Collect

then your affairs and your associates¹; nor let your affair (be ordered) for you in the dark; then decide respecting me, and do not wait; and if ye turn your backs, I ask you not for hire; my hire is only due from God, and I am bidden to be of those resigned.' But they called him a liar; and we saved him, and those with him, in the ark; and we made these² successors, and drowned those who had said our signs were lies; see then how was the end of those who had been warned!

[75] Then we raised up after him apostles unto their people, and they came to them with manifest signs; but they would not believe in what they had called a lie before. Thus do we set a stamp upon the hearts of the transgressors.

Then we raised up after them Moses and Aaron, unto Pharaoh and his chiefs with our signs; but they were too big with pride, and were a sinful people; and when the truth came to them from us they said, verily, 'This is obvious sorcery.'

Moses said, 'Will ye say of the truth when it comes to you, Is this sorcery? But sorcerers shall not prosper.'

They said, 'Hast thou come to turn us away from what we found our fathers at, that there may be for you twain grandeur in the earth? but we will not believe you.'

[80] And Pharaoh said, 'Bring me every knowing sorcerer;' and when the sorcerers came, Moses said to them, 'Throw down what ye have to throw!' and when they threw down, Moses said, 'What ye have brought is sorcery! verily, God will make

¹ Your idols.

² Noah's people.

it vain; verily, God rights not the work of evil-doers !'

But God verifies the truth by His words, although the sinners are averse therefrom.

But none believed in Moses, save a race of his own people, through fear of Pharaoh and his chiefs; lest he should afflict them, for verily, Pharaoh was lofty in the earth, and verily, he was extravagant.

And Moses said, 'O my people! if ye did believe in God, then on Him rely, if ye be resigned.' [85] They said, 'Upon God do we rely. O our Lord! make us not a cause of trial for a people who do wrong, but save us by Thy mercy from the people who misbelieve!'

And we inspired Moses and his brother thus, 'Establish, ye twain, houses for your people in Egypt; and make ye your houses a qiblah¹; and be ye steadfast in prayer, and give glad tidings to those who believe.'

Moses said, 'O our Lord! verily, Thou hast brought to Pharaoh and his chiefs ornaments and wealth in the life of this world; O our Lord! that they may err from Thy way! O our Lord! confound their wealth and harden their hearts that they may not believe until they see grievous woe!' He said, 'Your prayer is answered; be upright then, ye two, and follow not the path of those who do not know!'

[90] And we brought the children of Israel across the sea; and Pharaoh and his hosts followed them eager and hostile, until when drowning overtook him, he said, 'I believe that there is no god but

¹ I.e. adapt them by their position and construction to become places in which prayer may be performed.

He in whom the children of Israel believe, and I am of those who are resigned !'—' Now¹ ! but thou didst rebel aforetime, and wert of those who do evil ; but to-day we will save thee in thy body, that thou mayest be to those who come after thee a sign, for verily, many men are careless of our signs² !'

And we established the people of Israel with a sure establishment, and we provided them with good things ; nor did they disagree until there came to them the knowledge. Verily, thy Lord shall decide between them on the resurrection day concerning that whereon they did dispute.

And if thou art in doubt of that which we have sent down unto thee, ask those who read the Book before thee ; verily, the truth is come to thee from thy Lord, be not then of those who are in doubt. And be not of those who say the signs of God are lies, or thou wilt be of those who lose !
[95] Verily, those against whom God's word is pronounced will not believe, even though there come to them every sign, until they see the grievous woe. Were it not so, a city would have believed and its faith would have profited it. But (none did) except the people of Jonas ; when they believed we removed from them the torment of disgrace in this world, and we gave them provision for a while. But had thy Lord pleased, all who are in the earth would have believed altogether ; as for thee, wilt thou force men to become believers ?

¹ This is supposed to be the taunting reply of the angel Gabriel.

² Compare Exodus xiv. 30. The Mohammedan legend is that as some of the children of Israel doubted whether Pharaoh was really drowned, the angel Gabriel caused the naked corpse to swim that they might see it.

[100] It is not for any person to believe save by the permission of God; He puts horror on those who have no sense.

Say, 'Behold what is in the heavens and in the earth! but signs and warners avail not a people who do not believe. Do they await aught but the like of the days of those who passed away before them?' Say, 'Wait ye then! verily, I am with you one of those who wait.' Then we will save our apostles and those who believe; thus is it due from us to save believers.

Say, 'O ye folk! if ye are in doubt concerning my religion, I will not worship those ye worship other than God; but I worship God, who takes you to Himself, and I am bidden to be of the believers!' [105] And, 'Make steadfast thy face to the religion as a 'Hanif¹; and be not of the idolaters; and call not besides God on what can neither profit thee nor harm thee; for if thou dost, verily, thou art then of the unjust!'

And should God touch thee with harm, there is none to remove it save He; and if He wish thee well, there is none to repel His grace; He makes it fall on whom He will of His servants; for He is pardoning and merciful!

Say, 'O ye people! there has come to you the truth from your Lord, and he who is guided, his guidance is only for his soul; and he who errs, errs only against it; and I am not a guardian over you.'

Follow what is revealed to thee, and be patient until God judges, for He is the best of judges.

¹ See p. 19, note 1.

THE CHAPTER OF HÛD.

(XI. Mecca.)

A. L. R. A book whose signs are confirmed and then detailed, from the wise one, the aware : that ye worship not other than God,—verily, I am to you from Him a warner and a herald of glad tidings ; and that ye seek pardon from your Lord, then turn again to Him ! He will cause you to enjoy a good provision to a named and appointed time, and will give His grace to every one deserving grace ; but if ye turn your backs, I fear for you the torment of a great day.

Unto God is your return, and He is mighty over all.

[5] Do they not, verily, fold up their breasts, that they may hide from Him ? But when they cover themselves with their garments, does He not know what they conceal and what they display ? verily, He knows the nature of men's breasts !

There is no beast that walks upon the earth but its provision is from God. He knows its settlement and its resting-place ; all is in the perspicuous Book.

He it is who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and His throne was upon the water¹ that He might try you, which of you did best.

[10] But shouldst thou say, 'Ye will be raised up after death,' those who misbelieve will surely say, 'This is naught but obvious sorcery;' and if we keep back from them the torment to a stated generation,

¹ That is, before the creation ; see Genesis i. 2.

they will surely say, 'What hinders it?'—Aye! on the day it comes to them there is no turning it away from them, but that shall close in on them at which they mocked.

And if we make man taste of mercy from us and then strip it off from him, verily, he is despairing, ungrateful; and if we make him taste of comfort after distress has touched him, he will surely say, 'The evils have gone away from me;' verily, then he is joyful and boasting. Save those who are patient and do right; these—for them is pardon and a mighty hire!

[15] Haply thou art leaving part of what is revealed to thee and thy breast is straitened thereby, lest they should say, 'Why is not a treasure sent down to him? or why did not an angel come with him?—thou art only a warner, and God is guardian over all.'

Or they will say, 'He hath devised it;' say, 'Bring ten sūrahs like it devised; and call upon whom ye can beside God, if ye do tell the truth!' And if they do not answer, then know that it is revealed by the knowledge of God, and that there is no god but He—are ye then resigned?

Whosoever shall wish for the life of this world and its ornaments, we will pay them their works therein, and they shall not be cheated. These are those for whom there is nothing in the hereafter save the Fire; and void is what they made therein, and vain what they were doing!

[20] Is he (like them) who stands upon a manifest sign from his Lord, which is a witness from Him, and recites it, with the book of Moses before him for a model and a mercy? These believe in it; and

whosoever of the crews ¹ disbelieves in him, the Fire is his promise.

Be not thou in doubt about it; verily, it is truth from thy Lord, though most men do not believe.

Who is more unjust than he who forges against God a lie? they shall be set before their Lord, and the witnesses shall say, 'These it is who lied against their Lord.' Aye! God's curse is on the unjust who turn men away from the path, and crave to make it crooked, and in the hereafter disbelieve! They cannot make Him helpless in the earth, nor have they other than God for patrons. Doubled for them is the torment. They could not hear, nor did they see! Those it is who lose themselves; and that which they did devise has strayed away from them. No doubt but that in the hereafter these are those who lose!

[25] Verily, those who believe and do what is right, and humble themselves to their Lord, they are the fellows of Paradise; they shall dwell therein for aye. The two parties' likeness is as the blind and the deaf, and the seeing and the hearing; shall they two be equal in likeness? will ye not mind?

We did send Noah unto his people, 'Verily, I am to you an obvious warner; that ye should not worship any save God. Verily, I fear for you the torment of the grievous day. But the chiefs of those who misbelieved amongst his people said, 'We only see in thee a mortal like ourselves; nor do we see that any follow thee except the reprobates amongst us by a rash judgment; nor do we see that you have any preference over us; nay more,

¹ That is, of the idolater.

we think you liars!' [30] He said, 'O my people! let us see! if I stand upon a manifest sign from my Lord, and there come to me mercy from him, and ye are blinded to it; shall we force you to it while ye are averse therefrom?

'O my people! I do not ask you for wealth in return for it; my hire is only from God; nor do I repulse those who believe; verily, they shall meet their Lord. But I see you, a people who are ignorant. O my people! who will help me against God, were I to repulse you? do ye not then mind? I do not say that I have the treasures of God; nor do I know the unseen; nor do I say, "Verily, I am an angel;" nor do I say of those whom your eyes despise, "God will never give them any good!"—God knows best what is in their souls—verily, then should I be of the unjust.'

They said, 'O Noah! thou hast wrangled with us, and hast multiplied wranglings with us; bring us then what thou hast threatened us with, if thou art of those who tell the truth.' [35] Said he, 'God will only bring it on you if He pleases, nor can ye make Him helpless; nor will my advice profit you, should I wish to advise you, if God wish to lead you into error. He is your Lord, and unto Him shall ye be returned.'

Do they say, 'He has devised it¹?' Say, 'If I have devised it, then on me be my sin. But I am clear of that wherein ye sin.'

And Noah was inspired, 'None shall surely believe amongst thy people but those who have believed already; take not then ill that which they

¹ The Qur'ân.

do. And make the ark under our eyes, and at our inspiration; and plead not with me for those who have done wrong; verily, they shall be drowned.'

[40] So he made the ark, and every time the chiefs of his people passed by him they jested at him. Said he, 'If ye jest at us, verily, we shall jest at you even as ye are jesting, and ye shall surely know.'

'He to whom a torment comes, it shall shame him, and there shall light upon him lasting torment.'

Until at length when our order came, and the oven boiled¹, we said, 'Load therein of every kind two, and likewise thy family,—save those on whom the sentence has already been passed—likewise those who believe;' but there believed not with him save a few. And he said, 'Ride ye therein; in the name of God is its course, and its mooring. Verily, my Lord is forgiving and merciful.'

And it floated on with them mid waves like mountains; and Noah cried to his son who had gone aside, 'O my boy! ride with us and be not with the misbelievers.' [45] Said he, 'I will betake me to a mountain that shall save me from the water.' Said he, 'There is none to save to-day from the command of God, except for him on whom He may have mercy.' And the wave came between them, and he was amongst the drowned².

And it was said, 'O earth! swallow down thy

¹ Tannûr (oven) signifies also a reservoir of water. Its use in this passage has, however, given rise to some ridiculous superstitions amongst the Mohammedans as to the origin of the deluge.

² This story and the further allusion to Noah's son in the next page were probably suggested by Genesis ix. 20-25.

water!' and, 'O heaven! hold!' and the water abated; and the affair was decided, and it¹ settled on *Gûdî*², and it was said, 'Away with the people who are evildoers!'

And Noah went unto his Lord and said, 'My Lord, verily, my son is of my people, and, verily, Thy promise is true, and Thou art the justest of judges.' He said, 'O Noah! he is not of thy people; verily, it is a work that is not right. Then, ask me not for that of which thou knowest naught. Verily, I admonish thee that thou shouldst not be of the ignorant.' He said, 'My Lord, verily, I seek refuge in Thee from asking Thee for aught of which I know nothing; and, unless Thou dost forgive me and have mercy on me, I shall be of those who lose.'

[50] It was said, 'O Noah! descend in safety from us, and blessings upon thee and upon (some) nations of those who are with thee³; but (some) nations we will allow to enjoy prosperity and then there shall touch them from us grievous woe.' These are stories of the unseen which we reveal to thee; thou didst not know them, thou nor thy people before this. Be patient, then; verily, the issue is for those who fear.

And unto 'Âd (we sent) their brother Hûd; he said, 'O my people! serve God; ye have no god but Him. Ye do but devise a lie. O my people! I do not ask you for hire in return; my hire is

¹ The ark.

² *Gûdî* is a corruption apparently for Mount Giordi, the Gordyæi of the Greeks, situated between Armenia and Mesopotamia.

³ I. e. upon some of the nations who are to form the posterity of thyself and the members of thy family saved with thee.

only from Him who created me : have ye then no sense ?

‘O my people! ask pardon of your Lord ; then turn to Him ; He will send the skies down on you in torrents ; [55] and He will add strength to your strength : do not then turn back sinners.’

They said, ‘O Hûd ! thou hast not come to us with a manifest sign ; nor will we leave our gods at thy word ; nor will we believe in thee. We can only say that some of our gods have attacked thee with evil.’ Said he, ‘Verily, I call God to witness, and do ye bear witness too, that I am free from that which ye associate beside Him.

‘Plot then against me altogether, and give me no delay. Verily, I rely upon God, my Lord and your Lord. There is no beast that walks, but He taketh it by its forelock. Verily, my Lord is on the right way !

[60] ‘But if ye turn your backs,—then I have conveyed to you what I was sent to you with ; and my Lord will make another people your successors. Ye cannot harm Him at all ; verily, my Lord is guardian over all !’

And when our order came we saved Hûd, and those who believed with him, by mercy from us ; and we saved them from harsh torment. That (tribe of) ‘Âd denied the signs of their Lord, and rebelled against His apostles, and followed the bidding of every headstrong tyrant. They were followed in this world by a curse, and on the resurrection day—‘Did not ‘Âd disbelieve their Lord ? Aye ! away with ‘Âd the people of Hûd !’

And unto Thamûd (we sent) their brother Zâli’h ; said he, ‘O my people ! worship God ; ye have no

god but Him. He it is that produced you from the earth, and made you live therein! Then ask pardon of Him; then turn again to Him: verily, my Lord is nigh and answers!

[65] They said, 'O Zâli'h! thou wert amongst us one we hoped in before this: dost thou forbid us to worship what our fathers worshipped? verily, we are in hesitating doubt as to that to which thou callest us.'

He said, 'O my people! let us see; if I stand upon a manifest sign from my Lord, and there come from Him mercy, who will help me against God if I rebel against Him? Ye will add only to my loss.

'O my people! this she-camel¹ of God is a sign for you; leave her, then, to feed in God's earth, and touch her not with evil, or there will catch you torment that is nigh.' But they did hamstring her, and he said, 'Enjoy yourselves in your houses for three days;—that is the promise that shall not be belied.'

And when our order came we saved Zâli'h, and those who believed with him, by our mercy, from disgrace upon that day. Verily, thy Lord He is powerful and mighty.

[70] And the noise caught those who had done wrong; and on the morrow they were lying corpses in their houses, as though they had never dwelt therein. Did not Thamûd indeed disbelieve in their Lord? Aye! away with Thamûd!

Our messengers did come to Abraham with glad tidings; they said, 'Peace!' He said, 'Peace be

¹ See note, p. 107.

it!' nor did he delay to bring the roasted calf. But when he saw that their hands reached not thereto, he could not understand them, and harboured fear of them. They said, 'Fear not. Verily, we are sent unto the people of Lot.' And his wife was standing by, laughing; and we gave her the glad tidings of Isaac, and of Jacob after Isaac. [75] Said she, 'Alas for me! shall I bear a son when I am an old woman, and this husband of mine an old man? Verily, this is a wonderful thing!' They said, 'Dost thou wonder at the bidding of God? God's mercy and blessings upon you, ye people of the house! Verily, He is to be praised and glorified.'

And when his terror left Abraham, and the glad tidings came to him, he wrangled with us about the people of Lot; verily, Abraham was clement, pitiful, relenting.

'O Abraham! avoid this; verily, the bidding of thy Lord has come; verily, there is coming to them torment that cannot be put off.'

[80] And when our messengers came to Lot, he was grieved for them; but his arm was straitened for them¹, and he said, 'This is a troublesome day!' And his people came to him, rushing at him, for before that they used to work evil. He said, 'O my people! here are my daughters, they are purer for you; then, fear God, and do not disgrace me through my guests;—is there not among you one right-thinking man?'

They said, 'Thou knowest that we have no claim on thy daughters; verily, thou knowest what we want!' He said, 'Had I but power over you; or

¹ I. e. he was powerless to help them.

could I but resort to some strong column¹. . . !' (The angels) said, 'O Lot! verily, we are the messengers of thy Lord, they shall certainly not reach thee; then travel with thy people in the darkness of the night, and let none of you look round except thy wife: verily, there shall befall her what befalls them. Verily, their appointment is for the morning! and is not the morning nigh?'

And when our bidding came, we made their high parts their low parts². And we rained down upon them stones and baked clay³ one after another, marked⁴, from thy Lord, and these are not so far from the unjust⁵!

[85] And unto Midian (we sent) their brother Sho'hâib⁶. He said, 'O my people! serve God; ye have no god but Him, and give not short measure and weight. Verily, I see you well off; but, verily, I fear for you the torments of an encompassing day. O my people! give measure and weight fairly, and defraud not men of their things; and wreak not wrong in the earth, corrupting it. God's residue⁷

¹ I. e. some support, such as a powerful clan or chieftain.

² That is, overturned the cities of the plain.

³ The Abyssinians, who had invaded Mecca some years before, are mentioned in the Chapter of the Elephant (CV) as being destroyed in a similar manner by flocks of birds, who threw down such missiles upon them.

⁴ The legend is that they each contained the name of the person for whom they were destined; so the old saying, 'every bullet has its billet.'

⁵ I. e. the same punishment is likely to overtake other wrong-doers, the threat being especially directed against the unbelieving inhabitants of Mecca.

⁶ See Chapter VII.

⁷ A little which God leaves you after paying every one his due.

is better for you if ye be believers. But I am not a guardian over you.'

They said, 'O Sho'hâib! Do thy prayers bid thee that we should forsake what our fathers served, or that we should not do as we please with our wealth? Thou art, forsooth, the clement and straightforward one!'

[90] He said, 'O my people! Do ye see? If I stand upon a manifest sign from my Lord; and He provides me from Himself with a goodly provision, and I consent not with you to that which I forbid you, I only wish to better you so far as I can,—nor comes my grace through any one but God; on Him do I rely, and unto Him I turn. O my people! let not a breach with me make you so sin that there befall you the like of that which befel the people of Noah, or the people of Hûd, or the people of Zâli'h—nor are the people of Lot so far from you! Ask pardon, then, from your Lord, then turn to Him; verily, my Lord is merciful, loving!'

They said, 'O Sho'hâib! we do not understand much of what thou sayest, and we see that thou art weak amongst us; and were it not for thy family we would stone thee, nor couldst thou be powerful over us.'

He said, 'O my people! are my family more esteemed by you than God? or have you taken Him as something to cast behind your backs? Verily, my Lord, whate'er ye do, doth comprehend. [95] O my people! act according to your power; verily, I too will act, and ye at length shall know! To whomsoever torment comes it shall disgrace him, and him who is a liar. Watch then; verily, I with you am watching too!'

And when our bidding came we saved Sho'hâib, and those who believed with him, by our mercy; and the noise caught those who had done wrong, and on the morrow they were in their houses prone, as though they had not dwelt therein. Aye! 'Away with Midian!' as it was, 'Away with Thamûd!'

And we sent Moses with our signs and with obvious power unto Pharaoh and his chiefs; but they followed Pharaoh's bidding, and Pharaoh's bidding was not straightforward.

[100] He shall approach his people on the resurrection day, and take them down to water¹ at the Fire,—an evil watering-place to water at!

In this (world) were they followed by a curse; and on the resurrection day evil shall be the aid they are aided with!

That is one of the stories of the cities which we recite to thee—some of them are standing now and some mown down!

We did not wrong them, but they wronged themselves. Their gods availed them naught, on which they called instead of God, when once the bidding of thy Lord had come; nor did they add save to their downfall!

Thus is thy Lord's overtaking when He overtakes the cities that have done wrong; verily, His overtaking is grievous, keen.

[105] Verily, in that is a sign to him who fears the torment of the last day;—that is a day unto which men shall be gathered;—that is a witnessed day!

¹ The word used is that always applied by desert Arabs to going to a spring for water.

We will not delay it, save unto a numbered and appointed time. The day when it shall come no soul shall speak save by His permission, and amongst them (shall be) the wretched and the glad.

And as for those who are wretched—why, in the Fire! there shall they groan and sob! to dwell therein for aye, so long as the heavens and the earth endure; save what thy Lord will. Verily, thy Lord is one who works His will.

[110] And as for those who are glad—why, in Paradise! to dwell therein for aye, so long as the heavens and the earth endure; save what thy Lord will¹,—a ceaseless boon!

Be not then in doubt concerning what these men do serve;—they only serve as their fathers served before; and we will give them their portion undiminished.

We gave Moses the Book before, and then they disagreed concerning it, and, had it not been for a word that had been passed by thy Lord, it would have been decided between them; but, verily, they are (still) in hesitating doubt concerning it.

But, verily, every one thy Lord will surely repay for their works; verily, He of what they do is well aware!

Do thou then be upright, as thou art bidden, and whosoever turns repentantly with thee; and transgress ye not:—verily, He on what ye do doth look.

[115] Lean not unto those who do wrong, lest the Fire touch you, for ye have no patrons but God; and, moreover, ye shall not be helped!

¹ I. e. unless He please to increase their happiness.

And be thou steadfast in prayer at the two ends of the day, and the (former and latter) parts of the night. Verily, good works remove evil works;—that is a reminder to the mindful! And be thou patient, for God wastes not the hire of those who do good.

And were there among the generations before you any endowed with a remnant (of piety) forbidding evildoing in the earth, save a few of those whom we saved; but the evildoers followed what they enjoyed, and were sinners.

Thy Lord would not have destroyed the cities unjustly while the people of them were welldoers.

[120] Had thy Lord pleased, He would have made men one nation; but they will not cease to differ, save those thy Lord has had mercy on. For this has He created them, and the word of thy Lord is fulfilled, 'I will surely fill hell with ginns and mankind altogether.'

And all that we relate to thee of the stories of the apostles is what will stablish thy heart: and herein has the truth come to thee, and an admonition and a reminder to the believers.

Say to those who believe not, 'Act according to your power, verily, we are acting too! And wait ye, verily, we are waiting too!'

God's are the unseen things of the heavens and of the earth; and unto Him the affair doth all return. Then serve Him and rely on Him; for thy Lord is not heedless of that which ye do.

THE CHAPTER OF JOSEPH, (PEACE BE ON HIM!)

(XII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

A. L. R. Those are the signs of the perspicuous Book. Verily, we have revealed it, an Arabic Qur'ân; haply ye may understand.

We tell thee the best of stories, in inspiring thee with this Qur'ân, though thou wert before it among the heedless.

When Joseph said to his father, 'O my sire! verily, I saw eleven stars, and the sun, and the moon,—I saw them adoring me!'

[5] He said, 'O my boy! tell not thy vision to thy brethren, for they will plot a plot against thee; verily, the devil is to man an open foe.'

Thus does thy Lord choose thee, and teach thee the interpretation of sayings, and fulfil His favour upon thee, and upon Jacob's people, as He fulfilled it upon thy two forefathers before thee, Abraham and Isaac,—verily, thy Lord is knowing, wise!

In Joseph and his brethren were signs to those who enquire!

When they said, 'Surely, Joseph and his brother are dearer to our father than we, a band¹ although we be; verily, our father is in obvious error.

'Slay Joseph, or cast him in some land; that your father's face may be free for you, and ye may be, after he is gone, a people who do right.'

[10] A speaker from amongst them spake, 'Slay

¹ The word means a band of between twenty and forty persons.

not Joseph, but throw him into the bottom of the pit; some of the travellers may pick him up, if so ye do.'

Said they, 'O our father! what ails thee that thou wilt not trust us with Joseph while we are unto him sincere? Send him with us to-morrow to revel and to play, and, verily, we over him will keep good guard.'

Said he, 'Verily, it grieves me that ye should go off with him, for I fear lest the wolf devour him while ye of him do take no heed.'

Said they, 'Why, if the wolf should devour him while we are (such) a band, verily, we then should deserve to lose!'

[15] And when they had gone off with him and agreed to put him in the depths of the pit, and we inspired him, 'Thou shalt surely inform them of this affair of theirs and they shall not perceive¹.'

And they came to their father at eve and weeping said, 'O our father! verily, we went forth to race and left Joseph by our goods, and the wolf devoured him,—but thou wilt not believe us, truth tellers though we be.'

And they brought his shirt with lying blood upon it. Said he, 'Nay, but your souls have induced you to do this; but patience is fair! and God is He whom I ask for aid against that which ye describe.'

And travellers came and sent their water-drawer; and he let down his bucket. Said he, 'O glad tidings! this is a youth.' And they kept him secret, as a chattel; but God knew what they were doing.

¹ This is a prophetic intimation to Joseph of his future interview with his brethren in Egypt.

[20] And they sold him for a mean price,—drachmæ counted out,—and they parted with him cheaply.

And the man from Egypt who had bought him said to his wife, 'Honour his abiding here; it may be he will be of use to us, or we may adopt him as a son.'

Thus did we stablish Joseph in the land; and we did surely teach him the interpretation of sayings; for God can overcome His affairs, though most men do not know.

And when he had reached his strength¹ we brought him judgment and knowledge, for thus do we reward those who do good.

And she in whose house he was desired him for his person; and she locked the doors and said, 'Come along with thee!' Said he, 'Refuge in God! verily, my Lord has made good my abiding here; verily, the wrong-doers shall not prosper.'

And she was anxious for him, and he would have been anxious for her, had it not been that he saw the demonstration² of his Lord; thus did we turn evil and fornication from him; verily, he was of our sincere servants.

[25] And they raced to the door and she rent his shirt from behind; and they met her master at the door. Said she, 'What is the recompense of him who wishes evil for thy family, but that imprisonment or a grievous torment?'

Said he, 'She desired me for my person.' And

¹ The age of puberty.

² The angel Gabriel in the form of his father appeared with a warning gesture, according to the Muslim commentators.

a witness from among her family bore witness : ' If his shirt be rent from in front, then she speaks the truth and he is of the liars ; but if his shirt be rent from behind, then she lies and he is of the truth tellers.'

And when he saw his shirt rent from behind he said, ' This is one of your tricks ; verily, your tricks are mighty ! Joseph ! turn aside from this. And do thou, woman, ask pardon for thy fault ; verily, thou wert of the sinners.'

[30] And women in the city said, ' The wife of the prince desires her young man for his person ; he has infatuated her with love : verily, we see her in obvious error.' And when she heard of their craftiness, she sent to them and prepared for them a banquet, and gave each of them a knife ; and she said, ' Come forth to them !' And when they saw him they said, ' Great God !' and cut their hands ¹ and said, ' God forbid ! This is no mortal, this is nothing but an honourable angel.' Said she, ' This is he concerning whom ye blamed me. I did desire him for his person, but he was too continent. But if he do not what I bid him he shall surely be imprisoned and shall surely be among the small !' Said he, ' My Lord ! Prison is dearer to me than what they call on me to do ; and unless Thou turn from me their craftiness I shall feel a passion for them and shall be among the ignorant !' And his Lord answered him and turned from him their craftiness ; verily, He both hears and knows !

[35] Then it appeared good to them, even after they had seen the signs ², to imprison him until a time.

¹ In their sudden emotion at his beauty.

² Of his innocence.

And there entered the prison with him two young men. Said one of them, 'Verily, I see myself¹ pressing wine.' And the other said, 'Verily, I see myself bearing on my head loaves from which the birds do eat; inform us of the interpretation thereof; verily, we see that thou art of those who do good.'

He said, 'There shall not come to you any food with which ye are provided, but I will inform you both of its interpretation before it comes to you. That is (some) of what my Lord has taught me; verily, I have left the faith of a people who do not believe in God, while in the future too they disbelieve. And I have followed the faith of my fathers, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob; we could not associate aught with God; that is from God's grace upon us and upon men: but most men give not thanks. O ye twain fellow-prisoners! Are manifold lords better, or God, the one, the dominant? [40] What ye worship beside Him are naught but names which ye have named, ye and your fathers, for which God has sent down no authority. Judgment is only God's; He bids you worship only Him. That is the standard of religion,—but most men do not know. O ye twain fellow-prisoners! as for one of you, he shall pour out wine for his lord: and as for the other, he shall be crucified, and the birds shall eat of his head. The matter is decreed whereon ye asked me for a decision!'

And he said to him whom he thought would escape of those two, 'Remember me with thy lord!' But Satan made him² forget the remembrance of his lord, so he tarried in prison a few years.

¹ In a dream.

² The application of the pronoun is vague in the text of this

Then said the king, 'Verily, I see seven fat kine which seven lean kine devoured; and seven green ears of corn and others dry. O ye chiefs! Explain to me my vision, if a vision ye can expound!'

Said they, 'Confused dreams, and naught of the exposition of such dreams know we!'

[45] Then he who had escaped of those twain said,—remembering after a while,—'Verily, I will inform you of the interpretation thereof, so send me.'

'Joseph! O thou truth teller! explain to us the seven fat kine which seven lean devoured; and the seven green ears of corn and others dry. Haply I may go back to the men, haply they then may know!'

He said, 'Ye shall sow for seven years, as is your wont; but what ye reap, let it remain in the ear, except a little whereof ye shall eat. Then there shall come after that seven severe (years) which shall devour what ye have put by before for them, save a little of what ye shall preserve. Then there will come after that a year in which men shall have rain and in which they shall press¹.'

[50] Then said the king, 'Bring him to me.'

And when the messenger came to him, he said, 'Go back to thy lord, and ask him, "What meant the women who cut their hands? Verily, my lord knows their craftiness!"'

He said, 'What was your design when ye desired Joseph for his person?' They said, 'God

passage, which is variously interpreted, either that Satan made the butler forget to mention Joseph to his lord Pharaoh, or that Satan made Joseph forget for the moment his Lord God, and place his trust on the man rather than on Him.

¹ I. e. press wine and oil.

forbid! we know no bad of him.' Said the wife of the prince, 'Now does the truth appear! I desired him for his person and, verily, he is of those who tell the truth.'

'That' (said Joseph) 'was that he might know that I did not betray him in his absence, and that God guides not the craft of those who do betray! Yet I do not clear myself, for the soul is very urgent to evil, save what my Lord has had mercy on; verily, my Lord is forgiving and merciful!'

And the king said, 'Bring him to me. I will take him specially for myself.' And when he had spoken with him he said, 'Verily, to-day thou art with us in a permanent place of trust.'

[55] He said, 'Place me over the treasures of the land; verily, I will be a knowing keeper.'

Thus did we stablish Joseph in the land that he might settle in what part thereof he pleased—we overtake with our mercy whom we will, nor do we waste the hire of those who do good; and surely the hire of the future life is better for those who believe and who have feared.

And his brethren came to Joseph, and they entered in unto him and he knew them, but they recognised not him.

And when he had equipped them with their equipment he said, 'Bring me a brother that ye have from your father; do ye not see that I give good measure, and that I am the best of entertainers? [60] But if ye bring him not to me, no measure shall ye have with me, nor shall ye come nigh me.'

They said, 'We will desire him of our father, and we will surely do it.'

Then he said to his young men, 'Put their chattels¹ in their packs, haply they may know it when they are come back to their family; haply they may return.'

And when they returned to their father, they said, 'O our father! Measure is withheld from us; so send with us our brother that we may get measure, and, verily, him we will keep!'

He said, 'Shall I entrust you with him, save as I entrusted you with his brother before? but God is the best of keepers, and He is the most merciful of the merciful.'

[65] And when they opened their goods they found their chattels restored to them. Said they, 'O our father! What more can we crave? Here are our chattels restored to us, and we shall guard our brother, and shall have an additional measure beside that—a small measure².'

He said, 'I will by no means send him with you until you give me a compact from God that ye will surely bring him to me, unless ye be encompassed³.'

So when they had given him their compact he said, 'God over what ye say has charge.'

And he said, 'O my sons! enter not by one gate, but enter by several gates; but I cannot avail you aught against God. Judgment is only God's; upon Him do I rely, and on Him do the reliant rely.'

¹ The goods which they had brought to barter, or the money they had paid for the corn.

² Commentators differ as to whether this means that what they had brought was insufficient, or whether the additional measure was a small quantity for Pharaoh to bestow, or whether Jacob utters the words meaning that it is not enough to induce him to part with his son.

³ By some unavoidable hindrance.

And when they had entered as their father bade them, it availed them nothing against God, save for a want in Jacob's soul which it fulfilled; for, verily, he was possessed of knowledge, for that we had taught him;—but most men do not know.

And when they entered in unto Joseph, he took his brother to stay with him, and said, 'Verily, I am thy brother—then take not ill that which they have been doing.'

[70] And when he had equipped them with their equipment he placed the drinking cup in his brother's pack; then a crier cried out, 'O ye caravan! verily, ye are thieves!'

They said, approaching them, 'What is it that ye miss?'

Said they, 'We miss the goblet of the king, and whoso brings it shall have a camel-load, and I am guarantee thereof.'

They said, 'By God! Ye knew we came not to do evil in the land, and that we were not thieves.'

They said, 'And what shall be the recompense thereof if ye be liars?'

[75] They said, 'The recompense thereof is he in whose pack it is found—he shall be the recompense thereof; thus do we recompense the unjust.'

And he began with their sacks before the sacks of his brother; then he drew it forth from his brother's sack. Thus did we devise a stratagem for Joseph. He could not take his brother by the king's religion¹ except God pleased;—we raise the degrees of

¹ I. e. by the law of Egypt it was not lawful for Joseph to take his brother for a bondsman as a punishment for theft.

whomsoever we please, and over every possessor of knowledge is one who knows.

They said, 'If he has stolen, a brother of his has stolen before him.'

But Joseph kept it secret in his soul and disclosed it not to them. Said he, 'Ye are in a bad case, and God knows best about what ye describe.'

They said, 'O prince! Verily, he has a father, a very old man; take then one of us instead of him; verily, we can see that thou art of those who do good.'

Said he, '(I seek) refuge in God from taking any save him with whom we found our property; verily, we should then be certainly unjust.'

[80] And when they despaired of him they retired to consult privately. Said the eldest of them, 'Do ye not know that your father has taken a compact from God against you? Aforetime ye exceeded in the matter of Joseph—I will surely not quit the land until my father give me leave, or God judge for me, for He is the best of judges.'

'Return ye to your father and say, "O our father! verily, thy son has committed theft, and we bore testimony to naught but what we knew; for of the unforeseen we were not keepers!"'

'Ask then in the city where we were, and of the caravan in which we approached it, for, verily, we tell the truth.'

Said he, 'Nay, your souls have induced you to do this thing. But patience is fair. It may be that God will give me them all together;—verily, He is knowing, wise.'

And he turned away from them and said, 'O my

lament for Joseph!' and his eyes grew white with grief, for he repressed (his woe).

[85] They said, 'By God! thou wilt not cease to remember Joseph till thou art at the point of death, or art of those who perish!'

Said he, 'I only complain of my emotion and my grief to God, for I know that from God which ye know nothing of.

'O my sons! go and enquire concerning Joseph and his brother, and despair not of God's comfort; for, verily, none need despair of God's comfort save a misbelieving people!'

And when they entered in unto him they said, 'O prince! distress has touched both us and our families, and we have brought trifling chattels. So give us full measure and bestow upon us in charity; verily, God rewards the charitable.'

He said, 'Do ye know what ye did with Joseph and his brother, while ye were ignorant?'

[90] They said, 'Art thou then indeed Joseph?' He said, 'I am Joseph, and this is my brother; God has been gracious towards us. Verily, whoso fears God and is patient,—verily, God wastes not the hire of those who do good!'

They said, 'By God! God has chosen thee over us; and we indeed were sinners.'

He said, 'No reproach against you to-day! God will pardon you, for He is the most merciful of the merciful. Take this my shirt, and throw it over the face of my father, he will become able to see; and bring me your families all together.'

And when the caravan departed, their father said, 'Verily, I find the smell of Joseph, unless ye think I dote!'

[95] They said, 'By God! thou art in thy old error.' And when the herald of glad tidings came he threw it on his face, and he was restored to sight.

Said he, 'Did I not tell you that I know from God that of which ye know not?'

They said, 'O our father! ask pardon for us of our sins;—verily, we were sinners!'

He said, 'I will ask pardon for you from my Lord; verily, He is the pardoning and merciful.'

[100] And when they entered in unto Joseph, he took his father to stay with him, and said, 'Enter ye into Egypt, if it please God, safe.' And he raised his father upon the throne, and they fell down before him adoring.

And he said, 'O my sire! This is the interpretation of my vision aforetime; my Lord has made it come true, and He has been good to me, in bringing me forth out of prison, and bringing you from the desert, after Satan had made a breach between me and my brethren;—verily, my Lord is kind to whomsoever He will;—verily, He is the knowing, the wise!

'O my Lord! thou hast given me dominion, and hast taught me the interpretation of sayings; O originator of the heavens and the earth! Thou art my patron in this world and the next; take me to Thyself resigned, and let me reach the righteous!'

That is one of the stories of the unseen which we inspire thee with, though thou wert not with them when they agreed in their affair, when they were so crafty.—And yet most men, though thou shouldst be urgent, will not believe.

Thou dost not ask them for it a hire; it is naught but a reminder to the world.

[105] How many a sign in the heavens and the earth do they pass by and turn away therefrom !

Nor do most of them believe in God without associating (other gods) with Him.

Are they safe, then, from overwhelming vengeance coming on them from the torment of God ? or from the Hour coming upon them suddenly while they do not perceive ?

Say, ' This is my way ; I call now unto God on clear proof, I and those who follow me ; and celebrated be God's praises, for I am not of the idolaters.'

Nor did we ever send before thee any save men whom we inspired, of the people of the cities. Have they not journeyed on in the earth, and beheld how was the end of those before them ? But the abode of the future is surely better for those who believe ;—what ! have they then no sense ?

[110] Until when the apostles despaired and they thought that they were proved liars, our help came to them, and whosoever we pleased was saved ; but our violence is not averted from the sinful people.

Their stories were a lesson to those endowed with minds. It was not a tale forged, but a verification of what was before it, and a detailing of everything, and a guide and a mercy to a people who believe.

THE CHAPTER OF THUNDER.

(XIII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

A. L. M. R. Those are the signs of the Book, and that which is sent down to thee from thy Lord is the truth; but most people will not believe. God it is who has raised the heavens without columns that ye can see; then He made for the throne, and subjected the sun and the moon; each one runs on to a stated and appointed time; He governs the affair, details the signs;—haply of the meeting with your Lord ye will be sure.

And He it is who has stretched out the earth and placed therein firm mountains and rivers, and of every fruit has He placed therein two kinds. He makes the night cover the day;—verily, in that are signs unto a people who reflect.

And on the earth are neighbouring portions, and gardens of grapes and corn and palms growing together (from one root) and not growing together; they are watered with one water, yet we distinguish one over the other as food;—verily, in that are signs unto a people who have sense.

[5] And if thou shouldst wonder, wondrous is their speech: 'What! when we have become dust, shall we really then be created anew?'

These are they who disbelieve in their Lord, and these are they with fetters round their necks, and these are the fellows of the Fire; they shall dwell therein for aye!

They will wish thee to hasten on the evil rather

than the good ; examples have passed away before them : but thy Lord is possessor of forgiveness unto men, notwithstanding their injustice ; but, verily, thy Lord is keen to punish.

Those who misbelieve say, ' Unless a sign be sent down upon him from his Lord . . . '—Thou art only a warner, and every people has its guide.

God knows what each female bears, and what the wombs fall short of or add ; for dimensions of everything are with Him.

[10] He who knows the unseen and the visible,—the great, the lofty one.

Alike among you is he who keeps secret his speech and he who displays it ; and he who hides by night and he who stalks abroad by day. Each of them has pursuers¹ before him and behind him, to keep guard over him at the command of God ; verily, God changes not what a people has until they change it for themselves. And when God wishes evil to a people there is no averting it, nor have they a protector beside Him.

He it is who shows you the lightning for fear and hope² ; and He brings up the heavy clouds.

And the thunder celebrates His praise, and the angels too for fear of Him ; and He sends the thunder-clap and overtakes therewith whom He will ;—yet they wrangle about God ! But He is strong in might.

[15] On Him is the call of truth, and those who call on others than Him shall not be answered at all,

¹ Guardian angels.

² I.e. hope of rain ; lightning is always hailed with joy by the Arabs as a precursor of rain.

save as one who stretches out his hand to the water that it may reach his mouth, but it reaches it not! The call of the misbelievers is only in error.

And God do those who are in the heavens and the earth adore, whether they will or no! as do their shadows also morn and eve.

Say, 'Who is Lord of the heavens and the earth?' say, 'God;'; say, 'Do ye take beside God patrons who cannot control profit or harm for themselves?' say, 'Shall the blind and the seeing be held equal? or shall the darkness and the light be held equal? or have they made associates with God who can create as He creates, so that the creation seem familiar to them?' say, 'God is the creator of everything, and He is the one, the dominant.'

He sends down from the sky water, and the water-courses flow according to their bulk, and the torrent bears along the floating scum: and from what they set fire to, craving ornaments or utensils, comes a scum like that;—thus does God hit the truth and the falsehood;—and as for the scum it is thrown off, and as for what profits man it stays on the earth. Thus does God strike out parables!

For those who respond to their Lord is good; but those who respond not to Him, had they all that is in the earth and the like thereof as well, they would give it for a ransom; these shall have an evil reckoning up! and their resort is hell,—an evil couch shall it be!

Is he who knows that naught but the truth is sent down upon thee from thy Lord like him who is blind? Only those possessed of minds will remember!

[20] Those who fulfil God's covenant and break not the compact, and those who attain what God has bidden to be attained, and dread their Lord and fear the evil reckoning up; and those who are patient, craving their Lord's face, and are steadfast in prayer, and expend in alms of what we have bestowed upon them secretly and openly, and ward off evil with good,—these shall have the recompense of the abode, gardens of Eden, into which they shall enter with the righteous amongst their fathers and their wives and their seed; and the angels shall enter in unto them from every gate:—‘Peace be upon you! for that ye were patient; and goodly is the recompense of the abode.’

[25] And those who break God's covenant after compacting for it, and who cut asunder what God hath bidden to be joined, and who do evil in the earth, these—upon them is the curse of God, and for them is an evil abode.

God extends his bounty freely to whomsoever He will, or He metes it out; and they rejoice in the life of this world, but the life of this world is naught but a (temporary) provision compared with the next.

Those who misbelieve say, ‘Unless a sign is sent down upon him from his Lord’ Say, ‘God leads whom He will astray, but guides unto Him those who turn again.’

‘Those who believe and whose hearts are comforted by the mention of God,—aye! by the mention of God shall their hearts be comforted, who believe and do what is right. Good cheer for them and an excellent resort.’

Thus have we sent thee to a nation before

which other nations have passed away, to recite to them that which we have inspired thee with; yet they misbelieve in the merciful! Say, 'He is my Lord; there is no god but He; upon Him do I rely, and unto Him is my repentance.'

[30] And though it were a Qur'ân by which the mountains were moved, or by which the earth were cut up, or the dead made to speak¹—nay, God's is the command altogether! Did not those who believed know² that if God had pleased He would have guided men altogether?

And a striking calamity shall not cease to overtake those who misbelieve for what they have wrought, or to alight close by their dwellings; until God's promise comes—verily, God fails not in His promise.

Before thee have apostles been mocked at; and those who misbelieved have I allowed to range at large; and then it caught them up! How then was my punishment?

Shall He who is standing over every soul (to note) what it has earned——? And they join partners with God! Say, 'Name them; can ye inform Him of what He does not know in the earth? or is it for name's sake only (that ye call upon them)?

'Nay, then, stratagem is made seemly to those who misbelieve, and they turn folks from the path of God! But whomsoever God doth lead astray, no guide has he.'

¹ They would not believe.

² The word used in the original, *yâi'as*, means 'despair,' but in the patois of the Na'â'h tribe signifies 'know,' and is so interpreted by the native commentators on this passage.

For them is torment in this world's life ; but surely the torment of the next is more wretched still—nor have they against God a keeper.

[35] The likeness of the Paradise which those who fear God are promised, beneath it rivers flow, its food is enduring, and likewise its shade! That is the recompense of those who fear ; but the recompense of misbelievers is the Fire!

And those to whom we brought the Book rejoice in that which we have sent down to thee ; but of the confederates are some who deny a part thereof.

Say, 'I am only bidden to serve God and not to associate any with Him ; on Him I call and to Him is my recourse.'

Thus have we sent it down, an Arabic judgment, but hadst thou followed their lusts, after the knowledge that has come to thee, thou hadst not had against God a patron or a keeper.

And we sent apostles before thee, and we made for them wives and seed ; and no apostle could bring a sign save by God's permission ;—for every period there is a book.

God blots out what He will, or He confirms ; and with Him is the Mother of the Book¹.

[40] Either we will let thee see a part of what we threaten them with, or we will take thee to Ourselves ; but thy duty is only to deliver thy message, and ours to reckon up.

Did they not see that we come to the land and diminish the borders thereof²? God judges, and there is none to reverse His judgment, and He is swift at reckoning up!

¹ See p. 2, note 2.

² Alluding to the conquests of Islâm.

And those who were before them were crafty too; but God's is the craft altogether! He knows what every soul earns; and the misbelievers shall know whose is the recompense of the abode.

And those who misbelieve say, 'Thou art not sent!' Say, 'God is witness enough between me and you; and so is he who has the knowledge of the Book!'

THE CHAPTER OF ABRAHAM, (PEACE BE ON HIM!)

(XIV. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

A. L. M. A book which we have sent down to thee, to bring men forth from darkness into light, by permission of their Lord, unto the way of the mighty and praiseworthy one.

God is He whose is whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth. Alas for the misbelievers, for their torment is keen! Who love this world's life better than the next, and turn folks from the path of God, and crave to make it crooked; these are in remote error.

We have not sent any apostle save with the language of his people, that he might explain to them. But God leads whom He will astray, and guides whom He will; and He is the mighty, the wise.

[5] We did send Moses with our signs, 'Bring forth thy people from the darkness into the light,

and remind them of the days¹ of God!' verily, in that are signs to every patient, grateful one.

When Moses said to his people, 'Remember the favours of God towards you, when He saved you from Pharaoh's people, who sought to wreak you evil woe, slaughtering your sons and letting your women live;' in that was a great trial for you from your Lord. When your Lord proclaimed, 'If ye give thanks I will surely give you increase; but if ye misbelieve, verily, my torment is severe!' And Moses said, 'If ye misbelieve, ye and those who are on the earth altogether—then, verily, God is rich, and to be praised!'

Has not the story come to you of those who were before you, of the people of Noah, and 'Âd, and Thamûd, [10] and those who came after them? none knows them save God. Apostles came unto them with manifest signs; but they thrust their hands into their mouths² and said, 'Verily, we disbelieve in that which ye are sent with, and we are in hesitating doubt concerning that to which ye call us!' Their apostles said, 'Is there doubt about God, the originator of the heavens and the earth? He calls you to pardon you for your sins, and to respite you until an appointed time.'

They said, 'Ye are but mortals like ourselves; ye wish to turn us from what our fathers used to serve. Bring us, then, obvious authority!'

Their apostles said unto them, 'We are only

¹ This may, according to the Arab idiom, mean either 'battles' in which God had given victory to the believers; or simply 'days' on which God has shown them favour.

² Easterns, when annoyed, always bite their hands; see Chapter III, verse 115.

mortals like yourselves ; but God is gracious unto whomsoever He will of His servants, and it is not for us to bring you an authority, save by His permission ; but upon God do the believers rely !' [15] What ails us that we should not rely on God when He has guided us in our paths ? we will be surely patient in your hurting us ; for upon God rely those who do rely.

And those who misbelieved said to their apostles, ' We will drive you forth from our land ; or else ye shall return to our faith !' And their Lord inspired them, ' We will surely destroy the unjust ; and we will make you to dwell in the land after them. That is for him who fears my place and fears my threat !'

Then they asked for an issue ; and disappointed was every rebel tyrant ! Behind such a one is hell, and he shall be given to drink liquid pus¹ ! [20] He shall try to swallow it, but cannot gulp it down ; and death shall come upon him from every place, and yet he shall not die ; and behind him shall be rigorous woe !

The likeness of those who disbelieve on their Lord,—their works are as ashes whereon the wind blows fiercely on a stormy day. They have no power at all over that which they have earned.—That is the remote error !

Dost not thou see that God created the heavens and the earth in truth ? If He please He can take

¹ Sale and Rodwell have softened down this filthy expression, one rendering it 'filthy water' and the other 'tainted water;' the Arabic, however, will not bear this rendering. The first word meaning 'water' or 'liquid,' and the second, in apposition with it, 'pus,' or purulent matter oozing from a corpse or a sore.

you off and bring a new creation ; nor is that hard for God !

They all come out to God ; and the weak say to those who were big with pride, ' We were followers of yours, can ye now avail us aught against God's torment ?'

[25] They say, ' If God had guided us we would have guided you. It is the same to us if we are agonized or if we are penitent, we have no escape.'

And Satan says, when the affair is decided, ' Verily, God promised you a promise of truth ; but I promised you and failed you ; for I had no authority over you. I only called you, and ye did answer me ; then blame me not, but blame yourselves ; I cannot help you, nor can you help me. I disbelieved in your associating me (with God) before ; verily, the wrong-doers, for them is grievous woe !'

But I will cause those who believe and do aright to enter gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye by the permission of their Lord ; their salutation therein is ' Peace !'

Dost thou not see how God strikes out a parable ? A good word is like a good tree whose root is firm, and whose branches are in the sky ; [30] it gives its fruit at every season by the permission of its Lord—but God strikes out parables for men that haply they may be mindful.

And the likeness of a bad word is as a bad tree, which is felled from above the earth, and has no staying place.

God answers those who believe with the sure word in this world's life and in the next ; but

God leads the wrong-doers astray; for God does what He will.

Dost not thou see those who have changed God's favours for misbelief, and have made their people to alight at the abode of perdition?—in hell they shall broil, and an ill resting-place shall it be!

[35] And they made peers for God, to lead men astray from His path. Say, 'Enjoy yourselves, for, verily, your journey is to the Fire.'

Say to my servants who believe, that they be steadfast in prayer and expend in alms of what we have bestowed upon them in secret and in public, before there comes the day when there shall be no buying and no friendship.

God it is who created the heavens and the earth; and sent down from the sky water, and brought forth therewith fruits as a provision for you; and subjected to you the ships, to float therein upon the sea at His bidding; and subjected for you the rivers; and subjected for you the sun and the moon, constant both; and subjected for you the night and the day; and brought you of everything ye asked Him: but if ye try to number God's favours, ye cannot count them;—verily, man is very unjust and ungrateful.

And when Abraham said, 'My Lord, make this land¹ safe, and turn me and my sons away from serving idols!

'My Lord, verily, they have led many men astray; but he who follows me, verily, he is of me; but he who rebels against me,—verily, thou art pardoning, merciful!

¹ Mecca and its neighbourhood.

[40] 'O our Lord! verily, I have made some of my seed dwell in a valley without corn, by thy Sacred House¹. O our Lord! let them be steadfast in prayer and make the hearts of men yearn towards them, and provide them with fruits, haply they may give thanks.

'O our Lord! verily, Thou knowest what we hide and what we publish; for naught is hid from God in the earth or in the sky. Praise to God who hath bestowed on me, notwithstanding my old age, Ishmael and Isaac!—verily, my Lord surely hears prayer.

'O my Lord! make me steadfast in prayer, and of my seed likewise! O our Lord! and accept my prayer! O our Lord! pardon me and my parents and the believers on the reckoning day!'

So think not God careless of what the unjust do; He only respites them until the day on which all eyes shall stare!

Hurrying on, raising up their heads, with their looks not turned back to them², and their hearts void; and warn men of the day when the torment shall come!

[45] And those who have done wrong shall say, 'O our Lord! respite us until an appointed time nigh at hand, and we will respond to Thy call, and follow the apostles!—'What! did ye not swear before, ye should have no decline?'

And ye dwelt in the dwellings of those who had wronged themselves; and it was made plain to you how we did with them; and we struck out parables

¹ The Kaabah at Mecca.

² I.e. with their looks fixed straight in front of them through terror.

for you : but they plotted their stratagems, but with God is a stratagem for them, although at their stratagem the mountains should give way.

Think then not indeed that God fails in his promise to his apostles ;—verily, God is mighty, the Lord of vengeance ; on the day when the earth shall be changed for another earth, and the heavens too ; and (all) shall go forth unto God, the one, the dominant.

[50] Thou shalt see the sinners on that day bound together in fetters ; with shirts of pitch, and fire covering their faces ;—that God may reward each soul according to what it has earned ; verily, God is swift at reckoning up !

This is a message to be delivered to men that they may be warned thereby, and know that only He is God,—one,—and that those who have minds may remember.

THE CHAPTER OF EL 'HAGR¹.

(XV. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God !

A. L. R. Those are the signs² of the Book and of a perspicuous Qur'ân.

Many a time will those who disbelieve fain they had been resigned³.

¹ El 'Hagr, literally, 'the rock : ' the Petra of Strabo, and the traditional habitation of 'the people of Thamûd.'

² Verses.

³ See note 1, p. 15.

Leave them to eat and enjoy themselves and let hope beguile them, but they at length shall know!

We never destroyed a city without it had its noted doom.

[5] No nation can hasten on its appointed time, nor put it off.

But they say, 'O thou to whom the Reminder has been sent down! verily, thou art possessed. Why dost thou not bring us the angels if thou dost tell the truth?'

We sent not down the angels save by right; nor even then would these be respited.

Verily, we have sent down the Reminder, and, verily, we will guard it.

[10] And we sent before thee among the sects of those of yore. But there never came an apostle to them but they mocked at him. Such conduct also will we put into the hearts of the sinners. They will not believe therein, but the course of those of yore is run. But had we opened to them a door of the sky and they had mounted up into it all the while; [15] then also had they said, 'Our eye-sight is only intoxicated; nay, we are an enchanted people!'

And we have placed in the sky the signs of the zodiac, and have made them seemly to the beholders; and we have guarded them from every pelted devil¹; save from such as steal a hearing, and there follows him an obvious shooting-star.

And the earth we have stretched out and have thrown on it firm mountains, and have caused to

¹ See note 2, pp. 50, 51.

grow upon it of everything a measured quantity.
[20] And we have made for you means of livelihood therein, and for those for whom ye have not to provide.

Nor is there aught but the treasures of it are with us, and we do not send it down save in a noted quantity.

And we send forth the impregnating winds¹, and we send down water from the sky, and we give it to you to drink, nor is it ye who store it up.

And we, verily, we quicken and kill; and we are of (all things) heirs.

And we already know the foremost of you, and we know the laggards too!

[25] And, verily, it is your Lord who will gather you; verily, He is wise and knowing.

And we did create man from crackling clay of black mud wrought in form.

And the jinns had we created before of smokeless fire.

And when thy Lord said to the angels, 'Verily, I am creating a mortal from crackling clay of black mud wrought into shape;

[30] 'And when I have fashioned it, and breathed into it of my spirit, then fall ye down before it adoring.'

And the angels adored all of them together, save Iblîs, who refused to be among those who adored.

He said, 'O Iblîs! what ails thee that thou art not among those who adore?'

¹ I. e. the winds that bring the rain-clouds and fertilise the earth.

Said he, 'I would not adore a mortal whom Thou hast created from crackling clay of black mud wrought into form.'

He said, 'Then get thee forth therefrom, and, verily, thou art to be pelted! [35] And, verily, the curse is upon thee until the day of judgment.'

Said he, 'O my Lord! respite me until the day when they shall be raised.' He said, 'Then, verily, thou art of the respited until the day of the noted time.'

He said, 'O my Lord! for that Thou hast seduced me I will surely make it seem seemly for them on earth, and I will surely seduce them all together; [40] save such of Thy servants amongst them as are sincere.' Said He, 'This is a right way against me. Verily, my servants thou hast no authority over, save over those who follow thee of such as are seduced: and, verily, hell is promised to them all together. It has seven doors; at every door is there a separate party of them.'

[45] Verily, those who fear God shall dwell amidst gardens and springs: 'Enter ye' therein with peace in safety!' And we will strip off whatever ill-feeling is in their breasts; as brethren on couches face to face¹.

No toil shall touch them therein, nor shall they be brought forth therefrom.

Inform my servants that I am the pardoning, the merciful; [50] and that my woe is the grievous woe.

And inform them concerning Abraham's guests

¹ Because to turn their backs on each other would appear contemptuous.

when they entered in unto him and said, 'Peace!' he said, 'Verily, we are afraid of you.' They said, 'Be not afraid! verily, we give thee glad tidings of a knowing boy.' He said, 'Do ye give me this glad tidings although old age has touched me? give me the glad tidings then!' [55] They said, 'We give the glad tidings of the truth, then be not of those who despair!' He said, 'Who would despair of the mercy of his Lord save those who err?' He said, 'What is your business, O ye messengers?' They said, 'Verily, we are sent unto a sinful people; save only Lot's family, them will we save all together, [60] except his wife; we have decreed, verily, she shall be of those who linger.'

And when the messengers came unto Lot's family, he said, 'Verily, ye are a people whom I recognise not.' They said, 'Nay, but we have come to thee with that whereof they¹ did doubt. And we have brought thee the truth, and, verily, we speak the truth! [65] Travel then with thy family in the deep darkness of the night, and follow thou their rear; and let not any one of you turn round to look; but go on to where ye are bidden.'

And we decided for him this affair because the uttermost one of these people should be cut off on the morrow.

Then the people of the city came, glad at the tidings. Said he, 'Verily, these are my guests, therefore disgrace me not; but fear God, and put me not to shame.'

[70] They said, 'Have we not forbidden thee² everybody in the world?' He said, 'Here are

¹ I. e. thy people.

² I. e. to protect.

my daughters, if do it ye must.'—By thy life¹! verily, they were surely in their intoxication blindly wandering on!—

And the noise caught them at the dawn. And we made the higher parts (of the cities) their lower parts, and rained down on them stones of baked clay. [75] Verily, in that is a sign to those who mark. And, verily, the (cities) are on a path that still remains². Verily, in that is a sign to the believers.

And the fellows of the Grove³ too were unjust; and we took vengeance on them, and, verily, they both⁴ are for an obvious example.

[80] And the fellows of El 'Hagr⁵ called the messengers liars, and we brought them our signs, but they therefrom did turn away. And they did hew them in the mountain houses to dwell in in safety.

But the noise caught them in the morn; and that which they had earned availed them naught.

[85] We did not create the heavens and the earth and all that is between them both, save in truth. And, verily, the Hour is surely coming; then do thou pardon with a fair pardon,

Verily, thy Lord He is the creator, the knowing! We have already brought thee Seven of the Repetition⁶, and the mighty Qur'ân.

¹ Addressed to Mohammed.

² On the road from the territory of the Qurâis to Syria.

³ The Midianites, who are spoken of as dwelling in a grove, and to whom Jethro, or, as he is called in the Qur'ân, Sho'hâib, was sent as an apostle; see p. 148.

⁴ I. e. both Sodom and Midian.

⁵ The tribe of Thamûd, see p. 146.

⁶ The Opening Chapter, which contains seven verses, and is

Let not thine eyes strain after what we have allowed a few pairs of them¹ to enjoy, nor grieve for them; but lower thy wing² to the believers, and say, 'Verily, I am an obvious warner.'

[90] As we sent down (punishment) on the separatists³ who dismember the Qur'ân.

But, by thy Lord! we will question them, one and all, about what they have done.

Therefore, publish what thou art bidden, and turn aside from the idolaters.

[95] Verily, we are enough for thee against the scoffers.

Who place with God other gods; but they at length shall know! And we knew that thy breast was straitened at what they say.

Then celebrate the praises of thy Lord, and be thou of those who adore.

And serve thy Lord until the certainty shall come to thee.

THE CHAPTER OF THE BEE.

(XVI. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

God's bidding will come; seek not then to hasten it on. Celebrated be His praises from what they join with Him!

named the Seven of Repetition (sab'h al Mathânî), from this passage, and because it is to be repeated on so many occasions.

¹ The unbelievers.

² Behave with humility and gentleness.

³ Probably referring to the Jews and Christians who are here and elsewhere accused of mutilating and altering the Scriptures.

He sends down the angels with the Spirit at His bidding upon whom He will of His servants (to say), 'Give warning that there is no god but Me; Me therefore do ye fear.' He created the heavens and the earth in truth! Exalted be He above that which they join with Him!

He created man from a clot; and yet, behold, he is an open opponent!

[5] The cattle too have we created for you; in them is warmth and profit, and from them do ye eat.

In them is there beauty for you when ye drive them home to rest, and when ye drive them forth to graze. And they bear your heavy burdens to towns which ye could not otherwise reach, except with great wretchedness of soul;—verily, your Lord is kind and merciful.

And horses too, and mules, and asses, for you to ride upon and for an ornament.—He creates also what ye know not of. God's it is to show the path; from it some turn aside: but had He pleased He would have guided you one and all.

[10] He it is who sends down water from the sky, whence ye have drink, and whence the trees grow whereby ye feed your flocks.

He makes the corn to grow, and the olives, and the palms, and the grapes, and some of every fruit;—verily, in that is a sign unto a people who reflect.

And He subjected to you the night and the day, and the sun, and the moon, and the stars are subjected to His bidding. Verily, in that are signs to a people who have sense.

And what He has produced for you in the earth varying in hue, verily, in that is a sign for a people who are mindful.

He it is who has subjected the sea, that ye may eat fresh flesh therefrom ; and ye bring forth from it ornaments which ye wear,—and thou mayest see the ships cleaving through it,—and that ye may search after His grace,—and haply ye may give thanks.

[15] And He has cast firm mountains on the earth lest it move with you ; and rivers and roads ; haply ye may be guided.

And landmarks ; and by the stars too are they guided.

Is He who creates like him who creates not?—are they then unmindful ?

But if ye would number the favours of God, ye cannot count them. Verily, God is forgiving, merciful.

God knows what ye keep secret, and what ye disclose.

[20] And those on whom ye call beside God cannot create anything, for they are themselves created. Dead, not living, nor can they perceive !

When shall they be raised ?

Your God is one God, and those who believe not in the hereafter their hearts are given to denial, and they are big with pride !

Without a doubt God knows what ye keep secret and what ye disclose !

[25] Verily, He does not love those big with pride !

And when it is said to them, 'What is it that your Lord has sent down ?' they say, 'Old folks' tales !'

Let them bear the burden of their sins entirely on the resurrection day, and some of the burdens of those whom they led astray without knowledge.—Aye ! an ill burden shall they bear.

Those who were before them devised a 'stratagem, but God brought their building off its foundations, and the roof fell over them, and the torment came to them, from whence they could not perceive ¹.

Then on the resurrection day He will put them to shame, and say, 'Where are your associates whom ye divided into parties about?' Those to whom knowledge is brought will say, 'Verily, disgrace to-day, and evil are upon the misbelievers!'

[30] Those whom the angels took away were wronging themselves; then they offered peace: 'We have done no evil.'—'Yea! verily, God knows what ye did. Wherefore enter ye the doors of hell, to dwell therein for aye; for ill is the resort of the proud.'

And it will be said to those who fear God, 'What is it that your Lord has sent down?' They will say, 'The best,' for those who do good, good in this world; but certainly the abode of the next is best, and surely pleasant is the abode of those who fear.

Gardens of Eden which they shall enter, beneath them rivers flow; therein shall they have what they please;—thus does God reward those who fear Him.

To those whom the angels take off in a goodly state they shall say, 'Peace be upon you! enter ye into Paradise for that which ye have done.'

[35] Do they expect other than that the angels should come to take them off, or that thy Lord's bidding should come?—thus did those before them; God did not wrong them; but it was themselves they wronged.

¹ Said to refer to the building and overthrow of the tower of Babel.

And the evil which they had done befel them, and that environed them at which they used to mock!

And those who associated (others with God) said, 'Had God pleased we had not served aught beside Him, neither we nor our fathers; nor had we prohibited aught without Him;'—thus did those before them: but have messengers aught to do but to deliver their message plainly?

We have sent in every nation an apostle (to say), 'Serve ye God, and avoid *Tâghût*!' and amongst them are some whom God has guided, and amongst them are some for whom error is due;—go ye about then on the earth, and behold how was the end of those who called (the apostles) liars!

If thou art ever so eager for their guidance, verily, God guides not those who go astray, nor have they any helpers.

[40] They swear by their most strenuous oath, 'God will not raise up him who dies.'—Yea! a promise binding on him true!—but most men do not know. To explain to them that which they disputed about, and that those who misbelieved may know that they are liars.

We only say unto a thing we wish, 'BE,' and it is.

But those who fled for God's sake, after they were wronged, we will surely establish them in this world with good things; but the hire of the future life is greater, if ye did but know.

Those who are patient, and upon their Lord rely!

[45] And we have not sent before thee any but men whom we inspire,—ask ye those who have the Reminder¹, if ye know not yourselves,—with mani-

¹ The Pentateuch and Gospels.

fest signs and with scriptures; and we have sent down the Reminder to thee too, that thou mayest explain to men what has been sent down to them, and haply they may reflect.

Are those who were so crafty in evil sure that God will not cleave open the earth with them, or bring them torment from whence they cannot perceive, or seize them in their going to and fro? for they cannot make Him helpless.

Or that He should seize them with a gradual destruction? for, verily, your Lord is kind, merciful.

[50] Do they not regard whatever thing God has created; its shadow falls on the right or the left, adoring God and shrinking up?

Whatever is in the heavens and in the earth, beast or angel, adores God; nor are they big with pride!

They fear their Lord above them, and they do what they are bidden.

And God says, 'Take not to two gods; God is only one; me then do ye fear!'

His is what is in the heavens and in the earth; to Him is obedience due unceasingly; other than God then will ye fear?

[55] And whatever favours ye have, they are from God; then, whenever distress touches you, unto Him ye turn for succour. Yet, when He removes the distress from you, lo! a party of you join partners with their Lord.

That they may disbelieve in what we have brought them and may enjoy,—but at length they shall know!

And they set aside for what they know not a

portion of what we have bestowed upon them¹.—By God! ye shall be questioned concerning that which ye have devised.

They make for God daughters;—celebrated be His praise!—and for themselves they like them not².

[60] When any one of them has tidings of a female child, his face is overclouded and black, and he has to keep back his wrath.

He skulks away from the people, for the evil tidings he has heard;—is he to keep it with its disgrace, or to bury it in the dust?—aye! evil is it that they judge!

For those who disbelieve in the future life is a similitude of evil: but for God is the loftiest similitude; for He is the mighty, the wise!

If God were to punish men for their wrong-doing He would not leave upon the earth a single beast; but He respites them until a stated time; and when their time comes they cannot put it off an hour, nor can they bring it on.

They set down to God what they abhor themselves; and their tongues describe the lie that 'good is to be theirs.' Without a doubt theirs is the Fire, for, verily, they shall be sent on there!

[65] By God! we sent (messengers) to nations before thee, but Satan made their works seemly to them, for he is their patron to-day, and for them is grievous woe!

¹ See note 2, p. 132.

² The Arabs used to call the angels 'daughters of God.' They, however, objected strongly (as do the modern Bedawin) to female offspring, and used to bury their infant daughters alive. This practice Mohammed elsewhere reprobates. See p. 132, note 3.

We have only sent down to thee the Book, that thou mayest explain to them that which they did dispute about, and as a guidance and a mercy to a people who believe.

And God sends down water from the sky, and quickens therewith the earth after its death ; verily, in that is a sign to a people who can hear.

Verily, ye have in cattle a lesson ; we give you to drink from that which is in their bellies, betwixt chyme and blood,—pure milk,—easy to swallow for those who drink.

And of the fruit of the palms and the grapes ye take therefrom an intoxicant and a goodly provision ; verily, in that is a sign to a people who have sense !

[70] And thy Lord inspired the bee, ‘Take to houses in the mountains, and in the trees, and in the hives they build.

‘Then eat from every fruit, and walk in the beaten paths of thy Lord ;’ there cometh forth from her body a draught varying in hue¹, in which is a cure for men ; verily, in that are signs unto a people who reflect.

God created you ; then He will take you to Himself ; but amongst you are some whom He will thrust into the most decrepit age ; so that he may not know aught that once he knew. Verily, God is knowing, powerful.

And God has preferred some of you over others in providing for you ; but those who have been preferred will not restore their provision to those

¹ The Arab writers mention several varieties of honey differing in colour, and some of which are used as medicine.

whom their right hands possess¹ that they may share equally therein:—is it God's favours they gainsay?

And God has made for you from amongst yourselves wives, and has made for you from your wives sons and grandchildren; and has provided you with good things;—is it in vanity that they believe, while for God's favour they are ungrateful?

[75] And they serve beside God what cannot control for them any provision from the heavens or the earth, and have no power at all.

Do not then strike out parables for God! Verily, God knows, but ye do not know.

God has struck out a parable; an owned slave, able to do nothing; and one whom we have provided with a good provision, and who expends therefrom in alms secretly and openly:—shall they be held equal?—Praise be to God, most of them do not know!

And God has struck out a parable: two men, one of them dumb, able to do nothing, a burden to his lord; wherever he directs him he comes not with success; is he to be held equal with him who bids what is just and who is on the right way?

God's are the unseen things of the heavens and the earth; nor is the matter of the Hour aught but as the twinkling of an eye, or nigher still! Verily, God is mighty over all!

[80] God brings you forth out of the wombs of your mothers knowing naught; and He makes for you hearing, and sight, and hearts,—haply ye may give thanks!

¹ Their slaves.

Do they not see the birds subjected in the vault of the sky?—none holds them in but God: verily, in that is a sign unto a people who believe.

God made for you in your houses a repose; and made for you, of the skins of cattle, houses¹, that ye may find them light, on the day ye move your quarters and the day when ye abide; and from their wool, and from their fur, and from their hair come furniture and chattels for a season.

And God has made for you, of what He has created, shades; and has made for you shelters in the mountains; and He has made for you shirts to keep you from the heat, and shirts² to keep you from each other's violence:—thus does He fulfil His favours towards you,—haply ye yet may be resigned.

But if they turn their backs,—thine is only to preach thy plain message.

[85] They recognise the favours of God, and yet they deny them, for most men are ungrateful.

And on the day when we shall send from every nation a witness; then shall those who misbelieve not be allowed (to excuse themselves), and they shall not be taken back into favour.

And when those who join their partners with God say, 'Our Lord! these be our partners on whom we used to call beside Thee.' And they shall proffer them the speech, 'Verily, ye are liars!' And they shall proffer on that day peace unto God; and that which they had devised shall stray away from them.

¹ 'Tents' are called 'houses of hair' or 'of hide' by the desert Arabs.

² Of mail.

[90] Those who misbelieve and turn folks off God's path, we will add torment to their torment, for that they were evildoers.

And on the day when we will raise up in every nation a witness against them from among themselves, and we will bring thee as a witness against these¹; for we have sent down to thee a book explaining clearly everything, and a guidance, and a mercy, and glad tidings to the believers.

Verily, God bids you do justice and good, and give to kindred (their due), and He forbids you to sin, and do wrong, and oppress; He admonishes you, haply ye may be mindful!

Fulfil God's covenant when ye have covenanted, and break not your oaths after asseverating them, for ye thereby make God your surety; verily, God knows what ye do.

And be not like her who unravels her yarn, fraying it out after she hath spun it close, by taking your oaths for mutual intrigue, because one nation is more numerous than another; God only tries you therewith, but He will make manifest to you on the resurrection day that whereon ye did dispute².

[95] But had God pleased He would have made you one nation; but He leads astray whom He will, and guides whom He will;—but ye shall be questioned as to that which ye have done.

Take not therefore your oaths for mutual intrigue, lest a foot slip after being planted firmly, and ye

¹ The Meccans.

² The Arabs, like most half-savage tribes, used to consider superior numerical strength as entitling them to disregard a treaty.

taste of evil for that ye turned folks off the path of God, and for you there be mighty woe!

And sell not God's covenant for a little price; with God only is what is better for you, if ye did but know.

What ye have is spent, but what God has endures; and we will recompense the patient with their hire for the best deeds they have done.

Whoso acts aright, male or female, and is a believer, we will quicken with a goodly life; and we will recompense them with their hire for the best deeds they have done.

[100] When thou dost read the Qur'ân, ask refuge with God from Satan the pelted one¹.

Verily, he has no power over those who believe and who upon their Lord rely. His power is only over those who take him for a patron, and over the idolaters.

And whenever we change one verse for another, —God knows best what He sends down. They say, 'Thou art but a forger!'—Nay, most of them do not know. Say, 'The Holy Spirit² brought it down from thy Lord in truth, to stablish those who believe, and for a guidance and glad tidings to those who are resigned³.'

[105] We knew that they said, 'It is only some mortal who teaches him.'—The tongue of him they lean towards is barbarous, and this is plain Arabic⁴.

Verily, those who believe not in God's signs, God will not guide them, and for them is grievous woe.

¹ See p. 50, note 2.

² Gabriel.

³ See p. 15, note 1.

⁴ For an account of the persons supposed to have helped Mohammed in the compilation of the Qur'ân, see Introduction.

Only they are the forgers of a lie who believe not in God's signs ; and these, they are the liars.

Whoso disbelieves in God after having believed, unless it be one who is forced and whose heart is quiet in the faith,—but whoso expands his breast to misbelieve,—on them is wrath from God, and for them is mighty woe !

That is because they preferred the love of this world's life to the next ;—but, verily, God guides not the unbelieving people. [110] These are they on whose hearts, and hearing, and eyesight, God has set a stamp, and these, they are the careless. Without a doubt that in the next life they will be the losers.

Then, verily, thy Lord, to those who fled¹ after they had been tried, and then fought strenuously and were patient,—verily, thy Lord after that will be forgiving and merciful.

On the day every soul will come to wrangle for itself, and every soul shall be paid what it has earned, and they shall not be wronged.

God has struck out a parable : a city² which was safe and quiet, its provision came to it in plenty from every place, and then it denied God's favours, and God made it feel³ the clothing of hunger and fear, for that which they had wrought.

And there came to them an apostle from amongst themselves, but they called him a liar, and the torment seized them, while yet they were unjust.

[115] Eat, then, from what God has provided

¹ The Ansârs.

² Any town, but Mecca in particular.

³ Literally, 'taste.'

you with, things lawful and good, and give thanks for the favours of God, if it be Him ye serve.

He has only forbidden you that which dies of itself, and blood, and the flesh of swine, and that which is devoted to other than God; but he who is forced, neither revolting nor transgressing, it is no sin for him: verily, God is forgiving and merciful.

And say not of the lie your tongues pronounce, 'This is lawful, and this is unlawful,' forging against God a lie; verily, those who forge against God a lie shall not prosper. A little enjoyment—then for them is grievous woe!

For those who are Jews we have forbidden what we have narrated to thee before¹; we did not wrong them, but it was themselves they wronged.

[120] Then, verily, thy Lord to those who have done evil in ignorance and then repented after that and done aright,—verily, thy Lord afterwards is forgiving and merciful.

Verily, Abraham was a high priest², a 'Hanîf, and was not of the idolaters: thankful for His favours; He chose him and He guided him unto the right way.

And we gave him in this world good things; and, verily, in the next he will be among the righteous.

Then we inspired thee, 'Follow the faith of Abraham, a 'Hanîf, for he was not of the idolaters.'

[125] The Sabbath was only made for those who dispute thereon; but, verily, thy Lord will judge

¹ See p. 134.

² Some commentators take this word *ummatan* as equivalent to *imâman*, 'antistes,' and this interpretation I have followed. Others take it in its ordinary sense of 'nation;' but the use of the other epithets seems to favour the former interpretation.

between them on the resurrection day concerning that whereon they do dispute.

Call unto the way of thy Lord with wisdom and goodly warning; and wrangle with them in the kindest way; verily, thy Lord He knows best who has erred from His way, for He knows best the guided ones.

But if ye punish, punish (only) as ye were punished; but if ye are patient, it is best for those who are patient¹.

Be thou patient then; but thy patience is only in God's hands. Do not grieve about them; and be not in a strait at their craftiness;—verily, God is with those who fear Him, and with those who do well.

¹ This passage refers to the killing of 'Hamzah, Mohammed's uncle, at the battle of O'hod, and the subsequent mutilation of his corpse by the Meccans, and is a protest against taking too severe a revenge.

	VOWELS.	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	IV Class.	V Class.	VI Class.	VII Class.	VIII Class.	IX Class.
1	Neutralis	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	Laryngo-palatalis	ě	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	" labialis	ö	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Gutturalis brevis	a	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	" longa	ā	(a)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6	Palatalis brevis	i	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7	" longa	ī	(i)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8	Dentalis brevis	ê	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	" longa	ē	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10	Lingualis brevis	ri	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11	" longa	rī	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
12	Labialis brevis	u	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
13	" longa	ū	(u)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14	Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15	" longa	ē (ai)	(e)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
16	Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	ai	(ai)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17	" "	ei (ei)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18	" "	oi (ōu)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
19	Gutturo-labialis brevis	o	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20	" longa	ō (au)	(o)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
21	Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	au	(au)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22	" "	eu (eu)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23	" "	ou (ōu)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24	Gutturalis fracta	ä	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25	Palatalis fracta	i	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26	Labialis fracta	ü	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27	Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

(linguales, &c.)

38	Tennis . . . . .	..
39	„ aspirata . . . . .	..
40	Media . . . . .	..
41	„ aspirata . . . . .	..
42	Nasalis . . . . .	..
43	Semivocalis	r
44	„ fricata . . . . .	..
45	„ diacritica . . . . .	..
46	Spiritus asper	sh
47	„ lenis	zh

Labiales.

48 Tennis	p
49 " aspirata	ph
50 Media	b
51 " aspirata	bh
52 Tennisima . . . . .	. . . . .
53 Nasalis	'm
54 Semivocalis	w
55 " aspirata	bw
56 Spiritus asper	f
57 " lenis	v
58 Anusvāra . . . . .	.
59 Visarga . . . . .	.

[illegible]

CONSONANTS (continued)	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	...	...	य	𐬨	𐬨	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper . . . . .	...	(y)	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
20 " lenis . . . . .	...	(y)	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
21 " asper assibilatus . .	...	s	...	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
22 " lenis assibilatus . .	...	z	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z
Dentales.										
23 Tennis	t	...	...	त	𐬔	𐬔	ت	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th	...	...	थ	𐬔	𐬔	ت	ت	ת	th
25 " assibilata . . . . .	...	...	TH	...	𐬔	𐬔	ت	ت	ת	...
26 Media	d	...	...	द	𐬔	𐬔	ت	ت	ת	...
27 " aspirata	dh	...	...	ध	𐬔	𐬔	ت	ت	ת	...
28 " assibilata . . . . .	...	...	DH	...	𐬔	𐬔	ت	ت	ת	...
29 Nasalis	n	...	...	न	𐬔	𐬔	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	...	...	ल	𐬔	𐬔	ن	ن	ל	l
31 " mollis 1 . . . . .	...	l	...	...	𐬔	𐬔	...	...	...	...
32 " mollis 2 . . . . .	...	...	L	...	𐬔	𐬔	...	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	...	...	स	𐬔	𐬔	س	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2 . . . . .	...	...	S (S)	...	𐬔	𐬔	...	...	...	...
35 " lenis	z	...	...	...	𐬔	𐬔	...	...	...	z
36 " asperimus 1 . . . . .	...	...	Z (Z)	...	𐬔	𐬔	...	...	...	...
37 " asperimus 2 . . . . .	...	...	Z (Z)	...	𐬔	𐬔	...	...	...	...

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

[6]

1

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	. . . . .	. . . . .	क	𐬕	𐬕	ک	ک	𐤒	k
2 " aspirata	kh	. . . . .	. . . . .	ख	𐬖	𐬖	خ	خ	𐤓	kh
3 Media	g	. . . . .	. . . . .	ग	𐬔	𐬔	گ	گ	𐤔	. . . . .
4 " aspirata	gh	. . . . .	. . . . .	घ	𐬚	𐬚	غ	غ	𐤕	. . . . .
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . . . .	. . . . .	𐑦	. . . . .	. . . . .	ق	ق	𐤑	. . . . .
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	. . . . .	. . . . .	ङ	{ 3 (ng) 𐬢 (N) 𐬡 (w/uv)	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . . . .	. . . . .	ह	. . . . .	𐬎	ه	. . . . .	ה	h, hs
8 " lenis	'h	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
9 " asper faucalis	"h	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
10 " lenis faucalis	"h	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
11 " asper fricatus	"h	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
12 " lenis fricatus	"h	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis	k	. . . . .	. . . . .	च	𐬑	𐬑	چ	چ	𐤕	k
14 " aspirata	kh	छ	𐬒	𐬒	خ	خ	𐤖	kh
15 Media	g	ज	𐬓	𐬓	ج	ج	𐤗
16 " aspirata	gh	झ	𐬔	𐬔	ج	ج	𐤘
17 " Nasalis	ñ	ञ

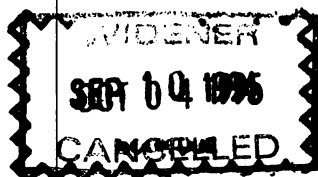


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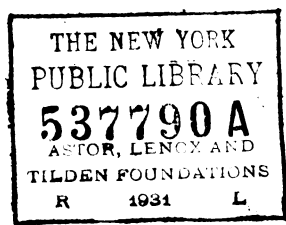
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LIST OF THE MORE IMPORTANT ABBREVIATIONS.

- Âpast. — Âpastamba's Dharma-sûtra, ed. Bühler.
 Âsv. — Âsvalâyana's *Gr̥hya-sûtra*, ed. Stenzler.
 Gaut. — Gautama's Dharmasâstra, ed. Stenzler.
 Gobh. — Gobhila's *Gr̥hya-sûtra*, in the *Bibl. Ind.*
 M. — Mânava Dharmasâstra, Calcutta edition, with the Com-
 mentary of Kullûka.
 Nand. — Nandapandita, the commentator of the Vishnu-sûtra.
 Pâr. — Pâraskara's *Gr̥hya-sûtra*, ed. Stenzler.
 Sâṅkh. — Sâṅkhâyaṇa's *Gr̥hya-sûtra*, ed. Oldenberg, in the
 fifteenth volume of the *Indische Studien*.
 Y. — Yâgñavalkya's Dharmasâstra, ed. Stenzler.
 Âpast. and Gaut. refer also to Dr. Bühler's translation of these
 two works in the second volume of the Sacred Books of the East.

INTRODUCTION.

THE *Vishnu-smṛiti* or *Vaishṇava Dharmaśāstra* or *Vishnu-sūtra* is in the main a collection of ancient aphorisms on the sacred laws of India, and as such it ranks with the other ancient works of this class which have come down to our time¹. It may be styled a *Dharma-sūtra*, though this ancient title of the *Sūtra* works on law has been preserved in the MSS. of those *Smṛitis* only, which have been handed down, like the *Dharma-sūtras* of *Āpastamba*, *Baudhāyana*, and *Hiranyakesin*, as parts of the respective *Kalpa-sūtras*, to which they belong. The size of the *Vishnu-sūtra*, and the great variety of the subjects treated in it, would suffice to entitle it to a conspicuous place among the five or six existing *Dharma-sūtras*; but it possesses a peculiar claim to interest, which is founded on its close connection with one of the oldest Vedic schools, the *Kaṭhas*, on the one hand, and with the famous code of *Manu* and some other ancient law-codes, on the other hand. To discuss these two principal points, and some minor points connected with them, as fully as the limits of an introduction admit of, will be the more necessary, because such a discussion can afford the only safe basis for a conjecture not altogether unsupported regarding the time and place of the original composition of this work, and may even tend to throw some new light on the vexed question as to the origin of the code of *Manu*. Further on I shall have to speak of the numerous interpolations traceable in the *Vishnu-sūtra*, and a few remarks regarding the materials

¹ This was first pointed out by Professor Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 134. His results were confirmed and expanded by the subsequent researches of Dr. Bühler, *Introduction to Bombay Digest*, I, p. xxii; *Indian Antiquary*, V, p. 30; *Kasmîr Report*, p. 36.

used for this translation, and the principles of interpretation that have been followed in it, may be fitly reserved for the last.

There is no surer way for ascertaining the particular Vedic school by which an ancient Sanskrit law-book of unknown or uncertain origin was composed, than by examining the quotations from, and analogies with, Vedic works which it contains. Thus the Gautama Dharma-sāstra might have originated in any one among the divers Gautama *Karanas* with which Indian tradition acquaints us. But the comparatively numerous passages which its author has borrowed from the *Samhitā* and from one *Brāhmaṇa* of the *Sāma-veda* prove that it must belong to one of those Gautama *Karanas* who studied the *Sāma-veda*¹. Regarding the code of Yāgñavalkya we learn from tradition that a Vedic teacher of that name was the reputed author of the White Yagur-veda. But this coincidence might be looked upon as casual, if the Yāgñavalkya-smṛiti did not contain a number of Mantras from that Vedic *Samhitā*, and a number of very striking analogies, in the section on funeral ceremonies particularly, with the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* of the Vāgasaneyins, the Kātiya *Gr̥hya-sūtra* of Pāraskara². In the case of the Vishnu-sūtra an enquiry of this kind is specially called for, because tradition leaves us entirely in the dark as to its real author. The fiction that the laws promulgated in Chapters II–XCVII were communicated by the god Vishnu to the goddess of the earth, is of course utterly worthless for historical purposes; and all that it can be made to show is that those parts of this work in which it is started or kept up cannot rival the laws themselves in antiquity.

Now as regards, first, the Vedic Mantras and Pratīkas (beginnings of Mantras) quoted in this work, it is necessary to leave aside, as being of no moment for the present purpose, 1. very well-known Mantras, or, speaking more

¹ See Bühler, Introduction to Gautama (Vol. II of the Sacred Books of the East), pp. xlv–xlvi.

² Bühler, Introduction to Digest, p. xxxii; Stenzler, on Pāraskara's *Gr̥hya-sūtra*, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, VII, p. 527 seq.

precisely, all such Mantras as are frequently quoted in Vedic works of divers Sâkhâs; 2. the purificatory texts enumerated under the title of *Sarva-veda-pavitranî* in LVI. The latter can afford us no help in determining the particular Sâkhâ to which this work belongs, because they are actually taken, as they profess to be, from all the Vedas indiscriminately, and because nearly the whole of Chapter LVI is found in the *Vâsishtha-smṛiti* as well (see further on), which probably does not belong to the same Veda as this work. Among the former class of Mantras may be included, particularly, the *Gâyatrî*, the *Purushasûkta*, the *Aghamarshana*, the *Kûshmândîs*, the *Vyâhrîtis*, the *Gyeshtha Sâmans*, the *Rudras*, the *Trinâdiketa*, the *Trisuparna*, the *Vaishnava*, *Sâkra*, and *Bârhaspatya* Mantras mentioned in XC, 3, and the Mantra quoted in XXVIII, 51 (= Gautama's 'Retasya'). Among the twenty-two Mantras quoted in Chapters XLVIII, LXIV, LXV (including repetitions, but excluding the *Purushasûkta*, *Gâyatrî*, *Aghamarshana*) there are also some which may be referred to this class, and the great majority of them occur in more than one Veda at the same time. But it is worthy of note that no less than twelve, besides occurring in at least one other Sâkhâ, are either actually found in the *Samhitâ* of the *Kârâyanîya-kathas*, the *Kâthaka*¹ (or *Karaka-sâkhâ*?), or stated to belong to it in the Commentary, while one is found in the *Kâthaka* alone, a second in the *Atharva-veda* alone, a third in the *Taittirîya Brâhmaṇa* alone, and a fourth does not occur in any Vedic work hitherto known². A far greater number of Mantras occurs in Chapters XXI, LXVII, LXXIII, LXXIV, LXXXVI, which treat of daily oblations, *Srâddhas*, and the ceremony of setting a bull at liberty. Of all these Mantras, which,—including the *Purushasûkta* and other such well-known Mantras as well as the short invocations addressed to Soma, Agni, and other deities, but excluding the invocations addressed to Vishnu in the spurious *Sûtra*, LXVII, 2,—are more than a hundred in number, no more than forty or so are found in Vedic

¹ In speaking of this work I always refer to the Berlin MS.

² XLVIII, 10. Cf., however, *Vâgas. Samh.* IV, 12.

works hitherto printed, and in the law-books of Manu, Yâgñavalkya, and others; but nearly all are quoted, exactly in the same order as in this work, in the *Kârâyanîya-kâthaka Grîhya-sûtra*, while some of them have been traced in the *Kâthaka* as well. And what is even more important, the *Kâthaka Grîhya* does not contain those Mantras alone, but nearly all the Sûtras in which they occur; and it may be stated therefore, secondly, that the *Vishnu-sûtra* has four long sections, viz. Chapter LXXIII, and Chapters XXI, LXVII, LXXXVI, excepting the final parts, in common with that work, while the substance of Chapter LXXIV may also be traced in it. The agreement between both works is very close, and where they differ it is generally due to false readings or to enlargements on the part of the *Vishnu-sûtra*. However, there are a few cases, in which the version of the latter work is evidently more genuine than that of the former, and it follows, therefore, that the author of the *Vishnu-sûtra* cannot have borrowed his rules for the performance of *Srâddhas* &c. from the *Kâthaka Grîhya-sûtra*, but that both must have drawn from a common source, i. e. no doubt from the traditions current in the *Katka* school, to which this work is indebted for so many of its Mantras as well.

For these reasons¹ I fully concur in the view advanced by Dr. Bühler, that the bulk of the so-called *Vishnu-smṛiti* is really the ancient *Dharma-sûtra* of the *Kârâyanîya-kâthaka Sâkhâ* of the Black *Yagur-veda*. It ranks, like other *Dharma-sûtras*, with the *Grîhya* and *Srauta-sûtras* of its school; the latter of which, though apparently lost now, is distinctly referred to in the *Grîhya-sûtra* in several places, and must have been in existence at the time when the Commentaries on *Kâtyâyana's Srauta-sûtras* were composed, in which it is frequently quoted by the name

¹ For details I may refer the reader to my German paper, *Das Dharmasûtra des Vishnu und das Kâthakagrîhyasûtra*, in the Transactions of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Science for 1879, where the sections corresponding in both works have been printed in parallel columns, the texts from the *Kâthaka Grîhya-sûtra* having been prepared from two of the MSS. of Devapâla's Commentary discovered by Dr. Bühler (*Kasmîr Report*, Nos. 11, 12), one in Devanâgarî, and the other in Sârādâ characters.

of *Kāthā-sūtra* on divers questions concerning *Srauta* offerings, and at the time, when the Kasmīrian Devapāla wrote his Commentary on the *Kāthāka Gr̥hya-sūtra*, which was, according to the Kasmīrian tradition, as explored by Dr. Bühler, before the conquest of Kasmīr by the Mahomedans. Devapāla, in the Introduction to his work, refers to 'thirty-nine *Adhyāyas* treating of the *Vaitānika* (= *Srauta*) ceremonies,' by which the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* was preceded, from which statement it may be inferred that the *Kāthāka Srauta-sūtras* must have been a very voluminous work indeed, as the *Gr̥hya-sūtra*, which is at least equal if not superior in extent to other works of the same class, forms but one *Adhyāya*, the fortieth, of the whole *Kalpa-sūtra*, which, according to Devapāla, was composed by one author. It does not seem likely that the *Vishnu-sūtra* was composed by the same man, or that it ever formed part of the *Kāthāka Kalpa-sūtra*, as the *Dharma-sūtras* of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, and *Hiranyakesin* form part of the *Kalpa-sūtras* of the respective schools to which they belong. If that were the case, it would agree with the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* on all those points which are treated in both works, such as e.g. the terms for the performance of the *Samskāras* or sacraments, the rules for a student and for a *Snātaka*, the enumeration and definition of the *Krikkhras* or 'hard penances,' the forms of marriage, &c. Now though the two works have on those subjects a number of such rules in common as occur in other works also, they disagree for the most part in the choice of expressions, and on a few points lay down exactly opposite rules, such as the *Vishnu-sūtra* (XXVIII, 28) giving permission to a student to ascend his spiritual teacher's carriage after him, whereas the other work prescribes, that he shall do so on no account. Moreover, if both works had been destined from the first to supplement one another, they would, instead of having several entire sections in common, exhibit such cross-references as are found e.g. between the *Āpastamba Gr̥hya* and *Dharma-sūtras*¹; though the absence of such

¹ Bühler, Introduction to *Āpastamba*, Sacred Books, II, pp. xi-xiv.

references might be explained, in the case of the *Vishnu-sûtra*, by the activity of those who brought it into its present shape, and who seem to have carefully removed all such references to other works as the original *Dharma-sûtra* may have contained. Whatever the precise nature of the relations between this work and the other *Sûtra* works of the *Kârâyaniya-kâthaka* school may have been, there is no reason for assigning to it a later date than to the *Kâthaka Srauta* and *Grihya-sûtras*, with the latter of which it has so much in common, and it may therefore claim a considerable antiquity, especially if it is assumed, with Dr. Bühler, that the beginning of the *Sûtra* period differed for each Veda. The Veda of the *Katthas*, the *Kâthaka*, is not separated from the *Sûtra* literature of this school by an intermediate *Brâhmana* stage; yet its high antiquity is testified by several of the most eminent grammarians of India from *Yâska* down to *Kaiyata*¹. Thus the *Kâthaka* is the only existing work of its kind, which is quoted by the former grammarian (*Nirukta* X, 5; another clear quotation from the *Kâthaka*, XXVII, 9, though not by name, may be found, *Nirukta* III, 4), and the latter places the *Katthas* at the head of all Vedic schools, while *Patañgali*, the author of the *Mahâbhâshya*, assigns to the ancient sage *Kattha*, the reputed founder of the *Kattha* or *Kâthaka* school of the Black *Yagur-veda*, the dignified position of an immediate pupil of *Vaisampâyana*, the fountain-head of all schools of the older or Black *Yagur-veda*, and mentions, in accordance with a similar statement preserved in the *Râmâyana* (II, 32, 18, 19 ed. Schlegel), that in his own time the '*Kâlâpaka* and the *Kâthaka*' were 'proclaimed in every village'². The priority of the *Katthas* before all other existing schools of the *Yagur-veda* may be deduced from the statements of the *Karanavyûha*³, which work assigns to them one of the first places among the divers branches of

¹ See Weber, *Indische Studien* XIII, p. 437 seq.

² *Mahâbhâshya*, Benares edition, IV, fols. 82 b, 75 b.

³ See Weber, *Ind. Stud.* III, p. 256 seq.; Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 369. I have consulted, besides, two Munich MSS. of the *Karanavyûha* (cod. Haug 45).

the *Karakas*, whom it places at the head of all schools of the *Yagur-veda*. Another argument in favour of the high antiquity of the *Kat̥has* may be derived from their geographical position¹. Though the statements of the *Mahābhāshya* and *Rāmāyana* regarding the wide-spread and influential position of the *Kat̥has* in ancient times are borne out by the fact that the *Karanavyūha* mentions three subdivisions of the *Kat̥has*, viz. the *Kat̥has* proper, the *Prākya Kat̥has*, and the *Kapishthala Kat̥has*, to which the *Kārāyanīyas* may be added as a fourth, and by the seeming identity of their name with the name of the *Καθαῖοι* in the *Pañgāb* on the one hand, and with the first part of the name of the peninsula of *Kattivar* on the other hand, it seems very likely nevertheless that the original home of the *Kat̥has* was situated in the north-west, i. e. in those regions where the earliest parts of the *Vedas* were composed. Not only the *Καθαῖοι*, but the *Καμβίσθολοι* as well, who have been identified with the *Kapishthala Kat̥has*², are mentioned by Greek writers as a nation living in the *Pañgāb*; and while the *Prākya Kat̥has* are shown by their name ('Eastern *Kat̥has*') to have lived to the east of the two other branches of the *Kat̥has*, it is a significant fact that adherents of the *Kārāyanīya-kāthaka* school survive nowhere but in *Kasmīr*, where all *Brāhmanas* perform their domestic rites according to the rules laid down in the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* of this school³. *Kasmīr* is moreover the country where nearly all the yet existing works of the *Kāthaka* school have turned up, including the *Berlin MS.* of the *Kāthaka*, which was probably written by a *Kasmīrian*⁴. It is true that some of the geographical and historical data contained in that work, especially the way in which it mentions the *Pañkālās*, whose ancient name, as shown by the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 5, 4, 7) and *Rig-*

¹ See Weber, *Über das Rāmāyana*, p. 9; *Ind. Stud.* I, p. 189 seq.; III, p. 469 seq.; XIII, pp. 375, 439; *Ind. Litteraturgeschichte*, pp. 99, 332; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 102 seq.

² See, however, Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 333.

³ Bühler, *Kasmīr Report*, p. 20 seq.

⁴ This was pointed out to me by Dr. Bühler.

veda (VIII, 20, 24 ; VIII, 22, 12), was Krivi, take us far off from the north-west, the earliest seat of Āryan civilization, into the country of the Kuru-Pañkâlas in Hindostân proper. But it must be borne in mind that the *Kâthaka*, if it may be identified with the '*Karaka-sâkhâ*,' must have been the Veda of all the *Karakas* except perhaps the *Maitrâya-nîyas* and *Kapishthâlas*, and may have been altered and enlarged, after the *Katthas* and *Karakas* had spread themselves across Hindostân. The *Sûtras* of a *Sâkhâ* which appears to have sprung up near the primitive home of Āryan civilization in India, which was probably the original home of the *Katthas* at the same time, may be far older than those of mere *Sûtra* schools of the Black Yagur-veda, which have sprung up, like the *Āpastamba* school, in South India, i. e. far older than the fourth or fifth century B. C.¹

But sufficient space has been assigned to these attempts at fixing the age of the *Kâthaka-sûtras* which, besides remaining only too uncertain in themselves, can apply with their full force to those parts of the *Vishnu-sûtra* only, which have been traced in the *Kâthaka Grîhya-sûtra*. It will be seen afterwards that even these sections, however closely connected with the sacred literature of the *Katthas*, have been tampered with in several places, and it might be argued, therefore, that the whole remainder of the *Vishnu-sûtra*, to which the *Kâthaka* literature offers no parallel, may be a subsequent addition. But the antiquity of the great majority of its laws can be proved by independent arguments, which are furnished by a comparison of the *Vishnu-sûtra* with other works of the same class, whose antiquity is not doubted.

In the foot-notes to my translation I have endeavoured to give as complete references as possible to the analogous passages in the *Smritis* of Manu, Yâgñavalkya, Āpastamba, and Gautama, and in the four *Grîhya-sûtras* hitherto printed. A large number of analogous passages might have been traced in the *Dharma-sûtras* of Vâsishtha²

¹ See Bühler, *Introd. to Āpastamba*, p. xliii.

² See the Benares edition (1878), which is accompanied with a Commentary by *Krishnapandita Dharmâdhikârin*. I should have given references to this

and Baudhâyana as well, not to mention Hiranyakesin's Dharma-sûtra, which, according to Dr. Bühler, is nearly identical with the Dharma-sûtra of Âpastamba. Two facts may be established at once by glancing at these analogies, viz. the close agreement of this work with the other Sûtra works in point of form, and with all the above-mentioned works in point of contents. As regards the first point, the Sûtras or prose rules of which the bulk of the Vishnu-sûtra is composed, show throughout that characteristic laconism of the Sûtra style, which renders it impossible in many cases to make out the real meaning of a Sûtra without the help of a Commentary; and in the choice of terms they agree as closely as possible with the other ancient law-books, and in some cases with the Grîhya-sûtras as well. Numerous verses, generally in the Sloka metre, and occasionally designed as 'Gâthâs,' are added at the end of most chapters, and interspersed between the Sûtras in some; but in this particular also the Vishnu-sûtra agrees with at least one other Dharma-sûtra, the Vâsishtha-smṛiti, and it contains in its law part, like the latter work, a number of verses in the ancient Trishṭubh metre¹. Four of these Trishṭubhs are found in the Vâsishtha-smṛiti, and three in Yaska's Nirukta as well, and the majority of the Slokas has been traced in the former work and the other above-mentioned law-books, and in other Smṛitis. In point of contents the great majority both of the metrical and prose rules of the Vishnu-sûtra agrees with one, or some, or all of the works named above. The Grîhya-sûtras, excepting the Kâthaka Grîhya-sûtra, naturally offer a far smaller number of analogies with it than the Smṛitis, still they exhibit several rules, in the Snâtaka-dharmas and otherwise, that have not been traced in any other Smṛiti except the work here translated. Among the Smṛitis again, each single one may be seen

work, the first complete and reliable edition of the Vâsishtha-smṛiti, in the footnotes to my translation, but for the fact that it did not come into my hands till the former had gone to the press. For Baudhâyana I have consulted a Munich MS. containing the text only of his Sûtras (cod. Haug 163).

¹ XIX, 23, 24; XXIII, 61; XXIX, 9, 10; XXX, 47 (see Nirukta II, 4; Vâsishtha II, 8-10); LVI, 27 (see Vâsishtha XXVIII, 15); LIX, 30; LXXII, 7; LXXXVI, 16.

from the references to contain a number of such rules, as are only met with in this work, which is a very important fact because, if the laws of the *Vishnu-sûtra* were found either in all other *Smritis*, or in one of them only, its author might be suspected of having borrowed them from one of those works. As it is, meeting with analogous passages now in one work, and then in another, one cannot but suppose that the author of this work has everywhere drawn from the same source as the other *Sûtrakâras*, viz. from ancient traditions that were common to all Vedic schools.

There are, moreover, a number of cases in which this work, instead of having borrowed from other works of the same class, can be shown to have been, directly or indirectly, the source from which they drew, and this fact constitutes a third reason in favour of the high antiquity of its laws. The clearest case of this kind is furnished by the *Vâsishtha-smṛiti*, with which this work has two entire chapters in common, which are not found elsewhere. I subjoin in a note the text of *Vâsishtha* XXVIII, 10-15, with an asterisk to those words which contain palpable mistakes (not including blunders in point of metre), for comparison with Chapter LVI of this work in the Calcutta edition, which is exceptionally correct in this chapter and in Chapter LXXXVII, which latter corresponds to *Vâsishtha* XXVIII, 18-22¹. In both

¹ सवैवेदपवित्राणि वक्ष्याम्यहमतः परम् ।

येषां जपैश्च होमैश्च पूयन्ते नात्र संशयः ॥१०॥

अघमर्षणं देवकृतं शुद्धवत्य*स्तरत्समाः ।

कूष्माण्डानि पावमान्यो दुर्गौसाविद्विरेष (?) च ॥११॥

*अभिषङ्गाः पदस्तोभाः सामानि व्याहृतीस्तथा (?) ।

*भारद्वजानि सामानि गायत्रं देवतं तथा ॥१२॥

पुरुषव्रतं च भासं च तथा देवव्रतानि च ।

अतिविगं (?) बार्हस्पत्यं वाक्सूक्तं मध्वचस्तथा ॥१३॥

शतरुद्रियमथर्वशिखरस्त्रिषुपर्णी महाव्रतम् ।

गोसूक्तं चाश्वसूक्तं च इन्द्रशुद्धे (?) च सामनी ॥१४॥

क्षीरान्यदोहानि रथनारं च

अग्नेर्व्रतं वामदेव्यं बृहच्च ।

chapters Vishṇu has mainly prose Sūtras and throughout a perfectly correct text, whereas Vāsishṭha has bad Slokas which, supported as they are by the Commentary or by the metre or by both, can only be accounted for by carelessness or clerical mistakes in some cases, and by a clumsy versification of the original prose version preserved in this work in others. Another chapter of the Vishṇu-sūtra, the forty-eighth, nowhere meets with a parallel except in the third Prasna of the Dharma-sūtra of Baudhāyana, where it recurs almost word for word. An examination of the various readings in both works shows that in some of the Slokas Baudhāyana has better readings, while in one or two others the readings of Vishṇu seem preferable, though the unsatisfactory condition of the MS. consulted renders it unsafe to pronounce a definitive judgment on the character of Baudhāyana's readings. At all events he has a few Vedic Mantras more than Vishṇu, which however seem to be very well-known Mantras and are quoted by their Pratikas only. But he omits the two important Sūtras 9 and 10 of Vishṇu, the latter of which contains a Mantra quoted at full, which, although corrupted (see Vāgas. Samh. IV, 12) and hardly intelligible, is truly Vedic in point of language; and he adds on his part a clause at the end of the whole chapter¹, which inculcates the worship of Ganesa or Siva or both, and would be quite sufficient in itself to cast a doubt on the genuineness and originality of his version. It is far from improbable that both Vāsishṭha and Baudhāyana may have borrowed

इतानि *जप्तानि (= गीतानि Vishṇu LVI, 27) पुनर्नि जनून्
जातिस्मरत्वं लभते यदीच्छेत् ॥१५॥

Vishṇu LVI, 15, 16, the best MSS. read पुरुषव्रते सामनी ॥१५॥ खण्डिलङ्गम् ॥१६॥ but the Calc. ed. and one London MS. have पुरुषव्रते । भासम् । like Vāsishṭha. Of Vishṇu LXXXVII the latter has an abridged version, which contains the faulty readings कृष्णमार्गजम् ('the skin of a black antelope,' Comm.) and षतुर्वेक्ता (as an epithet of the earth = षतुरन्ता Vishṇu LXXXVII, 9).

¹ गयान्यश्यति गयाधिपतिं पश्यति विद्यां पश्यति विद्याधिपतिं पश्यति ।
इत्याह भगवान्बोधायनः ।

the sections referred to directly from an old recension of this work, as Baudhâya has borrowed another chapter of his work from Gautama, while Vâsishṭha in his turn has borrowed the same chapter from Baudhâya¹. It may be added in confirmation of this view, that as far as Vâsishṭha is concerned, his work is the only *Smṛiti*, as far as I know, which contains a quotation from the 'Kâṭhaka' (in XXIX, 18). The Dharma-sûtras of Âpastamba and Gautama have nowhere a large number of consecutive Sûtras in common with the Vishṇu-sûtra, but it is curious to note that the rule, which the latter (X, 45) quotes as the opinion of 'some' (eke), that a non-Brahmanical finder of a treasure, who announces his find to the king, shall obtain one-sixth of the value, is found in no other law-book except in this, which states (III, 61) that a Sûdra shall divide a treasure-trove into twelve parts, two of which he may keep for himself. Of the metrical law-books, one, the Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti, has been shown by Professor Max Müller² to have borrowed the whole anatomical section (III, 84-104), including the simile of the soul which dwells in the heart like a lamp (III, 109, 111, 201), from this work (XCVI, 43-96; XCVII, 9); and it has been pointed out by the same scholar, that the verse in which the author of the former work speaks of the Âraṇyaka and of the Yoga-sâstra as of his own works (III, 110) does not occur in the Vishṇu-sûtra, and must have been added by the versificator, who brought the Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti into its present metrical form. Several other Slokas in Yâgñavalkya's description of the human body (III, 99, 105-108), and nearly the whole section on Yoga (Y. III, 111-203, excepting those Slokas, the substance of which is found in this work and in the code of Manu, viz. 131-140, 177-182, 190, 198-201) may be traced to the same source, as may be also the omission of Vishṇu's enumeration of the 'six limbs' (XCVI, 90) in the Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti, and probably all the minor points on which it differs from this work. Generally speaking, those

¹ See Bühler, Introduction to Gautama, pp. l-liv.

² Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 331.

passages which have been justly noticed as marking the comparatively late period in which that law-book must have been composed¹: such as the allusions to the astrology and astronomy of the Greeks (Y. I, 80, 295), which render it necessary to refer the metrical redaction of the *Yāgñavalkya-smṛiti* to a later time than the second century A. D.; the whole passage on the worship of *Gaṇesa* and of the planets (I, 270–307), in which, moreover, a heterodox sect is mentioned, that has been identified with the Buddhists; the philosophical doctrines propounded in I, 349, 350; the injunctions regarding the foundation and endowment of monasteries (II, 185 seq.)—all these passages have no parallel in this work, while it is not overstating the case to say that nearly all the other subjects mentioned in the *Yāgñavalkya-smṛiti* are treated in a similar way, and very often in the same terms, in the *Vishṇu-sūtra* as well. Some of those rules, in which the posteriority of the *Yāgñavalkya-smṛiti* to other law-books exhibits itself, do occur in the *Vishṇu-sūtra*, but without the same marks of modern age. Thus the former has two *Sloka*s concerning the punishment of forgery (II, 240, 241), in which coined money is referred to by the term *nānaka*; the *Vishṇu-sūtra* has the identical rule (V, 122, 123; cf. V, 9), but the word *nānaka* does not occur in it. *Yāgñavalkya*, in speaking of the number of wives which a member of the three higher castes may marry (I, 57), advocates the Puritan view, that no *Sūdra* wife must be among these; this work has analogous rules (XXIV, 1–4), in which, however, such marriages are expressly allowed. The comparative priority of all those *Sūtras* of *Vishṇu*, to which similar *Sloka*s of *Yāgñavalkya* correspond, appears probable on general grounds, which are furnished by the course of development in this as in other branches of Indian literature; and to this it may be added,

¹ See Stenzler, in the Preface to his edition of *Yāgñavalkya*; Jacobi, on Indian Chronology, in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, XXX, 305 seq. &c. *Vishṇu*'s rules (III, 82) concerning the wording &c. of royal grants, which agree with the rules of *Yāgñavalkya* and other authors, must be allowed a considerable antiquity, as the very oldest grants found in South India conform to those rules. See Burnell, *South Indian Palæography*, 2nd ed., p. 95.

as far as the civil and criminal laws are concerned, that the former enumerates them quite promiscuously, just like the other Dharma-sûtras, with which he agrees besides in separating the law of inheritance from the body of the laws, whereas Yâgñavalkya enumerates all the laws in the order of the eighteen 'titles of law' of Manu and the more recent law-books, though he does not mention the titles of law by name.

However much the Vishnu-sûtra may have in common with the Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti, there is no other law-book with which it agrees so closely as with the code of Manu. This fact may be established by a mere glance at the references in the foot-notes to this translation, in which Manu makes his appearance far more frequently and constantly than any other author, and the case becomes the stronger, the more the nature of these analogies is inquired into. Of Slokas alone Vishnu has upwards of 160 in common with Manu, and in a far greater number of cases still his Sûtras agree nearly word for word with the corresponding rules of Manu. The latter also, though he concurs in a very great number of points with the other law authors as well, agrees with none of them so thoroughly as with Vishnu. All the Smṛitis of Âpastamba, Baudhâyana, Vâsishtâ, Yâgñavalkya, and Nârada contain, according to an approximate calculation, no more than about 130 Slokas, that are found in the code of Manu as well. The latter author and Vishnu differ of course on a great many minor points, and an exhaustive discussion of this subject would fill a treatise; I must therefore confine myself to notice some of those differences, which are particularly important for deciding the relative priority of the one work before the other. In a number of Slokas Manu's readings are decidedly older and better than Vishnu's. Thus the latter (XXX, 7) compares the three 'Atigurus' to the 'three gods,' i.e. to the post-Vedic Trimûrti of 'Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva,' as the commentator expressly states, whereas Manu in an analogous Sloka (II, 230) refers to the 'three orders' instead. At the end of the section on inheritance (XVIII, 44) Vishnu mentions among other

indivisible objects 'a book,' *pustakam*; *Manu* (IX, 219) has the same *Sloka*, but for *pustakam* he reads *prakāshate*. Now *pustaka* is a modern word¹, and *Varāhamihira*, who lived in the sixth century A.D., appears to be the first author, with a known date, by whom it is used. It occurs again, *Vishṇu-sūtra* XXIII, 56 (*prokshanena ka pustakam*), and here also *Manu* (V, 122) has a different reading (*punaḥpākena mrinmayam*). The only difference between *Vishṇu-sūtra* XXII, 93 and *Manu* V, 110 consists in the use of singular forms (*te*, *srinu*) in the former work, and of plural forms (*vaḥ*, *srinuta*) in the latter. Now there are a great many other *Smṛitis* besides the *Manu-smṛiti*, such as e.g. the *Yāgñavalkya* and *Parāśara Smṛitis*, in which the fiction is kept up, that the laws contained in them are promulgated to an assembly of *Rishis*; but there are very few *Smṛitis* of the least notoriety or importance besides the *Vishṇu-sūtra*, in which they are proclaimed to a single person. Other instances in which *Manu*'s readings appear preferable to *Vishṇu*'s may be found, LI, 60 (*pretya keha kṛā nishkrītim*) = *Manu* V, 38 (*pretya ganmani ganmani*); LI, 64 (*iti kathaṇkāna*) = *M. V.*, 41 (*ity abravīnmanuḥ*); LI, 76 (*tasya*) = *M. V.*, 53 (*tayoh*); LIV, 27 (*brāhmanyāt*) = *M. XI*, 193 (*brahmanā*); LVII, 11 (*purastād anukoditām*) = *M. IV*, 248; *Vāsishṭha* XIV, 16; *Āpastamba* I, 6, 19, 14 (*purastād aprakoditām*); LXVII, 45 (*sāyamprātas tvatithaye*) = *M. III*, 99 (*samprāptāya tvatithaye*), &c. But these instances do not prove much, as all the passages in question may have been tampered with by the *Vishṇu*itic editor, and as in some other cases the version of *Vishṇu* seems preferable. Thus 'practised by the virtuous' (*sādhubhisṭha nishevitam*, LXXI, 90) is a very common epithet of 'Ātāra,' and reads better than *Manu*'s *nibaddham sveshu karmasu* (IV, 155); and *krikkhrātikrikkhram* (LIV, 30) seems preferable to *Baudhāyana*'s and *Manu*'s *krikkhrātikrikkhrau* (XI, 209). What is more important, the *Vishṇu-sūtra* does not only contain a number of verses in the ancient *Trishṭubh* metre, whereas *Manu* has none, but it shows those identical three *Trishṭubhs* of *Vāsishṭha* and *Yāska*, which Dr. Bühler

¹ See Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 512.

has proved to have been converted into Anushṭubh Slokas by Manu (II, 114, 115, 144)¹; and Manu seems to have taken the substance of his three Slokas from this work more immediately, because both he (II, 144) and Vishṇu (XXX, 47) have the reading *āvrinoti* for *ātrinatti*, which truly Vedic form is employed both by Vāsishtṛa and Yāska. The relative antiquity of Vishṇu's prose rules, as compared to the numerous corresponding Slokas of Manu, may be proved by arguments precisely similar to those which I have adduced above in speaking of the Yāgñavalkya-smṛiti. As regards those points in the code of Manu, which are usually considered as marks of the comparatively late date of its composition, it will suffice to mention, that the Vishṇu-sūtra nowhere refers to South Indian nations such as the Dravīdas and Andhras, or to the Yavanas; that it shows no distinct traces of an acquaintance with the tenets of any other school of philosophy except the Yoga and Sāṅkhya systems; that it does not mention female ascetics disparagingly, and in particular does not contain Manu's rule (VIII, 363) regarding the comparatively light punishment to be inflicted for violation of (Buddhist and other) female ascetics; and that it does not inveigh (see XV, 3), like Manu (IX, 64-68), against the custom of Niyoga or appointment of a widow to raise offspring to her deceased husband. It is true, on the other hand, that in many cases Vishṇu's rules have a less archaic character than the corresponding precepts of Manu, not only in the Slokas, but in the Sūtra part as well. Thus written documents and ordeals are barely mentioned in the code of Manu (VIII, 114, 115, 168; IX, 232); Vishṇu on the other hand, besides referring in divers places to royal grants and edicts, to written receipts and other private documents, and to books, devotes to writings (*lekhyā*) an entire chapter, in which he makes mention of the caste of Kāyasthas, 'scribes,' and he lays down elaborate rules for the performance of five species of ordeals, to which recourse should be had, according to him, in all suits of some importance. But in nearly all such cases the antiquity of Vishṇu's

¹ Introduction to Bombay Digest, I, p. xxviii seq.

rules is warranted to a certain extent by corresponding rules occurring in the *Smṛitis* of Yāgñavalkya and Nārada ; and the evidence for the modifications and entire transformations, which the code of Manu must have undergone in a number of successive periods, is so abundant, that the archaic character of many of its rules cannot be considered to constitute a sufficient proof of the priority of the whole code before other codes which contain some rules of a comparatively modern character. To this it must be added that the Nārada-smṛiti, though taken as a whole it is decidedly posterior to the code of Manu¹, is designated by tradition as an epitome from another and more bulky recension of the code of Manu than the one which we now possess ; and if this statement may be credited, which is indeed rather doubtful, the very particular resemblance between both works in the law of evidence and in the rules regarding property (see LVIII) can only tend to corroborate the assumption that the Vishnu-sūtra and the Manu-smṛiti must have been closely connected from the first.

This view is capable of further confirmation still by a different set of arguments. The so-called code of Manu is universally assumed now to be an improved metrical edition of the ancient Dharma-sūtra of the (Maitrāyaṇīya-) Mānavas, a school studying the Black Yagur-veda ; and it has been shown above that the ancient stock of the Vishnu-sūtra, in which all the parts hitherto discussed may be included, represents in the main the Dharma-sūtra of the Kârâyāṇīya-kathas, another school studying the Black Yagur-veda. Now these two schools do not only belong both to that Veda, but to the same branch of it, as may be seen from the *Karāṇavyūha*, which work classes both the *Kathas* and *Kârâyāṇīyas* on the one hand, and the Mānavas

¹ See the evidence collected in the Preface to my *Institutes of Nārada* (London, 1876), to which the important fact may be added that Nārada uses the word *dīnāra*, the Roman denarius. It occurs in a large fragment discovered by Dr. Bühler of a more bulky and apparently older recension of that work than the one which I have translated ; and I may be allowed to mention, incidentally, that this discovery has caused me to abandon my design of publishing the Sanskrit text of the shorter recension, as it may be hoped that the whole text of the original work will soon come to light.

together with the six or five other sections of the *Maitrāyaṇīyas* on the other hand, as subdivisions of the *Kāraka Sakhā* of the Black *Yagur-veda*. What is more, there exists a thorough-going parallelism between the literature of those two schools, as far as it is known. To begin with their respective *Samhitās*, it has been shown by L. Schröder¹ that the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā* has more in common with the *Kāthaka*, the *Samhitā* of the *Kāthas*, than with any other *Veda*. As the *Kāthas* are constantly named, in the *Mahābhāshya* and other old works, by the side of the *Kālāpas*, whereas the name of the *Maitrāyaṇīyas* does not occur in any Sanskrit work of uncontested antiquity, it has been suggested by the same scholar that the *Maitrāyaṇīyas* may be the *Kālāpas* of old, and may not have assumed the former name till Buddhism began to prevail in India. However this may be, the principal *Sūtra* works of both schools stand in a similar relation to one another as their *Samhitās*. Some of those Mantras, which have been stated above to be common to the *Vishṇu-sūtra* and *Kāthaka Gṛihya* only, and to occur in no other Vedic work hitherto printed, have been traced in the *Mānava Srauta-sūtra*, in the chapter on *Pinda-pitriyagña* (I, 2 of the section on *Prāk-soma*)², and the conclusion is, that if the *Srauta-sūtra* of the *Kāthaka* school were still in existence, it would be found to exhibit a far greater number of analogies with the *Srauta-sūtra* of the *Mānavas*. The *Gṛihya-sūtra* of this school³ agrees with the *Kāthaka Gṛihya-sūtra* even more closely than the latter agrees with the *Vishṇu-sūtra*, as both works have not only several entire chapters in common (the chapter on the *Vaisvadeva* sacrifice among others, which is found in the *Vishṇu-sūtra* also), but concur everywhere in the arrangement of the subject-matter and in the choice of expressions and Mantras. The *Brāhmaṇa* stage of Vedic literature is not represented by a separate work in either of the two schools, but a further argument in

¹ On the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*, *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, XXXIII, 177 seq.

² Cod. Haug 53 of the Munich Library.

³ Codd. Haug 55 and 56 of the Munich Library. For details, see my German paper above referred to.

favour of their alleged historical connection may be derived from their respective geographical position. If it has been rightly conjectured above, that the original seats of the *Kāthas* were in the north-west, whence they spread themselves over Hindostān, the *Maitrāyanīyas*, though now surviving nowhere except in some villages 'near the Sāt-puḍa mountain, which is included in the Vindhya¹,' must have been anciently their neighbours, as the territory occupied by them extended 'from the Mayūra mountain into Gugarāt,' and reached 'as far as the north-western country' (vāyavyadesa)². Considering all this evidence regarding the original connection between the *Kāthas* and *Mānavas*, it may be said without exaggeration, that it would be far more surprising to find no traces of resemblance between their respective Dharma-sūtras, such as we possess them, than to find, as is actually the case, the contrary; and it may be argued, vice versâ, that the supposed connection of the two works with the Vedic schools of the *Kāthas* and *Mānavas*³ respectively, is confirmed by the kinship existing between these two schools.

In turning now from the ancient parts of the *Vishnu-sūtra* to its more recent ingredients, I may again begin by quoting Professor Max Müller's remarks on this work, which contain the statement, that it is 'enlarged by modern additions written in Slokas⁴.' After him, Dr. Bühler pointed out⁵ that the whole work appears to have been recast by an adherent of *Vishnu*, and that the final and introductory chapters in particular are shown by their very style to have been composed by another author than the body of the

¹ Bhāt Dājī, Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, X, 40.

² See a passage from the *Mahārṇava*, as quoted by Dr. Bühler, Introduction to *Āpastamba*, p. xxx seq. The same readings are found in a Munich MS. of the *Karavyūtha-vyākhyā* (cod. Haug 45). With the above somewhat unclear statement Manu's definition of the limits of *Brahmāvarta* (II, 17) may not unreasonably be compared.

³ The code of Manu has very little in common with the *Mānava Grhya-sūtra*, both in the Mantras and otherwise. Both *Vishnu* and Manu agree with the *Kāthaka* in the use of the curious term *abhinimrukta* or *abhinirmukta*; but the same term is used by *Āpastamba*, *Vāsishṭha*, and others.

⁴ Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 134.

⁵ Introduction to Bombay Digest, p. xxii.

work. If the latter remark were in need of further confirmation, it might be urged that the description of Vishnu as 'the boar of the sacrifice' (*yagñavarāha*) in the first chapter is bodily taken from the *Harivamśa* (2226-2237), while most of the epithets given to Vishnu in I, 49-61 and XCVIII, 7-100 may be found in another section of the *Mahābhārata*, the so-called *Vishnu-sahasranāma*. Along with the introductory and final chapters, all those passages generally are distinctly traceable to the activity of the Vishnuitic editor, in which Vishnu (*Purusha*, *Bhagavat*, *Vāsudeva*, &c.) is mentioned, or his dialogue with the goddess of the earth carried on, viz. I; V, 193; XIX, 24; XX, 16-21; XXII, 93; XXIII, 46; XXIV, 35; XLVII, 10; XLIX; LXIV, 28, 29; LXV; LXVI; LXVII, 2; XC, 3-5, 17-23; XCVI, 97, 98; XCVII, 7-21; XCVIII-C. The short invocation addressed to Vishnu in LXVII, 12 is proved to be ancient by its recurrence in the corresponding chapter of the *Kāthaka Gṛihya-sūtra*, and Chapter LXV contains genuine *Kāthaka* Mantras transferred to a Vishnuitic ceremony. Chapter LXVI, on the other hand, though it does not refer to Vishnu by name, seems to be connected with the same Vishnuitic rite, and becomes further suspected by the recurrence of several of its rules in the genuine Chapter LXXIX. The contents of Chapter XCVII, in which it is attempted to reconcile some of the main tenets of the Sāṅkhya system, as propounded in the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, *Sāṅkhya-pravāṇabhāṣya*, and other works, with the *Vaiṣṇava* creed and with the *Yoga*; the fact that the two Slokas in XCVI (97, 98) and part of the Slokas in XCVII (15-21) have their parallel in similar Slokas of the *Bhagavad-gītā* and of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*; the terms *Mahatpati*, *Kapila*, and *Sāṅkhyâkârya*, used as epithets of Vishnu (XCVIII, 26, 85, 86); and some other passages in the Vishnuitic chapters seem to favour the supposition that the editor may have been one of those members of the Vishnuitic sect of the *Bhāgavatas*, who were conspicuous for their leaning towards the Sāṅkhya and *Yoga* systems of philosophy. The arrangement of the *Vishnu-sūtra* in a hundred chapters is no doubt due to the same person, as the Commentary points out that the num-

ber of the epithets given to Vishnu in XCVIII is precisely equal to the number of chapters into which the laws promulgated by him are divided (II-XCVII); though the number ninety-six is received only by including the introductory and final invocations (XCVIII, 6, 101) among the epithets of Vishnu. It seems quite possible, that some chapters were inserted mainly in order to bring up the whole figure to the round number of a hundred chapters, and it is for this reason chiefly that the majority of the following additions, which show no Vishnuitic tendencies, may also be attributed to the Vishnuitic editor.

1. Most or all of the Slokas added at the end of Chapters XX (22-53) and XLIII (32-45) cannot be genuine; the former on account of their great extent and partial recurrence in the Bhagavad-gîtâ¹, Mahâbhârata, and other works of general note, and because they refer to the self-immolation of widows and to Kâla, whom the commentator is probably right in identifying with Vishnu; the latter on account of their rather extravagant character and decidedly Purânîc style, though the Gârûḍa-purâṇa, in its very long description of the hells, offers no strict parallel to the details given here. The verses in which the Brâhmanas and cows are celebrated (XIX, 22, 23; XXIII, 57-61) are also rather extravagant; however, some of them are Trishṭubhs, and the verses in XIX are closely connected with the preceding Sûtras. The two final Slokas in LXXXVI (19, 20) may also be suspected as to their genuineness, because they are wanting in the corresponding chapter of the Kâthaka Gṛhya-sûtra; and a number of other verses in divers places, because they have no parallel in the Smṛiti literature, or because they have been traced in comparatively modern works, such as the Bhagavad-gîtâ, the Pañkatantra, &c. 2. The week of the later Romans and Greeks, and of modern Europe (LXXVIII, 1-7), the self-immolation of widows (XXV, 14; cf. XX, 39), and the Buddhists and Pâsupatas (LXIII, 36) are not mentioned in any ancient Sanskrit work. Besides, the passages in question may be easily removed, especially the Sûtras referring to the seven days of the week, which

¹ Besides the passages quoted in the notes, 50-53 nearly = Bhag.-gîtâ II, 22-25.

form clearly a subsequent addition to the enumeration of the Nakshatras and Tithis immediately following (LXXVIII, 8-50), and the rule concerning the burning of widows (XXV, 14), which is in direct opposition to the law concerning the widow's right to inherit (XVII, 4) and to other precepts regarding widows. That the three terms *kâshâyin*, *pravragita*, *malina* in LXIII, 36 refer to members of religious orders seems clear, but it may be doubted whether *malina* denotes the *Pâsupatas*, and even whether *kâshâyin* (cf. *pravragitâ* XXXVI, 7) denotes the Buddhists, as dresses dyed with *Kashâya* are worn by Brahmanical sects also, and prescribed for students, and for ascetics likewise, by some of the *Grihya*- and *Dharma-sûtras*. Still the antiquity of the *Sûtra* in question can hardly be defended, because the acquaintance of the Vishnuitic editor with the Buddhistic system of faith is proved by two other *Sûtras* (XCVIII, 40, 41), and because the whole subject of good and evil omens is not treated in any other ancient *Smṛiti*. On the other hand, such terms as *vedanindâ* and *nâstikatâ* (XXXVII, 4, 31, &c.) recur in most *Smṛitis*, and can hardly be referred to the Buddhists in particular.

3. The *Tîrthas* enumerated in LXXXV, some of which are sacred to Vishnu and Siva, belong to all parts of India, and many of them are situated in the Dekhan, which was certainly not included within the limits of the 'Âryâvarta' of the ancient *Dharma-sûtra* (LXXXIV, 4). As no other *Smṛiti* contains a list of this kind, the whole chapter may be viewed as a later addition.

4. The ceremonies described in XC are not mentioned in other *Smṛitis*, while some of them are decidedly Vishnuitic, or traceable in modern works; and as all the *Sûtras* in XC hang closely together, this entire chapter seems also to be spurious.

5. The repetitions in the list of articles forbidden to sell (LIV, 18-22); the addition of the two categories of *atipâtakâni*, 'crimes in the highest degree,' and *prakîrṇakam*, 'miscellaneous crimes' (XXXIII, 3, 5; XXXIV; XLII), to Manu's list of crimes; the frequent references to the Ganges river; and other such passages, which show a modern character, without being traceable in the *Smṛitis* of Yâgñavalkya and Nârada, may have been added by the Vish-

nuitic editor from modern *Smṛitis*, either for the sake of completeness, or in order to make up the required number of chapters. 6. All the passages hitherto mentioned are such as have no parallel in other ancient *Smṛitis*. But the Vishnuitic editor did evidently not confine himself to the introduction of new matter into the ancient *Dharma-sūtra*. That he did not refrain, occasionally, from altering the original text, has been conjectured above with regard to his readings of some of those *Slokas*, which are found in the code of *Manu* as well ; and it can be proved quite clearly by comparing his version of the *Vṛishotsarga* ceremony (LXXXVI) with the analogous chapter of the *Kāthaka Gr̥hya-sūtra*. In one case (LI, 64 ; cf. XXIII, 50 = M. V, 131) he has replaced the words, which refer the authorship of the *Sloka* in question to *Manu*, by an unmeaning term. The superior antiquity of *Manu's* reading (V, 41) is vouched for by the recurrence of the same passage in the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* of *Sāṅkhāyana* (II, 16, 1) and in the *Vāsishtasmṛiti* (IV, 6), and the reference to *Manu* has no doubt been removed by the Vishnuitic editor, because it would have been out of place in a speech of *Vishṇu*. References to sayings of *Manu* and other teachers and direct quotations from Vedic works are more or less common in all *Dharma-sūtras*, and their entire absence in this work is apparently due to their systematical removal by the editor. On the other hand, the lists of Vedic and other works to be studied or recited may have been enlarged in one or two cases by him or by another interpolator, namely, XXX, 37 (cf. V, 191), where the *Atharva-veda* is mentioned after the other *Vedas* by the name of 'Ātharvaṇa' (not *Atharvāṅgirasas*, as in the code of *Manu* and most other ancient works), and LXXXIII, 7, where *Vyākaraṇa*, 'Grammar,' i. e. according to the Commentary the grammars of *Pāṇini* and others, is mentioned as distinct from the *Vedāṅgas*. The antiquity of the former passage might indeed be defended by the example of *Āpastamba*, who, though referring like this work to the 'three *Vedas*' both separately and collectively, mentions in another place the 'Ātharvaṇa-veda'.¹ Besides the above works,

¹ See Bühler, Introduction to *Āpastamba*, p. xxiv.

and those referred to in LVI, the laws of Vishnu name no other work except the Purāṇas, Itihāsas, and Dharmasāstras. 7. As the Vishnuitic editor did not scruple to alter the import of a certain number of passages, the modernisation of the language of the whole work, which was probably as rich in archaic forms and curious old terms as the Kātaka Grihya-sūtra and as the Dharma-sūtra of Āpastamba, may be likewise attributed to him. As it is, the Vishnu-sūtra agrees in style and expressions more closely with the Smṛitis of Manu and Yāgñavalkya than with any other work, and it is at least not inferior to the former work in the preservation of archaic forms. Thus the code of Manu has seven aorist forms¹, while the Vishnu-sūtra contains six, not including those occurring in Vedic Mantras which are quoted by their Pratīkas only. Of new words and meanings of words the Vishnu-sūtra contains also a certain number; they have lately been communicated by me to Dr. von Böhtlingk for insertion in his new Dictionary.

All the points noticed render it necessary to assign a comparatively recent date to the Vishnuitic editor; and if the introduction of the week of the Greeks into the ancient Dharma-sūtra has been justly attributed to him, he cannot be placed earlier than the third or fourth century A.D.² The lower limit must be put before the eleventh century, in which the Vishnu-sūtra is quoted in the Mitāksharā of Viṣṇānesvara. From that time downwards it is quoted in nearly every law digest, and a particularly large number of quotations occurs in Aparārka's Commentary on Yāgñavalkya, which was composed in the twelfth century³. Nearly all those quotations, as far as they have been examined, are actually found in the Vishnu-sūtra; but the whole text is vouched for only by Nandapandita's Commentary, called Vaigayantī, which was composed in the

¹ Whitney, Indische Grammatik, § 826.

² See Jacobi, Journal of the German Oriental Society. XXX, 306. The first author with a known date, who shows an acquaintance with the week of the Greeks, is Varāhamihira (sixth century A. D.)

³ See Bühler, Kasmīr Report, p. 52. The MSS. used are from the Dekhan College, Poona.

first quarter of the seventeenth century. The subscriptions in the London MSS. of the *Vaigayantî* contain the statement, which is borne out by the Introduction, that it was composed by *Nandapandita*, the son of *Râmapandita Dharmâdhikârin*, an inhabitant of Benares, at the instigation of the *Mahârâga Kesavanâyaka*, also called *Tammasânâyaka*, the son of *Kodapanâyaka*; and a passage added at the end of the work states, more accurately, that *Nandasarman* (*Nandapandita*) wrote it at *Kâsî* (Benares) in the year 1679 of the era of *Vikramabhâsvara* (=A. D. 1622), by command of *Kesavanâyaka*, his own king. These statements regarding the time and place of the composition of the *Vaigayantî* are corroborated by the fact that it refers in several cases to the opinions of *Haradatta*, who appears to have lived in the sixteenth century¹, while *Nandapandita* is not among the numerous authors quoted in the *Vîramitrodaya* of *Mitramisra*, who lived in the beginning of the seventeenth century², and who was consequently a contemporary of *Nandapandita*, if the above statement is correct; and that he attacks in a number of cases the views of the 'Eastern Commentators' (*Prâkyas*), and quotes a term from the dialect of *Madhyadesa*.

The subjoined translation is based upon the text handed down by *Nandapandita* nearly everywhere except in some of the *Mantras*, which have been rendered according to the better readings preserved in the *Kâthaka Grihya-sûtra*. The two *Calcutta* editions of the *Vishnu-sûtra*, the second of which is a mere reprint of the first, will be found to agree in the main with the text here translated. They are doubtless based upon the *Vaigayantî*, as they contain several passages in which portions of *Nandapandita's* Commentary have crept into the text of the *Sûtras*. But the MS. used for the first *Calcutta* edition must have been a very faulty one, as both *Calcutta* editions, besides differing from the best MSS. of the *Vaigayantî* on a very great number of minor points, entirely omit the greater part of Chapter *LXXXI*

¹ Bühler, Introduction to *Âpastamba*, p. xliii.

² Bühler loc. cit.

(3-22), the genuineness of which is proved by analogous passages in the other *Smṛitis*¹. An excellent copy of the *Vaigayantī* in possession of Dr. Bühler has, together with three London MSS. of that work and one London MS. containing the text only, enabled me to establish quite positively nearly in every case the readings sanctioned by *Nandapandita*. I had hoped to publish a new edition of the text prepared from those MSS., and long ready for the press, before publishing my English version. This expectation has not been fulfilled, but it is hoped that in the mean time this attempt at a translation will be welcome to the students of Indian antiquity, and will facilitate the understanding of the text printed in *Givānanda Vidyāsāgara's* cheap edition, which is probably in the hands of most Sanskrit scholars. The precise nature of the relation in which the text of my forthcoming edition stands to the Calcutta editions may be gathered from the large specimens of the text as given in the best MSS., that have been edited by Dr. Bühler in the *Bombay Digest*, and by myself in two papers published in the *Transactions of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Science*.

Nandapandita has composed, besides the *Vaigayantī*, a treatise on the law of adoption, called *Dattaka-mīmāṃsā*², a commentary on the code of *Parāśara*, a work called *Vidvanmanoharā-smṛtisindhu*, one called *Srāddhakalpa-latā*, and commentaries on the *Mitāksharā* and on *Ādityākārya's Āsaukanirnaya*. All these works belong to the province of Hindu law, and both his fertility as a writer in that branch of Indian science, and the reputation enjoyed by some of his works even nowadays, must raise a strong presumption in favour of his knowledge of the subject. The

¹ The first edition of the 'Vaishnava Dharmasāstra' was published in Bengali type by *Bhavānīkaraṇa*; the second, in *Devanāgarī* type, is contained in *Givānanda Vidyāsāgara's Dharmashāstrasangraha* (1876).

² This work has been published repeatedly at Calcutta and Madras, and translated into English by *Sutherland* (1821), which translation has been reprinted in *Stokes' Hindu Law Books*. The rest of the above list is made up from an enumeration of *Nandapandita's Tīkāś* at the end of Dr. Bühler's copy of the *Vaigayantī*, from an occasional remark in the latter work itself (XV, 9), and from Professor *Weber's Catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit MSS.*

general trustworthiness of his Commentary on the *Vishnu-sûtra* is further confirmed by the frequent references which it contains to the opinions of earlier commentators of that work; and the wide extent of his reading, though he often makes an unnecessary display of it, has been eminently serviceable to him in tracing the connection of certain chapters and Mantras with the *Kâthaka* literature¹. On the other hand, his very learning, combined with a strict adherence to the well-known theory of Hindu commentators regarding the absolute identity between the teaching of all *Smritis*, has frequently misled him into a too extensive method of interpretation. Even in commenting the *Slokas* he assigns in many cases an important hidden meaning to such particles as *kā*, *vā*, *tathā*, and others, and to unpretending epithets and the like, which have clearly been added for metrical reasons only². This practice, besides being contrary to common sense, is nowhere countenanced by the authority of *Kullûka*, in his remarks on the numerous identical *Slokas* found in the code of *Manu*. With the *Sûtras* generally speaking the case is different: many of them would be nearly or quite unintelligible without the explanatory remarks added in brackets from *Nandapandita's* Commentary³, and in a number of those cases even, where his method jars upon a European mind, the clauses supplied by him are probably correct⁴. The same may be said of his interpretations of the epithets of *Vishnu*, excepting those which are based on utterly fanciful etymologies⁵.

¹ See the notes on LXV, 2 seq.; LXXIII, 5-9; LXXXVI, 13. In his Commentary on LXVII also *Nandapandita* states expressly that the description of the *Vaisvadeva* is according to the rites of the *Kâthaka-sâkhâ*.

² For instances, see the notes on XX, 45; LXIV, 40.

³ See e. g. Chapter V *passim*.

⁴ Thus nearly all the 'intentionally's' and 'unintentionally's,' &c., as supplied in the section on penances might seem superfluous, or even wrong; but as in several places involuntary crimes are expressly distinguished from those intentionally committed (see e. g. XXVIII, 48, 51; XXXVIII, 7), and as in other cases a clause of this kind must needs be supplied (see XXXIX, 2; LII, 3; LIII, 5, &c.), *Nandapandita* is probably right in supplying it from other *Smritis* in most remaining cases as well. This method has occasionally carried him too far, when his explanations have not been given in the text.

⁵ See I, 51, 55; XCVIII, 40, 41, 46, &c.

as the style of the introductory and final chapters is as artificial, though in another way, as the Sûtra style. Though, however, in works composed in the latter style, every *ka*, *vâ*, or *iti*, &c., which is not absolutely required by the sense, was probably intended by their authors to convey a special meaning¹, it is a question of evidence in every single case, whether those meanings which Nandapandita assigns to these and other such particles and expletive words are the correct ones. In several cases of this or of a similar kind he is palpably wrong², and in many others the interpretations proposed by him are at least improbable, because the authoritative passages he quotes in support of them are taken from modern works, which cannot have been known to the author of the Vishnu-sûtra. Interpretations of this class have, therefore, been given in the notes only; and they have been omitted altogether in a number of cases where they appeared quite frivolous, or became too numerous, or could not be deciphered completely, owing to clerical mistakes in the MSS. But though it is impossible to agree with some of his general principles of interpretation, or with his application of them, Nandapandita's interpretations of difficult terms and Sûtras are invaluable, and I have never deviated from them in my translation without strong reasons to the contrary, which have in most cases been stated in the notes³. Besides the extracts given in the notes, a few other passages from the Commentary and several other additions will be given in p. 312; and I must apologize to my readers for having to note along with the Addenda a number of Corrigenda, which will be found in the same page. In compiling the Index of Sanskrit words occurring in this work, which it has been thought necessary to add to the General Index, I have not aimed at completeness except as regards

¹ For instances of this in the Dharma-sûtras of Âpastamba and Gautama, see Bühler, Âpast. I, 2, 7, 24; 8, 5; Gaut. V, 5, 14, 17; IX, 44; XIV, 45; XIX, 13-15, 20; XXI, 9, &c.; and see also Dr. Bühler's remarks on Gñâpaka-sûtras, Âpast. I, 3, 11, 7; Gaut. I, 31, notes.

² See V, 117; VII, 7; XXVII, 10; LI, 26; LXXI, 88; LXXIII, 9; LXXIV, 1, 2, 7, &c.

³ See e.g. XVII, 22; XVIII, 44; XXIV, 40; XXVIII, 5, 11; LV, 20; LIX, 27, 29; LXIII, 36; LXIV, 18; LXVII, 6-8; XCII, 4; XCVII, 7.

the names of deities and of penances. My forthcoming edition of the Sanskrit text will be accompanied by a full Index of words.

In conclusion I have to express my thanks in the most cordial manner to Dr. Bühler, who has constantly assisted me with his advice in the preparing of this translation, and has kindly lent me his excellent copy of the *Vaigayanti*; and to Dr. von Böhtlingk and Professor Max Müller, who have favoured me with valuable hints on divers points connected with this work. My acknowledgments are due, in the second place, to K. M. Chatfield, Esq., Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, to Dr. von Halm, Chief Librarian of the Royal Library, Munich, to Professor R. Lepsius, Chief Librarian of the Royal Library of Berlin, and to Dr. R. Rost, Chief Librarian of the India Office Library, London, for the valuable aid received from these gentlemen and the great liberality with which they have placed Sanskrit MSS. under their care at my disposal.

VISHNU.

VISHNU.

I.

1. THE night of Brahman being over, and the God sprung from the lotus (Brahman) having woke from his slumber, Vishnu purposing to create living beings, and perceiving the earth covered with water,

2. Assumed the shape of a boar, delighting to sport in water, as at the beginning of each former Kalpa, and raised up the earth (from the water).

3. His feet were the Vedas ; his tusks the sacrificial stakes ; in his teeth were the offerings ; his mouth was the pyre ; his tongue was the fire ; his hair was the sacrificial grass ; the sacred texts were his head ; and he was (endowed with the miraculous power of) a great ascetic.

4. His eyes were day and night ; he was of superhuman nature ; his ears were the two bundles of Kusa grass (for the Ishṭis, or smaller sacrifices, and for the animal offerings) ; his ear-rings were the ends of those bundles of Kusa grass (used for wiping

L. 1. Regarding the duration of a night of Brahman, see XX, 14. 'Bhūtāni' means living beings of all the four kinds, born from the womb and the rest. (Nand.) The three other kinds consist of those produced from an egg, from sweat, and from a shoot or germ ; see Manu I, 43-46.

2. A Kalpa=a day of Brahman ; see XX, 13.

the ladle and other sacrificial implements); his nose (the vessel containing) the clarified butter; his snout was the ladle of oblations; his voice was similar in sound to the chanting of the Sâma-veda; and he was of huge size.

5. He was full of piety and veracity; beautiful; his strides and his strength were immense (like those of Vishnu); his large nostrils were penances; his knees the victim; and his figure colossal.

6. His entrails were the (three) chanters of the Sâma-veda¹; his member was the burnt-oblation; his scrotum was the sacrificial seeds and grains; his mind was the altar (in the hut for the wives and domestic uses of the sacrificer); the hindparts (of Vishnu) in his transformation were the Mantras; his blood was the Soma juice.

7. His shoulders were the (great) altar; his smell was that of the (sacrificial cake and other) oblations; his speed was the oblations to the gods and to the manes and other oblations; his body was the hut for the wives and domestic uses of the sacrificer; he was majestic; and instructed with the initiatory ceremonies for manifold sacrifices (lasting one, or two, three, or twelve years, and others).

8. His heart was the sacrificial fee; he was possessed of the (sacrificial and other) great Mantras employed in order to effect the union of the mind with the Supreme; he was of enormous size (like the long sacrifices lasting more than one day); his lovely lips were the beginnings of the two

6. ¹ 'This is because the vital breaths, by which the sound of the voice is effected, pass through them, it having been said (in 4) that the sound of his voice was like the chanting of the Sâma-veda.' (Nand.)

hymns recited at the beginning of the animal sacrifice; his ornaments were the whirlpool of the milk poured into the heated vessel (at the Pravargya ceremony introductory to the Soma-sacrifice).

9. All sorts of sacred texts (the *Gâyatri* and others) were his path in marching; the mysterious Upanishads (the *Vedânta*) were his couch; he was accompanied by his consort *Khâyâ* (*Lakshmi*); he was in size like the *Manisringa* mountain.

10. The lord, the creator, the great Yogin, plunging into the one ocean from love of the world,

11. Raised up, with the edge of his tusks, the earth bounded by the sea together with its mountains, forests, and groves, which was immersed in the water of (the seven oceans now become) one ocean, and created the universe anew.

12. Thus the whole earth, after having sunk into (the lower region called) *Rasâtala*, was in the first place raised in the boar-incarnation by Vishnu, who took compassion upon the living beings.

13, 14. Then, after having raised the earth, the destroyer of *Madhu* placed and fixed it upon its own (former) seat (upon the oceans) and distributed the waters upon it according to their own (former) station, conducting the floods of the oceans into the oceans, the water of the rivers into the rivers, the water of the tanks into the tanks, and the water of the lakes into the lakes.

15. He created the seven (lower regions called) *Pâtâlas*¹ and the seven worlds, the seven *Dvîpas*

15.¹ The seven *Pâtâlas* are, *Atala*, *Vitala*, *Sutala*, *Mahâtala*, *Rasâtala*, *Talâtala*, and *Pâtâla*; the seven worlds are, *Bhûr-loka*, *Bhuvr-loka*, *Svar-loka*, *Mahar-loka*, *Ganar-loka*, *Tapar-loka*, and *Satya-*

and the seven oceans, and fixed their several limits².

16. (He created) the rulers of the (seven) Dvîpas and the (eight) guardians of the world (Indra and the rest), the rivers, mountains, and trees, the seven *Rîshis*, who know (and practise) the law, the Vedas together with their *Ângas*, the *Suras*, and the *Asuras*.

17. (He created) *Pisâkas* (ogres), *Uragas* (serpents), *Gandharvas* (celestial singers), *Yakshas* (keepers of Kubera's treasures), *Rakshasas* (goblins), and men, cattle, birds, deer and other animals, (in short) all the four kinds of living beings¹, and clouds, rainbows, lightnings, and other celestial phenomena or bodies (such as the planets and the asterisms), and all kinds of sacrifices.

18. Bhagavat, after having thus created, in the

loka; the seven Dvîpas or divisions of the terrestrial world are, Gambu, Plaksha, Sâlmâlî, Kusa, Krauñçâ, Sâka, and Pushkara; each Dvîpa is encircled by one of the seven oceans, viz. the seas of *Lavana* (salt-water), *Ikshu* (syrup), *Sarpih* (butter), *Dadhi* (sour milk), *Dugdha* (milk), *Svâdhu* (treacle), and *Udaka* (water), (Nand.) The enumerations contained in the *Vishnu-purâna* and other works differ on two or three points only from that given by Nand.—² Besides the interpretation followed in the text, Nand. proposes a second explanation of the term 'sthânâni,' as denoting *Bhârata-varsha* (India) and the other eight plains situated between the principal mountains.

16. The eight 'guardians of the world' (*Lokapâlas*) are, Indra, Agni, Yama, Sûrya, Varuna, Pavana, Kubera, and Soma (M.V, 96). The seven *Rîshis*, according to the *Satapatha-brâhmaṇa*, are, Gotama, Bharadvâga, Visvâmitra, Gamadagni, Vasishtha, Kasyapa, and Atri. The six *Vedâṅgas* are, *Sikshâ* (pronunciation), *Khandas* (metre), *Vyâkarana* (grammar), *Nirukta* (etymology), *Kalpa* (ceremonial), and *Gyotisha* (astronomy). See Max Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 108, &c.

17.¹ See 1.

shape of a boar, this world together with all animate and inanimate things in it, went away into a place hidden from the world.

19. *Ganârdana*, the chief of the gods, having become invisible, the goddess of the earth began to consider, 'How shall I be able to sustain myself (henceforth)?'

20. 'I will go to *Kasyapa* to ask: he will tell me the truth. The great Muni has my welfare under constant consideration.'

21. Having thus decided upon her course, the goddess, assuming the shape of a woman, went to see *Kasyapa*, and *Kasyapa* saw her.

22. Her eyes were similar to the leaves of the blue lotus (of which the bow of *Kâma*, the god of love, is made); her face was radiant like the moon in the autumn season; her locks were as dark as a swarm of black bees; she was radiant; her lip was (red) like the *Bandhugtva* flower; and she was lovely to behold.

23. Her eyebrows were fine; her teeth exceedingly small; her nose handsome; her brows bent; her neck shaped like a shell; her thighs were constantly touching each other; and they were fleshy thighs, which adorned her loins.

24. Her breasts were shining white, firm¹, plump, very close to each other, (decorated with continuous strings of pearls) like the projections on the forehead of *Indra's* elephant, and radiant like the gold (of the two golden jars used at the consecration of a king).

24. ¹ Or 'equal in size,' according to the second of the two explanations which *Nand.* proposes of the term '*samau*.'

25. Her arms were as delicate as lotus fibres; her hands were similar to young shoots; her thighs were resplendent like golden pillars; and her knees were hidden (under the flesh), and closely touching each other.

26. Her legs were smooth and exquisitely proportioned; her feet exceedingly graceful; her loins fleshy; and her waist like that of a lion's cub.

27. Her reddish nails shone (like rubies); her beauty was the delight of every looker-on; and with her glances she filled at every step all the quarters of the sky as it were with lotus-flowers.

28. Radiant with divine lustre, she illuminated all the quarters of the sky with it; her clothing was most exquisite and perfectly white; and she was decorated with the most precious gems.

29. With her steps she covered the earth as it were with lotuses; she was endowed with beauty and youthful charms; and made her approach with modest bearing.

30. Having seen her come near, Kasyapa saluted her reverentially, and said, 'O handsome lady, O earth, radiant with divine lustre, I am acquainted with thy thoughts.'

31. 'Go to visit *Ganârdana*, O large-eyed lady; he will tell thee accurately, how thou shalt henceforth sustain thyself.'

32. 'For thy sake, O (goddess), whose face is lovely and whose limbs are beautiful, I have found out, by profound meditation, that his residence is in the *Kshîroda* (milk-ocean).'

33. The goddess of the earth answered, 'Yes, (I shall do as you bid me),' saluted Kasyapa rever-

entially, and proceeded to the Kshīroda sea, in order to see Kesava (Vishnu).

34. She beheld (then) the ocean, from which the Amrita arose. It was lovely, like the rays of the moon, and agitated by hundreds of waves produced by stormy blasts of wind.

35. (With its waves) towering like a hundred Himālayas it seemed another terrestrial globe, calling near as it were the earth with its hands, the rolling waves.

36. With those hands it was as it were constantly producing the radiancy of the moon; and every stain of guilt was removed from it by Hari's (Vishnu's) residence within its limits.

37. Because (it was entirely free from sin) therefore it was possessed of a pure and shining frame; its colour was white; it was inaccessible to birds; and its seat was in the lower regions.

38. It was rich in blue and tawny gems (sapphires, coral, and others), and looking therefore as if the atmosphere had descended upon the earth, and as if a number of forests adorned with a multitude of fruits had descended upon its surface.

39. Its size was immense, like that of the skin of (Vishnu's) serpent Sesha. After having seen the milk-ocean, the goddess of the earth beheld the dwelling of Kesava (Vishnu) which was in it:

40. (His dwelling), the size of which cannot be expressed in words, and the sublimity of which is also beyond the power of utterance. In it she saw the destroyer of Madhu seated upon Sesha.

41. The lotus of his face was hardly visible on

37. See 15, note.

account of the lustre of the gems decorating the neck of the snake Sesha; he was shining like a hundred moons; and his splendour was equal to the rays of a myriad of suns.

42. He was clad in a yellow robe (radiant like gold); imperturbable; decorated with all kinds of gems; and shining with the lustre of a diadem resembling the sun in colour, and with (splendid) ear-rings.

43. Lakshmi was stroking his feet with her soft palms; and his attributes (the shell, the discus, the mace, and the lotus-flower) wearing bodies were attending upon him on all sides.

44. Having espied the lotus-eyed slayer of Madhu, she knelt down upon the ground and addressed him as follows:

45. 'When formerly I was sunk into the region of Rasātala, I was raised by thee, O God, and restored to my ancient seat, O Vishnu, thanks to thy benevolence towards living beings.

46. 'Being there, how am I to maintain myself upon it, O lord of the gods?' Having been thus addressed by the goddess, the god enunciated the following answer:

47. 'Those who practise the duties ordained for each caste and for each order, and who act up strictly to the holy law, will sustain thee, O earth; to them is thy care committed.'

48. Having received this answer, the goddess of the earth said to the chief of the gods, 'Communicate to me the eternal laws of the castes and of the orders.

47. Regarding the four castes and the four orders, see II, 1; III, 3.

49. 'I desire to learn them from thee; for thou art my chief stay. Adoration be to thee, O brilliant¹ chief of the gods, who annihilatest the power of the (Daityas and other) enemies of the gods.

50. 'O Nârâyana (son of Nara), O Gagannâtha (sovereign of the world); thou holdest the shell, the discus, and the mace (in thy hands); thou hast a lotus (Brahman) springing from thy navel; thou art the lord of the senses; thou art most powerful and endowed with conquering strength.

51. 'Thou art beyond the cognisance of the senses; thy end is most difficult to know; thou art brilliant; thou holdest the bow Sârnga; thou art the boar¹; thou art terrible; thou art Govinda² (the herdsman); thou art of old; thou art Purushottama (the spirit supreme).

52. 'Thy hair is golden; thy eyes are everywhere; thy body is the sacrifice; thou art free from stain; thou art the "field" (the corporeal frame); thou art the principle of life; thou art the ruler

49. ¹ This is Nand.'s interpretation of the term 'deva,' but it may also be taken in its usual acceptance of 'god.'

51. ¹ This is the third of the three interpretations of the term varâha, which Nand. proposes. According to the first, it would mean 'one who kills his worst or most prominent foes;' according to the second, 'one who gratifies his own desires.' But these two interpretations are based upon a fanciful derivation of varâha from vara and â-han. Of many others among the epithets Nand. proposes equally fanciful etymologies, which I shall pass over unnoticed.—

² This epithet, which literally means 'he who finds or wins cows,' is usually referred to Vishnu's recovering the 'cow,' i.e. the earth, when it was lost in the waters: see Mahâbh. XII, 13228, which verse is quoted both by Nand. and by Saṅkara in his Commentary on the Vishnu-sahasranâma. It originally refers, no doubt, to Vishnu or Krishna as the pastoral god.

of the world; thou art lying on the bed of the ocean.

53. 'Thou art Mantra (prayer); thou knowest the Mantras; thou surpassest all conception; thy frame is composed of the Vedas and Vedāṅgas; the creation and destruction of this whole world is effected through thee.

54. 'Thou knowest right and wrong; thy body is law; law springs from thee; desires are gratified by thee; thy powers are everywhere; thou art (imperishable like) Amṛita (ambrosia); thou art heaven; thou art the destroyer of Madhu and Kaiṭasa.

55. 'Thou causest the increase of the great; thou art inscrutable; thou art all; thou givest shelter to all; thou art the chief one; thou art free from sin; thou art Gîmûta; thou art inexhaustible; thou art the creator.

56. 'Thou increasest the welfare (of the world); the waters spring from thee; thou art the seat of intelligence; action is not found in thee; thou presidest over seven chief things¹; thou art the teacher of religious rites; thou art of old; thou art Puru-shottama.

57. 'Thou art not to be shaken; thou art unde-

55. 'The great (brîhat) means time, space, and the like. . . . He is called "all" because he is capable of assuming any shape.' (Nand.) The sense of the term 'gîmûta,' as an epithet of divine beings, is uncertain. According to Nand., it would mean 'he who sprinkles living beings;' but this interpretation is based upon a fanciful derivation, from gîva and mîtrayati.

56. ¹ This refers either to the seven divisions of a Sâman; or to the seven species, of which each of the three kinds of sacrifices, domestic offerings, burnt-offerings, and Soma-sacrifices, consists (cf. Gaut. VIII, 18-20); or to the seven worlds (see 15, note), Bhûr and the rest. (Nand.)

caying; thou art the producer of the atoms; thou art kind to faithful attendants; thou art the purifier (of sinners); thou art the protector of all the gods; thou art the protector of the pious.

58. 'Thou art also the protector of those who know the Veda, O Purushottama. I have come, O Gagannâtha, to the immovable Vâkaspati (the lord of holy speech), the lord;

59. 'To him, who is very pious; invincible; Vasushetza (who has treasures for his armies); who bestows largesses upon his followers; who is endowed with the power of intense devotion; who is the germ of the ether; from whom the rays (of the sun and moon) proceed;

60. 'To Vâsudeva; the great soul of the universe; whose eyes are like lotuses; who is eternal; the preceptor of the Suras and of the Asuras; brilliant; omnipresent; the great lord of all creatures;

61. 'Who has one body and four faces; who is the producer of (the five grosser elements, ether, air, fire, water, and earth), the producers of the world. Teach me concisely, O Bhagavat, the eternal laws ordained for the aggregate of the four castes,

62. 'Together with the customs to be observed by each order and with the secret ordinances.' The chief of the gods, thus addressed by the goddess of the earth, replied to her as follows:

62. According to Nand., the term rahasya, 'secret ordinances or doctrines,' has to be referred either to the laws regarding the occupations lawful for each caste in times of distress (âpaddharma, see II, 15), or to the penances (XLVI seq.) The latter interpretation seems to be the more plausible one, with the limitation, however, that rahasya is only used to denote the penances for secret faults, which are termed rahasya in LV, 1.

63. 'Learn from me, in a concise form, O radiant goddess of the earth, the eternal laws for the aggregate of the four castes, together with the customs to be observed by each order, and with the secret ordinances,

64. 'Which will effect the final liberation of the virtuous persons, who will support thee. Be seated upon this splendid golden seat, O handsome-thighed goddess.

65. 'Seated at ease, listen to me proclaiming the sacred laws.' The goddess of the earth, thereupon, seated at ease, listened to the sacred precepts as they came from the mouth of Vishnu.

II.

1. Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras are the four castes.

2. The first three of these are (called) twice-born.

3. For them the whole number of ceremonies, which begin with the impregnation and end with the ceremony of burning the dead body, have to be performed with (the recitation of) Mantras.

4. Their duties are :

5. For a Brâhmana, to teach (the Veda);

6. For a Kshatriya, constant practice in arms ;

7. For a Vaisya, the tending of cattle ;

8. For a Sûdra, to serve the twice-born ;

II. 1. Âpast. I, 1, 1, 3. — 1, 2. M. X, 4 ; Y. I, 10. — 3. M. II, 26 ; Y. I, 10. — 4-9. M. I, 88-91 ; VIII, 410 ; IX, 326-335 ; X, 75-79 ; Y. I, 118-120 ; Âpast. I, 1, 1, 5, 6 ; II, 5, 10, 4-7 ; Gaut. X, 2, 7, 49, 56. — 15. M. X, 81 ; Y. III, 35 ; Gaut. VII, 6. — 16, 17. Gaut. VIII, 23 ; X, 51. 'This chapter treats of the four castes.' (Nand.)

9. For all the twice-born, to sacrifice and to study (the Veda).

10. Again, their modes of livelihood are :

11. For a Brâhmaṇa, to sacrifice for others and to receive alms ;

12. For a Kshatriya, to protect the world (and receive due reward, in form of taxes) ;

13. For a Vaisya, tillage, keeping cows (and other cattle), traffic, lending money upon interest, and growing seeds ;

14. For a Sûdra, all branches of art (such as painting and the other fine arts) ;

15. In times of distress, each caste may follow the occupation of that next (below) to it in rank.

16. Forbearance, veracity, restraint, purity, liberality, self-control, not to kill (any living being), obedience towards one's Gurus, visiting places of pilgrimage, sympathy (with the afflicted),

17. Straightforwardness, freedom from covetousness, reverence towards gods and Brâhmaṇas, and freedom from anger are duties common (to all castes).

III.

1. Now the duties of a king are :

2. To protect his people,

14. According to Nand., the use of the term sarva, 'all,' implies that Sûdras may also follow the occupations of a Vaisya, tillage and the rest, as ordained by Devala.

16. The term Guru, 'superior,' generally denotes the parents and the teacher, or Guru in the narrower sense of the term ; see XXXI, 1, 2. It may also include all those who are one's elders or betters ; see XXXII, 1-3.

III. 2, 3. M. VII, 35, 144 ; Gaut. X, 7 ; XI, 9. — 4, 5. M. VII, 69 ; Y. I, 320. — 6. M. VII, 70 ; Y. I, 320 ; Âpast. II, 10, 25, 2. —

3. And to keep the four castes and the four orders¹ in the practice of their several duties.

4. Let the king fix his abode in a district containing open plains, fit for cattle, and abounding in grain;

5. And inhabited by many Vaisyas and Sûdras.

6. There let him reside in a stronghold (the strength of which consists) either in (its being surrounded by) a desert, or in (a throng of) armed

7-10. M. VII, 115; Âpast. II, 10, 26, 4, 5. — 11-15. M. VII, 116, 117. — 16-21. M. VII, 61, 62; Y. I, 321. — 22-25. M. VII, 130-132; Y. I, 327; Âpast. II, 10, 26, 9; Gaut. X, 24, 25. — 26. M. VII, 133; Âpast. II, 10, 26, 10. — 28. M. VIII, 304; Y. I, 334; Gaut. XI, 11. — 29, 30. M. VII, 128; VIII, 398; Y. II, 161; Gaut. X, 26. — 31. M. VIII, 400; Y. II, 262. — 32. M. VII, 138; Gaut. X, 31-33. — 33. M. IX, 294; Y. I, 352. — 35. M. VII, 122, 184; Y. I, 331, 337. — 36, 37. Y. I, 337. — 38-41. M. VII, 158-161, 182, 183; Y. I, 344-347. — 42. M. VII, 203; Y. I, 342. — 43. M. VII, 215. — 44. M. VII, 88. — 45. M. VII, 89; Y. I, 324; Âpast. II, 10, 26, 2, 3. — 47. M. VII, 202. — 50-52. M. VII, 50, 51. — 55. M. VII, 62; VIII, 39. — 56-58. M. VIII, 37, 38; Y. II, 34; Gaut. X, 43, 44. — 61. Gaut. X, 45. — 62. Y. II, 35. — 63. M. VIII, 35. — 64. M. VIII, 36. — 65. M. VIII, 27, 28; Gaut. X, 48. — 66, 67. M. VIII, 40; Y. II, 36; Âpast. II, 10, 26, 8; Gaut. X, 46, 47. — 68. Gaut. X, 17. — 70. M. VII, 78; Y. I, 312; Gaut. XI, 12. — 71. M. VII, 54, 60; Y. I, 311. — 72. M. VIII, 1; Y. II, 1. — 73. M. VIII, 9; Y. II, 3; Gaut. XIII, 96. — 74. M. VIII, 12-19; Y. II, 2; Âpast. II, 11, 29, 5. — 75. Gaut. XI, 15. — 76, 77. M. VII, 38. — 79, 80. M. VII, 134; Y. I, 338; Âpast. II, 10, 25, 11; Gaut. X, 9, 10. — 81. Âpast. II, 10, 26, 1. — 81, 82. Y. I, 317-319. — 84. M. VII, 82; Y. I, 314. — 85. M. VII, 220. — 87, 88. M. VII, 217, 218. — 89. M. VII, 146. — 91, 92. M. VII, 16; VIII, 126; Y. I, 367; Gaut. X, 8. — 94. M. VIII, 335; Y. I, 357; Âpast. II, 11, 28, 13. — 95. M. VII, 25. — 96. M. VII, 32; Y. I, 333. — 97. M. VII, 33. Chapters III-XVIII contain the section on vyavahâra, 'jurisprudence.' (Nand.)

3.¹ Of student, householder, hermit, and ascetic.

5. 'And there should be many virtuous men in it, as stated by Manu, VII, 69.' (Nand.)

men, or in fortifications (of stone, brick, or others), or in water (enclosing it on all sides), or in trees, or in mountains (sheltering it against a foreign invasion).

7. (While he resides) there, let him appoint chiefs (or governors) in every village;

8. Also, lords of every ten villages;

9. And lords of every hundred villages;

10. And lords of a whole district.

11. If any offence has been committed in a village, let the lord of that village suppress the evil (and give redress to those that have been wronged).

12. If he is unable to do so, let him announce it to the lord of ten villages;

13. If he too is unable, let him announce it to the lord of a hundred villages;

14. If he too is unable, let him announce it to the lord of the whole district.

15. The lord of the whole district must eradicate the evil to the best of his power.

16. Let the king appoint able officials for the working of his mines, for the levying of taxes and of the fares to be paid at ferries, and for his elephants and forests.

17. (Let him appoint) pious persons for performing acts of piety (such as bestowing gifts on the indigent, and the like);

18. Skilled men for financial business (such as examining gold and other precious metals);

11. See 67 and Dr. Bühler's note on Âpast. II, 10, 26, 8.

16. The term *nâgavana*, which has been translated as a Dvandva compound, denoting elephants and forests, may also be taken to mean 'forests in which there are elephants;' or *nâga* may mean 'situated in the mountains' or 'a mountain fort.' (Nand.)

18. Or, 'he must appoint men skilled in logic as his advisers in knotty points of argument.' (Nand.)

19. Brave men for fighting;
20. Stern men for acts of rigour (such as beating and killing);
21. Eunuchs for his wives (as their guardians).
22. He must take from his subjects as taxes a sixth part every year of the grain;
23. And (a sixth part) of all (other) seeds;
24. Two in the hundred, of cattle, gold, and clothes;
25. A sixth part of flesh, honey, clarified butter, herbs, perfumes, flowers, roots, fruits, liquids and condiments, wood, leaves (of the Palmyra tree and others), skins, earthen pots, stone vessels, and anything made of split bamboo.
26. Let him not levy any tax upon Brâhmanas.
27. For they pay taxes to him in the shape of their pious acts.
28. A sixth part both of the virtuous deeds and of the iniquitous acts committed by his subjects goes to the king.
29. Let him take a tenth part of (the price of) marketable commodities (sold) in his own country;
30. And a twentieth part of (the price of) goods (sold) in another country.
31. Any (seller or buyer) who (fraudulently) avoids a toll-house (situated on his road), shall lose all his goods.

23. This rule relates to Syâmâka grain and other sorts of grain produced in the rainy season. (Nand.)

25. 'Haradatta says that "a sixth part" means "a sixtieth part:" But this is wrong, as shown by M.VII, 131.' (Nand.) Haradatta's false interpretation was most likely called forth by Gaut. X, 27.

32. Artizans (such as blacksmiths), manual labourers (such as carpenters), and Sûdras shall do work for the king for a day in each month.

33. The monarch, his council, his fortress, his treasure, his army, his realm, and his ally are the seven constituent elements of a state.

34. (The king) must punish those who try to subvert any one among them.

35. He must explore, by means of spies, both the state of his own kingdom and of his foe's.

36. Let him show honour to the righteous ;

37. And let him punish the unrighteous.

38. Towards his (neighbour and natural) enemy, his ally (or the power next beyond his enemy), a neutral power (situated beyond the latter), and a power situated between (his natural enemy and an aggressive power)¹ let him adopt (alternately), as the occasion and the time require, (the four modes of obtaining success, viz.) negotiation, division, presents, and force of arms.

39. Let him have resort, as the time demands, to (the six measures of a military monarch, viz.) making alliance and waging war, marching to battle and sitting encamped, seeking the protection (of a more powerful king) and distributing his forces.

32. According to Nand., the particle *ka*, 'and,' implies that servile persons, who get their substance from their employers, are also implied. See Manu VII, 138.

35. The particle *ka*, according to Nand., is used in order to include the kingdoms of an ally and of a neutral prince.

38.¹ The term *madhyama* has been rendered according to Nand.'s and Kullûka's (on M. VII, 155) interpretation of it. Kullûka, however, adds, as a further characteristic, that it denotes a prince, who is equal in strength to one foe, but no match for two when allied.

40. Let him set out on an expedition in the months of *Kaitra* or *Mârgasīrsha* ;

41. Or when some calamity has befallen his foe.

42. Having conquered the country of his foe, let him not abolish (or disregard) the laws of that country.

43. And when he has been attacked by his foe, let him protect his own realm to the best of his power.

44. There is no higher duty for men of the military caste, than to risk their life in battle.

45. Those who have been killed in protecting a cow, or a *Brâhmaṇa*, or a king, or a friend, or their own property, or their own wedded wife, or their own life, go to heaven.

46. Likewise, those (who have been killed) in trying to prevent mixture of castes (caused by adulterous connections).

47. A king having conquered the capital of his foe, should invest there a prince of the royal race of that country with the royal dignity.

48. Let him not extirpate the royal race ;

49. Unless the royal race be of ignoble descent.

50. He must not take delight in hunting, dice, women, and drinking ;

51. Nor in defamation and battery.

52. And let him not injure his own property (by bootless expenses).

53. He must not demolish (whether in his own town, or in the town of his foe conquered by him,

40. The particle *vā* indicates, according to Nand., that he may also set out in the month *Phālguna*.

or in a fort) doors which had been built there before his time (by a former king).

54. He must not bestow largesses upon unworthy persons (such as dancers, eulogists, bards, and the like).

55. Of mines let him take the whole produce.

56. Of a treasure-trove he must give one half to the Brâhmanas;

57. He may deposit the other half in his own treasury.

58. A Brâhmana who has found a treasure may keep it entire.

59. A Kshatriya (who has found a treasure) must give one fourth of it to the king, another fourth to the Brâhmanas, and keep half of it to himself.

60. A Vaisya (who has found a treasure) must give a fourth part of it to the king, one half to the Brâhmanas, and keep the (remaining fourth) part to himself.

61. A Sûdra who has found a treasure must divide it into twelve parts, and give five parts to the king, five parts to the Brâhmanas, and keep two parts to himself.

62. Let the king compel him who (having found a treasure) does not announce it (to the king) and is found out afterwards, to give up the whole.

63. Of a treasure anciently hidden by themselves let (members of) all castes, excepting Brâhmanas, give a twelfth part to the king.

64. The man who falsely claims property hidden by another to have been hidden by himself, shall be

63. This rule refers to a treasure, which has been found by some one and announced to the king. The original owner is bound to prove his ownership. (Nand.) See M.VIII, 35.

condemned to pay a fine equal in amount to the property falsely claimed by him.

65. The king must protect the property of minors, of (blind, lame or other) helpless persons (who have no guide), and of women (without a guardian).

66. Having recovered goods stolen by thieves, let him restore them entire to their owners, to whatever caste they may belong.

67. If he has been unable to recover them, he must pay (their value) out of his own treasury.

68. Let him appease the onsets of fate by ceremonies averting evil omens and propitiatory ceremonies ;

69. And the onsets of his foe (let him repel) by force of arms.

70. Let him appoint as Purohita (domestic priest) a man conversant with the Vedas, Epics, the Institutes of Sacred Law, and (the science of) what is useful in life, of a good family, not deficient in limb, and persistent in the practice of austerities.

71. And (let him appoint) ministers (to help and advise him) in all his affairs, who are pure, free from covetousness, attentive, and able.

72. Let him try causes himself, accompanied by well-instructed Brâhmanas.

73. Or let him entrust a Brâhmana with the judicial business.

74. Let the king appoint as judges men of good

70. 'The science of what is useful in life' comprises the fine arts, except music, and all technical knowledge.

74. According to Nand., the particle *ka* indicates that the judges should be well acquainted, likewise, with the sacred revelation,

families, for whom the ceremonies (of initiation and so forth) have been performed, and who are eager in keeping religious vows, impartial towards friend and foe, and not likely to be corrupted by litigants either by (ministering to their) lustful desires or by (stimulating them to) wrath or by (exciting their) avarice or by other (such practices).

75. Let the king in all matters listen to (the advice of) his astrologers.

76. Let him constantly show reverence to the gods and to the Brâhmaṇas.

77. Let him honour the aged ;

78. And let him offer sacrifices ;

79. And he must not suffer any Brâhmaṇa in his realm to perish with want ;

80. Nor any other man leading a pious life.

81. Let him bestow landed property upon Brâhmaṇas.

82. To those upon whom he has bestowed (land) he must give a document, destined for the information of a future ruler, which must be written upon a piece of (cotton) cloth, or a copper-plate, and must contain the names of his (three) immediate ancestors, a declaration of the extent of the land, and an imprecation against him who should appropriate the

and intent upon performing their daily study of the Veda, as ordained by Yâgñavalkya, II, 2.

75. According to Nand., the particle *ka* indicates that the king's ministers should also consult the astrologers.

76. 'The particle *ka* is used here in order to imply that the king should bestow presents upon the Brâhmaṇas, as ordained by Manu, VII, 79.' (Nand.) See Introduction.

82. The repeated use of the particle *ka* in this Sûtra signifies that the document in question should also contain the name of the

donation to himself, and should be signed with his own seal.

83. Let him not appropriate to himself landed property bestowed (upon Brâhmanas) by other (rulers).

84. Let him present the Brâhmanas with gifts of every kind.

85. Let him be on his guard, whatever he may be about.

86. Let him be splendid (in apparel and ornaments).

87. Let him be conversant with incantations dispelling the effects of poison and sickness.

88. Let him not test any aliments, that have not been tried before (by his attendants, by certain experiments).

89. Let him smile before he speaks to any one.

90. Let him not frown even upon (criminals) doomed to capital punishment.

91. Let him inflict punishments, corresponding to the nature of their offences, upon evil-doers.

donor, the date of the donation, and the words, written in the donor's own hand, 'What has been written above, by that is my own will declared.' The term *dânakkkhedopavarmanam*, 'containing a declaration of the punishment awaiting the robber of a grant,' may also mean, 'indicating the boundaries (such as fields and the like) of the grant.' The seal must contain the figure of a flamingo, boar, or other animal. (Nand.) Numerous grants on copper-plates, exactly corresponding to the above description, have been actually found in divers parts of India. See, particularly, Dr. Burnell's *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*.

83. According to Nand., the particle *ka* is used in order to include in this prohibition a grant made by himself.

86. Nand. proposes a second interpretation of the term *sudar-sana* besides the one given above, 'he shall often show himself before those desirous of seeing him.'

92. Let him inflict punishments according to justice (either personally or through his attendants).

93. Let him pardon no one for having offended twice.

94. He who deviates from his duty must certainly not be left unpunished by the king.

95. Where punishment with a black hue and a red eye advances with irresistible might, the king deciding causes justly, there the people will prosper.

96. Let a king in his own domain inflict punishments according to justice, chastise foreign foes with rigour, behave without duplicity to his affectionate friends, and with lenity to Brâhmanas.

97. Of a king thus disposed, even though he subsist by gleaning, the fame is far spread in the world, like a drop of oil in the water.

98. That king who is pleased when his subjects are joyful, and grieved when they are in grief, will obtain fame in this world, and will be raised to a high station in heaven after his death.

IV.

1. The (very small mote of) dust which may be discerned in a sun-beam passing through a lattice is called *trasarenu* (trembling dust).

2. Eight of these (*trasarenu*s) are equal to a nit.

3. Three of the latter are equal to a black mustard-seed.

4. Three of these last are equal to a white mustard-seed.

5. Six of these are equal to a barley-corn.

6. Three of these equal a *Krishnala*.

IV. 1-14. M. VIII, 132-138; Y. I, 361-365.

6. *Krishnala* (literally, 'seed of the Guṅgâ creeper') is another

7. Five of these equal a Mâsha.
8. Twelve of these are equal to half an Aksha.
9. The weight of half an Aksha, with four Mâshas added to it, is called a Suvarna.
10. Four Suvarnas make a Nishka.
11. Two *Krishnalas* of equal weight are equal to one Mâshaka of silver.
12. Sixteen of these are equal to a Dharana (of silver).
13. A Karsha (or eighty Raktikâs) of copper is called Kârshâpana.
14. Two hundred and fifty (copper) *Panas* are declared to be the first (or lowest) amercement, five hundred are considered as the middlemost, and a thousand as the highest.

V.

1. Great criminals should all be put to death.

name for Raktikâ or Ratî, the lowest denomination in general use. According to Prinsep (*Useful Tables*, p. 97) it equals 1.875 grains = 0.122 grammes of the metrical system. According to Thomas (see *Colebrooke's Essays*, ed: by Cowell, I, p. 529, note) it equals 1.75 grains.

7-10. These names refer to weights of gold.

V. 2, 3. M. VIII, 124; IX, 239, 241; Gaut. XII, 46, 47. — 3-7. M. IX, 237. — 8. M. IX, 241; VIII, 380. — 9, 11. M. IX, 232. — 12, 13. M. VIII, 320, 321. — 18. M. VIII, 371. — 19. M. VIII, 279; Y. II, 215; Âpast. II, 10, 27, 14; Gaut. XII, 1. — 20-22. M. VIII, 281, 282; Âpast. II, 10, 27, 15; Gaut. XII, 7. — 23. M. VIII, 270; Âpast. II, 10, 27, 14. — 24. M. VIII, 272. — 25. M. VIII, 271. — 26-28. M. VIII, 273-275. — 27. Y. II, 204. — 29, 30. Y. II, 210. — 31-33. Y. II, 211. — 35. M. VIII, 269. — 36. M. VIII, 268; Gaut. XII, 12. — 40, 41. M. VIII, 382-385. — 40, 44. Y. II, 286, 289. — 45. M. VIII, 224. — 47. M. VIII, 225. — 49. Y. II, 297. — 50, 52. M. VIII, 296-298; Y. II, 225, 226. — 55-58. M. VIII, 285; Y. II, 227-229. — 60, 61. M. VIII, 280. — 60-73. Y. II, 216-221. — 66-68. M. VIII, 283, 284. — 74. M. IX, 274. —

2. In the case of a Brâhmana no corporal punishment must be inflicted.

3. A Brâhmana must be banished from his own country, his body having been branded.

75. M.VIII, 287; Y. II, 222. — 77. M.VIII, 325. — 79. M.VIII, 320. — 81, 82. M.VIII, 322. — 83, 84. M.VIII, 326-329. — 85, 86. M.VIII, 330; Gaut. XII, 18. — 89, 90. Y. II, 270. — 94. M. VIII, 392; Y. II, 263. — 96, 97. M.VIII, 393. — 98-103. Y. II, 296. — 104. Y. II, 234. — 106, 107. M. IX, 282. — 108. Y. II, 223. — 110. Y. II, 224. — 111. Y. II, 236. — 113. M.VIII, 389; Y. II, 237. — 115-123. Y. II, 232, 235, 236, 239-241. — 124-126. Y. II, 246, 250. — 127. Y. II, 254. — 128. Colebrooke, Dig. III, 3, XXII. — 129. Y. II, 255. — 130. M.VIII, 399; Y. II, 261. — 131. Y. II, 263. — 132. M.VIII, 407. — 134, 135. Y. II, 202. — 136. M. IX, 277; Y. II, 274. — 137, 138. M.VIII, 235; Y. II, 164. — 137-139. Colebrooke, Dig. III, 4, XIV. — 140. Y. II, 159. — 141. Gaut. XII, 19. — 142-145. Y. II, 159, 160. — 142-144. Gaut. XII, 22-25. — 140-146. Colebrooke, Dig. III, 4, XLV, 4. — 146. M.VIII, 241; Y. II, 161; Gaut. XII, 19. — 147, 148. M.VIII, 238, 240; Y. II, 162; Gaut. XII, 21. — 147-149. Colebrooke, Dig. III, 4, XXI. — 150. M. VIII, 242; Y. II, 163. — 151. M.VIII, 412; Y. II, 183; Colebrooke, Dig. III, 1, LVIII. — 152. Y. II, 183. — 153, 154. M.VIII, 215; Y. II, 193; Âpast. II, 11, 28, 2, 3. — 153-159. Colebrooke, Dig. III, 1, LXXX. — 155, 156. Y. II, 197. — 160. M. IX, 71; Y. I, 65. — 162. M. IX, 72; Y. I, 66. — 163. M.VIII, 389. — 162, 163. Colebrooke, Dig. IV, 1, LX. — 164, 165. M.VIII, 202; Y. II, 170. — 166. Y. II, 168. — 167, 168. Y. II, 187. — 169-171. M.VIII, 191. — 172. M. IX, 291; Y. II, 155. — 174. M. IX, 285; Y. II, 297. — 175-177. M. IX, 284; Y. II, 242. — 178. Y. II, 232. — 179. M. VIII, 123; Y. II, 81; Âpast. II, 11, 29, 8; Gaut. XIII, 23. — 180. Y. I, 338. — 183. Colebrooke, Dig. I, 3, CXXX. — 189. M. VIII, 350. — 190. M.VIII, 351. — 194. M.VIII, 126; Y. I, 367. — 195. M.VIII, 128; Y. II, 243, 305.

1. The crimes by the commission of which a man becomes a Mahâpatakin, 'mortal sinner,' will be enumerated below, XXXV.

2. The use of the particle *kā* implies, according to Nand. and a passage of Yama quoted by him, that, besides branding him, the criminal should be shorn, his deed publicly proclaimed, and himself mounted upon an ass and led about the town.

4. For murdering another Brâhmaṇa, let (the figure of) a headless corpse be impressed on his forehead;

5. For drinking spirits, the flag of a seller of spirituous liquor;

6. For stealing (gold), a dog's foot;

7. For incest, (the mark of) a female part.

8. If he has committed any other capital crime, he shall be banished, taking with him all his property, and unhurt.

9. Let the king put to death those who forge royal edicts;

10. And those who forge (private) documents;

11. Likewise poisoners, incendiaries, robbers, and killers of women, children, or men;

12. And such as steal more than ten Kumbhas of grain,

13. Or more than a hundred Mâshas of such things as are usually sold by weight (such as gold and silver);

14. Such also as aspire to sovereignty, though being of low birth;

15. Breakers of dikes;

10. The use of the particle *ka* indicates that this rule includes those who corrupt the king's ministers, as stated by Manu, IX, 232. (Nand.)

11. Nand. infers from the use of the particle *ka*, and from a passage of Kâtâyâna, that false witnesses are also intended here.

12. Nand. here refers *ka* to women who have committed a capital offence, as mentioned by Yâgñavalkya (II, 278). A Kumbha is a measure of grain equal to twenty Droṇas, or a little more than three bushels and three gallons. Nand. mentions, as the opinion of some, that 1 Kumbha = 2 Droṇas. For other computations of the amount of a Kumbha, see Colebrooke's Essays, I, 533 seq.

13. Regarding the value of a Mâsha, see IV, 7, 11.

15. Nand. infers from the use of the particle *ka* and from a

16. And such as give shelter and food to robbers,
 17. Unless the king be unable (to protect his subjects against robbers);

18. And a woman who violates the duty which she owes to her lord, the latter being unable to restrain her.

19. With whatever limb an inferior insults or hurts his superior in caste, of that limb the king shall cause him to be deprived.

20. If he places himself on the same seat with his superior, he shall be banished with a mark on his buttocks.

21. If he spits on him, he shall lose both lips;

22. If he breaks wind against him, his hindparts;

23. If he uses abusive language, his tongue.

24. If a (low-born) man through pride give instruction (to a member of the highest caste) concerning his duty, let the king order hot oil to be dropped into his mouth.

25. If a (low-born man) mentions the name or caste of a superior revilingly, an iron pin, ten inches long, shall be thrust into his mouth (red hot).

26. He who falsely denies the sacred knowledge, the country, or the caste (of such), or who says

passage of Manu (IX, 280), that robbers who forcibly enter the king's treasury, or the arsenal, or a temple, are likewise intended here.

17. In the case to which this Sûtra refers, the villagers may satisfy the demands of the robbers with impunity, as they are obliged to do so out of regard for their own safety. (Nand.)

20. The particle *ka* indicates here that if he urines against a superior his organ shall be cut off. (Nand.) See M. VIII, 282.

26. This Sûtra has been rendered in accordance with Kullûka's gloss on M. VIII, 273, Nand.'s interpretation of it being palpably wrong.

that his religious duties have not been fulfilled by (or that the initiatory and other sacramental rites have not been performed for) him, shall be fined two hundred *Panas*.

27. If a man is blind with one eye, or lame, or defective in any similar way, and another calls him so, he shall be fined two *Kârshâpanas*, though he speaks the truth.

28. He shall be fined a hundred *Kârshâpanas* for defaming a Guru.

29. He shall pay the highest amercement for imputing to another (a great crime) entailing loss of caste;

30. The second amercement for (imputing to another) a minor offence (such as the slaughter of a cow);

31. The same for reviling a *Brâhmaṇa* versed in the three Vedas, or an old man, or a (whole) caste or corporation (of judges or others);

32. For reviling a village or district, the lowest amercement;

33. For using insulting language (such as 'I shall visit your sister,' or 'I shall visit your daughter'), a hundred *Kârshâpanas*;

34. For insulting a man by using bad language regarding his mother (such as 'I shall visit your mother' or the like speeches), the highest amercement.

35. For abusing a man of his own caste, he shall be fined twelve *Panas*.

36. For abusing a man of a lower caste, he shall be fined six (*Panas*).

32. Nand. infers from the use of the particle *ka* that 'a family' is also intended here.

37. For insulting a member of the highest caste or of his own caste (he having been insulted by him) at the same time, the same fine is ordained ;

38. Or (if he only returns his insult, a fine amounting to) three Kârshâpanas.

39. The same (punishment is ordained) if he calls him bad names.

40. An adulterer shall be made to pay the highest amercement if he has had connection with a woman of his own caste ;

41. For adultery with women of a lower caste, the second amercement ;

42. The same (fine is ordained) for a bestial crime committed with a cow.

43. He who has had connection with a woman of one of the lowest castes, shall be put to death.

44. For a bestial crime committed with cattle (other than cows) he shall be fined a hundred Kârshâpanas.

45. (The same fine is ordained) for giving a (blemished) damsel in marriage, without indicating her blemish (whether the bride be sick, or no longer a maid, or otherwise faulty) ;

46. And he shall have to support her.

47. He who says of an unblemished damsel, that she has a blemish (shall pay) the highest amercement.

48. For killing an elephant, or a horse, or a camel, or a cow, (the criminal) shall have one hand, or one foot, lopped off.

43. The lowest castes (antyâh), according to Âṅgiras, are the following seven, *Kandâlas*, *Svapâkas*, *Kshattris*, *Sûtas*, *Vaidehakas*, *Mâgadhas*, and *Âyogavas*.

49. A seller of forbidden meat (such as pork, shall be punished in the same way).

50. He who kills domestic animals, shall pay a hundred Kârshâpanas.

51. He shall make good their value to the owner of those animals.

52. He who kills wild animals, shall pay five hundred Kârshâpanas.

53. A killer of birds, or of fish, (shall pay) ten Kârshâpanas.

54. A killer of insects shall pay one Kârshâpana.

55. A feller of trees yielding fruit (shall pay) the highest amercement.

56. A feller of trees yielding blossoms only (shall pay) the second amercement.

57. He who cuts creepers, shrubs, or climbing plants (shall pay) a hundred Kârshâpanas.

58. He who cuts grass (shall pay) one Kârshâpana.

59. And all such offenders (shall make good) to the owners (of the trees or plants cut down by them) the revenue which they yield.

60. If any man raises his hand (against his equal in caste, with intent to strike him, he shall pay) ten Kârshâpanas ;

61. If he raises his foot, twenty ;

62. If he raises a piece of wood, the first amercement ;

63. If he raises a stone, the second amercement ;

64. If he raises a weapon, the highest amercement.

65. If he seizes him by his feet, by his hair, by

53. Nand. infers from a passage of Kâtyâyana that the particle *ka* is used here in order to include serpents.

his garment, or by his hand, he shall pay ten *Panas* as a fine.

66. If he causes pain to him, without fetching blood from him, (he shall pay) thirty-two *Panas* ;

67. For fetching blood from him, sixty-four.

68. For mutilating or injuring a hand, or a foot, or a tooth, and for slitting an ear, or the nose, the second amercement (is ordained).

69. For rendering a man unable to move about, or to eat, or to speak, or for striking him (violently, the same punishment is ordained).

70. For wounding or breaking an eye, or the neck, or an arm, or a bone, or a shoulder, the highest amercement (is ordained).

71. For striking out both eyes of a man, the king shall (confine him and) not dismiss him from jail as long as he lives ;

72. Or he shall order him to be mutilated in the same way (i. e. deprived of his eyes).

73. Where one is attacked by many, the punishment for each shall be the double of that which has been ordained for (attacks by) a single person.

74. (The double punishment is) likewise (ordained) for those who do not give assistance to one calling for help, though they happen to be on the spot, or (who run away) after having approached it.

75. All those who have hurt a man, shall pay the expense of his cure.

76. Those who have hurt a domestic animal (shall also pay the expense of his cure).

77. He who has stolen a cow, or a horse, or a camel, or an elephant, shall have one hand, or one foot, cut off ;

78. He who has stolen a goat, or a sheep, (shall have) one hand (cut off).

79. He who steals grain (of those sorts which grow in the rainy season), shall pay eleven times its value as a fine ;

80. Likewise, he who steals grain (of those sorts, which grow in winter and spring, such as rice and barley).

81. A stealer of gold, silver, or clothes, at a value of more than fifty Mâshas, shall lose both hands.

82. He who steals a less amount than that, shall pay eleven times its value as a fine.

83. A stealer of thread, cotton, cow-dung, sugar, sour milk, milk, butter-milk, grass, salt, clay, ashes, birds, fish, clarified butter, oil, meat, honey, basket-work, canes of bamboo, earthenware, or iron pots, shall pay three times their value as a fine.

84. (The same fine is ordained for stealing) dressed food.

85. For stealing flowers, green (grain), shrubs, creepers, climbing plants or leaves, (he shall pay) five *Krishṇālas*.

86. For stealing pot-herbs, roots, or fruits (the same punishment is ordained).

87. He who steals gems, (shall pay) the highest amercement.

88. He who steals anything not mentioned above, (shall make good) its value (to the owner).

89. Thieves shall be compelled to restore all stolen goods to the owners.

90. After that, they shall suffer the punishment that has been ordained for them.

91. He who does not make way for one for

whom way ought to be made, shall be fined twenty-five Kârshâpanas.

92. (The same fine is ordained) for omitting to offer a seat to (a guest or others) to whom it ought to be offered.

93. For neglecting to worship such as have a claim to be worshipped, (the same fine is ordained);

94. Likewise, for neglecting to invite (at a Srâdha) a Brâhmaṇa, one's neighbour;

95. And for offering him no food, after having invited him.

96. He who does not eat, though he has received and accepted an invitation, shall give a gold Mâshaka as a fine;

97. And the double amount of food to his host.

98. He who insults a Brâhmaṇa by offering him uneatable food (such as excrements and the like, or forbidden food, such as garlic, must pay) sixteen Suvarṇas (as a fine).

99. (If he insults him by offering him) such food as would cause him to be degraded (were he to taste it, he must pay) a hundred Suvarṇas.

100. (If he offers him) spirituous liquor, he shall be put to death.

101. If he insults a Kshatriya (in the same way), he shall have to pay half of the above amercement;

102. If he insults a Vaisya, half of that again;

103. If he insults a Sûdra, the first amercement.

104. If one who (being a member of the *Kandâla* or some other low caste) must not be touched, inten-

93. Those persons 'have a claim to be worshipped' who are worthy to receive the Madhuparka or honey-mixture. (Nand.) See M. III, 119, 120; Y. I, 110; Âpast. II, 4, 8, 5-9; Gaut. V, 27; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 125.

tionally defiles by his touch one who (as a member of a twice-born caste) may be touched (by other twice-born persons only), he shall be put to death.

105. If a woman in her courses (touches such a person), she shall be lashed with a whip.

106. If one defiles the highway, or a garden, or the water (by voiding excrements) near them (or in any other way), he shall be fined a hundred *Paṇas*;

107. And he must remove the filth.

108. If he demolishes a house, or a piece of ground (a court-yard or the like), or a wall or the like, he shall have to pay the second amercement;

109. And he shall have it repaired (at his own cost).

110. If he throws into another man's house (thorns, spells, or other) such things as might hurt some one, he shall pay a hundred *Paṇas*.

111. (The same punishment is ordained) for falsely denying the possession of common property;

112. And for not delivering what has been sent (for a god or for a *Brāhmaṇa*).

113. (The same punishment is) also (ordained) for father and son, teacher (and pupil), sacrificer and officiating priest, if one should forsake the other, provided that he has not been expelled from caste.

114. And he must return to them (to the parents and the rest).

115. (The same punishment is) also (ordained) for hospitably entertaining a *Sūdra* or religious ascetic at an oblation to the gods or to the manes;

116. And for following an unlawful occupation

115. According to Nand., the particle *ka* indicates here, that the same punishment is ordained for him who visits a widow by his own accord, as mentioned by *Yāgyavalkya* (II, 234).

(such as studying the Vedas without having been initiated);

117. And for breaking open a house on which (the king's) seal is laid;

118. And for making an oath without having been asked to do so (by the king or a judge);

119. And for depriving cattle of their virility.

120. The fine for the witnesses in a dispute between father and son shall be ten *Panas*.

121. For him who acts as surety for either of the two parties in such a contest, the highest amercement (is ordained).

122. (The same punishment is ordained) for forging a balance, or a measure;

123. Also, for pronouncing them incorrect, although they are correct.

124. (The same punishment is) also (ordained) for selling adulterated commodities;

125. And for a company of merchants who prevent the sale of a commodity (which happens to be abroad) by selling it under its price.

126. (The same punishment is ordained) for those (members of such a company) who sell (an article belonging to the whole company for more than it is worth) on their own account.

127. He who does not deliver to the purchaser a commodity (sold), after its price has been paid to him, shall be compelled to deliver it to him with interest;

117. Nand. considers the particle *ka* to imply that the exchange of sealed goods for others shall be punished in the same way. But this assertion rests upon a false reading (*samudraparivarta* for *samudgaparivarta*) of Y. II, 247, which passage Nand. quotes in support of his view.

128. And he shall be fined a hundred *Panas* by the king.

129. If there should be a loss upon a commodity purchased, which the purchaser refuses to accept (though it has been tendered to him), the loss shall fall upon the purchaser.

130. He who sells a commodity on which the king has laid an embargo, shall have it confiscated.

131. A ferry-man who takes a toll payable (for commodities conveyed) by land shall be fined ten *Panas*.

132. Likewise, a ferry-man, or an official at a toll-office, who takes a fare or toll from a student, or *Vânaprastha* (hermit), or a *Bhikshu* (ascetic or religious mendicant), or a pregnant woman, or one about to visit a place of pilgrimage;

133. And he shall restore it to them.

134. Those who use false dice in gaming shall lose one hand.

135. Those who resort to (other) fraudulent practices in gaming shall lose two fingers (the thumb and the index).

136. Cutpurses shall lose one hand.

137. Cattle being attacked, during day-time, by wolves or other ferocious animals, and the keeper not going (to repel the attack), the blame shall fall upon him;

138. And he shall make good to the owner the value of the cattle that has perished.

139. If he milks a cow without permission, (he shall pay) twenty-five *Kârshâpanas* (as a fine).

131. The toll mentioned here is the duty on marketable commodities mentioned above, III, 29, 30. (Nand.)

140. If a female buffalo damages grain, her keeper shall be fined eight Mâshas.

141. If she has been without a keeper, her owner (shall pay that fine).

142. (For mischief done by) a horse, or a camel, or an ass (the fine shall be the same).

143. (For damage done by) a cow, it shall be half.

144. (For damage done by) a goat, or a sheep, (it shall be) half of that again.

145. For cattle abiding (in the field), after having eaten (grain), the fine shall be double.

146. And in every case the owner (of the field) shall receive the value of the grain that has been destroyed.

147. There is no offence if the damage has been done near a highway, near a village, or (in a field adjacent to) the common pasture-ground for cattle ;

148. Or (if it has been done) in an uninclosed field ;

149. Or if the cattle did not abide long ;

150. Or if the damage has been done by bulls that have been set at liberty, or by a cow shortly after her calving.

151. He who commits members of the highest (or Brâhmaṇa) caste to slavery, shall pay the highest amercement.

152. An apostate from religious mendicity shall become the king's slave.

153. A hired workman who abandons his work before the term has expired shall pay the whole amount (of the stipulated wages) to his employer ;

154. And he shall pay a hundred Paṇas to the king.

155. What has been destroyed through his want of care, (he must make good) to the owner ;

156. Unless the damage have been caused by an accident.

157. If an employer dismisses a workman (whom he has hired) before the expiration of the term, he shall pay him his entire wages ;

158. And (he shall pay) a hundred *Panas* to the king ;

159. Unless the workman have been at fault.

160. He who, having promised his daughter to one suitor, gives her in marriage to another, shall be punished as a thief ;

161. Unless the (first) suitor have a blemish.

162. The same (punishment is ordained for a suitor) who abandons a faultless girl ;

163. (And for a husband who forsakes) a (blameless) wife.

164. He who buys unawares in open market the property of another man (from one not authorised to sell it) is not to blame ;

165. (But) the owner shall recover his property.

166. If he has bought it in secret and under its price, the purchaser and the vendor shall be punished as thieves.

167. He who embezzles goods belonging to a corporation (of *Brâhmaṇas*, and which have been sent to them by the king or by private persons), shall be banished.

168. He who violates their established rule (shall) also (be banished).

169. He who retains a deposit shall restore the commodity deposited to the owner, with interest.

170. The king shall punish him as a thief.

171. (The same punishment is ordained for him) who claims as a deposit what he never deposited.

172. A destroyer of landmarks shall be compelled to pay the highest amercement and to mark the boundary anew with landmarks.

173. He who (knowingly) eats forbidden food effecting loss of caste shall be banished.

174. He who sells forbidden food (such as spirituous liquor and the like), or food which must not be sold, and he who breaks an image of a deity, shall pay the highest amercement ;

175. Also, a physician who adopts a wrong method of cure in the case of a patient of high rank (such as a relative of the king's) ;

176. The second amercement in the case of another patient ;

177. The lowest amercement in the case of an animal.

178. He who does not give what he has promised, shall be compelled to give it and to pay the first amercement.

179. To a false witness his entire property shall be confiscated.

180. (The same punishment is ordained) for a judge who lives by bribes.

181. He who has mortgaged more than a bull's hide of land to one creditor, and without having redeemed it mortgages it to another, shall be corporally punished (by whipping or imprisonment).

171. According to Nand., the particle *kā* indicates that those who state the nature or amount of a deposit wrongly are also intended here.

173. Thus according to Nand., who says expressly that the causative form cannot here mean causing to eat, because the punishment for the latter offence has been mentioned in Sūtra 98.-

182. If the quantity be less, he shall pay a fine of sixteen *Suvarnas*.

183. That land, whether little or much, on the produce of which one man can subsist for a year, is called the quantity of a bull's hide.

184. If a dispute should arise between two (creditors) concerning (a field or other immovable property) which has been mortgaged to both at the same time, that mortgagee shall enjoy its produce who holds it in his possession, without having obtained it by force.

185. What has been possessed in order and with a legitimate title (such as purchase, donation, and the like), the possessor may keep; it can never be taken from him.

186. Where (land or other) property has been held in legitimate possession by the father (or grandfather), the son's right to it, after his death, cannot be contested; for it has become his own by force of possession.

187. If possession has been held of an estate by three (successive) generations in due course, the fourth in descent shall keep it as his property, even without a written title.

188. He who kills (in his own defence a tiger or other) animal with sharp nails and claws, or a (goat or other) horned animal (excepting cows), or a (boar or other) animal with sharp teeth, or an assassin, or an elephant, or a horse, or any other (ferocious animal by whom he has been attacked), commits no crime.

189. Any one may unhesitatingly slay a man who attacks him with intent to murder him, whether his spiritual teacher, young or old, or a *Brāhmaṇa*,

or even (a Brâhmana) versed in many branches of sacred knowledge.

190. By killing an assassin who attempts to kill, whether in public or in private, no crime is committed by the slayer : fury recoils upon fury.

191. Assassins should be known to be of seven kinds : such as try to kill with the sword, or with poison, or with fire, such as raise their hand in order to pronounce a curse, such as recite a deadly incantation from the Atharva-veda, such as raise a false accusation which reaches the ears of the king,

192. And such as have illicit intercourse with another man's wife. The same designation is given to other (evil-doers) who deprive others of their worldly fame or of their wealth, or who destroy religious merit (by ruining pools, or other such acts), or property (such as houses or fields).

193. Thus I have declared to thee fully, O Earth, the criminal laws, enumerating at full length the punishments ordained for all sorts of offences.

194. Let the king dictate due punishments for other offences also, after having ascertained the class and the age (of the criminal) and the amount (of the damage done or sum claimed), and after having consulted the Brâhmaṇas (his advisers).

195. That detestable judge who dismisses without punishment such as deserve it, and punishes such as deserve it not, shall incur twice as heavy a penalty as the criminal himself.

196. A king in whose dominion there exists neither thief, nor adulterer, nor calumniator, nor robber, nor murderer, attains the world of Indra.

VI.

1. A creditor shall receive his principal back from his debtor exactly as he had lent it to him.

2. (As regards the interest to be paid), he shall take in the direct order of the castes two, three, four, or five in the hundred by the month (if no pledge has been given).

3. Or let debtors of any caste pay as much interest as has been promised by themselves.

4. After the lapse of one year let them pay interest according to the above rule, even though it have not been agreed on.

5. By the use of a pledge (to be kept only) interest is forfeited.

VI. 2. M. VIII, 142; Y. II, 37. — 1, 2. Colebrooke, Dig. I, 2, XXXI. — 3. M. VIII, 157; Y. II, 38. — 4. Colebrooke, Dig. I, 2, LII. — 5. M. VIII, 143; Y. II, 59; Gaut. XII, 32; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 2, LXXVIII. — 6. Y. II, 59; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 3, LXXXII. — 7. M. VIII, 151; Gaut. XII, 31; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 3, CX. — 8. Colebrooke loc. cit. — 9. Colebrooke, Dig. I, 3, CVII. — 10. Y. II, 44; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 2, LXXVII. — 11-15. M. VIII, 151; Y. II, 39; Gaut. XII, 36; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 2, LXIV. — 16, 17. Colebrooke, Dig. I, 2, LXX. — 18, 19. M. VIII, 50, 176; Y. II, 40; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 6, CCLII. — 20, 21. M. VIII, 139; Y. II, 42; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 6, CCLXXVII. — 22. Y. II, 20. — 24, 25. Y. II, 94; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 6, CCLXXXIII. — 26. Y. II, 93; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 6, CCLXXXVI. — 27. Y. II, 50; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 5, CLXVIII. — 28. Colebrooke, Dig. I, 5, CLXVIII. — 29. Gaut. XII, 40. — 29, 30. Y. II, 51; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 5, CCXX. — 31-33. Y. II, 46; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 5, CCVIII. — 34-36. M. VIII, 166; Y. II, 45. — 38, 39. M. VIII, 166, 167; Y. II, 45; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 5, CXCI. — 41. M. VIII, 158, 160; Y. II, 53; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 4, CXLIV. — 42, 43. Y. II, 55, 56; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 4, CLVI, CLXI.

1, 2. Colebrooke loc. cit. seems to have translated a different reading.

6. The creditor must make good the loss of a pledge, unless it was caused by fate or by the king.

7. (The pledge must) also (be restored to the debtor) when the interest has reached its maximum amount (on becoming equal to the principal, and has all been paid).

8. But he must not restore an immovable pledge without special agreement (till the principal itself has been paid).

9. That immovable property which has been delivered, restorable when the sum borrowed is made good, (the creditor) must restore when the sum borrowed has been made good.

10. Property lent bears no further interest after it has been tendered, but refused by the creditor.

11. On gold the interest shall rise no higher than to make the debt double;

12. On grain, (no higher than to make it) three-fold;

13. On cloth, (no higher than to make it) four-fold;

14. On liquids, (no higher than to make it) eight-fold;

15. Of female slaves and cattle, the offspring (shall be taken as interest).

16. On substances from which spirituous liquor

7. Colebrooke loc. cit. connects this Sûtra with the next. My rendering rests on Nand.'s interpretation.

8. Nand. cites as an instance of an agreement of this kind one made in the following form, 'You shall have the enjoyment of this or that mango grove as long as interest on the principal lent to me has not ceased to accrue.'

is extracted, on cotton, thread, leather, weapons, bricks, and charcoal, the interest is unlimited.

17. On such objects as have not been mentioned it may be double.

18. A creditor recovering the sum lent by any (lawful) means shall not be reproved by the king.

19. If the debtor, so forced to discharge the debt, complains to the king, he shall be fined in an equal sum.

20. If a creditor sues before the king and fully proves his demand, the debtor shall pay as a fine to the king a tenth part of the sum proved ;

21. And the creditor, having received the sum due, shall pay a twentieth part of it.

22. If the whole demand has been contested by the debtor, and even a part of it only has been proved against him, he must pay the whole.

23. There are three means of proof in case of a demand having been contested, viz. a writing, witnesses, and proof by ordeal.

24. A debt contracted before witnesses should be discharged in the presence of witnesses.

25. A written contract having been fulfilled, the writing should be torn.

26. Part only being paid, and the writing not being at hand, let the creditor give an acquittance.

27. If he who contracted the debt should die, or

17. Nand. infers from a passage of Kâtyâyana that this rule refers to gems, pearls, coral, gold, silver, cotton, silk, and wool.

18. The 'lawful means' are mediation of friends and the four other modes of compelling payment of an unliquidated demand. (Nand.) See M. VIII, 49.

22. 'The particle *api* indicates that he must pay a fine to the king besides, as ordained by Yâgñavalkya II, 11.' (Nand.)

become a religious ascetic, or remain abroad for twenty years, that debt shall be discharged by his sons or grandsons ;

28. But not by remoter descendants against their will.

29. He who takes the assets of a man, leaving or not leaving male issue, must pay the sum due (by him) ;

30. And (so must) he who has the care of the widow left by one who had no assets.

31. A woman (shall) not (be compelled to pay) the debt of her husband or son ;

32. Nor the husband or son (to pay) the debt of a woman (who is his wife or mother) ;

33. Nor a father to pay the debt of his son.

34. A debt contracted by parceners shall be paid by any one of them who is present.

35. And so shall the debt of the father (be paid) by (any one of) the brothers (or of their sons) before partition.

36. But after partition they shall severally pay according to their shares of the inheritance.

37. A debt contracted by the wife of a herdsman, distiller of spirits, public dancer, washer, or hunter shall be discharged by the husband (because he is supported by his wife).

38. (A debt of which payment has been previously) promised must be paid by the householder ;

39. And (so must he pay that debt) which was

38, 39. Regarding these two Sûtras see Jolly, *Indisches Schuldrecht*, in the *Transactions of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences*, 1877, p. 309, note.

contracted by any person for the behoof of the family.

40. He who on receiving the whole amount of a loan, promises to repay the principal on the following day (or some other date near at hand), but from covetousness does not repay it, shall give interest for it.

41. Suretiship is ordained for appearance, for honesty, and for payment; the first two (sureties, and not their sons), must pay the debt on failure of their engagements, but even the sons of the last (may be compelled to pay it).

42. When there are several sureties (jointly bound), they shall pay their proportionate shares of the debt; but when they are bound severally, the payment shall be made (by any of them), as the creditor pleases.

43. If the surety, being harassed by the creditor, discharges the debt, the debtor shall pay twice as much to the surety.

VII.

1. Documents are of three kinds:

2. Attested by the king, or by (other) witnesses, or unattested.

3. A document is (said to be) attested by the king when it has been executed (in a court of judicature), on the king ordering it, by a scribe, his

42. In the first case the agreement is made in the following form, 'I shall pay so and so much to you, in the way agreed on.' In the second case the sum is not divided between the sureties, and each of them liable for the whole debt therefore. (Nand.)

VII. 4. Y. II, 84-88. — 5-7. Y. II, 89. — 6. M.VIII, 168. — 12. Y. II, 92.

servant, and has been signed by his chief judge, with his own hand.

4. It is (said to be) attested by witnesses when, having been written anywhere, and by any one, it is signed by witnesses in their own hands.

5. It is (said to be) unattested when it has been written (by the party himself) with his own hand.

6. Such a document, if it has been caused to be written by force, makes no evidence.

7. Neither does any fraudulent document (make evidence);

8. Nor a document (which), though attested, (is vitiated) by the signature of a witness bribed (by one party) or of bad character;

9. Nor one written by a scribe of the same description;

10. Nor one executed by a woman, or a child, or a dependant person, or one intoxicated or insane, or one in danger or in bodily fear.

11. (That instrument is termed) proof which is not adverse to peculiar local usages, which defines clearly the nature of the pledge given¹, and is free from confusion in the arrangement of the subject matter and (in the succession of) the syllables.

12. If the authenticity of a document is contested, it should be ascertained by (comparing with it other)

7. According to Nand., the particle *ka* is used here in order to include documents that have been executed by a person intoxicated, by one under duress, by a female, by a child, by force, and by intimidation (see Nārada IV, 61). Most of these categories are, however, mentioned in Sūtra 10.

11. ¹ I have translated the reading *vyaktādhividhilakṣaṇam*, which, though not occurring in the text of any MS., is mentioned by Nand., and is found in an identical passage of the Institutes of Nārada (see Nārada IV, 60, and Appendix, p. 123).

letters or signs (such as the flourish denoting the word *Srī* and the like) or documents executed by the same man, by (enquiring into) the probabilities of the case, and by (finding out such writings as show) a mode of writing similar (to that contained in the disputed document).

13. Should the debtor, or creditor, or witness, or scribe be dead, the authenticity of the document has to be ascertained by (comparing with it other) specimens of their handwriting.

VIII.

1. Now follow (the laws regarding) witnesses.

2. The king cannot be (made a witness); nor a learned *Brâhmaṇa*; nor an ascetic; nor a gamester; nor a thief; nor a person not his own master; nor a woman; nor a child; nor a perpetrator of the acts called *sâhasa*¹ (violence); nor one over-aged (or more than eighty years old); nor one intoxicated or insane; nor a man of bad fame; nor an outcast;

VIII. 2, 3, 5. M.VIII, 64-67; Y. II, 70, 71. — 4, 5. Gaut. XIII, 5. — 6. M.VIII, 72; Y. II, 72; Gaut. XIII, 9. — 8. M. VIII, 62, 63; Y. II, 68, 69; Âpast. II, 11, 29, 7; Gaut. XIII, 2. — 9. M.VIII, 77; Y. II, 72. — 10, 11. Y. II, 17. — 14. M.VIII, 81; Âpast. II, 11, 29, 10; Gaut. XIII, 7. — 15, 16. M.VIII, 104-106; Y. II, 83. — 15. Gaut. XIII, 24. — 18. M. VIII, 25, 26; Y. II, 13-15. — 19. M.VIII, 87; Y. II, 73; Âpast. II, 11, 29, 7; Gaut. XIII, 12. — 20-23. M.VIII, 88. — 24-26. M.VIII, 89, 90; Y. II, 73-75. — 37. M.VIII, 107; Y. II, 77; Gaut. XIII, 6. — 38. Y. II, 79. — 39. M.VIII, 73; Y. II, 78. — 40. M.VIII, 117.

2. ¹ There are three kinds of *sâhasa*. (Nand.) They are, in the enumeration of *Nârada*, 1. spoiling fruits or the like; 2. injuring more valuable articles; 3. offences directed against the life of a human being, and approaching another man's wife. See *Nârada* XIV, 4-6.

nor one tormented by hunger or thirst; nor one oppressed by a (sudden) calamity (such as the death of his father or the like), or wholly absorbed in evil passions;

3. Nor an enemy or a friend; nor one interested in the subject matter; nor one who does forbidden acts; nor one formerly perjured; nor an attendant;

4. Nor one who, without having been appointed, comes and offers his evidence;

5. Nor can one man alone be made a witness.

6. In cases of theft, of violence, of abuse and assault, and of adultery the competence of witnesses must not be examined too strictly.

7. Now (those who are fit to be) witnesses (shall be enumerated):

8. Descendants of a noble race, who are virtuous and wealthy, sacrificers, zealous in the practice of religious austerities, having male issue, well versed in the holy law, studious, veracious, acquainted with the three Vedas, and aged (shall be witnesses).

9. If he is endowed with the qualities just mentioned, one man alone can also be made a witness.

10. In a dispute between two litigants, the witnesses of that party have to be examined from which the plaint has proceeded.

11. Where the claim has been refuted as not agreeing with the facts (as e. g. the sum claimed

5. According to Nand., who argues from a passage of Nārada (5, 37), the use of the particle *ka* implies here, that two witnesses are also not sufficient. But the MSS. of Nārada exhibit a different reading of the passage in question, which reading is supported by the *Vīramitrodaya*.

8. The particle *ka* is used here, according to Nand., who argues from a passage of Yāgyavalkya (II, 68), in order to include liberality among the qualities required in a witness.

having been repaid by the debtor), there the witnesses of the defendant have to be examined as well.

12. An appointed witness having died or gone abroad, those who have heard his deposition may give evidence.

13. (The evidence of) witnesses is (of two kinds): either of what was seen, or of what was heard.

14. Witnesses are free from blame if they give true evidence.

15. Whenever the death of a member of any of the four castes (would be occasioned by true evidence, they are free from blame) if they give false evidence.

16. In order to expiate the sin thus committed, (such a witness), if he belongs to a twice-born caste, must pour an oblation in the fire, consecrating it with the texts called *Kûshmândî*.

17. If he is a *Sûdra*, he must feed ten cows for one day.

18. A false witness may be known by his altered looks, by his countenance changing colour, and by his talk wandering from the subject.

19. Let the judge summon the witnesses, at the time of sunrise, and examine them after having bound them by an oath.

20. A *Brâhmaṇa* he must address thus, 'Declare.'

21. A *Kshatriya* he must address thus, 'Declare the truth.'

16. *Vâgasan. Samh.* XX, 14-16, or *Taitt. Ârany.* X, 3-5. Nand. considers the term *Kûshmândî* to be used in a general sense here, so as to include all the other texts mentioned in an analogous passage of *Manu* (VIII, 106).

22. A Vaisya he must address thus, 'Thy kine, grain, and gold (shall yield thee no fruit, if thou wert to give false evidence).'

23. A Sûdra he must address thus, 'Thou shalt have to atone for all (possible) heavy crimes (if thou wert to give false evidence).'

24. Let him exhort the witnesses (with the following speeches) :

25. 'Whatever places (of torture) await (the killer of a Brâhmana and other) great criminals and (the killer of a cow and other) minor offenders, those places of abode are ordained for a witness who gives false evidence ;

26. 'And the fruit of every virtuous act he has done, from the day of his birth to his dying day, shall be lost to him.

27. 'Truth makes the sun spread his rays.

28. 'Truth makes the moon shine.

29. 'Truth makes the wind blow.

30. 'Truth makes the earth bear (all that is upon it).

31. 'Truth makes waters flow.

32. 'Truth makes the fire burn.

33. 'The atmosphere exists through truth.

34. 'So do the gods.

35. 'And so do the offerings.

36. 'If veracity and a thousand horse-sacrifices

22, 23. Nand.'s interpretation of these two Sûtras, which has been followed above, does not agree with Kullûka's, of M. VIII, 88. But in another passage of Manu (VIII, 113), where the same terms recur, he interprets them like Nand.

36. This Sloka is also found in the Mahâbhârata I, 3095 &c., in the Mârkanḍeya-purâṇa VIII, 42, in the Hitopadeśa IV, 129, and, in a somewhat modified form, in the Râmâyana II, 61, 10. See Bôhtlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 731 &c.

are weighed against each other, (it is found that) truth ranks even higher than a thousand horse-sacrifices.

37. 'Those who, though acquainted with the facts, and appointed to give evidence, stand mute, are equally criminal with, and deserve the same punishment as, false witnesses.' (After having addressed them) thus, let the king examine the witnesses in the order of their castes.

38. That plaintiff whose statement the witnesses declare to be true, shall win his suit; but he whose statement they declare to be wrong, shall certainly lose it.

39. If there is contradictory evidence, let the king decide by the plurality of witnesses; if equality in number, by superiority in virtue; if parity in virtue, by the evidence of the best among the twice-born.

40. Whenever a perjured witness has given false evidence in a suit, (the king) must reverse the judgment; and whatever has been done, must be considered as undone.

IX.

1. Now follows (the rule regarding) the performance of ordeals.

39. Nand. takes the term *dvigottama*, 'the best among the twice-born,' as an equivalent for '*Brāhmaṇas*.' Kullūka (on M. VIII, 73) refers it to 'twice-born men, who are particularly active in the discharge of their religious duties.'

IX. 2. Y. II, 96, 99. — 11. M. VIII, 114, 115; Y. II, 95. — 20-22. Y. II, 95, 96, 99. — 23. Y. II, 98. — 33. Y. II, 97. The whole section on ordeals (IX-XIV) agrees very closely with the corresponding section of the Institutes of Nārada (5, 107-9, 8).

2. In cases of a criminal action directed against the king, or of violence¹ (they may be administered) indiscriminately.

3. In cases of (denial of) a deposit or of (alleged) theft or robbery they must be administered each according to the value (of the property claimed).

4. In all such cases the value (of the object claimed) must be estimated in gold.

5. Now if its value amounts to less than one *Krishnala*, a *Sûdra* must be made to swear by a blade of *Dûrvâ* grass, (which he must hold in his hand);

6. If it amounts to less than two *Krishnalas*, by a blade of *Tila*;

7. If it amounts to less than three *Krishnalas*, by a blade of silver;

8. If it amounts to less than four *Krishnalas*, by a blade of gold;

9. If it amounts to less than five *Krishnalas*, by a lump of earth taken from a furrow;

10. If it amounts to less than half a *Suvarna*, a *Sûdra* must be made to undergo the ordeal by sacred libation;

11. If it exceeds that amount, (the judge must administer to him) any one of the (other) ordeals, viz. the ordeal by the balance, by fire, by water, or by poison, considering duly (the season, &c.)

12. If the amount (of the matter in contest) is twice as high (as in each of the last-mentioned cases), a *Vaisya* must (in each case) undergo that ordeal which has (just) been ordained (for a *Sûdra*);

13. A *Kshatriya* (must undergo the same ordeals), if the amount is thrice as high;

2. ¹ See VIII, 2, note.

14. A Brâhmaṇa, if it is four times as high. He is, however, not subject to the ordeal by sacred libation.

15. No judge must administer the (ordeal by) sacred libation to a Brâhmaṇa ;

16. Except if it be done as a preliminary proof of his dealing fairly in some future transaction.

17. Instead of (administering the ordeal by) sacred libation to a Brâhmaṇa (in suits regarding an object, the value of which amounts to less than two Suvarṇas), let the judge cause him to swear by a lump of earth taken from a furrow.

18. To one formerly convicted of a crime (or of perjury) he must administer one of the ordeals, even though the matter in contest be ever so trifling.

19. But to one who is known (and esteemed) among honest men and virtuous, he must not (administer any ordeal), even though the matter in contest be ever so important.

20. The claimant must declare his willingness to pay the fine (which is due in case of his being defeated);

21. And the defendant must go through the ordeal.

22. In cases of a criminal action directed against the king, or of violence (an ordeal may be administered) even without (the claimant) promising to pay the fine (due in case of defeat in ordinary suits).

23. To women, Brâhmaṇas, persons deficient in an organ of sense, infirm (old) men, and sick persons, the (ordeal by the) balance must be administered.

24. But it must not be administered to them while a wind is blowing.

25. The (ordeal by) fire must not be administered to lepers, to infirm persons, or to blacksmiths;

26. Nor must it ever be administered in autumn or summer.

27. The (ordeal by) poison must not be administered to lepers, bilious persons, or Brāhmaṇas;

28. Nor during the rainy season.

29. The (ordeal by) water must not be administered to persons afflicted with phlegm or (another) illness, to the timid, to the asthmatic, nor to those who gain their subsistence from water (such as fishermen and the like);

30. Nor during (the two cold seasons) Hemanta and Sisira (or from middle of November to middle of March);

31. The (ordeal by) sacred libation must not be administered to atheists;

32. Nor when the country is afflicted with disease or pestilence.

33. Let the judge summon the defendant at the time of sunrise, after having fasted on the previous day and bathed in his clothes, and make him go through all the ordeals in the presence of (images of) the gods and of the (assessors and other) Brāhmaṇas.

X.

1. Now follows the (rule regarding the ordeal by) balance.

29. Nand. infers from a text of Nārada (not found in his Institutes), that the plural is made use of in this Sūtra in order to include women, children, sickly, old, and feeble persons.

32. According to Nand., the particle *kā* is used here in order to include fire, wind, grasshoppers, and other plagues.

X. 5, 6. Y. II, 100.

2. The transverse beam, by which the balance is to be suspended, should be fastened upon two posts, four Hastas above the ground (each), and should be made two Hastas long.

3. The beam of the balance should be made of strong wood (such as that of the Khadira or Tinduka trees), five Hastas long, and the two scales must be suspended on both sides of it, (and the whole suspended upon the transverse beam by means of an iron hook).

4. A man out of the guild of goldsmiths, or of braziers, should make it equal on both sides.

5. Into the one scale the person (who is to be tried by this ordeal) should be placed, and a stone (or earth or bricks) or some other (equivalent) of the same weight into the other.

6. The equivalent and the man having been made equal in weight and (the position of the scales) well marked, the man should be caused to descend from the balance.

2. One Hasta, 'cubit,' the modern 'hath,' equals two Vitasti, 'spans,' and 24 Aṅgulas, 'digits,' the modern Aṅgul. See Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 122.

3. See the plate of balance, according to the statements of Indian legislators, in Professor Stenzler's Essay, 'Über die ind. Gottesurtheile,' *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, IX.

4. Nand. infers from the use of the plural number and from a passage of Pitāmaha and Nārada (see the Institutes of the latter, 5, 122), that merchants may also be appointed for this purpose.

6. Nand. refers the term *suñhñitau kṛtvâ* to the man and to the equivalent, both having to be marked 'with the king's seal or in some other way, in order that no one may suspect the weight of the equivalent or of the man to have been increased or lessened by the addition or removal of other objects, or of clothes, ornaments, and the like.' 'Others' explain the term in the way in which it has been rendered above.

7. Next (the judge) should adjure by (the following) imprecations the balance

8. And the person appointed to look after the weighing :

9. 'Those places of torture which have been prepared for the murderer of a Brâhmana, or for a false witness, the same places are ordained for a person appointed to look after the weighing, who acts fraudulently in his office.

10. 'Thou, O balance (*dhatā*), art called by the same name as holy law (*dharma*); thou, O balance, knowest what mortals do not comprehend.

11. 'This man, being arraigned in a cause, is weighed upon thee. Therefore mayest thou deliver him lawfully from this perplexity.'

12. Thereupon the judge should have him placed into the one scale again. If he rises in it, he is freed from the charge according to law.

13. In case of the strings bursting, or of the splitting of the transverse beam, the man should be placed in the scale once more. Thus the facts will be ascertained positively, and a just sentence be the result.

XI.

1. Now follows the (rule regarding the ordeal by) fire.

2. He must make seven circles, sixteen *Āṅgulas*¹ in breadth each, the intervals being of the same breadth.

3. Thereupon he must place seven leaves of the

XI. 2-9. Y. II, 103, 105-107. — 11. Y. II, 104.

2. ¹ See X, 2, note.

3. Nand. takes the term *tataḥ*, 'thereupon,' to imply that he

holy fig-tree into the hands of the person (about to perform the ordeal), who must turn his face towards the east and stretch out both arms.

4. Those (leaves) and his hands he must bind together with a thread.

5. Then he must place into his hands a ball made of iron, red-hot, fifty Palas in weight, and smooth.

6. Having received this, the person must proceed through the (seven) circles, without either walking at a very hurried pace, or lingering on his way.

7. Finally, after having passed the seventh circle, he must put down the ball upon the ground.

8. That man whose hands are burnt ever so little, shall be deemed guilty; but if he remains wholly unburnt, he is freed from the charge.

9. If he lets the ball drop from fear, or if there exists a doubt as to whether he is burnt or not, let him take the ball once more, because the proof has not been decided.

10. At the beginning (of the whole ceremony) the judge shall cause the person to rub some rice in his hands, and shall mark (with red sap, or the like, the already existing scars, eruptions of the skin, &c., which will thus have become visible). Then the judge, after having addressed the iron ball (with the following prayer), shall place it in his hands :

must previously examine the hands of the person about to perform the ordeal and mark existing scars or eruptions of the skin, as prescribed in Sûtra 10.

4. The particle *ka* implies, according to Nand., that he must further place seven Samf leaves, unbroken grains, Dûrvâ leaves, and grain smeared with sour milk upon his hands, as ordained in a passage of Pitâmaha.

11. 'Thou, O fire, dwellest in the interior of all creatures, like a witness. O fire, thou knowest what mortals do not comprehend.

12. 'This man being arraigned in a cause, desires to be cleared from guilt. Therefore mayest thou deliver him lawfully from this perplexity.'

XII.

1. Now follows the (rule regarding the ordeal by) water.

2. (The defendant must enter) water which is free from mud, aquatic plants, (crabs and other) vicious animals, (porpoises or other) large rapacious animals living in water, fish, leeches, and other (animals or plants).

3. The water having been addressed with the Mantras (mentioned hereafter), he must enter it, seizing the knees of another man, who must be free from friendship or hatred, and must dive into the water up to his navel.

4. At the same time another man must discharge an arrow from a bow, which must neither be too strong nor too weak.

5. That arrow must be fetched quickly by another man.

6. He who is not seen above the water in the mean time is proclaimed innocent. But in the contrary case he is (declared) guilty, even though one limb of his only has become visible.

7. 'Thou, O water, dwellest in the interior of all creatures, like a witness. O water, thou knowest what mortals do not comprehend.

8. 'This man being arraigned in a cause, desires to be cleared from guilt. Therefore mayest thou deliver him lawfully from this perplexity.'

XIII.

1. Now follows the (rule regarding the ordeal by) poison.

2. All (other) sorts of poison must be avoided (in administering this ordeal),

3. Except poison from the *Sringa* tree, which grows on the Himâlayas.

4. (Of that) the judge must give seven grains, mixed with clarified butter, to the defendant (while reciting the prayer hereafter mentioned).

5. If the poison is digested easily, without violent symptoms, he shall recognise him as innocent, and dismiss him at the end of the day.

6. 'On account of thy venomous and dangerous nature thou art destruction to all living creatures; thou, O poison, knowest what mortals do not comprehend.

7. 'This man being arraigned in a cause, desires to be cleared from guilt. Therefore mayest thou deliver him lawfully from this perplexity.'

XIV.

1. Now follows the (rule regarding the ordeal by) sacred libation.

2. Having invoked terrible deities (such as Durgâ, the Âdityas or others, the defendant) must drink three handfuls of water in which (images of) those deities have been bathed,

XIII. 3, 5-7. Y. II, 110, 111.

XIV. 2, 4, 5. Y. II, 112, 113.

3. Uttering at the same time the words, 'I have not done this,' with his face turned towards the deity (in question).

4. He to whom (any calamity) happens within a fortnight or three weeks (such as an illness, or fire, or the death of a relative, or a heavy visitation by the king),

5. Should be known to be guilty; otherwise (if nothing adverse happens to him), he is freed from the charge. A just king should honour (with presents of clothes, ornaments, &c.) one who has cleared himself from guilt by an ordeal.

XV¹.

1. Now there are twelve kinds of sons.

2. The first is the son of the body, viz. he who is begotten (by the husband) himself on his own lawfully wedded wife.

3. The second is the son begotten on a wife, viz. one begotten by a kinsman allied by funeral oblations, or ¹ by a member of the highest caste, on an appointed (wife or widow).

XV. 1-29. M. IX, 127, 136, 158-181; Y. II, 127-132; Gaut. XXVIII, 18, 19, 32, 33; Colebrooke, Dig. V, 4, CLXXXV; V, 4, CCXXV. — 28-30. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 4, CCXCIX. — 30. M. IX, 163. — 31. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 3, CXXI. — 32-34. M. IX, 201-203; Y. II, 140, 141; Gaut. XXVIII, 43, 44. — 32. Âpast. II, 6, 14, 1. — 34-38. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 5, CCCXXVII. — 40. M. IX, 180; Y. II, 132. — 41, 42. M. IX, 182, 183. — 44. M. IX, 138; Colebrooke, Dig. V, 4, CCCII. — 45-47. M. IX, 106, 137, 139. Of Chapters XV and XVII an excellent translation has been published by Dr. Bühler in the Bombay Digest (I, ¹ 338-343). I have followed him literally almost throughout.

3. ¹ I have translated the reading *voṭpāditaḥ*, which was no doubt

4. The third is the son of an appointed daughter.

5. She is called an appointed daughter, who is given away by her father with the words, 'The son whom she bears be mine.'

6. A damsel who has no brother is also (in every case considered) an appointed daughter, though she has not been given away according to the rule of an appointed daughter.

7. The son of a twice-married woman is the fourth.

8. She who, being still a virgin, is married for the second time is called twice married (punarbhû).

9. She also is called twice married (punarbhû) who, though not legally married more than once, has lived with another man before her lawful marriage.

the reading of Nandapandita, as he paraphrases the whole clause as follows, 'begotten by an elder or younger brother of the husband ; on failure of such, by a kinsman allied by funeral oblations ; on failure of him, by one belonging to the same gotra (race) as the husband ; on failure of him, by one descended from the same *Rîshi* ancestors as he ; on failure of him, by a member of the highest caste, i. e. a *Brâhmana*.' The above reading is also found in the London MS. of the text and in the two Calcutta editions. Dr. Bühler's MS., in which Nand.'s Commentary on this chapter is wanting, has *gotpâditaḥ*, and he translates accordingly, 'begotten by a kinsman . . . , who belongs to the highest caste.' The same reading is found in a quotation contained in *Gagannâtha* and *Colebrooke's Dig. loc. cit.* (I quote from a very good though fragmentary Bengali MS. in my possession), where, however, this clause runs as follows, *niyuktâyâm savarnena gotpâditaḥ*, 'begotten by a man of equal class on a widow duly appointed,' *Colebrooke*. The other *Smṛitis* do not speak of the appointment of others than kinsmen to beget a son on a widow, or wife of a eunuch, &c., unless *Yâgñavalkya's* words (II, 128) *sagotretaretarēṇa vâ*, 'by a Sagotra or by another,' may be rendered, contrary to *Vignânesvara's* interpretation, by 'a kinsman or one who is no kinsman.'

10. The son of an unmarried damsel is the fifth.

11. (He is called so who is) born by an unmarried daughter in the house of her father.

12. And he belongs to the man who (afterwards) marries the mother.

13. The son who is secretly born in the house is the sixth.

14. He belongs to him in whose bed he is born.

15. The son received with a bride is the seventh.

16. He (is called so who) is the son of a woman married while she was pregnant.

17. And he belongs to the husband (of the pregnant bride).

18. The adopted son (dattaka) is the eighth.

19. And he belongs to him to whom he is given by his mother or father.

20. The son bought is the ninth.

21. And he belongs to him by whom he is bought.

22. The son self-given is the tenth.

23. And he belongs to him to whom he gave himself.

24. The son cast away is the eleventh.

25. (He is called so) who was forsaken by his father or mother (or by both).

26. And he belongs to him by whom he is received.

27. The son born by any woman whomsoever¹ is the twelfth.

27. ¹Yatra kvañanotpâdita, 'born wherever,' means, according to Nand., 'begotten anyhow, but otherwise than the above-mentioned sons, upon a woman, whether one's own wife, or another man's wife, whether equal in caste or not, whether legally married to the

28. Amongst these (sons) each preceding one is preferable (to the one next in order).

29. And he takes the inheritance (before the next in order).

30. And let him maintain the rest.

31. He should marry unmarried (sisters) in a manner correspondent with the amount of his property.

32. Outcasts, eunuchs, persons incurably diseased, or deficient (in organs of sense or actions, such as blind, deaf, dumb, or insane persons, or lepers) do not receive a share.

33. They should be maintained by those who take the inheritance.

34. And their legitimate sons receive a share.

35. But not the children of an outcast ;

36. Provided they were born after (the commission of) the act on account of which the parents were outcasted.

37. Neither do children begotten (by husbands of

begetter or not, whether still a virgin or not,' &c. But he adds a very lengthy discussion, the upshot of which is, that the term *yatra kvañanotpâdita* is applicable to adopted sons only, who, although they are considered as the sons of the adopter, or of the legitimate husband of the woman, upon whom they were begotten by another, may also become heirs to the begetter, in case he has no other son. 'Or this term refers to the son of a *Sûdra* concubine, whom *Manu* calls *Pârasava*' (M. IX, 178). The latter interpretation agrees with the one proposed by Dr. Bühler, who identifies the *yatra kvañanotpâdita* with the '*Nishâda* and *Pârasava* of other lawyers,' especially of *Baudhâyana* (II, 2, 22), and with the view taken by *Gagannâtha*, who thinks that the *Saudra* (son of a *Sûdra* woman) is meant.

32. 'The particle *tu*, "but," indicates that those who have entered the order of ascetics must also be understood here.' (Nand.)

34. 'The particle *ka* indicates that sons begotten on their wives (*Kshetragas*) shall also receive a share.' (Nand.)

an inferior caste) on women of a higher caste receive a share.

38. Their sons do not even receive a share of the wealth of their paternal grandfathers.

39. They should be supported by the heirs.

40. And he who inherits the wealth, presents the funeral oblation (to the deceased).

41. Amongst wives of one husband also the son of one is the son of all (and must present funeral oblations to them after their death).

42. Likewise, amongst brothers begotten by one (father, the son of one is the son of all, and must present funeral oblations to them all).

43. Let a son present the funeral oblations to his father, even though he inherit no property.

44. Because he saves (trâyate) his father from the hell called Put, therefore (a male child) is called put-tra (protector from Put, son) by Svayambhû himself.

45. He (the father) throws his debt on him (the son); and the father obtains immortality, if he sees the face of a living son.

46. Through a son he conquers the worlds, through a grandson he obtains immortality, and through the son's grandson he gains the world of the sun.

47. No difference is made in this world between the son of a son and the son of a daughter; for even a daughter's son works the salvation of a childless man, just like a son's son.

44. 'Svayambhû means the Veda.' (Nand.)

XVI.

1. On women equal in caste (to their husbands) sons are begotten, who are equal in caste (to their fathers).

2. On women of lower caste than their husbands sons are begotten, who follow the caste of their mothers.

3. On women of higher caste than their husbands sons are begotten, who are despised by the twice-born.

4. Among these, the son of a Sûdra with a Vaisya woman is called Âyogava.

5. The Pukkasa and Mâgadha are sons of a Vaisya and Sûdra respectively with a Kshatriya woman.

6. The *Kandâla*, *Vaidehaka*, and *Sûta* are the sons of a Sûdra, Vaisya, and Kshatriya respectively with a Brâhmana woman.

7. Besides these, there are innumerable other mixed castes produced by further intermixture between those that have been mentioned.

8. Âyogavas must live by artistic performances (such as public wrestling, dancing, and the like).

9. Pukkakas must live by hunting.

10. Mâgadhas must live by calling out in public the good qualities (of saleable commodities).

11. *Kandâlas* must live by executing criminals sentenced to death.

XVI. 1. M. X, 5; Y. I, 90; Âpast. II, 6, 13, 1. — 4-6. M. X, 11, 12; Y. I, 93, 94; Gaut. IV, 17. — 7. M. X, 31. — 8-15. M. X, 47-53. — 17. M. X, 57. — 18. M. X, 62.

10. According to Manu (X, 47) the Mâgadhas are to live by traffic.

12. Vaidehakas must live by keeping (dancing girls and other public) women and profiting by what they earn.

13. Sûtas must live by managing horses.

14. *Kandâlas* must live out of the town, and their clothes must be the mantles of the deceased. In this their condition is different (from, and lower than, that of the other mixed castes).

15. All (members of mixed castes) should have intercourse (of marriage, and other community) only between themselves.

16. (In the lower castes also) the son inherits the property of his father.

17. All members of those mixed castes, whether their descent has been kept secret or is generally known, may be found out by their acts.

18. Desertion of life, regardless of reward, in order to save a *Brâhmana*, or a cow, or for the sake of a woman or child, may confer heavenly bliss even upon (members of those) base castes.

XVII.

1. If a father makes a partition with his sons, he may dispose of his self-acquired property as he thinks best.

XVII. 1. Y. II, 114. — 2. Y. II, 121. — 3. M. IX, 216; Y. II, 122; Gaut. XXVIII, 29; Colebrooke, Dig. V, 2, CII. — 4-16. M. IX, 185-189; Y. II, 135-137; Âpast. II, 6, 14, 2-5; Gaut. XXVIII, 21. — 4-13, 15. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 8, CCCXVII; V, 8, CCCCLIX. — 17. M. IX, 211, 212; Y. II, 138; Gaut. XXVIII, 28. — 18. M. IX, 194, 195; Y. II, 143, 144; Colebrooke, Dig. V, 9, CCCCLVII. — 19. M. IX, 196; Y. II, 145. — 20. M. IX, 197; Y. II, 145. — 21. M. IX, 192; Y. II, 145; Gaut. XXVIII, 24; Colebrooke, Dig. V, 9, CCCXCIV. — 22. M. IX, 200; Colebrooke, Dig. V, 9, CCCCLXXIII. — 23. Y. II, 120.

2. But in regard to wealth inherited of the paternal grandfather, the ownership of father and son is equal.

3. (Sons), who have separated from their father, should give a share to (a brother) who is born after partition.

4. The wealth of a man who dies without male issue goes to his wife ;

5. On failure of her, to his daughter ;

6. On failure of her, to his father ;

7. On failure of him, to his mother ;

8. On failure of her, to his brother ;

9. On failure of him, to his brother's son ;

10. On failure of him, to the relations called Bandhu ;

11. On failure of them, to the relations called Sakulya ;

12. On failure of them, to a fellow-student ;

13. On failure of him, it goes to the king, with the exception of a Brâhmana's property.

14. The property of a Brâhmana goes to (other) Brâhmanas.

8. 'On failure of brothers the sister inherits.' (Nand.)

9. 'On failure of a brother's son the sister's son inherits.' (Nand.)

10. Bandhu means Sapinda (allied by funeral oblations). The inheritance goes first to the Sapindas on the father's side in the following order: (the brother's son), the brother's grandson, the grandfather, his son, grandson, and great-grandson, the great-grandfather, his son, grandson, and great-grandson. Then follow the mother's Sapindas in the same order. (Nand.)

11. Sakulya means distant kinsmen, beginning with the fifth in descent and ascent. On failure of such, the inheritance goes to the spiritual teacher ; on failure of him, to a pupil of the deceased, as ordained by Âpastamba (II, 6, 14, 3) ; and on failure of him, to a fellow-student, as stated in Sûtra 12. (Nand.)

15. The wealth of a (deceased) hermit shall be taken by his spiritual teacher ;

16. Or his pupil (may take it).

17. But let a reunited coparcener take the share of his reunited coparcener who has died (without issue), and a uterine brother that of his uterine brother, and let them give (the shares of their deceased coparceners and uterine brothers) to the sons of the latter.

18. What has been given to a woman by her father, mother, sons, or brothers, what she has received before the sacrificial fire (at the marriage ceremony), what she receives on supersession, what has been given to her by her relatives, her fee (Sulka), and a gift subsequent, are called 'woman's property' (Strīdhana).

19. If a woman married according to (one of the first) four rites, beginning with the Brāhma rite, dies without issue, that (Strīdhana) belongs to her husband.

20. (If she has been married) according to (one of) the other (four reprehensible rites), her father shall take it.

18. 'Sulka, "fee," denotes the price or value of a house or other valuable object presented to the bride by her father ; or it means the fee paid for her by the bridegroom.' (Nand.) The latter interpretation is evidently the correct one. The bride's 'fee' (see Gaut. XXVIII, 25), from being originally the price due to the parents or guardian of the bride for surrendering her to the bridegroom, became in after times a wedding present, which the bride received from the bridegroom either directly or through her parents. This is the only way to account for the Sulka being enumerated among the constituent parts of Strīdhana in this place. See also I. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*, §§ 77, 566 ; Mayr, *Indisches Erbrecht*, 170 seq. ; Jolly, *Stellung der Frauen*, 23, note.

19, 20. See XXIV, 17-27.

21. If she dies leaving children, her wealth goes in every case to her daughter.

22. Ornaments worn by women when their husbands were alive, the heirs shall not divide among themselves; if they divide them, they become outcasts.

23. (Coparceners) descended from different fathers must adjust their shares according to the fathers. Let each take the wealth due to his father, no other (has a right to it).

XVIII.

1. If there are four sons of a Brâhmana (springing from four different wives) of the four castes, they shall divide the whole estate of their father into ten parts.

2. Of these, let the son of the Brâhmana wife take four parts;

3. The son of the Kshatriya wife, three parts;

4. The son of the Vaisya wife, two parts;

5. The son of the Sûdra wife, a single part.

22. My rendering of this Sloka is based upon Kullûka's interpretation of the identical passage of Manu (IX, 200), which is supported by Vigñânesvara (Mitâksharâ I, 4, 19 in Colebrooke's version), Mâdhava (Burnell, Dâya-Vibhâga 51), Varadarâga (Burnell, Varadarâga's Vyavahâranirnaya 49), and others. Nand. proposes a different interpretation, on which rests Dr. Bühler's rendering, 'Those ornaments, which the wives usually wear, should not be divided by the heirs whilst the husbands are alive.'

XVIII. 1-5. M. IX, 149, 151-153; Y. II, 125. — 11, 25-27. Y. II, 125. — 1-31, 38-40. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 3, CLIII. — 32-37. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 3, CLXXII; V, 2, LXXXVI; V, 1, LIV. — 36. Y. II, 114; Âpast. II, 6, 14, 1. — 41. M. IX, 210. — 42, 43. M. IX, 208, 209; Y. II, 118, 119. — 44. M. IX, 219; Gaut. XXVIII, 46, 47. — 43, 44. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 2, XCI; V, 5, CCCLXIII.

6. Again, if there are three sons of a Brâhmana (by wives of different castes), but no son by a Sûdra (wife) among them, they shall divide the estate into nine parts.

7. (Of these) let them take, each in the order of his caste, shares amounting to four, three, and two parts of the whole respectively.

8. (If there are three sons by wives of different castes, but) no Vaisya among them, they shall divide the estate into eight parts, and take four parts, three parts, and one part respectively.

9. (If there are three sons, but) no Kshatriya among them, they shall divide it into seven parts, and take four parts, two parts, and a single part respectively.

10. If there is no Brâhmana among them, they shall divide it into six parts, and take three parts, two parts, and a single part respectively.

11. If there are sons of a Kshatriya by a Kshatriya, a Vaisya, and a Sûdra wife, the mode of division shall be the same (i. e. the estate shall be divided into six parts, &c.)

12. Again, if there are two sons of a Brâhmana, the one belonging to the Brâhmana and the other to the Kshatriya caste, they shall divide the estate into seven parts; and of these the Brâhmana son shall take four parts;

13. The Kshatriya son, three parts.

14. Again, if there are two sons of a Brâhmana, and the one belongs to the Brâhmana and the other to the Vaisya caste, the estate shall be divided into six parts; and of these, the Brâhmana shall take four parts;

15. The Vaisya, two parts.

16. Again, if there are two sons of a Brâhmana, and the one belongs to the Brâhmana and the other to the Sûdra caste, they shall divide the estate into five parts;

17. And of these, the Brâhmana shall take four parts;

18. The Sûdra, a single part.

19. Again, if there are two sons of a Brâhmana or a Kshatriya, and the one belongs to the Kshatriya and the other to the Sûdra caste, they shall divide the estate into five parts;

20. And of these, the Kshatriya shall take three parts;

21. The Sûdra, one part.

22. Again, if there are two sons of a Brâhmana or a Kshatriya, and the one belongs to the Kshatriya, the other to the Sûdra caste, they shall divide the estate into four parts;

23. And of these, the Kshatriya shall take three parts;

24. The Sûdra, a single part.

25. Again, if there are two sons of a Brâhmana or a Vaisya or a Sûdra, and the one belongs to the Vaisya, the other to the Sûdra caste, they shall divide the estate into three parts;

26. And of these, the Vaisya shall take two parts;

27. The Sûdra, a single part.

28. If a Brâhmana has an only son, he shall take the whole estate, provided he be a Brâhmana, Kshatriya, or Vaisya.

29. If a Kshatriya has (an only son who is) either a Kshatriya or a Vaisya, (the rule shall be the same.)

30. If a Vaisya has (an only son who is) a Vaisya, (the rule shall also be the same) ;

31. (And so shall the only) son of a Sûdra (be sole heir) to his Sûdra (father).

32. A Sûdra, who is the only son of a father belonging to a twice-born caste, shall inherit one half of his property ;

33. The other half shall devolve in the same way as the property of one who died without leaving issue.

34. Mothers shall receive shares proportionate to their sons' shares ;

35. And so shall unmarried daughters.

36. Sons, who are equal in caste (to their father), shall receive equal shares.

37. A best part (the twentieth part of the inheritance, &c.) shall be given to the eldest, as his additional share.

38. If there are two sons by a Brâhmana wife, and one son by a Sûdra wife, the estate shall be divided into nine parts ; and of these, the two sons of the Brâhmana wife shall take two parts, the one son of the Sûdra wife, a single part.

39. If there are two sons by a Sûdra, and one son by a Brâhmana wife, the estate shall be divided into six parts ; and of these, the son of the Brâhmana wife shall take four parts, and the two sons of the Sûdra wife together shall take two parts.

40. Upon the same principles the shares have to be adjusted in other cases also.

33. See XVII, 4 seq.

34. 'That is to say, a Brâhmana wife shall take four parts, a Kshatriya wife, three parts,' &c. (Nand.)

37. See Gaut. XXVIII, 5.

41. If (brothers), who after a previous division of the estate live again together as parceners, should make a second partition, the shares must be equal in that case, and the eldest has no right to an additional share.

42. What a brother has acquired by his own efforts, without using the patrimony, he must not give up (to his brothers or other co-heirs), unless by his own free will; for it was gained by his own exertion.

43. And if a man recovers (a debt or other property), which could not before be recovered by his father, he shall not, unless by his own free will, divide it with his sons; for it is an acquisition made by himself.

44. Apparel, vehicles¹ (carriages or riding-horses), and ornaments (such as are usually worn according to the custom of the caste), prepared food, water (in a well or pool), females (slaves or mistresses of the deceased), property destined for pious uses or sacrifices, a common pasture-ground², and a book, are indivisible.

42. The term *svayamñihitalabdham* has been translated according to Kullûka (on M. IX, 208). Nand. interprets this Sloka thus, 'What a brother has acquired by his own efforts, and what has been given to him, at his desire (by friends or others), he must not give up,' &c.

43. Here again I have followed Kullûka (on M. IX, 209), and deviated from Nand.'s interpretation, who renders this Sloka as follows, 'If a man recovers property, &c., or if he gains property by himself (by his learning or valour, &c.) . . .'

44. ¹The term *pattra* has been rendered above in accordance with the first interpretation proposed by Nand., and with Kullûka's interpretation (on M. IX, 219). *Vigñânesvara* (in his comment upon the same passage of Manu) refers it to written documents, such especially as relate to a debt to be paid to the deceased; and

XIX.

1. He must not cause a member of a twice-born caste to be carried out by a Sûdra (even though he be a kinsman of the deceased);

2. Nor a Sûdra by a member of a twice-born caste.

3. A father and a mother shall be carried out by their sons (who are equal in caste to their parents).

4. But Sûdras must never carry out a member of a twice-born caste, even though he be their father.

5. Those Brâhmanas who carry out (or follow the corpse of) a (deceased) Brâhmana who has no relatives shall attain a mansion in heaven.

6. Those who have carried out a dead relative and burnt his corpse, shall walk round the pile from left to right, and then plunge into water, dressed in their clothes.

7. After having offered a libation of water to the deceased, they must place one ball of rice on blades of Kusa grass, (and this ceremony has to be repeated on each subsequent day, while the period of impurity lasts.)

8. Then, having changed their dress, they must

this interpretation is mentioned by Nand. also. But there is no reason why an unliquidated demand should not be divided; and written documents are only twice referred to in the code of Manu (VIII, 168, and IX, 232).—² In translating the term *prâkâra* I have again followed Kullûka loc. cit.; see also Petersburg Dictionary s. v. Nand. interprets this term as denoting 'a path leading to or from the house.'

XIX. 1. M.V, 104. — 2. Y. III, 26. — 6. M.V, 103; Y. III, 26. — 7, 8. Y. III, 7, 12, 13. — 14-17. M.V, 73; Y. III, 16. 'Chapters XIX-XXXII contain the section on *Âkâra*, "Holy Usage."' (Nand.)

bite Nimba leaves between their teeth, and having stepped upon the stone threshold, they must enter the house.

9. Then they must throw unbroken grains into the fire.

10. On the fourth day they must collect the bones that have been left.

11. And they must throw them into water from the Ganges.

12. As many bones of a man are contained in the water of the Ganges, so many thousands of years will he reside in heaven.

13. While the term of impurity lasts, they must continually offer a libation of water and a ball of rice to the deceased.

14. And they must eat food which has been bought, or which they have received unsolicited.

15. And they must eat no meat.

16. And they must sleep on the ground.

17. And they must sleep apart.

18. When the impurity is over, they must walk forth from the village, have their beards shaved, and having cleansed themselves with a paste of sesamum, or with a paste of mustard-seed, they must change their dress and re-enter the house.

19. There, after reciting a propitiatory prayer, they must honour the Brâhmanas.

13. The duration of the impurity varies according to the caste &c. of the deceased. See XXII.

14. The particle *ka*, according to Nand., indicates that factitious salt must also not be used by them, as stated in a *Smr̥iti*.

15. Nand. refers the particle *ka* to an implied prohibition to eat fish, which he quotes from a text of Gautama (not found in his Institutes).

20. The gods are invisible deities, the Brâhmanas are visible deities.

21. The Brâhmanas sustain the world.

22. It is by the favour of the Brâhmanas that the gods reside in heaven; a speech uttered by Brâhmanas (whether a curse or a benediction) never fails to come true.

23. What the Brâhmanas pronounce, when highly pleased (as, if they promise sons, cattle, wealth, or some other boon to a man), the gods will ratify; when the visible gods are pleased, the invisible gods are surely pleased as well.

24. The mourners, who lament the loss of a relative, shall be addressed by men gifted with a tranquil frame of mind with such consolatory speeches as I shall now recite to thee, O Earth, who art cherished to my mind.

XX.

1. The northern progress of the sun is a day with the gods.

2. The southern progress of the sun is (with them) a night.

3. A year is (with them) a day and a night;

4. Thirty such are a month;

5. Twelve such months are a year.

6. Twelve hundred years of the gods are a Kaliyuga.

XX. 1-3. M. I, 67. — 6-9. M. I, 69, 70. — 10. M. I, 71. — 11. M. I, 79. — 12-14. M. I, 72. — 30. Y. III, 11.

6. The Kaliyuga itself consists of a thousand years only; but it is both preceded and followed by a twilight lasting a hundred years. It is similar with the three other Yugas. (Nand.)

7. Twice as many (or two thousand four hundred) are a *Dvâpara* (Yuga).

8. Thrice as many (or three thousand six hundred) are a *Tretâ* (Yuga).

9. Four times as many (or four thousand eight hundred) are a *Kṛita* Yuga.

10. (Thus) twelve thousand years make a *Katur-yuga* (or period of four Yugas).

11. Seventy-one *Katuryugas* make a *Manvantara* (or period of a *Manu*).

12. A thousand *Katuryugas* make a *Kalpa*.

13. And that is a day of the forefather (Brahman).

14. His night also has an equal duration.

15. If so many such nights and days are put together that, reckoned by the month and by the year, they make up a period of a hundred years (of Brahman) it is called the age of one Brahman.

16. A day of *Purusha* (*Vishnu*) is equal in duration to the age of one Brahman.

17. When it ends, a *Mahâkalpa* is over.

18. The night following upon it is as long.

19. The days and nights of *Purusha* that have gone by are innumerable ;

20. And so are those that will follow.

21. For *Kâla* (time) is without either beginning or end.

22. Thus it is, that in this *Kâla* (time), in whom there is nothing to rest upon, and who is everlasting, I can espy nothing created in which there is the least stability.

23. The sands in the Ganges and (the waters pouring down from the sky) when *Indra* sends rain

21. 'Kâla means Vishnu in this place.' (Nand.)

can be counted, but not the number of 'Forefathers' (Brahmans) who have passed away.

24. In each Kalpa, fourteen chiefs of the gods (Indras) go to destruction, as many rulers of the world (kings), and fourteen Manus.

25. And so have many thousands of Indras and hundred thousands of princes of the Daityas (such as Hiranyakasipu, Hiranyāksha, and others) been destroyed by Kāla (time). What should one say of human beings then?

26. Many royal *Rishis* too (such as Sagara), all of them renowned for their virtues, gods and Brahmanical *Rishis* (such as Kasyapas) have perished by the action of Kāla.

27. Those even who have the power of creating and annihilating in this world (the sun, moon, and other heavenly bodies) continually perish by the act of Kāla; for Kāla (time) is hard to overcome.

28. Every creature is seized upon by Kāla and carried into the other world. It is the slave of its actions (in a former existence). Wherefore then should you wail (on its death)?

29. Those who are born are sure to die, and those who have died are sure to be born again. This is inevitable, and no associate can follow a man (in his passage through mundane existence).

30. As mourners will not help the dead in this world, therefore (the relatives) should not weep, but perform the obsequies to the best of their power.

31. As both his good and bad actions will follow

27. Here also Kāla, the god of time, is another name for Vishṇu. (Nand.)

29. The same proverb occurs in the *Rāmāyana* II, 84, 21, and in the *Bhagavadgītā* II, 27. See Böhrling, Ind. Sprüche, 2383.

him (after death) like associates, what does it matter to a man whether his relatives mourn over him or no?

32. But as long as his relatives remain impure, the departed spirit finds no rest, and returns to visit (his relatives), whose duty it is to offer up to him the funeral ball of rice and the water libation.

33. Till the *Sapindikarana*¹ has been performed, the dead man remains a disembodied spirit (and is afflicted with hunger and thirst). Give rice and a jar with water to the man who has passed into the abode of disembodied spirits.

34. Having passed into the abode of the manes (after the performance of the *Sapindikarana*) he enjoys in the shape of celestial food his portion of the *Srâddha* (funeral oblation); offer the *Srâddha*, therefore, to him who has passed into the abode of the manes.

35. Whether he has become a god, or stays in hell, or has entered the body of an animal, or of a human being, he will receive the *Srâddha* offered to him by his relatives.

36. The dead person and the performer of the *Srâddha* are sure to be benefitted by its performance. Perform the *Srâddha* always, therefore, abandoning bootless grief.

37. This is the duty which should be constantly discharged towards a dead person by his kinsmen; by mourning a man will neither benefit the dead nor himself.

38. Having seen that no help is to be had from this world, and that his relations are dying (one after

33. ¹ See XXI, 12.

the other), you must choose virtue for your only associate, O ye men.

39. Even were he to die with him, a kinsman is unable to follow his dead relative: all excepting his wife are forbidden to follow him on the path of Yama.

40. Virtue alone will follow him, wherever he may go; therefore do your duty unflinchingly in this wretched world.

41. To-morrow's business should be done to-day, and the afternoon's business in the forenoon; for death will not wait, whether a person has done it or not.

42. While his mind is fixed upon his field, or traffic, or his house, or while his thoughts are engrossed by some other (beloved) object, death suddenly carries him away as his prey, as a she-wolf catches a lamb.

43. Kâla (time) is no one's friend and no one's enemy: when the effect of his acts in a former existence, by which his present existence is caused, has expired, he snatches a man away forcibly.

44. He will not die before his time has come, even though he has been pierced by a thousand shafts; he will not live after his time is out, even though he has only been touched by the point of a blade of Kusa grass.

45. Neither drugs, nor magical formulas, nor

39. This is an allusion to the custom of Satee. (Nand.) See XXV, 14.

41. This proverb is found in the Mahâbhârata also (XII, 6536, &c.) See Böhlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 6595.

43. This proverb is also found in the Mahâbhârata XI, 68, and Râmâyana IV, 18, 28, and other works. See Böhlingk, 3194.

45. 'Neither will presents of gold (to Brâhmanas) or other such

burnt-offerings, nor prayers will save a man who is in the bonds of death or old age.

46. An impending evil cannot be averted even by a hundred precautions; what reason then for you to complain?

47. Even as a calf finds his mother among a thousand cows, an act formerly done is sure to find the perpetrator.

48. Of existing beings the beginning is unknown, the middle (of their career) is known, and the end again unknown; what reason then for you to complain?

49. As the body of mortals undergoes (successively the vicissitudes of) infancy, youth, and old age, even so will it be transformed into another body (hereafter); a sensible man is not mistaken about that.

50. As a man puts on new clothes in this world, throwing aside those which he formerly wore, even so the self of man puts on new bodies, which are in accordance with his acts (in a former life).

51. No weapons will hurt the self of man, no fire burn it, no waters moisten it, and no wind dry it up.

52. It is not to be hurt, not to be burnt, not to be moistened, and not to be dried up; it is imperishable, perpetual, unchanging, immovable, without beginning.

acts of liberality save him, as the use of the particle *kā* implies.' (Nand.)

47. This proverb is also found in the *Mahābhārata* XII, 6760, *Pañātantra* II, 134, and other works. See Böhlingk, *Ind. Sprüche*, 5114.

48. This proverb is also found in the *Bhagavadgītā* II, 28. See Böhlingk, *Ind. Sprüche*, 704.

50. Regarding transmigration, see below, XLIV, XLV.

53. It is (further) said to be immaterial, passing all thought, and immutable. Knowing the self of man to be such, you must not grieve (for the destruction of his body).

XXI.

1. Now then ¹, (on the day) after the impurity is over, let him bathe duly (during the recitation of Mantras), wash his hands and feet duly, and sip water duly, (and having invited some Brâhmanas), as many as possible, who must cleanse themselves in the same way and turn their faces towards the north, let him bestow presents of perfumes, garlands, clothes and other things (a lamp, frankincense, and the like) upon them, and hospitably entertain them.

2. At the Ekoddish/a (or Srâddha for one recently deceased) let him alter the Mantras ¹ so as to refer to (the) one person (deceased) ².

XXI. 1-11. Âsv. IV, 7; Pâr. III, 10, 48-53; Sâṅkh. IV, 2; M. III, 247; Y. III, 250, 251, 255. — 12-23. Sâṅkh. IV, 3; V, 9; Y. I, 252-254. Regarding the parallel passages of the Kâṭhaka Gr̥hya-sûtra, see the Introduction.

1. ¹ 'Having said, in the previous Chapter (XX, 30), that "the obsequies should be performed," he now goes on to describe that part of the obsequies which has not yet been expounded, viz. the "first Srâddha."' (Nand.)

2. ¹ The Mantras here referred to are those contained in the description of the Pârvaṇa and other ordinary Srâddhas in Chapter LXXIII. Thus, the Mantra, 'This is your (share), ye manes' (LXXIII, 12, 13), has to be altered into, 'This is thy (share), father;' and so on. Devapâla, in his Commentary on the Kâṭhaka Gr̥hya-sûtra, gives an accurate statement of all the modifications which the ordinary Mantras have to undergo at the Ekoddish/a.—² Nand. states that not only the Mantras, but the whole ritual should be modified. The nature of the latter modifications is stated by Yâgñavalkya loc. cit. and by Sâṅkhâya loc. cit.

3. Close to the food left (by the Brâhmanas) let him offer a ball of rice, at the same time calling out his name and (that of) his race.

4. The Brâhmanas having taken food and having been honoured with a gift, let him offer, as imperishable food, water to the Brâhmanas, after having called out the name and Gotra of the deceased; and let him dig three trenches, each four Aṅgulas in breadth, their distance from one another and their depth also measuring (four Aṅgulas), and their length amounting to one Vitasti (or twelve Aṅgulas).

5. Close by the trenches let him light three fires, and having added fuel to them, let him make three oblations (of boiled rice) in each (fire, saying),

6. 'Svadhâ and reverence to Soma, accompanied by the manes.

7. 'Svadhâ and reverence to Agni, who conveys the oblations addressed to the manes.

8. 'Svadhâ and reverence to Yama Aṅgiras.'

9. Then let him offer balls of rice as (ordained) before (in Sûtra 3) on the three mounds of earth (adjacent to the three trenches).

10. After having filled the three trenches with

3. This must be done with the Mantra, 'This is for you.' (Nand.) Regarding this Mantra, see note on Sûtra 10.

4. The 'imperishable water,' akshayyodakam, derives its name from the Mantra, with which it is delivered, expressing the wish that the meal 'may give imperishable satisfaction' (akshayyam astu). This is the explanation which Nand. gives of the term akshayyodakam in his gloss on LXXIII, 27. In his comment on the present Sûtra he says that the 'imperishable water' must be presented with the (further?) Mantras, 'Let arrive' and 'Be satisfied.' See Y. I, 251; Sâṅkh. IV, 2, 5, 6.

10. The whole Mantra runs as follows, 'This is for you, father,

rice, sour milk, clarified butter, honey, and meat, let him mutter (the Mantra), 'This is for you.'

11. This ceremony he must repeat monthly, on the day of his death.

12. At the close of the year let him give food to the Brâhmanas, after having fed the gods first, in honour of the deceased and of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather.

13. At (the Ekoddish/a belonging to) this ceremony let him perform the burnt-offering, the invitation, and (the offering of) water for washing the feet.

14. Then he must pour the water for washing the feet and the Arghya (water libation) destined for the deceased person into the three vessels containing the water for washing the feet, and the three other vessels containing the Arghya of his three ancestors. At the same time he must mutter

and for those after you.' But in the present case (at a 'first Srâddha') the name of the deceased has to be substituted for the word 'father.' (Nand.) Although Nand. quotes this Mantra from Âsvalâyana's Srauta-sûtra, it seems probable that the author of the Vishnu-sûtra took it from the Kâthaka (IX, 6 of the Berlin MS.)

11. The Sûtras following next refer to the Sapindâkarana or 'ceremony of investing a dead person with the rights of a Sapinda.'

12. 'He must invite six Brâhmanas altogether, four as representatives of the deceased person and of his three ancestors, two for the offering to be addressed to the Virvedevâs. The Brâhmana, who represents the deceased person, must be fed according to the rule of the Ekoddish/a, and the three Brâhmanas, who represent the three ancestors, must be fed according to the rule of the Pârvana Srâddha, as laid down in Chapter LXXIII.' (Nand.)

13. The import of this Sûtra is, that those three ceremonies must not be omitted in the present case, as is otherwise the case at an Ekoddish/a. (Nand.)

14. ¹ The following is a translation of the whole of this Mantra,

(the two Mantras), 'May earth unite thee¹,' and 'United your minds².'

15. Near the leavings he must make (and put) four balls of rice.

16. Let him show out the Brâhmanas, after they have sipped water duly and have been presented by him with their sacrificial fee.

17. Then let him knead together the ball of the deceased person with the three balls (of the three ancestors), as (he has mixed up) his water for washing the feet and his Arghya (with theirs).

18. Let him do the same (with the balls placed) near the three trenches.

19. Or (see Sûtra 12) the *Sapindikarana* must be performed on the thirteenth, after the monthly *Srâddha* has been performed on the twelfth¹ day.

20. For Sûdras it should be performed on the twelfth day, without Mantras.

21. If there be an intercalary month in that year, he must add one day to the (regular days of the) monthly *Srâddha*.

22. The ceremony of investing women with the relationship of *Sapinda* has to be performed in the same manner. Later, he must perform a *Srâddha* every year, while he lives, (on the anniversary of the deceased relative's death)¹.

which is quoted at full in the *Kâthaka Grîhya-sûtra*, 'May *Prithivî* (the earth), *Vâyû* (air), *Agni* (fire), and *Pragâpati* (the lord of creatures) unite thee with thy ancestors, and may you ancestors unite with him.' Regarding the particular ancestors implied here, see below, LXXV. — ² *Rig-veda* X, 191, 4.

19. ¹ I.e. on that day on which the period of impurity expires. (Nand.)

22. ¹ The meaning is, that he must give him food and water, as prescribed in 23. (Nand.)

23. He, for whom the ceremony of investing him with the relationship of *Sapinda* is performed after the lapse of a year, shall be honoured by the gift, (on each day) of that year, of food and a jar with water to a *Brâhmana*.

XXII.

1. The impurity of a *Brâhmana* caused by the birth or death of *Sapindas* lasts ten days.

2. In the case of a *Kshatriya* (it lasts) twelve days.

3. In the case of a *Vaisya* (it lasts) fifteen days.

4. In the case of a *Sûdra* (it lasts) a month.

5. The relationship of *Sapinda* ceases with the seventh man (in descent or ascent).

6. During the period of impurity oblations (to the *Viśvedevâs*), gifts and receiving of alms, and study have to be interrupted.

XXII. 1-4. M.V, 83; Y.III, 18, 22; Âpast. I, 5, 16, 18; Gaut. XIV, 1-4. — 5. M.V, 60; Âpast. II, 6, 15, 2; Gaut. XIV, 13. — 25. M.V, 66; Y. III, 20; Gaut. XIV, 17. — 27. Y. III, 23; Gaut. XIV, 44. — 28. M.V, 69; Y. III, 1. — 29, 30. M.V, 67; Y. III, 23. — 35. M.V, 79; Y. III, 20; Gaut. XIV, 6. — 36, 37. Gaut. XIV, 7, 8. — 38. M.V, 79; Y. III, 20. — 39-41. M.V, 75, 76; Y. III, 21; Gaut. XIV, 19. — 42. M.V, 80; Y. III, 24. — 43. Y. III, 25. — 44. M.V, 80, 81; Y. III, 24; Gaut. XIV, 20. — 45. M.V, 82; Y. III, 25. — 46. M.V, 81; Gaut. XIV, 20. — 47. M.V, 89; Y. III, 21, 27; Gaut. XIV, 10-12. — 48-55. M.V, 93-95; Y. III, 27-29. — 48, 49. Gaut. XIV, 45, 46. — 56. M.V, 89; Y. III, 21; Gaut. XIV, 12. — 63-65. M.V, 103; Y. III, 26; Gaut. XIV, 31. — 67. M.V, 144. — 69. M.V, 85; Y. III, 30; Âpast. II, 1, 2, 8, 9; Gaut. XIV, 30. — 70. M.V, 87. — 75. M.V, 145; Y. I, 196; Âpast. I, 5, 16, 14; Gaut. I, 37. — 81. M.V, 135. — 82. M. XI, 95. — 84. M. XI, 96. — 85. M.V, 65. — 86. M.V, 91. — 87. M.V, 88. — 88-93. M.V, 105-110; Y. III, 31-34.

7. No one must eat the food of one impure (unless he be a *Sapinda* of his).

8. He who eats but once the food of *Brâhmanas* or others, while they are impure, will remain impure as long as they.

9. When the (period of) impurity is over, he must perform a penance (as follows):

10. If a twice-born man has eaten (the food) of a member of his own caste, while the latter was impure, he must approach a river and plunge into it, mutter the (hymn of) *Aghamarshana*¹ three times, and, after having emerged from the water, must mutter the *Gâyatrî*² one thousand and eight times.

11. If a *Brâhmaṇa* has eaten the food of a *Kshatriya*, while the latter was impure, he is purified by performing the same penance and by fasting (on the previous day).

12. (The same penance is ordained for) a *Kshatriya* who has eaten the food of a *Vaisya*, while the latter was impure.

13. (The same penance is ordained for) a *Brâhmaṇa* (who has eaten the food) of an impure *Vaisya*; but he must fast besides during the three (previous) days.

14. If a *Kshatriya* or a *Vaisya* (have eaten the food) of a *Brâhmaṇa* or a *Kshatriya* respectively, who were impure, they must approach a river and mutter the *Gâyatrî* five hundred times.

15. A *Vaisya*, who has eaten the food of a *Brâhmaṇa*, while the latter was impure, must (go to a river and) mutter the *Gâyatrî* one hundred and eight times.

10. ¹ *Rig-veda* X, 190. — ² *Rig-veda* III, 62, 10.

16. A twice-born man (who has eaten the food) of a Sûdra, while the latter was impure, must (go to a river and) perform the Prâgâpatya (penance).

17. A Sûdra (who has eaten the food) of an impure man of a twice-born caste must bathe (in a river).

18. A Sûdra (who has eaten the food) of another Sûdra, while the latter was impure, must bathe (in a river) and drink Pañkagavya.

19. Wives and slaves in the direct order of the castes (i. e. who do not belong to a higher caste than their lord) remain impure as long as their lord.

20. If their lord is dead (or if they live apart from him, they remain impure) as long as (members of) their own caste.

21. If Sapindas of a higher caste (are born or have died) the period of impurity has for their lower caste relations the same duration as for members of the higher caste.

22. A Brâhmana (to whom) Sapindas of the Kshatriya, Vaisya, or Sûdra castes (have been born or have died) becomes pure within six nights, or three nights, or one night, respectively.

23. A Kshatriya (to whom Sapindas of the) Vaisya or Sûdra castes (have been born or have died) is purified within six and three nights, respectively.

24. A Vaisya (to whom Sapindas of the) Sûdra caste (have been born or have died) becomes pure within six nights.

16. Regarding the Prâgâpatya penance, see below, XLVI, 10.

18. The Pañkagavya, or five productions of a cow, consist of milk, sour milk, butter, urine, and cow-dung.

25. In a number of nights equal to the number of months after conception, a woman is purified from an abortion.

26. The relatives of children that have died immediately after birth (before the cutting of the navel-string), and of still-born children, are purified at once.

27. (The relatives) of a child that has died before having teethed (are also purified) at once.

28. For him no ceremony with fire is performed, nor offering of water.

29. For a child that has teethed but has not yet been shorn, purity is obtained in one day and night;

30. For a child that has been shorn but not initiated, in three nights;

31. From that time forward (i. e. for initiated persons) in the time that has been mentioned above (in Sûtra 1 seq.)

32. In regard to women, the marriage ceremony is (considered as their) initiation.

33. For married women there is no impurity for the relatives on the father's side.

34. If they happen to stay at their father's house during childbirth or if they die there, (their distant relatives are purified) in one night, and their parents (in three nights).

35. If, while the impurity caused by a birth lasts,

26. 'The meaning is, that the relatives of such children do not become impure.' (Nand.)

28. 'The meaning is, that he must not be burnt.' (Nand.)

32. The import of this Sûtra is this, that the full period of impurity is ordained on the death of women also, in case they were married, as the marriage ceremony takes with them the place of the initiation of males.

another impurity caused by childbirth intervenes, it ends when the former impurity terminates.

36. If it intervenes when one night (only of the period of impurity remains, the fresh impurity terminates) two days later.

37. If it intervenes when one watch (only of the last night remains, the impurity ends) three days later.

38. The same rule is observed if a relative dies during a period of impurity caused by the death (of another relative).

39. If a man, while staying in another country, hears of the birth or death (of a relative), he becomes purified after the lapse of the period still wanting (to the ten days).

40. If the period of impurity, but not a whole year, has elapsed, (he is purified in one night.)

41. After that time (he is purified) by a bath.

42. If his teacher or maternal grandfather has died, (he is purified) in three nights.

43. Likewise, if sons other than a son of the body have been born or have died, and if wives who had another husband before have been delivered of a child or have died.

40. 'Although the general term impurity is used in this Sûtra, it refers to impurity caused by a death only.' (Nand.)

42. 'The use of the particle *ka* implies, that this rule extends to the death of a maternal grandmother, as ordained in the *Shadāstismṛiti*.' (Nand.)

43. The twelve kinds of sons have been enumerated above, XV, 2-27. Of these, the three species of adopted sons, the son bought, and the son cast off cannot cause impurity, because their sonship dates from a period subsequent to their birth; but their offspring may cause impurity. (Nand.) *Parapûrvās*, or 'wives who had another husband before,' are either of the *punarbhû* or of the *svairiṇī* kind. (Nand.) See XV, 8, 9, and Nārada XII, 46-54.

44. (He becomes pure) in one day, if the wife or son of his teacher, or his Upādhyāya (sub-teacher ¹), or his maternal uncle, or his father-in-law, or a brother-in-law, or a fellow-student, or a pupil has died.

45. The impurity has the same duration (as in the cases last mentioned), if the king of that country in which he lives has died.

46. Likewise, if a man not his Sapinda has died at his house.

47. The relatives of those who have been killed by (falling from) a precipice, or by fire, or (have killed themselves by) fasting, or (have been killed by) water, in battle, by lightning, or by the king (on account of a crime committed by them), do not become impure ;

48. Nor do kings (become impure) while engaged in the discharge of their duties (such as the protection of their subjects, the trial of lawsuits, &c.)

49. Devotees fulfilling a vow (also do not become impure) ;

50. Nor do sacrificers engaged in a sacrificial ceremony ;

51. Nor workmen (such as carpenters or others) while engaged in their work ;

52. Nor those who perform the king's orders, if the king wishes them to be pure.

53. Nor (can impurity arise) during the installation of the monument of a deity, nor during

44. ¹ See XXIX, 2.

49. The term *vratin*, 'a devotee fulfilling a vow,' may be referred to students as well, who, however, become impure by the death of their parents. (Nand.)

53. A marriage ceremony is said to have actually begun when the Nāndimukha, or Srāddha preliminary to marriage, has taken place. (Nand.)

a marriage ceremony, if those ceremonies have actually begun;

54. Nor when the whole country is afflicted with a calamity;

55. Nor in times of great public distress (such as an epidemic or a famine).

56. Suicides and outcasts do not cause impurity or receive offerings of water.

57. On the death-day of an outcast a female slave of his must upset a pot with water with her feet, (saying, 'Drink thou this.')

58. He who cuts the rope by which (a suicide) has hung himself, becomes pure by performing the *Taptakrikkhra* ('hot penance').

59. So does he who has been (in any way) concerned with the funeral of a suicide;

60. And he who sheds tears for such.

61. He who sheds tears for any deceased person together with the relations of the latter (becomes pure) by a bath.

62. If he has done so, before the bones (of the deceased) had been collected, (he becomes pure) by bathing with his apparel.

63. If a member of a twice-born caste has followed the corpse of a dead *Sûdra*, he must go to a river, and having plunged into it, mutter the *Aghamarshana* three times, and then, after having emerged from it, mutter the *Gâyatri* one thousand and eight times.

64. (If he has followed) the corpse of a dead member of a twice-born caste, (the same expiation

55. Giving or taking alms does not effect impurity in such cases. (Nand.)

is ordained, but he must mutter the *Gâyatri* one hundred and eight times only.

65. If a *Sûdra* has followed the corpse of a member of a twice-born caste, he must bathe.

66. Members of any caste, who have come near to the smoke of a funeral pile, must bathe.

67. (Bathing is also ordained) after sexual intercourse, bad dreams (of having been mounted upon an ass, or the like), when blood has issued from the throat, and after having vomited or been purged;

68. Also, after tonsure of the head;

69. And after having touched one who has touched a corpse (a carrier of a corpse), or a woman in her courses, or a *Kândâla* (or other low-caste persons, such as *Svapakas*), or a sacrificial post;

70. And (after having touched) the corpse of a five-toed animal, except of those kinds that may be eaten¹, or their bones still moist with fat.

71. In all such ablutions he must not wear his (defiled) apparel without having washed it before.

72. A woman in her courses becomes pure after four days by bathing.

73. A woman in her courses having touched another woman in her courses, who belongs to a lower caste than she does, must not eat again till she is purified.

74. If she has (unawares) touched a woman of her own caste, or of a higher caste than her own, she becomes pure at once, after having taken a bath.

75. Having sneezed, having slept, having eaten,

70. ¹ See LI, 6.

75. Nand. argues from a passage of *Yâgñavalkya* (I, 196) and from texts of *Âpastamba* (not found in his *Dharma-sûtra*) and of *Praketas*, that the particle *ka* refers to repeated sipping of water.

going to eat or to study, having drunk (water), having bathed, having spat, having put on his garment, having walked on the high road, having discharged urine or voided excrements, and having touched the bones no longer moist with fat of a five-toed animal, he must sip water ;

76. Likewise, if he has talked to a *Kândâla* or to a *Mlekṣha* (barbarian).

77. If the lower part of his body, below the navel, or one of his fore-arms, has been defiled by one of the impure excretions of the body, or by one of the spirituous liquors or of the intoxicating drinks (hereafter mentioned), he is purified by cleansing the limb in question with earth and water.

78. If another part of his body (above the navel) has been defiled, (he becomes pure by cleansing it) with earth and water, and by bathing.

79. If his mouth has been defiled (he becomes pure) by fasting, bathing, and drinking *Pañṭagavya*;

80. Likewise, if his lip has been defiled.

81. Adeps, semen, blood, dandruff, urine, fæces, ear-wax, nail-parings, phlegm, tears, rheum, and sweat are the twelve impure excretions of the body.

82. Distilled from sugar, or from the blossoms of the *Madhûka* (*Mâdhvî* wine¹), or from flour : these three kinds of spirituous liquor have to be discerned ; as one, so are all : none of them must be tasted by the twice-born.

83. Again, distilled from the blossoms of the

76. Regarding the meaning of *Mlekṣha*, see LXXXIV, 4.

82, 83. ¹ How the *Mâdhvî*, *Mâdhûka*, and *Mâdhvîka* wines differ from one another, does not become clear. Nand. explains the term *Mâdhûka* as denoting an extract from *Madhûka* blossoms (*bassia latifolia*), and *Mâdhvî* and *Mâdhvîka* as two different preparations from *Madhu*. Now *Madhu* might be rendered by 'honey;'

Madhûka tree (Mâdhûka wine), from molasses, from the fruits of the *Taṅka* (or *Kapittha* tree), of the jujube tree, of the *Khargûra* tree, or of the bread-fruit tree, from wine-grapes, from Madhûka blossoms (Mâdhvika wine), Maireya, and the sap of the cocoa-nut tree :

84. These ten intoxicating drinks are unclean for a Brâhmaṇa ; but a Kshatriya and a Vaisya commit no wrong in touching (or drinking) them.

85. A pupil having performed (on failure of other mourners) the funeral of his dead Guru, becomes pure after ten nights, like those (kinsmen) who carry out the dead.

86. A student does not infringe the rules of his order by carrying out, when dead, his teacher, or his sub-teacher, or his father, or his mother, or his Guru.

87. A student must not offer a libation of water to a deceased relative (excepting his parents) till the term of his studentship has expired ; but if, after its expiration, he offers a libation of water, he becomes pure after three nights.

88. Sacred knowledge (see 92), religious austerities (see 90), fire (see XXIII, 33), holy food (*Pañḍagavya*), earth (see 91), the mind, water (see 91), smearing (with cow-dung and the like, see XXIII, 56), air (see XXIII, 41), (the morning and evening prayers and other) religious acts, the sun

but Kullûka, in his comment on the term Mâdhvî (M. XI, 95), states expressly that it means 'Madhûka blossom,' and Hârîta (as quoted by Nand.) says that Mâdhûka, Mâdhvî and Mâdhvika are all preparations from Madhu, i. e. Madhûka blossoms. Maireya, according to the lexicographer Vâkaspati, as quoted by Nand., is an intoxicating drink prepared from the flowers of the *grislea tomentosa*, mixed with sugar, grain, and water, or, according to the reading of the *Sabdakalpadrûma* (see the Petersburg Dictionary), with sorrel.

(see XXIII, 40), and time (by the lapse of the ten days of impurity and the like) are purifiers of animate objects.

89. Of all pure things, pure food is pronounced the most excellent; for he who eats pure food only, is truly pure, not he who is only purified with earth and water.

90. By forgiveness of injuries the learned are purified; by liberality, those who have done forbidden acts; by muttering of prayers, those who have sinned in secret; by religious austerities, those who best know the Veda.

91. By water and earth is purified what should be purified (because it has been defiled); a river is purified by its current (carrying away all slime and mud); a woman, whose thoughts have been impure, by her menses; and the chief among the twice-born (the Brâhmanas), by renouncing the world.

92. Bodies (when defiled) are purified by water; the mind is purified (from evil thoughts) by truth; the soul (is purified or freed from worldly vanity) by sacred learning and austerities; the understanding (when unable to resolve some doubt), by knowledge.

93. Thus the directions for purifying animate bodies have been declared to thee; hear now the rules for cleaning all sorts of inanimate objects.

XXIII.

1. What has been defiled by the impure excretions of the body, by spirits, or by intoxicating drinks, is impure in the highest degree.

XXIII. 2. Âpast. I, 5, 17, 10; Gaut. I, 29. — 4. Y. I, 185; Gaut. I, 29, 31. — 5. M.V, 123; Gaut. I, 34. — 7-11. M.V, 111, 112, 116, 117; Y. I, 182, 183. — 7, 8. Gaut. I, 29, 30. — 13-

2. All vessels made of iron (or of other metals or of composition metals such as bell-metal and the like), which are impure in the highest degree, become pure by exposure to the fire.

3. Things made of gems or stones or water-shells, (such as conch-shells or mother-of-pearl, become pure) by digging them into the earth for seven days.

4. Things made of horns (of rhinoceroses or other animals), or of teeth (of elephants or other animals), or of bone (of tortoises or other animals, become pure) by planing them.

5. Vessels made of wood or earthenware must be thrown away.

6. Of a garment, which has been defiled in the highest degree, let him cut off that part which, having been washed, is changed in colour.

7. Objects made of gold, silver, water-shells, or gems, when (they are only defiled by leavings of food and the like, and) not smeared (with greasy substances), are cleansed with water.

8. So are stone cups and vessels used at Soma-sacrifices (when not smeared).

15. M. V, 118, 119; Y. I, 184, 182. — 16. M. V, 122. — 17. M. V, 126; Y. I, 191. — 18. M. V, 118. — 19-22. M. V, 120; Y. I, 186, 187. — 25, 26. M. V, 114; Y. I, 190. — 27. M. V, 115; Y. I, 185; Âpast. I, 5, 17, 12; Gaut. I, 29. — 28. Y. I, 185. — 30. M. V, 115; Y. I, 190. — 33. M. V, 122; Y. I, 187. — 38, 39. M. V, 125, 126. — 38. Y. I, 189. — 40. Y. I, 194. — 41. Y. I, 197. — 47-52. M. V, 127-133. — 53-55. M. V, 141-143. — 53. Y. I, 195; Âpast. I, 5, 16, 12; Gaut. I, 38, 41. — 55. Gaut. I, 28. — 56, 57. M. V, 122, 124; Y. I, 188.

7. The defilement in the highest degree having been treated of in the six preceding Sûtras, he now goes on to discuss the various cases of lesser defilement. (Nand.)

8-11. Regarding the shape of the sacrificial implements men-

9. Sacrificial pots, ordinary wooden ladles, and wooden ladles with two collateral excavations (used for pouring clarified butter on a sacrificial fire) are cleansed with hot water (when not smeared).

10. Vessels used for oblations (of butter, fruits, and the like are cleansed) by rubbing them with the hand (with blades of Kusa grass) at the time of the sacrifice.

11. Sword-shaped pieces of wood for stirring the boiled rice, winnowing baskets, implements used for preparing grain, pestles and mortars (are cleansed) by sprinkling water over them.

12. So are beds, vehicles, and seats (when defiled even by the touch of a *Sûdra*)¹.

13. Likewise, a large quantity (of anything).

14. Grain, skins (of antelopes, &c.), ropes, woven cloth, (fans and the like) made of bamboo, thread, cotton, and clothes (which have only just come from the manufactory, or which are dyed with saffron and will not admit of washing for that reason, are cleansed in the same way, when there is a large quantity of them);

15. Also, pot-herbs, roots, fruits, and flowers;

16. Likewise, grass, firewood, dry cow-dung (used as fuel), and leaves (of the *Madhûka*, *Palâsa*, or other trees).

tioned in these *Sûtras*, see the plates in Professor Max Müller's paper, 'Die Todtenbestattung bei den Brahmanen,' in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, IX, LXXVIII-LXXX.

12. ¹ This *Sûtra* and the following ones relate to defilement caused by touch. (Nand.)

13. 'I.e. more than one man can carry, as *Baudhâyana* says.' (Nand.)

14. The use of the particle *ka* implies that resin and other objects mentioned by *Devala* must be included in this enumeration. (Nand.)

17. The same (when smeared with excrements and the like, are cleansed) by washing.

18. And so (have the objects mentioned in Sûtra 14, if defiled without being smeared, to be cleansed by washing), when there is only a small quantity of them ;

19. Silk and wool, with saline earths ;

20. (Blankets or plaids) made of the hair of the mountain-goat, with the fruits of the soap plant ;

21. Clothes made of the bark of trees¹, with Bèl fruit ;

22. Linen cloth, with white sesamum ;

23. Likewise, things made of horns, bone, or teeth ;

24. (Rugs or covers) made of deer's hair, with lotus-seeds ;

25. Vessels of copper, bell-metal, tin, and lead, with acidulated water ;

26. Vessels of white copper and iron, with ashes ;

27. Wooden articles, by planing ;

28. Vessels made of fruits (such as cocoa-nuts, bottle-gourds, and Bèl fruits), by (rubbing them with) cows' hair.

29. Many things in a heap, by sprinkling water over them ;

30. Liquids (such as clarified butter, milk, &c.), by straining them ;

17. 'All the objects mentioned in Sûtras 12-16 must be washed, but so as to avoid injuring them, in case they have been defiled by excrements or other such impure substances.' (Nand.)

21. The term *amsupa* has been rendered in accordance with Nand.'s interpretation, which agrees with Vignânesvara's (on Y. I, 186). Kullûka (on M.V, 120; see the Petersburg Dictionary) appears to refer it to two different sorts of clothes.

30-37. These Sûtras relate to defilement caused by insects, &c. (Nand.)

31. Lumps of sugar and other preparations from the sugar-cane¹, stored up in large quantities (exceeding a *Drona*) and kept in one's own house², by water and fire³;

32. All sorts of salt, in the same manner ;

33. Earthen vessels (if smeared with excrements and the like), by a second burning ;

34. Images of gods (if smeared), by cleansing them in the same way as the material (of which they are made is generally cleansed), and then installing them anew (in their former place).

35. Of undressed grain let him remove so much only as has been defiled, and the remainder let him pound in a mortar and wash.

36. A quantity of prepared grain not exceeding a *Drona* is not spoiled by being defiled (by dogs, crows, and other unclean animals).

37. He must throw away thus much of it only as has been defiled, and must sprinkle over the remainder water, into which a piece of gold has been dropped, and over which the *Gâyatri* has been pronounced, and must hold it up before a goat (or before a horse) and before the fire.

31. ¹ Such as raw sugar, candied sugar, &c. — ² If there is no large quantity of them, they require to be sprinkled with water only ; and if they are kept elsewhere than in the house, as if they are exposed for sale in a fair, they require no purification at all. — ³ They must be encircled with fire, and sprinkled with water afterwards. (Nand.)

32. Nand. mentions as the main species of salt, rock-salt, sea-salt, sochal-salt, and *Sâmbhala*-salt. The last term refers perhaps to salt coming from the famous salt-lake of *Sâkambharî* or *Shambar* in *Râgputana*.

37. 'A quantity less than a *Drona* having been defiled must be thrown away, as stated by *Parâsara*.' (Nand.) One *Drona* = 4 *Âdhakas* = 1024 *Mushâs* or handfuls. The meaning of *Âdhaka*,

38. That (food) which has been nibbled by a bird (except a crow or other such birds that must not be eaten or touched), smelt at by a cow, sneezed on, or defiled by (human) hair, or by insects or worms, is purified by earth scattered over it.

39. As long as the scent or moisture, caused by any unclean substance, remains on the defiled object, so long must earth and water be constantly applied in all purifications of inanimate objects.

40. A goat and a horse are pure, as regards their mouths, but not a cow, nor the impure excretions of a man's body; roads are purified by the rays of the moon and of the sun, and by the winds.

41. Mire and water upon the high road, that has been touched by low-caste people, by dogs, or by crows, as well as buildings constructed with burnt bricks, are purified by the wind.

42. For everybody let him (the Âkârya or spiritual guide) carefully direct the performance of purificatory ceremonies, with earth and water, when he has been defiled in the highest degree.

43. Stagnant water, even if a single cow only has quenched her thirst with it, is pure, unless it is quite filled with (hair or other) unclean objects; it is the same with water upon a rock (or upon the top of a mountain).

44. From a well, in which a five-toed animal (whether man or beast, but not one of the five-toed

however, according to Nand's observation, varies in different countries. See Colebrooke's Essays, I, 533 seq.

38. In explanation of the term *amedhya*, 'unclean substance,' Nand. quotes the following passage of Devala, 'Human bones, a corpse, excrements, semen, urine, the menstrual discharge, adeps, sweat, the rheum of the eyes, phlegm, and spirituous liquors are called unclean substances.'

animals whose flesh may be eaten)¹ has died, or which has been defiled in the highest degree, he must take out all the waters and dry up the remainder with a cloth.

45. If it is a well constructed with burnt bricks (or stones,) he must light a fire and afterwards throw *Pañḍagavya* into it, when fresh water is coming forth.

46. For small reservoirs of water and for ponds the same mode of purification has been prescribed as for wells, O Earth ; but large tanks (excepting *Tīrthas*) are not defiled (by dead animals, &c.)

47. The gods have declared, as peculiar to *Brāhmaṇas*, three causes effecting purity: if an (existing) impurity has not been perceived by them ; if they sprinkle the object (supposed to be impure) with water ; and if they commend it, in doubtful cases, with their speech, (saying, 'This or that shall be pure.')

48. The hand of a (cook or other) artizan, things exposed for sale in a shop (though they may have passed through the hands of many customers), food given to a *Brāhmaṇa* (by other *Brāhmaṇas*, or by *Kshatriyas*, &c., but not by *Sūdras*), and all manufactories or mines (of sugar, salt, and the like, but not distilleries of spirituous liquor), are always pure.

49. The mouth of a woman is always pure (for the purpose of a kiss); a bird is pure on the fall of fruit (which he has pecked); a sucking calf (or child), on the flowing of the milk ; a dog, on his catching the deer.

50. Flesh of an animal which has been killed by dogs is pronounced pure ; and so is that of an

44. ¹ See LI, 6.

animal slain by other carnivorous creatures (such as tigers) or by huntsmen such as *Kandâlas* (*Svapakas*, *Kshattris*, or other low-caste men).

51. The cavities above the navel must be considered as pure ; those below it are impure ; and so are all excretions that fall from the body.

52. Flies, saliva dropping from the mouth, a shadow, a cow, an elephant, a horse, sun-beams, dust, the earth, air, fire, and a cat are always pure.

53. Such drops as fall from the mouth of a man upon any part of his body do not render it impure, nor do hairs of the beard that enter his mouth, nor remnants of his food adhering to his teeth.

54. Drops which trickle on the feet of a man holding water for others to sip it, are considered as equal to waters springing from the earth : by them he is not soiled.

55. He who is anyhow touched by anything impure, while holding things in his hands, is purified by sipping water, without laying the things on the ground.

51. There are, according to Indian views, nine cavities or apertures of the body: the mouth, the two ears, the two nostrils, the two eyes, and the organs of excretion and generation. The two last are impure, the rest are pure.

55. Nand. and Kullûka (on M. V, 143) explain that *hasta*, 'hand,' here means 'arm,' as it would be impossible to sip water without using the hand. The former adds that, if the things are being carried with the hand, they must be placed in the cavity formed by the fore-arm. He refutes the opinion of the 'Eastern Commentators,' who, arguing from another *Smṛiti*, contend that the things have to be placed on the ground and to be sprinkled with water ; and he further tries to account for the seemingly contradictory rules propounded by *Vâsishṭha* (Benares ed., III, 43) and *Gautama* (I, 28) by explaining that a large quantity of things should be laid on the ground, and a small quantity placed upon

56. A house is purified by scouring it with a broom and plastering the ground with cow-dung, and a manuscript or book by sprinkling water over it. Land is cleansed by scouring, by plastering it with cow-dung,

57. By sprinkling¹, by scraping, by burning, or by letting cows (or goats) pass (a day and a night) on it. Cows are auspicious purifiers, upon cows depend the worlds,

58. Cows alone make sacrificial oblations possible (by producing sacrificial butter), cows take away every sin. The urine of cows, their dung, clarified butter, milk, sour milk, and Goroṣṇā :

59. Those six excellent (productions) of a cow are always propitious. Drops of water falling from the horns of a cow are productive of religious merit, and have the power to expiate all sins (of those who bathe in, or rub themselves with, them).

60. Scratching the back of a cow destroys all guilt, and giving her to eat procures exaltation in heaven.

some other limb, and further, that food should always be placed on the ground, but that a garment, a stick, and the like should be kept in the hand. Compare Dr. Bühler's note on Gaut. loc. cit. It may be remarked, incidentally, that Nand. quotes the reading *uṣṣhisho* 'nidhâya in the passage of Gautama referred to.

56. 'The term *pustaka* refers to MSS. or books, whether made of palm leaves, or of prepared hemp, or of prepared reeds (*sara*).' (Nand.) It may be that Nand. means by the last term a sort of paper, though paper is usually called by its Arabian name (*kâgad*) in Indian works. See regarding the materials used for writing in ancient India, Burnell's *Palæography*, p. 84 seq. (2nd ed.)

57. ¹ The term *seka*, 'sprinkling,' either refers to the earth being sprinkled by rain, or to *Pañṣagavya* being poured over it. (Nand.)

58. *Goroṣṇā* is a bright yellow pigment which is said to be prepared from the urine or bile of a cow.

61. In the urine of cows dwells the Ganges, prosperity (dwells) in the dust (rising from their couch), good fortune in cow-dung, and virtue in saluting them. Therefore should they be constantly saluted.

XXIV.

1. Now a Brâhmaṇa may take four wives in the direct order of the (four) castes ;

2. A Kshatriya, three ;

3. A Vaisya, two ;

4. A Sûdra, one only.

5. Among these (wives), if a man marries one of his own caste, their hands shall be joined.

6. In marriages with women of a different class, a Kshatriya bride must hold an arrow in her hand ;

7. A Vaisya bride, a whip ;

8. A Sûdra bride, the skirt of a mantle.

9. No one should marry a woman belonging to the same Gotra, or descended from the same *Rîshi* ancestors, or from the same Pravaras.

XXIV. 1-4. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 21, 74; M. III, 12-14; Y. I, 56, 57. — 5. M. III, 43; Y. I, 62. — 6-8. M. III, 44; Y. I, 62. — 9, 10. Weber loc. cit. 75; M. III, 5; Y. I, 53; Âpast. II, 5, 11, 15, 16; Gaut. IV, 2-5. — 12-16. M. III, 8. — 12. Y. I, 53. — 17-26. M. III, 20, 21, 27-34; Y. I, 58-61; Âpast. II, 5, 11, 17-II, 5, 12, 2; Gaut. IV, 6-13. — 27, 28. M. III, 23-26, 39; Âpast. II, 5, 12, 3; Gaut. IV, 14, 15. — 29-32. M. III, 37, 38; Y. I, 58-60; Gaut. IV, 30-33. — 38. M. V, 151; Y. I, 63. — 39. Y. I, 63. — 40. M. IX, 90; Y. I, 64. — 41. M. IX, 93.

1. This chapter opens the section on *Samskâras* or sacraments, i. e. the ceremonies on conception and so forth. (Nand.) This section forms the second part of the division treating of *Âtâra*. See above, XIX.

9. According to Nand., the term *Gotra* refers to descent from one of the seven *Rîshis*, or from *Agastya* as the eighth; the term *Ârsha* (*Rîshi* ancestors), to descent from the *Ârshîshenas* or *Mudgalas*,

10. Nor (should he marry) one descended from his maternal ancestors within the fifth, or from his paternal ancestors within the seventh degree ;

11. Nor one of a low family (such as an agriculturer's, or an attendant of the king's family) ;

12. Nor one diseased ;

13. Nor one with a limb too much (as e. g. having six fingers) ;

14. Nor one with a limb too little ;

15. Nor one whose hair is decidedly red ;

16. Nor one talking idly.

17. There are eight forms of marriage :

18. The Brâhma, Daiva, Ârsha, Prâgâpatya, Gândharva, Âsura, Râkshasa, and Paisâka forms.

19. The gift of a damsel to a fit bridegroom, who has been invited, is called a Brâhma marriage.

20. If she is given to a *Ritviṣ* (priest), while he is officiating at a sacrifice, it is called a Daiva marriage.

21. If (the giver of the bride) receives a pair of kine in return, it is called an Ârsha marriage.

22. (If she is given to a suitor) by his demand, it is called a Prâgâpatya marriage.

or from some other subdivision of the *Bhrigus* or *Ângirasas*, excepting the *Gâmadagnas*, *Gautamas*, and *Bhâradvâgas* ; and the term *Pravara*, to the *Mantrakṛts* of one's own race, i. e. the ancestors invoked by a Brâhmaṇa at the commencement of a sacrifice. Nand.'s interpretation of the last term is no doubt correct ; but it seems preferable to take *Gotra* in the sense of 'family name' (*laukika gotra*), and to refer the term *samânârsha* to descent from the same *Rîshi* (*vaidika gotra*). See Dr. Bühler's notes on *Âpast.* II, 5, 11, 15, and *Gaut.* XVIII, 6 ; Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 379-388 ; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X, 69-81. If *ârsha* were connected with *pravara*, the whole compound *samânârshapravarâ* would denote 'a woman descended from the same *Rîshi*' = *samanârshâ*, *Y. I.* 53, and *samânapravarâ*, *Gaut.* XVIII, 6.

23. A union between two lovers, without the consent of mother and father, is called a Gândharva marriage.

24. If the damsel is sold (to the bridegroom), it is called an Âsura marriage.

25. If he seizes her forcibly, it is called a Râkshasa marriage.

26. If he embraces her in her sleep, or while she is unconscious, it is called a Paisâka marriage.

27. Among those (eight forms of marriage), the four first forms are legitimate (for a Brâhmana);

28. And so is the Gândharva form for a Kshatriya.

29. A son procreated in a Brâhma marriage redeems (or sends into the heavenly abodes hereafter mentioned) twenty-one men (viz. ten ancestors, ten descendants, and him who gave the damsel in marriage).

30. A son procreated in a Daiva marriage, fourteen;

31. A son procreated in an Ârsha marriage, seven;

32. A son procreated in a Prâgâpatya marriage, four.

33. He who gives a damsel in marriage according to the Brâhma rite, brings her into the world of Brahman (after her death, and enters that world himself).

34. (He who gives her in marriage) according to the Daiva rite, (brings her) into Svarga (or heaven, and enters Svarga himself).

35. (He who gives her in marriage) according to the Ârsha rite, (brings her) into the world of Vishnu (and enters that world himself).

36. (He who gives her in marriage) according to the Prâgrâpatya rite, (brings her) into the world of the gods (and enters that world himself).

37. (He who gives her in marriage) according to the Gândharva rite, will go to the world of Gândharvas.

38. A father, a paternal grandfather, a brother, a kinsman, a maternal grandfather, and the mother (are the persons) by whom a girl may be given in marriage.

39. On failure of the preceding one (it devolves upon) the next in order (to give her in marriage), in case he is able.

40. When she has allowed three monthly periods to pass (without being married), let her choose a husband for herself; three monthly periods having passed, she has in every case full power to dispose of herself (as she thinks best).

41. A damsel whose menses begin to appear (while she is living) at her father's house, before she has been betrothed to a man, has to be considered as a degraded woman: by taking her (without the consent of her kinsmen) a man commits no wrong.

39. Regarding the causes effecting legal disability, such as love, anger, &c., see Nârada 3, 43.

40. Nand., arguing from a passage of Baudhâyana (see also M. IX, 90), takes *ṛitu*, 'monthly period,' as synonymous with *varsha*, 'year.' But *ṛitu*, which occurs in two other analogous passages also (Gaut. XVIII, 20, and Nârada XII, 24), never has that meaning.

41. Nand. observes, that the rules laid down in this and the preceding Sloka refer to young women of the lower castes only. Nowadays the custom of outcasting young women, who have not been married in the proper time, appears to be in vogue in Brahmanical families particularly. *Smṛiti* passages regarding the illegality of marriages concluded with such women have been collected by me, Über die rechtl. Stellung der Frauen, p. 9, note 17. The

XXV.

1. Now the duties of a woman (are as follows):
2. To live in harmony with her husband;
3. To show reverence (by embracing their feet and such-like attentions) to her mother-in-law, father-in-law, to Gurus (such as elders), to divinities, and to guests;
4. To keep household articles (such as the winnowing basket and the rest) in good array;
5. To maintain saving habits;
6. To be careful with her (pestle and mortar and other) domestic utensils;
7. Not to practise incantations with roots (or other kinds of witchcraft);
8. To observe auspicious customs;
9. Not to decorate herself with ornaments (or to partake of amusements) while her husband is absent from home;
10. Not to resort to the houses of strangers (during the absence of her husband);

custom of *Svayamvara* or 'self-choice,' judging from the epics, was confined to females of the kingly caste, and in reality was no doubt of very rare occurrence.

XXV. 1-13. Colebrooke, Dig. IV, 2, XCII. — 2. M.V, 154; Y. I, 77. — 3. Y. I, 83. — 4-6. M.V, 150; Y. I, 83. — 9, 10. M. IX, 75; Y. I, 84. — 12, 13. M.V, 148; IX, 3; Y. I, 85; Gaut. XVIII, 1. — 14. M.V, 158; Colebrooke, Dig. IV, 3, CXXXIII. — 15. M.V, 155. — 17. M.V, 160. 15 is also found in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* XVI, 61, and, in a modified form, in other works. See Böhlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 3686, 3679. 16 is also found, in a modified form, in *Vṛiddhātākhyā's* Proverbs XVII, 9; and 17 in *Sârṅgadhara's* Paddhati, Sadâtâra, 10. See Böhlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 3900, 4948.

10. 'Strangers' means any other persons than her parents-in-law, her brother, maternal uncle, and other near relatives. (Nand.)

11. Not to stand near the doorway or by the windows (of her house);

12. Not to act by herself in any matter;

13. To remain subject, in her infancy, to her father; in her youth, to her husband; and in her old age, to her sons.

14. After the death of her husband, to preserve her chastity, or to ascend the pile after him.

15. No sacrifice, no penance, and no fasting is allowed to women apart from their husbands; to pay obedience to her lord is the only means for a woman to obtain bliss in heaven.

16. A woman who keeps a fast or performs a penance in the lifetime of her lord, deprives her husband of his life, and will go to hell.

17. A good wife, who perseveres in a chaste life after the death of her lord, will go to heaven like (perpetual) students, even though she has no son.

XXVI.

1. If a man has several wives of his own caste,

14. Nand. states that the self-immolation of widows (Satee) is a specially meritorious act, and not obligatory. Besides, he quotes several passages from other *Smṛitis* and from the *Bṛīhannâradīya-purâṇa*, to the effect that in case the husband should have died abroad, a widow of his, who belongs to the *Brâhmaṇa* caste, may not commit herself to the flames, unless she can reach the place, where his corpse lies, in a day; and that one who is in her courses, or pregnant, or whose pregnancy is suspected, or who has an infant child, is also forbidden to burn herself with her dead husband. English renderings of all the texts quoted by Nand. may be found in Colebrooke's *Essay on the Duties of a Faithful Hindu Widow*. See also above, XX, 39. Nand., arguing from a passage of *Bau-dhâyana*, takes the particle *vâ*, 'or,' to imply that the widow is at liberty to become a female ascetic instead of burning herself.

XXVI. 2. M. IX, 86. — 4. M. IX, 87. — 1-4. Colebrooke, Dig.

he shall perform his religious duties together with the eldest (or first-married) wife.

2. (If he has several) wives of divers castes (he shall perform them) even with the youngest wife if she is of the same caste as himself.

3. On failure of a wife of his own caste (he shall perform them) with one belonging to the caste next below his own; so also in cases of distress (i. e. when the wife who is equal in caste to him happens to be absent, or when she has met with a calamity);

4. But no twice-born man ever with a Sûdra wife.

5. A union of a twice-born man with a Sûdra wife can never produce religious merit; it is from carnal desire only that he marries her, being blinded by lust.

6. Men of the three first castes, who through folly marry a woman of the lowest caste, quickly degrade their families and progeny to the state of Sûdras.

7. If his oblations to the gods and manes and (his hospitable attentions) to guests are offered principally through her hands, the gods and manes (and the guests) will not eat such offerings, and he will not go to heaven.

XXVII.

1. The Nishekakarman (ceremony of impregna-

IV, 1, XLIX. — 5-7. M. III, 12, 14, 15, 18; Y. I, 56; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 74. — 7. Colebrooke, Dig. IV, 1, LII.

XXVII. 1-14. Âsv. I, 4-18; Gobh. II, 1-9; Pâr. I, 4-II, 1; Sâñkh. I, 12-28; M. II, 29-35, 66, 67; Y. I, 11-13; Gaut. VIII, 14. — 15-24, 26, 27. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 21; M. II, 38-47; Y. I,

tion) must be performed when the season fit for procreating children¹ distinctly appears (for the first time).

2. The *Pumsavana* (ceremony to cause the birth of a male) must be performed before the embryo begins to move.

3. The *Sîmantonnayana* (ceremony of parting the hair) should take place in the sixth or eighth month (of pregnancy).

4. The *Gâtakarman* (birth-ceremony) should take place on the birth of the child.

5. The *Nâmadheya* (naming-rite) must be performed as soon as the term of impurity (caused by the birth of the child) is over.

6. (The name to be chosen should be) auspicious in the case of a *Brâhmana* ;

7. Indicating power in the case of a *Kshatriya* ;

8. Indicating wealth in the case of a *Vaisya* ;

9. Indicating contempt in the case of a *Sûdra*.

14, 37, 38; Âpast. I, 1, 1, 18-21; I, 1, 2, 33-3, 6; Gaut. I, 5, 11-26. — 25. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 22; M. II, 49; Y. I, 30; Âpast. I, 1, 3, 28-30; Gaut. II, 36. — 28, 29. M. II, 174, 64.

1. ¹ 'Garbha' here means 'ritu,' i.e. the time favourable for procreation, following immediately upon the menstrual evacuation, and the above ceremony should be performed once only, in order to consecrate the mother once for all. (Nand.)

2, 3. The embryo begins to move in the fourth month of pregnancy, and the *Pumsavana* must be performed in the second or third month of every pregnancy. Thus Nand., who combats expressly the opinion that this ceremony has the consecration of the mother, and not the consecration of the foetus, for its object. Regarding the *Sîmantonnayana* he seems to consider both views as admissible. According to the former view it would have to be performed only once, like the *Nishekakarman*.

6-9. Nand. quotes as instances of such names: 1. *Lakshmi-dhara*; 2. *Yudhish/hira*; 3. *Arthapati*; 4. *Lokadâsa*; or (observing,

10. The Âdityadarsana (ceremony of taking the child out to see the sun) should take place in the fourth month (after birth).

11. The Annaprâsana (ceremony of first feeding) should take place in the sixth month.

12. The *Kûdâkarana* (tonsure rite) should take place in the third year¹.

13. For female children the same ceremonies, (beginning with the birth ceremony, should be performed, but) without Mantras.

14. The marriage ceremony only has to be performed with Mantras for them.

15. The initiation of Brâhmaṇas (should take place) in the eighth year after conception¹;

16. Of Kshatriyas, in the eleventh year after conception¹;

17. Of Vaisyas, in the twelfth year after conception¹;

18. Their girdles should be made of Muṅga grass, a bow-string, and Bâlbaga (coarse grass) respectively.

19. Their sacrificial strings and their garments should be made of cotton, hemp, and wool respectively.

at the same time, another rule regarding the second part of a compound name), 1. Vishṇuśarman; 2. Bhîmavarman; 3. Devagupta; 4. Dharmadâsa.

10. According to Nand., who quotes a passage of Yama in support of his opinion, this Sûtra has to be divided into two, which would, however, require several words to complete their sense, the import of the first being, that the child should be taken out to see the sun in the third month, and to see the moon in the fourth month. See the Introduction.

12. ¹ 'The third year,' i. e. either after conception, or after birth. (Nand.)

15-17. ¹ Nand., 'or after birth.' See Pâr. and Âsv. loc. cit.

20. The skins (which they wear) should be those of a black antelope, of a tiger, and of a he-goat respectively.

21. Their staves should be made of Palāsa, Khadira, and Udumbara wood respectively.

22. Their staves should be of such a length as to reach the hair, the forehead, and the nose respectively.

23. Or all (kinds of staves may be used for all castes indiscriminately).

24. And they should not be crooked, nor should the bark be stripped off.

25. In begging alms, they should put in the word 'Lady' at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of their request (according to their caste).

26. The ceremony of initiation must not be delayed beyond the sixteenth year in the case of a Brāhmaṇa; beyond the twenty-second, in the case of a Kshatriya; and beyond the twenty-fourth, in the case of a Vaisya.

27. After that, the youths belonging to any of those three castes, who have not been initiated at the proper time, are excluded from initiation, and contemned by the twice-born, and are called Vrātyas.

28. That skin, that cord, that girdle, that staff, and that garment which has been given to any one (on his initiation), that he must for ever wear when performing any religious observance.

29. His girdle, his skin, his staff, his string, and his ewer he must throw into the water when broken (or spoiled by use), and receive others consecrated with Mantras.

XXVIII.

1. Now¹ students shall dwell at their Guru's (spiritual teacher's) house.

2. They shall recite their morning and evening prayers.

3. (A student) shall mutter the morning prayer standing, and the evening prayer sitting.

4. He shall perform twice a day (in the mornings and evenings) the religious acts of sprinkling the ground (round the altar) and of putting fuel on the fire.

5. He must plunge into the waters like a stick.

XXVIII. passim. Âsv. *Grîhya*-s. I, 22; III, 7-9; Gobh. *Grîhya*-s. II, 10, 42-III, 4; Pâr. *Grîhya*-s. II, 4-6; Sâñkh. *Grîhya*-s. II, 6, 9-12; III, 1. — 1. Âpast. I, 1, 2, 11. — 3. M. II, 101; Y. I, 24, 25; Gaut. II, 11. — 4. M. II, 108; Y. I, 25; Âpast. I, 1, 4, 16. — 5. Âpast. I, 1, 2, 30. — 6, 7. M. II, 73, 182; Y. I, 27; Âpast. I, 2, 5, 27; I, 1, 4, 23; Gaut. I, 54; II, 29, 30. — 8. M. II, 41-47; Y. I, 29; Âpast. I, 1, 2, 33-I, 1, 3, 10; Gaut. I, 15, 16, 22. — 9, 10. M. II, 183, 184, 51; Y. I, 29, 31; Âpast. I, 1, 3, 25, 32; Gaut. II, 35, 37-39. — 11, 12. M. II, 177-179, &c.; Y. I, 33, &c.; Âpast. I, 1, 2, 23-28, &c.; Gaut. II, 13, &c. — 13-23. M. II, 194, 71, 72, 122-124, 195-198; Âpast. I, 2, 4, 28; I, 2, 5, 12, 23; I, 2, 6, 5-9, 14; Gaut. II, 21, 25-28; I, 52; II, 14. — 17. Y. I, 26. — 24-26. M. II, 199, 200. — 27, 28. M. II, 204; Âpast. I, 2, 8, 11, 13. — 29, 30. M. II, 205; Âpast. I, 2, 8, 19-21. — 31-33. M. II, 208, 209; Âpast. I, 2, 7, 28, 30; Gaut. II, 31, 32. — 34-36. M. III, 2; II, 168. — 37-40. M. II, 169-172; Y. II, 39; Âpast. I, 1, 1, 15-17; Gaut. I, 8. — 41. M. II, 219; Âpast. I, 1, 2, 31, 32; Gaut. I, 27. — 42. M. II, 245; Y. I, 51; Âpast. I, 11, 30, 1; Gaut. IX, 1. — 43-46. M. II, 243, 247, 248; Y. I, 49; Âpast. I, 2, 4, 29; Gaut. II, 5-8. — 47. M. II, 249; Gaut. III, 9. — 48-53. M. XI, 121, 123, 124; II, 181, 187, 220. — 51, 52. Y. III, 278, 281; Gaut. XXIII, 20.

1. 'I.e. after the performance of the initiation ceremony.' (Nand.)

5. The sense of this injunction, according to Nand., is, that he must not pronounce any bathing Mantras. But more probably it

6. Let him study when called (by his teacher).
7. He shall act so as to please his Guru (spiritual teacher) and to be serviceable to him.
8. He shall wear his girdle, his staff, his skin, and his sacrificial string.
9. He shall go begging at the houses of virtuous persons, excepting those of his Guru's (and of his own) relatives.
10. He may eat (every morning and evening) some of the food collected by begging, after having received permission to do so from his Guru.
11. He must avoid *Srâddhas*, factitious salt, food turned sour ¹, stale food, dancing, singing, women, honey, meat, ointments, remnants of the food (of other persons than his teacher), the killing of living beings, and rude speeches.
12. He must occupy a low couch.
13. He must rise before his Guru and go to rest after him.
14. He must salute his Guru, after having performed his morning devotion.
15. Let him embrace his feet with crossed hands,

is meant, that he shall swim motionless like a stick (see Âpast. I, 1, 2, 30, with Dr. Bühler's note). According to a third explanation, which is mentioned both by Haradatta and by Devapâla in his Commentary on the *Kâṇḍaka Gr̥hya-sūtra*, the sense would be, that he is not allowed, while bathing, to rub his skin, in order to clean himself, with bathing powder and the like.

11. ¹ Nand. interprets *sukta*, 'food turned sour,' by 'rude speeches,' because if taken in its other meaning, it would be included in the next term, *paryushita*, 'stale food.' However, if Nand.'s interpretation were followed, it would coincide with the last term of this enumeration, *aśīla*, 'rude speeches;' and its position between two articles of food renders the above interpretation more plausible.

16. The right foot with his right hand, and the left foot with his left.

17. After the salutation (abhivâdaye, 'I salute') he must mention his own name and add the word 'bhos' (Venerable Sir) at the end of his address.

18. He must not speak to his Guru while he is himself standing, or sitting, or lying, or eating, or averting his face.

19. And let him speak, if his teacher sits, standing up; if he walks, advancing towards him; if he is coming near, meeting him; if he runs, running after him;

20. If his face is averted, turning round so as to face him;

21. If he is at some distance, approaching him;

22. If he is in a reclining position, bending to him;

23. Let him not sit in a careless attitude (such as e. g. having a cloth tied round his legs and knees, while sitting on his hams) before the eyes of his teacher.

24. Neither must he pronounce his mere name (without adding to it the word *Śrī* or a similar term at the beginning).

25. He must not mimic his gait, his manner, his speech, and so on.

26. Where his Guru is censured or foully belied, there let him not stay.

27. Nor must he sit on the same seat with him,

28. Unless it be on a rock¹, on a wooden bench, in a boat, or in a carriage.

28. ¹ Thus according to Kullûka (on M. II, 204). Nand. takes the term *śilaphalaka* as a compound denoting 'a stone seat.'

29. If his teacher's teacher is near, let him behave towards him as if he were his own teacher.

30. He must not salute his own Gurus without his teacher's leave.

31. Let him behave towards the son of his teacher, who teaches him the Veda, as towards his teacher, even though he be younger or of an equal age with himself ;

32. But he must not wash his feet,

33. Nor eat the leavings of his food.

34. Thus let him acquire by heart one Veda, or two Vedas, or (all) the Vedas.

35. Thereupon, the Vedângas (that treating of phonetics and the rest)¹.

36. He who, not having studied the Veda, applies himself to another study, will degrade himself, and his progeny with him, to the state of a Sûdra.

37. From the mother is the first birth ; the second, from the girding with the sacrificial string.

38. In the latter, the Sâvitṛī hymn¹ is his mother, and the teacher his father.

39. It is this which entitles members of the three higher castes to the designation of 'the twice-born.'

40. Previous to his being girded with the sacrificial string, a member of these castes is similar to a Sûdra (and not allowed to study the Veda).

30. Nand. here interprets Guru by 'a paternal uncle and the rest.'

31. This rule refers to a son of his spiritual teacher, who teaches him one or two chapters of the Veda, while the teacher himself is gone out for bathing or some such reason. Vâ, 'or,' is added in order to include a son of the teacher, who is himself a pupil, as Manu (II, 208) says. (Nand.)

35. ¹ See Max Müller, Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 108 seq.

38. ¹ Rig-veda III, 62, 10.

41. A student shall shave all his hair, or wear it tied in one lock.

42. After having mastered the Veda, let him take leave of his teacher and bathe, after having presented him with a gift.

43. Or let him spend the remainder of his life at his teacher's house.

44. If, while he is living there, his teacher should die, let him behave to his teacher's son as towards his teacher himself;

45. Or¹ towards one of his wives, who is equal to him in caste.

46. On failure of such, let him pay homage to the fire, and live as a perpetual student.

47. A Brâhmana who passes thus without tiring (of the discharge of his duties) the time of his studentship will attain to the most exalted heavenly abode (that of Brahman) after his death, and will not be born again in this world.

48. A voluntary effusion of the semen by a twice-born youth (in sexual intercourse with a woman), during the period of his studentship, has been pronounced a transgression of the rule prescribed for students by expounders of the Vedas well acquainted with the system of duties.

49. Having loaded himself with that crime, he must go begging to seven houses, clothed only with the skin of an ass, and proclaiming his deed.

42. After the solemn bath (see Âsv. III, 8, 9; Gobh. III, 4; Pâr. II, 6; Sâṅkh. III, 1), which terminates the period of studentship, the student, who is henceforth called Snâtaka, 'one who has bathed,' is allowed to return home.

45. ¹ According to Nand., the particle vâ, 'or,' is used in order to include another alternative, that of living with an old fellow-student, as directed by Gautama, III, 8.

50. Eating once a day only a meal consisting of the alms obtained at those (houses), and bathing at the three Savanas (dawn, noon, and evening), he will be absolved from guilt at the end of the year.

51. After an involuntary effusion of the semen during sleep, a twice-born student must bathe (on the next morning), worship the sun (by offerings of perfumes and the like), and mutter three times the Mantra, 'Again shall my strength return to me'.

52. He who for seven days omits to collect alms and to kindle the sacred fire, must perform the penance of an Avakīrṇin (breaker of his vow), provided that he has not been prevented from the discharge of his duties by an illness.

53. If the sun should rise or set while a student is purposely indulging in sleep, ignoring (the precepts of law), he must fast for a day, muttering (the Gâyatrī one thousand and eight times).

XXIX.

1. He who having initiated a youth and instructed him in the Vratas¹, teaches him (one branch of) the Veda (together with its Āṅgas, such as that relating to phonetics, and the rest) is called Âtārya (teacher).

51. ¹ Taitt. Âraṇy. I, 30.

XXIX. 1. Âpast. I, 1, 1, 13; Gaut. I, 9. — 1-3. M. II, 140-143; Y. I, 34, 35. — 7-10. M. II, 111, 112, 114, 115. — 9, 10. See Bühler, *Introd. to Digest*, p. xxix.

1. The Vratas of a student are certain observances to be kept by him before he is admitted to the regular course of study of the Veda, and again before he is allowed to proceed to the study of the Mahânâmni verses and to the other higher stages of Vedic learning. See, particularly, Sâṅkh. II, 11, 12, with Dr. Oldenberg's note (*Ind. Stud.* XV, 139).

2. He who teaches him (after he has been initiated by another) either (an entire branch of the Veda) in consideration of a fee, or part of a Veda (without taking a fee), is called *Upādhyāya* (sub-teacher).

3. He who performs sacrifices (whether based upon *Sruti* or upon *Smṛiti*) is called *Ritvig* (officiating priest).

4. He must not engage a priest for the performance of sacrifices without having ascertained (his descent, character, and conduct).

5. Neither must he admit to his teaching (one whom he does not know).

6. And he must not initiate such a one.

7. If one answers improperly, or the other asks improperly¹, that one (or both) will perish or incur hatred.

8. If by instructing a pupil neither religious merit nor wealth are acquired, and if no sufficient attention is to be obtained from him (for his teacher's words), in such soil divine knowledge must not be sown: it would perish like fine seed in barren soil.

9. The deity of sacred knowledge approached a *Brāhmaṇa* (and said to him), 'Preserve me, I am thy treasure, reveal me not to a scorner, nor to a wicked man, nor to one of uncontrolled passions: thus I shall be strong.'

10. 'Reveal me to him, as to a keeper of thy gem, O *Brāhmaṇa*, whom thou shalt know to be pure, attentive, possessed of a good memory, and chaste, who will not grieve thee, nor revile thee.'

7. ¹A proper question is, e. g. if the pupil modestly says, 'I don't know about this, therefore I want to be instructed.' An improper question is, e. g. if he says, 'Why do you pronounce this thus wrongly?' An improper answer is an answer to an improper question. (Nand.)

XXX.

1. After having performed the Upâkarman ceremony on the full moon of the month *Srâvana*, or of the month *Bhâdra*, the student must (pass over the two next days without studying, and then) study for four months and a half.

2. After that, the teacher must perform out of town the ceremony of *Utsarga* for those students (that have acted up to this injunction); but not for those who have failed to perform the ceremony of *Upâkarman*.

3. During the period (subsequent upon the ceremony of *Upâkarman* and) intermediate between it and the ceremony of *Utsarga*, the student must read the *Vedângas*.

4. He must interrupt his study for a day and a night on the fourteenth and eighth days of a month¹.

5. (He must interrupt his study for the next day

XXX. 1-33. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 130-134; Nakshatras II, 322, 338-339; M. IV, 95-123; II, 71, 74; Y. I, 142-151; Âpast. I, 3, 9-11; Gaut. XVI; I, 51, 53. — 33-38. Âsv. III, 3, 3; M. II, 107; Y. I, 41-46. — 41, 42. M. II, 116. — 43-46. M. II, 117, 146-148, 144.

1-3. The annual course of Vedic studies opens with a ceremony called *Upâkarman*, and closes with a ceremony called *Utsarga*. The latter, according to the rule laid down in *Sûtra* 1, would fall upon the first day of the moon's increase, either in *Pausha* or in *Mâgha*. Nand. states that those students who have not performed the *Upâkarman* ceremony in due time must perform a penance before they can be admitted to the *Utsarga*; nor must those be admitted to it who have failed to go on to the study of another branch of the *Veda* at the ordinary time, after having absolved one.

4. ¹ Nand., with reference to a passage of *Hârîta*, considers the use of the plural and of the particle *kā* to imply that the study must also be interrupted on the first and fifteenth days.

5. ¹ This refers to the second days of the months *Phâlguna*, *Âshâd/kā*, and *Kârttika*. (Nand.)

and night) after a season of the year has begun¹,
(and for three nights) after an eclipse of the moon.

6. (He must not study for a day and a night)
when Indra's flag is hoisted or taken down.

7. (He must not study) when a strong wind is
going.

8. (He must not study for three days) when rain,
lightning, and thunder happen out of season¹.

9. (He must not study till the same hour next
day) in the case of an earthquake, of the fall of a
meteor, and when the horizon is preternaturally red,
as if on fire.

10. (He must not study) in a village in which a
corpse lies ;

11. Nor during a battle ;

12. Nor while dogs are barking, jackals yelling,
or asses braying ;

13. Nor while the sound of a musical instrument
is being heard ;

14. Nor while Sûdras or outcasts are near ;

15. Nor in the vicinity of a temple, of a burial-
ground, of a place where four ways meet, or of a
high road ;

16. Nor while immersed in water ;

17. Nor with his foot placed upon a bench ;

18. Nor while riding upon an elephant, a horse,
or a camel, (or in a carriage drawn by any of those
animals), or being borne in a boat, or in a carriage
drawn by oxen ;

19. Nor after having vomited ;

8. ¹ 'I.e. not during the rains.' (Nand.)

12. Nand. considers the term *śva*, 'dog,' to include all the other
animals mentioned by Âpastamba, I, 3, 10, 17.

19-21. After having vomited or been purged, he shall interrupt

20. Nor after having been purged ;
21. Nor during an indigestion.
22. When a five-toed animal has passed between the teacher and the pupil (the latter must interrupt his study for a day and a night).
23. When a king or a learned Brâhmana (who has mastered one Veda), or a cow, or a Brâhmana (in general) has met with an accident (he must not study).
24. After the Upâkarman (he must not study for three days).
25. And after the Utsarga (he must interrupt his study for as many days).
26. And (he must avoid to study) the hymns of the *Rîg-veda*, or those of the *Yagur-veda*, while the *Sâman* melodies are being chanted.
27. Let him not lie down to sleep again when he has begun to study in the second half of the night.
28. Let him avoid studying at times when there ought to be an intermission of study, even though a question has been put to him (by his teacher) ;

his study for a day and a night ; when suffering from indigestion, till he has digested his food. (Nand.)

22. According to Nand., the interruption of study is to last for two days, when a crow, or an owl, or a wild cock, or a mouse, or a frog, and the like animals have passed ; and for three days, when a dog, or an ichneumon, or a snake, or a frog (sic), or a cat has passed. He quotes Gaut. I, 59 in support of his interpretation. I have translated according to M. IV, 126 ; Y. I, 147.

23. In these cases the study shall not be taken up again till the accident has been appeased by propitiatory rites. If any of the persons in question has died, the interruption is to last for a day and a night, in case they were persons of little merit ; but in case they should have been very virtuous, it is to last for three days. (Nand.)

28. Every lesson consists of questions put by the teacher and the pupil's answers to them.

29. Since to study on forbidden days neither benefits him in this nor in the other world.

30. To study on such days destroys the life of both teacher and pupil.

31. Therefore should a teacher, who wishes to obtain the world of Brahman, avoid improper days, and sow (on proper days) the seed of sacred knowledge on soil consisting of virtuous pupils.

32. At the beginning and at the end of the lecture let the pupil embrace his teacher's feet ;

33. And let him pronounce the sacred syllable Om.

34. Now he who studies the hymns of the *Rig-veda* (regularly), feeds the manes with clarified butter.

35. He who studies the *Yagus* texts, (feeds them) with honey.

36. He who studies the *Sâman* melodies, (feeds them) with milk.

37. He who studies the *Atharva-veda*, (feeds them) with meat.

38. He who studies the *Purâṇas*, *Itihâsas*, *Vedâṅgas*, and the Institutes of Sacred Law, feeds them with rice.

39. He who having collected sacred knowledge, gains his substance by it in this world, will derive no benefit from it in the world to come.

33. Nand., quoting a passage of Yama, states the particle *ka* to imply that the pupil must touch the ground, after having pronounced the syllable Om.

38. Nand. considers the use of a *Dvandva* compound to imply that logic (*Nyâya*) and the *Mīmāṃsâ* system of philosophy are also intended in this *Sûtra*. Regarding the meaning of the terms *Purâṇa* and *Itihâsa*, see Max Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 40 seq.

39. This rule cannot refer to teaching for a reward, because

40. Neither will he (derive such benefit from it), who uses his knowledge in order to destroy the reputation of others (by defeating them in argument).

41. Let no one acquire sacred knowledge, without his teacher's permission, from another who is studying divine science.

42. Acquiring it in that way constitutes theft of the Veda, and will bring him into hell.

43. Let (a student) never grieve that man from whom he has obtained worldly knowledge (relating to poetry, rhetoric, and the like subjects), sacred knowledge (relating to the Vedas and Vedāṅgas), or knowledge of the Supreme Spirit.

44. Of the natural progenitor and the teacher who imparts the Veda to him, the giver of the Veda is the more venerable father; for it is the new existence acquired by his initiation in the Veda, which will last him both in this life and the next.

45. Let him consider as a merely human existence that which he owes to his father and mother uniting from carnal desire and to his being born from his mother's womb.

46. That existence which his teacher, who knows all the Vedas, effects for him through the prescribed rites of initiation with (his divine mother) the Gâyatrī, is a true existence; that existence is exempt from age and death.

47. He who fills his ears with holy truths, who

that is a minor offence (upapâtaka ; see below, XXXVII, 20); nor can it refer to teaching in general, because it is lawful to gain one's substance by it; but it refers to those who recite the Veda in behalf of another, and live by doing so. (Nand.)

41. See XXVIII, 6, and the preceding note.

frees him from all pain (in this world and the next), and confers immortality (or final liberation) upon him, that man let the student consider as his (true) father and mother : gratefully acknowledging the debt he owes him, he must never grieve him.

XXXI.

1. A man has three Atigurus (or specially venerable superiors) :

2. His father, his mother, and his spiritual teacher.

3. To them he must always pay obedience.

4. What they say, that he must do.

5. And he must do what is agreeable and serviceable to them.

6. Let him never do anything without their leave.

7. Those three are equal to the three Vedas (*Rig-veda*, *Sâma-veda*, and *Yagur-veda*), they are equal to the three gods (Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva), they are equal to the three worlds (of men, of gods, and of Brahman), they are equal to the three fires.

8. The father is the *Gârhapatya* (or household) fire, the mother is the *Dakshina* (or ceremonial) fire, and the spiritual teacher is the *Âhavanîya* (or sacrificial) fire.

9. He pays regard to all his duties, who pays regard to those three ; he who shows no regard to

XXXI. 1-6. M. II, 225, 226, 228, 229 ; Âpast. I, 4, 14, 6 ; Gaut. II, 50, 51. — 7. M. II, 230. — 8. M. II, 231 ; Âpast. I, 1, 3, 44. — 9. M. II, 234. — 10. M. II, 233.

9. 'The father is said to be of the same nature as the *Gârhapatya* fire, because the *Âhavanîya* is produced from it ; the mother is said to be of the same nature as the *Dakshina* fire, because it

them, derives no benefit from any religious observance.

10. By honouring his mother, he gains the present world; by honouring his father, the world of gods; and by paying strict obedience to his spiritual teacher, the world of Brahman.

XXXII.

1. A king, a priest, a learned Brâhmaṇa, one who stops wicked proceedings, an Upâdhyâya, a paternal uncle, a maternal grandfather, a maternal uncle, a father-in-law, an eldest brother, and¹ the parents-in-law of a son or a daughter are equal to a teacher;

2. And so are their wives, who are equal in caste to them.

3. And their mother's sister, their father's sister, and¹ their eldest sister.

4. A father-in-law, a paternal uncle, a maternal

has a separate origin, or because she has the sacrificial implements, such as the pestle and mortar and the like, in her charge; and the spiritual teacher is said to be of the same nature as the Âhavanîya fire, because all oblations fall to his share, as the Smṛiti says (Y. I, 27), "Let him (the pupil) deliver to him (the teacher) the collected alms." (Nand.)

XXXII. 1. M. II, 206. — 2. M. II, 210. — 3. M. II, 131. — 4. M. II, 130; Âpast. I, 4, 14, 11. — 5, 6. M. II, 210, 211; Âpast. I, 2, 7, 27; Gaut. II, 31, 32. — 7. M. II, 129. — 8, 9. M. XI, 205; Y. III, 292. — 10. Âpast. I, 1, 2, 20. — 11, 12. M. II, 201; Âpast. I, 2, 8, 15. — 13. M. II, 212; Gaut. II, 34. — 14. M. II, 216. — 15. M. II, 217; Gaut. II, 33; VI, 2. — 16. M. II, 136; Gaut. VI, 20. — 17. M. II, 135; Âpast. I, 4, 14, 25. — 18. M. II, 155.

1. ¹ The particle *ka* is used here, according to Nand., in order to include a paternal grandfather and other persons mentioned in a Smṛiti.

3. ¹ The particle *ka* here refers, according to Nand., to the paternal grandmother and others mentioned in a Smṛiti.

uncle, and a priest he must honour by rising to meet and saluting them, even though they be younger than himself.

5. The wives of Gurus (superiors), who are of a lower class than their husbands (such as Kshatriya or Vaisya or Mûrdhâvasikta wives), shall be honoured by (rising to meet and) saluting them from far; but he must not embrace their feet.

6. He should avoid to rub and anoint the limbs of Guru's wives, or to anoint their eyes, or to arrange their hair, or to wash their feet, or to do other such services for them.

7. To the wife of another, even though he does not know her, he must either say 'sister' (if she is of equal age with himself), or 'daughter' (if she is younger than himself), or 'mother' (if she is older than himself).

8. Let him not say 'thou' to his Gurus (superiors).

9. If he has offended one of them (by saying 'thou' to him, or in some other manner), he must keep a fast and not eat again till the end of the day, after having obtained his forgiveness.

10. He must avoid to quarrel with his spiritual teacher and to argue with him (from emulation).

11. And he must not censure him;

5. Sûdra wives are exempt from this rule; he should rise to meet, but not salute them. (Nand.)

8. 'Other insulting language, as e. g. if he says hush or pish to them, is also included in this term. The use of the particle *kā* indicates that other persons entitled to respect are also intended in this Sûtra. (Nand.)

10. 'The particle *kā* is used in order to include Brâhmanas in general in this prohibition.' (Nand.)

11. 'The use of the particle *kā* shows that defamatory speeches are also intended.' (Nand.)

12. Nor act so as to displease him.

13. (A pupil) must not embrace the feet of a Guru's young wife, if he has completed his twentieth year, or can distinguish virtue from vice.

14. But a young student may at pleasure prostrate himself before a young wife of his Guru, (stretching out both hands) as ordained (see XXVIII, 15), saying, 'I, N. N. (ho! salute thee).'

15. On returning from a journey he shall (once) embrace the feet of the wives of his Gurus (superiors), and daily salute them, remembering the practice of the virtuous.

16. Wealth, kindred, age, the performance of religious observances, and, fifthly, sacred knowledge are titles to respect; each subsequent one is superior to the one preceding in order.

17. A Brâhmana, though only ten years old¹, and a member of the kingly caste, though a hundred years old, must be considered as father and son; and of these two, the Brâhmana is the father.

18. The seniority of Brâhmanas is founded upon sacred knowledge; of Kshatriyas, upon valour in arms; of Vaisyas, upon grain and (other) wealth; of Sûdras, upon (priority of) birth.

XXXIII.

1. Now man has three most dangerous enemies, called carnal desire, wrath, and greed.

17. ¹ I. e. a Brâhmana for whom the ceremony of initiation has been performed. (Nand.) This proverb is also found in the Nîti-sâstra 155, in the Mahâbhârata II, 1385 seq., &c., and in other works. See Böhlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 6163, 2456, &c.

XXXIII. 1. Âpast. I, 8, 23, 4, 5.

1. The mention which has been made in the preceding section, that on Âkâra or rules of conduct, of the breach of the vow of

2. They are specially dangerous to the order of householders, because they have (houses, wives, and other) property.

3. Man, being overcome by those (three enemies), commits crimes in the highest degree, high crimes, minor crimes, and crimes in the fourth degree ;

4. Also crimes effecting loss of caste, crimes degrading to a mixed caste, and crimes rendering the perpetrator unworthy (to receive alms and the like);

5. And crimes causing defilement, and miscellaneous offences.

6. This is the threefold path to hell, destructive of self : carnal desire, wrath, and greed : therefore must a man shun those three vices.

XXXIV.

1. Sexual connection with one's mother, or daughter, or daughter-in-law are crimes in the highest degree.

2. Such criminals in the highest degree should proceed into the flames ; for there is not any other way to atone for their crime.

XXXV.

1. Killing a Brâhmana, drinking spirituous liquor,

chastity and the penance for it (see XXVIII, 48, 49), causes him (Vishnu) to discuss the law of penance (Prâyasakitta). This is done in the following section, to which Chapter XXXIV serves as Introduction. (Nand.) The section on Prâyasakitta extends as far as Chapter LVII.

6. This proverb is also found in the Bhagavad-gîtâ, XVI, 21, and in the Mahâbhârata, V, 1036. See Böhlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 2645.

XXXV. 1. M. IX, 235 ; XI, 55 ; Y. III, 227 ; Âpast. I, 7, 21, 8 ; Gaut. XXI, 1. — 2, 3. M. XI, 181 ; Y. III, 227, 261 ; Gaut. XXI, 3. — 4. M. XI, 181.

stealing the gold of a Brâhmana, and sexual connection with a Guru's wife are high crimes.

2. And social intercourse with such (criminals is also a high crime).

3. He who associates with an outcast is outcasted himself after a year;

4. And so is he who rides in the same carriage with him, or who eats in his company, or who sits on the same bench, or who lies on the same couch with him.

5. Sexual intercourse, intercourse in sacrificing, and intercourse by the mouth (with an outcast) entails immediate loss of caste.

6. Such mortal sinners are purified by a horse-sacrifice and by visiting all Tîrthas (places of pilgrimage) on earth.

XXXVI.

1. Killing a Kshatriya or Vaisya engaged in a sacrifice, or a woman in her courses, or a pregnant woman, or a woman (of the Brâhmana caste) who has bathed after temporary uncleanness¹, or an embryo

5. 'Intercourse of marriage' means sexual connection with an outcasted man or woman, or giving a damsel in marriage to an outcasted man. 'Intercourse in sacrificing' means sacrificing for, or with, an outcast. 'Mouthly intercourse' means teaching, or being taught by, or studying together with, an outcast. The present rule holds good in cases of voluntary intercourse only; if the intercourse was involuntary, the loss of caste does not follow till after a year. Others assert that the immediate loss of caste is entailed by particularly intimate intercourse only. (Nand.)

XXXVI. 1. M. XI, 88; Y. III, 251; Âpast. I, 9, 24, 6, 8, 9. — 2-7. M. XI, 57-59, 171, 172; Y. III, 228-233. — 2. Gaut. XXI, 10. — 5. Gaut. XXI, 1. — 7. Âpast. I, 7, 21, 9.

1. ¹ The term âtreya (atrigotrâ) has been translated here and in

of unknown sex, or one come for protection, are crimes equal to the crime of killing a Brâhmana.

2. Giving false evidence and killing a friend : these two crimes are equal to the drinking of spirituous liquor.

3. Appropriating to one's self land belonging to a Brâhmana or a deposit (belonging to a Brâhmana and not consisting of gold) are crimes equal to a theft of gold (belonging to a Brâhmana).

4. Sexual connection with the wife of a paternal uncle, of a maternal grandfather, of a maternal uncle, of a father-in-law, or of the king, are crimes equal to sexual connection with a Guru's wife ;

5. And so is sexual intercourse with the father's or mother's sister and with one's own sister ;

6. And sexual connection with the wife of a learned Brâhmana, or a priest, or an Upâdhyâya, or a friend ;

7. And with a sister's female friend (or with one's own female friend), with a woman of one's own race, with a woman belonging to the Brâhmana caste, with a (Brâhmana) maiden (who is not yet betrothed to a man), with a low-caste woman, with a woman in her courses, with a woman come for protection,

other places in accordance with that interpretation which is sanctioned by the majority among the commentators of law works. Nand., on the other hand, gives the preference to the opinion of those who render it by 'a woman descended from or married to a man of the race of Atri.'

2. 'The term *etau*, "these," is used in order to include the forgetting of Veda texts and other crimes, which are mentioned as equal to drinking spirituous liquor by Manu (XI, 57) and Yâgñavalkya (III, 229).' (Nand.)

5. 'The particle *ka* in this Sûtra refers to little girls, as ordained by Manu, XI, 59.' (Nand.)

with a female ascetic, and with a woman entrusted to one's own care.

8. Such minor offenders become pure, like mortal sinners, by a horse-sacrifice and by visiting Tīrthas.

XXXVII.

1. Setting one's self up by false statements (as by saying, 'I have done this,' or the like).

2. Making statements, which will reach the ears of the king, regarding a (minor) offence committed by some one;

3. Unjustly upbraiding a Guru (as by saying, 'You have neglected such a household duty');

4. Reviling the Veda;

5. Forgetting the Veda texts, which one has studied;

6. (Abandoning) one's holy fire, or one's father, mother, son, or wife;

XXXVII. 1-34. M. XI, 56, 57, 60-67; Y. III, 228-230, 234-242; Âpast. I, 7, 21, 12-17; Gaut. XXI, 11. — 35. M. XI, 118; Y. III, 265.

1. 'But if a man who does not know all the four Vedas says, in order to procure a valuable present or some other advantage, 'I know the four Vedas,' or if he says of another, his superior in caste or sacred knowledge, in order to prevent his receiving a valuable present, 'This man is no Brâhmana,' or 'He does not know anything,' in all such cases his crime is equal to the killing of a Brâhmana.' (Nand.)

2. 'But giving information of a heavy crime constitutes a crime equal to the killing of a Brâhmana.' (Nand.)

3. Guru means 'father' here. Heavy reproaches, as e.g. if a son says to his father, 'You have made unequal shares in dividing the patrimony,' are equal to killing a Brâhmana. (Nand.)

4. 'But atheistical detracting from the authority of the Veda constitutes a crime equal to the drinking of spirituous liquor.' (Nand.)

6. 'The use of the particle *ka* indicates that distant relatives are also intended here, as Yâgñavalkya, III, 239, states.' (Nand.)

7. Eating the food of those whose food may not be eaten, or forbidden food;
8. Appropriating to one's self (grain, copper, or other) goods of another man (but not his gold);
9. Sexual intercourse with another man's wife;
10. Sacrificing for persons for whom it is forbidden to sacrifice (such as *Sûdras*, persons for whom the initiation has not been performed, and the like);
11. To live by a forbidden occupation (as, if a *Brâhmana* lives by the occupation of a *Kshatriya*, or of a *Vaisya*).
12. Receiving unlawful presents;
13. Killing a *Kshatriya*, or a *Vaisya*, or a *Sûdra*, or a cow;
14. Selling articles that ought not to be sold (such as salt, lac, or others);
15. For an elder brother to suffer his younger brother to marry before him;
16. For a younger brother to marry, though his elder brother is not yet married;
17. To give a girl in marriage to either of those two (categories of offenders);
18. Or to perform the nuptial ceremony for them;
19. To allow the proper time for the ceremony of initiation to pass without being initiated;

10. 'But sacrificing for an outcast is a high crime.' (Nand.)

12. This rule refers to receiving presents from an outcast or other person, whose gifts must not be accepted, to receiving improper gifts, such as a ram, or a black antelope, and to receiving presents at an improper place, such as *Kurukshetra*, or at an improper time, such as during an eclipse of the sun. The particle *ka* further refers to giving instruction to those who are not entitled to receive it, as *Yama* mentions. (Nand.)

20. To teach the Veda for a reward (unless it be in an emergency);
21. To be taught by one who teaches the Veda for a reward (unless it be in an emergency);
22. To be employed (by the king's order) in the working of mines of any sort (whether gold mines, or silver mines, or others, or manufactories);
23. To make large (sharp) instruments (such as instruments for piercing an elephant's ear);
24. Cutting trees, shrubs, creepers, long climbing plants (such as vines), or herbs;
25. Living by (prostituting) one's own wife;
26. Trying to overcome another by incantations (tending to kill him), or by forcible means;
27. Performing the act (of cooking) for one's own sole benefit;
28. Not to have kindled one's own sacred fire;
29. Omitting to pay one's debts to the gods, *Rishis*, and manes (or sacrificing, study of the Veda, and propagation of one's race);
30. Studying irreligious books;
31. Atheism;
32. Subsisting by a reprehensible art (such as dancing);
33. Intercourse with women who drink spirits;
34. Thus have the crimes in the fourth degree been enumerated.

20. It is true that the above definition of an *Upâdhyâya* (XXIX, 2) implies that teaching the Veda for a fee is no reprehensible act; but that permission has reference to cases of distress only. (Nand.)

26. Nand. asserts that the particle *ka* is used here in order to include the performance of an *Ahîna* sacrifice and of the other sinful acts mentioned by Manu, XI, 198.

31. Atheism (*nâstikatâ*) consists in denying the existence of another life. (Nand.)

35. Such criminals in the fourth degree shall perform the *Kândrâyana* or *Parâka* penances, or shall sacrifice a cow (as the case may require).

XXXVIII.

1. Causing (bodily) pain to a *Brâhmaṇa* ;
2. Smelling at things which ought not to be smelt (such as excrements), or at spirituous liquor ;
3. Dishonest dealing ;
4. Sexual connection with cattle ;
5. And (sexual connection) with a man (or unnatural intercourse with a woman) :
6. Such are the crimes effecting loss of caste.
7. He who has knowingly committed one of the acts effecting loss of caste shall perform the *Sântapana*¹ penance ; he who has done so unawares shall perform the *Prâgâpatya*¹ penance.

XXXIX.

1. Killing domestic or wild animals are crimes degrading to a mixed caste.
2. He who has committed a crime degrading to a mixed caste shall eat barley-gruel for a month (if he has committed it knowingly), or perform the penance *Krikkhrâtikrikkhra* (if he has committed it unawares).

35. Regarding the penances called *Kândrâyana* and *Parâka*, see below, XLVIII and XLVII, 18.

XXXVIII. 1-6. M. XI, 68.

7. ¹ See XLVI, 19, 10.

XXXIX. 1. M. XI, 69.

2. Regarding the penance *Krikkhrâtikrikkhra*, see XLVI, 13.
 'The use of the causative form *kârayet* indicates that he may

XL.

1. Receiving anything from a (*Mlekkha* or other) despicable person (even though not as a present, but in the form of interest, &c.), traffic (even with articles that are not forbidden to sell), subsisting by money-lending (even without exceeding the legitimate rate of interest), telling lies (even though not in giving evidence), and serving a *Sûdra* (even though without doing servile acts for him) are crimes rendering unworthy to receive alms.

2. He who has committed a crime rendering unworthy to receive alms, is purified by the penance *Taptakrikkhra* (in case he committed it knowingly), or by the penance *Sitakrikkhra* (in case he did it unawares), or by the penance *Mahâsântapana* (in case it was committed) repeatedly.

XLI.

1. Killing birds, amphibious animals, and aquatic animals (such as fish);

2. And worms or insects;

3. Eating (nutmegs or other) plants similar to intoxicating drinks (in their effect upon the system):

perform the penance mentioned here through a substitute, if unable to perform it himself.' (Nand.)

XL. 1. M. XI, 70.

2. Regarding the penances mentioned here, see XLVI, 11, 12, 20.

XLI. 1-4. M. XI, 71.

3. 'Or the term *madyânugata* means hemp and the like.' (Nand.) *Kullûka* (on M. XI, 71) interprets it by 'what has been brought in the same basket or vessel with spirituous liquor;' *Medâtithi*, quoted by the same, by 'what has been defiled by spirituous liquor.' The rendering given in the text agrees with the first interpretation proposed by Nand.

4. Such are the crimes causing defilement.
5. The penance ordained for crimes causing defilement is the Taptakrikkhṛa penance (if they were committed unintentionally), or they shall be atoned for by the Krikkhṛâtikrikkhṛa penance (if they were committed intentionally).

XLII.

1. Miscellaneous crimes are those which have not been mentioned before.
2. Having committed one out of the number of miscellaneous crimes, a prudent man should always perform a penance, by the advice of a Brâhmaṇa, after the higher or less degree of his guilt has been ascertained.

XLIII.

1. Now follow the hells. (They are called :)
2. Tâmisra (darkness);
3. Andhatâmisra (complete darkness);
4. Raurava (place of howling);
5. Mahâraurava (place of much howling);
6. Kâlasûtra (thread of time or death);
7. Mahânaraka (great hell);
8. Saṅgīvana (restoring to life);
9. Avīṭi (waveless);

XLIII. 1-22. M. IV, 88-90; Y. III, 222-224. — 34. M. XII, 76.

4. Nand. derives the term Raurava from 'ruru, a kind of serpent.' But it seems preferable to connect it with the root ru, 'to howl.'

6. This hell is defined by Nand. as a kind of threshing-place, made of copper, burning hot, and measuring ten thousand Yoganās.

8. In this hell those who have perished in consequence of the tortures which they had to undergo are restored to life and tortured anew. (Nand.)

10. Tâpana (burning);
11. Sampratâpana (parching);
12. Samghâta (pressing together);
13. Kâkola (ravens);
14. Kudmala (bud);
15. Pûtimrittika (stinking clay);
16. Lohasaṅku (iron-spiked);
17. Rikîsha (frying-pan);
18. Vishamapanthâna (rough or uneven roads);
19. Kantakasâlmali (thorny Sâlmali trees);
20. Dîpanadi (flame river);
21. Asipattravana (sword-leaved forest);
22. Lohakâraka (iron fetters);
23. In each of those (hells) successively criminals in the highest degree, who have not performed the penance (prescribed for their crime), are tormented for the time of a Kalpa.
24. Mortal sinners (who have not done penance) for a Manvantara;
25. Minor offenders, for the same period;

12. In this hell a large number of individuals is packed up closely in a very narrow space. (Nand.)

13. In this hell the sinners are devoured by ravens. (Nand.)

14. In this hell the sinners are put in sacks, which are tied up at the end. (Nand.)

17. In this hell the sinners are roasted. (Nand.)

20. This river, which contains hot water, is called Vaitaraṇî, as it is said, 'The river called Vaitaraṇî has a stinking odour, is full of blood, and is moving on swiftly a torrent of hot water, carrying bones and hair in its course.' (Nand.) A detailed description of the river Vaitaraṇî may be found in the Gârûḍa-purâṇa, p. 8 (Bombay ed., 1863).

22. 'The particle iti is added here, in order to include in the above enumeration the hells called Savisha, Mahâpatha, Kumbhî-pâka, Taptabâluka, and the rest.' (Nand.) See Y. III, 223, 224; M. XII, 76.

26. Criminals in the fourth degree, for the period of a *Katuryuga* ;

27. Those who have committed a crime effecting loss of caste, for a thousand years ;

28. Those who have committed a crime degrading to a mixed caste, for the same period ;

29. Those likewise who have committed a crime rendering unworthy to receive alms and the like.

30. And those who have committed a crime causing defilement ;

31. Those who have committed one of the miscellaneous crimes, for a great number of years ;

32. All sinners who have committed (one of those nine kinds of) crimes have to suffer terrible pangs, when they have departed life and entered upon the path of Yama.

33. Being dragged hither and thither (upon even and uneven roads), by the dire ministers of Yama, they are conducted (to hell by them), with menacing gestures.

34. (There) they are devoured by dogs and jackals, by hawks, crows, herons, cranes, and other (carnivorous animals), by (bears and other) animals having fire in their mouth, and by serpents and scorpions.

35. They are scorched by blazing fire, pierced by thorns, divided into parts by saws, and tormented by thirst.

36. They are agitated by hunger and by fearful troops of tigers, and faint away at every step on account of the foul stench proceeding from pus and from blood.

31. 'A great number of years' means three hundred years. (Nand.)

37. Casting wistful glances upon the food and drink of others, they receive blows from ministers (of Yama), whose faces are similar to those of crows, herons, cranes, and other horrid animals.

38. Here they are boiled in oil, and there pounded with pestles, or ground in iron or stone vessels.

39. In one place they (are made to) eat what has been vomited, or pus, or blood, or excrements, and in another place, meat of a hideous kind, smelling like pus.

40. Here, enveloped in terrible darkness, they are devoured by worms and (jackals and other) horrible animals having flames in their mouth.

41. There again they are tormented by frost, or have to step through unclean things (such as excrements), or the departed spirits eat one another, driven to distraction (by hunger).

42. In one place they are beaten with their deeds in a former existence, in another they are suspended (by trees and the like, with a rope), or shot with heaps of arrows, or cut in pieces.

43. In another place again, walking upon thorns, and their bodies being encircled by snakes, they are tormented with (grinding) machines, and dragged on by their knees.

44. Their backs, heads, and shoulders are fractured, the necks of these poor beings are not stouter than a needle, and their bodies, of a size fit for a hut only, are unable to bear torments.

45. Having thus been tormented (in the hells) and suffered most acute pain, the sinners have to

43. The *Gârûḍa-purâṇa* (p. 17) also mentions that in one hell the sinners are thrown into machines like the sugar-cane.

endure further pangs in their migration through animal bodies.

XLIV.

1. Now after having suffered the torments inflicted in the hells, the evil-doers pass into animal bodies.

2. Criminals in the highest degree enter the bodies of all plants successively.

3. Mortal sinners enter the bodies of worms or insects.

4. Minor offenders enter the bodies of birds.

5. Criminals in the fourth degree enter the bodies of aquatic animals.

6. Those who have committed a crime effecting loss of caste, enter the bodies of amphibious animals.

7. Those who have committed a crime degrading to a mixed caste, enter the bodies of deer.

8. Those who have committed a crime rendering them unworthy to receive alms, enter the bodies of cattle.

9. Those who have committed a crime causing defilement, enter the bodies of (low-caste) men (such as *Kandâlas*), who may not be touched.

10. Those who have committed one of the miscellaneous crimes, enter the bodies of miscellaneous wild carnivorous animals (such as tigers).

11. One who has eaten the food of one whose food may not be eaten, or forbidden food, becomes a worm or insect.

XLIV. 1-43. M. XII, 54-67; Y. III, 207-215. — 44, 45. M. XII, 68, 69.

11. See LI, 3 seq.

12. A thief (of other property than gold), becomes a falcon.

13. One who has appropriated a broad passage, becomes a (serpent or other) animal living in holes.

14. One who has stolen grain, becomes a rat.

15. One who has stolen white copper, becomes a *Hamsa*.

16. One who has stolen water, becomes a water-fowl.

17. One who has stolen honey, becomes a gad-fly.

18. One who has stolen milk, becomes a crow.

19. One who has stolen juice (of the sugar-cane or other plants), becomes a dog.

20. One who has stolen clarified butter, becomes an ichneumon.

21. One who has stolen meat, becomes a vulture.

22. One who has stolen fat, becomes a cormorant.

23. One who has stolen oil, becomes a cock-roach.

24. One who has stolen salt, becomes a cricket.

25. One who has stolen sour milk, becomes a crane.

26. One who has stolen silk, becomes a partridge.

27. One who has stolen linen, becomes a frog.

28. One who has stolen cotton cloth, becomes a curlew.

29. One who has stolen a cow, becomes an iguana.

30. One who has stolen sugar, becomes a *Vālguda*.

30. 'The *Vālguda* is a kind of bat.' (Nand.) The name *Vālguda* is evidently related to *valgulī*, 'a kind of bat,' and identical with *Vāgguda* (M. XII, 64) and *Vāgvada* (Haradatta on Gaut. XVII, 34), which, according to Dr. Bühler's plausible suggestion,

31. One who has stolen perfumes, becomes a musk-rat.

32. One who has stolen vegetables, consisting of leaves, becomes a peacock.

33. One who has stolen prepared grain, becomes a (boar called) *Svâvidh* (or *Sedhâ*).

34. One who has stolen undressed grain, becomes a porcupine.

35. One who has stolen fire, becomes a crane.

36. One who has stolen household utensils, becomes a wasp (usually called *Karâta*).

37. One who has stolen dyed cloth, becomes a *Kakor* partridge.

38. One who has stolen an elephant, becomes a tortoise.

39. One who has stolen a horse, becomes a tiger.

40. One who has stolen fruits or blossoms, becomes an ape.

41. One who has stolen a woman, becomes a bear.

42. One who has stolen a vehicle, becomes a camel.

43. One who has stolen cattle, becomes a vulture.

44. He who has taken by force any property belonging to another, or eaten food not first presented to the gods (at the *Vaisvadeva* offering), inevitably enters the body of some beast.

45. Women, who have committed similar thefts, receive the same ignominious punishment: they become females to those male animals.

are names of 'a large herbivorous bat, usually called the flying fox (in *Gûgaratî vâgud* or *vâgul*). See Dr. Bühler's note on *Gaut.* loc. cit.

XLV.

1. Now after having undergone the torments inflicted in the hells, and having passed through the animal bodies, the sinners are born as human beings with (the following) marks (indicating their crime):

2. A criminal in the highest degree shall have leprosy;

3. A killer of a Brâhmana, pulmonary consumption;

4. A drinker of spirits, black teeth;

5. A stealer of gold (belonging to a Brâhmana), deformed nails;

6. A violator of his spiritual teacher's bed, a disease of the skin;

7. A calumniator, a stinking nose;

8. A malignant informer, stinking breath;

9. A stealer of grain, a limb too little;

10. One who steals by mixing (i. e. by taking good grain and replacing the same amount of bad grain in its stead), a limb too much;

11. A stealer of food, dyspepsia;

12. A stealer of words¹, dumbness;

XLV. 2-31. M. XI, 49-52; Y. III, 209-211. — 32, 33. M. XI, 53, 54.

2. According to a text of Sâtâtapa, which Nand. quotes in explanation of this Sûtra, connection with the mother is punished with 'falling or incurable epilepsy,' when the organ falls of; connection with a daughter is punished with red epilepsy; connection with a daughter-in-law, with black leprosy; and connection with a sister, with yellow leprosy.

12. ¹ I. e. according to Kullûka and Nand., 'one who studies the Veda without permission to do so;' or it may denote, according to Nand., 'a stealer of a book,' or 'one who fails to communicate information which he is able to give.'

13. A stealer of clothes, white leprosy ;
14. A stealer of horses, lameness ;
15. One who pronounces an execration against a god or a Brâhmaṇa, dumbness ;
16. A poisoner, a stammering tongue ;
17. An incendiary, madness ;
18. One disobedient to a Guru (father), the falling sickness ;
19. The killer of a cow, blindness ;
20. The stealer of a lamp, the same ;
21. One who has extinguished a lamp, blindness with one eye ;
22. A seller of tin, chowries, or lead, is born a dyer of cloth ;
23. A seller of (horses or other) animals whose foot is not cloven, is born a hunter ;
24. One who eats the food of a person born from adulterous intercourse¹, is born as a man who suffers his mouth to be abused ;
25. A thief (of other property than gold), is born a bard ;
26. A usurer becomes epileptic ;
27. One who eats dainties alone, shall have rheumatics ;
28. The breaker of a convention, a bald head ;

19. Nand. quotes a text of Sâtâtapa, from which he infers the use of the particle tu to indicate here, that a killer of his mother shall also be born blind.

21. The particle ka, according to Nand., indicates here, that such persons shall also be afflicted with the morbid affection of the eyes called Timira, as stated by Sâtâtapa.

24. ¹ Nand. says that *kundâsin* may also mean 'one who eats food to the amount of a *kunda*.' See also Dr. Bühler's note on Gaut. XV, 18.

29. The breaker of a vow of chastity, swelled legs ;

30. One who deprives another of his subsistence, shall be poor ;

31. One who injures another (without provocation), shall have an incurable illness.

32. Thus, according to their particular acts, are men born, marked by evil signs, sick, blind, hump-backed, halting, one-eyed ;

33. Others as dwarfs, or deaf, or dumb, feeble-bodied (eunuchs, whitlows, and others). Therefore must penances be performed by all means.

XLVI.

1. Now follow the penances.

2. Let a man fast for three days ;

3. And let him perform each day the three ablutions (at dawn, noon, and sunset) ;

4. And let him, at every ablution, plunge into the water three times ;

5. And let him mutter the *Aghamarshana* three times, after having plunged into the water ;

6. During day-time let him be standing ;

7. At night let him continue in a sitting position ;

8. At the close of the ceremony let him give a milch cow (to a *Brâhmaṇa*).

9. Thus¹ has the penance *Aghamarshana* been described.

XLVI. 10, 11, 18, 19. M. XI, 212, 213, 215, 216. — 10, 11, 13, 18-20, 22, 23. Y. III, 315-323. — 10. Āpast. I, 9, 27, 7. — 10, 11, 13. Gaut. XXIII, 2 ; XXVI, 1-5, 20. — 24, 25. M. XI, 224, 225.

9. ¹ Nand. thinks that the word *iti*, 'thus,' has a double meaning

10. Let a man for three days eat in the evening only; for other three days, in the morning only; for further three days, food (given to him) unsolicited; (and let him fast entirely for three days): that is the Prâgâpatya (the penance invented by Pragâ-pati).

11. Let him drink for three days hot water; for other three days, hot clarified butter; and for further three days, hot milk; and let him fast for three days: that is the Taptakrikkhra (hot penance).

12. Taking the same (liquids) cold is called the Sitakrikkhra (cold penance).

13. The Krikkhrâtikrikkhra (the most difficult penance) consists in subsisting on milk only for twenty-one days.

14. Eating (nothing but) ground barley mixed with water for a whole month is called the Udakakrikkhra (water penance).

15. Eating nothing but lotus-fibres (for a whole month) is called the Mûlakrikkhra (root penance).

16. Eating nothing but Bèl fruit (for a whole month) is called the Sṛīphalakrikkhra (Bèl fruit penance).

17. Or¹ (this penance is performed) by (eating) lotus-seeds.

18. A total fast for twelve days is called Parâka.

19. Subsisting for one day on the urine and fæces of a cow, milk, sour milk, butter, and water

here, and refers to another kind of Aghamarshana penance at the same time, which is described by Saṅkha, and consists simply in fasting for three days and muttering the Aghamarshana hymn three times.

17. ¹ According to Nand., the particle vâ, 'or,' here indicates another alternative, that of performing this penance with Âmalakas (*Emblia Officinalis* Gaertn.)

in which Kusa grass has been boiled, and fasting the next day, is called Sântapana (the tormenting penance).

20. Swallowing (the same six things, viz.) cow-urine and the rest, each for one day, is called Mahâ-sântapana (the particularly tormenting penance).

21. Swallowing each for three days is called Atisântapana (the extremely tormenting penance).

22. Swallowing oil-cakes, foam of boiled rice, buttermilk, water, and ground barley (each for one day), with a fasting day between (every two days), is called Tulâpurusha (a man's weight).

23. Drinking water boiled with Kusa grass, leaves of the Palâsa and Udumbara trees, of lotuses, of the Saṅkhapushtî plant, of the banyan tree, and of the Brahmasuvarkalâ plant, each (for one day), is called Parnakrikkhṛa (leaves penance).

24. Let a man perform all those penances after having shorn his hair and his beard, and let him bathe at morning, noon, and evening every day, lying on a low couch, and restraining his passions,

25. And let him (while engaged in performing them) avoid to converse with women, Sûdras, or outcasts, and let him constantly, to the best of his ability, mutter purifying Mantras and make oblations in the fire.

XLVII.

1. Now follows the *Kândrâyana* (lunar penance).

2. Let a man eat single mouthfuls (of food) unchanged in size ;

XLVII. 1-10. M. XI, 217-222. — 1-3, 9. Y. III, 324, 325. — 1-4. Gaut. XXVII, 12-15.

2. 'Unchanged in size' means 'of that size precisely which the law prescribes.' Yâgñavalkya (III, 324) states that each daily

3. And let him during the moon's increase add (successively) one mouthful (every day, so as to eat one mouthful on the first day of the moon's increase, two mouthfuls on the second day, and so on; fifteen mouthfuls on the day of full moon), and during the wane of the moon let him take off one mouthful (every day, so as to eat fourteen mouthfuls on the first day of the moon's wane, thirteen mouthfuls on the second, and one mouthful on the fourteenth day of the moon's wane), and on the day of new moon let him fast entirely: thus has the barley-shaped *Kândrâyana* been described.

4. Or the ant-shaped *Kândrâyana* (may be performed).

5. That *Kândrâyana* is called 'ant-shaped' in which the day of new moon is placed in the middle.

6. That one is called 'barley-shaped' in which the day of full moon is placed in the middle.

7. If a man eats for a month eight mouthfuls a day, it is (the penance called) *Yatikândrâyana* (an hermit's *Kândrâyana*).

8. Eating (for a month) four mouthfuls each morning and evening is (the penance called) *Sisukândrâyana* (a child's *Kândrâyana*).

9. Eating anyhow¹ three hundred minus sixty mouthfuls a month is the penance called *Sâmânyakândrâyana* (general *Kândrâyana*).

portion must have the size of a peacock's egg, and Gautama (XXVII, 10) prescribes that the size of a mouthful shall be such as not to cause a distortion of the mouth in swallowing it. (Nand.)

9. ¹ 'Anyhow,' i. e. otherwise than ordained above, as e. g. eating four mouthfuls on one day, and twelve on the next day; or fasting on one day, and eating sixteen mouthfuls on the following day; or fasting for two days, and eating twenty-four mouthfuls on the third

10. After having performed this penance, in a former age, the seven holy *Rishis*, Brahman, and Rudra acquired a splendid abode, O Earth.

XLVIII.

1. Now if a man feels his conscience charged with some guilty act (such as performing a sacrifice for, or accepting a gift from, unworthy persons, or eating excrements) committed by himself (or if his conscience tells him that he has done more evil than good, or if he thinks himself less pure than others), let him boil a handful of barley-gruel for the sake of his own spiritual welfare.

2. Let him not make the (customary) Vaisvadeva offering after that.

3. Neither must he make the Bali offerings.

4. Let him consecrate with Mantras the barley, before it has been put to the fire, while it is being boiled, and after it has been boiled.

5. Let him watch the barley, while it is being boiled (muttering at the same time the following Mantra):

6. 'Soma, who is the highest priest among priests (gods), leader among the wise, *Rishi* among bards, the falcon among rapacious birds, the Svadhiti tree among trees, trickles murmuring through the filter¹.'

day; or fasting for three days, and eating thirty-two mouthfuls on the fourth day. (Nand.)

XLVIII. 1. Gaut. XIX, 13.

2, 3. Regarding the regular oblations which have to be offered at meal times &c. to the Visvedevâs and to all beings (bhûtâni), see LIX, 22, 24; LXVIII, 1-22.

4. The Mantras are given below, 17-22.

6. ¹ Rig-veda IX, 96, 6. Regarding the translation of this verse, see Dr. Zimmer's remarks, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 207.

With these words he must fasten blades of Kusa grass (round the neck of the kettle).

7. The pulse having been boiled, he must pour it into another vessel and eat it.

8. Let him help himself to it, while muttering the Mantra, 'The gods, who have sprung up in the mind and satisfy the mind, who are gifted with great energy, and whose father is Daksha, shall protect and help us. To them be Namaḥ (adoration), to them be Svāhā (hail).'

9. Then, after having sipped water, let him seize the centre (of the vessel) and mutter the Mantra :

10. 'Be satisfied in our stomach, O ye waters, and ye barley-corns, after having been bathed; they shall be salubrious to us, conferring bliss, causing health, divine, causing immortality, and increasers of *Rīta* (truth and justice).'

11. One desirous of wisdom (must perform this rite) for three days;

12. A sinner, for six days.

13. Any of the mortal sinners (killers of a Brāhmaṇa, stealers of gold, and the rest) becomes purified by swallowing it for seven days.

14. Swallowing it for twelve nights effaces even sins committed by an ancestor;

15. Swallowing it for a month, every sin (whether light or heavy, and whether committed by himself or by an ancestor).

16. And so does swallowing barley-corns dissolved in the excrements of a cow for twenty-one days (efface every sin).

17. 'Thou art barley, thou the king of grains,

8. *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* I, 2, 3, 1. See also *Vāgasaneyi Saṃhitā* IV, 11, &c.

thou water mixed with honey; the *Rishis* have proclaimed thee an expeller of every kind of guilt and an instrument of purification.

18. 'You are clarified butter and honey, O ye barley-corns; you are water and ambrosia, O ye barley-corns. May you efface whatever sinful acts I have committed :

19. 'Sins committed by words, by acts, and by evil thoughts. Avert distress and ill-fortune from me, O ye barley-corns.

20. 'Purify food licked at by dogs or pigs, or defiled by leavings (of food), and (purify me from the stain) of disobedience towards mother and father, O ye barley-corns.

21. 'Purify for me food given by a multitude of persons, the food of a harlot, or of a *Sûdra*, food offered at a *Srâddha*, food rendered impure by the birth of a child in the house, the food of a thief, and food offered at a *Navasrâddha* (or new *Srâddha*, which takes place on the first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth, and eleventh day after a person's demise).

22. 'Purify me, O ye barley-corns, from the sin of injuring a child or of causing (a punishment) to be inflicted on some one by the king, from theft of gold (or other high crimes), from the violation of a religious duty, from performing a sacrifice for an unworthy person, and from abusing a *Brâhmana*.'

XLIX.

1. After having fasted during the eleventh day of the bright half of the month *Mârgaśrsha*, let a

XLIX. 1. 'He must worship *Vāsudeva* either with sixteen acts, muttering one out of the sixteen verses of the *Purushasûkta* with each single act, the first act being the invocation of the gods, and

man worship, on the twelfth day, the venerable Vāsudeva (Vishṇu).

2. (He shall worship him) with flowers, incense, unguents, lamps, eatables (such as milk), and repasts given to Brāhmaṇas.

3. By performing this rite (on the twelfth day of the bright half of every month, from the month Mārgaśīrsha to the month Kārttika) for one year, he is purified from every sin.

4. By performing it till he dies, he attains Sveta-dvīpa ('the white island,' the abode of Bhagavat).

5. By performing it for a year on each twelfth day of both halves of a month, he attains heaven.

6. By performing it (within the same intervals), till he dies, (he attains) the world of Vishṇu.

7. The same (heavenly rewards are gained by him who performs this rite) on each fifteenth day (after having fasted during the fourteenth).

8. If he worships (according to the latter rite) Kesava (Vishṇu) who has become one with Brahman, on the day of full moon, and Kesava absorbed in meditation, on the day of new moon, he will obtain a great reward.

the last the dismissal of the assembled Brāhmaṇas; or he must worship him with the "five offerings," perfumes, and the rest, muttering at the same time the "twelve syllables" (Om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya, "Om, adoration to the venerable Vāsudeva").' (Nand.)

2. 'He must worship him with those offerings and with burnt-oblations. The burnt-oblation, which must consist either of sesamum, or of barley, or of clarified butter, has to be accompanied by the recitation of the Puruṣasūkta or of the "twelve syllables."' (Nand.)

8. According to Nand., the two forms of Vishṇu mentioned here must be considered as two separate deities, the one having to be invoked with the words 'Adoration to Brahmakesava,' and the

9. If in a year on a day of full moon the moon and the planet Jupiter are seen together in the sky, it is called a great full moon.

10. Gifts, fasts, and the like are declared to be imperishable on that day. The same is the case if a conjunction with the asterism *Sravanâ* falls on the twelfth day of the bright half (of any month).

L.

1. Let a man make a hut of leaves in a forest and dwell in it;

2. And let him bathe (and perform his prayers) three times a day;

3. And¹ let him collect alms, going from one village to another, and proclaiming his own deed;

4. And¹ let him sleep upon grass:

5. This is called a *Mahâvrata* (great observance).

6. He who has killed a *Brâhmaṇa* (unintentionally) must perform it for twelve years.

7. (He who has unintentionally killed) a *Kshatriya* or a *Vaisya* engaged in a sacrifice, for the same period.

other with the words 'Adoration to *Yogakesava*.' 'A great reward' he interprets by 'a shape identical with that of Brahman.'

L. 1-6, 15. M. XI, 73; Y. III, 243; Âpast. I, 9, 24, 11-20; Gaut. XXII, 4-6. — 7-10, 12-14. M. XI, 88, 89, 129-131; Y. III, 251, 266, 267; Gaut. XXII, 12-16. — 16-24. M. XI, 109-116; Y. III, 263. — 25-41. M. XI, 132-138; Y. III, 270-274. — 30-33. Âpast. I, 9, 25, 13; Gaut. XXII, 19. — 34-36. Gaut. XXII, 23-25. — 46-50. M. XI, 141-145; Y. III, 275, 276. — 46. Âpast. I, 9, 26, 2; Gaut. XXII, 20, 21.

3. ¹Nand., quoting Gautama XXII, 5, takes the particle *ka*, 'and,' to imply that he should also make way for any *Ârya* whom he meets.

4. ¹The particle *ka* here means, according to Nand., that he ought to remain chaste, as ordained by Gautama, XXII, 4.

8. Likewise, he who has killed (unintentionally) a pregnant woman, or¹ a woman in her courses.

9. Or¹ a woman who has bathed after temporary uncleanness;

10. Or¹ a friend.

11. He who has (unintentionally) killed a king, must perform the Mahâvrata for twice the same number of years (or twenty-four years);

12. He who has (unintentionally) killed a Kshatriya (not engaged in a sacrifice, nor a king), for one quarter of that time less (or for nine years);

13. He who has (unintentionally) killed a Vaisya (not engaged in a sacrifice), for half of that time (or for six years).

14. He who has (unintentionally) killed a (virtuous) Sûdra, for half of that time again (or for three years).

15. He who is performing any of those penances, must carry (on his stick) the skull of the person slain, like a flag.

16. Let a man serve cows for a month, his hair and beard having been shorn.

17. And let him sit down to rest when they rest;

18. And¹ let him stand still when they stand still;

8. ¹ Nand. infers from texts of Praçetas, Yama, and Parâsara, that the particle vâ, 'or,' here refers to pregnant cows, and to women whose confinement is close at hand, or who are married to one who has kindled his sacred fire, or for whom all the sacred rites have been duly performed from their birth.

9. ¹ Nand. refers the particle vâ, 'or,' to women of high rank and to a rival wife, or a mother, or a daughter, or a sister, or a daughter-in-law, or a wife, who is of the same caste as her husband.

10. ¹ 'The particle vâ includes children here.' (Nand.)

18. ¹ According to Nand., the particle ka here refers to the

19. And¹ let him give assistance to a cow that has met with an accident (such as getting into a slough, or falling into a pit).

20. And let him preserve them from (the attacks of lions and tigers and other) dangers.

21. Let him not seek shelter himself against cold (and hot winds) and similar dangers, without having previously protected the cows against them.

22. Let him wash himself with cow-urine (three times a day);

23. And¹ let him subsist upon the (five) productions of a cow :

24. This is the Govrata (cow rite), which must be performed by him who has (unintentionally) killed a cow (belonging to a Kshatriya).

25. If a man has killed an elephant (intentionally), he must give five black (nīla) bulls.

26. If he has killed (unintentionally) a horse, he must give a garment.

27. If he has (intentionally) killed an ass, he must give a bull one year old.

28. The same if he has (intentionally) killed a ram or a goat.

29. If he has (intentionally) killed a camel, he must give one *Krishnala* of gold.

precept of Parâsara, that he should drink water when the cows drink, and lie down when they lie down.

19. ¹ According to Nand., the particle *ka* here implies another precept of Parâsara, that he should not take notice of a cow grazing or drinking water upon his own ground or that of another.

23. ¹ 'The particle *ka* implies that he should also mutter the Gomatî hymn, as Sâtâtapa says.' (Nand.)

25. 'He is called a black bull whose colour is red, whose mouth and tail are of a yellowish-white colour, and whose hoofs and horns are white.' (Yagñapârsva, quoted by Nand.)

30. If he has (intentionally) killed a dog, he must fast for three days.

31. If he has (unintentionally) killed a mouse, or a cat, or an ichneumon, or a frog, or a *Dundubha* snake, or a large serpent (a boa constrictor), he must fast one day, and on the next day he must give a dish of milk, sesamum, and rice mixed together to a Brâhmana, and give him an iron hoe as his 'fee.'

32. If he has killed (unintentionally) an iguana, or an owl, or a crow, or a fish, he must fast for three days.

33. If he has killed (intentionally) a *Hamsa*, or a crane, or a heron, or a cormorant, or an ape, or a falcon, or the vulture called *Bhâsa*, or a Brâhmanî duck, he must give a cow to a Brâhmana.

34. If he has killed a snake, (he must give) an iron spade.

35. If he has killed emasculated (cattle or birds)¹, (he must give) a load of straw ².

36. If he has killed (intentionally) a boar, (he must give) a Kumbha of clarified butter.

37. If he has (intentionally) killed a partridge, (he must give) a *Drona* of sesamum.

38. If he has (intentionally) killed a parrot, (he must give) a calf two years old.

39. If he has (intentionally) killed a curlew, (he must give) a calf three years old.

40. If he has (unintentionally) killed a wild carnivorous animal, he must give a milch cow.

35. ¹ Thus according to Nand., who declares himself against the interpretation of *shanda* by 'a eunuch;' see, however, Kullûka on M. XI, 134, and Dr. Bühler's rendering of Gaut. XXII, 23.—

² Nand. adds, 'and a *Mâsha* of lead;' see the passages just referred to.

41. If he has (unintentionally) killed a wild animal not carnivorous, (he must give) a heifer.

42. If he has (intentionally) killed an animal not mentioned before, he must subsist upon milk for three days.

43. If he has (unintentionally) killed a bird (not mentioned before), he must eat at night only;

44. Or (if unable to do so), he must give a silver Mâsha.

45. If he has (unintentionally) killed an aquatic animal, he must fast (for a day and a night).

46. If he has killed a thousand (small) animals having bones, or an ox-load of animals that have no bones, he must perform the same penance as for killing a Sûdra.

47. But, if he has killed animals having bones, he must (moreover) give some trifle to a Brâhmaṇa (for each animal which he has killed); if he has killed boneless animals, he becomes purified by one stopping of the breath.

48. For cutting (unawares?) trees yielding fruit (such as the bread-fruit or mango trees), shrubs, creeping or climbing plants, or plants yielding blossoms (such as the jasmine tree), he must mutter a Vedic text (the Gâyatrî) a hundred times.

49. For killing (unintentionally) insects bred in rice or other food, or in (sweets and) the like, or in liquids (such as molasses), or elsewhere (in water and so on), or in flowers or fruits, the penance consists in eating clarified butter.

50. If a man has wantonly cut such plants as

46, 47. Nand. thinks that the former Sloka refers to intentional, and the latter to unintentional murder of those animals.

grow by cultivation (such as rice and barley), or such as rise spontaneously in the wood (such as wild rice), he must wait on a cow and subsist upon milk for one day.

LI.

1. A drinker of spirituous liquor must abstain from all religious rites and subsist on grains separated from the husk for a year.

2. If a man has (knowingly) tasted any of the (twelve) unclean excretions of the body, or of the (twelve) intoxicating drinks, he must perform the *Kândrâyana* penance.

3. Likewise, if he has (knowingly) eaten garlic, or onions, or red garlic, or any plant which has a similar flavour (to that of garlic or onions), or the meat of village pigs, of tame cocks (and other tame birds), of apes, and of cows.

4. In all those cases men belonging to a twice-born caste have to be initiated a second time, after the penance is over.

5. On their second initiation, the tonsure, the girding with the sacred string, the wearing of the staff, and the begging of alms shall be omitted.

LI. 1. M. XI, 93; Y. III, 254. — 3. M. V, 19; Y. I, 176. — 4, 5. M. XI, 151, 152; Y. III, 255; Gaut. XXIII, 2. — 6. M. V, 18; Y. I, 177; Âpast. I, 5, 17, 37; Gaut. XVII, 27. — 7-20. M. IV, 205-217; Y. I, 161-168; Âpast. I, 5, 16, 27, 29; 17, 4, 5; 18, 21-23; 19, 1, 15; II, 6, 15, 14; Gaut. XVII, 10-12, 17, 19, 21, 31. — 21. M. V, 16; Y. I, 177, 178. — 23. M. XI, 148. — 25. M. XI, 150; Gaut. XXIII, 6. — 26-42. M. V, 5-21, 24, 25; XI, 152-157; Y. I, 169-178; Âpast. I, 5, 17, 17-20, 22-26, 28, 29, 33-36; Gaut. XVII, 14, 16, 22-26, 28, 29, 32-34. — 43-46. M. XI, 158-160. — 59. M. V, 36; Y. I, 179; Âpast. I, 5, 17, 31. — 60. M. V, 38; Y. I, 180. — 61. M. V, 39. — 62. M. V, 34. — 63-78. M. V, 40-55. — 64. Sâṅkh. II, 16, 1. See also Bühler, *Introd. to Digest*, p. xxxi, note. — 76, 77. Y. I, 181.

6. If a man has (unawares) eaten meat of a five-toed animal, with the exception of the hare, the porcupine, the iguana, the rhinoceros, and the tortoise, he must fast for seven days.

7. If he has eaten the food of a multitude of persons, of a harlot, of a thief, or of a singer, he must subsist upon milk for seven days.

8. And ¹ (if he has eaten) the food of a carpenter or of a leather manufacturer ;

9. Or of a usurer, of a miser, of one who has performed the initiatory ceremony of a Soma-sacrifice, of a jailer, of an Abhisasta, or of a eunuch ;

10. Or of a dissolute woman, of a hypocrite, of a physician, of a hunter, of a hard-hearted or cruel person, and of one who eats the leavings of food ;

11. Or of a woman who has neither husband nor son, of a goldsmith, of an enemy, or of an outcast ;

12. Or of a malignant informer, of a liar, of one who has transgressed the law, and of one who sells himself, or who sells (molasses or other) liquids and condiments ;

13. Or of a public dancer, of a weaver, of an ungrateful man, or of a dyer of clothes ;

14. Or (the food) of a blacksmith, of a man of the Nishâda tribe (who subsist by fishing), of a stage-player ¹, of a worker in cane, or of a seller of weapons ;

8. ¹As shown by *ka*, "and," other persons who have a dishonourable profession, such as fishermen, have also to be understood.' (Nand.)

9. Abhisasta means 'accused of a heinous crime,' i.e. 'a person of bad repute.' (Nand.) See also Dr. Bühler's notes on Âpast. I, 9, 24, 6, and on Gaut. XVII, 17.

14. ¹This is the usual meaning of the term *raṅgâvatârin*. Nand. explains it by 'wrestlers and the like.'

15. Or of a trainer of dogs, of a distiller of spirituous liquor, of an oil manufacturer, or of a washerman ;

16. Or (the food) of a woman in her courses (whether belonging to her, or dressed for her), or of one who lives under one roof with the paramour of his wife ;

17. Or (food) which has been looked at by the killer of an embryo (of a Brâhmaṇa), or which has been touched by a woman in her courses, or nibbled by a bird¹, or touched by a dog, or smelt at by a cow ;

18. Or that which has been designedly touched with the foot, or that which has been sneezed at ;

19. Or the food of insane, or wrathful, or sick persons ;

20. Or (food that is given) in a disrespectful manner, or the meat (of animals killed) for no sacred purpose.

21. After having (unawares) eaten the flesh of any sort of fish, excepting the Pât//īna, Rohita, Râgīva, Simhatunda, and Sakula fishes, he must fast for three days.

22. Likewise, after having (unawares) eaten the flesh of (any other) aquatic animal (such as the alligator, or the Gangetic porpoise).

23. After having (knowingly) drunk water from a vessel in which spirituous liquor had been kept, he must drink for seven days milk boiled together with the Saṅkhaushpī plant.

17. ¹Nand. considers the term patatrin to refer to crows only in this place. Kullûka (on M. IV, 208) interprets it by 'crows and the like.' See also Gaut. XVII, 10.

20. See Dr. Bühler's notes on Gaut. XVII, 19, 31.

24. After having (knowingly drunk water) from a vessel in which an intoxicating beverage had been kept, (he must drink the same) for five days.

25. A Soma-sacrificer, who has (unawares) smelt the breath of a man who had been drinking spirituous liquor, must plunge into water, (suppress his breath) and mutter the Aghamarshana three times, and eat clarified butter afterwards.

26. For eating (designedly) the flesh of an ass, of a camel, or of a crow¹, he must perform the *Kândrâyana* penance.

27. Likewise, for eating (knowingly) the flesh of an unknown (beast or bird), meat kept in a slaughter-house, and¹ dried meat.

28. For eating (unawares) the flesh of carnivorous beasts (tigers and others), or birds (hawks and others), he must perform the *Taptakrikkhra*.

29. For (knowingly) eating a sparrow, or (the heron called) *Plava*, or a *Brâhmaṇṭ* duck, or a *Hamsa*, or the (wild cock called) *Raggudâla*, or a *Sârasa* crane, or a *Dâtyûha*, or a male or female parrot, or a crane, or a heron, or a cuckoo, or a wagtail, he must fast for three days.

30. Likewise, for eating (unawares the flesh of) animals whose hoof is not cloven (such as horses),

26. Nand. argues from a passage of *Praketas*, that the flesh of the following other animals, dogs, jackals, cocks, boars, carnivorous animals in general, Gangetic porpoises, apes, elephants, horses, tame hogs, cows, and human beings, is also implied here. But if that were the case, *Sûtra* 26 would be partly a mere repetition of, and partly opposed to, the rules laid down in *Sûtras* 33 and 22.

27. ¹ Nand. infers from a passage of the *Brâhma-purâṇa*, that the use of the particle *ka* further implies a prohibition to eat the flesh on the back, or flesh which had been interred in the ground, or covered with earth, fried meat, and the flesh of the uterus.

or of animals having a double row of teeth (such as the Rohita deer).

31. For eating (unawares) the flesh of any bird, excepting the francoline partridge, the Kâpiṅgala, the (quail called) Lâvaka, the peahen, and the peacock, (he must fast) for a day and a night.

32. For eating (knowingly) insects (ants and others), he must drink for one day (water in which the plant) Brahmasuvarṅgalâ (has been boiled).

33. For eating (unawares) the flesh of dogs, he must perform the same penance¹.

34. For eating (unawares) the mushroom called) *Khatrâka*, or (the mushroom called) *Kavaka*, he must perform the Sântapana penance.

35. For eating (unawares) stale food, other than a mess prepared with barley (such as cakes), or with wheat (such as gruel), or with milk (boiled with rice, or mixed with coagulated milk, or otherwise dressed), and dishes sprinkled with fat (such as clarified butter), sour gruel, and sweetmeats, he must fast (for one day).

36. Likewise, (for eating unawares) the juice flowing from an incision in a tree, (plants raised in) unclean substances (such as excrements and the like), and the red exudation of trees.

37. Also, (for eating unawares) the root of the water-lily; (and for eating) rice boiled with sesamum, or with beans, *Samyâva*¹, rice boiled in milk with sugar, pastry, *Sashkulî* (cakes), or food destined for

33. ¹ 'And he must perform the Sântapana penance mentioned in the next Sûtra, as the use of the particle *ka* implies.' (Nand.)

37. ¹ Nand. interprets this term by *utkarikâ*, which, according to Wilson, is a sort of sweetmeat made with milk, treacle, and clarified butter. *Kullûka* (on M.V, 7) has a somewhat different interpretation.

the gods, if those dishes have not been announced to the gods first; and (for eating) food destined for burnt-oblations.

38. Also, for tasting the milk of any animal, save the milk of cows, goats, and buffalos (and for tasting any eatables made of such milk)¹.

39. Also, (for tasting the milk) of those animals (cows and the rest) within ten days after their giving birth to a young one.

40. And (for tasting) the milk of a cow whose milk flows of itself, of one that has just taken the bull¹, or of one whose calf is dead².

41. And (for tasting the milk of a cow) that has been feeding upon ordures.

42. And (for tasting) any such food as has turned sour (but not that which is sour by nature, like sorrel), except sour milk (and what is made with it).

43. A student, who partakes (unawares) of a Srâddha repast, must fast for three days.

44. And he must remain in water for a whole day (afterwards).

45. If he eats honey or meat (at any time), he must perform the Prâgâpatya penance.

46. If any one eats (unawares) the leavings of the

38. ¹Nand. infers from the use of the particle *kā* that the same penance is ordained for tasting any other production of those animals, as e.g. their excrements.

40. ¹Sandhinī means 'a cow that has just taken the bull,' or 'a female animal that gives milk once a day,' or 'a cow that is milked by the calf of another cow.' (Nand.) Haradatta (see Âpast. I, 5, 17, 23; Gaut. XVII, 25) interprets it by 'an animal giving milk while big with young.' For other interpretations, see the Petersburg Dictionary. — ²'The particle *kā* indicates that animals bearing twins have also to be included in this prohibition.' (Nand.) See Gaut. loc. cit.

food of a cat, of a crow, of an ichneumon, or of a rat, he must drink water in which the Brahmasuvar \acute{a} lā plant has been boiled.

47. For eating (unawares) what has been left by a dog, he must fast for one day, and drink Pañ \acute{a} gavya (afterwards).

48. For tasting (knowingly) the excrements of five-toed animals (excepting human excrements), he must (fast) for seven days (and drink Pañ \acute{a} gavya on the eighth).

49. If one (not a student) eats (unawares) of a Śrāddha repast consisting of raw food, he must subsist on milk for seven days.

50. If a Brāhmaṇa eats what has been left by a Sūdra, (he must also subsist on milk) for seven days.

51. If he eats what has been left by a Vaisya, (he must subsist upon milk) for five days.

52. If he eats what has been left by a Kshatriya, (he must subsist upon milk) for three days.

53. If he eats what has been left by another Brāhmaṇa, (he must subsist upon milk) for one day.

54. If a Kshatriya eats what has been left by a Sūdra, (he must undergo the same penance) for five days.

55. If he eats what has been left by a Vaisya, (he must undergo it) for three days ;

56. And so must a Vaisya, if he eats what has been left by a Sūdra.

50. Nand. explains that he should drink Pañ \acute{a} gavya alternately with milk. This explanation extends to the following Sūtras also (up to Sūtra 56). He further argues from another Smṛiti text that the term Sūdra means 'Sūdras and women' here.

57. For (knowingly) eating (undressed) food, which has been left by a *Kandâla* (or *Svapaka* or other member of the seven lowest castes), he must fast for three days.

58. For (unawares) eating dressed food (left by such), the *Parâka* penance is ordained.

59. Let no *Brâhmaṇa* ever eat (the flesh of) beasts which has not been consecrated with *Mantras*; but if it has been consecrated with *Mantras*, he may eat it, following the eternal rule (laid down in the *Veda*).

60. As many hairs as the beast has, which he has slain in this world, for so many days will the killer of a beast for other purposes than a (*Srauta* or *Smârta*) sacrifice, suffer terrible pangs in this world and in the next¹.

61. It is for sacrifices that beasts have been created by the Self-existent (*Brahman*) himself. Sacrificing causes the whole universe to prosper; therefore is the slaughter (of beasts) for a sacrifice no slaughter.

62. The sin of him who kills deer for the sake of gain, is not so great (and visited less heavily) in the world to come, than the sin of him who eats meat which has not been offered to the gods.

63. Plants, cattle, trees, amphibious animals, and birds, which have been destroyed for the purposes of sacrifice, obtain exaltation in another existence (in which they are born as *Gandharvas*, or other beings of a high rank).

60. ¹ My translation follows Nand. It is, however, doubtful, whether the reading is correct; see *Manu* V, 38.

62. This is because the former kills animals in order to support his family, whereas the latter eats meat merely in order to tickle his palate. (Nand.)

64. When honouring a guest, at a sacrifice, or when worshipping the manes, or the gods, a man may slay cattle, but not otherwise on any account.

65. That twice-born man who, knowing the exact truth (promulgated) in the Veda, slays cattle for the sacrifices (ordained in the Veda), will convey himself and the cattle (slain by him) to a blissful abode.

66. A self-controlled¹ man of a twice-born caste, whether he be a householder, or be dwelling with his spiritual teacher, or in the forest, must never slay an animal in opposition to the precepts of the Veda, even in cases of distress.

67. That slaughter which is in accordance with the precepts of the Veda, and has been fixed for this world of movable and immovable creatures, should be considered as no slaughter at all; because it is from the Veda that law shines forth.

68. He who hurts animals that do not hurt any one, merely in order to afford pleasure to himself, will never obtain happiness, whether living or dead¹.

69. He who gives no living creature intentionally the pain of confining or killing (or hurting) it, from benevolence towards all (creatures), will enjoy everlasting happiness.

70. Whatever he thinks of, whatever he strives for, and whatever he desires in his heart, all that is easily obtained by him who does not injure any created being.

71. Meat cannot be obtained without injuring an

66. ¹ Nand. interprets the term *âtma-vân* by *saṁnyâsî*, 'an ascetic, or member of the fourth order,' apparently because the first three orders are mentioned in this *Sloka*. I have followed Kullûka's interpretation (on M. V, 43).

68. ¹ 'But it is no sin to kill tigers or other beasts of prey.' (Nand.)

animal, and the murder of animals excludes the murderer from heaven, therefore meat must be avoided.

72. Reflecting upon the origin of flesh¹ and upon the (sin of) hurting or confining animated creatures, he must abstain from animal food of any kind.

73. He who transgresses not the law and eats not flesh like a *Pisâka*, is beloved by men and remains free from disease.

74. He who gives his consent to the killing of an animal, he who cuts it up, he who kills it, the purchaser and the seller, he who prepares it, he who serves it up, and he who eats it, all these are denominated slaughterers of an animal.

75. There is no greater sinner than he who, without giving their share to the manes and to the gods, wants to increase his own flesh with the flesh of another creature.

76. Those two, he who performs a horse-sacrifice annually for a hundred years and he who does not eat meat, shall both obtain the same recompense for their virtue.

77. By eating (wild rice or other) sacred fruits or roots, and by living upon such grains as are the food of hermits, a man does not reap so high a reward as by avoiding meat.

78. (An eater of flesh must say within himself), 'Me he (*mâm sa*) will eat in the next world, whose

72. ¹The human soul is enveloped in six sheaths, three of which come from the father, and three from the mother. The three that come from the mother are skin, flesh, and blood. Now flesh is said in the *Sruti* to be derived from the menstrual discharge, and the latter is one of the species of forbidden food. (*Nand.*)

flesh I am tasting here.' This, say the learned, is the derivation of the word flesh (*mâmsa*).

LII.

1. He who has stolen the gold (of a *Brâhmana*), must bring a club to the king, proclaiming his deed.

2. Whether the king kills him with it, or dismisses him unhurt, he is purified.

3. Or (in case he committed the theft unawares), he must perform the *Mahâvrata*¹ for twelve years.

4. He who appropriates (knowingly) a deposit, (must perform the same penance.)

5. He who steals (knowingly) grain or valuable objects¹, (or prepared food belonging to a *Brâhmana*,) (must perform) the *Krikkhra*² for a year.

6. For stealing male or female slaves (not belonging to a *Brâhmana*, and for seizing) a well or pool (actually containing water), or a field, the *Kândrâyana* (penance must be performed).

7. (For stealing) articles of small value (such as tin or lead, not exceeding twenty-five *Panas* in value), the *Sântapana* (penance must be performed).

8. (For stealing) sweetmeats, (rice or other) food,

LII. 1, 2. M. VIII, 314-316; XI, 100-101; Y. III, 257; Âpast. I, 9, 25, 4-5; Gaut. XII, 43, 44. — 3. M. XI, 102. — 5-13. M. XI, 163-169.

3. ¹ See L, 1-5.

5. ¹ By *dhana*, 'valuable objects,' the objects mentioned below (in 10), copper and the rest, are meant. (Nand.) — ² Nand. does not explain the meaning of *Krikkhra*, which is a general term for 'a heavy penance.' It probably denotes the *Prâgâpatya* penance here, as in a number of other law texts (e. g. below, LIV, 26), and in the corresponding text of Manu in particular. See Kullûka on M. XI, 163.

8-13. Nand. explains that these *Sûtras* refer to a small amount of those articles which are mentioned in them.

(milk or other) drinks, a bed, a seat, flowers, roots, or fruit, drinking Pañçagavya (is ordained as penance).

9. (For stealing) grass, firewood, trees, rice in the husk, sugar, clothes, skins, or flesh, the thief must fast for three days.

10. (For stealing knowingly) precious stones, pearls or coral, copper, silver, iron, or white copper, he must eat grain separated from the husk for twelve days.

11. For stealing (unawares) cotton, silk, wool or other (stuffs), he must subsist for three days upon milk.

12. For stealing two-hoofed or one-hoofed animals, he must fast for three days.

13. For stealing birds, or perfumes, or medicinal herbs, or cords, or basket-work, he must fast for one day.

14. Though a thief may have restored to the owner the stolen property (either openly or) in some indirect manner¹, he must still perform a penance, in order to purify himself from guilt.

15. Whatever a man takes from others, unchecked (by the dictates of religion), of that will he be bereft in every future birth.

16. Because life, religious merit, and pleasure depend upon wealth, therefore let a man take care not to injure the wealth (of others by robbing them) by any means.

17. Among those two, he who injures animal life, and he who injures wealth, the one who injures wealth shall incur the heavier penalty.

14. ¹ 'As under pretext of handing over to him the dowry of a wife.' (Nand.)

LIII.

1. One who has (unawares) had illicit sexual intercourse¹, must perform the Prâgâpatya penance for a year, according to the rule of the Mahâvrata, clad in a garment of bark, and living in a forest.

2. The same (penance is ordained) for sexual intercourse with the wife of another man (who belongs to his own caste, but is no Guru of his).

3. For intercourse with a cow, the Govrata (must be performed).

4. For intercourse with a man, for unnatural crimes with a woman, (for wasting his manhood) in the air, (for intercourse with a woman) in water, by day, or in a go-cart¹, he must bathe dressed in his clothes.

5. By intercourse (knowingly) with a *Kandâla* woman¹, he becomes her equal in caste.

6. For intercourse unawares with such, he must perform the *Kândrâyana* twice.

7. For intercourse (knowingly) with cattle (other than cows) or with a public prostitute, (he must perform) the Prâgâpatya penance.

8. A woman who has committed adultery once,

LIII. 1-8. M. XI, 106, 171-177. — 4. Y. III, 291. — 9. M. XI, 179.

1. ¹The crime intended here is explained by Nand. as being illicit intercourse with a step-mother, who belongs to the *Sûdra* caste.

3. See L, 16-24.

4. ¹'Or in a cart drawn by asses or by other beasts of draught, as the particle *ka* implies.' (Nand.)

5. ¹'Or with a woman of an equally degraded caste, such as the *Svapaka* caste and others.' (Nand.)

8. See *Sûtra* 2.

must perform that penance which has been prescribed for an adulterer.

9. That guilt which a Brâhmana incurs by intercourse with a *Kandâla* woman one night, he can only remove by subsisting upon alms, and constantly repeating (the *Gâyatri*) for three years.

LIV.

1. If a man associates with one guilty of a crime, he must perform the same penance as he.

2. A Brâhmana who has drunk water from a well in which a five-toed animal has perished, or which has been defiled in the highest degree, must fast for three days.

3. A Kshatriya (must fast) for two days (in the same case).

4. A Vaisya (must fast) for one day (and one night).

5. A Sûdra (must fast) for a night only.

6. And all (the former, but not a Sûdra) must drink *Pañkagavya*, when their penance has been completed.

7. If a Sûdra drinks *Pañkagavya*, or if a Brâhmana drinks spirituous liquor, they both go to the hell called *Mahâraurava* ¹.

LIV. 1. M. XI, 182. — 10. M. XI, 203. — 11. M. II, 220; Âpast. II, 5, 12, 22; Gaut. XXIII, 21. — 12. M. XI, 200; Y. III, 277; Gaut. XXIII, 7. — 23. M. XI, 202; Y. III, 291. — 24. M. XI, 195; Y. III, 290. — 25. M. XI, 198; Y. III, 289. — 26. M. XI, 192. — 27. M. XI, 193. — 28. M. XI, 294. — 29. M. XI, 204. — 30. M. XI, 209; Y. III, 293. — 31. M. XI, 190. — 32. M. XI, 191; Y. III, 299. — 34. M. XI, 210; Y. III, 294.

7. ¹See XLIII, 5. Nand. infers from an anonymous *Smṛiti* passage, that the first part of this Sûtra refers not only to Sûdras, but to women also, and not only to the drinking of *Pañkagavya*,

8. If a man has not connection with his wife in the natural season, unless it be on the days of the full and new moon, or because she is ill, he must fast for three days.

9. A false witness¹ must perform the penance ordained for killing a Brâhmaṇa.

10. He who has (unawares) voided excrements without water (being near), must bathe in his clothes, pronounce the 'great words¹,' and offer a burnt-oblation².

11. One who has been surprised asleep by the sun rising or setting, must bathe in his clothes and mutter the Gâyatri one hundred and eight times.

12. He who has been bitten by a dog, a jackal, a tame pig, an ass, an ape, a crow, or a public prostitute, shall approach a river and (standing in it, shall) stop his breath sixteen times.

13. One who forgets the Vedic texts which he has studied, or who forsakes the sacred fires, must subsist upon alms for a year, bathing at the tree Savanas (morning, noon, and evening), sleeping upon the ground, and eating one meal a day.

14. For setting one's self up by false statements, and for falsely accusing or abusing a Guru, he must subsist upon milk for a month.

15. An atheist, one who leads the life of a member of the *Kandâla* or of other low castes that

but also to the offering of burnt-oblations and the muttering of prayers.

9. ¹According to Nand., this particular species of criminals is only quoted as an instance of *anupâtakina* (criminals in the third degree, see XXXVI), who are all intended in this Sûtra.

10. ¹ See LV, 10. — ² 'The particle *ka* implies that he must touch a cow besides, as Manu directs (XI, 203).' (Nand.)

14. See XXXVII, 1, 3.

dwell outside the village (Bâhyas)¹, an ungrateful man, one who buys or sells with false weights, and one who deprives Brâhmanas of their livelihood (by robbing them of a grant made to them by the king or private persons, or by other bad practices), all those persons² must subsist upon alms for a year.

16. An unmarried elder brother whose younger brother is married, a younger brother married before the elder, an unmarried elder sister whose younger sister is married, the relative who gives such a damsel in marriage, and the priest who officiates at such a marriage, must perform the *Kândrâyana*.

17. He who sells living beings, land, religious merit (obtained by a sacrifice or otherwise), or Soma, must perform the *Taptakrikkhâ*.

18. He who sells fresh ginger¹, (edible) plants (such as rice or barley), perfumes, flowers, fruits, roots, skins, canes, (winnowing baskets or fans and the like) made of split bamboo, chaff, potsherds, hair, ashes, bone, cow-milk or curds, oil-cakes, sesamum, or oil, must perform the *Prâgâpatya*.

19. He who sells the fruit of the *Sleshmâtaka* tree, lac, bees-wax, shells, mother-of-pearl, tin, lead, iron, copper, or (sacrificial) vessels made of the horn of the rhinoceros, must perform the *Kândrâyana*.

20. He who sells dyed cloth, tin¹, precious

15. ¹ 'Or *nâstikavṛtti* means "one who receives his substance from an atheist."' See also Gaut. XV, 16. — ² 'The use of the particle *ka* implies that calumniators are also intended.' (Nand.)

17. See XLVI, 11.

18. ¹ The term *ârdra*, which Nand. interprets by *ârdrakam*, might also be connected with the following word, and both together be translated by 'fresh plants.' See Y. III, 38.

20. ¹ Tin, perfumes, and, of the articles enumerated in *Sûtra* 21,

stones, perfumes, sugar, honey, liquids or condiments (other than sugar, salt, and the like), or wool, must fast for three days.

21. He who sells meat, salt, lac, or milk, must perform the *Kândrâyana*.

22. And¹ all those persons (mentioned in Sûtras 17-21) must be initiated a second time.

23. He who has been riding (voluntarily) upon a camel¹, or upon an ass, and he who has (purposely) bathed, or slept, or eaten, quite naked, must stop his breath three times.

24. By muttering attentively the Gâyatrî three thousand times, (by dwelling) upon the pasture of cows, (and) by subsisting on milk for a month, he becomes free from the sin of accepting unlawful presents.

25. He who has (knowingly) offered a sacrifice for an unworthy person (such as a low-caste person, or an outcast), he who has performed the funeral rites for a stranger, he who has practised magic rites (in order to destroy an enemy), and he who has performed a sacrifice of the kind called *Ahîna*¹, (all those persons) may rid themselves of their

lac, and milk have already been mentioned in Sûtras 18 and 19. Nand. tries to remove the difficulty in the second case, by stating the perfumes mentioned here to be perfumes of a different kind, and in the fourth case, by asserting that the milk of female buffalos, &c. is meant in Sûtra 21. But he interprets the two other terms as given above. Probably the passage is interpolated.

22. ¹ Nand. infers from the use of the particle *ka* that this rule applies equally to the persons mentioned in the next Sûtra.

23. ¹ 'The use of the particle *vâ*, "or," implies that riding upon a cow, and other such animals, is also intended here.' (Nand.)

25. ¹ This kind of sacrifice is defined by Nand. as one connected with repeated drinking of the Soma juice, and lasting from two to twelve days. *Medhâtithi* (on Manu XI, 198) simply defines

sins by performing three *Krikkhra* (Prâgâpatya) penances.

26. Those twice-born men, by whom the Gâyatri has not been repeated (and the other initiatory ceremonies performed), as the law directs, must be made to perform three (Prâgâpatya) penances and must be initiated according to custom.

27. Those twice-born men who are anxious to make an atonement for having committed an illegal act¹, or for having neglected the study of the Veda, must be made to perform the same penance.

28. Those Brâhmanas who have acquired property by base acts (such as living by the occupations of a lower caste, or accepting unlawful presents) become free from sin by relinquishing it, and by muttering (Veda texts) and practising austerities.

29. For omitting one of the regular acts enjoined in the revealed (and traditional) law, and for a breach of the rules laid down for a Snâtaka¹, a fast is ordained as atonement.

it as a sacrifice extending over two days or more; Kullûka (ibid.) states that it lasts three days or more, and that it is said in the Veda to cause impurity. See also Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 355.

26. The recitation and repetition of the Gâyatrî is one of the chief elements of the ceremony of initiation. The words with which the pupil must address his teacher on this occasion are given by Nand.; they are quoted from Âsv. I, 21, 4, and Sâṅkh. II, 5, 10-11. See also Gaut. I, 46, with Dr. Bühler's note.

27. ¹ 'I.e. Brâhmanas and others who have gained their livelihood (in times of distress) by such occupations as are lawful for other castes only, and who, when the times of distress are over, wish to atone for those actions.' (Nand.)

29. ¹ Regarding the meaning of this term, see above, XXVIII, 42, note. The rules to be observed by a Snâtaka are given in Chapter LXXI.

30. For attacking a Brâhmaṇa (by raising a stick or a weapon against him), the *Krikkhṛa* (Prâgâpatya) penance must be performed; for striking him, the *Atikrikkhṛa*; and for fetching blood from him, the *Krikkhrâtikrikkhṛa*.

31. With sinners, who have not expiated their crime, let a man not transact business of any kind. But a man who knows the law must not blame (or shun) those who have expiated it.

32. Let him not, however, live (or have any intercourse) with those who have killed children, or with ungrateful persons, or with those who have slain one come for protection, or a woman, even though such sinners may have obtained their absolution, as directed by the law.

33. (An old man) who has passed his eightieth year, a youth under the age of sixteen, women, and sick persons have only to perform half of every penance¹.

34. In order to remove those sins for which no particular mode of expiation has been mentioned, penances must be prescribed, which shall be in accordance with the ability of the offender, and with the heaviness of his offence.

LIV.

1. Now follow the penances for secret sins.

30. For the *Atikrikkhṛa* penance, see M. XI, 214.

33. ¹ Nand. adds, that a youth under the age of sixteen, who has not been initiated, and old women, as well as girls who have not yet attained maturity, must only perform a quarter of it, as directed in a *Smṛiti*.

LIV. 1. M. XI, 248; Y. III, 301; Gaut. XXIV, 1. — 2, 3. M. XI, 249, 260; Y. III, 302; Gaut. XXIV, 10. — 4. Gaut. XXIV,

2. The killer of a Brâhmaṇa is purified, if, having approached a river (and bathed in it), he restrains his breath sixteen times, and takes only one meal, consisting of food fit for offerings, each day, for a month.

3. At the end of this rite he must give a milch cow.

4. By performing the same rite and by muttering (while standing in the water) the Aghamarshana¹ (instead of stopping his breath), a drinker of spirituous liquor² becomes free from sin.

5. (By performing the same rite and) muttering the Gâyatri one thousand and ten times (each day), a stealer of gold becomes free from guilt.

6. One who has connection with a Guru's wife¹ (becomes free from sin) by fasting for three days and muttering the Purushasûkta² and (at the same time) offering a burnt-oblation.

7. Even as the horse-sacrifice, the king of sacrifices, removes all sin, the hymn of Aghamarshana likewise removes all sin.

8. Let a twice-born man stop his breath, in order to rid himself of all sin; all sins committed by a

10. — 6. M. XI, 252; Y. III, 305. — 7. M. XI, 260. — 10-21. M. II, 76-87.

2. Nand. infers from a text of Manu (XI, 249), that this rule refers to one who has killed a Brâhmaṇa intentionally.

3. This rule, Nand. infers from a passage of Yâgñavalkya (III, 305), applies also to the penances mentioned in the following Sûtra.

4. ¹ Rig-veda X, 190. — ² 'I. e. one who has knowingly drunk it, the penance for drinking it unknowingly being stated by Yâgñavalkya (III, 304).' (Nand.)

5, 6. ¹ Nand. infers from M. XI, 251, 252, that these two Sûtras also refer to penances for crimes intentionally committed. — ² Rig-veda X, 90.

twice-born man may be removed by repeated *Prânâyâmas*.

9. It is called a *Prânâyâma*, if a man, stopping the breath (which comes from the mouth and from the nostrils), recites the *Gâyatrî* three times, together with the *Vyâhr̥tis* ('words')¹, with the sacred syllable *Om*, and with the (text called) *Sîras*².

10. The lord of creatures (Brahman) has milked out from the three Vedas the letter A, the letter U, and the letter M (of which the sacred syllable *Om* is composed), and (the three sacred words) *Bhûh*, *Bhuvaḥ*, *Svaḥ* (earth, the atmosphere, and heaven).

11. The lord of creatures, the supreme deity, has also milked out from the three Vedas successively the three verses of the sacred stanza which begins with the word 'tad,' and is called *Sâvitṛî* (or *Gâyatrî*).

12. By muttering, every morning and evening, that syllable and that stanza, preceded by the three 'words,' a *Brâhmaṇa* will obtain that religious merit which the (study of the) *Veda* confers, just as if he had actually studied the *Veda*.

13. By repeating those three (*Om*, the 'words,' and the *Gâyatrî* every day) for a month out of the village, a thousand times, a twice-born man is purified even from a mortal sin, as a snake (is freed) from its withered skin.

14. Any member of the *Brâhmaṇa*, *Kshatriya*, or *Vaisya* castes, who does not know those three texts,

9. ¹ The three *Vyâhr̥tis*, 'words,' or *Mahâvyâhr̥tis*, 'great words,' are quoted in the next *Śloka*. — ² It begins with the words, 'O ye waters, who are splendour and ambrosia.' (Nand., and *Mitâksharâ* on Y. I, 23.)

or fails to recite them in the proper season, meets with reproach among the virtuous.

15. The three imperishable 'great words,' preceded by the syllable Om, and the Gâyatrî consisting of three divisions, have to be recognised as the mouth (or beginning) of the Veda¹.

16. He who repeats that stanza (preceded by the syllable Om and the three 'words') carefully every day for three years, will be absorbed in the highest Brahman after death, move as freely as air, and become as pure as air.

17. The monosyllable (Om) is the highest Brahman, the stoppings of the breath are the best of austerities, but nothing is more exalted than the Gâyatrî; (declaring the) truth is better than silence.

18. All religious acts ordained in the Veda, (whether) consisting in burnt-oblations or sacrifices (or alms-giving or other pious observances), perish (after the merit obtained by them has been exhausted); but the syllable Om (akshara) must be known to be imperishable (akshara), as it is identical with Brahman, the lord of creatures.

19. The act of reciting (the syllable Om, the 'words,' and the Gâyatrî) is ten times better than the (Gyotishṭoma or other) sacrifices prescribed (by the Veda); it is a hundred times better when muttered in a low voice; it is a thousand times better when repeated mentally only.

20. The four Pākayagñas¹ (small or domestic

15. ¹To explain this, Nand. quotes a passage of Ârvalâyana (*Gr̥hya-sûtra* III, 2, 3, where, however, part only of this quotation is found) to the effect that the study of the Veda has to be begun by pronouncing Om, the 'words,' and the Gâyatrî.

20. ¹'The four Pākayagñas are the offerings to gods, goblins (or "all beings"), manes, and men, together with the offering to

offerings), together with the sacrifices prescribed (in the Veda), though all united, are not equal to a sixteenth part of the sacrifice performed by reciting (those sacred prayers).

21. A Brâhmaṇa may beyond doubt obtain final emancipation by solely repeating (those prayers), whether he perform any other religious observance or no ; one who is benevolent towards all creatures (and does not slay them for sacrifices) is justly called a Brâhmaṇa (or one united to Brahman).

LVI.

1. Now then¹ follow the purifying Mantras from all the Vedas.

Brahman.' (Nand.; see LIX, 20-25.) Kullûka, on the contrary (on M. II, 86), refers the term Pâkayagña to the four first only out of those five offerings, and this interpretation, besides being more simple than Nand.'s, is preferable for several other reasons. First, the 'offering to Brahman' includes the daily recitation of the Gâyatri, which is mentioned here as opposed to the four Pâkayagñas. Secondly, the number of four Pâkayagñas is equally given in the Kâṭhaka Gr̥hya-sûtra ; and Devapâla, in his Commentary on that work, gives a definition of them, which agrees in the main with Kullûka's. 'Four' Pâkayagñas are mentioned in the Gr̥hya-sûtras of Kausika, Pâraskara, and Sâṅkhâya also. See Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 48. Thirdly, the Pâkayagñas are brought in here as opposed to the Vidhiyagñas or 'sacrifices prescribed by the Veda.' This is probably because the latter are offered in the triad of sacred fires, whereas the term Pâkayagña, in its narrower use, denotes the oblations offered in the domestic fire. Hence, it might come to include the 'offering to men,' i. e. the feeding of a guest, but certainly not the study of the Veda.

LVI. M. XI, 250-260 ; Y. III, 302-305 ; Gaut. XIX, 12 ; XXIV.

1. ¹'Now then,' i. e. the previous chapter containing an enumeration of secret sins, an enumeration of the purifying Mantras, by which they may be expiated, follows next. (Nand.)

2. By muttering them, or reciting them at a burnt-oblation, the twice-born are purified from their sins. (They are as follows:)

3. The Aghamarshana; 4. The Devakṛita; 5. The Suddhvatīs; 6. The Taratsamandīya; 7. The Kūshmāndīs; 8. The Pāvamāntīs; 9. The Durgāsāvitri; 10. The Atīshaṅgas; 11. The Padastobhas; 12. The Vyâhr̥iti Sāmans; 13. The Bhârunda; 14. The Kandraśāman; 15. The

3. Rig-veda X, 190, 1. (This and the following references are based upon Nand.'s statements.)

4. Vâgasaneyi Samhitâ VIII, 13.

5. Rig-veda VIII, 84, 7-9.

6. Rig-veda IX, 58.

7. Vâgas. Samh. XX, 14-16 (Taitt. Ârany. X, 3-5).

8. The term Pāvamānyaḥ in its most common use denotes the ninth book of the Rig-veda, but Nand. here refers it to Taitt. Brâhm. I, 4, 8.

9. Rig-veda I, 99, 1.

10. Sâma-veda II, 47-49. Regarding this and the following Sāmans see also Benfey, Ind. Stud. III, 199 seq., Burnell's Index to the Ârshya Brâhmana, and S. Goldschmidt's remarks in his edition of the Âranyaka Samhitâ, Transactions of the Berlin Academy, 1868, p. 246 seq.

11. Sâma-veda II, 578-580.

12. 'The Vyâhr̥iti Sāmans, i. e. bhûḥ and the four others.' (Nand.) The four others are, bhuvāḥ, svaḥ, satyam, purushaḥ. See Ūhya-gâna III, 2, 10, in Satyavrata Sāmāśrami's edition of the Sâma-veda Samhitâ.

13. 'Bhârunda is the name of certain Sāmans, twenty-one in number, which begin with the words, yat te krishnaḥ sakuna (Rig-veda X, 16, 6). They are contained in the Âranyagâna.' (Nand.) The reading of the last word is doubtful. At all events, the verse quoted by Nand. does not occur in the Âranyagâna. It may be that the Sāmans called Ekavimsatyanugâna are meant, which are found in that work, though they do not contain the verse referred to.

14. Sâma-veda I, 147.

15. Âranyaka Samhitâ IV, 33, 34, in Goldschmidt's edition, = Rig-veda X, 90, 1, 4.

two Sâmans called Purushavrata; 16. The Abliṅga; 17. The Bârhaspatya; 18. The Gosûkta; 19. The Âsvasûkta; 20. The two Sâmans called Kandra-sûkta; 21. The Satarudriya; 22. The Atharvasiras; 23. The Trisuparna; 24. The Mahâvrata; 25. The Nârâyanyia; 26. And the Purushasûkta;

27. The three Âgyadohas¹, the Rathantara², the Agnivrata³, the Vâmadevyā⁴, and the Brîhatsâman⁵, properly chanted, purify man from sin; and if he wishes he may obtain through them recollection of his existence in a former life.

LVII.

1. Now¹ (the following persons) must be avoided:

16. Sâma-veda II, 1187.

17. Sâma-veda, I, 91.

18. Sâma-veda I, 122.

19. The same text as in the preceding Sûtra.

20. Sâma-veda I, 350. Nand. infers from a passage of Vâsishṭha (XXVIII, 12) that *ka* refers to Sâma-veda II, 812, and I, 153.

21. Kâṭhaka XVII, 11-16, &c.

22. 'The text beginning with the words, brahmâ devânâṃ prathamâ sambabhûva, "Brahman rose first among the gods."' (Nand.) The Atharvasira Upanishad has the words, very near the beginning, aham ekaṃ prathamam âsīt. See the Calcutta edition.

23. Taitt. Ârany. X, 48-50.

24. Sâma-veda I, 91.

25. Taitt. Ârany. X passim.

26. Rig-veda X, 90, 1. Nand. infers from a passage of Vâsishṭha (XXVIII, 13) that *ka* refers to Rig-veda X, 71, and I, 90, 6-8.

27. ¹ Sâma-veda I, 67. — ² Sâma-veda I, 233. — ³ Sâma-veda I, 27. — ⁴ Sâma-veda I, 169. — ⁵ Sâma-veda I, 234.

LVII. 1, 2. M. II, 39; Y. I, 38. — 3. M. XI, 182-185; Y. III, 295; Âpast. I, 10, 28, 6-8; Gaut. XX, 1. — 4. Âpast. I, 1, 2, 5. — 6, 7. M. IV, 186. — 8. M. IV, 190. — 9. M. IV, 186; Y. I, 213. — 10. M. IV, 247, 250; Y. I, 214; Âpast. I, 6, 18, 1; I, 6, 19, 11; Gaut. XVII, 3. — 11, 12. M. IV, 248, 249; Âpast. I, 6, 19,

2. Vrâtyas (i. e. those for whom the ceremony of initiation has not been performed);

3. Outcasts;

4. Descendants within the third degree¹ of an outcast mother or father, if they (or their outcast ancestors) have not been purified (by a penance).

5. (As a rule) the food of all such persons must not be eaten, nor gifts be accepted from them¹.

6. He must avoid accepting repeated gifts from those whose presents must not be accepted¹.

7. By accepting such gifts, Brâhmaṇas lose their divine lustre.

8. And he who, not knowing the law regarding acceptance of gifts, accepts (illicit) gifts, sinks to hell together with the giver.

9. He who, being worthy to receive gifts, does not accept them, obtains that world which is destined for the liberal-minded (after death).

10. Firewood, water, roots, fruits, protection, meat, honey, a bed, a seat, a house, flowers, sour

14. — 13. M. IV, 251; Y. I, 216; Gaut. XVII, 4. — 14. M. IV, 213; Y. I, 215. — 15, 16. M. IV, 252, 253. — 16. Y. I, 166; Gaut. XVII, 6.

1. ¹ 'There are two classes of sinners, the repentant and the unrepenting. The penances to be performed by the former having been enumerated, he goes on in the present chapter to state that the latter must be avoided.' (Nand.)

3. See XXXV, 1-5.

4. ¹ Nand. refers the term 'in the third degree' to the three ascendants of the parents. The same infers from a passage of Gautama (XX, 1) that the particle *ka* is used in order to include a murderer of a king also.

5. ¹ Nand. infers from another text of Gautama (XX, 8) that it is also forbidden to converse with them.

6. ¹ 'It is no sin then, in one who is in distress, to accept a present once from them.' (Nand.) See 14.

milk, and vegetables he must not disdain to accept when they are offered to him.

11. Even if an offender (but not a mortal sinner) has beckoned and offered alms to him, which had been brought previously for the purpose, the lord of creatures has declared that they may be accepted from him.

12. Neither will the manes eat (his funeral oblations offered to them) for fifteen years, nor will the fire convey his burnt-offerings (to the gods) if he rejects such alms.

13. If he wishes to provide for his (parents or other) Gurus or for (his wife or other) such persons as he is bound to maintain, or if he wants to worship the manes or the gods, he may accept gifts from any one; but he must not satisfy himself with them.

14. But even in those cases, and though he be worthy to receive presents, let him not accept them from a dissolute woman, from a eunuch, from an outcast, or from an enemy.

15. And if his parents are dead, or if he is living apart from them in a house of his own, he must never, while seeking to obtain food for himself, accept alms from any other persons but those who are of respectable descent (and belong to a twice-born caste).

16. One who ploughs the ground for half the crop (and gives the other half to the king or a private person, who is the owner), a friend of the family, a (house-)slave, a herdsman, a barber, and

11. 'The use of the particle *ka* implies that Kusa grass &c. is likewise intended, as Yāgñavalkya (I, 214) says.' (Nand.)

16. The reason of this rule, according to Nand., lies in this, that

one who announces himself (with the words 'I am your slave'): the food of all such may be eaten, although they are Śūdras.

LVIII.

1. The property of householders is of three kinds:

2. White, mottled, and black.

3. By those obsequies which a man performs with white property, he causes (his departed ancestor) to be born again as a god.

4. By performing them with mottled property, he causes him to be born as a man.

5. By performing them with black property, he causes him to be born as an animal.

6. What has been acquired by the mode of livelihood of their own caste, by members of any caste, is called 'white.'

7. What has been acquired by the mode of livelihood of the caste next below in order to their own, is called 'mottled.'

8. What has been acquired by the mode of livelihood of a caste by two or more degrees lower than their own, is called 'black.'

9. What has been inherited, friendly gifts, and

all the castes mentioned in this Sūtra are not properly Śūdras, but the offspring of unions between parents of a different caste, herdsmen being, according to Parâsara, the offspring of a Kshatriya with a Śūdra damsel, &c. The same considers the use of the particle *ka* to imply that potters are also intended. See Gaut. XVII, 6.

LVIII. 1, 2. Nârada 3, 46. — 9-12. Nârada 3, 53, 47-49, 51.

1. As the obligations of a householder, which will be discussed further on (in LIX), cannot be fulfilled without a certain amount of wealth, he discusses in the present chapter the origin of wealth. (Nand.)

the dowry of a wife, that is called white property, for members of any caste indiscriminately.

10. What has been acquired as a bribe, as a fee (for crossing a river and the like, or for a bride, &c.), or by the sale of forbidden articles (such as lac, or salt), or as a return for a benefit conferred, is denoted 'mottled wealth.'

11. What has been acquired by servile attendance¹, by gambling, by thieving, by begging, by deceit (as if a man says that he wants a present for another and takes it himself, or by forging gold or other metals), by robbery, or by fraud (as if a man shows one thing to a purchaser and delivers another to him instead), is called 'black property.'

12. Whatever a man may do (in this world) with anything (he has, whether white, mottled, or black property) he will get his reward accordingly; both in the next world and in this.

LIX.

1. A householder must perform the Pākayagñas¹

¹¹. ¹ Nand. interprets the term pārsvika by 'moving a chowrie to and fro before one's master, while standing by his side.'

LIX. 1. M. IV, 67; Gaut. V, 7-9. — 1, 2. M. IV, 25; Y. I, 97. — 3, 4. Âsv. I, 9; I, 10; Gobh. I, 3, 5-9; Pâr. I, 9; I, 12; Sâṅkh. I, 3. — 2, 4-9. Gaut. VIII, 19, 20. — 4-9. M. IV, 25, 26; XI, 7, 8; Y. I, 124, 125. — 5-7. Âsv. I, 11; Gobh. III, 8; Pâr. III, 1; III, 8; Sâṅkh. III, 8. — 10. M. XI, 27; Y. I, 126. — 11. M. XI, 24; Y. I, 127. — 12. M. XI, 25; Y. I, 127. — 13. M. III, 84, 90, &c. (see below, LXVII). — 14, 15, 18. See the references given below (ad LXVII). — 19, 20. M. III, 68, 69. — 21-25. M. III, 70; Y. I, 102; Âpast. I, 4, 12, 16; I, 4, 13, 1; Gaut. V, 3, 9; Âsv. III, 1, 1-3; Pâr. II, 9, 1. — 26. M. III, 72. — 27-30. M. III, 77, 78, 80, 81.

1. ¹ The term Pākayagña is used in a more restricted sense here than above (LV, 20). Nand. interprets it by 'Vaisvadeva, Sthâ-

(small or domestic offerings) in the fire kindled at the time of marriage².

2. He must offer the Agnihotra (or daily oblations of clarified butter) every morning and evening (in the Tretâ fires).

3. He must offer burnt-oblations to the gods (in case the Agnihotra cannot be performed).

4. Let him offer the two Darsapurnamâsas on the days of conjunction and opposition of the sun and moon.

5. Once in each half of the year, (at the two solstices, let him offer) the Pasubandha (animal sacrifice).

6. In autumn and summer let him offer the Âgrayana (oblation of first-fruits);

lîpâka, Sravanâkarman, and similar sacrifices,' i. e. all the sacrifices which have to be performed in the one household fire, as opposed to those for which a Tretâ or triad of sacred fires is required (see Stenzler, note on Âsv. I, 1, 2). Gautama (VIII, 18) enumerates seven Pâkayagñas, among which, however, the Vaisvadeva is not included. The Vaisvadeva is described in LXVII. Regarding the other Pâkayagñas, see the Gr̥hya-sûtras. —² 'Or in the fire kindled at the division of the family estate, or in the fire kindled on his becoming master of the house.' (Nand.) See Sâṅkh. I, 1, 3-5.

2. The three Tretâ fires have been enumerated above (XXXI, 8). Regarding the Agnihotra and the sacrifices mentioned in 4-8, see Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 328-337, 343-349, 352-396.

4. 'One who has performed the ceremony of Agnyâdhâna (kindling the sacred fires) must perform these two offerings in the Tretâ fires, one who has not done so, in the household or nuptial fire.' (Nand.) This remark applies equally to the sacrifices mentioned in 5-7.

6. 'If the Âgrayana is offered in the household fire, it must consist of a Sthâlîpâka (cooked offering of grain).' (Nand.) See the Gr̥hya-sûtras above cited. Nand. further explains that in autumn the first-fruits of rice, and in summer the firstlings of

7. Or when rice and barley are ripening (in winter and spring).

8. He who has a sufficient supply of food for more than three years (shall perform the Soma-sacrifice)¹.

9. (He shall perform) the Soma-sacrifice once a year (in spring).

10. If he has not wealth (sufficient to defray the expenses of the Pasubandha, Soma, *Kâturmâsya*, and other *Srauta* sacrifices), he shall perform the *Ishî Vaisvânari*.

11. Let him not make an offering of food obtained as alms from a *Sûdra*.

12. If he has begged articles for a sacrifice (and obtained them), let him employ them all for that purpose (and never for himself).

13. Every evening and morning let him offer up the *Vaisvadeva* ;

14. And¹ let him give alms to an ascetic (afterwards).

15. For giving alms and showing due honour to the recipient (by pouring water on his hands both before and afterwards) he obtains the same reward as for giving a cow.

barley, or, according to *Âpastamba*, of *Venuyava*, have to be offered, and he infers from another text of the same author that the particle *ka* here refers to an oblation of *Syâmâka* grain, which has to be offered in the rainy season. The two passages in question are not found in *Âpastamba's* *Dharma-sûtra*, but *Weber*, loc. cit., quotes them from *Kâtyâyana*.

8. ¹ According to *Nand.*, the Soma-sacrifices here referred to are of the *kâmya* species (offered in order to obtain the gratification of a special desire).

14. ¹ *Nand.* infers from the use of the particle *ka*, and from a text of *Parâsara*, that an injunction to give alms to a student is also intended here.

16. If there is no ascetic (or other person worthy to receive alms), he must give a mouthful to cows ;

17. Or he must cast it into fire.

18. If there is food in the house, he must not reject a mendicant, (who arrives) after he has taken his meal himself.

19. A householder has five places where animals are liable to be destroyed : his wooden mortar, his slab to grind wheat or condiments upon, his fire-place, his water-pot, and his broom.

20. For the sake of expiating offences committed (by ignorantly destroying life) in those places, he must perform the (five) sacrifices addressed to the Veda, to the gods, to all created beings (or 'to the goblins'), to the manes, and to men.

21. Privately reciting (and teaching) the Veda is the sacrifice addressed to the Veda.

22. The regular burnt-oblation (Vaisvadeva) is the sacrifice addressed to the gods.

23. The Pitṛitarpana (refreshing the manes with food and water) is the sacrifice addressed to the manes.

24. The Bali-offering is the sacrifice addressed to all creatures (or 'to the goblins').

25. The sacrifice addressed to men consists in honouring a guest.

26. He who does not give their share to these five, the gods, his guests, (his wife and children and others,) whom he is bound to maintain, his manes, and himself, is not alive, though he breathes.

18. 'The expression, "if there is food in the house," indicates that he is not bound to cook a fresh meal for his guest.' (Nand.)

27. These (three), the student, the hermit, and the ascetic, derive their existence from the order of householders; therefore must a householder not treat them with disdain, when they have arrived (at his house at the proper time for begging alms).

28. The householder offers sacrifices, the householder practises austerities, the householder distributes gifts; therefore is the order of householders the first of all.

29. The *Rīshis*¹, the manes, the gods, all creatures (dogs, &c.), and guests beg householders for support; therefore is the order of householders the best of all.

30. If a householder is intent upon pursuing the three objects of life (virtue, love, and wealth), upon constantly distributing presents of food, upon worshipping the gods, upon honouring the *Brāhmaṇas*, upon discharging his duty of privately reciting (and teaching) the Veda, and upon refreshing the manes (with oblations of balls of rice, water, and the like), he will attain the world of Indra.

LX.

1. In (the last watch of the night, which is called)

27. Nand. refers the term *bhikshu*, which has been rendered by 'ascetic,' i. e. a member of the fourth order, to the six sorts of beggars enumerated by *Parāśara*. But as the first three orders are mentioned in this *Sloka*, it is certainly more natural to translate the term as has been done above.

29. ¹ Nand. thinks that hermits or members of the third order are meant by this term. But it seems preferable to refer it to the *Rīshi* authors of the Veda, to whom the first of the five sacrifices, the study of the Veda, is more immediately addressed. See *Āpast.* I, 4, 13, 1; *Gaut.* V, 3.

LX. 1. *M.* IV, 92; *Y.* I, 115. — 1, 2. *M.* IV, 50; *Y.* I, 16; *Āpast.*

the hour sacred to Brahman, let him rise and void his excrements.

2. By night (let him void them) facing the south, by day and during either twilight (let him void them) facing the north.

3. (He must) not (void them) on earth which has not been previously covered (with grass and the like);

4. Nor on a ploughed field;

5. Nor in the shade of a tree (fit to be used for sacrifices);

6. Nor on barren soil; 7. Nor on a spot abounding in fresh grass; 8. Nor where there are worms or insects; 9. Nor in a ditch (or hole, or upon the roots of a tree); 10. Nor on an ant-hill; 11. Nor on a path; 12. Nor on a public road; 13. Nor in a place previously defiled by another person; 14. Nor in a garden; 15. Nor in the vicinity of a garden or of (a reservoir of) water; 16. Nor on ashes; 17. Nor on coal; 18. Nor on

I, 11, 31, 1; Gaut. IX, 41-43. — 3. M. IV, 49; Âpast. I, 11, 30, 15; Gaut. IX, 38. — 4. M. IV, 46; Âpast. I, 11, 30, 18. — 5. Âpast. loc. cit. 16; Gaut. IX, 40. — 8-10. M. IV, 46, 47. — 11, 12. M. IV, 45; Âpast. loc. cit. 18; Gaut. IX, 40. — 11, 19. Y. I, 134. — 15, 21. M. IV, 46, 56; Y. I, 134, 137; Âpast. loc. cit. 18. — 16, 18. M. IV, 45; Gaut. IX, 40. — 22. M. IV, 48; Y. I, 134; Âpast. 20. — 23-26. M. IV, 49; V, 136, 137. — 23. Âpast. 15; Gaut. IX, 37. — 24. Y. I, 17. Chapters LX-LXIV treat of the daily duties of a householder. (Nand.)

6. Nand. infers from the use of the particle *kā*, that the following places (mentioned by Manu IV, 46, according to Nand.'s reading, which differs from the traditional one) are also included in this prohibition: a river, a mountain, the ruins of a temple, and the top of a mountain.

17. Nand. infers from the use of the particle *kā*, and from a text of Yama, that chaff and potsherds are also intended here.

cow-dung; 19. Nor in a fold for cattle; 20. Nor in the air; 21. Nor in water;

22. Nor facing the wind, or fire, or the moon, or the sun, or a woman, or a (father or other) Guru, or a Brâhmaṇa;

23. Nor without having enveloped his head;

24. Having cleaned his hindparts with a clod of earth, or with a brick, (or with wood or grass,) and seizing his organ (with his left, after having removed his garment), he must rise and clean himself with water and earth (previously) fetched for the purpose, so as to remove the smell and the filth.

25. The organ must once be cleaned with earth, the hindparts three times, the one hand (the left) ten times, both hands together seven times, and both feet together three times.

26. Such is the purification ordained for householders; it is double for students; treble for hermits; and quadruple for ascetics.

LXI.

1. A householder must not use¹ Palâsa-wood for cleaning his teeth.

2. Nor (must he use the twigs of) the Sleshmân-

20. 'I. e. in an apartment on the roof or in any other such place.' (Nand.)

LXI. 1. Âpast. I, 11, 32, 9; Gaut. IX, 44.

1. ¹Literally 'eat,' *adyât*. In 16 and 17 the synonymous verbs *bhaksh* and *as* are used. Nevertheless it can hardly be doubted that both of the two modes of cleaning the teeth, which appear to have been customary, are indicated in this chapter: the one consisting in brushing them with little sticks or twigs provided with a brush (see 16), the other in chewing twigs. Unfortunately the reading of Nand.'s gloss on the term *sakûrka* in 16 is uncertain.

2. Regarding the *Vibhîtaka* tree, see Dr. Bühler's *Kashmir Report*, p. 8.

taka (or Selu) plant, nor of the soap plant, nor of the Vibhītaka (or Kalidruma) tree, nor of the Dhava plant, nor of the Dhâmani tree (for that purpose).

3. Nor (the twigs of) the Bandhûka (or Bandhugivaka) plant, nor of the Nirgundî shrub, nor of the Sigru, Tilva, and Tinduka trees.

4. Nor (the twigs of) the Kovidâra (Yugapatraka), Samî, Pîlu (Gudaphala), Pippala (holy fig-tree), Înguda, or Guggula trees;

5. Nor (the twigs of) the Pâribhâdraka (Sakrapâdapa), or tamarind, or Moḥaka, or Semul trees, nor those of the hemp plant;

6. Nor sweet plants (such as liquorice sticks);

7. Nor sour plants (such as Âmlikâs);

8. Nor twigs that have withered on the stem;

9. Nor perforated (or otherwise faulty) wood;

10. Nor stinking wood;

11. Nor smooth wood;

12. He must not (use the sticks) facing the south or west.

13. He must use them facing the north or east;

14. He may use (the twigs of) the banyan or Asana trees, or of the Arka plant, or of the Khadira, or Karaṅga, or Badara (jujube), or Sal, or Nimb trees, or of the Arimeda shrub, or of the Apâmârğa or Malatî plants, or of the Kakubha or Bèl trees;

15. Or of the Kashâya tree, or of the Tikta or Kaṭuka plants.

16. Before sunrise let him silently clean his teeth with a stick, which must be as thick as the top of the little finger, provided with one end that may be chewed (or 'with a brush'), and twelve Âṅgulas long.

17. Having washed¹ and used the stick for cleaning the teeth, he must take care to leave it in a clean place; he must never make use of it on the day of new moon (or on the day of full moon).

LXII.

1. The part at the root of the little finger of a twice-born man is called the Tīrtha sacred to Pragāpati.

2. The part at the root of the thumb is called the Tīrtha sacred to Brahman.

3. The part at the tops of the fingers is called the Tīrtha sacred to the gods.

4. The part at the root of the forefinger is called the Tīrtha sacred to the manes.

5. Let him sip water, which has not been put to the fire and is free from foam (and bubbles), which has not been poured out by a Sūdra (or other uninitiated person), or by a man who has one hand only, and which has no saline flavour¹; and (let him sip it) in a clean place, duly seated, placing (his right hand) between his knees, facing the east or the north (or the north-east), attentively regarding the water, and in a cheerful mood.

6. Let him sip water thrice with the Tīrtha sacred

17. ¹It must be washed both before and after using it. (Nand.)

LXII. 1-4. M. II, 59; Y. I, 19. — 5-8. M. II, 60, 61; Y. I, 20; Âpast. I, 5, 16, 1-7; Gaut. I, 36. — 9. M. II, 62; Y. I, 21.

1. Nand. observes that this chapter and the preceding one follow in order upon Chapter LX, because the purificatory rite described at the end of the latter is immediately followed by the Âṭamana (sipping of water), and then by the Dantadhāvana (cleaning the teeth), both of which acts, however, have to be performed on other occasions also, as after a meal, &c.

5. ¹The term kshāra, 'saline flavour,' includes bad or spoiled water of any kind, according to Nand.

to Brahman (or with the Tīrthas sacred to the gods and to Pragâpati respectively).

7. Let him wipe his lips twice (with the root of his thumb).

8. Let him touch the cavities (above his navel)¹, his head, and his breast with water.

9. By water which reaches either their heart, or their throat, or their palate respectively, members of the three twice-born castes are purified each in his turn; a woman and a Sûdra are purified by water which has once touched their palate.

LXIII.

1. In order to obtain wealth and for the sake of security he shall apply to a lord.

2. He must not travel alone; 3. Nor with wicked companions; 4. Nor with Sûdras; 5. Nor with enemies; 6. Nor too early in the morning; 7. Nor too late in the evening; 8. Nor in the twilight; [9. Nor at noon; 10. Nor near water;] 11. Nor in too great a hurry; 12. Nor at night;

8. ¹ See XXIII, 51.

LXIII. 1. M. IV, 33; Gaut. IX, 63. — 2-9. M. IV, 140, 55, 60. — 13-17, 19, 21. M. IV, 67, 131, 57. — 24, 25. M. IV, 78; Y. I, 139; Âpast. II, 8, 20, 11; Gaut. IX, 15. — 26-28. Sâṅkh. IV, 12, 15; M. IV, 39; Y. I, 133; Gaut. IX, 66. — 40. M. IV, 130. — 41. M. IV, 132. — 42. M. IV, 38; Gaut. IX, 52. — 43. M. IV, 38; Gobh. III, 5, 11. — 46. Âsv. III, 9, 6; M. IV, 77; Y. I, 139; Âpast. I, 11, 32, 26; Gaut. IX, 32. — 47. Âpast. I, 11, 32, 27; Gaut. IX, 33. — 49. Gobh. III, 5, 13; Pâr. II, 7, 6; Sâṅkh. IV, 12, 28. — 51. M. IV, 138, 139; Y. I, 117; Âpast. II, 5, 11, 5-7; Gaut. VI, 24, 25.

1. 'A lord' (īśvara) means a king or another rich man, in his own country, or in another country. (Nand.) See also Dr. Bühler's note on Gaut. IX, 63, where the same Sûtra occurs.

9, 10. Sûtras 9 and 10 are wanting in Dr. Bühler's MS.

13. Nor (let him travel) without cessation with (horses or other) beasts of draught that are quite young, diseased, or (otherwise) afflicted;

14. Nor with such as are deficient in limb; 15. Nor with weak ones; 16. Nor with young bulls; 17. Nor with untrained animals.

18. He must not appease his hunger and allay his thirst without having first given grass and water to the animals.

19. He must not stop at a place where four ways meet; 20. Nor at night at the root of a tree; 21. Nor in an empty house; 22. Nor upon a meadow; 23. Nor in a stable;

24. Nor (must he stand) on hair, on the husks of grain, on potsherds, on bones, on ashes, or coal;

25. Nor on seeds of the cotton plant.

26. When he passes by a place where four ways meet, let him turn his right side towards it.

27. And let him do the same in passing by the image of a deity;

28. And in passing by well-known large trees.

29. After having seen a fire, or a Brâhmana (with his turban on), or a public prostitute, or a jar filled (with water), or a looking-glass, or an umbrella, or a flag, or a banner¹, or a Bèl tree, or a lid (or platter), or a palace built in the shape of a certain diagram (or in the form of a quadrangle without a western gate)²;

29. ¹ 'More precisely the term patâkâ signifies "a staff, by which a piece of cloth torn in the middle is fastened."' (Nand.)—

² 'The particle *ka* is added at the end of this enumeration in order to include in it perfumes, lamps, and other objects mentioned in a Smṛiti.' (Nand.)

30. Or a fan, or a chowrie, or a horse, or an elephant, or a goat, or a cow (having a calf), or sour milk, or milk, or honey, or white mustard ;

31. Or a lute, or sandal-wood, or a weapon, or fresh cow-dung, or fruit, or a flower, or a fresh pot-herb, or *Goroṣanâ*, or blades of *Dûrvâ* grass ;

32. Or a turban, or ornaments, or jewels, or gold, or silver, or clothes, or a seat, or a vehicle, or (raw) meat ;

33. Or a golden vase, or cultivated land which is being carried away (by a stream), or a single (bull or other) piece of cattle tied with a rope, or an unmarried damsel (clad in white), or a (boiled) fish, (let him turn his right side towards them and) go on.

34. Having seen one intoxicated, or insane, or deformed, he must turn back ;

35. (Also, if he has seen) one who has vomited, or one who has been purged, or one who has had his head shorn, or one who wears all his hair tied in one knot, or a dwarf ;

30. ' The particle *ka*, which is added at the end of this *Sûtra*, refers to a king, his ministers, his domestic priest, &c., as indicated in a *Smṛiti* passage.' (Nand.)

31. Nand. infers from another *Smṛiti* passage that *ka* here refers to a crow and to a *Sûdra* or workman with his tools.

32. Nand. here refers *ka* to shells and other objects mentioned in a *Smṛiti*.

33. Nand. here refers *ka* to a dead body and other objects enumerated in a *Smṛiti*.

34. The enumeration of auspicious objects in *Sûtras* 29-33 is followed by an enumeration of inauspicious objects in *Sûtras* 34-38. (Nand.)

35. The particle *ka* refers to enemies, outcasts, and others mentioned in a *Smṛiti*. (Nand.)

36. Or (if he has seen) one wearing a dress (of a reddish-yellow colour) dyed with Kashâya¹, or an ascetic, or one smeared² (with ashes)³;

37. Or (if he has seen) oil, or sugar, or dry cow-dung, or fire-wood, or grass (other than Kusa or Dûrvâ grass), or Palâsa (and other leaves, other than betel leaves), ashes, or coal¹;

38. Or (if he has seen) salt, or a eunuch, or (the spirituous liquor called) Âsava, or an impotent man, or cotton cloth, or a rope, or an iron chain for the feet, or a person with dishevelled hair.

39. (If he sees), while about to begin a journey, a lute, or sandal-wood, or fresh pot-herbs, or a turban, or an ornament, or an unmarried damsel, he must praise them¹.

36. ¹ Nand. refers kâshâyin, 'wearing a dress dyed with Kashâya,' to 'persons who wear the marks of an order to which they do not belong.' But this interpretation is evidently wrong. Among the sects that wear a dress dyed with Kashâya, Buddhists are the most prominent, but it must not be overlooked that there are other important sects also, as e.g. the Svâminârâyâṇîs of the present day, who wear such dresses. — ² The term malina, 'smeared,' no doubt refers to a Saiva sect. Nand. interprets it by 'Kâpâlikas and the like;' but more probably the Pâsupatas are meant. — ³ The particle *ka* further refers to the humpbacked, deaf, and blind, to barren women, and to naked and hungry persons, as stated in a *Smṛiti*. (Nand.)

37. ¹ Nand. refers the particle *ka* in this Sûtra to hares, naked mendicants, snakes, iguanas, lizards, skins, and other inauspicious objects and persons enumerated in a *Smṛiti*.

38. Nand. argues from a passage of Nârada (not found in his Institutes), that the particle *ka* here refers to persons mounted upon an ass, camel, or buffalo, and others.

39. ¹ Nand. mentions two explanations of this Sûtra : 1. he must eulogise the above objects or persons if he sees them ; 2. he must gladden persons, who have those objects or persons with them, with presents and the like.

40. He must not (knowingly) step on (or step over, or stand on) the shade of the image of a deity, of a (learned) Brâhmaṇa, of a spiritual teacher, of a brown (bull or other animal), or of one by whom the initiatory ceremony at a Soma-sacrifice has been performed.

41. Nor (must he step) on anything spat out or vomited, nor on blood, nor on fæces or urine, nor on water used for ablutions.

42. He must not step over a rope to which a calf (or a cow) is tied.

43. He must not walk quickly in the rain.

44. He must not cross a river without need ;

45. Nor without having previously offered an oblation of water to the gods and to the manes ;

46. Nor (swimming) with his arms ;

47. Nor in a leaky vessel.

48. He must not stand on the bank (of a river).

49. He must not gaze into a pool.

50. He must not cross it (by swimming through it, or in any other way).

51. Way must be made for an aged man, for one carrying a burden, for a king, for a Snâtaka (of any of the three kinds ¹), for a woman, for a sick person, for a bridegroom, and for one riding in a carriage. Among those, should they all meet, a king must be

41. According to Nand., the particle vâ, 'or,' is added at the end of this Sûtra, in order to include an officiating priest and others mentioned by Yâgñavalkya I, 152.

51. ¹ The Snâtaka (see XXVIII, 42, note) is of three kinds: 1. the Vidyâsnâtaka, who has studied the Vedas; 2. the Vratasnâtaka, who has performed the Vratas or vowed observances of a student; 3. the Ubhayasnâtaka, who has completed both the Vedas and the Vratas. (Nand.) See the Gr̥hya-sûtras.

honoured by the rest (excepting the Snâtaka); but the king himself must show honour to a Snâtaka.

LXIV.

1. He must not bathe in another man's pool ;
2. In cases of distress (if there is no other water at hand) he may bathe (in another man's pool), after having offered up five (or seven, or four) lumps of clay and (three jars with) water.
3. (He must not bathe) during an indigestion ;
4. Nor while he is afflicted (with a fever or other illness) ;
5. Nor without his clothes ; 6. Nor at night ;
7. Unless it be during an eclipse ; 8. Nor in the twilight.
9. He must bathe early in the morning, when he beholds the east reddening with the rays of the (rising) sun.
10. After having bathed, he must not shake his head (in order to remove the water from his hair) ;
11. And he must not dry his limbs (with his hand or with a cloth) ;
12. Nor must he touch any oily substance.

LXIV. 1. M. IV, 201. — 1, 2. Y. I, 159. — 3, 4. M. IV, 129. — 5. M. IV, 45 ; Gaut. IX, 61 ; Âsv. III, 9, 6 ; Pâr. II, 7, 6 ; Sâṅkh. IV, 12, 31. — 6. M. IV, 129. — 12. M. IV, 83. — 13. Sâṅkh. IV, 12, 32. — 15. Gaut. IX, 16. — 16. M. IV, 263 ; Y. I, 159. — 24. M. IV, 152 ; Y. I, 100. — 27. Y. I, 196.

5. The term *nagna*, literally 'naked,' has to be taken in its widest sense here. According to Bhrîgu and Gobhila it includes, besides one wholly undressed, 'one without his upper garment, one who has dirty clothes on, one clad in lower garments of silk only, one who wears double clothing or even a greater number of clothes, one who wears a small piece of cloth over the pudenda only,' &c. (Nand.) See also M. IV, 129.

13. He must not put on again the garment which he wore before, without its having been washed.

14. After having bathed, he must cover his head with a turban¹ and put on two garments² washed (by himself).

15. He must not converse, (after having bathed,) with barbarians, low-caste persons, or outcasts.

16. He must bathe in cascades, ponds dug by the gods, and lakes.

17. Stagnant water is more pure (and purifies more effectually) than water taken out (of a well or the like); the water of a spring is more pure than that of a tank; the water of a river is more pure than the former; water collected by (Vasishtha or some other) devout sage¹ is even more pure; but the water of the Ganges is the purest of all.

18. After having removed the dirt by means of earth and water¹, and after having dived under water and returned (to the bank of the river), he must address the bathing-place with the three Mantras (beginning with the words), 'Ye waters are²,' with the four Mantras (beginning with the words),

14. ¹Ushnîsha, 'a turban,' here denotes a bandage used for drying the head, which is wrapped round the head and closely tied together. — ²I. e. an upper and an under garment. (Nand.)

16. The term devakhâta, 'ponds dug by the gods,' refers to Pushkara and other holy bathing-places. (Nand.) See below LXXXV.

17. ¹Nand. cites Vasishthaprákî and Virvâmitraprákî as instances of holy bathing-places of this description.

18. ¹Nand. refers this and the following Sûtras to a midday bath, because a verse, which he quotes, forbids the use of earth (in order to clean one's self with it) in the morning bath. But it seems to follow from 35 and 42, that all the rules given in this chapter refer to that bath, which must be taken at sunrise every day. — ²Rig-

'The golden-coloured (waters) ³,' and with (the one Mantra beginning with the words), 'Carry away (all) that, O ye waters ⁴.'

19. Then he must dive under water and mutter the Aghamarshana three times;

20. Or (he must mutter three times the Mantra which begins with the words), 'That most exalted step of Vishnu;'

21. Or the Drupadâ Sâvitri (which begins with the words, 'Like one released from a post');

22. Or the Anuvâka (which begins with the words), 'They get their minds ready;'

23. Or the Purushasûkta.

24. After having bathed, he must feed the gods and the manes, while standing in the water with his wet clothes on.

25. If (being unable to remain in water after having bathed) he has changed his dress, (he must feed the gods and the manes,) after having crossed the bathing-place (and reached the bank).

26. (But) he must not wring his bathing-dress till he has satisfied the gods and the manes.

27. After having bathed¹ and sipped water, he must sip water (once more) according to the rule.

28. He must offer (sixteen) flowers to Purusha,

veda X, 9, 1-3, &c. — ³ Taïtt. Samh. V, 6, 1, 1-2, &c. — ⁴ Rig-veda I, 23, 22, &c.

20. Rig-veda I, 22, 20, &c.

21. Taïtt. Brâhm. II, 4, 4, 9; 6, 6, 3; cf. Vâgasan. Samh. XX, 20; Atharva-veda VI, 115, 3.

22. Rig-veda V, 81, &c.

24. 'The use of the particle *ka* indicates that he must anoint himself after having bathed.' (Nand.)

27.¹ This expression refers back to the whole proceeding described above, up to the wringing of the bathing-dress. (Nand.)

while muttering the Purushasûkta, one with each verse.

29. Afterwards (he must offer) a libation of water.

30. He must first offer one to the gods with the Tîrtha sacred to the gods.

31. Then he must offer another to the manes with the Tîrtha sacred to the manes.

32. In offering the latter he must first of all feed (the manes of) his next of kin (such as his father, mother, maternal grandfather, uncles, brothers, &c.)

33. After that (he must feed) his relatives (such as a sister's son, a father-in-law, a brother-in-law, &c.) and distant kinsmen (such as the sons of his father's sisters and of his mother's sisters).

34. Then (he must feed) his (deceased) friends.

35. According to the above rule he must bathe every day.

36. After having bathed, he must mutter as many purifying Mantras as possible.

37. And he must mutter the Gâyatrî even more often (than other Mantras);

38. And the Purushasûkta.

39. There is nothing more sublime than those two (prayers).

40. One who has bathed is thereby entitled to perform the offerings to the Visvedevâs and to the manes, to mutter sacred texts, and to exercise the duty of hospitality, as prescribed by law.

30, 31. See LXII, 3, 4.

37, 38. 'Or the meaning of these two Sûtras is, that the Gâyatrî and the Purushasûkta always have to be muttered besides the other Mantras.' (Nand.)

40. Nand. refers the term vidhinodite to a separate duty, that

41. Distress and misfortune, bad dreams and evil thoughts are taken from him even who only sprinkles himself with water (no matter from where it comes): that is the law.

42. He who regularly takes the prescribed bath (every morning), does not experience the tortures of Yama's hell. By the regular bath criminals even obtain their absolution.

LXV.

1. Now then, after having duly bathed, and duly washed his hands and feet, and duly sipped water, he must worship Bhagavat Vāsudeva (Vishṇu), who is without beginning and end, before an idol or on the sacrificial ground.

2. Having called up in his mind (Vishṇu to life, with the Mantra)¹, 'The two Asvins possess life, may they (give you life),' and having invited (Vishṇu) with the Anuvāka (beginning with the words), 'They get their minds ready²,' he must worship him with his knees, his hands, and his head³.

of worshipping the gods; the particle *ka* to the propitiation of the planets by sacrifices and other such duties; and the particle *tathā* to optional acts, such as the gift of a cow to a Brāhmaṇa, and the like. But this is certainly a too extensive interpretation of the text.

LXV, LXVI. These two chapters treat of the worship of Vishṇu. (Nand.)

LXV. 1. The fittest place for worshipping Vishṇu is upon a Sālagrāma (ammonite) stone. (Nand.)

2. ¹ *Kâ/haka* XI, 7. The rendering of this Mantra is conjectural, as the reading is uncertain. Nand. states expressly that it is quoted from the *Kâ/haka*. — ² See LXIV, 22. — ³ 'The particle *ka* indicates that he must also worship Vishṇu in his mind, and with his speech, by saying, 'Om, adoration to Bhagavat Vāsudeva.' (Nand.)

3. With the three Mantras (beginning with the words), 'Ye waters are,' he must (fetch and) announce the Arghya (or water for washing the hands).

4. With the four Mantras (beginning with the words), 'The golden-coloured,' (he must fetch and announce) the water for washing the feet ;

5. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the words), 'May the waters of the plain propitiate us,' the water which is to be sipped ;

6. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the words), 'Carry away (all) that, O ye waters,' the water destined for the bath ;

7. With (the four Mantras, beginning with the words, 'Proud) of the chariot, of the poles, the hero,' unguents and ornaments ;

8. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the words), 'A youth, splendidly arrayed,' a garment ;

9. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the word), 'Blooming,' a flower ;

10. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the

3, 4. See LXIV, 18.

5. This Mantra is found Atharva-veda I, 6, 4 ; XIX, 2, 2 ; Taitt. Âraṇy. VI, 4, 1. Nand. states that it is *kaṭhasâkhiya*, from the *Sâkhâ* of the *Kaṭhas* ; but I have not found it in the Berlin MS. of the *Kâṭhaka*, the only complete MS. in existence of that work.

6. See LXIV, 18.

7. This Mantra also belongs to the *Kaṭha* school, according to Nand. It is not found in the MS. of the *Kâṭhaka*, but it occurs in the Taitt. Brâhm. II, 7, 7, 2. The above translation is in part according to Sâyana's Commentary on the Taitt. Brâhm.

8. Rig-veda III, 8, 4, &c.

9. Taitt. Samh. IV, 2, 6, 1 ; Kâṭh. XVI, 13 ; Atharva-veda VIII, 7, 27. Nand. says that it is a Taittirîya Mantra.

10. Kâṭh. II, 7 ; Vâgas. Samh. I, 8 (cf. Mahîdhara's Commentary). Nand. says that it is a Taittirîya Yagus.

words), 'Thou art murderous (dhûr), slay (dhûrva) (the slayer),' incense (dhûpa);

11. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the words), 'Thou art splendour and light,' a lamp;

12. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the words, 'I have praised) Dadhikrâvan,' a Madhuparka (honey-mixture);

13. With the eight Mantras (beginning with the word), 'Hiranyagarbha,' an offering of (other) eatables.

14. A chowrie, a fan, a looking-glass¹, an umbrella, a (palanquin or other) vehicle, and a (throne or other) seat, all these objects he must announce (and place before) the god (Vishnu), muttering the Gâyatri (at the same time).

15. After having thus worshipped him, he must mutter the Purushasûkta. After that, he who wishes to obtain eternal bliss must make oblations of clarified butter, while reciting the same hymn.

LXVI.

1. He must not make an oblation to the gods or to the manes with water collected at night.

2. He must not give any other fragrant substance than sandal, or musk, or (fragrant) wood (of the odoriferous Devadâru tree), or camphor, or saffron, or the wood of the Gâtîphala tree;

3. Nor a garment dyed with indigo;

11. Vâgas. Samh. XXII, 1. Nand. states that this Mantra belongs to the Sâkhâ of the Kaṭhas; but I have not met with it in the Kâṭhaka.

12. Rig-veda IV, 39, 6, &c.

13. Rig-veda X, 121, 1-8; Kâṭh. XL, 1, &c.

14. ¹ Thus the term mâtrâ is interpreted by Nand.

4. Nor an ornament made of factitious jewels or gold ;

5. Nor (a flower) having a nasty odour ;

6. Nor one that has no odour at all ;

7. Nor one grown upon a thorny plant.

8. But he may give even a flower grown upon a thorny plant, if it is white and sweet-smelling.

9. He may give even a red flower, if it is saffron, or a water-flower (such as the red lotus).

10. (He must) not (give) any animal substance (such as claws or horns) for the incense.

11. (He must) not (give) anything but clarified butter or oil for the lamp.

12. (He must) not (give) forbidden food at the offering of eatables ;

13. Nor the milk of goats or female buffalos, though it is lawful food (otherwise) ;

14. Nor the flesh of five-toed animals, of fishes, and of boars.

15. Fully prepared for the sacrifice and pure, he must announce (and offer up to Vishnu) all the oblations, with his mind fixed upon the deity, with a cheerful heart, and free from precipitation or anger.

LXVII.

1. After having swept the place around the (kitchen) fire, sprinkled it with water all around,

9. The particle *ka* indicates that fragrant oleander and the like is also permitted. (Nand.)

13. See LI, 38.

14. This prohibition refers to those species of five-toed animals, fish, and boars, whose flesh is not in general forbidden. (Nand.) See LI, 3, 6, 21.

LXVII. 1-32. Âsv. I, 2 ; Gobh. I, 4 ; Pâr. I, 12 ; II, 9 ; Sâṅkh. II,

strewed (Kusa grass) all around, and sprinkled (the latter) with water all around, he must take out of all dishes the uppermost part and offer it :

2. To Vāsudeva, to Saṅkarshana, to Pradyumna, to Aniruddha, to Purusha, to Satya, to Akṛyuta, to Vāsudeva.

3. Afterwards (he must offer twelve burnt-oblations) to Agni, to Soma, to Mitra, to Varuna, to Indra, to Indra and Agni united, to the Visvedevās, to Pragâpati, to Anumati, to Dhanvantari, to Vâstoshpati, and to Agni Svishṭakṛit (the god of the fire who causes the proper performance of the sacrifice).

4. Then let him make a Bali-offering with that which has been left of the dishes.

5. To (the serpent demons) Taksha and Upa-taksha,

6. (Strewing the two Balis) on both sides of the fire, to the east of it (on the north-eastern side first, and on the south-eastern side afterwards).

14; M. III, 84-94; Y. II, 103-108; Âpast. II, 2, 3; II, 2, 4, 1-13; Gaut. V, 10-18. — 33-46. Âsv. I, 24; Gobh. IV, 10; Pâr. II, 9, 12-16; I, 3; Sâṅkh. II, 15-17; M. III, 99, 100, 102, 103, 111-118; Y. I, 107-113; Âpast. II, 2, 4, 11-20; II, 3; II, 4; Gaut. V, 21-45. Regarding the parallel passages of the Kâṭhaka and Mânava Gr̥hya-sûtras, see the Introduction. This chapter treats of the Vaisvadeva sacrifice. (Nand.)

1. Nand. infers from a text of Saunaka, that the particle *atha* points to the recitation of the Purushasûkta as an initiatory ceremony.

2. Regarding this Sûtra, see the Introduction. The oblations to be offered are eight in number, one for each invocation.

3. Devapâla, in his Commentary on the corresponding section of the Kâṭhaka Gr̥hya-sûtra, states that the deities to whom burnt-oblations are offered (Sûtra 3) shall be invoked with the word *svâhâ*, 'hail!' and those for whom Bali-offerings are strewed upon the ground, with the word *namaḥ*, 'adoration.'

6-8. These three Sûtras have been translated in accordance

7. (Then let him offer other seven Balis) to all (the seven Ishṭakās or goddesses of the bricks of the altar, also to the east of the fire, while pronouncing the Mantras), 'Thy name is Ambā; thy name is Dulā; thy name is Nitatnī (Nitatnir); thy name is Kūpuzīkā (and so on).'

8. (He must offer four Balis with the Mantras), 'O Nandint; O Subhagā; O Sumaṅgalī; O Bhadrāṅkarī,' (placing the Balis) in the corners (beginning with the south-eastern corner and proceeding) towards the south.

9. (He must place two Balis), addressed to Śrī Hiraṇyakeśī and to the trees, near the firm pillar¹.

10. (He must place two Balis), addressed to Dharma and Adharma and to Mr̥tyu, near the door.

11. (He must place one Bali), addressed to Varuṇa, in the water-jar.

12. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to Viṣṇu,' (he must place one Bali) in the mortar.

13. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to the Maruts,' (he must place one Bali) on the mill-stone.

14. (In the apartment) on the roof (let him place two Balis) addressed to Vaisrāvaṇa (Kubera) the king, and to all created beings.

15. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to Indra and to Indra's ministers,' (he must place two Balis) in the eastern part (of the house).

with Devapāla's readings and his remarks on them. Nand. wrongly refers the four names mentioned in 7 to the four quarters of the globe. The Mantra quoted in 7 is found complete in the Kāṭhaka, XL, 4, and, in a modified form, in the Taitt. Saṃh. IV, 4, 5, 1.

9. ¹ 'I. e. the pillar which supports the house.' (Nand.) It appears from an analogous passage of the Mānava Gṛhya-sūtra, that a pillar in the middle of the house is meant.

16. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to Yama and to Yama's ministers,' (he must place two Balis) in the southern part.

17. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to Varuṇa and to Varuṇa's ministers,' (he must place two Balis) in the western part.

18. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to Soma and to Soma's ministers,' (let him place two Balis) in the northern part.

19. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to Brahman and to Brahman's ministers,' (let him place two Balis) in the centre (of the house).

20. (Let him throw) in the air (a Bali) addressed to Âkâśa (the air).

21. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to the goblins roaming by day,' (let him place a Bali) on the sacrificial ground.

22. (With the words, 'Adoration be to the goblins) roaming by night,' (let him offer a Bali in the same place at the Vaisvadeva which takes place) at night.

23. Afterwards he must offer upon blades of Kusa grass, having the points turned towards the south, balls of rice to his father, to his grandfather, and to his great-grandfather, to his mother, to his grandmother, and to his great-grandmother, proclaiming at the same time their name and race (and adding the word Svadhâ, 'reverence').

24. Along with the balls of rice let him give ointments, flowers, incense, eatables, and the like.

25. After having fetched a jar with water, let him

24. 'And the like' means betel and the sacrificial fee for the Brâhmanas.' (Nand.)

25. This has to be done with the words, svastitvam brûhi, 'say

cause a Brâhmana to say the benediction (and give him the jar).

26. (The share) of dogs, crows, and Svapaṅgas let him strew upon the earth.

27. And let him give (a mouthful of food as) alms.

28. By honouring guests he obtains the highest reward.

29. Let him assiduously honour a guest who arrives in the evening (after the Vaisvadeva is over).

30. Let him not suffer a guest to stay at his house unfed.

31. As the Brâhmanas are lords over all other castes, and as a husband is lord over his wives, a guest is the lord of a householder.

32. By honouring a guest he obtains heaven.

33. (One who has arrived as) a guest and is obliged to turn home disappointed in his expectations, takes away from the man, to whose house he has come, his religious merit, and throws his own guilt upon him.

34. A Brâhmana who stays for one night only as a guest, is called atithi (a guest); because he does not stay for a long time, therefore is he termed atithi.

the benediction.' (Nand.) The benediction, according to Devapâla, consists of the Purushastûkta, the Kanikrada (Vâgas. Samh. XIII, 48), and other Mantras.

27. According to Nand., who argues from a passage of Baudhâyana, the particle *ka* implies that he should feed Brâhmanas also.

33. This proverb is also found in the Mahâbhârata XII, 6995, in the Hitopadesa I, 56 (64 ed. Johnson), and in the Mârkanḍeya-purâṇa XXIX, 31. See Böhrtlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 134.

34. Atithi in this derivation is supposed to mean 'one who does not stay for a whole tithi or lunar day.'

35. Let him not consider a Brâhmaṇa fellow-villager or an acquaintance as his guest, though he has come to the house where his wife and his fires are.

36. But if a Kshatriya has come to his house in the way of a guest, let him hospitably entertain him also, to his heart's desire¹, after the Brâhmaṇa guests have eaten.

37. Should a Vaisya or a Sûdra come to his house as guests, he must even give food to them (at the same time and) with his servants, and treat them with kindness (but not like guests in the proper sense of the term).

38. To (members of) other castes (such as Mûrdhâvasiktas) and to friends (or relatives or) other such persons, who have come to his house out of attachment, let him offer such food as happens to be there, to the best of his power, at the time when his wife takes her meal.

39. One recently married (but not yet delivered to her husband), an unmarried damsel, a sick woman, and a pregnant woman: to these let him give food unhesitatingly, even before his guests.

40. The foolish man who eats first himself, without having offered food to those (persons that have been mentioned), is not aware that he will himself be food (after death) for dogs and vultures.

41. After the Brâhmaṇas, (the Kshatriyas who have come as guests), the friends and relatives, (the parents and others) whom he is bound to maintain,

36. ¹ This is Kullûka's rendering of the term kâmam (on M. III, 111). According to Nand., it means that he is at liberty to feed such guests or no.

38. The wife takes her meal when the husband has eaten. (Nand.)

(and the servants) have made their repast, let man and wife eat the leavings themselves.

42. Having shown honour to the gods, to the manes, to men, to those whom he is bound to maintain, and to the household deities (as well as to dogs, crows, and the rest), let a householder enjoy that which has been left.

43. He who cooks food for himself only, eats nothing but sin: for that alone is considered as fit food for the virtuous, which is left, after the (customary) oblations have been offered.

44. By the daily recitation of the Veda, by the Agnihotra, by sacrificing, and by austerity, a householder does not obtain such excellent places of abode (after death) as by honouring a guest.

45. Whether he arrives in the evening or in the morning, he must offer a seat and water to his guest, and food, to the best of his ability, after having shown him marks of honour as the law directs¹.

46. By giving (to a guest) shelter, a bed, ointments for his feet, and a lamp: for each of these gifts singly he reaps the same reward as for the gift of a cow.

LXVIII.

1. He must not eat during an eclipse of the moon or of the sun.

45. ¹ For the rules regarding the reception of a guest, see Âsv. I, 24, and the other *Gṛhya-sûtras*; M. III, 119 seq., and the other *Dharmasâstras*.

LXVIII. 12. M. IV, 55. — 14. M. IV, 45; Y. I, 131; Âpast. II, 8, 19, 18. — 19. M. IV, 74. — 20. M. IV, 65. — 21. M. IV, 63; Gaut. IX, 56. — 23. M. IV, 74. — 26. M. III, 106; Âpast. II, 4, 8, 4. — 27. M. IV, 62; Âpast. II, 8, 18, 1; II, 8, 20, 10; Gaut. IX, 58. — 29. M. IV, 75. — 34. M. IV, 76. — 37. M. IV, 37; Y.

2. He shall eat, after having previously bathed, when the eclipse is over.

3. If (the sun or moon) have set before the eclipse was over, he must bathe, and on the next day he may eat again, after having seen (the sun or moon rise).

4. A cow or a Brâhmaṇa having met with a calamity, he must not eat on that day.

5. If the king has met with an accident, (he must not eat on that day).

6. An Agnihotrin, who is absent on a journey, must eat at that time of the day when the Agnihotra is supposed to be over.

7. He may also eat at that time of the day when the Vaisvadeva is supposed to be over.

8. On the days of new and full moon (he may eat at that time) when he supposes the sacrifice customary on those days to have been performed.

I, 135. — 38. M. IV, 82. — 40. Âpast. I, 11, 31, 1. — 42, 43. M. II, 54; Y. I, 31; Gaut. IX, 59. — 46. Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 10; M. IV, 43; Y. I, 131; Gaut. IX, 32. — 47. M. IV, 63; Y. I, 138; Âpast. II, 1, 1, 3; Gaut. IX, 9. — 48. M. IV, 62. — 49. M. IV, 65; Gaut. XVII, 13. 'The injunctions regarding meals having been given in the previous chapter, he now proceeds to propound some prohibitions concerning the same subject.' (Nand.)

2, 3. Nand. states that in both of these Sûtras it has to be understood, that the bath occasioned by the eclipse must be followed by the ordinary bath, which precedes every meal.

6. An Agnihotrin is one who daily performs the Agnihotra. Regarding the Agnihotra and the times for its performance, see LIX, 2.

7. The term Vaisvadeva includes not only the oblation to the Visvedevâs (LXVII, 3), but also the Bali-offerings and the entertainment of a guest, &c., as prescribed in LXVII, 4 seq. (Nand.)

8. According to Nand., the use of the particle *ka* implies, that this rule applies equally to the first days of the moon's increase and wane.

9. He must not eat during an indigestion ;
10. Nor at midnight ; 11. Nor at noon ;
12. Nor in the twilight ;
13. Nor dressed in wet clothes ;
14. Nor without his upper garment ;
15. Nor naked ;
16. Nor in water (nor in a boat) ;
17. Nor lying stretched out on the back ;
18. Nor sitting on a broken stool ;
19. Nor reclining on a couch ;
20. Nor from a broken dish ;
21. Nor having placed the food on his lap ;
22. Nor (having placed the food) upon the ground ;
23. Nor from the palm of his hand.
24. That food which has been seasoned with salt (after having been cooked) he must not eat.
25. He must not abuse children (eating in the same row with him).
26. (He must) not (eat) dainties alone.
27. (He must) not (eat) substances from which the fat has been extracted.
28. Nor (must he eat) roasted grain in the day-time.
29. At night (he must not eat) anything mixed with sesamum-seeds.

9. According to Nand., the use of the particle *kā* implies a prohibition to eat again, after having partaken of a *Śrāddha* meal.

15. See note on LXIV, 5.

24. Nand., quoting a passage of *Vāsishṭhā* (XIV, 28), states the use of the particle *kā* to imply, that food twice cooked and food cooked in a frying-pan should also be avoided.

27. This rule refers to skimmed milk and to a dough made of ground sesamum, from which the oil has been extracted. (Nand.)

30. Nor (must he eat at night) sour milk or ground barley.

31. Nor (must he eat) the leaves of the mountain ebony, or of the banyan, or of the holy fig-tree, or of the hemp plant.

32. (He must) not (eat) without having first given to eat (to the gods and to the Brâhmanas);

33. Nor without having made a burnt-offering first;

34. Nor without having sprinkled his feet;

35. Nor without having sprinkled his hands and his face;

36. While having the remains of food on his mouth or hands, he must not take clarified butter.

37. Nor must he look at the moon, or at the sun, or at the stars (while unclean).

38. Nor must he touch his head (while unclean).

39. Nor must he recite the Veda (while unclean).

40. He must eat facing the east;

41. Or facing the south;

42. And after having honoured his food¹;

43. And cheerfully, adorned with a garland of flowers, and anointed with unguents.

42. ¹ Nand. describes the ceremony of 'honouring one's food' as follows: 'He must first sprinkle the food, while reciting the Gâyâtrî and the Vyâhritis (see LV, 10). Then he must sprinkle water all around it, with the Mantra, "Forsooth, I sprinkle righteousness around thee." After that he must sip water with the Mantra, "Thou art an imperishable basis" (Taitt. Ârany. X, 32, rendered according to Sâyana's Commentary), and offer up five oblations to Prâna, &c. (see Dr. Bühler's note on Âpast. II, 1, 1, 2). Finally he must eat in silence, without blaming the food, and taking care to leave some remnant of it in the dish, and sip water again, with the Mantra, "Thou art an imperishable covering"' (Taitt. Ârany. X, 35, according to Sâyana).

44. He must not eat up his food completely ;

45. Unless it consist of sour milk, or honey, or (clarified) butter, or milk, or ground barley, or meat, or sweetmeats.

46. He must not eat together with his wife, nor in the open air, nor standing, nor in the presence of many (hungry spectators), nor must many eat in the presence of one (hungry spectator).

47. Let him never eat in an empty house, in a house where the sacred fires are preserved, or in a temple dedicated to the gods. Neither must he drink water out of his joined hands, or satiate himself to repletion.

48. Let him not take a third meal (over and above the two regular meals in the mornings and evenings), nor let him ever take unwholesome food. He must eat neither too early, nor too late, and he must take no food in the evening, after having fully satiated himself in the morning.

49. He must not eat bad food (whether injurious to health or otherwise reprehensible), nor from a bad dish (which is similar to the dishes used by barbarians, or which has been defiled by a wicked man eating from it), nor lying on the ground, nor with his feet raised upon a bench, nor sitting on his hams with a cloth tied round his legs and knees.

46. Nand. thinks that this rule refers to those wives only who belong to a lower caste than their husbands.

48. 'Too early' means before sunrise ; 'too late' means immediately before sunset. (Nand.)

LXIX.

1. He must not have connection with his wife on the eighth, or fourteenth, or fifteenth day of the half-month.

2. And (he must avoid connubial intercourse) after having partaken of a *Srâddha*;

3. And after having given (a *Srâddha*);

4. And after having been invited to a *Srâddha*;

5. And while performing a vow of abstinence (such as that to be kept on the day before a *Srâddha*, or the fast to be observed on the eleventh day of the half-month);

6. And one who has performed the initiatory ceremony of a Soma-sacrifice;

7. And in a temple, in a burial-ground, and in an empty house;

8. And at the root of a tree (or shrub);

9. And in the day-time; 10. And in the twilight;

11. And with one unclean (or in her courses);

12. And while he is unclean himself; 13. And with one anointed with unguents; 14. And being anointed himself; 15. And with one sick; 16. And while he is sick himself.

17. He must not have connection, if he wishes to enjoy a long life, with a woman who has a limb too little, nor with one who has a limb too much, nor with one older than himself, nor with a pregnant woman.

LXIX. 1. M. IV, 128; Y. I, 79. — 9. Âpast. II, 1, 1, 16. — 15. Gaut. IX, 28. The subject of daily duties being absolved, he now goes on to state (in Chapters LXIX, LXX) the rules that must be observed during the night. (Nand.)

4. The invitations to a *Srâddha* are issued on the day before it is to take place. (Nand.)

LXX.

1. He must not sleep with his feet wet ;
2. Nor facing the north or the west ;
3. Nor naked ; 4. Nor on wet (fresh) bamboo ;
5. Nor in the open air ;
6. Nor on a bedstead made of Palāsa-wood ;
7. Nor on one made of the wood of five trees ;
8. Nor on one made of the wood of a tree which has been split by an elephant ;
9. Nor on a bedstead made of the wood of a tree that has been kindled by lightning ;
10. Nor on a broken bedstead ;
11. Nor on one made of scorched wood ;
12. Nor on one made of the wood of a tree that used to be watered with a jar ;
13. Nor in a burial-ground, nor in an empty house, nor in a temple ;
14. Nor with people who are restless of limb ;
15. Nor with women ;
16. Nor on grain, nor (in a stable of) cows, nor (on the couch of any of his) Gurus, nor on the fire-place, nor (in a building dedicated to the) gods.
17. He must not sleep while the remnants of

LXX. 1. M. IV, 76. — 2. Y. I, 136. — 3. Âsv. III, 9, 6 ; M. IV, 75 ; Gaut. IX, 60. — 13. M. IV, 57. — 17. Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 17 ; Âpast. I, 1, 2, 24 ; Gaut. II, 13.

7. Nand. mentions three explanations of this term: 1. a bedstead made of five pieces of wood (or of the wood of five trees) ; 2. a bedstead made of any of the five kinds of wood enumerated in the Vishṇu-purāṇa ; 3. a bedstead made of any of the five kinds of wood enumerated in Sūtras 8-12. The second explanation is inadmissible, because part of the species of wood mentioned in the passage of the Vishṇu-purāṇa referred to is identical with those enumerated in Sūtras 8-12.

food are on his hands or face, nor in the day-time, nor in the twilight, nor upon ashes, nor in a place soiled (by excrements and the like), nor in a wet place, nor on the top of a mountain.

LXXI.

1. Now¹ he must not condemn any one (whether of equal rank, or of higher or lower rank than himself).

LXXI. 1. M. IV, 135; Y. I, 153. — 2. M. IV, 141. — 3. Gaut. II, 17. — 4. Gobh. III, 5, 29. — 4-6. M. IV, 17, 18; Y. I, 129, 123. — 8. M. IV, 19. — 9. M. IV, 34; Âpast. I, 11, 30, 13; Gaut. IX, 3. — 11. Gobh. III, 5, 15. — 13-16. M. IV, 36; Y. I, 133. — 14. Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 21. — 17-21. M. IV, 37. — 17, 18. Pâr. II, 7, 6; Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 2; Âpast. I, 11, 31, 20. — 23. Pâr. II, 7, 8; M. IV, 38. — 25. M. IV, 43. — 26. Âsv. III, 9, 6; Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 1; M. IV, 53; Y. I, 135; Gaut. IX, 48. — 32-35. M. IV, 56, 53; Y. I, 137. — 36, 37. M. IV, 54, 53; Y. I, 137. — 39. M. IV, 65. — 40. Âpast. II, 8, 20, 11; Gaut. IX, 32. — 42, 43. M. IV, 70; Âpast. I, 11, 32, 28; Gaut. IX, 51. — 44. M. IV, 69. — 45. M. IV, 74; Y. I, 138; Gaut. II, 17. — 46. M. IV, 69. — 47. M. IV, 66; Gaut. IX, 4, 5. — 48-52. M. IV, 80. — 53. Sâṅkh. IV, 12, 18; M. IV, 82. — 54. M. IV, 250; Y. I, 214. — 55. M. IV, 55. — 56. M. IV, 57; Y. I, 138. — 58. M. IV, 57; Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 6. — 59. Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 6; Gaut. IX, 16. — 60. M. IV, 58. — 61, 62. Âpast. I, 11, 31, 9, 10. — 62. Pâr. II, 7, 14; M. IV, 59; Y. I, 140; Gaut. IX, 23. — 63-68. M. IV, 60, 61. — 69-71. M. IV, 63, 64. — 70. Pâr. II, 7, 3. — 72-74. M. IV, 138; Y. I, 132. — 75. Y. I, 153. — 76. M. IV, 137; Y. I, 153. — 77. M. IV, 94. — 79. M. IV, 144. — 80, 81. M. IV, 164. — 82. M. VIII, 299. — 83. M. IV, 135; Y. I, 153. — 84, 85. M. IV, 176; Y. I, 156. — 86. M. IV, 150. — 87. M. IV, 2, 246; Gaut. IX, 73. — 90. M. IV, 155; Y. I, 154. — 91, 92. M. IV, 156, 158.

1. ¹ This chapter treats of the duties of a Snâtaka (see XXVIII, 42, note). The particle *atha*, 'now,' however, signifies that some of these duties are common to the Snâtaka and to the householder, whose special duties have been treated in the previous chapters. (Nand.)

2. He must not mock those who have a limb too little or a limb too much, who are ignorant, or who are poor.

3. He must not serve low people.

4. Let him not engage in work that may keep him from repeating (or teaching) the Veda.

5. Let him wear such a dress as becomes his age,

6. And his sacred knowledge, his descent, his means, and his country.

7. He must not be overbearing.

8. He must constantly consult the holy laws and other (salutary precepts relating to the acquisition of wealth, wisdom, and freedom from disease).

9. He must not wear a worn-out or filthy dress, if he has means (enough to procure a new one).

10. (Even though he lacks firewood or the like necessities) he must not say to another man, 'I have got none.'

11. He must not wear a garland of flowers which has no smell at all, or an offensive smell, or which is red.

12. Let him wear a garland of water-flowers even though they be red.

13. And (he must wear) a staff made of bamboo ;

14. And a jar with water ;

15. And a sacrificial string made of cotton thread ;

16. And two golden ear-rings.

2. The particle *ka* refers to ugly persons and the rest, enumerated by Manu IV, 141. (Nand.)

8. The use of the particle *ka* implies, according to Nand., that his frame of mind and his speech should also be in conformity with his age, &c., as ordained by Manu IV, 18.

13-16. Nand., arguing from texts of Baudhâya and of Manu (IV, 36), takes the use of the particle *ka* in Sûtras 13 and 14 to

17. He must not look at the rising sun ;
18. Nor at the setting (sun) ;
19. Nor (must he look at the sun) shining through an awning of cloth (under which he is lying).
20. Nor at the sun reflected in a looking-glass or in water ;
21. Nor at the midday sun ;
22. Nor at the face of any of his Gurus while he is angry ;
23. Nor at his own image reflected in oil or in water ;
24. Nor reflected in a dirty looking-glass ;
25. Nor at his wife eating ;
26. Nor at a naked woman ;
27. Nor at a man in the act of discharging urine (or voiding excrements) ;
28. Nor at an elephant (or other dangerous animal) broken loose from the rope that ties him ;
29. Nor at a fight between bulls (or elephants or buffalos) or the like animals, while he is himself standing in a (crowd or any other) place, from which it would be difficult for him to effect his escape ;
30. Nor at one insane ;

imply that a Snâtaka must wear three garments, an under garment, an upper garment, and a mantle, and in Sûtra 16, that he must carry about him a bushel of Kusa grass.

19. This rule appears to refer, likewise, to the custom of suspending, by a tree or a post, an upper garment or a piece of cloth, in order to ward off the rays of the sun.

20. The particle *ka* here is used, according to Nand., in order to include 'the sun, while it is eclipsed,' as mentioned by Manu IV, 37.

29. 'As shown by *ka*, a place where arrows, spears, or other missiles are falling down, is also intended here.' (Nand.)

31. Nor at one intoxicated ;
32. He must not throw any impure substances into the fire ;
33. Nor blood ; 34. Nor poison ;
35. Neither (must he throw any of those substances) into water.
36. He must not step over a fire.
37. He must not warm his feet (by the fire).
38. He must not wipe (the dirt from his feet) with blades of Kusa grass.
39. He must not wash (his feet) in a vessel of white copper.
40. He must not (wash) one foot with the other.
41. He must not scratch the ground (with a piece of wood or the like).
42. He must not crush clods of earth.
43. He must not cut grass.
44. He must not tear his nails or the hairs (of his beard or others) with his teeth.
45. He must avoid gambling ;
46. And the heat of the sun just risen.
47. He must not wear a garment, or shoes, or a garland, or a sacrificial string which had before been worn by another.
48. He must not give advice to a Sûdra ;
49. Nor (must he give him) the leavings of his food, nor the residue of an oblation (unless he is his own servant) ;

46. Besides the above interpretation of the term *bâlâtapa*, which is proposed by Kullûka also (on M. IV, 69), Nand. mentions two others: 1. the heat of that time of the day when the cows are collected for milking ; 2. the heat of the autumn season. The particle *ka*, according to Nand., is used in order to include the smoke of a burning corpse and the other forbidden objects mentioned by Manu IV, 69.

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50. Nor (must he give him) sesamum ;
 51. Nor (must he point out) the sacred law to him ;
 52. Nor (must he prescribe) a penance (for him for atonement of a sin).
 53. He must not scratch his head or his belly with both hands joined.
 54. He must not reject sour milk or the Sumanas flower (when offered to him).
 55. He must not take off his garland (from his head) himself (but he may cause another to do so).
 56. Let him not rouse (a superior) from sleep.
 57. He must not (by harsh speeches and the like) render disaffected one who is well affected towards him.
 58. He must not speak to a woman in her courses ;
 59. Nor to barbarians or low-caste persons.
 60. When a sacred fire, or an idol, or a Brâhmaṇa is near, he must stretch forth his right hand (from his upper garment).
 61. If he sees a cow trespassing upon another man's field, he must not announce it (to the owner of that field).
 62. And if he sees a calf sucking (at the udder of a cow, he must not announce it to the owner of the latter).
 63. He must not endeavour to please overbearing men (by flattering their pretensions).
 64. He must not dwell in a kingdom governed by a Sûdra king ;
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54. Nand. states that this rule does not contain a vain repetition of the rule laid down above (LVII, 10), as the latter refers to householders and the former to Snâtakas.

65. Nor in one abounding with wicked people ;
66. And he must not live (in a kingdom) in which there are no physicians ;
67. Nor in one afflicted (with a disease or other calamity).
68. And (he must not stay) long on a mountain.
69. He must not (walk or otherwise) exert himself without a purpose.
70. He must not dance or sing.
71. He must not make a noise by slapping (his left arm, after having placed it upon his right shoulder, with his right hand).
72. He must not make vulgar speeches.
73. He must not tell an untruth.
74. He must not say disagreeable things.
75. He must not strike any one upon a vital part.
76. He must not despise himself if he wishes to enjoy long life.
77. He must often repeat his prayers at each twilight (if he wishes to live long).
78. He must not play with (venomous) serpents or with weapons.
79. He must not touch the cavities of his body without a cause.
80. He must not raise a stick against another man.
81. One who deserves punishment he must strike in order to punish him.
82. (He must strike) him upon his back with a shoot of bamboo or with a rope.

75. 'Others' take this Sutra to mean, that he must not make public another man's misconduct. (Nand.) This interpretation is proposed by Vigñānēśvara, on Yâgñavalkya I, 153.

79. See XXIII, 51.

83. He must take care not to revile a god, a Brâhmana, the Sâstras, or the high-minded (*Rishis*).

84. And (he must avoid) gain and pleasure repugnant to duty.

85. (He must avoid) even lawful acts which may give offence to mankind.

86. On the days of new and full moon let him make a propitiatory offering.

87. He must not cut even grass (on those two days).

88. He must adorn himself (with garlands, sandal, and the like).

89. Thus he must observe established customs.

90. Those customs, which have been explicitly ordained in revealed and in traditional texts, and which are practised by the virtuous, must always be observed by a righteous man with subdued passions.

91. By adhering to established usage he attains to old age; this is the way to obtain that state in the next life which he desires, and imperishable riches, this is the way to destroy the effect of (bodily) marks foreboding future misfortunes.

92. He who observes the usages established among the virtuous, who is a believer in revelation, and free from ill-will, lives a hundred years, even

84. "“Or repugnant to the final liberation,” as the use of the particle *ka* implies.’ (Nand.) See Manu VI, 37.

85. The use of the particle *ka*, Nand. argues from Manu IV, 176, implies that acts which may cause future pain should also be avoided.

88. The use of the particle *ka*, according to Nand., implies that he must also observe auspicious rites and established customs, as ordained by Manu IV, 145. The latter injunction is, however, expressly given in the next Sûtra.

though he does not possess any external marks of prosperity.

LXXII.

1. He must persist in keeping his mind and his organs of sense under restraint.

2. Restraint of the mind implies restraint of the senses.

3. One who has acquired complete command over himself, gains this world and the next.

4. One who has no command over himself, reaps no fruit from any of his acts (whether worldly or tending to the acquisition of spiritual merit).

5. Self-restraint is the best instrument of purification; self-restraint is the best of auspicious objects; by self-restraint he obtains anything he may desire in his heart.

6. The man who rides (as it were) in a chariot drawn by his five senses and directed by his mind (as the charioteer), who keeps it on the path of the virtuous, can never be overcome by his enemies (lust, wrath, and greed), unless the horses (unrestrained by the charioteer) run away with the chariot.

7. As the waters (of all streams) are stored up (and reabsorbed) in the ocean, which, though being filled with them, remains unmoved and tranquil, even so that man, in whose mind the passions are stored up (and dissolved), obtains perfect calmness: but not he who strives after the gratification of his desires.

LXXII. 7=Bhagavad-gîtâ II, 70. This chapter treats of duties which are common to all the four orders. (Nand.)

LXXIII.

1. One desirous of celebrating a *Srâddha* must invite the *Brâhmaṇas* on the day before (it is to take place).

2. On the next day, in the forenoon, if it falls in the bright half of the month, and in the afternoon, if it falls in the dark half of the month, the *Brâhmaṇas*, who must have duly bathed and duly sipped water, must be placed by him, in the order of their seniority¹ (or) of their sacred knowledge, upon seats covered with *Kusa* grass.

3. (He must entertain) two (*Brâhmaṇas*) facing the east at the *Srâddha* of the gods (*Viśvedevâs*), and three facing the north at the *Srâddha* of the manes;

4. Or one only at each *Srâddha*.

5. After having (worshipped the *Viśvedevâs* and) offered a burnt-oblation: during the recitation of the first *Pañṣaka* (pentad) at a *Srâddha* repast con-

LXXIII. 1-32. *Âsv.* II, 5, 11-14; IV, 7; *Gobh.* IV, 2-4; *Pâr.* III, 10, 48-55; *Sâṅkh.* IV, 1; *M.* III, 125, 204-259; *Y.* I, 225-248; *Âpast.* II, 7, 17, 11-19; *Gaut.* XV. Regarding the corresponding section of the *Kâṭhaka Grîhya-sûtra*, see Introduction. This chapter opens the section on *Srâddhas* (funeral oblations), which consists of thirteen chapters (LXXIII-LXXXV. Nand.)

1. The *Ekoddishṭa* and *Sapindîkarana* *Srâddhas* have been described above, XXI. The rules given in the present chapter refer to all the remaining kinds of *Srâddhas*. See 5-9, LXXIV, LXXVI-LXXVIII.

2. ¹ At the *Srâddha* of the manes the oldest *Brâhmaṇa* represents the great-grandfather; the one next to him in age, the grandfather; the youngest of the three, the father of the sacrificer. (Nand.)

5-9. The three *Pañṣakas* referred to in *Sûtras* 5-9 are respectively vv. 1-5, 6-10, and 11-15 of *Kâṭhaka XXXIX*, 10. (Nand.) The great majority of the *Mantras* quoted in *Sûtras* 11-26 have

sisting of undressed grain or performed for the gratification of a special desire¹;

6. At a *Srāddha* repast consisting of meat, during the recitation of the second *Paññaka*;

7. At a new moon (*Srāddha*), during the recitation of the last *Paññaka*;

8. On the *Ashṭakās* (or eighth days) of the (three) dark halves subsequent to the full moon day of the month *Āgrahāyana* (or *Mārgaśrsha*)¹, during the recitation of the first, second, and last *Paññakas* respectively;

9. Likewise, on the *Anvashṭakās* (or ninth days of the dark halves of those months);

10. He must invite the manes, after having received permission to do so from the *Brāhmaṇas*¹.

11. Having driven away the *Yātudhānas* by strewing grains of sesamum and by reciting the two

not been traced in the Berlin MS. of the *Kāṭhaka*, nor indeed in any other *Samhitā* of the Veda, but there can be no doubt that they belong to the school of the *Kāṭhas*, as nearly all are quoted by their *Pratīkas* in the *Kāṭhaka Gr̥hya-sūtra*, and given at full in Devapāla's Commentary on the latter. The above renderings of the *Pratīkas* rest upon Devapāla's interpretations. That the rules in 5 seq. teach the performance of a *Srāddha* according to the rites of the *Kāṭha* school, is confirmed by Nand. in his remarks on 5 seq. and 9 seq.

5. ¹ See LXXXVIII.

8. The days referred to are the eighth days of the dark halves of the months *Mārgaśrsha*, *Pausha*, and *Māgha*.

9. 'And on the *Srāddhas* taking place on the seventh day of the dark half, as *ka* indicates.' (Nand.) This statement does not, however, deserve much credit, as such *Srāddhas* are neither mentioned in our work nor in the *Kāṭhaka Gr̥hya-sūtra*.

10. ¹ 'The permission of the *Brāhmaṇas* has to be asked with the Mantra, "I shall invite (the manes);" and their answer must be, "Invite them."' (Nand.)

11. The *Yātudhānas* are a class of demons supposed to disturb

Mantras (the first of which begins with the words), 'May the Asuras go away;'

12. He must invite the manes (with the four Mantras), 'Come near, O ye manes,' '(Conduct) them all (here), O Agni,' 'May my (ancestors) come near,' 'This is your (share), O ye manes.' Then let him prepare the water for washing the feet with scented water, which has been mixed up with Kusa grass and sesamum, while reciting (the three Mantras), 'Those standing¹,' 'Speech is imperishable,' and 'What my mother (has sinned)¹,' and offer it (to the Brâhmaṇas); let him prepare the Arghya (or water mixed with Dûrvâ grass, flowers, &c.) and offer it to them; let him offer to the Brâhmaṇas, to the best of his power, Kusa grass, sesamum, clothes, flowers, ornaments, incense, and lamps; let him take food sprinkled with clarified butter; let him look them in the face with the Mantra, 'O ye Âdityas, Rudras, and Vasus;' let him say, 'I will offer an oblation in the fire,' and if the Brâhmaṇas say, 'Offer an oblation,' let him offer three burnt-oblations².

13. After having consecrated the offerings with the Mantras, 'They, who are my ancestors,' 'This is your (share), O ye manes,' and 'This offering,' he must pour (what is left of) the food into such vessels as happen to be there, or (into golden ones at the offering addressed to the Visvedevâs and) into silver

the effect of a Srâddha. The second Mantra, according to Devapâla, is from the Rig-veda, X, 15, 1.

12. ¹ These two Mantras are also quoted, with slight variations, by Sâṅkhâyaṇa III, 13, 5.—² The three burnt-oblations have to be accompanied by the recitation of the three Mantras, 'To Soma accompanied by the manes svadhâ namaḥ; to Yama Ângiras svadhâ namaḥ; to Agni who takes the offerings addressed to the manes svadhâ namaḥ.' (Nand.)

ones (at the offering addressed to the manes), and offer it first to the two Brâhmaṇas facing the east (who have been invited to the Srâddha of the gods).

14. Afterwards he must offer it to the (three) Brâhmaṇas facing the north (who represent his three ancestors, addressing himself) to his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, (and calling out) their name and race.

15. While the Brâhmaṇas are eating the food, let him mutter (the three Mantras), 'Whatever (trickles down) through my fault,' 'With days and nights¹,' and 'Whatever (limb) of yours, Agni.'

16. And (let him mutter) the Itihâsa (Epics), Purâṇa (Legends), and Dharmasâstra (Institutes of the Sacred Law).

17. Near the leavings let him deposit upon blades of Kusa grass with the ends turned towards the south one ball of rice for his father, while saying, 'Earth is (like) a spoon, imperishable (satisfaction).'

18. With the Mantra, 'Air is (like) a spoon, imperishable (satisfaction,' let him deposit) a second ball for his grandfather.

19. With the Mantra, 'Heaven is (like) a spoon, imperishable (satisfaction,' let him deposit) a third ball for his great-grandfather.

20. With the Mantra, 'Those ancestors who

14. The formula of this invocation, according to Nand., is this, 'To NN., my ancestor, of the Gotra NN., who is like a Vasu, (I offer) this food, svadhâ namaḥ.' The use of the particle *ka*, according to the same, implies that the maternal grandfather and the other maternal ancestors must also be addressed, as ordained below (LXXV, 7).

15. ¹ A similar Mantra is quoted, Sâṅkh. III, 13, 5.

have died,' let him place a garment (upon the balls).

21. With the Mantra, 'Give us sons, O ye manes,' (let him place) food upon them.

22. With the Mantra, 'Enjoy it, O ye manes, partake of it, each according to his share¹,' let him wipe off the grease from his hands with the ends of the blades.

23. With the Mantra, '(Ye waters) imparting vigour¹,' let him sprinkle the balls to the right with the wet (remainder of the food), and offer the Argha², flowers, incense, unguents, and rice, and other victuals and dainties to the Brâhmanas.

24. And (he must offer them) a jar with water, which has been mixed up with honey, clarified butter, sesamum, and (ointments, oil, and the like).

25. The Brâhmanas having eaten and being satisfied, let him sprinkle the food (as much as has been left by them) and the grass with the Mantra, 'Mayest thou not fail me,' and strew the food near the leavings; and having asked them, 'Are you satisfied? Is (the Srâddha) finished,' he must first give water for sipping to the Brâhmanas facing the north, and then to those facing the east; and he must sprinkle the place where the Srâddha has been offered (with water, with the Mantra), 'Well sprinkled.' All these rites he must perform while holding blades of sacred grass in his hand.

26. Afterwards he must, while turning his face towards the Brâhmanas facing the east, circumambu-

22. ¹ Vâgasan. Samh. II, 31; Kâth. IX, 6.

23. ¹ Vâgasan. Samh. II, 34.—² The Argha is a respectful offering, the ingredients of which vary.

late them from left to right, with the Mantra, 'What a crow (may have eaten of my offering),' and turn back again; he must honour them with sacrificial fees, to the best of his power, saying, 'May you be satisfied,' and on their answering, 'We are satisfied,' he must address them with the Mantra, 'The gods and the manes.'

27. After having given (to all) water (with the Mantra, 'May the food and water and whatever else I gave you be) imperishable,' (and) calling out their name and race, and having added the Mantra, 'May the Visvedevâs be satisfied,' he must ask, with folded hands, and with an attentive and cheerful mind, the following (benediction) from the Brâhmaṇas facing the east:

28. 'May the liberal-minded in our race increase in number, and may the (study of the) Vedas and our progeny (also increase). May faith not depart from us, and may we have plenty to bestow on the poor.'

29. They shall answer, 'Thus let it be.'

30. (The second half of the benediction shall be as follows), 'May we have plenty of food, and may we receive guests. May others come to beg of us, and may not we be obliged to beg of any one.'

31. After having received this double benediction (through the Brâhmaṇas saying, 'Thus let it be'),

32. He must dismiss the Brâhmaṇas, with the Mantra, 'With all food¹,' after having honoured them according to custom, accompanied them (as far as the limits of his estate), and taken his leave of them.

32. ¹ Rig-veda VII, 38, 8.

LXXIV.

1. After having worshipped, on each *Ashṭakâ*, the gods and performed, with vegetables, meat, and cakes respectively, a *Srâddha* (according to the rules given in the last chapter), he must, on each *Anvashṭakâ*¹, worship the gods and offer a burnt-oblation in the same way as on the *Ashṭakâs* (i. e. reciting the same three *Pañṭakas* successively), and entertain *Brâhmanas* in the same way as (directed) before (in the preceding chapter), in honour of his mother, his paternal grandmother, and his paternal great-grandmother, honour them with presents, accompany them (as far as the limits of his estate), and dismiss them².

2. Then he must dig (six) trenches.

3. On the border of these trenches, to the north-east of them, he must light fires and place balls of rice.

4. On the border of three of the trenches (he must place balls) for the men, and on the border of the other three (he must place balls) for the women.

LXXIV. 1-8. *Âsv.* II, 5; *Gobh.* IV, 2; *Pâr.* III, 3, 10-12; *Sâṅkh.* III, 13, 6; *M.* IV, 150. Regarding the corresponding section of the *Kâṭhaka Gr̥hya-sûtra*, see the Introduction.

1. ¹ See LXXIII, 8, 9; LXXVI, 1. — ² Nand. considers the use of the particle *ka* to imply that the father together with the other paternal ancestors, and the maternal grandfather along with the other maternal ancestors, should also be invoked, which would make in all nine ancestors to be invoked. The first part of this observation appears to be correct, but the maternal grandfather and the rest are neither referred to in the following *Sûtras*, nor in the *Kâṭhaka Gr̥hya-sûtra*.

2. Nand. gives it as his opinion, that nine trenches should be made, three of which are to be for the maternal grandfather, &c. But *Sûtra* 4 refers to three trenches for the men only, and the *Kâṭhaka Gr̥hya-sûtra* expressly mentions the number of six trenches.

5. He must fill the three trenches for the men with water mixed with food.

6. (He must fill) the three trenches for the women with milk mixed with food.

7. (And he must fill up) each triad of trenches singly with sour milk, meat, and milk.

8. After having filled (the trenches), he must mutter the Mantra, 'May this (food) be imperishable for ye men and for ye women.'

LXXV.

1. He who makes a *Srâddha*-offering while his father is alive, must offer it to those persons to whom his father offers (his *Srâddhas*).

2. (If he offers a *Srâddha*) while both his father and grandfather are alive, (he must offer it to those persons) to whom his grandfather (offers his *Srâddhas*).

3. While his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather are alive, he must offer no *Srâddha* at all.

4. He whose father is dead (but whose grandfather is alive), must first of all offer a ball of rice to his father, after that, two balls to the two ancestors coming before his grandfather (or to his great-grandfather and to his fourth ascendant).

5. He whose father and grandfather are dead (but whose great-grandfather is alive), must first offer two balls to those two, and then offer one ball to the grandfather of his grandfather.

7. Nand. renders this *Sûtra* differently, in accordance with his own theory regarding the number of the trenches.

LXXV. 1. M. III, 220. — 4. M. III, 221. — 7. Y. I, 228.

6. He whose grandfather is dead (but whose father and great-grandfather are alive), must give one ball to his grandfather and two balls to the father and grandfather of his great-grandfather.

7. An intelligent man must offer *Srâddhas* to his maternal grandfather, and to the father and grandfather of him, in the same way (as to his paternal ancestors), duly modifying the Mantras. But the *Srâddhas* addressed to other relatives, (uncles, brothers, and the like, must be performed) without Mantras.

LXXVI.

1. The (twelve) days of new moon, the three *Ashṭakâs*, the three *Anvashṭakâs*, a *Mâgha* day (i.e. 'day on which the moon enters the lunar asterism *Maghâ*'), which falls on the thirteenth of the dark half of the month *Praushṭapada*, and the two seasons when rice and barley grow ripe (or autumn and spring):

7. The Mantras are those quoted above, in Chapters LXXIII and LXXIV. They have to be modified, i.e. the names of the maternal ancestors must be put in, and the verb &c. of the sentence be altered accordingly. (Nand.)

LXXVI. 1. M. III, 122, 273, 281; IV, 150; Y. I, 217, 260; Gaut. XV, 2; Âpast. II, 7, 16, 4-6.

1. Nand. infers from a passage of *Âsvalâyana* (*Grihya-sûtra* II, 4, 3) that *Srâddhas* to be offered on the day before each *Ashṭakâ* are also intended here. See, however, note on LXXIII, 9. The same proposes two explanations of the term *Mâghî*: 1. It has to be separated from the following words, and refers directly to the day of full moon in the month *Mâgha*, and indirectly to the days of full moon in *Âshâdha*, *Kârttika*, and *Vaisâkha* as well, as indicated in a passage of the *Brâhma-purâna*. 2. It has to be connected with the clause following it. This latter interpretation, on which the rendering given above is based, is supported by Manu (III, 273, 274),

2. Thus have the regular times for a *Srâddha* been declared by the lord of creatures. He who fails to perform a *Srâddha* on those days, goes to hell.

LXXVII.

1. The sun's passage from one sign of the zodiac to another ;

2. The two equinoctial points ;

3. The two solstitial points particularly ;

4. The (Yoga) *Vyatîpâta* ;

5. The constellation under which (the sacrificer himself, or his wife, or his son) is born ;

6. A time of rejoicing (as, when a son has been born, or another happy event happened) :

7. These occasions for a *Srâddha* the lord of creatures has pronounced optional ; a *Srâddha* which is performed on these occasions gives infinite satisfaction (to the manes).

8. No *Srâddha* must be performed in the twilight or at night by an intelligent man. A *Srâddha* may be performed at those times also when an eclipse (of the sun or of the moon) takes place.

9. For a *Srâddha* which is offered them at the time of an eclipse satisfies the manes, as long as the moon and the stars exist, and procures immense advantages and the satisfaction of all his desires to the sacrificer.

Yâgyavalkya (I, 260), according to the interpretations of *Kullûka* and *Vigñânesvara*, and by the *Vishnu-sûtra* itself (LXXVIII, 52).

✓LXXVII. 1-6, 9. Y. I, 217, 218. — 6. Âsv. IV, 7, 1 ; *Sânkh.* IV, 4. — 8. M. III, 280 ; *Âpast.* II, 7, 17, 23, 25.

4. This is the seventeenth among the twenty-seven *Yogas* or astrological divisions of the zodiac. (Nand.)

7. The meaning is, that the *Srâddhas* mentioned in this chapter are *naimittika*, 'occasional.' (Nand.)

LXXVIII.

1. By performing a Srâddha on Sunday he procures everlasting freedom from disease.
2. (By performing a Srâddha) on Monday he becomes beloved¹.
3. (By performing it) on Tuesday (he procures) success in battle.
4. (By performing it) on Wednesday (he enjoys) all his desires.
5. (By performing it) on Thursday (he acquires) such religious knowledge as he desires.
6. (By performing it) on Friday (he acquires) wealth.
7. (By performing it) on Saturday (he procures) longevity.
8. (By performing it under the Nakshatra or constellation) *Kṛittikâs* (he gains) heaven.

LXXVIII. 8-35. M. III, 277; Y. I, 264-267. — 36-50. M. III, 276; Y. I, 261-263; Âpast. II, 7, 16, 8-22; Gaut. XV, 4-52, 53. M. III, 273, 274. Regarding Sûtras 1-7, see the Introduction.

1. Nand. states that the Srâddhas mentioned in this chapter are of the *kâmya* sort, i.e. 'offered for the gratification of a special desire.'

2. ¹ This is Nand.'s interpretation of the term *saubhâgyam*. It might also be taken in its usual acceptance, as meaning 'happiness.'

8-35. Those names of the twenty-eight Nakshatras or lunar asterisms, which I have included in parentheses, are from Nand.'s Commentary. Most of the objects which are said to be gained by the Srâddhas mentioned in Sûtras 8-35 are connected etymologically, or through their import, with the names of the particular Nakshatras under which they are performed. Thus the term *pushî*, 'prosperity,' in Sûtra 13, is etymologically connected with *Pushya*; the term *mitra*, 'friend,' in 22, is connected with *Maitra*; the term *râgyam*, 'royalty,' in 23, is connected with *Sâkra*, the name of that Nakshatra being derived from *Sakra*, a name of Indra, the king of the gods, &c.

9. (By performing it under the constellation) Rohinî (he obtains) progeny.

10. (By performing it under the constellation) Saumya (or *Mrigasiras* he procures) the superhuman power of a pious Brâhmaṇa.

11. (By performing it under the constellation) Raudra (or *Ârdrâ* he reaps) the fruit of his labours.

12. (By performing it under the constellation) Punarvasu (he procures) land.

13. (By performing it under the constellation) Pushya (or *Tishya* he procures) prosperity.

14. (By performing it under the constellation) Sârpa (or *Âsleshâs* he obtains) beauty.

15. (By performing it under the constellation) Paitrya (or *Maghâ* he enjoys) all his desires.

16. (By performing it under the constellation) Bhâgya (or *Pûrvaphâlgunî*) he becomes beloved¹.

17. (By performing it under the constellation) Âryamaṇa (or *Uttaraphâlgunî* he procures) wealth.

18. (By performing it under the constellation) Hasta (he acquires) superiority among his kindred.

19. (By performing it under the constellation) Tvâshtra (or *Kitrâ* he procures) handsome sons.

20. (By performing it under the constellation) Svâti (he procures) success in trade.

21. (By performing it under the constellation) Visâkhâs (he acquires) gold.

22. (By performing it under the constellation) Maitra (or *Anurâdhâ* he procures) friends.

23. (By performing it under the constellation) Sâkra (or *Gyeshthâ* he procures) royalty.

24. (By performing it under the constellation) Mûla (he procures good results in) agriculture.

16. ¹ See 2, note.

25. (By performing it under the constellation) *Âpya* (or *Pûrvâshâdhâs* he procures) success in sea-voyages.

26. (By performing it under the constellation) *Vaisvadeva* (or *Uttarâshâdhâs* he enjoys) all his desires.

27. (By performing it under the constellation) *Abhigit* (he procures) superiority.

28. (By performing it under the constellation) *Sravana* (he enjoys) all his desires.

29. (By performing it under the constellation) *Vâsava* (or *Dhanishthâs* he procures success in preparing) salt ¹.

30. (By performing it under the constellation) *Vârûna* (or *Satabhishâ* he obtains) freedom from disease.

31. (By performing it under the constellation) *Âga* (or *Pûrvabhâdrapadâ* he obtains) copper vessels.

32. (By performing it under the constellation) *Âhîrbudhnya* (or *Uttarabhâdrapadâ* he obtains) a house.

33. (By performing it under the constellation) *Paushna* (or *Revati* he acquires) cows.

34. (By performing it under the constellation) *Âsvina* (or *Âsvini* he obtains) a horse.

35. (By performing it under the constellation) *Yâmya* (or *Bharani* he procures) longevity.

36. (By offering it) on the first day of a lunar fortnight (he procures) a house and handsome wives.

29. ¹ *Lavanam* means either 'salt' or 'beauty' or 'medicinal herbs and fruits.' (Nand.)

37. (By offering it) on the second day (he procures) a beautiful daughter (and sons-in-law).

38. (By offering it) on the third day (he enjoys) all his desires.

39. (By offering it) on the fourth day (he procures) cattle.

40. (By offering it) on the fifth day (he procures) handsome sons.

41. (By offering it) on the sixth day (he obtains) success in gaming.

42. (By offering it) on the seventh day (he procures good results in) agriculture.

43. (By offering it) on the eighth day (he procures success in) trade.

44. (By offering it) on the ninth day (he procures) cattle ¹.

45. (By offering it) on the tenth day (he procures) horses.

46. (By offering it) on the eleventh day (he procures) sons endowed with the superhuman power of a pious Brâhmaṇa.

47. (By offering it) on the twelfth day (he procures) gold and silver.

48. (By offering it) on the thirteenth day he becomes beloved.

49. (By offering it) on the fifteenth day (he enjoys) all his desires.

44. ¹Nand. infers from a passage of Yâgñavalkya (I, 266) that the term 'cattle' here refers to horses and other one-hoofed animals. See, however, the next Sûtra.

48. The term saubhâgyam is stated by Nand. (with reference to Y. I, 264) to denote 'superiority among his kindred,' in this Sûtra. But there is no cogent reason for deviating here from that interpretation of the term which he proposes in his Commentary on Sûtras 2 and 16. See above.

50. For Srâddhas for those who have been killed in battle the fourteenth day is ordained.

51. There are two stanzas on this subject recited by the manes :

52. 'May that excellent man be born to our race, whosoever he may be, who attentively offers a Srâddha in the rainy season¹ on the thirteenth of the dark half,

53. 'With milk profusely mixed with honey; and (he who offers such Srâddhas) during the whole month Kârttika and (in the afternoon) when the shadow of an elephant falls towards the east.'

LXXIX.

1. He must not perform a Srâddha with water collected at night.

2. On failure of Kusa grass he must employ Kâsa or Dûrvâ grass instead.

3. Instead of a garment (he may give) cotton thread.

4. He must avoid (giving) the fringe of cloth, though it be of cloth not yet used.

5. And (he must not give) flowers having a nasty odour, or no odour at all, the blossoms of thorny plants, and red flowers.

52. ¹ The term *prâvri/kâle*, 'in the rainy season,' probably refers to one month only of the rainy season, the month Bhâdrapada or Praush/hapada. See above, LXXVI, 1, and M. III, 273, 274, with Kullûka's Commentary; Y. I, 260, with Vignânesvara's Comment.

LXXIX. 8, 16. M. III, 226, 227, 235, 257; Âpast. II, 8, 19, 19-22. — 19-21. M. III, 229.

5. The use of the particle *ka* implies, according to Nand., who quotes a text in support of his assertion, that the leaves of the Kadamba, Bèl, Ketaka, and Bakula trees, as well as those of the Barbara plant and of the thorn-apple tree, are also included in this prohibition.

6. He may give white and sweet-smelling flowers, even though grown on thorny plants, and aquatic flowers, even though they be red.

7. He must not give marrow or fat instead of a lamp.

8. He may give clarified butter or sesamum-oil.

9. He must not give (the nails or horns) of animals instead of the incense of all kinds (prescribed for a Srâddha).

10. He may give bdellium mixed up with honey and clarified butter.

11. He may give sandal, saffron, camphor, aloe wood, or Padmaka wood instead of 'an ointment.

12. He must not salt (the dishes) publicly (after they have been cooked).

13. He must not give clarified butter, condiments, or the like (i. e. sour milk, milk, &c.) with his hands.

14. He must use metallic vessels ;

15. Especially vessels made of silver.

16. He must place (on the sacrificial ground) vessels made of the horn of the rhinoceros, blankets made of the hair of the mountain-goat, the skin of a black antelope, sesamum, white mustard, unbroken grains, (silver and copper vessels and other) purificatory objects, and (a goat and other animals or objects), by which the demons are kept aloof.

7. 'Or mustard-oil or any other such substance, as *ka* indicates.' (Nand.)

8. 'Or the juice of plants, as mentioned by Saṅkha, on account of *vâ*.' (Nand.)

13. He must give those liquids with a spoon or similar implement. (Nand.)

16. According to Nand., the particle *ka* refers to other purificatory things, viz. the following seven, 'milk, water from the Ganges, honey, silken cloth, a grandson, blankets made of the hair of the

17. He must avoid to use pepper, (the onion called) *Mukundaka*, (the pot-herb called) *Bhûstrina*, (the leaves, blossoms, or roots of) the *Sigru* tree, mustard-seeds, (the plant) *Nirgundî*, (the fruit or leaves of) the *Sâl* tree, the plant *Suvarkalâ*, the (pumpkin-gourd called) *Kûshmânda*, the bottle-gourd, the egg-plant, (the plants or pot-herbs called) *Pâlakyâ*, *Upotakt*, and *Tandultyaka*, the herbs of the safflower, the *Pindâluka* (root), and the milk of female buffalos.

18. And (he must not use the bean called) *Râgamâsha*, (the lentil called) *Masûra*, stale food, and factitious salt.

19. Let him avoid wrath.

20. He must not shed a tear.

21. He must not be in a hurry.

22. In offering the clarified butter and other (liquids, such as condiments, sour milk, milk, and the like) he must use metallic vessels, vessels made of the horn of the rhinoceros, and vessels made of the wood of the *Phalgu* tree.

23. There is a *Sloka* on this subject :

24. 'That which has been offered in vessels made of gold, or of silver, or of the horn of the rhinoceros, or of copper, or of *Phalgu* wood, becomes imperishable (and brings infinite reward to the sacrificer).'

mountain-goat, and sesamum.' The last two are, however, already contained in the above enumeration.

17. The term 'buffalo's milk' includes here, according to a text quoted by Nand., the milk of sheep, of antelopes, of camels, and of all one-hoofed animals.

18. 'As shown by *ka*, chick-peas and other grains and herbs mentioned in a *Smṛiti* must also be avoided.' (Nand.)

19. 'This rule applies both to the sacrificer and to the guests at a *Srâddha*.' (Nand.)

LXXX.

1. Sesamum, rice, barley, beans, water, roots, fruits, vegetables, Syâmâka grain, millet, wild rice, kidney-beans, and wheat satisfy (the manes) for a month;

2. The flesh of fishes (excepting those species that are forbidden), for two months;

3. The flesh of the common deer, for three months;

4. The flesh of sheep, for four months;

5. The flesh of birds (of those kinds that may be eaten), for five months;

6. The flesh of goats, for six months;

7. The flesh of the spotted deer, for seven months;

8. The flesh of the spotted antelope, for eight months;

9. Beef, for nine months;

10. Buffalo's meat, for ten months;

11. The meat of a hornless goat, for eleven months;

12. The milk of a cow, or preparations from it, for a year.

13. On this subject there exists a stanza, which the manes utter:

14. '(The pot-herb) Kâlasâka (sacred basil), (the prawn) Mahâsalka, and the flesh of the (crane called) Vârdhrîṇasa¹, (and of) a rhinoceros having no horn, is food which we always accept.'

LXXX. 1-14. M. III, 267-272; Y. I, 257-259; Âpast. II, 7, 16, 23-II, 7, 17, 3; II, 8, 18, 13; Gaut. XV, 15.

14. ¹This is the first of the two interpretations which Nand. proposes of the term Vârdhrîṇasa. It is supported by Âpastamba's

LXXXI.

1. He must not place the food upon a chair.
2. He must not touch it with his foot.
3. He must not sneeze upon it.
4. He must drive the Yâtudhânas away by means of sesamum or mustard-seeds.
5. Let him perform the Srâddha in an enclosed place.
6. He must not look at a woman in her courses ;
7. Nor at a dog ; 8. Nor at a tame pig ;
9. Nor at a tame cock.
10. Let him strive to perform the Srâddha in sight of a goat.
11. The Brâhmanas must eat in silence.
12. They must not eat with their heads covered ;
13. Nor with shoes on their feet ;
14. Nor with their feet placed upon a stool.
15. Let not men with a limb too little, or with a limb too much, look at a Srâddha ;
16. Nor Sûdras ; 17. Nor outcasts.

commentator, Haradatta, and by Âpastamba himself (I, 5, 17, 36). Nand.'s second interpretation, 'an old white goat,' is probably wrong, although it is supported by the authority of Kullûka and Vigñânesvara.

LXXXI. 2, 6-9, 11-13, 15, 16, 19. M. III, 229, 236-242. — 4, 5. Gaut. XV, 25, 26. — 7, 16, 17. Âpast. II, 7, 17, 20; Gaut. XV, 24. — 18. M. III, 243. — 20. M. III, 237. — 21-23. M. III, 244-246.

4. Nand. quotes the following Mantra, which has to be recited on this occasion, 'The Asuras, the Râkshasas, and the Pisâkas have been driven away.' A similar Mantra occurs in the Vâgasan. Samh. II, 29.

5. 'Ka indicates that it must be a place inclining to the south, as stated in a Smṛiti.' (Nand.)

6. This and the following Sûtras refer both to the host at a Srâddha and to the guests invited by him. (Nand.)

18. If at the time of a *Srâddha* a *Brâhmana* or an ascetic (has come to his house), he must feed him, if (the invited) *Brâhmanas* permit it.

19. The *Brâhmanas* must not declare the qualities of the sacrificial dishes, even though asked to do so by their host.

20. As long as the dishes remain warm, as long as (the *Brâhmanas*) eat in silence, as long as the qualities of the sacrificial food are not declared by them, so long the manes enjoy it.

21. Having brought together (the remainder of) all the sorts of substantial food and (of the vegetables and) the like, he must sprinkle it with water, and place it before the *Brâhmanas*, who have taken their meal, strewing it on the ground.

22. The leavings (that have remained in the dishes) and what has been strewn (in the manner just mentioned) upon the blades of *Kusa* grass (spread on the ground) is the share of such (*Brâhmanas*) as have died before they were initiated, and of husbands who have deserted wives descended from good families.

23. What has dropped on the ground from the dishes, at a sacrifice addressed to the manes, they declare to be the share of servants, provided they be not dishonest or depraved.

LXXXII.

1. At a (*Srâddha*) offering to the *Visvedevâs* let him not enquire (into the qualities or descent of) a *Brâhmana* (whom he means to invite).

LXXXII. 1, 2. M. III, 149. — 3-29. M. III, 150-166; Y. I, 222-224; Âpast. II, 7, 17, 21; Gaut. XV, 16-18.

2. But at a (Śrāddha offering) to the manes he must enquire as closely as possible (into the qualities and descent of a Brāhmaṇa, whom he means to invite).

3. He must not invite (to a Śrāddha) such as have a limb too little, or a limb too much ;

4. Nor such as follow an occupation forbidden (by the Veda or by the traditional law)¹.

5. Nor those who act (deceitfully) like cats ;

6. Nor those wearing the insignia of some particular order, without having a claim to them ;

7. Nor astrologers ;

8. Nor Brāhmaṇas who subsist upon the offerings made to an idol which they attend ;

9. Nor physicians ;

10. Nor sons of an unmarried woman ;

11. Nor sons of the son of an unmarried woman ;

12. Nor those who sacrifice for a multitude of persons ;

13. Nor those who offer sacrifices for a whole village ;

14. Nor those who offer sacrifices for Śūdras ;

15. Nor those who offer sacrifices for those for whom it is forbidden to sacrifice (such as outcasts and others) ;

16. Nor those for whom the ceremony of initiation has not been performed ;

17. Nor those who sacrifice for such ;

4. ¹ The particle *ka*, according to Nand., in this Sūtra, refers to other categories, mentioned by Atri, viz. persons belonging to the same Gotra, or descended from the same R̥shi ancestors as the sacrificer, and unknown persons.

8. ' *Ka* indicates here that thieves and wicked persons are also intended, as stated in a Smṛiti.' (Nand.)

18. Nor those who do work on holidays ;
19. Nor malignant informers ;
20. Nor those who teach (the Veda) for a fee ;
21. Nor those who have been taught (the Veda) for a fee ;
22. Nor those who subsist on food given to them by a Sûdra ;
23. Nor those who have intercourse with an outcast ;
24. Nor those who neglect their daily study of the Veda ;
25. Nor those who neglect their morning and evening prayers ;
26. Nor those who are in the king's service ;
27. Nor 'naked' persons ;
28. Nor those who quarrel with their father ;
29. Nor those who have forsaken their father, mother, Guru, holy fire, or sacred study.
30. All those persons are said to defile a company, because they have been expelled from the community of Brâhmanas. Let a wise man avoid carefully, therefore, to entertain them at a Srâddha.

LXXXIII.

1. The following persons sanctify a company :
2. A Trinâkiketa ;

27. See LXIV, 5, note.

29. The particle *ka* here refers to the following further persons mentioned in a Smṛiti: a shepherd, one who lives by the prostitution of his own wife, the husband of a woman who had another husband before, and one employed to carry out dead bodies. (Nand.)

LXXXIII. 1-19. M. III, 128-148, 183-186 ; Y. I, 219-221 ; Âpast. II, 7, 17, 22 ; Gaut. XV, 28.

2. Nand. has two explanations of the term Trinâkiketa : 1. One who has thrice kindled the Nâkiketa fire. 2. One who has studied,

3. One who keeps five fires ;
4. One who can sing the Sâmans called *Gyeshtha* ;
5. One who has studied the whole Veda ;
6. One who has studied one Vedânga ;
7. One who has studied either the *Purânas* (Legends), or the *Itihâsas* (Epics), or grammar ;
8. One who has studied one of the *Dharmasâstras* (Institutes of the Sacred Law) ;
9. One purified by visiting sacred places of pilgrimage ;
10. One purified by offering sacrifices ;
11. One purified by austere devotion ;
12. One purified by veracity ;
13. One purified by (constantly muttering) *Mantras* ;
14. One intent upon muttering the *Gâyatri* ;
15. One in whose family the study and teaching of the Veda are hereditary.
16. One who knows the *Trisuparna* (the text which thrice contains the word *Suparna*).

in consequence of a vow, the portion of the Yagur-veda called *Trinâkiketa*. See *Âpast.* II, 7, 17, 22, with Dr. Bühler's note, and the Petersburg Dictionary.

4. *Sâma-veda* II, 209-211, &c.

7. Grammar is again mentioned here, although it forms part of the *Vedângas* mentioned in *Sûtra* 6. But there the *Prâtisâkhyas* are meant. (Nand.)

8. The number of the *Smritis* or *Dharmasâstras*, according to Nand., amounts to fifty-seven. The now current tradition gives thirty-six as their number ; but upwards of a hundred works of this description must have been actually in existence. See Dr. Bühler's Introduction to the *Bombay Digest*, p. xii seq.

16. See above, LVI, 23, and Dr. Bühler's note on *Âpast.* loc. cit. Nand. proposes another interpretation also of the term *Trisuparna*, 'one who has thrice kindled a fire in honour of *Suparna*.'

17. A son-in-law ;
18. And a grandson. All these persons are worthy (to be fed at a *Srâddha*) ;
19. And, particularly, devotees.
20. There is a stanza recited by the manes, which refers to this subject :
21. 'May that man be born to our race, who feeds a *Brâhmaṇa* devotee assiduously at a *Srâddha*, by which repast we are satisfied ourselves.'

LXXXIV.

1. He must not offer a *Srâddha* in a country inhabited by barbarians.
2. He must not visit a country inhabited by barbarians (excepting on a pilgrimage).
3. By (constantly) drinking water from (or bathing in) a pool situated in a foreign (barbarous) country, he becomes equal to its inhabitants.
4. Those countries are called barbarous (*mleṣ-ka*) where the system of the four castes does not exist ; the others are denoted *Âryāvarta* (the abode of the *Âryans*).

18. According to Nand., the particles *ka* and *iti* refer to the sister's son and other relatives, as enumerated by *Yâgñavalkya* I, 220, 221.

19. Nand. thinks that *ka* here refers to ascetics.

LXXXIV. 2. Nand. quotes a stanza of *Devala* to the effect that one who has visited the countries of *Sindh*, of the *Sauvîras*, *Surât*, and the adjacent parts, *Bengal* proper, *Kaliṅga*, *South Bihâr*, and *Malwa* requires to be initiated a second time.

3. ' *Ka* refers to pools belonging to *Kandâlas* or other degraded castes.' (Nand.)

4. *Âryāvarta* is the name of the whole tract of land which extends from the eastern to the western ocean, and is bounded by the *Himâlayas* and by the *Vindhya* mountains in the north and south. See *Manu* II, 21, 22.

LXXXV.

1. A *Srâddha* offered at the (*Tîrtha* or place of pilgrimage called) *Pushkaras* confers eternal bliss upon the giver;

2. And so does the muttering of prayers, the offering of burnt-oblations, and the practice of austerities in that place.

3. Even by merely bathing at *Pushkara* he is purified from all his sins.

4. The same effect may be produced at *Gayâ-sîrsha*;

5. And near *Vaṭa* (*Akshayavaṭa*);

6. And on the *Amarakantaka* mountain;

7. And on the *Varâha* mountain;

LXXXV. 1. *Pushkara*, according to the common acceptance of the term, is the name of a celebrated place of pilgrimage near *Agmîr*, the modern *Pokur*. See Lassen, *Indian Antiquities*, I, 113. Nand. quotes a *Smṛiti* passage to the effect that there are three *Pushkaras*, and a passage of the *Mahâbhârata*, in which it is stated that one *Pushkara* is sacred to Brahman, another to Vishnu, and a third to Rudra.

3. Nand. asserts with regard to the use of the name *Pushkara* in the singular number in this *Sûtra*, that it means even a single bath has the consequence here mentioned.

4. *Gayâ-sîrsha* is the name of a mountain near *Gayâ* in *Bihâr*, a celebrated place of pilgrimage. Compare *Yâgñavalkya* I, 260.

5. There exists one *Akshayavaṭa* in *Bihâr* (Nand.) and another in *Prayâga* (*Allahabad*). The 'undecaying banyan-tree' (*Akshay Baṭ*) is an object of worship at *Allahabad* even now, and was so already in the times of *Hwen Thsang*. See *Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India*, p. 389; *St. Julien, Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, II, 278.

6. Nand. states that both the *Tîrtha* called *Amarakantaka* on the *Mekalâ* mountain in the *Vindhya* range and the whole mountain of that name are meant.

7. 'This is a certain boar-shaped mountain.' (Nand.) It seems very probable that the *Tîrtha* of *Bâramûla*, the ancient *Varâha*-

8. And anywhere on the bank of the Narmadâ (Nerbudda) river;
9. And on the bank of the Yamunâ (Jumna);
10. And, particularly, on the Gaṅgâ;
11. And at Kusâvarta;
12. And at Binduka;
13. And upon the Nîlgiri hills;
14. And at Kanakhala;
15. And at Kub-gâmra;
16. And on the Bhrîgutuṅga (mountain);
17. And at Kedâra;
18. And on the Mahâlaya (mountain);
19. And on the Nadantikâ (river);
20. And on the Sugandhâ (river);
21. And at Sâkam-bharî;
22. And at Phalgutîrtha;
23. And on the

mûla in Kasmîr, is meant. See Bühler, Kasmîr Report, p. 12, where a 'Varâha hill' is mentioned as adjacent to that town.

11. This Tîrtha 'is situated upon the mountain called Tryambaka, where the Godâvarî river takes its rise.' (Nand.) Tryambaka is the modern Trimbak (the name of a place of pilgrimage situated near Nâsik).

12. 'Bindûka is the name of a Tîrtha in the Dekhan. Bilvaka, as other texts read (the MS. on which the two Calcutta editions are based among the number), is the name of another Tîrtha in the Dekhan.' (Nand.)

14. There is one Kanakhala in the Himâlayas, and another near Trimbak. (Nand.)

15. There is one plain of that name in Orissa, and another in Haridvâr. (Nand.)

16. This is the name of a sacred mountain near the Amarakantaka range, according to Nand.; in the Himâlayas, according to others. See the Petersburg Dictionary.

17. Kedâra (the Kedâr mountains?) is in the Himâlayas. (Nand.)

18, 19. These two names are not defined by Nand.

20. This is a river in the vicinity of the Saugandhika mountain. (Nand.)

21. Sâkam-bharî is the modern Shâambar, which lies 'in the desert of Marudesa, on the salt lake.' (Nand.)

22. 'Phalgutîrtha is a Tîrtha in Gayâ.' (Nand.)

23. Mahâgaṅgâ, 'the great Gaṅgâ,' is the Alakânandâ river

Mahâgaṅgâ; 24. And at Trihalikâgrâma; 25. And at Kumâradhârâ; 26. And at Prabhâsa; 27. And particularly anywhere on (the bank of) the Sarasvatî;

28. At Gaṅgâdvâra (Haridvâr), at Prayâga (Allahabad), where the Gaṅgâ falls into the ocean, constantly in the Naimisha forest, and especially at Benares;

29. And at Agastyâsrama;

30. And at Kanvâsrama (on the Mâlînt river);

31. And on the Kausikî (Kosi river);

32. And on the bank of the Sarayût (Surju river) in Oudh);

33. And on the confluence of the Soṇa (Sone) and Gytishâ rivers;

34. And on the Sṛîparvata (mountain);

(Nand.), which takes its rise in the Himâlayas and falls into the Ganges.

24. 'Trihalikâgrâma means Sâlagrâma. There is another reading, Tanḍulikâsrama.' (Nand.)

25. This is the name of a lake in Kasmîr, which the god Kumâra by a mighty stroke caused to stream forth from the Krauñḥa mountain (see Vâyu-purâṇa); or Kumâradhârâ is situated near the southern ocean in the plain of Ishupâta. (Nand.)

26. Prabhâsa is the name of a Tîrtha near Dvârakâ, on the western point of Kattivar. (Nand.)

27. Regarding the river Sarasvatî and its reputed holiness, see particularly Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, I, 331 seq., and Manu II, 17.

28. The Naimisha forest is in the northern country. (Nand.)

29. 'Agastyâsrama is situated near Pushkara (Sûtra 1), on the bank of the Sarasvatî. There is another Agastyâsrama in the south, near Svâmishthâna.' (Nand.)

33. The confluence of those two rivers is in the centre of the Vindhya range. For the name of the second, another reading is Gytîratha. (Nand.)

34. The Sṛîparvata or Sṛîsaila, where the Mallikârguna (symbol of Sîva) is worshipped, is in the Dekhan. (Nand.)

35. And at (the Tîrtha situated on the Yamunâ, which is called) Kâlodaka.
36. And at Uttaramânasa (in the Kedâr mountains, in the Himâlayas).
37. And at Vadavâ (in the Dekhan).
38. And at Matangavâpî (in the southern part of Gayâ);
39. And at Saptârsha; 40. And at Vishṇupada;
41. And at Svargamârgapada (or Rathamârga);
42. And on the Godâvarî river (in the Dekhan);
43. And on the Gomatî (river);
44. And on the Vetravatî (river);
45. And on the Vipâsâ (river);
46. And on the Vitastâ (river);
47. And on the banks of the Satadru (river);
48. And on the Kandrabhâgâ (river);
49. And on the Îrâvatî (river);
50. And on the banks of the Indus;
51. And on the southern Pañṇanada;
52. And at Ausaga (?);
53. And at other such Tîrthas;

39. Saptârsha, 'the Tîrtha of the seven Rîshis' (Nand.), is perhaps the present Satara, in the country of the Mahrattas.

40. Nand. places this Tîrtha in the centre of Gayâ. There is another of the same name, which is placed on the Kailâsa mountain.

43. The Gomatî (the Guntî, near Lucknow) rises in the Naimisha forest. (Nand.) See 28.

44. The Vetravâtî (the modern Betwah, near Bhilsah) is situated in Ahikṣhatra. (Nand.)

45-49. The Vipâsâ (Beas), Vitastâ (Jhelum or Behut), Satadru (Sutlej), Kandrabhâgâ (Chenâb), and Îrâvatî (Ravee) are the five rivers of the Pañgâb (Pañṇanada in Sanskrit).

51. This is the name of the confluence of five rivers in the Dekhan: the *Kṛishnâ*, *Venâ*, *Tuṅga*, *Bhadrà*, and *Kona*. (Nand.)

52. 'Ausaga (v. l. Augasa; read Ausiga?) means *Sûrpâraka*' (Nand.), which was situated probably on the mouth of the *Kṛishnâ* (Kistna).

54. And on the banks of (other) holy rivers ;
 55. And anywhere at the birth-place of a deity, (such as Râma, *Krishna*, and others) ;
 56. And on sand-banks ; 57. And near water-falls ; 58. And on mountains ; 59. And in arbours (the sporting-places of *Krishna*) ; 60. And in woods ; 61. And in groves ; 62. And in houses smeared with cow-dung ; 63. And in 'pleasant spots.'
 64. There are some stanzas recited by the manes, which refer to this subject :
 65. 'May that person be born to our race, who will give us libations of water, taken from streams abounding with water, especially if their floods (coming from the Himâlayas) are cool.
 66. 'May that excellent man be born to our race, who offers us a *Srâddha* attentively at *Gayâśrsha* or at *Va/a*.'
 67. A man must wish to have many sons, because if only one of them goes to *Gayâ* (and offers a *Srâddha* to him after his death), or if he performs a horse-sacrifice, or if he sets a dark-coloured bull at liberty¹, (he will acquire final emancipation through him.)

LXXXVI.

1. Now follows the ceremony of setting a bull at liberty, (which should take place)
2. On the days of full moon in *Kârttika* or *Âsvina*.
3. When performing this rite, he must first examine the bull.

63. The term *manogña*, 'a pleasant spot,' means 'a place close by the house, where sacred basil is planted,' or other such places. (Nand.)

67. ¹ See the next chapter.

LXXXVI. 1-18. *Pâr.* III, 9 ; *Sânkh.* III, 11. Regarding the corresponding section of the *Kâthaka Grîhya-sûtra*, see Introduction.

4. (The bull must be) the offspring of a milch cow having young ones living.

5. He must have all marks.

6. He must be dark-coloured;

7. Or red, but having a white mouth, a white tail, and white feet and horns.

8. He must be one who protects the herd.

9. Then, after having (kindled) a blazing fire among the cows (in the cow-pen) and strewed Kusa grass around it, let him boil with milk a dish sacred to Pûshan, and offer (two oblations) in the fire with the Mantras, 'May Pûshan follow our cows¹,' and 'Here is pleasure².' And let a blacksmith mark the bull:

10. On the one flank (the right), with a discus; on the other flank (the left), with a trident.

11. After he has been marked, let him wash the bull with the four Mantras, (beginning with the words), 'The golden-coloured¹,' and with (the five Mantras, beginning with the words), 'May the divine (waters help and propitiate us)².'

12. Having washed and adorned the bull, he must bring him near, together with four young cows,

5. 'I.e. the bull must not be deficient in any limb.' (Nand.) This interpretation is supported by the *Grihya-sûtras*.

6. Nand. mentions two interpretations of the term *nîla*, 'dark-coloured': 1. a bull who is all white, and is therefore said to be of the 'Brâhmana kind'; 2. one whose body is white, whereas his tail, his hoofs, and his face are black, and his horns blue. Cf. L, 25.

8. Nand. interprets *yûthasyâkâdakam* by *nishektâram*, 'one who covers the cows.' My rendering is based upon Devapâla's comment on the corresponding passage of the *Kâthaka Grihya-sûtra*. See also Pâr. and Sâñkh. loc. cit.

9. ¹ Rig-veda VI, 54, 5, &c. — ² Vagas. Samh. VIII, 51; *Kâth. Âsv.* IV, 6, &c.

11. ¹ Taitt. Samh. V, 6, 1, 1, 2, &c. — ² Rig-veda X, 9, 4-8, &c.

which must also have been washed and decorated, and he must utter the Rudras¹, the Purushasûkta, and the Kûshmândîs².

13. Then let him pronounce in the bull's right ear the Mantra, 'The father of calves;'

14. And the following (Mantras):

15. 'Holy law is a bull and is declared to have four feet¹: him I choose for the object of my worship; may he protect me wholly.

16. 'This young (bull) I give you as husband (O ye calves), roam about sportingly with him for your lover. May we not be deficient in progeny, O king Soma, and may we live long, and may we not be oppressed by our enemies.'

17. He must drive away the bull together with the calves in a north-eastern direction and give a pair of garments, gold, and a vessel made of white copper to the officiating priest.

18. The blacksmith shall receive as wages as much as he claims, and food prepared with a great deal of butter, and (three) Brâhmanas shall be fed.

19. Any pool from which the bull drinks after

12. ¹ Taitt. Samh. IV, 5, 1-11. — ² See LVI, 7.

13. Nand. states expressly that this Mantra is from the Kâṭhaka. It is found Kâṭh. XIII, 9; Taitt. Samh. III, 3, 9, 2; Kâṭh. Grîhya-sûtra XLVII.

15. ¹ This term refers perhaps to the 'four feet of a judicial proceeding.' See Nârada I, 11; 2, 9.

16. Taitt. Samh. III, 3, 9, 1, &c. The second half of this Mantra is found in the Kâṭhaka Grîhya-sûtra only.

18. The clause regarding the 'food,' which has been rendered in accordance with Nand.'s Commentary, might also be construed with 'fed,' which would bring the whole into accordance with the precepts of the Kâṭhaka Grîhya-sûtra and of the two other Grîhya-sûtras.

having been set at liberty, that entire pool will refresh the manes of him who has set the bull at liberty.

20. The earth which is anywhere dug up by the bull exulting in his strength, is converted into delicious food and drink to satisfy the manes.

LXXXVII.

1. Now on the day of full moon in the month Vaisâkha he must spread out upon a woollen blanket the skin of a black antelope (together with the horns and hoofs), after having adorned the former with gold and the latter with silver, and after having ornamented the tail with a string of pearls.

2. After that, he must cover (that part of the blanket which is not covered by the skin) with sesamum.

3. And he must adorn the navel with gold.

4. He must cover (the skin) with a couple of new garments.

5. He must place all sorts of perfumes and jewels upon it.

LXXXVII. 1. The particle *atha*, 'now,' indicates the beginning of a new section, treating of gifts. It comprises Chapters LXXXVII-XCIII. (Nand.) The commentator infers from a corresponding passage of the *Matsya-purâna*, that the following further rules are implied in this *Sûtra*. The ceremony may also take place on the full moon days in the months *Mâgha*, *Kârttika*, and *Âshâdha*, on the twelfth day after the summer solstice, and during an eclipse of the sun or moon. The silver on the hoofs must weigh five *Palas*, and the gold on the horns ten *Suvarnas* (or two *Palas* and a half). The place must be pure, smeared with cow-dung, and covered with *Kusa* grass.

3. 'The *Skânda-purâna* states that the eyes must be adorned with jewels.' (Nand.)

5. 'And garlands of flowers and other objects must be placed upon it, as *ka* indicates.' (Nand.)

6. After having placed on its four sides (beginning with the eastern side) four metallic dishes (of copper, silver, white copper, and gold respectively) filled with milk, sour milk, honey, and clarified butter respectively, (and having poured out water) he must give (the skin, seizing it by the tail), to a Brâhmaṇa, who is an Agnihotrin¹, decked with ornaments, and clad in two garments.

7. There are (the following) stanzas in regard to this subject :

8. 'He who bestows (upon a pious Brâhmaṇa) the skin of a black antelope, together with the hoofs and horns, after having covered it with seeds of sesamum and garments, and adorned it with all sorts of jewels :

9. 'That man doubtless obtains the same reward as if he were to bestow the whole earth on him, bordered as it is on every side (by the oceans), together with the oceans and caverns, and with rocks, groves, and forests.

10. 'He who places sesamum, gold, honey, and butter on the skin of a black antelope and gives the whole to a Brâhmaṇa, annihilates the consequences of all his own evil actions.'

LXXXVIII.

1. A cow in the act of bringing forth a young one is (comparable to) the earth.

2. By bestowing such a cow upon a Brâhmaṇa, after having decked her with ornaments, he obtains the same reward as if he were to bestow the earth (upon him).

6. ¹ See LXVIII, 6, note.

LXXXVIII. 1. Y. I, 207. — 4. Y. I, 206.

3. There is a stanza in regard to this subject :
4. 'One who full of faith and with intense application of mind gives away a pregnant cow, enters heaven for as many Yugas (or ages of the world) as that cow and her calf together have hairs on their bodies.'

LXXXIX.

1. The month Kârttika is sacred to the god Agni.
2. Agni is the first of all gods.
3. Therefore is that man purified from every sin committed during the past year, who persists during the month Kârttika in bathing (daily) out of the village, in muttering the Gâyatrî, and in taking a single meal each day, consisting of food fit for oblations.
4. He who bathes (at the prescribed time, early in the morning) constantly, during the whole month Kârttika, who keeps his organs of sense under control, who mutters (the Gâyatrî), who eats food fit for oblations only, and who governs his passions, is purified from every sin.

XC.

1. If on the fifteenth of the bright half of the month Mârgaśr̥ṣa the moon enters the lunar asterism Mṛ̥gasiras, he must give at the time when the moon rises (a vessel with) a golden centre, containing a Prastha of ground salt, to a Brâhmana.
2. By (performing) this rite he obtains beauty and good fortune in a future birth.

XC. 3, 5. Âpast. II, 8, 18, 19; II, 8, 19, 1. — 7. M. IV, 232.

1. One Prastha = sixteen Palas. (Nand.)

3. If on the full moon day of the month Pausha the moon enters the lunar asterism Pushya, he must rub over his body with a dough prepared with white mustard-seeds, anoint himself with a kumbha¹ of clarified butter made of cow-milk, wash himself with (water and with) all sorts of medicinal herbs, all sorts of perfumes, and all sorts of seeds, wash (an image of) Bhagavat Vāsudeva (Vishnu) with clarified butter, and worship him with perfumes, flowers, incense, with a lamp, with eatables, and the like², offer an oblation in the fire with Mantras tending to the praise of Vishnu (such as Rig-veda I, 22, 17, and others), Mantras tending to the praise of Indra (such as Rig-veda VI, 47, 11, and others), Mantras tending to the praise of Brihaspati (such as Rig-veda II, 23, 15, and others, and with one Mantra tending to the praise of Agni Svishṭakṛit), and cause three Brāhmaṇas to pronounce the benediction, after having bestowed clarified butter and gold upon them³.

4. To the priest (who has performed the burnt-oblation for him) he must give a pair of garments.

5. By (performing) this rite he obtains prosperity (pushyate)¹.

6. If on the full moon day in the month Māgha the moon enters the lunar asterism Maghâ and he performs a Śrâddha with sesamum on that day, he is purified.

3. ¹ See V, 12, note. — ² 'And the like' means 'betel.' (Nand.) —

³ The rite described in this Sūtra appears to be identical with the ceremony called Yugâdya, 'the beginning of the present age of the world,' in later works. See Wilson, On the Religious Festivals of the Hindus, in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, IX, 89.

5. ¹ This is a play upon words. See LXXVIII, 8, note, and below, Sūtra 9; XCII, 14, &c.

7. If on the full moon day in the month *Phālguna* the moon enters the lunar asterism *Uttaraphālgunī*, and he gives on that day a bedstead, quite complete and covered with good rugs, to a *Brāhmaṇa*, he obtains an amiable, handsome, and wealthy wife.

8. A woman who does the same, (obtains) a husband (possessing those qualities).

9. If on the full moon day of the month *Kaitra* the moon enters the lunar asterism *Kītrā*, and he gives a variegated (*kitra*) garment (to a *Brāhmaṇa*) on that day, he obtains good fortune.

10. If on the full moon day of the month *Vaisākha* the moon enters the lunar asterism *Visākhā*, and he feeds on that day seven *Brāhmaṇas* with sesamum mixed with honey, in order to please king *Dharma*, he is purified from his sins.

11. If on the full moon day of the month *Gyaishthā* the moon enters the lunar asterism *Gyeshthā* and he gives on that day an umbrella and a pair of shoes (to a *Brāhmaṇa*), he becomes possessed of many cows.

12. If on the full moon day of the month *Āshādha* the moon is seen in conjunction with the lunar asterism *Uttarāshādha* and he gives food and drink (to a *Brāhmaṇa*) on that day, he renders (the satisfaction effected by) them imperishable.

13. If on the full moon day of the month *Śrāvana* the moon is seen in conjunction with the lunar asterism *Śravana* and he gives a milch cow covered with two garments, together with food (to a *Brāhmaṇa*), he attains heaven.

14. If on the full moon day of the month *Praush-*

7. *Susamskrīta*, 'quite complete,' means 'provided with curtains and the like.' (Nand.)

thapada (or *Bhâdrapada*) the moon is seen in conjunction with the lunar asterism *Uttarapros th |apadâ* (or *Uttarabhâdrapadâ*), and he gives a cow (to a *Brâhmana*) on that day, he is cleansed from every sin.

15. If on the full moon day of the month *Âsva-yuga* (or *Âsvina*) the moon is seen in conjunction with the lunar asterism *Âsvinî*, and he gives a vessel filled with clarified butter, and gold (to a *Brâhmana*) on that day, he obtains an excellent digestive faculty.

16. If on the full moon day of the month *Kârttika* the moon enters the lunar asterism *Krit-tikâ*, and he bestows on that day, at the time of moonrise, upon a *Brâhmana*, a white bull, or one of a different colour, together with all sorts of grains, all sorts of jewels, and all sorts of perfumes, after having lighted lamps on both sides (of the bull), he will meet with no danger on perilous roads.

17. If on the third day of the bright half of the month *Vaisâkha* he worships, after having fasted, *Vâsudeva* (*Vishnu*) with (one thousand and eight, or one hundred) unbroken grains (of barley, while muttering the Mantra, *Om namo bhagavate vâsudevâya*¹), and offers up the same in fire, and gives them (to a *Brâhmana*), he is purified from every sin.

18. And whatever he gives on that day becomes imperishable.

19. If on the twelfth day of the dark half following on the full moon day of the month *Pausha*, he washes himself, after having kept a fast, with sesamum-seeds, gives water mixed with sesamum

17. ¹ See XLIX, 1, note.

19. This is evidently the ceremony which is called *Shattiladâna*

(to the manes), worships Vâsudeva with sesamum, offers up (part of) the same in fire, gives to Brâhmanas of it, and eats (the remainder himself) he is purified from his sins.

20. (If) on the twelfth day of the dark half following on the full moon day of the month Mâgha, (the moon enters *Sravana*), he must keep a fast till the moon has entered that asterism, and place two lamps with two large wicks near (an image of) Vâsudeva ;

21. Placing on the right hand (of the image of Vâsudeva, and kindling, a lamp) containing one hundred and eight Palas of clarified butter, with an entire piece of cloth (together with the fringes) dyed with saffron (as wick) in it ;

22. (And placing) on its left, (and kindling, a lamp) containing one hundred and eight Palas of sesamum oil, with an entire piece of white cloth (as wick) in it.

23. He who has performed this rite obtains exquisite happiness, in whatever kingdom, in whatever province, and in whatever race he may be born again.

24. He who gives daily during the whole month Âsvina clarified butter to Brâhmanas, in order to please the two Asvins, obtains beauty.

25. He who feeds daily during that month (three) Brâhmanas with (milk and other) bovine productions, obtains a kingdom.

26. He who feeds on the Revatî day of every month (three) Brâhmanas with rice boiled in milk

in later works ; see Wilson loc. cit. The name of the latter is derived from the fact that it consists, precisely like the ceremony described in the present Sûtra, of six acts, in all of which Tila, i. e. sesamum-seeds, forms an essential ingredient.

with sugar and mixed with honey and clarified butter, in order to please (the goddess) Revati, obtains beauty.

27. He who daily throughout the month Mâgha offers sesamum-seeds in fire and feeds (three) Brâhmanas with sour rice-gruel mixed with clarified butter, obtains an excellent digestive power.

28. He who bathes in a river and worships king Dharma on the fourteenth of both halves of every month, is purified from every sin.

29. One desirous of obtaining the manifold advantages attending an eclipse of the sun or moon must constantly bathe in the mornings during the two months Mâgha and Phâlguna.

XCI.

1. The digger of a well has (the consequences of) the half of his evil acts taken from him as soon as the water comes forth from it.

2. A digger of pools is for ever freed from thirst, and attains the world of Varuṇa.

3. A giver of water shall never suffer from thirst (in heaven, for a hundred Yugas or ages of the world).

4. He who plants trees will have those trees for his sons in a future existence.

5. A giver of trees gladdens the gods by (offering up) their blossoms to them.

6. (He gladdens) his guests by (giving) their fruits to them;

7. (He gladdens) travellers with their shade;

8. (He gladdens) the manes with the water (trickling down from their leaves) when it rains.

9. A maker of dikes attains heaven.

10. A builder of temples enters the dwelling-place of that deity to whom he has erected a temple.

11. He who causes (a temple erected by another) to be whitewashed acquires brilliant fame.

12. He who causes (such a temple) to be painted with (a different) colour (such as blue, yellow, and others) attains the world of the Gandharvas.

13. By giving flowers he becomes fortunate.

14. By giving ointments he acquires renown.

15. By giving a lamp he obtains an excellent eyesight and exquisite happiness.

16. By giving food he obtains strength.

17. By removing the remains of an offering to a deity he obtains the same reward as for giving a cow.

18. The same reward is also obtained by scouring a temple, by smearing it (with cow-dung and the like), by removing the leavings of the food of a Brâhmana, by washing his feet, and by nursing him when sick.

19. He who consecrates anew a well, or a park, or a pool, or a temple (when they have been soiled) obtains the same reward as he who first made them.

XCII.

1. Protecting (one attacked by robbers, or by tigers, or otherwise in danger) is more meritorious than any (other) gift.

XCII. 1, 2. M. IV, 232; Y. I, 211. — 3. M. IV, 230. — 5. M.

2. By doing so he obtains that place of abode (after death) which he desires himself.

3. By giving land he obtains the same (heavenly reward).

4. By giving land to the extent of a bull's hide only he is purified from every sin.

5. By giving a cow he attains heaven.

6. A giver of ten milch cows (obtains) the mansion of cows (after death).

7. A giver of a hundred milch cows enters the mansions of Brahman (after death).

8. He who gives (a milch cow) with gilt horns, with hoofs covered with silver, with a tail wound with a string of pearls, with a milk-pail of white copper, and with a cover of cloth, shall reside in heaven for as many years as the cow has hairs on her body ;

9. Particularly, if it is a brown cow.

10. He who has given a tamed bull is (equal in virtue to) a giver of ten milch cows.

IV, 231; Y. I, 208. — 8, 9. Y. I, 204, 205. — 10. Y. I, 210. — 10-12. M. IV, 231. — 12, 13. Y. I, 210. — 13, 14. M. IV, 230. — 19, 20. M. IV, 232; Y. I, 211. — 21-23. M. IV, 229, 232. — 21. Y. I, 210. — 27. M. IV, 232; Y. I, 211. — 28-32. Y. I, 211. — 31. M. IV, 230.

4. Nand. defines 'a bull's hide' as a measure of surface 300 Hastas (see X, 2, note) long by ten Hastas broad. See, however, V, 183.

8. According to a Smṛiti quoted by Nand., the gold upon the horns of the cow shall weigh ten Suvarṇas, the silver on her hoofs ten Palas, the white copper of which the milk-pail is made fifty Palas, and she shall have copper on her back, which must also weigh fifty Palas.

9. 'The meaning is, that a brown cow sends even his ancestors as far as the seventh degree to heaven, as Yâgñavalkya (I, 205) says.' (Nand.)

11. The giver of a horse attains the mansion of Sûrya (the sun-god).

12. The giver of a garment (attains) the mansion of Kandra (the god of the moon).

13. By giving gold (he attains) the mansion of Agni (the god of fire).

14. By giving silver (rûpya, he obtains) beauty (rûpa).

15. By giving dishes (pâtra) made of (gold or silver or other) metal he renders himself worthy (pâtra) to obtain everything he may desire.

16. By giving clarified butter, honey, or oil (he acquires) freedom from disease;

17. The same by giving (boiled or otherwise dressed) drugs.

18. By giving salt (lavana, he obtains) personal charms (lâvanya).

19. By giving grain (produced in the rainy season, such as Syâmâka grain, he acquires) satiation;

20. The same (effect is obtained) by giving grain (produced in winter or spring, such as wild turmeric or wheat).

21. A giver of food (obtains) all the rewards (enumerated above).

22. By giving grain (of any of the kinds not mentioned before, such as Kulattha or Kodrava grain, he obtains) good fortune.

23. A giver of sesamum (obtains) such offspring as he desires.

24. A giver of fuel (obtains) an excellent digestive power;

25. And he obtains victory in every fight.

26. By giving a seat (he obtains) high rank.

27. By giving a bed (of the kind declared above,

XC, 7, he procures) a wife (possessed of the qualities mentioned above).

28. By giving a pair of shoes (he obtains) a carriage yoked with mules.

29. By giving an umbrella (he attains) heaven.

30. By giving a fan or a chowrie (he obtains) prosperity in travelling.

31. By giving a house (he receives) the post of governor of a town.

32. Whatever a man is most fond of in this world (himself) and what his family like best, all that he must bestow upon a virtuous (Brâhmaṇa), if he wishes it to become imperishable.

XCIII.

1. What is given to another than a Brâhmaṇa produces the same fruit in the world to come.

2. (What is given) to one who calls himself a Brâhmaṇa (because he was born and initiated as such, but who does not perform his daily duties) produces twice the same fruit.

3. (What is given) to one who has studied the main portions of the Veda produces a thousand times the same fruit.

XCIII. 1-4. M. VII, 85; Gaut. V, 20. — 7. M. IV, 192. — 8. M. IV, 195. — 9-13. M. IV, 196-200.

1. 'The term *abrâhmaṇa* (one not a Brâhmaṇa) refers to Kshatriyas and the like.' Kullûka on M. VII, 85. Dr. Bühler's rendering of Gautama V, 20 agrees with this interpretation. Nand., on the other hand, refers the term *abrâhmaṇa* to six kinds of Brâhmaṇas enumerated by Sâtâtapa, who have infringed the rule of their caste by taking their substance from a king, or by selling or buying forbidden articles, or by sacrificing for a multitude of persons, &c. The term 'the same fruit' means that a person shall receive in a future world what he has given in this. (Nand.)

4. (What is given) to one who has mastered the whole Veda, produces infinite fruit.

5. A domestic priest may claim gifts from his own employer (but from no one else).

6. And so may a sister, a daughter and sons-in-law (or other connections claim gifts from their brother, father, &c., but not from a stranger).

7. One who knows his duty must not give even water to a twice-born man who acts like a cat, or to a Brâhmana who acts like a crane, or to one who has not studied the Veda.

8. One who constantly hoists the flag of religion, and who is avaricious, crafty, deceitful, pitiless, and a calumniator of everybody, such a man is said to act like a cat.

9. One who hangs his head, who is bent upon injuring others and upon his own gain, artful, and falsely demure, such a man is said to act like a crane.

10. Those who act like cranes in this world, and those who act like cats, fall into (the hell called) Andhatâmisra¹ on account of their wickedness.

11. If a man has committed an offence and does penance for it, he must not do so under pretext of performing an act of piety, covering his crime under a (fictitious) vow, and imposing on women and Sûdras.

12. A Brâhmana who acts thus, is despised in the next life and in this by those who know the Veda, and the penance performed by him under such false pretence goes to the (demons called) Râkshasas.

10. ¹ See XLIII, 3.

13. One who gains his subsistence by wearing (a lock on the crown of the head or other) distinguishing marks of a caste or religious order, to which he does not belong, takes upon himself the (consequences of the) sins committed by those who have a right to those marks, and enters in a future birth the womb of an animal.

14. He must not give (to a panegyrist) from vain-glory, or from fear, or to a friend (from whom he hopes to obtain benefit), nor (must he bestow gifts), with a view to acquire religious merit, upon dancers or singers : that is a fixed rule.

XCIV.

1. A householder, when he sees his skin has become wrinkled and his hair turned grey, must go to live in a forest.

2. Or (he must do so) when he sees the son of his son.

3. Let him (before going into the forest) entrust the care of his wife to his sons, or let her accompany him.

4. Let him keep the sacred fires in his new abode as before.

5. He must not omit to perform the five sacri-

XCIV. 1, 2. M. VI, 2. — 3, 4. M. VI, 3, 4; Y. III, 45; Âpast. II, 9, 22, 8, 9. — 5. M. VI, 5, 16; Y. III, 46; Gaut. III, 29. — 6. M. VI, 8; Y. III, 48. — 7. M. VI, 26; Y. III, 45; Âpast. II, 9, 21, 19. — 8. M. VI, 6; Âpast. II, 9, 22, 1; Gaut. VI, 34. — 9, 10. M. VI, 6; Y. III, 46, 48. — 9, 11. Gaut. III, 34, 35. — 11. M. VI, 18; Y. III, 47. — 12. M. VI, 15; Y. III, 47; Âpast. II, 9, 22, 24. — 13. M. VI, 28; Y. III, 55. 'The duties of a householder having been declared, he now goes on to expound the duties of an hermit.' (Nand.)

5. See LIX, 20 seq.

fices, but (he must perform them) with (fruits, herbs, or roots) growing wild.

6. He must not relinquish the private recitation of the Veda.

7. He must preserve his chastity.

8. He must wear a dress made of skins or bark.

9. He must suffer the hairs of his head, of his beard, and of his body, and his nails to grow.

10. He must bathe at morning, noon, and evening.

11. He must either collect provisions, after the manner of the pigeon, for a month, or he must collect them for a year.

12. He who has collected provisions for a year, must throw away what he has collected on the day of full moon in the month Āsvina.

13. Or an hermit may bring food from a village, placing it in a dish made of leaves, or in a single leaf, or in his hand, or in a potsherd, and eat eight mouthfuls of it.

XCV.

1. An hermit must dry up his frame by the practice of austerities.

2. In summer he must expose himself to five fires.

6. The use of the particle *ka* implies, according to Nand., that the practice of distributing gifts should likewise be continued.

11. The particle *vâ* here refers, according to Nand., to a third alternative mentioned by Manu (VI, 18), that he should gather provisions sufficient for six months.

XCV. 1. M. VI, 24. — 2-4. M. VI, 23; Y. III, 52. — 5, 6. M. VI, 19; Y. III, 50. — 7-11. M. VI, 5, 21; Y. III, 46; Āpast. II, 9, 22, 2; Gaut. III, 26. — 12, 13. M. VI, 20; Y. III, 50. — 14, 15. M. VI, 17; Y. III, 49. — 16, 17. M. XI, 235, 239.

3. During the season of the rains he must sleep in the open air.

4. In winter he must wear wet clothes.

5. He must eat at night.

6. He may eat after having fasted entirely for one day, or for two days, or for three days.

7. He may eat flowers. 8. He may eat fruits.

9. He may eat vegetables.

10. He may eat leaves. 11. He may eat roots.

12. Or he may eat boiled barley once at the close of a half-month.

13. Or he may eat according to the rules of the *Kāndrāyana*.

14. He shall break his food with stones.

15. Or he shall use his teeth as a pestle.

16. This whole world of deities and of men has devotion for its root, devotion for its middle, devotion for its end, and is supported by devotion.

17. What is hard to follow¹, hard to reach, remote, or hard to do, all that may be accomplished by devotion; since there is nothing that may not be effected by devotion.

6. Nand. considers the particle *vâ* to refer to the precept of *Yâgñavalkya* (III, 50), that the fast may also extend over a half-month or an entire month.

13. The particle *vâ*, according to Nand., implies that he may also perform *Krikkhras*, as ordained by *Yâgñavalkya* (III, 50). Regarding the *Kāndrāyana*, see XLVII.

17. ¹*Duskara* has been translated according to the usual acceptation of this term. Nand. interprets it by 'hard to understand.' This proverb is also found *Subhâshitârnava* 109, *Vṛiddhakatānakya's* Proverbs XVII, 3. See Böhlingk, *Ind. Sprüche*, 5265.

XCVI.

1. After having passed through the first three orders and annihilated passion, he must offer an oblation to Pragâpati, in which he bestows all his wealth (upon priests) as fee for the performance of the sacrifice, and enter the order of ascetics.

2. Having repositied the fires in his own mind, he must enter the village, in order to collect alms, (but never for any other purpose).

3. He must beg food at seven houses.

4. If he does not get food (at one house), he must not grieve.

5. He must not beg of another ascetic.

6. When the servants have had their meal, when the dishes have been removed, let him beg food (consisting of the leavings).

7. (He must receive the food) in an earthen vessel, or in a wooden bowl, or in a vessel made of the bottle-gourd.

8. He must cleanse those vessels with water.

9. He must shun food obtained by humble salutation.

XCVI. 1. M. VI, 38; Y. III, 56. — 2. M. VI, 38, 43; Y. III, 56, 58. — 4. M. VI, 57. — 6. M. VI, 56; Y. III, 59; Gaut. III, 15. — 7, 8. M. VI, 54, 53; Y. III, 60. — 9. M. VI, 58. — 11. M. VI, 44. — 12. Gaut. III, 21. — 13. Gaut. III, 18. — 14-17. M. VI, 46. — 18. M. VI, 45. — 19, 20. M. VI, 47. — 23. Y. III, 53; Mahâbhârata I, 4605. — 24. M. VI, 49; Y. III, 201. — 25-42. M. VI, 61-64; Y. III, 63, 64. — 43. Y. III, 72. — 45-50. M. VI, 76, 77. — 51, 54-79. Y. III, 70, 84-90. — 80-88. Y. III, 100-104. — 89, 91. Y. III, 93-95. — 92. Y. III, 96-99. — 93-95. Y. III, 91, 92. — 96. Y. III, 179. — 97. M. XII, 12; Y. III, 178. — 97, 98. Bhagavad-gîtâ XIII, 1, 2. This chapter treats of ascetics. (Nand.)

4. 'This implies that he must not rejoice if he does get it, as Manu (VI, 57) says.' (Nand.)

10. He must live in an empty house.
11. Or (he must) live at the root of a tree.
12. He must not stay for more than one night in one village (except during the rainy season).
13. His only dress must be a small piece of cloth worn over the privities.
14. He must set down his feet purified by looking down.
15. He must drink water purified (by straining it) with a cloth.
16. He must utter speeches purified by truth.
17. He must perform acts purified by his mind.
18. He must neither wish for death nor for (a long) life.
19. He must bear abuse patiently.
20. He must treat no one with contempt.
21. He must not pronounce a benediction.
22. He must not salute any one reverentially.

10. 'Empty' means 'inhabited by no one else,' and implies that the house in question should be situated in a dark place, difficult of access. (Nand.)

11. 'The article *vâ* implies that he must live there alone.' (Nand.)

14, 15. Nand. assigns as the reason of both these rules, 'lest he should not kill some insect.' Kullûka (on M. VI, 46) gives the same reason for the second rule, but the looking down, according to him, is ordained in order that he may not accidentally tread upon a hair or other impure substance.

17. The sense of this Sûtra is, that in doubtful cases he must act as his mind prompts him to do. (Nand.)

21. 'The meaning is, that he must not utter a benediction when he has been reverentially saluted by any one. He must confine himself to saying, "O Nârâyana." Others explain, that he must not utter a benediction in begging food.' (Nand.)

22. 'The sense is, that he must not salute any one reverentially who has reverentially saluted him, nor return his greeting other-

23. Should one man chop his one arm with an axe, and another sprinkle his other arm with sandal, he must neither curse the one in his mind, nor bless the other.

24. He must constantly be intent upon stopping his breath, upon retention of the image formed in his mind, and upon meditation.

25. He must reflect upon the transitoriness of the passage through mundane existence ;

26. And upon the impure nature of the body ;

27. And upon the destruction of beauty by old age ;

28. And upon the pain arising from diseases bodily, mental, or due to an excess (of the bile, &c.)

29. And upon (the pain arising from) the (five) naturally inherent (affections).

30. On his having to dwell in an embryo, covered with everlasting darkness ;

wise than by saying, "O Nârâyana." Others explain, that he must not make an obeisance in begging food.' (Nand.)

24. Nand. quotes a passage of the Yogasâstra, which states that one Dhâraṇâ=three Prânâyâmas (stoppings or regulations of the breath). A passage of the Gârûḍa-purâṇa (quoted in the Petersburg Dictionary) states that one Dhâraṇâ=sixteen Prânâyâmas. I have taken the term dhâraṇâ in its ordinary acceptation of 'retention of an idea' (cf. Wilson, Vishṇu-purâṇa V, 237) with regard to an analogous passage of Yâgñavalkya (III, 201), which is also quoted by Nand.

28. According to Nand., the particle *ka* is used to include other diseases, love, anxiety or wrath, caused by enemies, and other mental pangs.

29. They are, ignorance, egotism, love, wrath, and dread of temporal suffering (Nand., according to Patañjali). The particle *ka*, according to Nand., is used in order to imply meditation upon the thousand births which man has to pass through, as stated by Yâgñavalkya (III, 64).

31. And on (his having to dwell) between urine and fæces ;

32. On his having to suffer, (as an embryo,) pain from the cold and hot (food and drink, which his mother happens to have taken) ;

33. On the dreadful pain which he has to suffer, at the time of his birth, while the embryo is coming forth from the narrowness of the womb ;

34. On his ignorance and his dependency upon his (parents and other) Gurus in childhood ;

35. On the manifold anxieties arising from the study of the Veda (and from the other obligations of a student) ;

36. And (on the anxieties arising) in youth from not obtaining the objects of pleasure, and upon the abode in hell (ordained as punishment) for enjoying them, after they have been obtained unlawfully ;

37. On the union with those whom we hate, and the separation from those whom we love ;

38. On the fearful agonies of hell ;

39. And (on the agonies) that have to be suffered in the passage of the soul through the bodies of animals (and of plants).

40. (And let him reflect thus that) there is no pleasure to be met with in this never-ceasing passage of the soul through mundane existence ;

41. (And that) even what is called pleasure, on account of the absence of pain, is of a transient nature ;

42. (And that) he who is unable to enjoy such pleasures (from sickness or some such cause), or who is unable to procure them (from poverty), suffers severe pangs.

43. He must recognise this human frame to consist of seven elements.

44. Those elements are, adeps, blood, flesh, serum of flesh, bone, marrow, and semen.

45. It is covered with skin.

46. And it has a nasty smell.

47. It is the receptacle of (the above-named) impure substances (adeps and the rest).

48. Though surrounded by a hundred pleasures, it is subject to change.

49. Though carefully supported (by elixirs and the like), it is subject to destruction.

50. It is the stay of carnal desire, wrath, greed, folly, pride, and selfishness.

51. It consists of earth, water, fire, air, and ether.

52. It is provided with bone, tubular vessels (carrying bile and phlegm through the body), tubes (conducting the vital airs), and sinews.

53. It is endowed with the quality of ragas (passion).

54. It is covered with six skins.

55. It is kept together by three hundred and sixty bones.

56. They are distributed (as follows):

57. The teeth together with their receptacles are sixty-four in number.

46. The particle *ka*, according to Nand., refers to the fact that the human body is defiled by the touch of impure objects.

48. 'The meaning is that, though food and drink and other sensual enjoyments abound, they may cause pain as well as pleasure by producing phlegm, &c.' (Nand.)

51. 'Earth,' i. e. the flesh and bone, &c.; 'water,' i. e. the blood; 'fire,' i. e. the digestive faculty, the eyesight, &c.; 'air,' i. e. the five vital airs; 'ether,' i. e. the space enclosed by the airs, in the mouth, in the belly, &c. (Nand.)

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58. There are twenty nails.
 59. There are as many bones to the hands and feet (one at the root of each finger and toe).
 60. There are sixty joints to the fingers and toes.
 61. There are two (bones) to the two heels.
 62. There are four to the ancles.
 63. There are four to the elbows.
 64. There are two to the shanks.
 65. There are two to the knees and two to the cheeks.
 66. (There are two) to the thighs and (two) to the shoulders.
 67. (There are two) to the lower part of the temples, (two) to the palate, and (two) to the hips.
 68. There is one bone to the organs of generation.
 69. The backbone consists of forty-five (bones).
 70. The neck consists of fifteen (bones).
 71. The collar-bone consists of one (bone on each side).
 72. The jaw likewise.
 73. There are two (bones) at its root.
 74. There are two (bones) to the forehead, (two) to the eyes, and (two) to the cheeks.
 75. The nose has one bone, the nose-bone.
 76. The ribs together with the joints called 'arbuda,' and with the joints called 'sthânaka,' consist of seventy-two (bones).
 77. The breast contains seventeen bones.
-

76. 'There are thirteen ribs to each flank, which makes in all twenty-six ribs. There are twenty joints to them in the breast, called "arbuda," and twenty-six joints in the back, called "sthânaka," which makes a total of seventy-two bones.' (Nand.)

78. There are two temporal bones.
79. The head has four skull-bones. Thus (the bones have been enumerated).
80. There are in this human frame seven hundred tubular vessels (carrying bile and phlegm through the body, or arteries).
81. Of sinews, there are nine hundred.
82. Of tubes (conducting the vital airs, or nerves), there are two hundred.
83. Of muscles, there are five hundred.
84. Of tubular vessels (or arteries), the branches of the smaller tubular vessels, there are twenty-nine Lakshas (two millions nine hundred thousand) and nine hundred and fifty-six.'
85. Of hair-holes, of the hair of the beard and of the head, there are three hundred thousand.
86. Of sensitive parts of the body, there are one hundred and seven.
87. Of joints, there are two hundred.
88. Of (atoms of) hairs (of the body), there are fifty-four Kotis (or five hundred and forty millions) and sixty-seven Lakshas (making in all five hundred and forty-six millions and seven hundred thousand).
89. The navel, the principle of vital action (which dwells in the heart), the anus, semen, blood, the temples, the head, the throat, and the heart are the seats of the vital airs.
90. The two arms, the two legs, the belly, and the head are the six limbs.
91. Adeps, marrow, the left lung, the navel, the right lung, the liver, the spleen, the small cavity of the heart, the kidneys, the bladder, the rectum, the stomach, the heart, the large cavity (intestine), the

anus, the belly, and the two bowels in it (are the inner parts of the body).

92. The pupils of the eye, the eyelashes¹, the outer parts of the ears, the ears themselves, the tragus of each ear, the cheeks, the eyebrows, the temples, the gums, the lips, the cavities of the loins, the two groins, the scrotum, the two kidneys and breasts of females, which are composed of phlegm, the uvula, the hindparts, the arms, the shanks, the thighs, the fleshy parts of the shanks and thighs, the palate, the two bones (or muscles) at the upper end of the bladder, the chin, the soft palate, and² the nape of the neck: these are the 'places' (of vital energy) in the body.

93. Sound, tangibility, form or colour, savour, and odour are the (five) objects of sense.

94. Nose, eye, skin, tongue, and ear are the (five) organs of perception.

95. Hands, feet, anus, parts of generation, and tongue are the (five) organs of action.

96. Mind, intellect, the individual Self, and the indiscrete¹ are 'that which exceeds the senses.'

97. This human frame, O Earth, is called 'field.' He who knows (how to enter and how to leave) it is denominated, by those conversant with the

92. ¹ Others interpret *akshikû/e*, 'the eyelashes,' by 'the joints between the eyes and the nose.' (Nand.) See also Böhlingk's new Dictionary. — ² The use of the particle *ka* implies, according to Nand., that the feet, hands, and other limbs mentioned in an analogous passage of Yâgñavalkya (III, 99) have also to be included in this enumeration.

96. ¹ Nand. interprets *avyaktam*, 'the indiscrete,' by *pradhânam*, 'the chief one.' Both terms are in the Sâṅkhya system of philosophy synonyms of *prakṛti*, 'that which evolves or produces everything else.'

subject, 'the knower of the field' (i.e. Self or Soul).

98. Know me, O illustrious one, to be the Self of all fields (whether born from the womb, or arisen from an egg, or from sweat, or from a germ or shoot). Those striving after final emancipation must constantly seek to understand the 'field' and to obtain a knowledge of the knower of the field.

XCVII.

1. Sitting with the feet stretched out and crossed so as to touch the thighs, with the right hand (stretched out and) resting upon the left, with the tongue fixed in the palate, and without bringing the one row of teeth in contact with the other, with the eyes directed to the tip of the nose, and without glancing at any of the (four) quarters of the sky, free from fear, and with composure, let him meditate upon (Purusha), who is separate from the twenty-four entities,

XCVII. 1. Y. III, 198-200. — 9. Y. III, 111, 201. This chapter treats of the means for obtaining that knowledge of the Âtman or Self, which has been declared at the end of the last chapter to be the road to final emancipation. (Nand.)

1. 'The twenty-four (it should be twenty-five) entities are stated in the Sâṅkhya to consist of the root-principle (*mūlaprakṛiti*), the seven productions evolved from it (*vikṛitayaḥ*), the sixteen productions evolved from these, and Purusha (the soul), who is neither producer nor produced. (1) The "root-principle" is composed of the three qualities in equipoise: *sattva*, *ragas*, and *tamas* (the most accurate rendering of these terms is perhaps that proposed by Elliot, "pure unimpassioned virtue," "passion," and "depravity inclining to evil." See Fitz-Edward Hall, Preface to *Sâṅkhyapravāṇabhāṣya*, p. 44). (2) The "great entity" (*Mahat*) is the cause of apprehension. (3) The "self-consciousness" (*ahamkāra*) is the cause of refer-

✓ 2. He who is eternal, beyond the cognisance of the senses, destitute of qualities, not concerned with sound, tangibility, form, savour, or odour, knowing everything, of immense size,

✓ 3. He who pervades everything, and who is devoid of form,

4. Whose hands and feet are everywhere, whose eyes, head, and face are everywhere, and who is able to apprehend everything with all the senses.

5. Thus let him meditate.

6. If he remains absorbed in such meditation for a year, he obtains the accomplishment of Yoga (concentration of the thought and union with the Supreme).

7. If he is unable to fix his mind upon the being

ring all objects to self. (4-8) The "subtile elementary particles" (tan-mâtras) are identical with sound, tangibility, form, taste, and odour. (9-19) The eleven senses (i. e. the organs of perception and action enumerated in CXVI, 94, 95, and manas, "the mind"), and (20-24) the five "grosser elements" (ether, air, fire, water, and earth) are productions (from the former entities). Purusha, who is neither producer nor produced, is the twenty-fifth entity.' (Nand.)

2, 3. According to Nand., all the properties of Purusha mentioned in this Sûtra are such as distinguish him from the rest of the entities, the first two distinguishing him from 'self-consciousness' (ahamkâra), the voidness of quality distinguishing him from the 'root-principle' (mûlaprakṛiti), which is composed of three qualities, &c.

4. The properties of Pûrusha here mentioned are faculties only, so that there is no contradiction to the 'voidness of form' and the other properties enumerated in the preceding Sûtras. (Nand.)

6. The external signs of the accomplishment of Yoga, as stated by Yâgñavalkya (III, 202 seq.), are, the faculty of entering another body and of creating anything at will, and other miraculous powers and qualities. (Nand.)

destitute of form¹, he must meditate successively on earth, water, fire, air, ether, mind, intellect, self², the indiscrete³, and Purusha⁴: having fully apprehended one, he must dismiss it from his thoughts and fix his mind upon the next one in order.

8. In this way let him arrive at meditation upon Purusha.

9. If unable to follow this method also, he must meditate on Purusha¹ shining like a lamp in his heart, as in a lotus turned upside down.

10. If he cannot do that either, he must meditate upon Bhagavat Vāsudeva (Vishnu), who is adorned with a diadem, with ear-rings, and with bracelets, who has the (mystic mark) Śrīvatsa and a garland of wood-flowers on his breast, whose aspect is pleasing, who has four arms, who holds the shell, the discus, the mace, and the lotus-flower, and whose feet are supported (and worshipped) by the earth.

11. Whatever he meditates upon, that is obtained by a man (in a future existence): such is the mysterious power of meditation.

12. Therefore must he dismiss everything perish-

7. ¹ The term *nirākāra*, 'the being destitute of form,' evidently refers to Purusha here (cf. *Sūtra* 3), though Nand. interprets it as an epithet of 'Brahman.' — ² 'Intellect' (*buddhi*) and 'self' (*âtman*), according to Nand., mean 'the great entity' (*mahat*) and 'self-consciousness' (*ahamkāra*), cf. note on *Sūtra* 1. — ³ 'The indiscrete' (*avyaktam*) means 'the chief one' (*pradhānam*), i. e. the Sāṅkhya 'root-principle' (see XCVI, 96). — ⁴ Nand. takes Purusha in this *Sūtra* and in 13, 15 to mean 'the twenty-sixth entity;' but it appears clearly from *Sūtra* 1, as from 16 also, that the Vishnu-sūtra, like the Sāṅkhya system, assumes twenty-five entities only, not twenty-six, like Yama, upon whose authority Nand.'s statement is based.

9. ¹ Nand. interprets the term Purusha here by *âtman*, 'self.'

able from his thoughts and meditate upon what is imperishable only.

13. There is nothing imperishable except Purusha.

14. Having become united with him (through constant meditation), he obtains final liberation.

15. Because the great lord pervades the whole universe (pura), as he is lying there (sete), therefore is he denominated Puru-sha by those who reflect upon the real nature (of the Supreme Spirit).

16. In the first part and the latter part of the night must a man bent on contemplation constantly and with fixed attention meditate upon Purusha Vishnu, who is destitute of (the three) qualities (sattva, ragas, and tamas¹) and the twenty-fifth entity.

17. He (or it) is composed of the entities, beyond the cognisance of the senses, distinct from all the (other) entities, free from attachment (to the producer, &c.), supporting everything, devoid of qualities and yet enjoying (or witnessing the effect of) qualities.

18. It exists without and within created beings (as being enjoyed and as enjoyer), and in the shape both of immovable things (such as trees or stones) and of movable things (such as water or fire); it is undistinguishable on account of its subtlety; it is out of reach (imperceptible), and yet is found in the heart.

16. ¹ See Sûtra 1, note.

17. Thus according to the reading *asaktam*, which is mentioned and explained as a var. lect. by Nand. He himself reads *asaktam*, 'independent of Sakti, power, i. e. the producer, the power of creation (*prakṛiti*), or illusion (*mâyâ*).'
Mâyâ and *prakṛiti* are occasionally used as synonymous terms in the Sāṅkhya.

19. It is not distinct from creation, and yet distinct from it in outward appearance; it annihilates and produces by turns (the world), which consists of everything that has been, that will be, and that is.

20. It is termed the light of the sidereal bodies and the enemy of darkness (ignorance), it is knowledge, it should be known, it may be understood (by meditation), it dwells in every man's heart.

21. Thus the 'field,' knowledge (or meditation), and what should be known¹ have been concisely declared; that faithful adherent of mine who makes himself acquainted therewith, becomes united to me in spirit.

XCVIII.

1. When Vishnu had finished his speech¹, the goddess of the earth inclined her knees and her head before him and said:

2. 'O Bhagavat! Four (out of the five) grosser elements¹ are receiving their support from thee, and are constantly about thee: the ether, in the form of the shell; the air, in the form of the discus; the fire, in the form of the mace; and the water, in the form of the lotus. Now I also desire to attend upon thee, in my own shape, as the ground which Bhagavat's feet tread upon.'

21. ¹ The 'field' has been discussed in XCVI, 43-97, 'knowledge' in XCVII, 1, and 'what should be known' in XCVII, 2-20. (Nand.)

XCVIII. 1. ¹ Vishnu's speech is contained in Chapters II-XCVII. (Nand.)

2. ¹ The fifth grosser element is the earth. See XCVII, 1, note.

3. Having been addressed thus by the goddess of the earth, Bhagavat answered, 'So be it.'

4. And the goddess of the earth, her desire having been gratified, did as she had said.

5. And she praised the god of the gods (as follows):

6. 'Om. Adoration be to thee.

7. 'Thou art the god of the gods.

8. 'Thou art Vāsudeva.

9. 'Thou art the creator.

10. 'Thou art the god (who creates, preserves, and destroys) at will.

11. 'Thou art the gratifier of human desires.

12. 'Thou art the guardian of the earth.

13. 'There is neither beginning, nor middle, nor end in thee.

14. 'Thou art the lord (protector) of creatures.

15. 'Thou art the strong lord of creatures.

16. 'Thou art the exalted lord of creatures.

17. 'Thou art the lord of strength.

18. 'Thou art the lord of holy speech.

19. 'Thou art the lord (creator and preserver) of the world.

20. 'Thou art the lord of heaven.

21. 'Thou art the lord of woods (who makes the trees grow).

10. 'Or Kāmadeva means the god (or brilliant one) who is sought by those striving for religious merit, gain, love, or final liberation.' (Nand.) The same interpretation is given by Saṅkara in his Commentary on the Vishṇu-sahasranāma. The ordinary meaning of Kāmadeva is 'the god of love.'

15, 16. Nand. renders the terms supragāpati and mahāpragāpati by 'the protector of those who have a splendid progeny (such as Kasyapa)' and 'the lord of him who has a large progeny (Brahman).'

22. 'Thou art the lord (producer) of (mother's) milk.
23. 'Thou art the lord of the earth (and causest it to yield its produce)
24. 'Thou art the lord of the waters.
25. 'Thou art the lord of the (eight) quarters of the sky.
26. 'Thou art the lord of (the principle) Mahat.
27. 'Thou art the lord of the wind.
28. 'Thou art the lord of happiness.
29. 'Thou art Brahman personified.
30. 'Thou art dear to Brâhmaṇas.
31. 'Thou pervadest everything.
32. 'Thou surpassest all conception.
33. 'Thou art attainable by knowledge (meditation).
34. 'Thou art invoked at many (offerings).
35. 'Thou art praised with many (hymns of the Veda).
36. 'Thou likest everything sacred.
37. 'Thou art fond of Brahman (the Veda).
38. 'Thou belongest to the (gods called) Brahmakâyas.
39. 'Thy size is immense.
40. 'Thou belongest to the Mahârâgas.

26. See XCVII, 1, note.

28. Lakshmîpati has been translated according to Nand.'s interpretation. It usually denotes the husband of Lakshmî.

30. Or 'Brâhmaṇas are dear to thee.' Both explanations of the term brâhmaṇapriya are admissible, and mentioned by Nand. and by Saṅkara.

40, 41. Nand. interprets the two terms mahârâgika and taturmahârâgika by 'he whose series of transmigrations is immense,' and 'he whose immense series of transmigrations is fourfold,' and

41. 'Thou belongest to the four Mahârâgas.
42. 'Thou art brilliant.
43. 'Thou art most brilliant.
44. 'Thou art the seven (parts of a Sâman, or the seven divisions of the universe).
45. 'Thou art most blessed.
46. 'Thou art tone.
47. 'Thou art Tushita (or "satisfied with the honours shown to thee by faithful attendants").
48. 'Thou art Mahâtushita (or "highly satisfied even without being worshipped").
49. 'Thou art the tormentor (destroyer of the world).
50. 'Thou art wholly created.
51. 'Thou art uncreated.
52. 'Thou art obsequious (to thy followers).
53. 'Thou art sacrifice.
54. 'Thou art the (recipient of the) great sacrifice.
55. 'Thou art connected with sacrifices.
56. 'Thou art the fit recipient of offerings.
57. 'Thou art the consummation of offerings.
58. 'Thou art invincible.

he refers the latter epithet to the four parts, of which Purusha is said to consist. He quotes Rig-veda X, 90, 4, where it is said that Purusha ascended to the sky with three of his constituent parts, and that the fourth remained in this world. But both terms cannot be separated etymologically from Mahârâga, the name of a certain class of deities in the Buddhistic system of religion.

44. Thus Nand. Compare I, 56, note.

46. Nand.'s interpretation of the epithet *svara*, 'tone' (or 'air breathed through the nostrils'), as being a compound of the prefix *su* and the root *ri* in the sense of 'acquisition, insight,' and meaning 'most wise,' is inadmissible.

54. This epithet, according to Nand., refers to the sacrifice mentioned in a text of the Vâgasan. *Samhitâ* (XIX, 12), which begins with the words 'The gods prepared a sacrifice.'

59. 'Thou art *Vaikuntha*.
60. 'Thou art unbounded (both in time and space).
61. 'Thou surpassest (the organs of sense, mind, and intelligence).
62. 'Thou art of old.
63. 'Thou art friendly to the gods.
64. 'Thou art the protector of living beings.
65. 'Thou wearest radiant locks of hair.
66. 'Thou takest thy share of acts of worship.
67. 'Thou takest thy sacrificial cake.
68. 'Thou art lord over everything.
69. 'Thou art the support of all.
70. 'Thy ears are pure.
71. 'Never ceasing homage is paid to thee.
72. 'Thou art blazing fire (or "Thou art shining with clarified butter offered up to thee").
73. 'Thou cuttest (foes) to pieces with thy axe.
74. 'Thou hast a lotus springing from thy navel.
75. 'Thou holdest a lotus (in thy hand).
76. 'Thou wearest a garland of lotus-flowers.
77. 'Thou art the lord of the senses.
78. 'Thou hast one horn.

59. Nand. proposes two interpretations of this epithet: 1. the producer of *Mâyâ* (the power of illusion); 2. the son of *Vikuntâ*, the mother of *Vishnu* in one of his *Avatâras*. *Vaikuntha* is also the name of *Vishnu*'s paradise.

70. 'I.e. "thou hearest the sacred revelation." Or *sukîsravaḥ* = "he whose names are pure." (Nand.) The same interpretation is given by *Ṣaṅkara*. See also *Mahâbhârata* XII, 13250.

73. 'The epithet *khandaparasu* refers either to *Vishnu*'s slaying the *Daityas* in the form of *Siva*, or to his wearing an axe as the slayer of the *Kshatriyas* in the form of *Parasurâma*.' (Nand.) The latter interpretation is proposed by *Ṣaṅkara* also, and *khandaparasu* is a very common epithet of *Parasurâma*.

78. The one horn is meant, by which *Vishnu*, in his descent as

79. 'Thou art the great boar.

80. 'Thou art the tormentor (of the Asuras, or of the righteous and the unrighteous).

81. 'Thou art eternal.

82. 'Thou art infinite. 83. Thou art Purusha.

84. Thou art the great (unbounded) Purusha. 85.

Thou art (the sage) Kapila. 86. Thou art the

teacher of the Sāṅkhya. 87. Thy powers are

everywhere. 88. Thou art virtue. 89. Thou art

the giver of virtue. 90. Thy body is virtue (law).

91. Thou art the giver of both virtue and wealth.

92. Desires are gratified by thee. 93. Thou art

Vishṇu. 94. Thou art triumphant everywhere.

95. Thou art capable of bearing (the extremities

of heat and cold and any others). 96. Thou

art *Kṛishṇa*. 97. Thou art the lotus-eyed god.

98. Thou art Nârâyana (the son of Nara). 99. Thou

art the final aim. 100. Thou art the resort of all

beings. 101. Adoration, adoration (be to thee)!

102. The goddess of the earth, after her desire had been gratified, and after she had thus praised

a fish, is said to have dragged the ship of Manu behind him. (Nand.)

79. This epithet refers to Vishṇu's boar-incarnation. See I, 1 seq.

85, 86. See Introduction.

101. Nand. observes that the divers epithets which are given to Vishṇu in this chapter are precisely equal in number to the ninety-six chapters, of which the law part of the Vishṇu-sūtra is composed. This coincidence is curious enough, though it is not quite perfect. For it is by a highly artificial interpretation only that Nand. makes out Sūtra 101 to contain an epithet of Vishṇu, viz. by interpreting the two separate words *namo nama* as a compound, meaning 'he who is worshipped by the worshipful, i.e. by Brahman and the other gods;' and Sūtra 6 contains no epithet at all.

(Vishṇu) with a cheerful mind, addressed herself to the goddess (Lakshmi).

XCIX.

1. After having seen Śrī (Lakshmi), the goddess of the earth, highly pleased, questioned (in the following manner) that goddess, who was stroking the feet of Vishṇu, the god of the gods, who was shining with the splendour of her austerities, and whose face was radiant like melted gold.

2. 'O charming lady! Thy hands are as beautiful as the expanded red lotus. Thou art holding the feet of him whose navel resembles the expanded red lotus. Thou art constantly residing in an abode resembling the expanded red lotus. Thy waist has the colour of the expanded red lotus.

3. 'Thy eyes resemble blue lotus-flowers; thy hue is radiant like gold; thy robe is white; thy body is adorned with gems; thy face is radiant like the moon; thou art resplendent like the sun; thy power is immense; thou art the sovereign (or producer) of the world.

4. 'Thou art repose (final liberation), the highest among the (four) objects of human pursuit; thou art Lakshmi; thou art a support (in danger); thou art Śrī; thou art indifference (the freedom from all worldly pursuits and appetites, which is the consequence of final emancipation); thou art victory;

4. The 'four objects of human pursuit' are, kâma, 'desire' (and its gratification), artha, 'gain,' dharma, 'religious merit,' and moksha, 'final emancipation.' The goddess is called Lakshmi, because she is the aim (lakshyate) of all beings. She is called Śrī, because she serves Purushottama (Vishṇu), or because she is the resort of all. (Nand.)

thou art beauty; thou art the splendour (of the sun and moon personified); thou art renown; thou art prosperity; thou art wisdom; thou art the power of expression; thou art the purifier.

5. 'Thou art the food of the manes; thou art forbearance; thou art the earth (or the repository of wealth); thou art fixity; thou art the basis (or stability); thou art the source of the benefit derived from sacrifices; thou art highest prudence; thou art wide-spread renown; thou art freedom from envy; thou art the food given to the gods; thou art mental power; thou art intelligence.

6. 'As the first of the gods (Vishnu) pervades the whole aggregate of the three worlds (sky, atmosphere, and earth), even so doest thou, O black-eyed bestower of gifts. Yet I inquire for the dwelling, in which thy superhuman power is residing.'

7. The goddess of the earth having thus spoken to her, Lakshmî, standing by the side of the chief of the gods, enunciated the following answer: 'I am constantly at the side of the brilliant destroyer of Madhu, O goddess, who shinest like gold.

8. 'But learn from me, where I reside (besides), O support of the world, from the instruction of him, whom I am constantly reflecting upon in my mind, and whom the virtuous call the husband of Sri, and from my own recollection.

9. 'I reside in the sun, in the moon, and in the cloudless atmosphere in which the flock of the stars is spread out. (I reside) in that cloud, from which the waters of the rain pour down, in that cloud

6. Lakshmî is said to pervade everything, like Vishnu himself, because she is his Sakti, i.e. his energy or active power personified as his wife. (Nand.)

which is adorned with Indra's bow, and in that cloud from which the rays of lightning flash forth.

10. '(I reside) in bright gold and silver, and in spotless gems and clothes, O goddess of the earth. (I reside) in rows of whitewashed palaces and in temples decorated with the attributes of deities.

11. '(I reside) in fresh cow-dung, in a noble elephant in rut, in a horse exulting in his vigour, in a proud bull, and in a Brâhmana who studies the Veda.

12. 'I reside in a throne, in an Âmalaka (Dhâtri) shrub, in a Bèl tree, in an umbrella, in a shell (trumpet), in a lotus-flower, in blazing fire, and in a polished sword or mirror.

13. 'I reside in jars filled with water and in painted (halls), in which there are chowries and fans; in splendid golden vessels, and in earth recently thrown up.

14. '(I reside) in milk, butter, fresh grass, honey, and sour milk; in the body of a married woman, in the frame of an unmarried damsel, and in the frame of (images of) gods, of ascetics, and of officiating priests.

15. '(I reside) in an arrow, in one who has returned (victorious) from battle, and in one who has fallen on the field of honour and proceeded to a seat in heaven; in the sound of (repeating) the Veda, in the flourish of the shell (trumpet), in the sacrificial exclamations addressed to the gods and to the manes, and in the sound of musical instruments.

16. '(I reside) in the consecration of a king, in the marriage ceremony, in a sacrifice, in a bridegroom, in one who has washed his head, in white flowers, in mountains, in fruits, in (islets in the

middle of a river and other) pleasant spots, and in large streams.

17. '(I reside) in lakes filled with water, in (pure) waters, and in ground covered with fresh grass, in a wood abounding in lotuses (and fruits), in a new-born infant, in a suckling, in one exulting in joy, in a virtuous man, and in one wholly bent upon practising the law.

18. '(I reside) in a man who observes approved usages, in one who constantly acts up to the sacred law, in one modestly, and in one splendidly attired, in one who keeps his organs of sense and his mind under control, in one free from sin, in one whose food is pure, and in one who honours his guests.

19. '(I reside) in one who is satisfied with his own wife (and does not covet other men's wives), in one bent upon doing his duty, in one eminently virtuous, in one who refrains from eating too often (i. e. three or four times a day), in one constantly adorned with flowers, in one who associates with such as anoint their limbs with fragrant unguents, in one who is scented with perfumes (himself), and in one adorned (with bracelets and ear-rings).

20. '(I reside) in one habitually veracious, in one friendly towards all creatures, in a married householder, in one forbearing, in one free from wrath, in one skilled in his own business, and in one skilled in other men's business, in one who never thinks of any but propitious things, and in one constantly humble.

21. '(I reside) in women who wear proper ornaments always, who are devoted to their husbands, whose speeches are kind, who keep up saving habits, who have sons, who keep their household utensils in

good order, and who are fond of offering domestic oblations.

22. '(I reside) in women who keep the house clean (by scouring it, plastering it with cow-dung, and the like), who keep their organs of sense under control, who are not quarrelsome, contented, strictly observing the law, and charitable; and I always reside in the destroyer of Madhu.

23. 'I do not remain separated from Purushotama¹ for a single moment.'

C.

1. Those among the twice-born who will act according to (the precepts promulgated in) this excellent law-code, which has been proclaimed by the god himself, shall obtain a most excellent abode in heaven.

2. It purifies from sin, it is auspicious, it leads to heaven, procures long life, knowledge (of the four objects of human pursuit) and renown, and increases wealth and prosperity.

3. It must be studied, it must be borne in mind, it must be recited, it must be listened too, and it must be constantly repeated at *Srâddhas* by persons desirous of prosperity.

[4. This most sublime, mysterious collection of doctrines has been proclaimed to thee, O goddess of the earth. In a kindly spirit and for the best of the world (have I promulgated) this body of eternal

23. ¹ See I, 51.

C. 2. See XCIX, 4, note.

4. This last clause I consider, for divers reasons, to be an addition made by a modern copyist. 1. It is not commented upon in

laws, which is conducive to happiness, the best means of purification, destructive of bad dreams, productive of a great deal of religious merit, and the source of prosperity.]

Dr. Bühler's copy of the Vaigyanî. 2. It takes up, without any purpose, the speech of Vishnu, which had been concluded in XCVII, 21. 3. Recommendations to study and recite the laws just promulgated, like those contained in C, 1-3, form the conclusion of several other Dharmaśāstras. 4. The substantive saubhāgyam is used like an adjective. 5. The first part of the whole passage is a detached hemistich.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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Notes: page 12, *after* -4-9 *add* (14) *and after* -16, 17. *add* M. x, 63; Y. I, 122 — p. 14, note 1, *before* -79, 80. *add* 77, 78. Y. I, 308, 313. — 78. M. VII, 79. — p. 25, note 1, *read* 140-146 . . . XLV, L. *Add at the end of this note* -196. M. VIII, 386 — p. 30 *add* 52. I have translated the reading *pañkâsatam*, which however is hardly so appropriate as the reading *pañkâsatam*, 'fifty' *kârshâpanas*. See M. VIII, 2, 97 — p. 32 *add* 88. It is perhaps more advisable to translate '(shall pay) . . . (as a fine),' than to supply the above parentheses. The reading of Nand.'s gloss is doubtful — p. 42, l. 7 from below, *after* 45 *add* ; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 5, CLXXXV. — 37. Y. II, 48. — p. 54 *add* 20, 22. The translation of *jîrsha* by 'fine' rests upon Nand.'s comment — p. 62 *add* Gautama (xviii, 6) speaks of the appointment of 'one who belongs to the same caste' (Bühler); but the term *yonimâtra* is ambiguous, and may be referred to 'relatives on the mother's side' as well. — p. 123, note 1, *read* 34-38 *and* 43-47 — p. 131, 17, *read* The next proverb (18) — p. 132, 3, *read* XXXIII — p. 138, 35, *read* XLVII *and* XLVI, 18. — p. 162 *add* 5. Thus Nand. Taken as part of a Dvandva compound, *vrâtâni* would mean 'and the Vratas.' See M. XI, 152 — p. 185, 3 *and* p. 186, 26 *read* x, 190 *and* x, 90. — p. 190 *read* LIX, 1. M. III, 67 — p. 198, 5 *add* 'ekakara, "one who has one hand only" (Nand.), may also mean "with one hand." See Âpast. I, 1, 4, 21; Gaut. IX, 11. — p. 202, 36.¹ Professor Max Müller points out to me, that the Buddhist Bhikshus do 'wear the marks of an order to which they do not belong'—*na vidhivat pravraganti*. Viewed in this light, Nand.'s interpretation tends to confirm my own. Cf. Âpast. I, 6, 18, 31.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.				Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.			II Class.								III Class.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.									
Gutturales.												
1 Tenuis	k	. . . . .	. . . . .	क	𐬕	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	k
2 " aspirata	kh	. . . . .	. . . . .	ख	𐬖	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	kh
3 Media	g	. . . . .	. . . . .	ग	𐬔	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	
4 " aspirata	gh	. . . . .	. . . . .	घ	𐬕	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . . . .	. . . . .	ङ	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	. . . . .	. . . . .	ञ	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . . . .	. . . . .	ह	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	h, hs
8 " lenis . . . . .	,	. . . . .	. . . . .	ह	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	
9 " asper faucalis	'h	. . . . .	. . . . .	ह	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	. . . . .	. . . . .	ह	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	
11 " asper fricatus . . . . .	. . .	'h	. . . . .	ह	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	
12 " lenis fricatus . . . . .	. . .	'h	. . . . .	ह	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	
Gutturales modificatæ (palatales, &c.)												
13 Tenuis . . . . .	. . .	k	. . . . .	च	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	k
14 " aspirata . . . . .	. . .	kh	. . . . .	ख	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	kh
15 Media . . . . .	. . .	g	. . . . .	ज	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	
16 " aspirata . . . . .	. . .	gh	. . . . .	झ	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	
17 " Nasalis	ñ	. . . . .	. . . . .	ञ	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.		II Class.								
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
18 Semivocalis	y	...	...	य	𐬨 𐬨 ^{init.} 𐬨	𐬨	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper . . . . .	...	(y)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " lenis . . . . .	...	(y)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 " asper assibilatus . . . . .	...	s	...	श	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
22 " lenis assibilatus . . . . .	...	z	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z
Dentales.											
23 Tenuis	t	...	...	त	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	t
24 " aspirata	th	...	...	थ	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	th
25 " assibilata . . . . .	...	...	TH	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Media	d	...	...	द	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
27 " aspirata	dh	...	...	ध	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
28 " assibilata . . . . .	...	...	DH	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
29 Nasalis	n	...	...	न	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	n
30 Semivocalis	l	...	...	ल	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	l
31 " mollis 1 . . . . .	...	l	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
32 " mollis 2 . . . . .	...	...	L	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	...	...	स	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	s
34 " asper 2 . . . . .	...	s	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
35 " lenis	z	...	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z
36 " asperimus 1 . . . . .	...	z	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z
37 " asperimus 2 . . . . .	...	z	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)		Labiales.	
38 Tenuis	t	38 Tenuis	p
39 " aspirata	th	39 " aspirata	ph
40 Media	d	40 Media	b
41 " aspirata	dh	41 " aspirata	bh
42 Nasalis	n	42 Tenuissima	m
43 Semivocalis	r	43 Nasalis	w
44 " fricata	r	44 Semivocalis	hw
45 " diacritica	R	45 " aspirata	f
46 Spiritus asper	sh	46 Spiritus asper	v
47 " lenis	zh	47 " lenis	m
		48 Tenuis	h
		49 " aspirata	
		50 Media	
		51 " aspirata	
		52 Tenuissima	
		53 Nasalis	
		54 Semivocalis	
		55 " aspirata	
		56 Spiritus asper	
		57 " lenis	
		58 Anusvāra	
		59 Visarga	

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.		III Class.							
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	0			...	...	...	...	...	...	ǎ
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ě			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ö			...	...	fin.	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	ا	א	a
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	آ	א	ā
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	ي	י	i
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	ی	י	ī
8 Dentalis brevis	k			क	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	ك		...
9 " longa	k			क	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	ك		...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			रि	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	ر		...
11 " longa	rf			रि	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	ر		...
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	و		u
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	و		ū
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	ه	ה	e
15 " longa	é (ai)			ऐ	𐬦	𐬦	𐬦	ه	ה	é
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	ai	(e)		...	𐬥𐬦	𐬥𐬦	𐬥𐬦	...	...	ai
17 " " " "	ei (ēi)	(ai)		...	𐬥𐬦	𐬥𐬦	𐬥𐬦	...	...	ei, éi
18 " " " "	oi (ōu)			...	𐬥𐬦	𐬥𐬦	𐬥𐬦	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			...	𐬧	𐬧	𐬧	...	...	o
20 " longa	ô (au)	(o)		...	𐬧	𐬧	𐬧	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	au	(au)		...	𐬧	𐬧	𐬧	...	...	au
22 " " " "	eu (ēu)			...	𐬧	𐬧	𐬧	...	...	...
23 " " " "	ou (ōu)			...	𐬧	𐬧	𐬧	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	ï		
26 Labialis fracta	ü			ü
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö		

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D; DALETH.	
25 * My soul cleaveth unto the dust:	* Pa. 44. 25.
* quicken thou me according to thy	* ver. 40. Pa. 143. 11.
word.	
26 I have declared my ways, and	* ver. 12. Pa. 25. 4.
thou heardest me: * teach me thy	* 27. 11.
statutes.	* 56. 11.
27 Make me to understand the way	* Pa. 143. 5, 6.
of thy precepts: so * shall I talk of	
thy wondrous works.	* Pa. 107. 26.
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26 I have declared my ways, and	* ver. 12. Pa. 25. 4.
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2 He maketh me to lie down
in green pastures: he leadeth
me beside the still waters.

4 He that hath clean
and a pure heart; who
not lifted up his soul in
vanity, nor sworn deceitfully:
5 He shall receive the

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Distinction of meats LEVITICUS, XI. *clean and unclean.*

for a wave offering before the Lord;
and it shall be thine, and thy sons'
with thee, by a statute for ever; as
the Lord hath commanded.

16 ¶ And Moses diligently sought
the goat of the sin offering, and, be-
hold, it was burnt; and he was angry
with Eleazar and Ithamar, the sons of
Aaron which were left alive, saying,

CHAPTER XI.

1 *What beasts may, 4 and what may*
not be eaten. 9 What fishes. 13
What fowls. 29 The creeping things
which are unclean.

AND the Lord spake unto Moses
and to Aaron, saying unto them,
2 Speak unto the children of Israel,
saying, These are the beasts which ye

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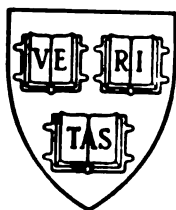
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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND NEW YORK

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. VIII

SECOND EDITION

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1898

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PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ
WITH
THE SANATSUGĀTĪYA
AND
THE ANUGĪTĀ

TRANSLATED BY THE LATE
KĀSHINĀTH TRIMBAK TELANG, M.A.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED

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BHAGAVADGÎTÂ.

INTRODUCTION

TO

BHAGAVADGÎTÂ.

IT has become quite a literary commonplace, that—to borrow the words of Professor Max Müller in one of his recent lectures—history, in the ordinary sense of the word, is almost unknown in Indian literature¹. And it is certainly a remarkable irony of fate, that we should be obliged to make this remark on the very threshold of an introduction to the Bhagavadgîtâ; for according to the eminent French philosopher, Cousin², this great deficiency in Sanskrit literature is due, in no inconsiderable measure, to the doctrines propounded in the Bhagavadgîtâ itself. But however that may be, this much is certain, that the student of the Bhagavadgîtâ must, for the present, go without that reliable historical information touching the author of the work, the time at which it was composed, and even the place it occupies in literature, which one naturally desires, when entering upon the study of any work. More especially in an attempt like the present, intended as it mainly is for students of the history of religion, I should have been better pleased, if I could, in this Introduction, have concentrated to a focus, as it were, only those well ascertained historical results, on which there is something like a consensus of opinion among persons qualified to judge. But there is no exaggeration in saying, that it is almost impossible to lay down even a single proposition respecting any important

¹ Hibbert Lectures, p. 131.

² Lectures on the History of Modern Philosophy (translated by O. W. Wight), vol. i, pp. 49, 50. At p. 433 seq. of the second volume, M. Cousin gives a general view of the doctrine of the Gîtâ. See also Mr. Maurice's and Ritter's Histories of Philosophy.

matter connected with the Bhagavadgītā, about which any such consensus can be said to exist. The conclusions arrived at in this Introduction must, therefore, be distinctly understood to embody individual opinions only, and must be taken accordingly for what they are worth.

The full name of the work is Bhagavadgītā. In common parlance, we often abbreviate the name into Gītā, and in Sanskrit literature the name occurs in both forms. In the works of Śaṅkarācārya, quotations from the Gītā are introduced, sometimes with the words 'In the Gītā,' or 'In the Bhagavadgītā,' and sometimes with words which may be rendered 'In the Gītās,' the plural form being used¹. In the colophons to the MSS. of the work, the form current, apparently throughout India, is, 'In the Upanishads sung (Gītās) by the Deity.' Śaṅkarācārya, indeed, sometimes calls it the Īśvara Gītā², which, I believe, is the specific title of a different work altogether. The signification, however, of the two names is identical, namely, the song sung by the Deity, or, as Wilkins translates it, the Divine Lay.

This Divine Lay forms part of the Bhishma Parvan of the Mahābhārata—one of the two well-known national epics of India. The Gītā gives its name to a subdivision of the Bhishma Parvan, which is called the Bhagavadgītā Parvan, and which includes, in addition to the eighteen chapters of which the Gītā consists, twelve other chapters. Upon this the question has naturally arisen, Is the Gītā a genuine portion of the Mahābhārata, or is it a later addition? The question is one of considerable difficulty. But I cannot help saying, that the manner in which it has been generally dealt with is not altogether satisfactory to my mind. Before going any further into that question, however, it is desirable to state some of the facts on which the decision must be based. It appears, then, that the royal family of Hastināpura was divided into two branches: the one called the Kauravas, and the other the Pāṇḍavas. The

¹ Ex gr. Śāstraka Bhāṣya, vol. ii, p. 840. It is also often cited as a Smṛiti, ibid. vol. i, p. 152.

² See inter alia Śāstraka Bhāṣya, vol. i, p. 455, vol. ii, p. 687, and Colebrooke's Essays, vol. i, p. 355 (Madras; Lassen's edition of the Gītā, XXXV.

former wished to keep the latter out of the share of the kingdom claimed by them; and so, after many attempts at an amicable arrangement had proved fruitless, it was determined to decide the differences between the two parties by the arbitrament of arms. Each party accordingly collected its adherents, and the hostile armies met on the 'holy field of Kurukshetra,' mentioned in the opening lines of our poem. At this juncture, *Krishna Dvaipâyana*, alias *Vyâsa*, a relative of both parties and endowed with more than human powers, presents himself before *Dhrítarâshtra*, the father of the Kauravas, who is stated to be altogether blind. *Vyâsa* asks *Dhrítarâshtra* whether it is his wish to look with his own eyes on the course of the battle; and on *Dhrítarâshtra*'s expressing his reluctance, *Vyâsa* deposes one *Saṅgaya* to relate to *Dhrítarâshtra* all the events of the battle, giving to *Saṅgaya*, by means of his own super-human powers, all necessary aids for performing the duty. Then the battle begins, and after a ten days' struggle, the first great general of the Kauravas, namely *Bhishma*, falls'. At this point *Saṅgaya* comes up to *Dhrítarâshtra*, and announces to him the sad result, which is of course a great blow to his party. *Dhrítarâshtra* then makes numerous enquiries of *Saṅgaya* regarding the course of the conflict, all of which *Saṅgaya* duly answers. And among his earliest answers is the account of the conversation between *Krishna* and *Arguna* at the commencement of the battle, which constitutes the *Bhagavadgītā*. After relating to *Dhrítarâshtra* that 'wonderful and holy dialogue,' and after giving an account of what occurred in the intervals of the conversation, *Saṅgaya* proceeds to narrate the actual events of the battle.

With this rough outline of the framework of the story before us, we are now in a position to consider the opposing arguments on the point above noted. Mr. Talboys Wheeler writes on that point as follows²: 'But there remains one

¹ The whole story is given in brief by the late Professor Goldstücker in the *Westminster Review*, April 1868, p. 392 seq. See now his *Literary Remains*, II, 114 seq.

² *History of India*, vol. i, p. 293.

other anomalous characteristic of the history of the great war, as it is recorded in the Mahābhārata, which cannot be passed over in silence; and that is the extraordinary abruptness and infelicity with which Brahmanical discourses, such as essays on law, on morals, sermons on divine things, and even instruction in the so-called sciences are recklessly grafted upon the main narrative. . . . *Krishna* and *Arguna* on the morning of the first day of the war, when both armies are drawn out in battle-array, and hostilities are about to begin, enter into a long and philosophical dialogue respecting the various forms of devotion which lead to the emancipation of the soul; and it cannot be denied that, however incongruous and irrelevant such a dialogue must appear on the eve of battle, the discourse of *Krishna*, whilst acting as the charioteer of *Arguna*, contains the essence of the most spiritual phases of Brahmanical teaching, and is expressed in language of such depth and sublimity, that it has become deservedly known as the *Bhagavad-gītā* or Divine Song. . . . Indeed no effort has been spared by the Brahmanical compilers to convert the history of the great war into a vehicle for Brahmanical teaching; and so skilfully are many of these interpolations interwoven with the story, that it is frequently impossible to narrate the one, without referring to the other, however irrelevant the matter may be to the main subject in hand.' It appears to me, I own, very difficult to accept that as a satisfactory argument, amounting, as it does, to no more than this—that 'interpolations,' which must needs be referred to in narrating the main story even to make it intelligible, are nevertheless to be regarded 'as evidently the product of a Brahmanical age¹,' and presumably also a later age, because, forsooth, they are irrelevant and incongruous according to the 'tastes and ideas¹'—not of the time, be it remembered, when the 'main story' is supposed to have been written, but—of this enlightened nineteenth century. The support, too, which may be sup-

¹ History of India, vol. i, p. 288; and compare generally upon this point the remarks in Gladstone's *Homer*, especially vol. i, p. 70 seq.

posed to be derived by this argument from the allegation that there has been an attempt to Brahmanize, so to say, the history of the great war, appears to me to be extremely weak, so far as the *Gītā* is concerned. But that is a point which will have to be considered more at large in the sequel¹.

While, however, I am not prepared to admit the cogency of Mr. Wheeler's arguments, I am not, on the other hand, to be understood as holding that the *Gītā* must be accepted as a genuine part of the original *Mahābhārata*. I own that my feeling on the subject is something akin to that of the great historian of Greece regarding the Homeric question, a feeling of painful diffidence regarding the soundness of any conclusion whatever. While it is impossible not to feel serious doubts about the critical condition of the *Mahābhārata* generally; while, indeed, we may be almost certain that the work has been tampered with from time to time²; it is difficult to come to a satisfactory conclusion regarding any particular given section of it. And it must be remembered, also, that the alternatives for us to choose from in these cases are not only these two, that the section in question may be a genuine part of the work, or that it may be a later interpolation: but also this, as suggested recently, though not for the first time, by Mr. Freeman³ with reference to the Homeric question, that the section may have been in existence at the date of the original epos, and may have been worked by the author of the epos into his own production. For that absence of dread, 'either of the law or sentiment of copyright,' which Mr. Freeman relies upon with regard to a primitive Greek poet, was by no means confined to the Greek people, but may be traced amongst us also. The commentator *Madhusūdana Sarasvatī* likens the *Gītā* to those dialogues which occur in sundry Vedic works, particularly the *Upanishads*⁴. Possibly—I will not use a stronger word—possibly the *Gītā*

¹ *Infra*, p. 21 seq.

² Compare the late Professor Goldstücker's remarks in the *Westminster Review* for April 1868, p. 389. ³ *Contemporary Review* February 1879.

⁴ *Madhusūdana* mentions the dialogue between *Ganaka* and *Yāgyavalkya* as a specific parallel.

may have existed as such a dialogue before the Mahābhārata, and may have been appropriated by the author of the Mahābhārata to his own purposes¹. But yet, upon the whole, having regard to the fact that those ideas of unity on which Mr. Wheeler and others set so much store are scarcely appropriate to our old literature; to the fact that the Gītā fits pretty well into the setting given to it in the Bhīshma Parvan; to the fact that the feeling of Arguna, which gives occasion to it, is not at all inconsistent, but is most consonant, with poetical justice; to the fact that there is not in the Gītā, in my judgment, any trace of a sectarian or 'Brahmanizing' spirit², such as Mr. Wheeler and also the late Professor Goldstücker³ hold to have animated the arrangers of the Mahābhārata; having regard, I say, to all these facts, I am prepared to adhere, I will not say without diffidence, to the theory of the genuineness of the Bhagavadgītā as a portion of the original Mahābhārata.

The next point to consider is as to the authorship of the Gītā. The popular notion on this subject is pretty well known. The whole of the Mahābhārata is, by our traditions, attributed to Vyāsa, whom we have already noticed as a relative of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas; and therefore the Bhagavadgītā, also, is naturally affiliated to the same author. The earliest written testimony to this authorship, that I can trace, is to be found in Śaṅkarācārya's commentary on the Gītā⁴ itself and on the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*⁵. To a certain extent, the mention of Vyāsa in the body of the Gītā would, from a historic standpoint, seem to militate against this tradition. But I have not seen in any of the commentaries to which I have had access, any consideration of this point, as there is of the mention in some

¹ See to this effect M. Fauriel, quoted in Grote's *Greece*, II, 195 (Cabinet ed.)

² Compare also Weber's *History of Indian Literature* English translation, p. 187. The instruction, however, as to 'the reverence due to the priesthood' from 'the military caste,' which is there spoken of, appears to me to be entirely absent from the Gītā; see p. 21 seq. *infra*.

³ *Westminster Review*, April 1868, p. 388 seq.; and *Remains*, I, 104, 105.

⁴ P. 6 (Calcutta ed., Samvat, 1927).

⁵ P. 841 (Bibl. Indic. ed.; also *Svetāsvatara*, p. 278.

Smṛitis and *Sūtras* of the names of those to whom those *Smṛitis* and *Sūtras* are respectively ascribed¹.

We must now leave these preliminary questions, unluckily in a state far from satisfactory, and proceed to that most important topic—the date when the *Gītā* was composed, and the position it occupies in Sanskrit literature. We have here to consider the external evidence bearing on these points, which is tantalizingly meagre; and the internal evidence, which is, perhaps, somewhat more full. And taking first the internal evidence, the various items falling under that head may be marshalled into four groups. Firstly, we have to consider the general character of the *Gītā* with reference to its mode of handling its subject. Secondly, there is the character of its style and language. Thirdly, we have to consider the nature of the versification of the *Gītā*. And fourthly and lastly, we must take note of sundry points of detail, such as the attitude of the *Gītā* towards the Vedas and towards caste, its allusions to other systems of speculation, and other matters of the like nature. On each of these groups, in the order here stated, we now proceed to make a few observations.

And first about the manner in which the *Gītā* deals with its subject. It appears to me, that the work bears on the face of it very plain marks indicating that it belongs to an age prior to the system-making age of Sanskrit philosophy. In 1875, I wrote as follows upon this point: ‘My view is, that in the *Gītā* and the Upanishads, the philosophical part has not been consistently and fully worked out. We have there the results of free thought, exercised on different subjects of great moment, unfettered by the exigencies of any foregone conclusions, or of any fully developed theory. It is afterwards, it is at a later stage of philosophical progress, that system-making arises. In that stage some thinkers interpret whole works by the light of some particular doctrines or expressions. And the result is the development of a whole multitude of philosophical sects, following the lead of those thinkers, and all professing to

¹ See, as to this, Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. i, p. 328 (Madras).

draw their doctrine from the Gītā or the Upanishads, yet each differing remarkably from the other¹. Since this was written, Professor Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures have been published. And I am happy to find, that as regards the Upanishads, his view coincides exactly with that which I have expressed in the words now quoted. Professor Max Müller says: 'There is not what may be called a philosophical system in these Upanishads. They are in the true sense of the word guesses at truth, frequently contradicting each other, yet all tending in one direction².' Further corroboration for the same view is also forthcoming. Professor Fitz-Edward Hall, in a passage which I had not noticed before, says³: 'In the Upanishads, the Bhagavad-gītā, and other ancient Hindu books, we encounter, in combination, the doctrines which, after having been subjected to modifications that rendered them as wholes irreconcilable, were distinguished, at an uncertain period, into what have for many ages been styled the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta.' We have thus very weighty authority for adhering to the view already expressed on this important topic. But as Professor Weber appears to have expressed an opinion⁴ intended perhaps to throw some doubt on the correctness of that view, it is desirable to go a little more into detail to fortify it by actual reference to the contents of the Gītā, the more especially as we can thus elucidate the true character of that work. Before doing so, however, it may be pointed out, that the proposition we have laid down is one, the test of which lies more in a comprehensive review of the whole of the Gītā, than in the investigation of small details on which there is necessarily much room for difference of opinion.

And first, let us compare that indisputably systematized work, the current Yoga-sūtras⁵, with the Bhagavadgītā on

¹ See the Introductory Essay to my Bhagavadgītā, translated into English blank verse, p. lxvii. See also Goldstucker's Remains, I, 48, 77; II, 10.

² P. 317; cf. also p. 338.

³ Preface to Sāṅkhya Sāra, p. 7 (Bibl. Indic. ed.)

⁴ History of Indian Literature, p. 28.

⁵ Are we to infer from the circumstance mentioned in Weber's History of

one or two topics, where they both travel over common ground. In the *Gītā*, chapter VI, stanzas 33, 34 (p. 71), we have *Arguna* putting what is, in substance, a question to *Krishna*, as to how the mind, which is admittedly 'fickle, boisterous, strong, and obstinate,' is to be brought under control—such control having been declared by *Krishna* to be necessary for attaining devotion (*yoga*)? *Krishna* answers by saying that the mind may be restrained by 'practice (*abhyāsa*) and indifference to worldly objects (*vairāgya*).' He then goes on to say, that devotion cannot be attained without self-restraint, but that one who has self-restraint, and works to achieve devotion, may succeed in acquiring it. Here the subject drops. There is no further explanation of 'practice' or 'indifference to worldly objects,' no exposition of the mode in which they work, and so forth. Contrast now the *Yoga-sūtras*. The topic is there discussed at the very outset of the work. As usual the author begins with 'Now therefore the *Yoga* is to be taught.' He then explains *Yoga* by the well-known definition 'Yoga is the restraint of the movements of the mind.' And then after pointing out what the movements of the mind are, he proceeds: 'Their restraint is by means of practice and indifference to worldly objects¹,'—the very terms, be it remarked in passing, which are used in the *Bhagavadgītā*. But having come thus far, the author of the *Sūtras* does not drop the subject as the author of the *Gītā* does. He goes on in this wise: 'Practice is the effort for keeping it steady.' 'And that becomes firmly grounded when resorted to for a long time, without interruption, and with correct conduct.' So far we have a discussion of the first requisite specified, namely, practice. *Patañjali* then goes on to his second requisite for mental restraint. 'Indifference to worldly objects is the consciousness of having subdued desires &c. (*Vasikāra sañgīhā*) which belongs to one having no longing for objects visible and those which

Indian Literature (p. 223, note 235), that the author of these *Sūtras* was older than Buddha?

¹ *Sūtra* 12, *Abhyāsa-vairāgyābhyāsa tannirodhaḥ*.

are heard of' (from Sâstras &c., such as heaven and so forth). He next proceeds to distinguish another and higher species of 'indifference,' and then he goes on to point out the results of that self-restraint which is to be acquired in the mode he has expounded. That is one instance. Now take another. In chapter VI, stanza 10 and following stanzas, the Gîtâ sets forth elaborately the mode of practically achieving the mental abstraction called Yoga. It need not be reproduced here. The reader can readily find out how sundry directions are there given for the purpose specified, but without any attempt at systematizing. Contrast the Yoga-sûtras. In the Sâdhanapâda, the section treating of the acquisition of Yoga, Patañjali states in the twenty-ninth aphorism the well-known eight elements of Yoga. Then he subdivides these elements, and expatiates on each of them distinctly, defining them, indicating the mode of acquiring them, and hinting at the results which flow from them. 'That inordinate love of subdivision,' which Dr. F. E. Hall¹ has somewhere attributed to the Hindus, appears plainly in these aphorisms, while there is not a trace of it in the corresponding passage in the Bhagavadgîtâ. In my opinion, therefore, these comparisons strongly corroborate the proposition we have laid down regarding the unsystematic, or rather non-systematic, character of the work. In the one we have definition, classification, division, and subdivision. In the other we have a set of practical directions, without any attempt to arrange them in any very scientific order. In the one you have a set of technical terms with specific significations. In the other no such precision is yet manifest. In one word, you have in the Gîtâ the germs, and noteworthy germs too, of a system², and you have most of the raw material of a system, but you have no system ready-made.

Let us look at the matter now from a slightly different point of view. There are sundry words used in the Bhaga-

¹ In the Preface to his Sâṅkhya Sâra, I think.

² This is all that we can infer from the few cases of division and classification which we do meet with in the Gîtâ. A subject like that treated of in this work could not well be discussed without some classifications &c.

vadgitâ, the significations of which are not quite identical throughout the work. Take, for instance, the word 'yoga,' which we have rendered 'devotion.' At Gitâ, chapter II, stanza 48 (p. 49), a definition is given of that word. In chapter VI, the signification it bears is entirely different. And again in chapter IX, stanza 5, there is still another sense in which the word is used¹. The word 'Brahman' too occurs in widely varying significations. And one of its meanings, indeed, is quite singular, namely, 'Nature' (see chapter XIV, stanza 3). Similar observations, to a greater or less extent, apply to the words Buddhi, Âtman, and Sva-bhâva². Now these are words which stand for ideas not unimportant in the philosophy of the Bhagavadgitâ. And the absence of scientific precision about their use appears to me to be some indication of that non-systematic character of which we have already spoken.

There is one other line of argument, which leads, I think, to the same conclusion. There are several passages in the Gitâ which it is not very easy to reconcile with one another; and no attempt is made to harmonise them. Thus, for example, in stanza 16 of chapter VII, *Krishna* divides his devotees into four classes, one of which consists of 'men of knowledge,' whom, *Krishna* says, he considers 'as his own self.' It would probably be difficult to imagine any expression which could indicate higher esteem. Yet in stanza 46 of chapter VI, we have it laid down, that the devotee is superior not only to the mere performer of penances, but even to the men of knowledge. The commentators betray their gnostic bias by interpreting 'men of knowledge' in this latter passage to mean those who have acquired erudition in the *Sâstras* and their significations. This is not an interpretation to be necessarily rejected. But there is in it a certain twisting of words, which, under the circumstances here, I am not inclined to accept. And on the other hand, it must not be forgotten, that the implication fairly derivable

¹ In chapter X the word occurs in two different senses in the same stanza (st. 7).

² Compare the various passages, references to which are collected in the Sanskrit Index at the end of this volume.

from chapter IV, stanza 38 (pp. 62, 63), would seem to be rather that knowledge is superior to devotion—is the higher stage to be reached by means of devotion as the stepping-stone. In another passage again at Gītā, chapter XII, stanza 12, concentration is preferred to knowledge, which also seems to me to be irreconcilable with chapter VII, stanza 16. Take still another instance. At Gītā, chapter V, stanza 15, it is said, that ‘the Lord receives the sin or merit of none.’ Yet at chapter V, stanza 29, and again at chapter IX, stanza 24, *Krishna* calls himself ‘the Lord and enjoyer’ of all sacrifices and penances. How, it may well be asked, can the Supreme Being ‘enjoy’ that which he does not even ‘receive?’ Once more, at chapter X, stanza 29, *Krishna* declares that ‘none is hateful to me, none dear.’ And yet the remarkable verses at the close of chapter XII seem to stand in point-blank contradiction to that declaration. There through a most elaborate series of stanzas, the burden of *Krishna*’s eloquent sermon is ‘such a one is dear to me.’ And again in those fine verses, where *Krishna* winds up his Divine Lay, he similarly tells *Arguna*, that he, *Arguna*, is ‘dear’ to *Krishna*. And *Krishna* also speaks of that devotee as ‘dear’ to him, who may publish the mystery of the Gītā among those who reverence the Supreme Being¹. And yet again, how are we to reconcile the same passage about none being ‘hateful or dear’ to *Krishna*, with his own words at chapter XVI, stanza 18 and following stanzas? The language used in describing the ‘demoniac’ people there mentioned is not remarkable for sweetness towards them, while *Krishna* says positively, ‘I hurl down such people into demoniac wombs, whereby they go down into misery and the vilest condition.’ These persons are scarcely characterised with accuracy ‘as neither hateful nor dear’ to *Krishna*. It seems to me, that all these are real inconsistencies in the Gītā, not such, perhaps, as might not be explained away, but such, I think, as indicate a mind making guesses at truth, as Professor Max

¹ And see, too, chapter VII, stanza 17, where the man of knowledge is declared to be ‘dear’ to *Krishna*.

Muller puts it, rather than a mind elaborating a complete and organised system of philosophy. There is not even a trace of consciousness on the part of the author that these inconsistencies exist. And the contexts of the various passages indicate, in my judgment, that a half-truth is struck out here, and another half-truth there, with special reference to the special subject then under discussion ; but no attempt is made to organise the various half-truths, which are apparently incompatible, into a symmetrical whole, where the apparent inconsistencies might possibly vanish altogether in the higher synthesis. And having regard to these various points, and to the further point, that the sequence of ideas throughout the verses of the *Gītā* is not always easily followed, we are, I think, safe in adhering to the opinion expressed above, that the *Gītā* is a non-systematic work, and in that respect belongs to the same class as the older Upanishads.

We next come to the consideration of the style and language of the *Bhagavadgītā*. And that, I think, furnishes a strong argument for the proposition, that it belongs to an age considerably prior to the epoch of the artificial department of Sanskrit literature—the epoch, namely, of the dramas and poems. In its general character, the style impresses me as quite archaic in its simplicity. Compounds, properly so called, are not numerous ; such as there are, are not long ones, and very rarely, if ever, present any puzzle in analysing. The contrast there presented with what is called the classical literature, as represented by *Bāna* or *Dandīn*, or even *Kālidāsa*, is not a little striking. In *Kālidāsa*, doubtless, the love for compounds is pretty well subdued, though I think his works have a perceptibly larger proportion of them than the *Gītā*. But after *Kālidāsa* the love for compounds goes through a remarkable development, till in later writings it may be said almost to have gone mad. Even in *Bāna* and *Dandīn*, *Subandhu* and *Bhavabhūti*, the plethora of compounds is often wearisome. And the same remark applies to many of the copper-plate and other inscriptions which have been recently

deciphered, and some of which date from the early centuries of the Christian era. Take again the exuberance of figures and tropes which is so marked in the classical style. There is little or nothing of that in the Gītā, where you have a plain and direct style of natural simplicity, and yet a style not by any means devoid of æsthetic merit like the style of the Sūtra literature. There is also an almost complete absence of involved syntactical constructions; no attempt to secure that jingle of like sounds, which seems to have proved a temptation too strong even for Kālidāsa's muse entirely to resist. But on the contrary, we have those repetitions of words and phrases, which are characteristic, and not only in Sanskrit, of the style of an archaic period¹. Adverting specially to the language as distinguished from the style of the Gītā, we find such words as *Anta*, *Bhāshā*, *Brahman*, some of which are collected in the Sanskrit Index in this volume, which have gone out of use in the classical literature in the significations they respectively bear in the Gītā. The word 'ha,' which occurs once, is worthy of special note. It is the equivalent of 'gha,' which occurs in the Vedic *Samhitās*. In the form 'ha' it occurs in the *Brāhmaṇas*. But it never occurs, I think, in what is properly called the classical literature. It is, indeed, found in the *Purāṇas*. But that is a class of works which occupies a very unique position. There is a good deal in the *Purāṇas* that, I think, must be admitted to be very ancient²; while undoubtedly also there is a great deal in them that is very modern. It is, therefore, impossible to treat the use of 'ha' in that class of works as negating an inference of the antiquity of any book where the word occurs; while its use in Vedic works and its total absence from modern works indicate such

¹ Compare Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i, p. 5. See, too, Goldstücker's *Remains*, I, 177.

² This opinion, which I had expressed as long ago as 1874 in the Introduction to my edition of *Bhartṛhari's Satakas*, is, I find, also held by Dr. Buhler; see his Introduction to *Āpastamba* in this series, p. xx seq., note. *Purāṇas* are mentioned in the *Sutta Nipāta* (p. 115), as to the date of which, see *inter alia* Swamy's Introduction, p. xvii.

antiquity pretty strongly. We may, therefore, embody the result of this part of the discussion in the proposition, that the Gîtâ is removed by a considerable linguistic and chronological distance from classical Sanskrit literature. And so far as it goes, this proposition agrees with the result of our investigation of the first branch of internal evidence.

The next branch of that evidence brings us to the character of the versification of the Gîtâ. Here, again, a survey of Sanskrit verse generally, and the verse of the Gîtâ in particular, leads us to a conclusion regarding the position of the Gîtâ in Sanskrit literature, which is in strict accord with the conclusions we have already drawn. In the verse of the Vedic *Samhitâs*, there is almost nothing like a rigidly fixed scheme of versification, no particular collocation of long and short syllables is absolutely necessary. If we attempt to chant them in the mode in which classical Sanskrit verse is chanted, we invariably come across lines where the chanting cannot be smooth. If we come next to the versification of the *Upanishads*, we observe some progress made towards such fixity of scheme as we have alluded to above. Though there are still numerous lines, which cannot be smoothly chanted, there are, on the other hand, a not altogether inconsiderable number which can be smoothly chanted. In the *Bhagavadgîtâ* a still further advance, though a slight one, may, I think, be marked. A visibly larger proportion of the stanzas in the Gîtâ conform to the metrical schemes as laid down by the writers on prosody, though there are still sundry verses which do not so conform, and cannot, accordingly, be chanted in the regular way. Lastly, we come to the *Kâvyas* and *Nâtakas*—the classical literature. And here in practice we find everywhere a most inflexible rigidity of scheme, while the theory is laid down in a rule which says, that 'even *mâsha* may be changed to *masha*, but a break of metre should be avoided.' This survey of Sanskrit verse may, I think, be fairly treated as showing, that adhesion to the metrical schemes is one test of the chronological position of a work—the later the work, the

more undeviating is such adhesion. I need not stay here to point out, how this view receives corroboration from the rules given on this subject in the standard work of Piṅgala on the *Kṛandas Sâstra*. I will only conclude this point by saying, that the argument from the versification of the *Gītā*, so far as it goes, indicates its position as being prior to the classical literature, and nearly contemporaneous with the *Upanishad* literature.

We now proceed to investigate the last group of facts falling under the head of internal evidence, as mentioned above. And first as regards the attitude of the *Gītā* towards the *Vedas*. If we examine all the passages in the *Gītā*, in which reference is made to the *Vedas*, the aggregate result appears to be, that the author of the *Gītā* does not throw the *Vedas* entirely overboard. He feels and expresses reverence for them, only that reverence is of a somewhat special character. He says in effect, that the precepts of the *Vedas* are suitable to a certain class of people, of a certain intellectual and spiritual status, so to say. So far their authority is unimpeached. But if the unwise sticklers for the authority of the *Vedas* claim anything more for them than this, then the author of the *Gītā* holds them to be wrong. He contends, on the contrary, that acting upon the ordinances of the *Vedas* is an obstacle to the attainment of the *summum bonum*¹. Compare this with the doctrine of the *Upanishads*. The coincidence appears to me to be most noteworthy. In one of his recent lectures, Professor Max Müller uses the following eloquent language regarding the *Upanishads*²: ‘Lastly come the *Upanishads*; and what is their object? To show the utter uselessness, nay, the mischievousness of all ritual performances (compare our *Gītā*, pp. 47, 48, 84³); to condemn every sacrificial act which has for its motive a desire or hope of reward (comp. *Gītā*, p. 119⁴); to deny, if not the existence, at least the exceptional and exalted character

¹ Compare the passages collected under the word *Vedas* in our Index.

² Hibbert Lectures, p. 340 seq.

³ II, 42-45; IX, 20, 21.

⁴ XVII, 12.

of the Devas (comp. *Gîtâ*, pp. 76-84¹); and to teach that there is no hope of salvation and deliverance except by the individual self recognising the true and universal self, and finding rest there, where alone rest can be found² (comp. our *Gîtâ* Translation, pp. 78-83).

The passages to which I have given references in brackets will show, that Professor Max Müller's words might all be used with strict accuracy regarding the essential teaching of the *Bhagavadgîtâ*. We have here, therefore, another strong circumstance in favour of grouping the *Gîtâ* with the *Upanishads*. One more point is worthy of note. Wherever the *Gîtâ* refers to the *Vedas* in the somewhat disparaging manner I have noted, no distinction is taken between the portion which relates to the ritual and the portion which relates to that higher science, viz. the science of the soul, which Sanatkumâra speaks of in his famous dialogue with Nârada³. At *Gîtâ*, chapter II, stanza 45, Arjuna is told that the *Vedas* relate only to the effects of the three qualities, which effects Arjuna is instructed to overcome. At *Gîtâ*, chapter VI, stanza 44, Arjuna is told that he who has acquired some little devotion, and then exerts himself for further progress, rises above the Divine word—the *Vedas*. And there are also one or two other passages of the like nature. They all treat the *Vedas* as concerned with ritual alone. They make no reference to any portion of the *Vedas* dealing with the higher knowledge. If the word *Vedânta*, at *Gîtâ*, chapter XV, stanza 15 (p. 113), signifies, as it seems to signify, this latter portion of the *Vedas*, then that is the only allusion to it. But, from all the passages in the *Gîtâ* which refer to the *Vedas*, I am inclined to draw the inference, that the *Upanishads* of the *Vedas* were composed at a time not far removed from the time of the composition of the *Gîtâ*, and that at that period the *Upanishads* had not yet risen to the position of

¹ VII, 21-23; IX, 23-24.

² VIII, 14-16; IX, 29-33.

³ See *A'kândogya-upanishad*, p. 473, or rather I ought to have referred to the *Mundaka-upanishad*, where the superiority and inferiority is more distinctly stated in words, pp. 266, 267.

high importance which they afterwards commanded. In the passage referred to at chapter XV, the word Vedāntas probably signifies the Āraṇyakas, which may be regarded as marking the beginning of the epoch, which the composition of the Upanishads brought to its close. And it is to the close of this epoch, that I would assign the birth of the Gītā, which is probably one of the youngest members of the group to which it belongs.

It appears to me, that this conclusion is corroborated by the fact that a few stanzas in the Gītā are identical with some stanzas in some of the Upanishads. With regard to the epic age of Greece, Mr. E. A. Freeman has said that, in carrying ourselves back to that age, 'we must cast aside all the notions with which we are familiar in our own age about property legal or moral in literary compositions. It is plain that there were phrases, epithets, whole lines, which were the common property of the whole epic school of poetry¹.' It appears to me that we must accept this proposition as equally applicable to the early days of Sanskrit literature, having regard to the common passages which we meet with in sundry of the Vedic works, and also sometimes, I believe, in the different Purāṇas. If this view is correct, then the fact that the Gītā contains some stanzas in the very words which we meet with in some of the Upanishads, indicates, to my mind, that the conclusion already drawn from other data about the position of the Gītā with regard to the Upanishads, is not by any means unwarranted, but one to which the facts before us rather seem to point.

And here we may proceed to draw attention to another fact connected with the relation of the Gītā to the Vedas. In stanza 17 of the ninth chapter of the Gītā, only *Rik*, *Sāman*, and *Yagus* are mentioned. The *Atharva-veda* is not referred to at all. This omission does certainly seem a very noteworthy one. For it is in a passage where the Supreme Being is identifying himself with everything, and where, therefore, the fourth Veda might fairly be expected

¹ Contemporary Review, February 1879.

to be mentioned. I may add that in commenting on Śaṅkara's remarks on this passage, Ānandagiri (and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī also) seems evidently to have been conscious of the possible force of this omission of the Atharva-veda. He accordingly says that by force of the word 'and' in the verse in question, the Atharvāṅgirasas, or Atharva-veda, must also be included. Are we at liberty to infer from this, that the Atharva-veda did not exist in the days when the Gītā was composed? The explanation ordinarily given for the omission of that Veda, where such omission occurs, namely, that it is not of any use in ordinary sacrificial matters, is one which can scarcely have any force in the present instance; though it is adequate, perhaps, to explain the words 'those who know the three branches of knowledge,' which occur only a few lines after the verse now under consideration. The commentators render no further help than has been already stated. Upon the whole, however, while I am not yet quite prepared to say, that the priority of the Gītā, even to the recognition of the Atharva-veda as a real Veda, may be fairly inferred from the passage in question, I think that the passage is noteworthy as pointing in that direction. But further data in explanation of the omission referred to must be awaited.

If the conclusions here indicated about the relative positions of the Gītā and certain Vedic works are correct, we can fairly take the second century B.C. as a terminus before which the Gītā must have been composed. For the Upanishads are mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, which we are probably safe in assigning to the middle of that century. The epoch of the older Upanishads, therefore, to which reference has been so frequently made here, may well be placed at some period prior to the beginning of the second century B.C. The Atharva-veda is likewise mentioned by Patañjali¹, and as 'ninefold,' too, be it remembered; so that if we are entitled to draw the conclusion which has been mentioned above from chapter IX, stanza 17, we come to the same period for the date of the Gītā.

¹ See also Sutta Nipāta, p. 115.

Another point to note in this connexion is the reference to the Sâma-veda as the best of the Vedas (see p. 88). That is a fact which seems to be capable of yielding some chronological information. For the estimation in which that Veda has been held appears to have varied at different times. Thus, in the Aitareya-brâhmana¹, the glory of the Sâman is declared to be higher than that of the *Rik*. In the *Khândogya-upanishad*² the Sâman is said to be the essence of the *Rik*, which Saṅkara interprets by saying that the Sâman is more weighty. In the *Prasna-upanishad*³, too, the implication of the passage V, 5 (in which the Sâman is stated as the guide to the Brahmaloka, while the *Yagus* is said to guide to the lunar world, and the *Rik* to the human world) is to the same effect. And we may also mention as on the same side the *Nṛisimha Tâpini-upanishad* and the Vedic passage cited in the commentary of Saṅkara on the closing sentence of the first *khaṇḍa* of that *Upanishad*⁴. On the other side, we have the statement in *Manu* that the sound of the Sâma-veda is unholy; and the consequent direction that where the sound of it is heard, the *Rik* and *Yagus* should not be recited⁵. We have also the passages from some of the *Purâṇas* noted by Dr. Muir in his excellent work, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, which point in the same direction⁶. And we have further the direction in the *Āpastamba Dharma-sûtra*, that the Sâman hymns should not be recited where the other Vedas are being recited⁷, as well as the grouping of the sound of the Sâman with various classes of objectionable and unholy noises, such as those of dogs and asses. It is pretty evident that the view of *Āpastamba* is based on the same theory as that of *Manu*. Now in looking at the two classes of authorities thus marshalled, it is plain that the *Gītā* ranges itself with those which are unquestionably the more ancient.

¹ Haug's edition, p. 68.

² Bibl. Ind. ed., p. 12.

³ Bibl. Ind. ed., p. 221 seq.

⁴ Bibl. Ind. ed., p. 11.

⁵ Chapter IV, stanzas 123, 124.

⁶ Vol. iii (2nd ed.), p. 11 seq. Cf. Goldstûcker's *Remains*, I, 4, 28, 266; II, 67.

⁷ *Āpastamba* Buhler's ed., I, 3, 17, 18 (pp. 38, 39 in this series); see further on this point Mr. Burnell's *Devatâdhyâya-brâhmana*, *Intro.*, pp. viii, ix, and notes.

And among the less ancient works, prior to which we may place the *Gītā* on account of the facts now under consideration, are *Manu* and *Āpastamba*. Now *Manu*'s date is not ascertained, though, I believe, he is now generally considered to belong to about the second or third century B.C.¹ But Dr. Bühler, in the Preface to his *Āpastamba* in the present series, has adduced good reasons for holding that *Āpastamba* is prior to the third century B.C.², and we therefore obtain that as a point of time prior to which the *Gītā* must have been composed.

The next important item of internal evidence which we have to note, is the view taken of caste in the *Bhagavad-gītā*. Here, again, a comparison of the doctrine of the *Gītā* with the conception of caste in *Manu* and *Āpastamba* is interesting and instructive. The view of *Manu* has been already contrasted by me with the *Gītā* in another place³. I do not propose to dwell on that point here, as the date of *Manu* is far from being satisfactorily ascertained. I prefer now to take up *Āpastamba* only, whose date, as just now stated, is fairly well fixed by Dr. Bühler. The division of castes, then, is twice referred to in the *Bhagavad-gītā*. In the first passage (p. 59) it is stated that the division rests on differences of qualities and duties; in the second (pp. 126, 127) the various duties are distinctly stated according to the differences of qualities. Now in the first place, noting as we pass along, that there is nothing in the *Gītā* to indicate whether caste was hereditary, according to its view, whereas *Āpastamba* distinctly states it to be such, let us compare the second passage of the *Gītā* with the *Sūtras* of *Āpastamba* bearing on the point. The view enunciated in the *Gītā* appears to me plainly to belong to an earlier age—to an age of considerably less advancement in social and religious development. In the *Gītā*, for instance, the duties of a *Brāhmaṇa* are said to be tranquillity, self-restraint, and

¹ Professor Tiele (*History of Ancient Religions*, p. 127) considers the 'main features' of *Manu* to be 'pre-Buddhistic.'

² P. xxv.

³ See the Introductory Essay to my *Bhagavad-gītā* in English verse, published in 1875, p. cxii.

so forth. In *Āpastamba*, they are the famous six duties, namely, study, imparting instruction, sacrificing, officiating at others' sacrifices, making gifts, and receiving gifts; and three others, namely, inheritance, occupancy, and gleaning ears of corn, which, it may be remarked *en passant*, are not stated in *Manu*. The former seem to my mind to point to the age when the qualities which in early times gave the *Brāhmaṇas* their pre-eminence in Hindu society were still a living reality¹. It will be noted, too, that there is nothing in that list of duties which has any necessary or natural connexion with any privilege as belonging to the caste. The Law lays down these duties, in the true sense of the word. In *Āpastamba*, on the contrary, we see an advance towards the later view on both points. You have no reference to moral and religious qualities now. You have to do with ceremonies and acts. You have under the head 'duties' not mere obligations, but rights. For the duty of receiving gifts is a right, and so is the duty of teaching others and officiating at others' sacrifices; as we know not merely from the subsequent course of events, but also from a comparison of the duties of *Brāhmaṇas* on the one hand, and *Kshatriyas*, *Vaiśyas*, and *Sūdras* on the other, as laid down by *Manu* and *Āpastamba* themselves. *Āpastamba's* rules, therefore, appear to belong to the time when the *Brāhmaṇas* had long been an established power, and were assuming to themselves those valuable privileges which they have always claimed in later times. The rules of the *Gītā*, on the other hand, point to a time considerably prior to this—to a time when the *Brāhmaṇas* were by their moral and intellectual qualities laying the foundation of that pre-eminence in Hindu society which afterwards enabled them to lord it over all castes. These observations *mutatis mutandis* apply to the rules regarding the other castes also. Here again, while the *Gītā* still insists on the inner qualities, which properly constitute the military profession, for instance, the rules of *Āpastamba* indicate the powerful

¹ The remarks in the text will show how little there is in the *Gītā* of that 'Brahmanizing' which has been shortly noticed on a previous page.

influence of the Brāhmaṇas¹. For, as stated before, officiating at others' sacrifices, instructing others, and receiving presents, are here expressly prohibited to Kshatriyas as also to Vaisyas. The result of that is, that the Brāhmaṇas become indispensable to the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, for upon both the duty of study, of offering sacrifices, and making gifts and presents is inculcated. In his outline of the History of Ancient Religions, Professor Tiele, speaking of the 'increasing influence of the Brāhmans,' writes as follows: 'Subject at first to the princes and nobles, and dependent on them, they began by insinuating themselves into their favour, and representing it as a religious duty to show protection and liberality towards them. Meanwhile they endeavoured to make themselves indispensable to them, gradually acquired the sole right to conduct public worship, and made themselves masters of instruction².' And after pointing out the high position thus achieved by the Brāhmans, and the low position of the *Kāṇḍālas* and others of the inferior castes, he adds: 'Such a position could not long be endured; and this serves to explain not only the rise of Buddhism, but also its rapid diffusion, and the radical revolution which it brought about³.' To proceed, however, with our comparison of the *Gītā* and *Āpastamba*. The superiority distinctly claimed by the latter for the Brāhmaṇa is not quite clearly brought out in the *Gītā*. 'Holy Brāhmaṇas and devoted royal saints' are bracketed together at p. 86; while the Kshatriyas are declared to have been the channel of communication between the Deity and mankind as regards the great doctrine of devotion propounded by the *Bhagavadgītā*. That indicates a position for the Kshatriyas much more like what the *Upanishads* disclose⁴, than even that which

¹ As to the Kshatriyas the contrast with Manu's rules is even stronger than with *Āpastamba*'s. See our Introduction to the *Gītā* in English verse, p. cxiii.

² P. 120.

³ Pp. 129, 130.

⁴ See p. 38 *infra*; and compare with this Weber's remarks on one of the classes into which he divides the whole body of *Upanishads*, *History of Indian Literature*, p. 165. See also Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i, p. 508; Max Muller, *Upanishads*, vol. i, p. lxxv.

Āpastamba assigns to them. The fact is further noteworthy, that in the Gītā each caste has its own entirely distinct set of duties. There is no overlapping, so to say. And that is a circumstance indicating a very early stage in the development of the institution¹. Besides, as already indicated, the duties laid down by Āpastamba and Manu as common to Kshatriyas and Vais̥yas are the very duties which make those castes dependent to a very great extent on the Brāhmaṇas. Lastly, it is not altogether unworthy of note, that in the elaborate specification of the best of every species which we find in chapter X, the Brāhmaṇa is not mentioned as the best of the castes, there is nothing to indicate the notion contained in the well-known later verse, 'The Brāhmaṇa is the head of the castes.' On the contrary, the ruler of men is specified as the highest among men², indicating, perhaps, a state of society such as that described at the beginning of the extract from Professor Tiele's work quoted above.

We come now to another point. What is the position of the Gītā in regard to the great reform of Sākya Muni? The question is one of much interest, having regard particularly to the remarkable coincidences between Buddhistic doctrines and the doctrines of the Gītā to which we have drawn attention in the foot-notes to our translation. But the materials for deciding the question are unhappily not forthcoming. Professor Wilson, indeed, thought that there was an allusion to Buddhism in the Gītā³. But his idea was based on a confusion between the Buddhists and the Kārvākas or materialists⁴. Failing that allusion, we have nothing very tangible but the unsatisfactory 'negative argument' based on mere non-mention of Buddhism in the Gītā. That argument is not quite satisfactory to my own mind, although, as I have elsewhere pointed out⁵, some of

¹ Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 32; and also Mr. Davids' note on that passage in his Buddhism, p. 131.

² P. 89 infra.

³ Essays on Sanskrit Literature, vol. iii, p. 150.

⁴ See our remarks on this point in the Introductory Essay to our Gītā in verse, p. li seq.

⁵ Introduction to Gītā in English verse, p. v seq.

the ground occupied by the Gîtâ is common to it with Buddhism, and although various previous thinkers are alluded to directly or indirectly in the Gîtâ. There is, however, one view of the facts of this question, which appears to me to corroborate the conclusion deducible by means of the negative argument here referred to. The main points on which Buddha's protest against Brahmanism rests, seem to be the true authority of the Vedas and the true view of the differences of caste. On most points of doctrinal speculation, Buddhism is still but one aspect of the older Brahmanism¹. The various coincidences to which we have drawn attention show that, if there is need to show it. Well now, on both these points, the Gîtâ, while it does not go the whole length which Buddha goes, itself embodies a protest against the views current about the time of its composition. The Gîtâ does not, like Buddhism, absolutely reject the Vedas, but it shelves them. The Gîtâ does not totally root out caste. It places caste on a less untenable basis. One of two hypotheses therefore presents itself as a rational theory of these facts. Either the Gîtâ and Buddhism were alike the outward manifestation of one and the same spiritual upheaval which shook to its centre the current religion, the Gîtâ being the earlier and less thorough-going form of it; or Buddhism having already begun to tell on Brahmanism, the Gîtâ was an attempt to bolster it up, so to say, at its least weak points, the weaker ones being altogether abandoned. I do not accept the latter alternative, because I cannot see any indication in the Gîtâ of an attempt to compromise with a powerful attack on the old Hindu system; while the fact that, though strictly orthodox, the author of the Gîtâ still undermines the authority, as unwisely venerated, of the Vedic revelation; and the further fact, that in doing this, he is doing what others also had done before him or about his time; go, in my opinion, a considerable way towards

¹ Cf. Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures, p. 137; Weber's *Indian Literature*, pp. 288, 289; and Mr. Rhys Davids' excellent little volume on Buddhism, p. 151; and see also p. 83 of Mr. Davids' book.

fortifying the results of the negative argument already set forth. To me Buddhism is perfectly intelligible as one outcome of that play of thought on high spiritual topics, which in its other, and as we may say, less thorough-going manifestations, we see in the Upanishads and the Gītā¹. But assume that Buddhism was a protest against Brahmanism prior to its purification and elevation by the theosophy of the Upanishads, and those remarkable productions of ancient Indian thought become difficult to account for. Let us compare our small modern events with those grand old occurrences. Suppose our ancestors to have been attached to the ceremonial law of the Vedas, as we are now attached to a lifeless ritualism, the Upanishads and the Gītā might be, in a way, comparable to movements like that of the late Raja Rammohun Roy. Standing, as far as possible, on the antique ways, they attempt, as Raja Rammohun attempted in these latter days, to bring into prominence and to elaborate the higher and nobler aspects of the old beliefs. Buddhism would be comparable to the further departure from old traditions which was led by Babu Keshub Chander Sen. The points of dissent in the olden times were pretty nearly the same as the points of dissent now. The ultimate motive power also was in both cases identical—a sense of dissatisfaction in its integrity with what had come down from old times encrusted with the corruptions of years. In this view the old system, the philosophy of the Upanishads and the Gītā, and the philosophy of Buddha, constitute a regular intelligible progression. But suppose the turn events took was different, as is supposed by the alternative theory indicated above. Suppose Babu Keshub's movement was chronologically prior, and had begun to tell on orthodox society. Is it likely, that then one of the orthodox party

¹ Cf. Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 285. In Mr. Davids' *Buddhism*, p. 94, we have a noteworthy extract from a standard Buddhistic work, touching the existence of the soul. Compare that with the corresponding doctrine in the Gītā. It will be found that the two are at one in rejecting the identity of the soul with the senses &c. The Gītā then goes on to admit a soul separate from these. Buddhism rejects that also, and sees nothing but the senses.

would take up the position which Rammohun Roy took? Would he still rely on old authorities, but with sundry qualifications, and yet earnestly assail the current forms of orthodoxy? I do not think so. I think the true view to be, as already stated, very different. The Upanishads, with the *Gîtâ*, and the precepts of Buddha appear to me to be the successive¹ embodiments of the spiritual thought of the age, as it became more and more dissatisfied with the system of mere ceremonial then dominant.

There are several other points of much interest in the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, such as the reference to the *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga*; the place assigned to the *Mārgaśīrsha* month; the allusion to the doctrines of materialism; the nearly entire coincidence between a stanza of the *Gîtâ* and one in the *Manu Smṛiti*. But in the present state of our knowledge, I do not think that we can extract any historical results from any of them. Without dwelling on them any further², therefore, I will only state it as my opinion, that the *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* of the *Gîtâ* are not identical with the systems known to us under those names, and that the *Manu Smṛiti* has probably borrowed from the *Gîtâ* the stanza common to the two works.

We now proceed to a discussion of some of the external evidence touching the age of the *Bhagavadgîtâ*. It is, of course, unnecessary to consider any evidence of a date later than the eighth century A. C., that being the date generally received, though not on very strong grounds, as the date of *Śaṅkarācārya*, the celebrated commentator of the *Gîtâ*³. For the period prior to that limit, the first testimony to consider is that of *Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, the author of the *Kādambari*. The date of *Bāṇa* is now fairly well settled as the

¹ The word *Brahma-nirvāṇa*, which occurs so often at the close of chapter V and also at chapter II, 72, seems to me to indicate that *nirvāṇa* had not yet become technically pinned down, so to say, to the meaning which Buddhism subsequently gave to it, as the name of what it deemed the summum bonum. *Nirvāṇa* by itself occurs at VI, 15.

² See some further remarks on these points in my Introduction to the *Gîtâ* in *verse*.

³ Professor Tiele (*History of Ancient Religions*, p. 140) says *Śaṅkara* was born in 788 A. D.; on the authority, I presume, of the *Āryavidyāsudhākara*, p. 226.

middle of the seventh century A.C. The doubt which the late Dr. Bhāu Dāji had cast upon its correctness¹, by impugning the received date of king Harshavardhana, appears to me to have been satisfactorily disposed of by the paper of my friend Professor R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar on the Kālukya dates². In the Kādambārī, then, we have testimony to the existence of the Bhagavadgītā in the middle of the seventh century A.C. For in that work, which, as is well known, abounds with equivoques, we have a passage which compares the royal palace to the Mahābhārata, both being 'Anantagītākarṇanānanditanaram³,' which, as applied to the royal palace, means 'in which the people were delighted by hearing innumerable songs;' and as applied to the Mahābhārata means 'in which Arguna was delighted at hearing the Anantagītā.' Anantagītā is evidently only another name here for Bhagavadgītā. The conclusion deducible from this fact is not merely that the Gītā existed, but that it existed as a recognised portion of the Bhārata, in the seventh century A.C. Now the Kādambārī shows, in numerous passages, in what high esteem the Mahābhārata was held in its days. The queen Vilāsavati used to attend at those readings and expositions of the Mahābhārata, which have continued down to our own times; and it was even then regarded as a sacred work of extremely high authority, in the same way as it is now. It follows, therefore, that the Gītā must have been several centuries old in the time of Bāṇabhaṭṭa.

Prior in time to Bāṇa is the Indian Shakespeare, Kālidāsa, as he is referred to in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Harsha-*karita*⁴, and also in a copperplate inscription of the early part of the seventh century, as a poet who had then already acquired a high reputation⁵. Unfortunately, it is not yet possible to fix exactly the date at which Kālidāsa flourished. Still,

¹ Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. viii, p. 250; and see, too, Indian Antiquary, vol. vi, p. 61 (Dr. Buhler).

² Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xiv, p. 16 seq.

³ P. 182 (Tārānātha's ed.)

⁴ See F. E. Hall's *Vāsavadattā*, p. 14 note.

⁵ See Indian Antiquary, vol. v, p. 70.

I think, we have pretty satisfactory evidence to show that the middle of the fifth century A. C. is the very latest date to which he can be referred. In a small tract (written by me in 1873), discussing Professor Weber's theory about the *Rāmāyana*, I have pointed out¹ that the *Pañkatantra* quotes from Kālidāsa a passage which there is good reason to believe formed part of the *Pañkatantra* when it was translated for king Nushirvan of Persia about the beginning of the sixth century A.C.² Allowing for the time required to raise Kālidāsa to the position of being cited as an authority, and for the time required for the spread of the fame of an Indian work to Persia in those early days, I think, that the middle of the fifth century is a date to which Kālidāsa cannot well have been subsequent. Now in the works of Kālidāsa we have some very remarkable allusions to the *Bhagavadgītā*. It is not necessary to go through all these allusions. I will only mention the most remarkable, one from the *Raghuvamśa*, and one from the *Kumārasambhava*. In *Raghu*, canto X, stanza 67, the gods addressing Vishṇu say: 'There is nothing for you to acquire which has not been acquired. The one motive in your birth and work is the good of the worlds.' The first sentence here reminds one at once of *Gītā*, chapter III, stanza 22, the coincidence with which in sense as well as expression is very striking. The second sentence contains the words 'birth and work,' the precise words employed at *Gītā* IV, 9; and the idea of 'good of the worlds' is identical with the idea expressed in *Gītā* III, 20-24, the words only in which it is clothed being different. Couple this passage with the one from *Kumārasambhava*, canto VI, 67, where the seven *Rishis* say to the Himālaya mountain, 'Well hast thou been called Vishṇu in a firmly-fixed form.' The allusion there to the *Gītā*, chapter X, stanza 25 (p. 89), is, I venture to think,

¹ 'Was the *Rāmāyana* copied from Homer?' See pp. 36-59.

² Cf. Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. ii, p. 166 seq. It may be remarked that this argument is not affected by the attempt to distinguish the Kālidāsa of the *Akṣantālā* from the Kālidāsa of the *Raghuvamśa*. Because the work cited in the *Pañkatantra* is the *Kumārasambhava*, which indisputably belongs to the same author as the *Raghuvamśa*.

unmistakable. The word 'firmly-fixed' is identical in both passages; the idea is identical, and Mallinātha refers to the passage in the Gītā as the authority which Kālidāsa had in view. It follows, therefore, that the Gītā must be prior to Kālidāsa's time. It may be added, that Kālidāsa in his *Raghu* XV, 67, cites *Manu* as an authority for the proposition that a king must protect all castes and all orders or āśramas. *Manu*, therefore, must have lived considerably earlier than Kālidāsa, and the Gītā, as we have already argued, must be considerably earlier, not only than *Manu*, but also than his predecessor Āpastamba. The Gītā may, therefore, be safely said to belong to a period several centuries prior to the fifth century A. C.

The next piece of external evidence is furnished by the *Vedānta-sūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa. In several of those *Sūtras*, references are made to certain *Smṛitis* as authorities for the propositions laid down. Take, for instance, I, 2, 6, or I, 3, 23, and many others. Now three of these *Sūtras* are very useful for our present purpose. The first we have to consider is *Sūtra* II, 3, 45. The commentators Saṅkarācārya, Rāmānuga, Madhva, and Vallabha¹ are unanimous in understanding the passage in Gītā, chapter XV, stanza 7 (p. 112), to be the one there referred to by the words of the *Sūtra*, which are, 'And it is said in a *Smṛiti*.' Now a glance at the context of the *Sūtra* will, I think, satisfy us that the commentators, who are unanimous though representing different and even conflicting schools of thought, are also quite right. *Sūtra* 43, in the elliptical language characteristic of that branch of our literature, says, 'A part, from the statement of difference, and the reverse also: some lay down that it is a fisherman or a cheat.' *Sūtra* 44 runs thus, 'And also from the words of the *Mantra*.' And then comes *Sūtra* 45 as set out above. It is plain, that the *Sūtra* No. 45 indicates an authority for something not specified, being regarded as part of some other thing also not

¹ I am indebted to Professor M. M. Kunte for a loan of Vallabhācārya's commentary on the *Sūtras* noted in the text. I had not seen it in 1875, when I last discussed this question.

specified. Now the discussion in previous Sûtras has been about the soul; so we can have little difficulty in accepting the unanimous interpretation of the commentators, that the proposition here sought to be made out is that the individual soul is part of the Supreme Soul, which is the proposition laid down in the Gîtâ in the passage referred to. The next Sûtra to refer to is IV, 1, 10. I shall not set forth the other relevant Sûtras here as in the preceding case. I only state that the three commentators, Saṅkara, Rāmānuga, and Madhva, agree that the Gîtâ is here referred to, namely, chapter VI, stanza 11 seq. Vallabha, however, I am bound to add, does not agree with this, as he interprets the Sûtra in question and those which precede and follow as referring to an entirely different matter. If I may be permitted to say so, however, I consider his interpretation not so satisfactory as that of the three other and older commentators. Lastly, we come to Sûtra IV, 2-19. On this, again, all the four commentators are unanimous, and they say that Gîtâ, chapter VIII, stanza 24 seq. (p. 80), is the authority referred to. And I think there can be very little doubt that they are right. These various pieces of evidence render it, I think, historically certain, that the Gîtâ must be considerably prior to the Vedānta-sûtras; and that the word Brahma-sûtras, which occurs at Gîtâ, chapter XIII, stanza 4 (p. 102), is correctly interpreted by the commentators as not referring to the Vedānta-sûtras, which are also called Brahma-sûtras, but to a different subject altogether¹. When were the Vedānta-sûtras composed? The question must at once be admitted to be a difficult one; but I think the following considerations will show that the date of those Sûtras must, at the latest, be considerably earlier than the period which we have already reached in this part of our investigation. We may take it as fairly well settled, that Bhaṭṭa Kumārila, the celebrated commentator of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā school, flourished not later than the end of the seventh century

¹ Cf. Weber's *Indian Literature*, p. 242. See also Lassen's Preface to his edition of Schlegel's Gîtâ, XXXV. Rāmānuga takes the other view.

A.C.¹ A considerable time prior to him must be placed the great commentator on the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtras*, namely, Sabarasvāmin. If we may judge from the style of his great commentary, he cannot have flourished much later than Patañjali, who may now be taken as historically proved to have flourished about 140 B.C.² Now a considerable time must have intervened between Sabarasvāmin and another commentator on the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā*, whom Sabara quotes with the highly honorific title Bhagavān, the Venerable, namely, Upavarsha. Upavarsha appears from Saṅkara's statement to have commented on the *Vedānta-sūtras*³. We have thus a long catena of works from the seventh century A.C., indicating a pretty high antiquity for the *Vedānta-sūtras*, and therefore a higher one for the *Bhagavadgītā*. The antiquity of the *Vedānta-sūtras* follows also from the circumstance, which we have on the testimony of Rāmānuga, repeated by Mādhavācārya, that a commentary on the *Sūtras* was written by Baudhāyanācārya⁴, which commentary Rāmānuga says he followed. Baudhāyana's date is not accurately settled. But he appears to be older than Āpastamba, whose date, as suggested by Dr. Bühler, has already been mentioned⁵. The *Vedānta-sūtras*, then, would appear to be at least as old as the fourth century B.C.; if the information we have from Rāmānuga may be trusted. A third argument may be mentioned, bearing on the date of the *Vedānta-sūtras*. In *Sūtra* 110 of the third *Pāda* of the fourth *Adhyāya* of Pāṇini's *Sūtras*, a Pārāsarya is mentioned as the author of a *Bhikshu-sūtra*. Who is this Pārāsarya, and what the *Bhikshu-sūtra*? Unluckily Patañjali gives us no information on this head, nor

¹ See Burnell's *Sāmavidhāna-brahmaṇa*, Introduction, p. vi note.

² The authorities are collected in our edition of *Bhārtrihari* (Bombay Series of Sanskrit Classics). Introd. p. xi note. See also Bühler's *Āpastamba* in this series, Introd. p. xxviii.

³ See Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. i, p. 332. An Upavarsha is mentioned in the *Kāthāsaritśāgara* as living in the time of king Nanda, and having Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Vyāṣi for his pupils.

⁴ See the *Rāmānuga Bhāṣya*; and the *Rāmānuga Darśana* in *Sarvadarsana-saṅgraha*.

⁵ *Āpastamba*, p. xvi.

does the *Kārikā Vṛtti*. But a note of Professor Tārānātha Tarkavāṣpati, of Calcutta, says that Pārāśarya is Vyāsa, and the Bhikshu-sūtra is the Vedānta-sūtra¹. If this is correct, the Vedānta-sūtras go very far indeed into antiquity. For Pāṇini can certainly not be assigned to a later date than the fourth century B.C., while that learned scholar, Professor Goldstücker, on grounds of considerable strength, assigned him to a much earlier date². The question thus comes to this, Is the remark of Professor Tārānātha, above set out, correct? I find then, from enquiries made of my venerable and erudite friend Yagñeśvar Sāstrin, the author of the *Āryavidyāsudhākara*, that the note of Tārānātha is based on the works of Bhaṭṭogī Dikshita, Nāgogī Bhaṭṭa, and Gṛānendra Sarasvatī, who all give the same interpretation of the Sūtra in question. It is certainly unfortunate that we have no older authority on this point than Bhaṭṭogī. The interpretation is in itself not improbable. Vyāsa is certainly by the current tradition³ called the author of the Vedānta-sūtras, and also the son of Parāśara. Nor is Bhikshu-sūtra a name too far removed in sense from Vedānta-sūtra, though doubtless the former name is not now in use, at all events as applied to the Sūtras attributed to Bādarāyaṇa, and though, it must also be stated, a Bhikshu-sūtra Bhāshya Vārtika is mentioned *eo nomine* by Professor Weber as actually in existence at the present day⁴. Taking all things together, therefore, we may provisionally understand the Bhikshu-sūtra mentioned by Pāṇini to be identical with the Vedānta-sūtras. But even apart from that identification, the other testimonies we have adduced prove, I think, the high antiquity of those Sūtras, and consequently of the Bhagavadgītā.

We have thus examined, at what, considering the importance and difficulty of the subject, will not, I trust, be regarded as unreasonable length, some of the principal pieces of internal and external evidence touching the age

¹ See *Siddhānta Kaumudī*, vol. i, p. 592.

² See his *Pāṇini*; and see also Bühler's *Āpastamba* in this series, *Introd.* p. xxxii note.

³ The correctness of this tradition is very doubtful.

⁴ *Indische Studien* I, 470.

of the Bhagavadgītā and its position in Sanskrit literature. Although, as stated at the very outset, the conclusions we have deduced in the course of that examination are not all such as at once to secure acceptance, I venture to think that we have now adequate grounds for saying, that the various and independent lines of investigation, which we have pursued, converge to this point, that the Gītā, on numerous and essential topics, ranges itself as a member of the Upanishad group, so to say, in Sanskrit literature. Its philosophy, its mode of treating its subject, its style, its language, its versification, its opinions on sundry subjects of the highest importance, all point to that one conclusion. We may also, I think, lay it down as more than probable, that the latest date at which the Gītā can have been composed, must be earlier than the third century B.C., though it is altogether impossible to say at present how much earlier. This proposition, too, is supported by the cumulative strength of several independent lines of testimony.

Before closing this Introduction, it is desirable to add a word concerning the text of the Bhagavadgītā. The religious care with which that text has been preserved is very worthy of note. Schlegel and Lassen¹ have both declared it as their opinion, that we have the text now almost exactly in the condition in which it was when it left the hands of the author. There are very few real various readings, and some of the very few that exist are noted by the commentators. Considering that the Mahābhārata must have been tampered with on numerous occasions, this preservation of the Gītā is most interesting. It doubtless indicates that high veneration for it which is still felt, and has for long been felt, by the Hindus, and which is embodied in the expression used in the colophons of the MSS. describing the Gītā as the 'Upanishad sung by God².' In view of the facts and deductions set forth in

¹ See the latter's edition of the Gītā, Preface, p. xxvii.

² In the edition of the Gītā published in Bombay in Saka 1782, there is a stanza which says that the Upanishads are the cows, *Kṛishṇa* the milkman, *Arguna* the calf, and the milk is the nectar-like Gītā, which indicates the tradi-

this essay, that expression existing as, I believe, it does, almost universally in Indian MSS. of the *Gītā*, is not altogether devoid of historical value.

Schlegel draws attention to one other circumstance regarding the text of the *Gītā*, which is also highly interesting, namely, that the number of the stanzas is exactly 700. Schlegel concludes that the author must have fixed on that number deliberately, in order to prevent, as far as he could, all subsequent interpolations¹. This is certainly not unlikely; and if the aim of the author was such as Schlegel suggests, it has assuredly been thoroughly successful. In the chapter of the *Mahābhārata* immediately succeeding the eighteenth chapter of the *Gītā*, the extent of the work in *slokas* is distinctly stated. The verses in which this is stated do not exist in the *Gauda* or *Bengal* recension, and are doubtless not genuine. But, nevertheless, they are interesting, and I shall reproduce them here. 'Kṛṣṇa spoke 620 *slokas*, Arjuna fifty-seven, Sañjaya sixty-seven, and Dhṛitarāṣṭra one *sloka*; such is the extent of the *Gītā*.' It is very difficult to account for these figures. According to them, the total number of verses in the *Gītā* would be 745, whereas the number in the current MSS., and even in the *Mahābhārata* itself, is, as already stated, only 700². I cannot suggest any explanation whatever of this discrepancy.

In conclusion, a few words may be added regarding the general principles followed in the translation contained in this volume. My aim has been to make that translation as close and literal a rendering as possible of the *Gītā*, as interpreted by the commentators Saṅkarākārya, Śrīdhara-svāmin, and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. Reference has also been frequently made to the commentary of Rāmānugākārya, and also to that of Nilakanṭha, which latter forms part of the author's general commentary on the *Mahābhārata*.

usual view of the *Gītā*—a view in consonance with that which we have been led to by the facts and arguments contained in this Introduction.

¹ P. xi (Lassen's ed.)

² Saṅkara's commentary states in so many words that the *Gītā* he used contained only 700 *slokas*.

In some places these commentators differ among themselves, and then I have made my own choice. The foot-notes are mainly intended to make clear that which necessarily remains obscure in a literal translation. Some of the notes, however, also point out the parallelisms existing between the Gītā and other works, principally the Upanishads and the Buddhistic Dhammapada and Sutta Nipāta. Of the latter I have not been able to procure the original Pāli; I have only used Sir M. C. Swamy's translation. But I may here note, that there are some verses, especially in the Salla Sutta (see pp. 124-127 of Sir M. C. Swamy's book), the similarity of which, in doctrine and expression, to some of the verses of the Gītā is particularly striking. The analogies between the Gītā and the Upanishads have been made the basis of certain conclusions in this Introduction. Those between the Gītā and these Buddhistic works are at present, to my mind, only interesting; I am unable yet to say whether they may legitimately be made the premises for any historical deductions.

There are two indexes: the first a general index of matters, the second containing the principal words in the Gītā which may prove useful or interesting for philological, historical, or other kindred purposes.

BHAGAVADGÎTÂ.

CHAPTER I.

Dhr̥itarāsh̥tra said :

What did my (people) and the Pāṇḍavas do, O Sañgaya ! when they assembled together on the holy field of Kurukshetra, desirous to do battle ?

Sañgaya said :

Seeing the army of the Pāṇḍavas drawn up in battle-array¹, the prince Duryodhana approached his preceptor, and spoke (these) words : ' O preceptor ! observe this grand army of the sons of Pāṇḍu, drawn up in battle-array by your talented pupil, the son of Drupada. In it are heroes (bearing) large bows, the equals of Bhīma and Arjuna in battle—(namely), Yuyudhāna, Virāṭa, and Drupada, the master of a great car², and Dhṛish̥aketu, Kēkitāna, and the valiant king of Kāśi, Purugit and Kuntibhoga, and that eminent man Saibya ; the heroic Yudhāmanyu, the valiant Uttamaugas, the son of Subhadṛā, and the sons of

¹ Several of these modes of array are described in Manu VII, 187, like a staff, like a wain, like a boar, &c. That of the Pāṇḍavas, here referred to, appears to have been like the thunderbolt, as to which see Manu VII, 191.

² This is a literal rendering ; the technical meaning is ' a warrior proficient in military science, who single-handed can fight a thousand archers.'

Draupadī—all masters of great cars. And now, O best of Brāhmaṇas! learn who are most distinguished among us, and are leaders of my army. I will name them to you, in order that you may know them well. Yourself, and Bhīshma, and Karṇa, and Kṛipā the victor of (many) battles; Asvatthāman, and Vikarṇa, and also the son of Somadatta, and many other brave men, who have given up their lives for me, who fight with various weapons, (and are) all dexterous in battle. Thus our army which is protected by Bhīshma is unlimited; while this army of theirs which is protected by Bhīma is very limited. And therefore do ye all, occupying respectively the positions¹ assigned to you, protect Bhīshma² only.'

Then his powerful grandsire, Bhīshma, the oldest of the Kauravas, roaring aloud like a lion, blew his conch, (thereby) affording delight to Duryodhana. And then all at once, conchs, and kettledrums, and tabors, and trumpets were played upon; and there was a tumultuous din. Then, too, Mādhava and the son of Pāṇdu (Arguna), seated in a grand chariot to which white steeds were yoked, blew their heavenly conchs. Hṛishīkeśa³ blew the Pāñḍaganya⁴, and Dhanañjaya the Devadatta, and Bhīma, (the doer) of fearful deeds, blew the great conch Paundra. King Yudhishthīra, the son of Kuntī⁵, blew the Anan-

¹ The original word means, according to Sridhara, 'the ways of entrance into a Vyūha or phalanx.'

² Who, as generalissimo, remained in the centre of the army.

³ Literally, according to the commentators, 'lord of the senses of perception.'

⁴ Schlegel renders the names of these conchs by Gigantea, Theodotes, Arundinea, Triumphatrix, Dulcisona, and Gemmiflorea respectively.

⁵ So called, *par excellence*, apparently.

tavigaya, and Nakula and Sahadeva (respectively) the Sughosha and Manipushpaka. And the king of Kâsi, too, who has an excellent bow, and Sikhanḍin, the master of a great car, and Dhṛishṭadyumna, Virāṭa, and the unconquered Sâtyaki, and Drupada, and the sons of Draupadi, and the son of Subhadrâ, of mighty arms, blew conchs severally from all sides, O king of the earth! That tumultuous din rent the hearts of all (the people) of Dhṛitarâshṭra's (party), causing reverberations throughout heaven and earth. Then seeing (the people of) Dhṛitarâshṭra's party regularly marshalled, the son of Pându, whose standard is the ape, raised his bow¹, after the discharge of missiles had commenced, and O king of the earth! spake these words to Hṛishīkeśa: 'O undegraded one! station my chariot between the two armies, while I observe those, who stand here desirous to engage in battle, and with whom, in the labours of this struggle, I must do battle. I will observe those who are assembled here and who are about to engage in battle, wishing to do service in battle² to the evil-minded son of Dhṛitarâshṭra.'

Saṅgaya said:

Thus addressed by Gudâkeśa³, O descendant of Bharata⁴! Hṛishīkeśa stationed that excellent chariot between the two armies, in front of Bhīshma

¹ I.e. to join in the fight.

² In the original, several derivatives from the root yudh, meaning 'to fight,' occur with the same frequency as 'battle' here.

³ Generally interpreted 'lord of sleep,' i.e. not indolent. Nilakanṭha also suggests, that it may mean 'of thick hair.'

⁴ The son of Dushyanta and Sakuntalâ, after whom India is called 'Bhāratavarsha,' and from whom both Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas were descended.

and Drona and of all the kings of the earth, and said : 'O son of Prithā! look at these assembled Kauravas.' There the son of Prithā saw in both armies, fathers and grandfathers, preceptors, maternal uncles, brothers, sons¹, grandsons, companions, fathers-in-law, as well as friends. And seeing all those kinsmen standing (there), the son of Kuntī was overcome by excessive pity, and spake thus despondingly.

Arguna said :

Seeing these kinsmen, 'O Krishna! standing (here) anxious to engage in battle, my limbs droop down; my mouth is quite dried up; a tremor comes over my body; and my hairs stand on end; the Gāndīva (bow) slips from my hand; my skin burns intensely. I am unable, too, to stand up; my mind whirls round, as it were; O Kesava! I see adverse omens²; and I do not perceive any good (likely to accrue) after killing (my) kinsmen in the battle. I do not wish for victory, O Krishna! nor sovereignty, nor pleasures: what is sovereignty to us, O Govinda! what enjoyments, and even life? Even those, for whose sake we desire sovereignty, enjoyments, and pleasures, are standing here for battle, abandoning life and wealth—preceptors, fathers, sons as well as grandfathers, maternal uncles, fathers-in-law, grandsons, brothers-in-law, as also (other) relatives. These I do not wish to kill, though they kill (me), O destroyer of Madhu³! even for the sake of sovereignty over

¹ The words in this list include all standing in similar relationships to those directly signified.

² Such as the appearance of vultures, cars moving without horses, &c., mentioned in the Bhīshma Parvan II, 17. Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 100.

³ A demon of this name.

the three worlds, how much less then for this earth (alone)? What joy shall be ours, O *Ganârdana*! after killing *Dhṛitarâshṭra*'s sons? Killing these felons¹ we shall only incur sin. Therefore it is not proper for us to kill our own kinsmen, the sons of *Dhṛitarâshṭra*. For how, O *Mâdhava*! shall we be happy after killing our own relatives? Although they have their consciences corrupted by avarice, they do not see the evils flowing from the extinction of a family, and the sin in treachery to friends; still, O *Ganârdana*! should not we, who do see the evils flowing from the extinction of a family, learn to refrain from that sin? On the extinction of a family, the eternal rites of families are destroyed². Those rites being destroyed, impiety predominates over the whole family³. In consequence of the predominance of impiety, O *Krishna*! the women of the family become corrupt⁴; and the women becoming corrupt, O descendant of *Vṛishni*! intermingling of castes results; that intermingling necessarily leads the family and the destroyers of the family to hell; for when the ceremonies of (offering) the balls of food and water (to them) fail⁵, their ancestors fall down (to hell). By these transgressions of the destroyers of families, which occasion interminglings of castes, the eternal rites of castes and rites of families are

¹ Six classes are mentioned: an incendiary; one who administers poison; one who assaults another—weapon in hand; one who destroys property; one who robs another of his wife; or his fields.

² I.e. there being none to attend to the 'rites,' women being ineligible.

³ I.e. the surviving members.

⁴ I.e. either by the mere fact of relationship to such men, or by following their bad example.

⁵ There being no qualified person to perform them; 'their ancestors'—that is to say, of the 'destroyers of families.'

subverted. And O Ganârdana! we have heard that men whose family-rites are subverted, must necessarily live in hell. Alas! we are engaged in committing a heinous sin, seeing that we are making efforts for killing our own kinsmen out of greed of the pleasures of sovereignty. If the sons of Dhṛita-râshṭra, weapon in hand, were to kill me in battle, me being weaponless and not defending (myself), that would be better for me.

Saṅgaya said :

Having spoken thus, Arguna cast aside his bow together with the arrows, on the battle-field, and sat down in (his) chariot, with a mind agitated by grief.

CHAPTER II.

Saṅgaya said :

To him, who was thus overcome with pity, and dejected, and whose eyes were full of tears and turbid, the destroyer of Madhu spoke these words.

The Deity said :

How (comes it that) this delusion, O Arguna! which is discarded by the good, which excludes from heaven, and occasions infamy, has overtaken you in this (place of) peril? Be not effeminate, O son of Prithâ! it is not worthy of you. Cast off this base weakness of heart, and arise, O terror of (your) foes!

Arguna said :

How, O destroyer of Madhu! shall I encounter with arrows in the battle Bhīshma and Drona—both, O destroyer of enemies! entitled to reverence?

Without killing (my) preceptors—(men) of great glory—it is better to live even on alms in this world. But if killing them, though they are avaricious of worldly goods, I should only enjoy blood-tainted enjoyments. Nor do we know which of the two is better for us—whether that we should vanquish them, or that they should vanquish us. Even those, whom having killed, we do not wish to live—even those sons of *Dhṛitarāshṭra* stand (arrayed) against us. With a heart contaminated by the taint of helplessness¹, with a mind confounded about my duty, I ask you. Tell me what is assuredly good for me. I am your disciple; instruct me, who have thrown myself on your (indulgence). For I do not perceive what is to dispel that grief which will dry up my organs² after I shall have obtained a prosperous kingdom on earth without a foe, or even the sovereignty of the gods³.

Saṅgaya said :

Having spoken thus to *Hṛishīkeśa*, O terror of (your) foes! *Gudākeśa* said to *Govinda*, 'I shall not engage in battle;' and verily remained silent. To him thus desponding between the two armies, O descendant of *Bharata*! *Hṛishīkeśa* spoke these words with a slight smile.

The Deity said :

You have grieved for those who deserve no grief,

¹ The commentators say that 'heart' here signifies the dispositions which are stated in chapter XVIII *infra*, p. 126. The feeling of 'helplessness' is incompatible with what is there stated as the proper disposition for a Kshatriya.

² I.e. by the heat of vexation; the meaning is, 'which will cause constant vexation of spirit.'

³ I.e. if the means employed are the sinful acts referred to.

and you speak words of wisdom¹. Learned men grieve not for the living nor the dead. Never did I not exist, nor you, nor these rulers of men; nor will any one of us ever hereafter cease to be. As in this body, infancy and youth and old age (come) to the embodied (self)², so does the acquisition of another body; a sensible man is not deceived about that. The contacts of the senses³, O son of Kuntl! which produce cold and heat, pleasure and pain, are not permanent, they are for ever coming and going. Bear them, O descendant of Bharata! For, O chief of men! that sensible man whom they⁴ afflict not, (pain and pleasure being alike to him), he merits immortality. There is no existence for that which is unreal; there is no non-existence for that which is real. And the (correct) conclusion about both⁵ is perceived by those who perceive the truth. Know that to be indestructible which pervades all this; the destruction of that inexhaustible (principle) none can bring about. These bodies appertaining to the embodied (self) which is eternal, indestructible, and indefinable, are declared⁶ to be perishable; therefore do engage in battle, O descendant of Bharata! He who thinks one to be the killer and he who thinks

¹ Scil. regarding family-rites. &c., for, says Nīlakanṭha, they indicate knowledge of soul as distinct from body.

² A common word in the Gītā, that which presides over each individual body.

³ Scil. with external objects.

⁴ I.e. the 'contacts.'

⁵ The sense is this—there are two things apparently, the soul which is indestructible, and the feelings of pain &c. which 'come and go.' The true philosopher knows that the former only is real and exists; and that the latter is unreal and non-existent. He therefore does not mind the latter.

⁶ Scil. by those who are possessed of true knowledge.

one to be killed, both know nothing. He kills not, is not killed¹. He is not born, nor does he ever die, nor, having existed, does he exist no more. Unborn, everlasting, unchangeable, and very ancient, he is not killed when the body is killed². O son of Prithā! how can that man who knows the self thus to be indestructible, everlasting, unborn, and imperishable, kill any one, or cause any one to be killed? As a man, casting off old clothes, puts on others and new ones, so the embodied (self), casting off old bodies, goes to others and new ones. Weapons do not divide the self (into pieces); fire does not burn it; waters do not moisten it; the wind does not dry it up. It is not divisible; it is not combustible; it is not to be moistened; it is not to be dried up. It is everlasting, all-pervading, stable, firm, and eternal³. It is said to be unperceived, to be unthinkable, to be unchangeable. Therefore knowing it to be such, you ought not to grieve. But even if you think that the self is constantly born, and constantly dies, still, O you of mighty arms! you ought not to grieve thus. For to one that is born, death is certain; and to one that dies, birth is certain⁴. Therefore about (this)

¹ Cf. Kaṭha-upanishad, p. 104. ² Kaṭha-upanishad, pp. 103, 104.

³ 'Eternal.' Nilakanṭha explains this by 'unlimited by time, place,' &c. Saṅkara and others as 'uncreated,' 'without cause.' Stable = not assuming new forms; firm = not abandoning the original form. (Śrīdhara.) The latter signifies a slight change; the former a total change.

⁴ Cf. the following from the Sutta Nipāta (Sir M. C. Swamy's translation), pp. 124, 125: 'There is, indeed, no means by which those born could be prevented from dying.' 'Even thus the world is afflicted with death and decay; therefore wise men, knowing the course of things in the world, do not give way to grief.'

unavoidable thing, you ought not to grieve. The source of things, O descendant of Bharata! is unperceived; their middle state is perceived; and their end again is unperceived. What (occasion is there for any) lamentation regarding them¹? One looks upon it² as a wonder; another similarly speaks of it as a wonder; another too hears of it as a wonder; and even after having heard of it, no one does really know it³. This embodied (self), O descendant of Bharata! within every one's body is ever indestructible. Therefore you ought not to grieve for any being. Having regard to your own duty also, you ought not to falter, for there is nothing better for a Kshatriya⁴ than a righteous battle. Happy those Kshatriyas, O son of Prithā! who can find such a battle (to fight)—come of itself⁵—an open door to heaven! But if you will not fight this righteous battle, then you will have abandoned your own duty and your fame, and you will incur sin. All beings, too, will tell of your everlasting infamy; and to one who has been honoured, infamy is (a) greater (evil) than death. (Warriors who are) masters of great cars will think that you abstained from the battle through fear, and having been highly thought of by them, you will fall down to littleness. Your enemies, too, decrying your power, will speak much about you that should not be spoken. And what, indeed, more lamentable than that? Killed,

¹ Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 125. 'In vain do you grieve, not knowing well the two ends of him whose manner either of coming or going you know not.'

² I. e. the self spoken of above.

³ Kaṭha-upanishad, p. 96.

⁴ One of the warrior caste.

⁵ Without any effort, that is to say, of one's own.

you will obtain heaven ; victorious, you will enjoy the earth. Therefore arise, O son of Kuntī ! resolved to (engage in) battle. Looking on pleasure and pain, on gain and loss, on victory and defeat as the same, prepare for battle, and thus you will not incur sin. The knowledge here declared to you is that relating to the Sāṅkhya¹. Now hear that relating to the Yoga. Possessed of this knowledge, O son of Prithā ! you will cast off the bonds of action. In this (path to final emancipation) nothing that is commenced becomes abortive ; no obstacles exist ; and even a little of this (form of) piety protects one from great danger². There is here³, O descendant of Kuru ! but one state of mind consisting in firm understanding. But the states of mind of those who have no firm understanding are manifold and endless. The state of mind which consists in firm understanding regarding steady contemplation⁴ does not belong to those, O son of Prithā ! who are strongly attached to (worldly) pleasures and power, and whose minds are drawn away by that flowery talk which is full of (the ordinances of) specific acts for the attainment of (those) pleasures and (that) power, and which promises birth as the fruit of acts⁵—(that flowery

¹ Sāṅkhya is explained in different modes by the different commentators, but the meaning here seems to be, that the doctrine stated is the doctrine of true knowledge and of emancipation by means of it. See *infra*, p. 52.

² Viz. this mortal mundane life.

³ I.e. for those who enter on this 'path.'

⁴ I.e. of the supreme Being ; Yoga meaning really the dedication of all acts to that Being.

⁵ See *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 4.

talk) which those unwise ones utter, who are enamoured of Vedic words, who say there is nothing else, who are full of desires, and whose goal is heaven¹. The Vedas (merely) relate to the effects of the three qualities²; do you, O Arguna! rise above those effects of the three qualities, and be free from the pairs of opposites³, always preserve courage⁴, be free from anxiety for new acquisitions or protection of old acquisitions, and be self-controlled⁵. To the instructed Brāhmaṇa, there is in all the Vedas as much utility as in a reservoir of water into which waters flow from all sides⁶. Your business is with action alone; not by any means with fruit. Let not the fruit of action be your motive (to action). Let not your attachment be (fixed) on inaction⁷. Having recourse to devotion, O Dhanañjaya! perform actions, casting off (all) attachment, and being equable in success or ill-success; (such) equability is called devotion. Action,

¹ This is a merely temporary good, and not therefore deserving to be aspired to before final emancipation.

² I.e. the whole course of worldly affairs. As to qualities, see chapter XIV.

³ Heat and cold, pain and pleasure, and so forth. Cf. Manu I, 26.

⁴ Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 17 and other places.

⁵ Keeping the mind from worldly objects.

⁶ The meaning here is not easily apprehended. I suggest the following explanation:—Having said that the Vedas are concerned with actions for special benefits, *Kṛishṇa* compares them to a reservoir which provides water for various special purposes, drinking, bathing, &c. The Vedas similarly prescribe particular rites and ceremonies for going to heaven, or destroying an enemy, &c. But, says *Kṛishṇa*, man's duty is merely to perform the actions prescribed for him, and not entertain desires for the special benefits named. The stanza occurs in the Sanatsugātiya, too.

⁷ Doing nothing at all.

O Dhanañjaya! is far inferior to the devotion of the mind. In that devotion seek shelter. Wretched are those whose motive (to action) is the fruit (of action). He who has obtained devotion in this world casts off both merit and sin¹. Therefore apply yourself to devotion; devotion in (all) actions is wisdom. The wise who have obtained devotion cast off the fruit of action; and released from the shackles of (repeated) births², repair to that seat where there is no unhappiness³. When your mind shall have crossed beyond the taint of delusion, then will you become indifferent to all that you have heard or will hear⁴. When your mind, that was confounded by what you have heard⁵, will stand firm and steady in contemplation⁶, then will you acquire devotion.

Arguna said :

What are the characteristics, O Kesava! of one whose mind is steady, and who is intent on contemplation? How should one of a steady mind speak, how sit, how move?

The Deity said :

When a man, O son of Prithā! abandons all the desires of his heart, and is pleased in his self only

¹ Merit merely leads to heaven, as to which see note on last page. Cf. Sutta Nipāta, pp. 4, 136, 145 note.

² Sutta Nipāta, pp. 3-7, &c.

³ Sutta Nipāta, p. 21.

⁴ This, according to Ānandagiri, means all writings other than those on the science of the soul.

⁵ I.e. about the means for the acquisition of various desired things.

⁶ I.e. of the soul (Saṅkara), of the supreme Being (Śrīdhara). Substantially they both mean the same thing.

and by his self¹, he is then called of a steady mind. He whose heart is not agitated in the midst of calamities, who has no longing for pleasures, and from whom (the feelings of) affection, fear, and wrath² have departed, is called a sage of a steady mind. His mind is steady, who, being without attachments anywhere, feels no exultation and no aversion on encountering the various agreeable and disagreeable³ (things of this world). A man's mind is steady, when he withdraws his senses from (all) objects of sense, as the tortoise (withdraws) its limbs from all sides. Objects of sense withdraw themselves from a person who is abstinent; not so the taste (for those objects). But even the taste departs from him, when he has seen the Supreme⁴. The boisterous senses, O son of Kuntl! carry away by force the mind even of a wise man, who exerts himself (for final emancipation). Restraining them all, a man should remain engaged in devotion, making me his only resort. For his mind is steady whose senses are under his control. The man who ponders over objects of sense forms an attachment to them; from (that) attachment is produced desire; and from desire anger is produced⁵; from anger results want of discrimination⁶; from want of dis-

¹ I. e. pleased, without regard to external objects, by self-contemplation alone.

² Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 3.

³ The word *subhāsubha* in this sense also occurs in the Dhammapada, stanza 78, and in the Maitrī-upanishad, p. 34.

⁴ See on this, Wilson's Essays on Sanskrit Literature, vol. iii, p. 130.

⁵ I. e. when the desire is frustrated.

⁶ I. e. between right and wrong. Confusion of memory = forgetfulness of Sāstras and rules prescribed in them.

crimination, confusion of the memory ; from confusion of the memory, loss of reason ; and in consequence of loss of reason he is utterly ruined. But the self-restrained man who moves among¹ objects with senses under the control of his own self, and free from affection and aversion, obtains tranquillity². When there is tranquillity, all his miseries are destroyed, for the mind of him whose heart is tranquil soon becomes steady. He who is not self-restrained has no steadiness of mind ; nor has he who is not self-restrained perseverance³ in the pursuit of self-knowledge ; there is no tranquillity for him who does not persevere in the pursuit of self-knowledge ; and whence can there be happiness for one who is not tranquil ? For the heart which follows the rambling senses leads away his judgment, as the wind leads a boat astray upon the waters. Therefore, O you of mighty arms ! his mind is steady whose senses are restrained on all sides from objects of sense. The self-restrained man is awake, when it is night for all beings ; and when all beings are awake, that is the night of the right-seeing sage⁴. He into whom all objects of desire enter, as waters enter the ocean, which, (though) replenished, (still) keeps its position unmoved,—he only obtains tranquillity ; not he who desires (those) objects of desire. The man who,

¹ Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 45.

² Cf. Maitri-upanishad, p. 134, where the commentator explains it to mean freedom from desires.

³ For a somewhat similar use of the word bhāvanā in this sense, comp. Dhammapada, stanza 301.

⁴ Spiritual matters are dark as night to the common run of men, while they are wide awake in all worldly pursuits. With the sage the case is exactly the reverse.

casting off all desires, lives free from attachments, who is free from egoism¹, and from (the feeling that this or that is) mine², obtains tranquillity. This, O son of *Prithâ*! is the Brahmic³ state; attaining to this, one is never deluded; and remaining in it in (one's) last moments, one attains (*brahma-nirvâna*) the Brahmic bliss⁴.

CHAPTER III.

Arguna said :

If, O *Ganârdana*! devotion is deemed by you to be superior to action, then why, O *Kesava*! do you prompt me to (this) fearful action? You seem, indeed, to confuse my mind by equivocal words. Therefore, declare one thing determinately, by which I may attain the highest good.

The Deity said :

O sinless one! I have already declared, that in this world there is a twofold path⁵—that of the *Sâṅkhyas* by devotion in the shape of (true) knowledge; and that of the *Yogins* by devotion in the shape of action. A man does not attain freedom from action⁶ merely by not engaging in action; nor does he attain perfection⁷ by mere⁸ renunciation. For nobody ever remains even for an instant without

¹ Either pride or, better, the false notion mentioned *infra*, p. 55.

² An almost identical expression occurs in the *Dhammapada*, stanza 367, and *Maitrî-upanishad*, p. 37.

³ The state of identification of oneself with the Brahman, which results from a correct knowledge of the Brahman.

⁴ *Infra*, p. 66.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 47.

⁶ I.e., according to *Saṅkara*, identification of oneself with Brahman.

⁷ Final emancipation.

⁸ I.e. not coupled with knowledge and purity of heart.

performing some action ; since the qualities of nature constrain everybody, not having free-will (in the matter), to some action ¹. The deluded man who, restraining the organs of action ², continues to think in his mind about objects of sense, is called a hypocrite. But he, O Arguna ! who restraining his senses by his mind ³, and being free from attachments, engages in devotion (in the shape) of action, with the organs of action, is far superior. Do you perform prescribed action, for action is better than inaction, and the support of your body, too, cannot be accomplished with inaction. This world is fettered by all action other than action for the purpose of the sacrifice ⁴. Therefore, O son of Kuntl ! do you, casting off attachment, perform action for that purpose. The Creator, having in olden times created men together with the sacrifice, said : ' Propagate with this. May it be the giver to you of the things you desire. Please the gods with this, and may those gods please you. Pleasing each other, you will attain the highest good. For pleased with the sacrifices, the gods will give you the enjoyments you desire. And he who enjoys himself without giving them what they have given, is, indeed, a thief.' The good, who eat the leavings of a sacrifice, are released from all sins. But the unrighteous ones, who prepare food for themselves only, incur sin ⁵.

¹ Cf. *infra*, pp. 122-128.

² Hands, feet, &c.

³ By means of true discrimination keeping the senses from attachments to worldly objects, which lead to sin and evil.

⁴ Cf. *infra*, pp. 60, 61. Probably the 'sacrifices' spoken of in that passage must be taken to be the same as those referred to in the Creator's injunction mentioned in this passage.

⁵ Cf. *Maitri-upanishad*, p. 143.

From food are born (all) creatures ; from rain is the production of food ; rain is produced by sacrifices ; sacrifices are the result of action ; know that action has its source in the Vedas ; the Vedas come from the Indestructible. Therefore the all-comprehending Vedas are always concerned with sacrifices¹. He who in this world does not turn round the wheel revolving thus, is of sinful life, indulging his senses, and, O son of *Prithā* ! he lives in vain. But the man who is attached to his self only, who is contented in his self, and is pleased with his self², has nothing to do. He has no interest at all in what is done, and none whatever in what is not done, in this world³ ; nor is any interest of his dependent on any being. Therefore⁴ always perform action, which must be performed, without attachment. For a man, performing action without attachment, attains the Supreme. By action alone, did *Ganaka* and the rest work for perfection⁵. And having regard also to the keeping of people (to their duties) you should perform action. Whatever a great man does, that other men also do. And people follow whatever he receives as authority. There is nothing, O son of *Prithā* ! for me to do in (all) the three worlds,

¹ The commentators explain this to mean that though the Vedas elucidate all matters, their principal subject is the sacrifice.

² The distinctions here are rather nice,—an ordinary man is ‘attached’ to worldly objects, is ‘contented’ with goods &c., and is ‘pleased’ with special gains.

³ No good or evil accrues to him from anything he does or omits to do.

⁴ *Srīdhara* says that *Arguna* is here told to perform action, as freedom from it is only for the man of true knowledge, which *Arguna* is not as yet.

⁵ I. e. final emancipation ; cf. p. 59 *infra*, and *Īsopanishad*, p. 6.

nothing to acquire which has not been acquired. Still I do engage in action. For should I at any time not engage without sloth in action, men would follow in my path from all sides, O son of Prithā! If I did not perform actions, these worlds would be destroyed, I should be the cause of caste-interminglings; and I should be ruining these people. As the ignorant act, O descendant of Bharata! with attachment to action, so should a wise man act without attachment, wishing to keep the people (to their duties). A wise man should not shake the convictions of the ignorant who are attached to action, but acting with devotion (himself) should make them apply themselves to all action. He whose mind is deluded by egoism thinks himself the doer of the actions, which, in every way, are done by the qualities of nature¹. But he, O you of mighty arms! who knows the truth about the difference from qualities and the difference from actions², forms no attachments, believing that qualities deal with qualities³. But those who are deluded by the qualities of nature form attachments to the actions of the qualities⁴. A man of perfect knowledge should not shake these men of imperfect knowledge (in their convictions). Dedicating all actions to me with a mind knowing the relation of the supreme and individual self, engage in battle without

¹ The active principle is nature, the aggregate of the three qualities; the soul is only the looker-on; cf. *inter alia*, p. 104 *infra*.

² Scil. the difference of the soul from the collection of qualities, viz. the body, senses, &c., and from the actions of which they are the authors.

³ Qualities (i. e. senses) deal with qualities, i. e. objects of sense.

⁴ I. e. all mundane affairs.

desire, without (any feeling that this or that is) mine, and without any mental trouble¹. Even those men who always act on this opinion of mine, full of faith, and without carping, are released from all actions. But those who carp at my opinion and do not act upon it, know them to be devoid of discrimination, deluded as regards all knowledge², and ruined. Even a man of knowledge acts consonantly to his own nature³. All beings follow nature. What will restraint effect? Every sense has its affections and aversions towards its objects fixed. One should not become subject to them, for they are one's opponents⁴. One's own duty, though defective, is better than another's duty well performed. Death in (performing) one's own duty is preferable; the (performance of the) duty of others is dangerous.

Arguna said :

But by whom, O descendant of *Vrishni*! is man impelled, even though unwilling, and, as it were, constrained by force, to commit sin?

¹ About the consequences of your actions.

² Of actions, or of the Brahman in its various forms.

³ Which is the result of the virtues and vices of a preceding life. The sequence of ideas here is as follows:—The true view stated here about the 'difference from qualities and actions' is disregarded by some, owing to their 'nature' as now explained. Then the question is, If nature is so potent, what is the good of the *Sāstras*? The answer is, Nature only acts through our likes and dislikes. Withstand them and then you can follow the *Sāstras*. It is under the influence of these likes and dislikes, that some may say, we shall practise duties prescribed for others (our own being bad ones) as they are equally prescribed by the *Sāstras*. That, as stated in the last sentence here, is wrong.

⁴ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 101, as to 'likings and dislikings.'

The Deity said :

It is desire, it is wrath¹, born from the quality of passion ; it is very ravenous, very sinful. Know that that is the foe in this world. As fire is enveloped by smoke, a mirror by dust, the fœtus by the womb, so is this² enveloped by desire. Knowledge, O son of Kuntī! is enveloped by this constant foe of the man of knowledge, in the shape of desire, which is like a fire³ and insatiable. The senses, the mind, and the understanding are said to be its seat⁴; with these it deludes the embodied (self) after enveloping knowledge. Therefore, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! first restrain your senses, then cast off this sinful thing which destroys knowledge and experience⁵. It has been said⁶, Great are the senses, greater than the senses is the mind, greater than the mind is the understanding. What is greater than the understanding is that⁷. Thus knowing that which is higher than the understanding, and restraining (your)self by (your)self, O you of

¹ Vide p. 50 supra.

² I.e. knowledge, mentioned in the next sentence, for which construction p. 71 and p. 98 may be compared.

³ Which becomes more powerful the more it is fed.

⁴ The mind is that which ponders over things as such or such ; the understanding is that which finally determines (cf. Lewes' History of Philosophy, II, 463-465). These and the senses are the 'seat' of desire, because the perception of an object by the sense, the pondering over it by the mind, and the determination about it by the understanding are the preliminaries to the awakening of the desire ; supra, p. 50.

⁵ Knowledge is from books or teachers, experience is the result of personal perception.

⁶ Ka/hopanishad, p. 114 ; and see also pp. 148, 149.

⁷ I. e. the supreme Being, as in the Ka/hopanishad.

mighty arms! destroy this unmanageable enemy in the shape of desire.

CHAPTER IV.

The Deity said :

This everlasting ¹ (system of) devotion I declared to the sun, the sun declared it to Manu ², and Manu communicated it to Ikshvâku. Coming thus by steps, it became known to royal sages. But, O terror of (your) foes! that devotion was lost to the world by long (lapse of) time. That same primeval devotion I have declared to you to-day, seeing that you are my devotee and friend, for it is the highest mystery.

Arguna said :

Later is your birth ; the birth of the sun is prior. How then shall I understand that you declared (this) first ?

The Deity said :

I have passed through many births, O Arguna! and you also. I know them all, but you, O terror of (your) foes! do not know them. Even though I am unborn and inexhaustible in (my) essence, even though I am lord of all beings, still I take up the control of my own nature ³, and am born by

¹ Because its fruit is imperishable, viz. final emancipation.

² In the *Kândogya-upanishad*, Manu is the channel of communication for some doctrine taught by Pragâpati, which Manu teaches the 'people,' interpreted by Sâṅkara to mean Ikshvâku, &c. (p. 178 ; see too p. 625).

³ Nature is what goes to the formation of the material form in which he is born; the 'power' includes knowledge, omnipotence, &c. It is delusive because he is still really 'unborn.'

means of my delusive power. Whensoever, O descendant of Bharata! piety languishes, and impiety is in the ascendant, I create myself. I am born age after age, for the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil-doers, and the establishment of piety. Whoever truly knows thus my divine birth and work, casts off (this) body and is not born again. He comes to me, O Arguna! Many from whom affection, fear¹, and wrath have departed, who are full of me, who depend on me, and who are purified by the penance of knowledge², have come into my essence. I serve men in the way in which they approach me³. In every way, O son of Prithâ! men follow in my path⁴. Desiring the success of actions⁵, men in this world worship the divinities, for in this world of mortals, the success produced by action is soon obtained. The fourfold division of castes was created by me according to the apportionment of qualities and duties. But though I am its author, know me to be inexhaustible, and not the author. Actions defile me not. I have no attachment to the fruit of actions. He who knows me thus is not tied down by actions. Knowing this, the men of old who wished for final emancipation, performed action. Therefore do you, too, perform action as was done by men of old in olden times. Even sages are confused as to what is

¹ Cf. Sutta Nipâta, p. 73.

² Cf. infra, p. 61.

³ I. e. I give to each worshipper what is proper for him.

⁴ The original words used here occur before in a different sense (see p. 55). Here the meaning is that to whomsoever directly addressed, all worship is worship of me (see p. 84). In the whole passage, Krishna says that the Deity is not chargeable with partiality on account of the variety of human qualities and states.

⁵ Such as acquisition of sons, cattle, &c.

action, what inaction. Therefore I will speak to you about action, and learning that, you will be freed from (this world of) evil. One must possess knowledge about action ; one must also possess knowledge about prohibited action ; and again one must possess knowledge about inaction. The truth regarding action is abstruse. He is wise among men, he is possessed of devotion, and performs all actions ¹, who sees inaction in action, and action in inaction. The wise call him learned, whose acts are all free from desires and fancies, and whose actions are burnt down by the fire of knowledge. Forsaking all attachment to the fruit of action, always contented, dependent on none, he does nothing at all, though he engages in action. Devoid of expectations, restraining the mind and the self, and casting off all belongings ², he incurs no sin, performing actions merely for the sake of the body ³. Satisfied with earnings coming spontaneously ⁴, rising above the pairs of opposites, free from all animosity, and equable on success or ill-success, he is not fettered down, even though he performs (actions). The acts of one who is devoid of attachment, who is free ⁵, whose mind is fixed on knowledge, and who performs action for (the purpose of) the sacrifice ⁶ are all

¹ Devoted though performing all actions.

² 'Appropriating nothing,' at Sutta Nipāta, p. 101, seems to be the same idea. 'Self' just before this means senses.

³ Preferably, perhaps, 'with the body only.' But Sāṅkara rejects this.

⁴ Cf. *infra*, p. 101 ; and Sutta Nipāta, p. 12.

⁵ The commentators vary in their interpretations of this word (*mukta*), but the common point appears to be 'free from attachment to worldly concerns.' Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 8.

⁶ Sacrifice here apparently means every act for the attainment of

destroyed. Brahman is the oblation ; with Brahman (as a sacrificial instrument) it is offered up ; Brahman is in the fire ; and by Brahman it is thrown ; and Brahman, too, is the goal to which he proceeds who meditates on Brahman in the action ¹. Some devotees perform the sacrifice to the gods, some offer up the sacrifice by the sacrifice itself in the fire of Brahman ². Others offer up the senses, such as the sense of hearing and others, in the fires of restraint ³ ; others offer up the objects of sense, such as sound and so forth, into the fires of the senses ⁴. Some again offer up all the operations of the senses and the operations of the life-breaths into the fire of devotion by self-restraint ⁵, kindled by knowledge. Others perform the sacrifice of wealth, the sacrifice of penance, the sacrifice of concentration of mind, the sacrifice of Vedic study ⁶, and of knowledge, and others are ascetics of rigid vows. Some offer up the upward life-breath into the downward life-breath, and the downward life-breath into the upper life-breath, and stopping up the motions of the upward and downward life-breaths, devote themselves to the restraint of the life-breaths ⁷. Others, who (take)

the supreme ; cf. *supra*, p. 53. In *Ārvalāyana Gr̥hya-sūtra* I, 1, 5, a text is cited meaning 'salutation verily is a sacrifice.'

¹ This thorough identification with the Brahman explains why the action is 'destroyed' and does not 'fetter' the doer.

² I. e. all acts, religious and other, offered up to the Brahman in the mode above stated.

³ Practise 'yoga' and other like exercises.

⁴ Remaining unattached to sensuous enjoyments.

⁵ Stopping the bodily operations mentioned, and engaging in contemplation.

⁶ This is called *Brahmayagñā*, *Ārvalāyana Gr̥hya-sūtra* III, 1, 3.

⁷ *Maitrī-ūpanishad*, p. 129.

limited food, offer up the life-breaths into the life-breaths. All of these, conversant with the sacrifice, have their sins destroyed by the sacrifice. Those who eat the nectar-like leavings of the sacrifice repair to the eternal Brahman¹. This world is not for those who perform no sacrifice, whence (then) the other, O best of the Kauravas! Thus sacrifices of various sorts are laid down in the Vedas. Know them all to be produced from action², and knowing this you will be released (from the fetters of this world). The sacrifice of knowledge, O terror of (your) foes! is superior to the sacrifice of wealth, for action, O son of *Prithâ*! is wholly and entirely comprehended in knowledge. That³ you should learn by salutation, question, and service⁴. The men of knowledge who perceive the truth will teach knowledge to you. Having learnt that, O son of *Pāṇdu*! you will not again fall thus into delusion; and by means of it, you will see all beings, without exception, first in yourself, and then in me⁵. Even if you are the most sinful of all sinful men, you will cross over all trespasses by means of the boat of knowledge alone. As a fire well kindled, O *Arguna*! reduces fuel to ashes, so the fire of knowledge reduces all actions to ashes⁶. For there is in this world no means of sanctification like knowledge⁷, and that one perfected by devotion finds

¹ Supra, p. 53.

² Operations of mind, senses, &c.; cf. supra, p. 54.

³ I. e. knowledge.

⁴ Addressed to men of knowledge. Cf. *Mundakopaniṣad*, p. 282.

⁵ The essential unity of the supreme and individual soul and the whole universe. Cf. *Īsopaniṣad*, pp. 13, 14.

⁶ Supra, p. 60.

⁷ *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 48.

within one's self in time. He who has faith, whose senses are restrained, and who is assiduous, obtains knowledge¹. Obtaining knowledge, he acquires, without delay, the highest tranquillity. He who is ignorant and devoid of faith, and whose self is full of misgivings, is ruined. Not this world, not the next, nor happiness, is for him whose self is full of misgivings. Actions, O Dhanañgaya! do not fetter one who is self-possessed², who has renounced action by devotion, and who has destroyed misgivings by knowledge. Therefore, O descendant of Bharata! destroy, with the sword of knowledge, these misgivings of yours which fill your mind, and which are produced from ignorance. Engage in devotion. Arise!

CHAPTER V.

Arguna said :

O *Krishna*! you praise renunciation of actions and also the pursuit (of them). Tell me determinately which one of these two is superior.

The Deity said :

Renunciation and pursuit of action are both instruments of happiness. But of the two, pursuit of action is superior to renunciation of action. He should be understood to be always an ascetic³, who has no aversion and no desire. For, O you of mighty arms! he who is free from the pairs of opposites is easily released from (all) bonds. Children—not wise men—talk of *sāṅkhya* and *yoga* as dis-

¹ *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 49.

² Cautious, free from heedlessness.

³ I. e. one who has performed 'renunciation.'

tinct. One who pursues either well obtains the fruit of both. The seat which the sâṅkhyas obtain is reached by the yogas¹ also. He sees (truly), who sees the sâṅkhyā and yoga as one. Renunciation, O you of mighty arms! is difficult to reach without devotion; the sage possessed of devotion attains Brahman² without delay. He who is possessed of devotion, whose self is pure, who has restrained his self³, and who has controlled his senses, and who identifies his self with every being, is not tainted though he performs (actions). The man of devotion, who knows the truth, thinks he does nothing at all, when he sees⁴, hears, touches, smells, eats, moves, sleeps, breathes, talks, throws out⁵, takes, opens or closes the eyelids; he holds that the senses deal with the objects of the senses. He who, casting off (all) attachment, performs actions dedicating them to Brahman, is not tainted by sin, as the lotus-leaf⁶ (is not tainted) by water. Devotees, casting off attachment, perform actions for attaining purity of self, with the body, the mind, the understanding, or even the senses⁷—(all) free (from

¹ Those who follow the yoga 'path.' The form is noteworthy, grammatically.

² I. e. 'attains true renunciation,' says Sāṅkara; Sridhara says, 'attains Brahman, after becoming a "renouncer."'

³ Here self is explained as body; in the line which goes before it is explained as heart.

⁴ These are the various operations of the organs of perception, action, &c.

⁵ Excretions, &c.

⁶ A very common simile. Cf. inter alia *K'hândogya-upanishad*, p. 276; *Sūta Nipāta*, pp. 107-134; and *David's Buddhism*, p. 158 note.

⁷ Body=bathing, &c.; mind=meditation, &c.; understanding=ascertainment of truth; senses=hearing and celebrating God's name.

egoistic notions). He who is possessed of devotion, abandoning the fruit of actions, attains the highest tranquillity. He who is without devotion, and attached to the fruit (of action), is tied down by (reason of his) acting in consequence of (some) desire. The self-restrained, embodied (self) lies at ease within the city of nine portals¹, renouncing all actions by the mind, not doing nor causing (anything) to be done. The Lord is not the cause of actions, or of the capacity of performing actions amongst men, or of the connexion of action and fruit. But nature only works. The Lord receives no one's sin, nor merit either. Knowledge is enveloped by ignorance, hence all creatures are deluded². But to those who have destroyed that ignorance by knowledge of the self, (such) knowledge, like the sun, shows forth that supreme (principle). And those whose mind is (centred) on it, whose (very) self it is, who are thoroughly devoted to it, and whose final goal it is, go never to return, having their sins destroyed by knowledge. The wise look upon a Brāhmaṇa possessed of learning and humility, on a cow, an elephant, a dog, and a Svapāka, as alike³. Even here, those have conquered the material world, whose mind rests in equability⁴; since Brahman is free from defects and equable, therefore they rest in

¹ Cf. *Prāmāṇyashad*, p. 202; *Svetāśvatara*, p. 332; *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 52. The *Kaṭhōpanishad* has eleven portals (p. 132). The nine are the eyes, nostrils, ears, mouth, and the two for excretions.

² As regards the Lord's relation to man's merit or sin.

³ As manifestations of Brahman, though of different qualities and classes. As to *Svapāka*, a very low caste, see *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 36.

⁴ As stated in the preceding words.

Brahman. He who knows Brahman, whose mind is steady, who is not deluded, and who rests in Brahman, does not exult on finding anything agreeable, nor does he grieve on finding anything disagreeable¹. One whose self is not attached to external objects, obtains the happiness that is in (one's) self; and by means of concentration of mind, joining one's self (with the Brahman), one obtains indestructible happiness. For the enjoyments born of contact (between senses and their objects) are, indeed, sources of misery; they have a beginning as well as an end². O son of Kuntl! a wise man feels no pleasure in them. He who even in this world, before his release from the body, is able to bear the agitations produced from desire and wrath, is a devoted man, he is a happy man. The devotee whose happiness is within (himself), whose recreation is within (himself), and whose light (of knowledge) also is within (himself), becoming (one with) the Brahman³, obtains the Brahmic bliss⁴. The sages whose sins have perished, whose misgivings are destroyed, who are self-restrained, and who are intent on the welfare of all beings⁵, obtain the Brahmic bliss. To the ascetics, who are free from desire and wrath⁶, and whose minds are restrained, and who have knowledge of the self, the Brahmic bliss is on both sides (of death). The sage who excludes (from his mind)

¹ Ka/hopanishad, p. 100.

² Cf. supra, p. 44.

³ He is one with the Brahman as he is intent exclusively on the Brahman.

⁴ The bliss of assimilation with the Brahman, or, as Rāmānuga puts it, the bliss of direct knowledge of the self.

⁵ Sutta Nipāta, p. 39; also Davids' Buddhism, p. 109.

⁶ Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 3.

external objects, (concentrates) the visual power between the brows¹, and making the upward and downward life-breaths even, confines their movements within the nose, who restrains senses, mind, and understanding², whose highest goal is final emancipation, from whom desire, fear, and wrath have departed, is, indeed, for ever released (from birth and death). He knowing me to be the enjoyer of all sacrifices and penances, the great Lord of all worlds, and the friend of all beings, attains tranquillity.

CHAPTER VI.

The Deity said :

He who, regardless of the fruit of actions, performs the actions which ought to be performed, is the devotee and renouncer ; not he who discards the (sacred) fires³, nor he who performs no acts. Know, O son of Pāṇḍu ! that what is called renunciation is devotion ; for nobody becomes a devotee who has not renounced (all) fancies⁴. To the sage who wishes to rise to devotion, action is said to be a means, and, to him, when he has risen to devotion, tranquillity⁵ is said to be a means. When one does not attach oneself to objects of sense, nor to action, renouncing all fancies, then one is said to have risen to devotion. (A man) should elevate his self by his self⁶; he should not debase his self, for even (a man's) own self is his

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 78.

² P. 57 and *Kaṭhōpanishad*, p. 157.

³ Which are required for ordinary religious rites.

⁴ Which are the cause of desires ; see *supra*, p. 50.

⁵ Abandonment of distracting actions ; means scil. to perfect knowledge, says Śrīdhara.

⁶ I. e. by means of a mind possessed of true discrimination.

friend, (a man's) own self is also his enemy¹. To him who has subjugated his self by his self², his self is a friend; but to him who has not restrained his self, his own self behaves inimically, like an enemy. The self of one who has subjugated his self and is tranquil, is absolutely concentrated (on itself), in the midst of cold and heat, pleasure and pain, as well as honour and dishonour. The devotee whose self is contented with knowledge and experience³, who is unmoved⁴, who has restrained his senses, and to whom a sod, a stone, and gold are alike, is said to be devoted. And he is esteemed highest, who thinks alike⁵ about well-wishers, friends, and enemies, and those who are indifferent, and those who take part with both sides, and those who are objects of hatred, and relatives, as well as about the good and the sinful. A devotee should constantly devote his self to abstraction, remaining in a secret place⁶, alone, with his mind and self⁷ restrained, without expectations, and without belongings. Fixing his seat firmly in a clean⁸ place, not too high nor too low, and covered over with a sheet of cloth, a deer-skin, and (blades of) Kusa (grass),—and there seated on (that) seat, fixing his mind exclusively on one

¹ Self is here explained as mind, the unsteadiness of which prevents the acquisition of devotion, p. 71.

² This means restraining senses by mind. See Maitrī-upanishad, p. 180.

³ Supra, p. 57.

⁴ By any of the vexations of the world.

⁵ I. e. is free from affection or aversion towards them.

⁶ 'Release from society' is insisted on at Sutta Nipāta, p. 55.

⁷ Self is here explained as senses; in the previous clause as mind.

⁸ This requisite is prescribed by many authorities. Cf. Āṅgīrśa-upanishad, p. 626; Maitrī, p. 156; Svetāśvatara, pp. 318, 319; and Āśvalāyana (Gṛhyasūtra) III, 2, 2, for Vedic study too.

point, with the workings of the mind and senses restrained, he should practice devotion for purity of self. Holding his body, head, and neck even and unmoved, (remaining) steady, looking at the tip of his own nose¹, and not looking about in (all) directions, with a tranquil self, devoid of fear, and adhering to the rules of Brahma-kârins², he should restrain his mind, and (concentrate it) on me, and sit down engaged in devotion, regarding me as his final goal. Thus constantly devoting his self to abstraction, a devotee whose mind is restrained, attains that tranquillity which culminates in final emancipation, and assimilation with me. Devotion is not his, O Arguna ! who eats too much, nor his who eats not at all ; not his who is addicted to too much sleep, nor his who is (ever) awake. That devotion which destroys (all) misery is his, who takes due food and exercise³, who toils duly in all works, and who sleeps and awakes (in) due (time)⁴. When (a man's) mind well restrained becomes steady upon the self alone, then he being indifferent to all objects of desire, is said to be devoted. As a light standing in a windless (place) flickers not, that is declared to be the parallel for a devotee, whose mind is restrained, and who devotes his self to abstraction. That (mental condition), in which the mind restrained by practice of abstraction, ceases to work ; in which

¹ Cf. Kumârasambhava, Canto III, 47. This is done in order to prevent the sight from rambling—a total closing of the eyes being objectionable as leading to sleep.

² See these in Âpastamba (p. 7 in this series); and cf. Sutta Nipâta, pp. 159, 160; and Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures, p. 158.

³ Cf. Sutta Nipâta, pp. 28, 95.

⁴ Buddhism shows similar injunctions. Cf. Sutta Nipâta, pp. 21, 28, 95; and Dhammapada, stanza 8.

- too, one seeing the self by the self¹, is pleased in the self; in which one experiences that infinite happiness which transcends the senses, and which can be grasped by the understanding only; and adhering to which, one never swerves from the truth; acquiring which, one thinks no other acquisition higher than it; and adhering to which, one is not shaken off even by great misery; that should be understood to be called
- devotion in which there is a severance of all connexion with pain. That devotion should be practised with steadiness and with an undesponding heart. Abandoning, without exception, all desires², which are produced from fancies, and restraining the whole group of the senses on all sides by the mind only³, one should by slow steps become quiescent⁴, with a firm resolve coupled with courage⁵; and fixing the mind upon the self, should think of nothing. Wherever the active and unsteady mind breaks forth⁶, there one should ever restrain it, and fix it steadily on the self alone. The highest happiness
 - comes to such a devotee, whose mind is fully tranquil, in whom the quality of passion has been suppressed, who is free from sin, and who is become (one with) the Brahman. Thus constantly devoting his self to abstraction, a devotee, freed from sin,
 - easily obtains that supreme happiness—contact with the Brahman⁷. He who has devoted his self to abstraction, by devotion, looking alike on everything.

¹ Sees the highest principle by a mind purified by abstraction.

² Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 62.

³ Cf. supra, p. 53.

⁴ I. e. cease to think of objects of sense. Cf. supra, p. 69.

⁵ I. e. an undespairing and firm resolution that devotion will be achieved ultimately.

⁶ Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 106.

⁷ Assimilation with the Brahman.

sees the self abiding in all beings, and all beings in the self¹. To him who sees me in everything, and everything in me, I am never lost, and he is not lost to me². The devotee who worships me abiding in all beings, holding that all is one³, lives in me, however he may be living⁴. That devotee, O Arguna! is deemed to be the best, who looks alike on pleasure or pain, whatever it may be, in all (creatures), comparing all with his own (pleasure or pain)⁵.

Arguna said :

I cannot see, O destroyer of Madhu! (how) the sustained existence (is to be secured) of this devotion by means of equanimity which you have declared—in consequence of fickleness. For, O *Krishna*! the mind is fickle, boisterous⁶, strong, and obstinate; and I think that to restrain it is as difficult as (to restrain) the wind.

The Deity said :

Doubtless, O you of mighty arms! the mind is difficult to restrain, and fickle⁷. Still, O son of Kuntl! it may be restrained by constant practice and by indifference (to worldly objects). It is my belief, that devotion is hard to obtain for one who does not restrain his self. But by one who is self-restrained

¹ Realises the essential unity of everything.

² He has access to me, and I am kind to him.

³ Cf. *Īṣopaniṣad*, p. 13.

⁴ 'Even abandoning all action,' says *Sṛīdhara*; and cf. *infra*, p. 105.

⁵ Who believes that pleasure and pain are as much liked or disliked by others as by himself, and puts himself in fact in the place of others.

⁶ Troublesome to the body, senses, &c.

⁷ Cf. *Dhammapada*, stanza 33 seq.

and assiduous, it can be obtained through (proper) expedients.

Arguna said :

What is the end of him, O *Krishna* ! who does not attain the consummation of his devotion, being not assiduous¹, and having a mind shaken off from devotion, (though) full of faith? Does he, fallen from both (paths)², go to ruin like a broken cloud, being, O you of mighty arms! without support, and deluded on the path (leading) to the Brahman? Be pleased, O *Krishna* ! to entirely destroy this doubt of mine, for none else than you can destroy this doubt.

The Deity said :

O son of *Prithā* ! neither in this world nor the next, is ruin for him ; for, O dear friend ! none who performs good (deeds) comes to an evil end. He
 • who is fallen from devotion attains the worlds of those who perform meritorious acts, dwells (there) for many a year, and is afterwards born into a family of holy and illustrious³ men. Or he is even born into a family of talented devotees ; for such a birth as that in this world is more difficult to obtain. There he comes into contact with the knowledge which belonged to him in his former body, and then again, O descendant of Kuru ! he works for perfection⁴. For even though reluctant⁵, he is led away by the

¹ Cf. p. 73 infra.

² The path to heaven, and that to final emancipation.

³ 'Kings or emperors,' says *Madhusūdana*.

⁴ I. e. final emancipation.

⁵ 'As *Arguna* himself,' says *Madhusūdana*, 'receives instruction in knowledge, though he comes to the battle-field without any such object ; hence it was said before, "nothing is here abortive."' See p. 47.

self-same former practice, and although he only wishes to learn devotion, he rises above the (fruits of action laid down in the) divine word. But the devotee working with great efforts¹, and cleared of his sins, attains perfection after many births, and then reaches the supreme goal. The devotee is esteemed higher than the performers of penances, higher even than the men of knowledge, and the devotee is higher than the men of action; therefore, O Arguna! become a devotee. And even among all devotees, he who, being full of faith, worships me, with his inmost self intent on me, is esteemed by me to be the most devoted.

CHAPTER VII.

The Deity said :

O son of Prithā! now hear how you can without doubt know me fully, fixing your mind on me, and resting in me, and practising devotion. I will now tell you exhaustively about knowledge together with experience; that being known, there is nothing further left in this world to know. Among thousands of men, only some² work for perfection³; and even of those who have reached perfection, and who are assiduous, only some know me truly. Earth, water, fire, air, space, mind, understanding,

¹ As distinguished from the others who work half-heartedly, so to say. See p. 72.

² 'Some one' in the original.

³ I. e. knowledge of the self. Sāṅkara says, as to the next clause, that those even who work for final emancipation must be deemed to have 'reached perfection.'

and egoism¹, thus is my nature divided eightfold. But this is a lower (form of my) nature. Know (that there is) another (form of my) nature, and higher than this, which is animate, O you of mighty arms ! and by which this universe is upheld. Know that all things have these (for their) source². I am the producer and the destroyer of the whole universe. There is nothing else, O Dhanañgaya ! higher than myself ; all this is woven upon me, like numbers of pearls upon a thread³. I am the taste in water, O son of Kuntī ! I am the light of the sun and moon. I am 'Om ' in all the Vedas, sound⁴ in space, and manliness in human beings ; I am the fragrant smell in the earth, refulgence in the fire ; I am life in all beings, and penance⁵ in those who perform penance. Know me, O son of Prithā ! to be the eternal seed of all beings ; I am the discernment of the discerning ones, and I the glory of the glorious⁷. I am also the strength, unaccompanied by fondness or desire⁸, of the strong. And, O chief of the descendants of Bharata ! I am love unopposed to piety⁹ among all

¹ This accords with the Sāṅkhya philosophy. See chapter I, sūtra 61 of the current aphorisms.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 105.

³ Cf. *Mundakopaniṣad*, p. 298.

⁴ *Infra*, p. 79. Cf. Goldstücker's *Remains*, I, 14, 122 ; *Yoga-sūtras* I, 27.

⁵ I. e. the occult essence which underlies all these and the other qualities of the various things mentioned.

⁶ I. e. power to bear the pairs of opposites.

⁷ Glory here seems to mean dignity, greatness.

⁸ Desire is the wish to obtain new things ; fondness is the anxiety to retain what has been obtained. The strength here spoken of, therefore, is that which is applied to the performance of one's own duties only.

⁹ I. e. indulged within the bounds allowed by the rules of the *Sāstras*, namely, for the procreation of sons &c. only.

beings. And all entities which are of the quality of goodness, and those which are of the quality of passion and of darkness, know that they are, indeed, all from me ; I am not in them, but they are in me ¹. The whole universe deluded by these three states of mind, developed from the qualities, does not know me, who am beyond them and inexhaustible ; for this delusion of mine, developed from the qualities, is divine and difficult to transcend. Those who resort to me alone cross beyond this delusion. Wicked men, doers of evil (acts), who are deluded, who are deprived of their knowledge by (this) delusion, and who incline to the demoniac state of mind ², do not resort to me. But, O Arguna ! doers of good (acts) of four classes worship me : one who is distressed, one who is seeking after knowledge, one who wants wealth, and one, O chief of the descendants of Bharata ! who is possessed of knowledge. Of these, he who is possessed of knowledge, who is always devoted, and whose worship is (addressed) to one (Being) only, is esteemed highest. For to the man of knowledge I am dear above all things, and he is dear to me. All these are noble. But the man possessed of knowledge is deemed by me to be my own self. For he with (his) self devoted to abstraction, has taken to me as the goal than which there is nothing higher. At the end of many lives, the man possessed of knowledge approaches me, (believing) that Vāsudeva is everything. Such a high-souled man is very hard to find. Those who are deprived of knowledge by various desires approach other

¹ They do not dominate over me, I rule them.

² *Infra*, p. 115.

divinities, observing various regulations ¹, and controlled by their own natures ². Whichever form (of deity) any worshipper wishes to worship with faith, to that form I render his faith steady. Possessed of that faith, he seeks to propitiate (the deity in) that (form), and obtains from it those beneficial things which he desires, (though they are) really given by me. But the fruit thus (obtained) by them, who have little judgment, is perishable. Those who worship the divinities go to the divinities ³, and my worshippers, too, go to me. The undiscerning ones, not knowing my transcendent and inexhaustible essence, than which there is nothing higher, think me, who am unperceived, to have become perceptible ⁴. Surrounded by the delusion of my mystic power ⁵, I am not manifest to all. This deluded world knows not me unborn and inexhaustible. I know, O Arguna! the things which have been, those which are, and those which are to be. But me nobody knows. All beings, O terror of (your) foes! are deluded at the time of birth by the delusion, O descendant of Bharata! caused by the pairs of opposites arising from desire and aversion. But the men of meritorious actions, whose sins have terminated, worship me, being released from the delusion (caused) by the pairs of

¹ Fasts and so forth.

² Which are the result of the actions done in previous lives.

³ And the divinities are not eternal, so the fruit obtained is ephemeral.

⁴ The ignorant do not know the real divinity of Vishṇu, thinking him to be no higher than as he is seen in the human form. This gives them an inadequate notion of the purity and eternity of the happiness to be obtained by worshipping him; cf. *infra*, p. 83.

⁵ The veil surrounding me is created by my mysterious power, and that everybody cannot pierce through; cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 117.

opposites, and being firm in their beliefs¹. Those who, resting on me, work for release from old age and death², know the Brahman³, the whole Adhyâtma, and all action. And those who know me with the Adhibhûta, the Adhidaiva, and the Adhiyagñā, having minds devoted to abstraction, know me at the time of departure (from this world).

CHAPTER VIII.

Arguna said :

What is that Brahman, what the Adhyâtma, and what, O best of beings ! is action ? And what is called the Adhibhûta ? And who is the Adhiyagñā, and how in this body, O destroyer of Madhu ? And how, too, are you to be known at the time of departure (from this world) by those who restrain their selfs ?

The Deity said :

The Brahman is the supreme, the indestructible. Its manifestation (as an individual self) is called the Adhyâtma. The offering (of an oblation to any divinity), which is the cause of the production and development of all things, is named action. The Adhibhûta is all perishable things. The Adhidaiva is the (primal) being. And the Adhiyagñā, O best of embodied (beings) ! is I myself in this body⁴.

¹ Concerning the supreme principle and the mode of worshipping it.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 109.

³ See the next chapter.

⁴ Adhyâtma where it occurs before (e.g. p. 55) has been rendered 'the relation between the supreme and individual soul.' As to

And he who leaves this body and departs (from this world) remembering me in (his) last moments, comes into my essence. There is no doubt of that. Also whichever form ¹ (of deity) he remembers when he finally leaves this body, to that he goes, O son of Kuntī! having been used to ponder on it. Therefore, at all times remember me, and engage in battle. Fixing your mind and understanding on me, you will come to me, there is no doubt. He who thinks of the supreme divine Being, O son of Prithā! with a mind not (running) to other (objects), and possessed of abstraction in the shape of continuous meditation (about the supreme), goes to him. He who, possessed of reverence (for the supreme Being) with a steady mind, and with the power of devotion, properly concentrates the life-breath between the brows ², and meditates on the ancient Seer, the ruler, more minute than the minutest atom ³, the supporter of all, who is of an unthinkable form, whose brilliance is like that of the sun, and who is beyond all darkness ⁴, he attains to that transcendent and divine Being. I ⁵ will tell you briefly about the seat, which those who know the Vedas declare to be indestructible; which is entered by ascetics from whom all desires have departed; and wishing for which, people pursue the

action, cf. pp. 53, 54. Adhibhūta is apparently the whole inanimate creation, and Adhidaivata is the being supposed to dwell in the sun. Adhiyagñā is *Kṛishṇa*. Cf. too pp. 113, 114.

¹ Some commentators say 'whatever thing' generally. The 'form' remembered in one's last moments would be that which had been most often meditated on during life.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 67. ³ *Kaṭha*, p. 105; *Svetâsvatara*, p. 333.

⁴ Cf. *Svetâsvatara-upanishad*, p. 327.

⁵ *Kaṭhupanishad*, p. 102.

mode of life of Brahmatârins¹. He who leaves the body and departs (from this world), stopping up all passages², and confining the mind within the heart³, placing the life-breath in the head, and adhering to uninterrupted meditation⁴, repeating the single syllable 'Om,' (signifying) the eternal Brahman⁵, and meditating on me, he reaches the highest goal. To the devotee who constantly practises abstraction, O son of Prithâ! and who with a mind not (turned) to anything else, is ever and constantly meditating on me, I am easy of access. The high-souled ones, who achieve the highest perfection, attaining to me, do not again come to life, which is transient, a home of woes⁶. All worlds, O Arguna! up to the world of Brahman, are (destined) to return⁷. But, O son of Kuntî! after attaining to me, there is no birth again. Those who know a day of Brahman to end after one thousand ages, and the night to terminate after one thousand ages, are the persons

¹ As to Brahmatârins, see supra, p. 69.

² 'The senses,' say the commentators. Might it not refer to the 'nine portals' at p. 65 supra? See also, however, p. 108.

³ I.e. thinking of nothing, making the mind cease to work. Cf. Maitri-upanishad, p. 179.

⁴ Cf. Maitri-upanishad, p. 130, uninterrupted, like 'oil when poured out,' says the commentator.

⁵ Cf. *K'ândogya-upanishad*, p. 151; *Mândukya*, pp. 330-388 (Om is all—past, present, and future); *Nṛsiṃha Tâpinī*, pp. 110, 117, 171; *Maitri*, p. 140; *Prasna*, p. 220. On the opening passage of the *K'ândogya*, Saṅkara says, 'Om is the closest designation of the supreme Being. He is pleased when it is pronounced, as people are at the mention of a favourite name.' See also Max Müller, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 84; Goldstücker's *Remains*, I, 122.

⁶ See infra, p. 86; and cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 125.

⁷ They are only temporary, not the everlasting seats of the soul.

who know day and night¹. On the advent of day, all perceptible things are produced from the unperceived; and on the advent of night they dissolve in that same (principle) called the unperceived. This same assemblage of entities, being produced again and again, dissolves on the advent of night, and, O son of *Prithā*! issues forth on the advent of day, without a will of its own². But there is another entity, unperceived and eternal, and distinct from this unperceived (principle), which is not destroyed when all entities are destroyed. It is called the unperceived, the indestructible; they call it the highest goal. Attaining to it, none returns³. That is my supreme abode. That supreme Being, O son of *Prithā*! he in whom all these entities dwell⁴, and by whom all this is permeated, is to be attained to by reverence not (directed) to another. I will state the times, O descendant of *Bharata*! at which devotees departing (from this world) go, never to return, or to return. The fire, the flame⁵, the day,

¹ Cf. *Manu* I, 73. *Saṅkara* says, that this explains why the abodes of *Brahmā* and others are said to be not lasting. They are limited by time. As to ages, *Sṛīdhara* says, a human year is a day and night of the gods. Twelve thousand years made of such days and nights make up the four ages: one thousand such 'quaternions of ages' make up a day, and another thousand a night of *Brahmā*. Of such days and nights *Brahmā* has a hundred years to live. At the close of his life, the universe is destroyed.

² Cf. p. 82 *infra*; also *Manu-smṛiti* I, 52; and *Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava* II, 8.

³ Cf. *Kaṭhōpanishad*, p. 149; and also p. 112 *infra*.

⁴ I. e. by whom, as the cause of them, all these entities are supported; cf. p. 82 *infra*.

⁵ *Sṛīdhara* understands 'the time when,' in the sentence preceding this, to mean 'the path indicated by a deity presiding over

the bright fortnight, the six months of the northern solstice, departing (from the world) in these, those who know the Brahman go to the Brahman. Smoke, night, the dark fortnight, the six months of the southern solstice, (dying) in these, the devotee goes to the lunar light and returns¹. These two paths, bright and dark, are deemed to be eternal in this world². By the one, (a man) goes never to return, by the other he comes back. Knowing these two paths, O son of *Prithā*! no devotee is deluded³. Therefore at all times be possessed of devotion, O *Arguna*! A devotee knowing all this⁴, obtains all the holy fruit which is prescribed for (study of) the Vedas, for sacrifices, and also for penances and gifts, and he attains to the highest and primeval seat.

CHAPTER IX.

Now I will speak to you, who are not given to carping, of that most mysterious knowledge, accompanied by experience, by knowing which you will be released from evil. It is the chief among the sciences, the chief among the mysteries. It is the best means of sanctification. It is imperishable, not

time, by which;' and the fire-flame as included in this, though having no connexion with time. *Saṅkara* agrees, though he also suggests that fire means a deity presiding over time. I own I have no clear notion of the meaning of these verses. Cf. *Kāṇḍogya*, p. 342; *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-upanishad*, p. 1057 seq.

¹ Cf. *Prana-upanishad*, p. 64; and *Sāṅkhya Bhāṣya*, p. 747 seq.

² I. e. for those who are fitted for knowledge or action.

³ I. e. does not desire heaven, but devotes himself to the supreme Being, seeing that heavenly bliss is only temporary.

⁴ All that is stated in this chapter.

opposed to the sacred law. It is to be apprehended directly¹, and is easy to practise. O terror of your foes! those men who have no faith in this holy doctrine, return to the path of this mortal world, without attaining to me. This whole universe is pervaded by me in an unperceived form. All entities live in me, but I do not live in them². Nor yet do all entities live in me. See my divine power. Supporting all entities and producing all entities, my self lives not in (those) entities. As the great and ubiquitous atmosphere always remains in space, know that similarly all entities live in me³. At the expiration of a Kalpa, O son of Kuntl! all entities enter my nature; and at the beginning of a Kalpa, I again bring them forth. Taking the control of my own nature⁴, I bring forth again and again this whole collection of entities, without a will of its own⁵, by the power of nature. But, O Arguna! these actions do not fetter⁶ me, who remain like one unconcerned, and who am unattached to those actions. Nature gives birth to movables and immovables through me, the supervisor, and by reason of that⁷, O son of Kuntl! the universe revolves. Deluded people of vain hopes, vain acts, vain know-

¹ I. e. by immediate consciousness, not mediately; 'not opposed to the sacred law,' i. e. like the Syena sacrifice for destroying a foe.

² Because he is untainted by anything. And therefore also the entities do not live in him, as said in the next sentence. See p. 80 *supra*.

³ As space is untainted and unaffected by the air which remains in it, so am I by the entities.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 58. Nature = the unperceived principle.

⁵ Cf. p. 80 *supra*.

⁶ I am not affected by the differences in the conditions of these entities.

⁷ Viz. the supervision.

ledge¹, whose minds are disordered, and who are inclined to the delusive nature of Asuras and Rākshasas, not knowing my highest nature as great lord of all entities, disregard me as I have assumed a human body². But the high-souled ones, O son of Prithā! who are inclined to the godlike nature, knowing me as the inexhaustible source of (all) entities, worship me with minds not (turned) elsewhere. Constantly glorifying me, and exerting themselves³, firm in their vows⁴, and saluting me with reverence, they worship me, being always devoted. And others again, offering up the sacrifice of knowledge, worship me as one, as distinct, and as all-pervading in numerous forms⁵. I am the Kratu⁶, I am the Yagña, I am the Svadhā, I the product of the herbs. I am the sacred verse. I too am the sacrificial butter, and I the fire, I the offering⁷. I am the father of this universe, the mother, the creator, the grandsire, the thing to be known, the means of sanctification, the syllable Om⁸, the Rik, Sāman, and Yagus also; the goal, the sustainer, the lord, the supervisor, the

¹ Hope, viz. that some other deity will give them what they want; acts, vain as not offered to the supreme; knowledge, vain as abounding in foolish doubts, &c.

² Cf. p. 76 supra.

³ For a knowledge of the supreme, or for the means of such knowledge.

⁴ Vows=veracity, harmlessness, &c.

⁵ Sacrifice of knowledge, viz. the knowledge that Vāsudeva is all; as one=believing that all is one; as distinct=believing that sun, moon, &c. are different manifestations of 'me.'

⁶ Kratu is a Vedic sacrifice; Yagña, a sacrifice laid down in Smṛiti. Svadhā=offering to the manes; 'product of the herbs'=food prepared from vegetables, or medicine.

⁷ Cf. p. 61 supra.

⁸ P. 79 supra.

residence¹, the asylum, the friend, the source, and that in which it merges, the support, the receptacle, and the inexhaustible seed. I cause heat and I send forth and stop showers. I am immortality and also death; and I, O Arguna! am that which is and that which is not². Those who know the three (branches of) knowledge, who drink the Soma juice, whose sins are washed away, offer sacrifices and pray to me for a passage into heaven; and reaching the holy world of the lord of gods, they enjoy in the celestial regions the celestial pleasures of the gods. And having enjoyed that great heavenly world, they enter the mortal world when (their) merit is exhausted³. Thus those who wish for objects of desire, and resort to the ordinances of the three (Vedas), obtain (as the fruit) going and coming. To those men who worship me, meditating on me and on no one else, and who are constantly devoted, I give new gifts and preserve what is acquired by them⁴. Even those, O son of Kuntī! who being devotees of other divinities worship with faith, worship me only, (but) irregularly⁵. For I am the enjoyer as well as the lord⁶ of all sacrifices. But they know me not truly, therefore do they fall⁷. Those who make vows⁸ to the gods go to the gods;

¹ I.e. the seat of enjoyment; receptacle=where things are preserved for future use, say the commentators.

² The gross and the subtle elements, or causes and effects.

³ Cf. *Mundakopanishad*, p. 279; and *Khândogya*, p. 344.

⁴ Cf. *Dhammapada*, stanza 23. I.e. attainment to the Brahman and not returning from it.—*Râmânuga*.

⁵ Because in form they worship other divinities.

⁶ Giver of the fruit. As to enjoyer, cf. p. 67 supra.

⁷ I.e. return to the mortal world.

⁸ I.e. some regulation as to mode of worship. Cf. also p. 76 supra.

those who make vows to the manes go to the manes; those who worship the Bhûtas go to the Bhûtas; and those likewise who worship me go to me. Whoever with devotion offers me leaf, flower, fruit, water, that, presented with devotion, I accept from him whose self is pure. Whatever you do, O son of Kuntl! whatever you eat, whatever sacrifice you make, whatever you give, whatever penance you perform, do that as offered to me¹. Thus will you be released from the bonds of action, the fruits of which are agreeable or disagreeable. And with your self possessed of (this) devotion, (this) renunciation², you will be released (from the bonds of action) and will come to me. I am alike to all beings; to me none is hateful, none dear. But those who worship me with devotion (dwell) in me³, and I too in them. Even if a very ill-conducted man worships me, not worshipping any one else, he must certainly be deemed to be good, for he has well resolved⁴. He soon becomes devout of heart, and obtains lasting tranquillity. (You may) affirm, O son of Kuntl! that my devotee is never ruined. For, O son of Prithâ! even those who are of sinful birth⁵, women, Vaisyas, and Sûdras likewise, resorting to me, attain the supreme goal. What then (need

¹ Cf. p. 55 supra, and other passages.

² This mode of action is at once devotion and renunciation: the first, because one cares not for fruit; the second, because it is offered to the supreme.

³ 'They dwell in me' by their devotion to me; I dwell in them as giver of happiness to them.

⁴ Viz. that the supreme Being alone should be revered.

⁵ Saṅkara takes Vaisyas &c. as examples of this; not so Sridhara. Cf. as to women and Sûdras, *Nṛsiṃha-tāpinī*, p. 14. 'Of sinful birth' = of low birth (Sridhara) = birth resulting from sins (Saṅkara).

be said of) holy Brāhmanas and royal saints who are (my) devotees? Coming to this transient unhappy¹ world, worship me. (Place your) mind on me, become my devotee, my worshipper; reverence me, and thus making me your highest goal, and devoting your self to abstraction, you will certainly come to me.

CHAPTER X.

Yet again, O you of mighty arms! listen to my excellent² words, which, out of a wish for your welfare, I speak to you who are delighted (with them). Not the multitudes of gods, nor the great sages know my source; for I am in every way³ the origin of the gods and great sages. Of (all) mortals, he who knows me to be unborn, without beginning, the great lord of the world, being free from delusion, is released from all sins. Intelligence, knowledge, freedom from delusion, forgiveness, truth, restraint of the senses, tranquillity, pleasure, pain, birth, death, fear, and also security, harmlessness, equability, contentment, penance, (making) gifts, glory, disgrace, all these different tempers⁴ of living beings are from me alone. The seven great sages, and likewise the four ancient Manus⁵, whose descendants are (all) these people in the world, were all born from my

¹ Cf. p. 79 supra.

² As referring to the supreme soul.

³ As creator, as moving agent in workings of the intellect, &c.

⁴ The names are not always names of 'tempers,' but the corresponding 'temper' must be understood.

⁵ The words are also otherwise construed, 'The four ancients (Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, Sanatkumāra) and the Manus.' According to the later mythology the Manus are fourteen.

mind ¹, (partaking) of my powers. Whoever correctly knows these powers and emanations of mine, becomes possessed of devotion free from indecision ; of this (there is) no doubt. The wise, full of love ², worship me, believing that I am the origin of all, and that all moves on through me. (Placing their) minds on me, offering (their) lives to me, instructing each other, and speaking about me, they are always contented and happy. To these, who are constantly devoted, and who worship with love, I give that knowledge by which they attain to me. And remaining in their hearts, I destroy, with the brilliant lamp of knowledge, the darkness born of ignorance in such (men) only, out of compassion for them.

Arguna said :

You are the supreme Brahman, the supreme goal, the holiest of the holy. All sages, as well as the divine sage Nārada, Asita ³, Devala, and Vyâsa, call you the eternal being, divine, the first god, the unborn, the all-pervading. And so, too, you tell me yourself, O Kesava ! I believe all this that you tell me (to be) true ; for, O lord ! neither the gods nor demons understand your manifestation ⁴. You only know your self by your self. O best of beings ! creator of all things ! lord of all things ! god of gods ! lord of the universe ! be pleased to declare without

¹ By the mere operation of my thought. As to ancients, cf. *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka*, p. 136.

² Śaṅkara renders the word here by perseverance in pursuit of truth.

³ Ānandagiri calls Asita father of Devala. See also Davids' *Buddhism*, p. 185 ; Max Müller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 463.

⁴ Scil. in human form for the good of the gods and the destruction of demons.

exception your divine emanations, by which emanations you stand pervading all these worlds. How shall I know you, O you of mystic power! always meditating on you? And in what various entities¹, O lord! should I meditate on you? Again, O *Ganârdana*! do you yourself declare your powers and emanations; because hearing this nectar, I (still) feel no satiety.

The Deity said :

Well then, O best of Kauravas! I will state to you my own divine emanations; but (only) the chief (ones), for there is no end to the extent of my (emanations). I am the self, O *Gudâkesa*! seated in the hearts of all beings². I am the beginning and the middle and the end also of all beings. I am *Vishṇu* among the *Âdityas*³, the beaming sun among the shining (bodies); I am *Martî* among the *Maruts*⁴, and the moon among the lunar mansions⁵. Among the *Vedas*, I am the *Sâma-veda*⁶. I am *Indra* among the gods. And I am mind among the senses⁷. I am consciousness in (living) beings. And I am *Saṅkara*⁸ among the *Rudras*, the lord of wealth⁹ among *Yakshas* and *Rakshases*. And I am fire among the *Vasus*, and *Meru*¹⁰ among the high-

¹ To know you fully being impossible, what special manifestation of you should we resort to for our meditations?

² P. 129 *infra*. .

³ 'Âditya is used in the Veda chiefly as a general epithet for a number of solar deities.' Max Müller, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 264.

⁴ The storm-gods, as Max Müller calls them.

⁵ Cf. *Sutta Nipâta*, p. 121.

⁶ As being, probably, full of music.

⁷ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 121, where *Saṅkara* says, 'Mind is the chief of man's inner activities.'

⁸ Now the third member of our Trinity.

⁹ *Kubera*.

¹⁰ The Golden Mount.

topped (mountains). And know me, O Arguna ! to be *Bṛihaspati*, the chief among domestic priests. I am *Skanda* among generals. I am the ocean among reservoirs of water ¹. I am *Bhrigu* among the great sages. I am the single syllable (*Om* ²) among words. Among sacrifices I am the *Gapa* sacrifice ³; the *Himālaya* among the firmly-fixed (mountains); the *Asvattha* ⁴ among all trees, and *Nārada* among divine sages; *Kitraratha* among the heavenly choristers, the sage *Kapila* among the *Siddhas* ⁵. Among horses know me to be *Ukkaissravas* ⁶, brought forth by (the labours for) the nectar; and *Airāvata* among the great elephants, and the ruler of men among men ⁷. I am the thunderbolt among weapons, the wish-giving (cow) among cows. And I am love which generates ⁸. Among serpents I am *Vāsuki*. Among *Nāga* ⁹ snakes I am *Ananta*; I am *Varuṇa* among aquatic beings. And I am *Aryaman* among the manes, and *Yama* ¹⁰ among rulers. Among demons, too, I am *Prahlāda*. I am the king of death (*Kāla*, time) among those that count ¹¹. Among beasts

¹ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 121.

² Vide p. 79 supra.

³ *Gapa* is the silent meditation. *Madhusūdana* says it is superior owing to its not involving the slaughter of any animal, &c.

⁴ The fig tree. It is the symbol of 'life' in chapter XV infra.

⁵ Those who even from birth are possessed of piety, knowledge, indifference to the world, and superhuman power. Cf. *Svetāsvatara-upanishad*, p. 357.

⁶ This is *Indra's* horse, brought out at the churning of the ocean. *Airāvata* is *Indra's* elephant.

⁷ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 121.

⁸ I.e. not the merely carnal passion. Cf. p. 74 supra.

⁹ *Nāgas* are without poison, says *Sṛīdhara*. *Varuṇa* is the sea-god.

¹⁰ *Yama* is death, and *Prahlāda* the virtuous demon for whom *Vishnu* became incarnate as the man-lion. As to manes, see *Goldstücker's Remains*, I, 133.

¹¹ 'Counts the number of men's sins,' *Rāmānuga*; *Sṛīdhara* says

I am the lord of beasts, and the son of Vinatā¹ among birds. I am the wind among those that blow². I am Rāma³ among those that wield weapons. Among fishes I am Makara⁴, and among streams the Gāhnavī⁵. Of created things I am the beginning and the end and the middle also, O Arguna ! Among sciences, I am the science of the Adhyātma, and I am the argument of controversialists. Among letters I am the letter A⁶, and among the group of compounds the copulative⁷ compound. I myself am time inexhaustible, and I the creator whose faces are in all directions. I am death who seizes all, and the source of what is to be. And among females, fame⁸, fortune, speech, memory, intellect, courage, forgiveness. Likewise among Sāman hymns, I am the Bṛīhat-sāman⁹, and I the Gâyatrī¹⁰ among metres. I am Mârgaśrīsha among the months, the

this refers to 'time, with its divisions into years, months,' &c.; while a little further on it means 'time eternal.'

¹ I.e. the Garuḍa or eagle, who is the vehicle of Viṣṇu in Hindu mythology.

² 'Those who have the capacity of motion,' says Rāmānuja.

³ The hero of the Hindu epos, Rāmāyaṇa, translated into verse by Mr. R. T. H. Griffiths.

⁴ The dolphin.

⁵ The Ganges.

⁶ That letter is supposed to comprehend all language. Cf. Aitareya-āranyaka, p. 346, and another text there cited by Mādhava in his commentary (p. 348).

⁷ This is said to be the best, because all its members are co-ordinate with one another, not one depending on another.

⁸ I.e. the deities of fame, &c.

⁹ See, as to this, Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. i, p. 16. Sāṅkara says this hymn relates to final emancipation.

¹⁰ Cf. *Āḥāndogya-upanishad*, p. 181, where Sāṅkara says, 'Gâyatrī is the chief metre, because it is the means to a knowledge of the Brahman.' It is the metre of the celebrated verse 'Om Tatsavitur,' &c.

spring among the seasons¹; of cheats, I am the game of dice; I am the glory of the glorious; I am victory, I am industry, I am the goodness of the good. I am Vāsudeva among the descendants of *Vṛishṇi*², and Arguna among the *Pāṇḍavas*. Among sages also, I am Vyāsa³; and among the discerning ones, I am the discerning Usanas⁴. I am the rod of those that restrain, and the policy⁵ of those that desire victory. I am silence respecting secrets. I am the knowledge of those that have knowledge. And, O Arguna! I am also that which is the seed of all things. There is nothing movable or immovable which can exist without me. O terror of your foes! there is no end to my divine emanations. Here I have declared the extent of (those) emanations only in part. Whatever thing (there is) of power, or glorious, or splendid, know all that to be produced from portions of my energy. Or rather, O Arguna! what have you to do, knowing all this at large? I stand supporting all this by (but) a single portion (of myself)⁶.

¹ Cf. *Āṇḍogya-upanishad*, p. 126. *Mārgaśīrsha* is November-December. *Madhusūdana* says this is the best month, as being neither too hot nor too cold; but see *Schlegel's Bhagavadgītā*, ed. Lassen, p. 276.

² One of *Kṛishṇa's* ancestors.

³ The compiler of the Vedas.

⁴ The preceptor of the *Dāityas* or demons. A work on politics is ascribed to him.

⁵ Making peace, bribing, &c.

⁶ Cf. *Purusha-sūkta* (*Muir, Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i, p. 9).

CHAPTER XI.

Arguna said :

In consequence of the excellent and mysterious words concerning the relation of the supreme and individual soul, which you have spoken for my welfare, this delusion of mine is gone away. O you whose eyes are like lotus leaves ! I have heard from you at large about the production and dissolution of things, and also about your inexhaustible greatness. O highest lord ! what you have said about yourself is so. I wish, O best of beings ! to see your divine form. If, O lord ! you think that it is possible for me to look upon it, then, O lord of the possessors of mystic power¹ ! show your inexhaustible form to me.

The Deity said :

In hundreds and in thousands see my forms, O son of Prithā ! various, divine, and of various colours and shapes. See the Âdityas, Vasus, Rudras, the two Asvins, and Maruts likewise. And O descendant of Bharata ! see wonders, in numbers, unseen before. Within my body, O Gudâkṣa ! see to-day the whole universe, including (everything) movable and immovable, (all) in one, and whatever else you wish to see. But you will not be able to see me with merely this eye of yours. I give you an eye divine. (Now) see my divine power.

Saṅgaya said :

Having spoken thus, O king ! Hari, the great

¹ Madhu-ûdana takes power to mean capacity of becoming small or great, of obtaining what is wanted, &c.; the so-called eight Bhûtis.

lord of the possessors of mystic power, then showed to the son of *Prithā* his supreme divine form, having many mouths and eyes, having (within it) many wonderful sights, having many celestial ornaments, having many celestial weapons held erect, wearing celestial flowers and vestments, having an anointment of celestial perfumes, full of every wonder, the infinite deity with faces in all directions¹. If in the heavens, the lustre of a thousand suns burst forth all at once, that would be like the lustre of that mighty one. There the son of *Pāndu* then observed in the body of the god of gods the whole universe (all) in one, and divided into numerous² (divisions). Then *Dhanañgaya* filled with amazement, and with hair standing on end, bowed his head before the god, and spoke with joined hands.

Arguna said :

O god ! I see within your body the gods, as also all the groups of various beings ; and the lord Brahman seated on (his) lotus seat, and all the sages and celestial snakes. I see you, who are of countless forms, possessed of many arms, stomachs, mouths, and eyes on all sides. And, O lord of the universe ! O you of all forms ! I do not see your end or middle or beginning. I see you bearing a coronet and a mace and a discus—a mass of glory, brilliant on all sides, difficult to look at, having on

¹ Cf. p. 90 supra. Sāṅkara explains it as meaning 'pervading everything.' The expression occurs in the *Nṛsiṃha-tāpini-upaniṣad*, p. 50, where it is said, 'as, without organs, it sees, hears, goes, takes from all sides and pervades everything, therefore it has faces on all sides.'

² Gods, manes, men, and so forth.

all sides the effulgence of a blazing fire or sun, and indefinable. You are indestructible, the supreme one to be known. You are the highest support¹ of this universe. You are the inexhaustible protector of everlasting piety. I believe you to be the eternal being. I see you void of beginning, middle, end—of infinite power, of unnumbered arms, having the sun and moon for eyes, having a mouth like a blazing fire, and heating the universe with your radiance. For this space between heaven and earth and all the quarters are pervaded by you alone. Looking at this wonderful and terrible form of yours, O high-souled one! the three worlds are affrighted. For here these groups of gods are entering into you. Some being afraid are praying with joined hands, and the groups of great sages and Siddhas are saying 'Welfare²!' and praising you with abundant (hymns) of praise. The Rudras, and Âdityas, the Vasus, the Sâdhya, the Visvas, the two Asvins, the Maruts, and the Ushmapas, and the groups of Gandharvas, Yakshas, demons, and Siddhas are all looking at you amazed. Seeing your mighty form, with many mouths and eyes, with many arms, thighs, and feet, with many stomachs, and fearful with many jaws, all people, and I likewise, are much alarmed, O you of mighty arms! Seeing you, O Vishnu! touching the skies, radiant, possessed of many hues, with a gaping mouth, and with large blazing eyes, I am much alarmed in my inmost self, and feel no courage, no tranquillity. And seeing your mouths terrible by the jaws, and

¹ The words are the same as at p. 97 infra, where see the note.

² Seeing signs of some great cataclysm, they say, 'May it be well with the universe,' and then proceed to pray to you.

resembling the fire of destruction, I cannot recognise the (various) directions, I feel no comfort. Be gracious, O lord of gods! who pervadest the universe. And all these sons of *Dhṛitarāshṭra*, together with all the bands of kings, and *Bhīṣma* and *Droṇa*, and this charioteer's son¹ likewise, together with our principal warriors also, are rapidly entering your mouths, fearful and horrific² by (reason of your) jaws. And some with their heads smashed are seen (to be) stuck in the spaces between the teeth. As the many rapid currents of a river's waters run towards the sea alone, so do these heroes of the human world enter your mouths blazing all round. As butterflies, with increased velocity, enter a blazing fire to their destruction, so too do these people enter your mouths with increased velocity (only) to their destruction. Swallowing all these people, you are licking them over and over again from all sides, with your blazing mouths. Your fierce splendours, O *Vishṇu*! filling the whole universe with (their) effulgence, are heating it. Tell me who you are in this fierce form. Salutations be to thee, O chief of the gods! Be gracious. I wish to know you, the primeval one, for I do not understand your actions.

The Deity said :

I am death, the destroyer of the worlds, fully developed, and I am now active about the over-

¹ I.e. *Karna*, who was really the eldest brother of the *Pāṇḍavas*, but having been immediately on birth abandoned by Kunti, was brought up by a charioteer. *Karna* was told of his true origin by *Bhīṣma* on his deathbed, and advised to join the *Pāṇḍavas*, but he declined.

² By reason of the ruggedness and distortion of face.

throw of the worlds. Even without you, the warriors standing in the adverse hosts, shall all cease to be. Therefore, be up, obtain glory, and vanquishing (your) foes, enjoy a prosperous kingdom. All these have been already killed by me. Be only the instrument, O Savyasâkin¹! Drona, and Bhishma, and Gayadratha, and Karna, and likewise other valiant warriors also, whom I have killed, do you kill. Be not alarmed. Do fight. And in the battle you will conquer (your) foes.

Saṅgaya said :

Hearing these words of Kesava, the wearer of the coronet², trembling, and with joined hands, bowed down; and sorely afraid, and with throat choked up, he again spoke to Krishna after saluting him.

Arguna said :

It is quite proper, O Hrishikesa! that the universe is delighted and charmed by your renown, that the demons run away affrighted in all directions, and that all the assemblages of Siddhas bow down (to you). And why, O high-souled one! should they not bow down to you (who are) greater than Brahman, and first cause? O infinite lord of gods! O you pervading the universe! you are the indestructible, that which is, that which is not, and what is beyond them³. You are the primal

¹ Arguna, as he could shoot with his left hand as well as the right.—Sridhara.

² Arguna, who had this coronet given him by Indra.—Madhusûdana.

³ The commentators interpret this to mean the perceptible, the unperceived, and the higher principle. Cf. p. 84 *supra*, and also pp. 103, 113 *infra* and notes there.

god, the ancient being, you are the highest support of this universe¹. You are that which has knowledge, that which is the object of knowledge, you are the highest goal. By you is this universe pervaded, O you of infinite forms! You are the wind, Yama, fire, Varuṇa, the moon, you Prajāpati, and the great grandsire². Obeisance be to thee a thousand times, and again and again obeisance to thee! In front and from behind obeisance to thee! Obeisance be to thee from all sides, O you who are all! You are of infinite power, of unmeasured glory; you pervade all, and therefore you are all! Whatever I have said contemptuously,—for instance, ‘O *Kṛishṇa*!’ ‘O *Yādava*!’ ‘O friend!’—thinking you to be (my) friend, and not knowing your greatness (as shown in) this (universal form), or through friendliness, or incautiously; and whatever disrespect I have shown you for purposes of merriment, on (occasions of) play, sleep, dinner, or sitting (together), whether alone or in the presence (of friends),—for all that, O undegraded one! I ask pardon of you who are indefinable³. You are the father of the world—movable and immovable—you its great and venerable master; there is none equal to you, whence can there be one greater, O you whose power is unparalleled in all the three worlds? Therefore I bow and prostrate myself, and would propitiate you, the praiseworthy lord. Be pleased,

¹ See p. 94 supra. Here the commentators say the words mean ‘that in which the universe is placed at deluge-time.’

² Professor Tiele mentions great-grandfather as a name for the Creator among Kaffirs (History of Religion, p. 18). Cf. p. 83 supra.

³ I.e. of whom it is impossible to ascertain whether he is such or such. Cf. p. 94 supra.

O god! to pardon (my guilt) as a father (that of his) son, a friend (that of his) friend, or a husband (that of his) beloved. I am delighted at seeing what I had never seen before, and my heart is also alarmed by fear. Show me that same form, O god! Be gracious, O lord of gods! O you pervading the universe! I wish to see you bearing the coronet and the mace, with the discus in hand, just the same (as before)¹. O you of thousand arms! O you of all forms! assume that same four-handed form.

The Deity said :

O Arguna! being pleased (with you). I have by my own mystic power shown you this supreme form, full of glory, universal, infinite, primeval, and which has not been seen before by any one else but you, O you hero among the Kauravas! I cannot be seen in this form by any one but you, (even) by (the help of) the study of the Vedas, or of² sacrifices, nor by gifts, nor by actions, nor by fierce penances. Be not alarmed, be not perplexed, at seeing this form of mine, fearful like this. Free from fear and with delighted heart, see now again that same form of mine.

Saṅgaya said :

Having thus spoken to Arguna, Vāsudeva again showed his own form, and the high-souled one becoming again of a mild form, comforted him who had been affrighted.

¹ This is the ordinary form of *Krishna*.

² This is the original construction. One suspects that sacrifices and study of the Vedas are meant. Cf. the speech of *Krishna* on the next page.

Arguna said :

O Ganardana! seeing this mild, human form of yours, I am now in my right mind, and have come to my normal state.

The Deity said :

Even the gods are always desiring to see this form of mine, which it is difficult to get a sight of, and which you have seen. I cannot be seen, as you have seen me, by (means of) the Vedas, not by penance, not by gift, nor yet by sacrifice. But, O Arguna! by devotion to me exclusively, I can in this form be truly known, seen, and assimilated¹ with, O terror of your foes! He who performs acts for (propitiating) me, to whom I am the highest (object), who is my devotee, who is free from attachment, and who has no enmity towards any being, he, O son of Pandu! comes to me.

CHAPTER XII.

Arguna said :

Of the worshippers, who thus, constantly devoted, meditate on you, and those who (meditate) on the unperceived and indestructible, which do best know devotion ?

The Deity said :

Those who being constantly devoted, and possessed of the highest faith, worship me with a mind fixed on me, are deemed by me to be the most devoted. But those, who, restraining the (whole) group of the senses, and with a mind at all times

¹ Literally, 'entered into;' it means final emancipation. See p. 128.

equable, meditate on the indescribable, indestructible, unperceived (principle) which is all-pervading, unthinkable, indifferent ¹, immovable, and constant, they, intent on the good of all beings, necessarily attain to me. For those whose minds are attached to the unperceived, the trouble is much greater. Because the unperceived goal ² is obtained by embodied (beings) with difficulty. As to those, however, O son of *Prithā*! who, dedicating all their actions to me, and (holding) me as their highest (goal), worship me, meditating on me with a devotion towards none besides me, and whose minds are fixed on me, I, without delay, come forward as their deliverer from the ocean of this world of death. Place your mind on me only; fix your understanding on me. In me you will dwell ³ hereafter, (there is) no doubt. But if you are unable to fix your mind steadily on me, then, O *Dhanañgaya*! endeavour ⁴ to obtain me by the abstraction of mind (resulting) from continuous meditation ⁵. If you are unequal even to continuous meditation, then let acts for (propitiating) me be your highest (aim). Even performing actions for (propitiating) me, you will attain perfection. If you are unable to do even this, then resort to devotion ⁶ to me, and, with self-restraint, abandon all fruit of action. For knowledge is better than continuous meditation; concentration ⁷

¹ Passively looking on what occurs on earth; immovable = changeless; constant = eternal.

² Viz. the indestructible.

³ I.e. assimilated with me, as expressed before.

⁴ Literally, 'wish.'

⁵ Cf. p. 78 supra.

⁶ Performing actions, but dedicating them to me.

⁷ Fixing the mind with effort on the object of contemplation. Cf. *Maitri-upanishad*, p. 130.

is esteemed higher than knowledge; and the abandonment of fruit of action than concentration; from (that) abandonment, tranquillity soon (results). That devotee of mine, who hates no being, who is friendly and compassionate, who is free from egoism, and from (the idea that this or that is) mine, to whom happiness and misery are alike, who is forgiving, contented, constantly devoted, self-restrained, and firm in his determinations, and whose mind and understanding are devoted to me, he is dear to me. He through whom the world is not agitated¹, and who is not agitated by the world, who is free from joy and anger and fear and agitation, he too is dear to me. That devotee of mine, who is unconcerned², pure, assiduous³, impartial, free from distress⁴, who abandons all actions (for fruit⁵), he is dear to me. He who is full of devotion to me, who feels no joy and no aversion, who does not grieve and does not desire, who abandons (both what is) agreeable and (what is) disagreeable, he is dear to me. He who is alike to friend and foe, as also in honour and dishonour, who is alike in cold and heat, pleasure and pain, who is free from attachments, to whom praise and blame are alike, who is taciturn⁶, and contented with anything whatever (that comes), who is homeless⁷, and of a steady mind, and full of

¹ No disturbance results from him to other men, or from other men to him. Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 56.

² Indifferent to worldly objects.

³ Ready to do work as it arises.

⁴ Not feeling afflicted by other people's doing an injury to him.

⁵ 'For fruit' must be understood here.

⁶ I.e. governs his tongue properly. Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 55, and Dhammapada, stanza 96.

⁷ Cf. Sutta Nipāta, pp. 94, 101, 122; Âpastamba, Dharma-sûtra,

- devotion, that man is dear to me. But those devotees who, imbued with faith, and (regarding) me as their highest (goal), resort to this holy (means for attaining) immortality, as stated, they are extremely dear to me.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Deity said :

This body, O son of Kuntl! is called Kshetra¹, and the learned call him who knows it the Kshetragñā². And know me also, O descendant of Bharata! to be the Kshetragñā in all Kshetras. The knowledge of Kshetra and Kshetragñā is deemed by me (to be real) knowledge. Now hear from me in brief what that Kshetra (is), what (it is) like, what changes (it undergoes), and whence (it comes), and what is he³, and what his powers, (all which) is sung in various ways by sages in numerous hymns⁴, distinctly, and in well-settled texts full of argument, giving indications or full instruction about the Brahman. The great elements⁵, egoism, the understanding, the unperceived also, the ten senses, and the one, and the five objects of sense, desire,

p. 86 (p. 152 in this series); and Dhammapada, stanzas 40-91 (where the identical word is used).

¹ I retain the original for want of a good equivalent.

² Cf. Svetārvataropaniṣad, p. 368, and Maitrī, pp. 25-72.

³ I. e. the Kshetragñā.

⁴ Hymns=scil. from the Vedas about ordinary or special actions and so forth. Argument=e. g. in texts like 'How can entity come from non-entity?' 'Who could breathe, if &c.?'

⁵ Cf. Aitareya-āraṇyaka, p. 97. The subtle elements, earth, fire, &c., are meant. The unperceived=nature; the one=mind; courage=that by which the drooping body and senses are supported; egoism=self-consciousness—the feeling 'this is I.'

aversion, pleasure, pain, body, consciousness, courage, thus in brief has been declared the Kshetra with changes¹. Absence of vanity, absence of ostentatiousness, absence of hurtfulness, forgiveness, straightforwardness, devotion to a preceptor, purity², steadiness, self-restraint, indifference towards objects of sense, and also absence of egoism; perception of the misery and evil of birth, death³, old age, and disease; absence of attachment, absence of self-identifying regard for son, wife⁴, home, and so forth; and constant equability on the approach of (both what is) agreeable and (what is) disagreeable; unswerving devotion to me, without meditation on any one else; resorting to clean places, distaste for assemblages of men⁵, constancy in knowledge of the relation of the individual self to the supreme, perception of the object⁶ of knowledge of the truth, this is called knowledge; that is ignorance which is opposed to this. I will declare that which is the object of knowledge, knowing which, one reaches immortality; the highest Brahman, having no beginning nor end, which cannot be said to be existent or non-existent⁷. It has hands and feet on all sides, it has eyes, heads, and faces on all sides, it has ears on all sides, it

¹ See the last page. Changes=development.

² Internal as well as external; as to devotion to a preceptor, cf. *Āpastamba*, p. 11 (p. 23 in this series); *Taittiriya-upanishad*, p. 38; *Svetārvatara*, p. 117; and *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 87; as to egoism, see p. 53 *supra*.

³ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, pp. 18-95.

⁴ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 12.

⁵ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 11.

⁶ Viz. removal of ignorance and acquisition of happiness.

⁷ Words indicate a class, a quality, an action, or a relation, says *Saṅkara*. None of these can be predicated of the Brahman; so you cannot apply either of these words to it. Cf. pp. 84, 96 *supra*, also *Svetārvatara*, p. 346.

stands pervading everything in the world. Possessed of the qualities of all the senses, (but) devoid of all senses¹, unattached, it supports all, is devoid of qualities, and the enjoyer² of qualities. It is within all things and without them; it is movable and also immovable; it is unknowable through (its) subtlety; it stands afar and near³. Not different in (different) things⁴, but standing as though different, it should be known to be the supporter of (all) things, and that which absorbs and creates (them). It is the radiance even of the radiant (bodies); it is said (to be) beyond darkness. It is knowledge, the object of knowledge, that which is to be attained to by knowledge, and placed in the heart of all⁵. Thus in brief have Kshetra, knowledge, and the object of knowledge been declared. My devotee, knowing this, becomes fit for assimilation with me. Know nature and spirit both (to be) without beginning, and know all developments and qualities⁶ (to be) produced from nature. Nature is said to be the origin of the capacity of working (residing) in the body and the senses; and spirit is said (to be) the origin of the capacity of enjoying pleasures and

¹ Cf. Svetâsvatara, p. 331. He has no ears, but has the quality of hearing, and so forth; unattached=really out of relation to everything, though seeming to be connected with other things through delusion.

² I.e. he perceives them.

³ Îsopanishad, p. 12; *Mundaka*, p. 313.

⁴ Everything being really one. Cf. *inter alia*, p. 124 *infra*. The various manifestations of the Brahman are really one in essence, though apparently different, like foam and water.

⁵ Cf. p. 88.

⁶ Developments=body, senses,&c. Qualities=pleasure, pain,&c.; altogether the expression means the body and feelings and so forth.

pains¹. For spirit with nature joined, enjoys the qualities born of nature. And the cause of its birth in good or evil wombs is the connexion with the qualities². The supreme spirit in this body is called supervisor, adviser³, supporter, enjoyer, the great lord, and the supreme self also. He who thus knows nature and spirit, together with the qualities, is not born again, however living⁴. Some by concentration see the self in the self by the self; others by the Sāṅkhya-yoga; and others still by the Karma-yoga⁵; others yet, not knowing this, practise concentration, after hearing from others⁶. They, too, being (thus) devoted to hearing (instruction) cross beyond death. Whatever thing movable or immovable comes into existence, know that to be from the connexion of Kshetra and Kshetragña, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! He sees (truly),

¹ Śrīdhara says that 'is said to be' means by Kapila and others. For the notion that activity is not a function of the soul, see *inter alia*. p. 55 *supra*. Enjoyment, however, is, according to this passage, the function of the soul, not of nature. See also *Maitrī-upa-nishad*, pp. 107, 108.

² I.e. 'the senses,' says Śrīdhara; good=gods, &c.; evil=beasts, &c.

³ Scil. concerning the operations of the body and senses. Cf. *Nṛsiṃha-tāpinī*, p. 224. He is adviser because, though he does not interfere, he sees and therefore may be said to sanction the operations alluded to. Supporter, i.e. of body &c. in their workings.

⁴ I.e. though he may have transgressed rules.

⁵ Concentration=fixing of the mind exclusively on the soul, the senses being quiescent. 'See the self,' i.e. the soul; 'in the self,' i.e. within themselves; 'by the self,' i.e. by the mind. Sāṅkhya-yoga=belief that qualities are distinct from the self, which is only a passive spectator of their operations. Cf. *Svetāsvatara*, p. 109. Karma-yoga=dedication of actions to the supreme. Cf. as to this the gloss on Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* on *Vedānta-sūtra* IV, 2, 21.

⁶ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 49.

who sees the supreme lord abiding alike in all entities, and not destroyed though they are destroyed. For he who sees the lord abiding everywhere alike, does not destroy himself¹ by himself, and then reaches the highest goal. He sees (truly), who sees (all) actions (to be) in every way done by nature alone, and likewise the self (to be) not the doer. When a man sees all the variety of entities as existing in one², and (all as) emanating from that, then he becomes (one with) the Brahman. This inexhaustible supreme self, being without beginning and without qualities, does not act, and is not tainted, O son of Kuntī! though stationed in the body. As by (reason of its) subtlety the all-pervading space is not tainted, so the self stationed in every body is not tainted. As the sun singly lights up all this world, so the Kshetragñā, O descendant of Bharata! lights up the whole Kshetra. Those who, with the eye of knowledge, thus understand the difference between Kshetra and Kshetragñā, and the destruction of the nature of all entities³, go to the supreme.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Deity said :

Again I will declare (to you) the highest knowledge, the best of (all sorts of) knowledge, having

¹ Not to have true knowledge is equivalent to self-destruction. Cf. *Īsopaniṣad*, pp. 9, 15, 16.

² I.e. absorbed at the time of the deluge in nature, one of the energies of the supreme; 'emanating,' i.e. at the time of creation.

³ Nature, which is the material cause from which all entities are produced; the destruction of it results from true knowledge of the soul. See the third note on p. 107 *infra*.

learnt which, all sages have reached perfection beyond (the bonds of) this (body). Those who, resorting to this knowledge, reach assimilation with my essence, are not born at the creation, and are not afflicted ¹ at the destruction (of the universe). The great Brahman ² is a womb for me, in which I cast the seed. From that, O descendant of Bharata! is the birth of all things. Of the bodies, O son of Kunti! which are born from all wombs, the (main) womb is the great Brahman, and I (am) the father, the giver of the seed. Goodness, passion, darkness, these qualities ³ born from nature, O you of mighty arms! bind down the inexhaustible soul in the body. Of these, goodness, which, in consequence of being untainted, is enlightening and free from (all) misery, binds the soul, O sinless one! with the bond of pleasure and the bond of knowledge ⁴. Know that passion consists in being enamoured, and is produced from craving and attachment. That, O son of Kunti! binds down the embodied (self) with the

¹ I.e. 'are not destroyed,' Madhusūdana; 'do not fall,' Saṅkara; 'are not born,' Śrīdhara, and apparently Rāmānuga.

² I.e. the 'nature' spoken of before.

³ These constitute nature. We must understand nature, with Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, as the hypothetical cause of the soul's feeling itself limited and conditioned. If nature is understood, as it usually is, to mean matter, its being made up of the qualities is inexplicable. Interpreted idealistically, as suggested by Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, the destruction of it spoken of at the close of the last chapter also becomes intelligible. By means of knowledge of the soul, the unreality of these manifestations is understood and nature is destroyed.

⁴ Pleasure and knowledge appertain to the mind, not the self, hence they are described as constituting bonds, when erroneously connected with the self, Saṅkara and Śrīdhara. They constitute 'bonds,' because the self when brought into contact with them, strives to obtain them, Rāmānuga.

bond of action. Darkness (you must) know to be born of ignorance, it deludes all embodied (selves). And that, O descendant of Bharata! binds down (the self) with heedlessness¹, indolence, and sleep. Goodness unites (the self) with pleasure; passion, O descendant of Bharata! with action; and darkness with heedlessness, after shrouding up knowledge. Passion and darkness being repressed, goodness stands, O descendant of Bharata! Passion and goodness (being repressed), darkness; and likewise darkness and goodness (being repressed), passion². When in this body at all portals³ light (that is to say) knowledge prevails, then should one know goodness to be developed. Avarice, activity⁴, performance of actions, want of tranquillity, desire, these are produced, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! when passion is developed. Want of light, want of activity⁵, heedlessness, and delusion, these are produced, O descendant of Kuru! when darkness is developed. When an embodied (self) encounters death, while goodness is developed, then he reaches the untainted worlds of those who know the highest⁶. Encountering death during (the preva-

¹ Carelessness about duty, owing to being intent on something else. Cf. Sutta Nipāta, pp. 51-91; Dhammapada, stanza 21; Kaṭhopanishad, p. 152.

² The effects of each quality assert themselves, when the other two are held in check. ³ I. e. the senses of perception.

⁴ Activity=always doing something or another; performance, &c.=rearing large mansions, &c.; want of tranquillity=perpetual agitation of mind, 'this I will do now, then that, and next the other;' desire=to obtain everything that one comes across.

⁵ I. e. doing absolutely nothing.

⁶ The highest manifestations of Brahman, viz. the Hiraṇyagarbha, &c., say Śṛṅghara and Madhusūdana. Nīlakaṇṭha also suggests that 'those who know the highest' means gods.

lence of) passion, he is born among those attached to action. Likewise, dying during (the prevalence of) darkness, he is born in the wombs of the ignorant¹. The fruit of meritorious action is said to be good, untainted; while the fruit of passion is misery; and the fruit of darkness ignorance. From goodness is produced knowledge, from passion avarice², and from darkness heedlessness and delusion and ignorance also. Those who adhere to (the ways of) goodness go up³; the passionate remain in the middle; while those of the qualities of darkness, adhering to the ways of the lowest quality, go down. When a right-seeing person sees none but the qualities (to be) the doers (of all action), and knows what is above the qualities⁴, he enters into my essence. The embodied (self), who transcends these three qualities, from which bodies are produced⁵, attains immortality, being freed from birth and death and old age and misery.

Arguna said :

What are the characteristics, O lord ! of one who has transcended these three qualities ? What is his conduct, and how does he transcend these three qualities⁶ ?

¹ Lower creation, such as birds, beasts, &c.

² Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 15.

³ I.e. are born as gods, &c.; 'middle,' as men, &c.; 'down,' as brutes, &c.

⁴ I.e. what has been called Kshetragña before, the supervising principle within one.

⁵ Bodies are developments of the qualities, say the commentators, which is not incompatible with the explanation of qualities given above. As to transcending qualities, cf. p. 48 supra.

⁶ Cf. as to what follows what is said in chapter II about 'one whose mind is steady.'

The Deity said :

He is said to have transcended the qualities. O son of Pāṇḍu! who is not averse to light and activity and delusion (when they) prevail, and who does not desire (them when they) cease¹; who sitting like one unconcerned is never perturbed by the qualities²; who remains steady and moves³ not, (thinking) merely that the qualities⁴ exist; who is self-contained⁵; to whom pain and pleasure are alike; to whom a sod and a stone and gold are alike; to whom what is agreeable and what is disagreeable are alike; who has discernment; to whom censure and praise of himself are alike; who is alike in honour and dishonour; who is alike towards the sides of friends and foes; and who abandons all action⁶. And he who worships me with an unswerving devotion, transcends these qualities, and becomes fit for (entrance into) the essence of the Brahman. For I am the embodiment of the Brahman⁷, of indefeasible immortality, of eternal piety, and of unbroken happiness.

¹ I.e. who does not feel troubled, for instance, thinking now I am actuated by a motive of passion or darkness, and so forth.

² So as to lose all discrimination.

³ I.e. from his determination to pursue truth, by worldly pleasures or pains.

⁴ Cf. p. 55 supra.

⁵ Intent on the self only.

⁶ For the whole passage, cf. p. 101 supra.

⁷ Nilakantha interprets this to mean 'the ultimate object of the Vedas.' I here means *Krishna*. Śrīdhara suggests this parallel, as light embodied is the sun, so is the Brahman embodied identical with Vāsudeva.

CHAPTER XV.

The Deity said :

They say the inexhaustible Asvattha¹ has (its) roots above, (its) branches below ; the *Kāṇḍas* are its leaves. He who knows it knows the Vedas. Upwards and downwards extend its branches, which are enlarged by the qualities, and the sprouts of which are sensuous objects. And downwards to this human world are continued its roots which lead on to action. Its form is not thus known here, nor (its) end, nor beginning, nor support. But having with the firm weapon of unconcern, cut this Asvattha, whose roots are firmly fixed, then should one seek for that seat from which those that go there never return, (thinking) that one rests on that same primal being from whom the ancient course (of worldly life) emanated. Those who are free from pride and delusion, who have overcome the evils of attachment, who are constant in (contemplating) the relation of the supreme and individual self, from whom desire has departed, who are free from the pairs (of opposites) called pleasure and pain, go undeluded to that imperishable seat². The sun

¹ Cf. *Kaṭhopanishad*, p. 70, and *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 76.

² *Asvattha* stands here for the course of worldly life. Its roots are above, viz. the supreme being ; its boughs are *Hiraṇyagarbha* and others of the higher beings. The Vedas are its leaves, preserving it as leaves preserve trees (another interpretation is that they are the causes of the fruit which the tree bears, i. e. salvation, &c.) Upwards and downwards, from the highest to the lowest of created things. Enlarged—the qualities manifesting themselves, as body, senses, &c. ; objects of sense are sprouts as they are attached to the senses, which are the tips of the branches above stated. The roots which extend downwards are the desires for various

does not light it, nor the moon, nor fire¹. That is my highest abode, going to which none returns. An eternal portion of me it is, which, becoming an individual soul in the mortal world, draws (to itself) the senses with the mind as the sixth². Whenever the ruler (of the bodily frame) obtains or quits a body, he goes taking these (with him) as the wind (takes) perfumes from (their) seats³. And presiding over the senses of hearing and seeing, and touch, and taste, and smell, and the mind, he enjoys sensuous objects. Those who are deluded do not see (him) remaining in or quitting (a body), enjoying or joined to the qualities⁴; they see, who have eyes of knowledge. Devotees making efforts perceive him abiding within their selves⁵. But those whose selves have not been refined, and who have no discernment, do not perceive him even (after) making efforts. Know that glory (to be) mine which, dwelling in the sun, lights up the whole world, or in the moon or fire⁶.

enjoyments. Its form not thus known here, i.e. to those who live and move in this world, thus viz. as above described. The man who knows the tree thus is said to know the Vedas, because knowledge of it is knowledge of the substance of the Vedas, which is, that the course of worldly life springs from the supreme, is kept up by Vedic rites, and destroyed by knowledge of the supreme. As to freedom from pride, cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 4.

¹ Cf. *Kāthopanishad*, p. 142; *Mundaka*, p. 304; *Nṛsiṃhātāpini*, p. 106; *Svetāsvatara*, p. 110.

² Five senses and the mind issue from nature, in which they are absorbed during sleep or at a dissolution of the world. Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 44.

³ Cf. *Kaushītaki-upanishad*, pp. 86, 87.

⁴ Perceiving objects of sense, or feeling pleasure, pain, &c.

⁵ 'Selves' = bodies, Rāmānuja and Śrīdhara; 'understandings,' Śaṅkara. In the next sentence 'self' means mind.

⁶ Cf. *Maitrī-upanishad*, p. 142. This sentence continues what has been stated at the top of the page. The intervening

Entering the earth¹, I by my power support all things; and becoming the juicy moon, I nourish all herbs. I becoming the fire, and dwelling in the bodies of (all) creatures, and united with the upward and downward life-breaths, cause digestion of the fourfold food². And I am placed in the heart of all³; from me (come) memory, knowledge, and their removal; I alone am to be learnt from all the Vedas; I am the author of the Vedāntas⁴; and I alone know the Vedas. There are these two beings in the world, the destructible and the indestructible⁵. The destructible (includes) all things. The unconcerned one is (what is) called the indestructible. But the being supreme is yet another, called the highest self, who as the inexhaustible lord, pervading the three worlds, supports (them). And since I transcend the destructible, and since I am higher also than the indestructible⁶, therefore

portion explains how souls do come back in some cases. As a general rule, 'all going ends in returning.' But the soul is an exception in some cases, as the 'going' to the Brahman is going to the fountain-head. Then the question arises, How does the severance come off at all? And that is what the lines up to this explain.

¹ 'Entering in the form of the goddess earth,' say Ânandagiri and Madhusûdana. Support, i.e. by keeping the earth from falling or crumbling away. The moon is said to nourish herbs by communicating to them some of her 'juice.' The moon, it may be noted, is called 'watery star' by Shakespeare. As to her relation to the vegetable kingdom, see Matsya-purāṇa XXIII, stanza 10 seq.

² I.e. what is drunk, what is licked, what is powdered with the teeth, and what is eaten without such powdering.

³ Cf. p. 104 supra.

⁴ See Introduction, p. 18.

⁵ Cf. Svetārvata, p. 294.

⁶ The two are the whole collection of things as they appear and their material cause. The supreme being is a third principle.

am I celebrated in the world and in the Vedas as the best of beings. He who, undeluded, thus knows me the best of beings, worships me every way¹, O descendant of Bharata! knowing everything. Thus, O sinless one! have I proclaimed this most mysterious science. He who knows this, has done all he need do, and he becomes possessed of discernment.

CHAPTER XVI.

Freedom from fear, purity of heart, perseverance in (pursuit of) knowledge and abstraction of mind, gifts², self-restraint², and sacrifice, study of the Vedas, penance, straightforwardness, harmlessness, truth², freedom from anger, renunciation³, tranquillity, freedom from the habit of backbiting⁴, compassion for (all) beings, freedom from avarice, gentleness, modesty, absence of vain activity, noble-mindedness, forgiveness, courage, purity, freedom from a desire to injure others, absence of vanity, (these), O descendant of Bharata! are his who is born to godlike endowments. Ostentatiousness, pride, vanity⁵, anger, and also harshness and ignorance (are) his, O son of Prîthâ! who is born to demoniac⁶ endowments. Godlike endowments are deemed to be (means) for

¹ Cf. p. 129 infra. Here Sâṅkara paraphrases it by 'thinking me to be the soul of everything.'

² Cf. Sutta Nipâta, p. 49.

³ See next chapter.

⁴ Sutta Nipâta, pp. 15, 101.

⁵ Ostentatiousness=making a show of piety; pride=scil. of wealth and learning; vanity=esteeming oneself too highly; harshness=mercilessness.

⁶ Cf. *Khândogya-upanishad*, p. 585, and Max Müller's *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 322.

final emancipation, demoniac for bondage¹. Grieve not, O descendant of Bharata ! you are born to godlike endowments. (There are) two classes of created beings in this world, the godlike and the demoniac ; the godlike (class) has been described at length ; now hear from me, O son of Prithâ ! about the demoniac. Demoniac persons know not action or inaction², neither purity nor yet (correct) conduct nor veracity are in them. They say the universe is devoid of truth³, devoid of fixed principle⁴, and devoid of a ruler, produced by union (of male and female) caused by lust⁵, and nothing else. Holding this view, (these) enemies of the world, of ruined⁶ selves, of little knowledge, and of ferocious actions, are born for the destruction (of the world). Entertaining insatiable desire, full of vanity, ostentatiousness, and frenzy, they adopt false notions⁷ through delusion, and engage in unholy observances. Indulging in boundless thoughts ending with death⁸, given up to the enjoyment of objects of desire, being resolved that that is all, bound down by nets of hopes in hundreds, given up to anger and desire, they wish

¹ Scil. to birth and death in this world.

² What should be done for the attainment of real good, and what should not be done as productive of mischief. See too p. 125.

³ I.e. contains nothing that is entitled to belief, as the Vedas, &c.

⁴ No principle based on virtue and vice in the government of the world.

⁵ They do not believe in any unseen cause, but say the lust of mankind is the cause of the universe.

⁶ I.e. who have none of the means of reaching the next world.

⁷ Such as that by propitiating a certain divinity by a certain rite they may obtain treasure and so forth.

⁸ Till their last moments, thinking of making new acquisitions and preserving old ones.

to obtain heaps of wealth unfairly for enjoying objects of desire. 'This have I obtained to-day; this wish I will obtain; this wealth is mine; and this also shall be mine; this foe I have killed; others too I will destroy; I am lord, I am the enjoyer, I am perfect¹, strong, happy; I have wealth; I am of noble birth; who else is like me? I will sacrifice²; I will make gifts; I will rejoice.' Thus deluded by ignorance, tossed about by numerous thoughts, surrounded by the net of delusion, and attached to the enjoyment of objects of desire, they fall down into impure hell. Honoured (only) by themselves, void of humility, and full of the pride and frenzy of wealth, these calumniators (of the virtuous) perform sacrifices, which are sacrifices only in name, with ostentatiousness and against prescribed rules³; indulging (their) vanity, brute force, arrogance, lust, and anger; and hating me in their own bodies and in those of others⁴. These enemies⁵, ferocious, meanest of men, and unholy, I continually hurl down to these worlds⁶, only into demoniac wombs. Coming into demoniac wombs, deluded in every birth, they go down to the vilest state, O son of Kuntī! without ever coming to me. Threefold is this way to hell,—

¹ Blessed with children, &c. Śrīdhara takes it to mean, 'one who has done all he need do,' and Rāmānuga 'sufficient in himself.'

² I. e. get higher renown for sacrifices than others.

³ That is, because of indulgence in vanity, &c. Vanity = believing oneself to have virtues which one has not; arrogance = proud disdain of others.

⁴ There is trouble to oneself in sacrifices and to the animals killed for them.

⁵ I. e. of God.

⁶ The commentators render the original here by 'the paths of life and death,' or 'path to hell.'

ruinous to the self¹,—lust, anger, and likewise avarice; therefore one should abandon this triad. Released from these three ways to darkness, O son of Kuntl! a man works out his own salvation, and then proceeds to the highest goal. He² who abandoning scripture ordinances, acts under the impulse of desire, does not attain perfection³, nor happiness, nor the highest goal. Therefore in discriminating between what should be done and what should not be done, your authority (must be) scripture. And knowing what is declared by the ordinances of scripture, you should perform action in this world.

CHAPTER XVII.

Arguna said :

What is the state of those, O *Kṛishna*! who worship with faith, (but) abandoning scripture ordinances—goodness, passion, or darkness?

The Deity said :

Faith is of three kinds in embodied (beings), it is produced from dispositions⁴. It is of the quality of goodness, of the quality of passion, and of the quality of darkness. Hear about it. The faith of all, O descendant of Bharata! is conformable to the

¹ I.e. rendering the self unfit for any of the highest ends of man.

² Here, says *Sṛīdhara*, it is laid down that the triad is not to be got rid of save by following scripture rules.

³ I.e. fitness for the attainment of the summum bonum. As to acting from desire, see also p. 65.

⁴ I.e. the result of the actions in a former birth, cf. p. 56 supra.

heart¹. A being here is full of faith, and whatever is a man's faith, that is a man himself². Those of the quality of goodness worship the gods; those of the quality of passion the Yakshas and Rakshases³; and the others, the people of the quality of darkness, worship departed (spirits) and the multitudes of Bhûtas. Know those to be of demoniac convictions, who practise fierce penance⁴ not ordained by scripture; who are full of ostentatiousness and egoism, and of desire, attachment, and stubbornness; who are without discernment; and who torment the groups of organs in (their) bodies, and me also seated within (those) bodies. The food also, which is liked by all, and likewise the sacrifice, the penance, and gifts, are of three kinds. Listen to the distinctions regarding them as follows. The kinds of food which increase life, energy, strength, health, comfort, and relish, which are savoury, oleaginous, full of nutrition, and agreeable, are liked by the good. The kinds of food which are bitter, acid, saltish, too hot, sharp, rough, and burning, and which cause pain, grief, and disease, are desired by the passionate. And the food⁵ which is cold, tasteless, stinking, stale, impure, and even leavings, are liked by the dark. That sacrifice is good which, being prescribed in (scripture) ordinances, is performed by persons

¹ The hearts of gods are said to be good, those of Yakshas &c. passionate, those of men mixed, and so forth.

² Faith is the dominant principle in man, and he is good, passionate, or dark, as his faith is.

³ Goldstücker, *Remains*, I, 154.

⁴ Troublesome to oneself and others, as standing on heated stones, &c. 'Egoism' (Ahaṅkāra) = the feeling that one is worthy of honour, Nilakantha.

⁵ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 109, and *Âpastamba*, p. 31 (p. 62 in this series).

not wishing for the fruit (of it), and after determining (in their) mind that the sacrifice must needs be performed. But when a sacrifice is performed, O highest of the descendants of Bharata! with an expectation of fruit (from it), and for the purpose of ostentation, know that sacrifice (to be) passionate. They call that sacrifice dark, which is against the ordinances (of scripture), in which no food is dealt out (to Brâhmaṇas, &c.), which is devoid of Mantras¹, devoid of Dakṣiṇā presents, and which is without faith. Paying reverence to gods, Brâhmaṇas, preceptors, and men of knowledge; purity², straightforwardness, life as Brahmatârin, and harmlessness, (this) is called the penance bodily. The speech which causes no sorrow, which is true, agreeable, and beneficial, and the study³ of the Vedas, (this) is called the penance vocal. Calmness of mind, mildness, taciturnity⁴, self-restraint, and purity of heart, this is called the penance mental. This threefold penance, practised with perfect faith, by men who do not wish for the fruit, and who are possessed of devotion, is called good. The penance which is done for respect, honour, and reverence⁵, and with ostenta-

¹ Texts from the Vedas which ought to be recited on such occasions. Presents (Dakṣiṇā) to Brâhmaṇas are insisted on in *Bṛihad-Āraṇyaka-upaniṣad*, p. 661; *Āsvalāyana Gr̥hya* I, 23, 14.

² Cleanliness of body; straightforwardness = not doing prohibited acts; harmlessness = not injuring any living beings. These are 'bodily,' because the body is the main instrument in these actions.

³ I.e. recitation of the Vedas.

⁴ This is part of the 'mental penance,' because the government of the tongue is a consequence of mental restraint; the effect being, according to Saṅkara, put here for the cause.

⁵ Respect = people rising to receive one, &c.; honour = people saying 'this is a holy man,' &c.; reverence = people washing one's feet, &c.

tiousness, and which is uncertain and transient¹, is here called passionate. And that penance is described as dark, which is performed under a misguided conviction, with pain to oneself, or for the destruction of another. That gift is said (to be) good, which is given, because it ought to be given, to one who (can) do no service (in return), at a (proper) place and time, and to a (proper) person. But that gift which is given with much difficulty, for a return of services, or even with an expectation of fruit², is said to be passionate. And that gift is described as dark, which is given to unfit persons, at an unfit place and time, without respect, and with contempt. Om, Tad, and Sat, this is said (to be) the threefold designation of the Brahman. By that³, the Brāhmaṇas and the Vedas and sacrifices were created in olden times. Hence, the performance by those who study the Brahman, of sacrifices, gifts, and penances, prescribed by the ordinances (of scripture), always commence after saying 'Om⁴.' Those who desire final emancipation perform the various acts of sacrifice and penance, and the various acts of gift, without expectation of fruit, after (saying) 'Tad⁵.' 'Sat' is employed to express existence and goodness; and likewise, O son of Prithā! the word 'Sat' is used to express an auspicious act. Constancy in

¹ The fruit of which is uncertain or perishable.

² Heaven &c. as a reward for liberality.

³ I.e. the Brahman, according to Śrīdhara.

⁴ Cf. Āpastamba, p. 21 (p. 49 in this series). Nīlakanṭha cites texts to show that this and the other two words are used to designate the Brahman. The texts are from the Taittiriya, Aitareya, and Kāṇḍogya-upanishads.

⁵ Nīlakanṭha says, 'after "Tad"' means considering the act and all are Brahman, and cites p. 61 supra.

(making) sacrifices, penances, and gifts, is called 'Sat;' and (all) action, too, of which that¹ is the object, is also called 'Sat.' Whatever oblation is offered, whatever is given, whatever penance is performed, and whatever is done, without faith², that, O son of *Prithâ*! is called 'Asat,' and that is nought, both after death and here³.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Arguna said :

O you of mighty arms ! O *Hrishikesa* ! O destroyer of Kesin ! I wish to know the truth about renunciation and abandonment distinctly.

The Deity said :

By renunciation the sages understand the rejection of actions done with desires. The wise call the abandonment of the fruit of all actions (by the name) abandonment. Some wise men say, that action should be abandoned as being full of evil ; and others, that the actions of sacrifice, gift, and penance

¹ I.e. either the Brahman itself, or sacrifice, penance, and gift.

² Cf. *Sutta Nipâta*, p. 69.

³ The meaning of this whole passage seems to be that these three words, which designate the Brahman, have distinct uses, as specified. 'Om,' says *Nilakantha*, is employed whether the action is done with any special desire or not. Those who study the Brahman there means 'study the Vedas.' 'Tad' is employed in case of actions without desires only. 'Sat' is employed, according to *Saṅkara*, in case of existence, such as the birth of a first son ; 'goodness,' the reclamation of a bad man ; 'auspicious acts,' marriage, &c. The intelligent use of these terms as here specified is said to cure any defects in the actions, the various classes of which are mentioned before.

should not be abandoned. As to that abandonment, O best of the descendants of Bharata ! listen to my decision ; for abandonment, O bravest of men ! is described (to be) threefold. The actions of sacrifice, gift, and penance should not be abandoned ; they must needs be performed ; for sacrifices, gifts, and penances are means of sanctification to the wise. But even these actions, O son of Prithā ! should be performed, abandoning attachment and fruit ; such is my excellent and decided opinion. The renunciation of prescribed action is not proper. Its abandonment through delusion ¹ is described as of the quality of darkness. When a man abandons action, merely as being troublesome, through fear of bodily affliction, he does not obtain the fruit ² of abandonment by making (such) passionate abandonment. When prescribed action is performed, O Arguna ! abandoning attachment and fruit also, merely because it ought to be performed, that is deemed (to be) a good abandonment. He who is possessed of abandonment ³, being full of goodness, and talented, and having his doubts destroyed, is not averse from unpleasant actions, is not attached to pleasant ⁴ (ones). Since no embodied (being) can abandon actions without exception ⁵, he is said to be possessed of abandonment, who abandons the fruit of action. The threefold fruit of action, agreeable, disagreeable, and mixed, accrues after death to those who are not possessed of abandonment, but never to

¹ Without delusion no such abandonment will occur.

² Namely, final emancipation, by means of purity of heart.

³ I.e. who has the frame of mind necessary for a good abandonment.

⁴ Such as bathing at midday in summer. ⁵ Cf. p. 53 supra.

renouncers ¹. Learn from me, O you of mighty arms! these five causes of the completion of all actions, declared in the Sāṅkhya system ². The substratum, the agent likewise, the various sorts of organs, and the various and distinct movements, and with these the deities, too, as the fifth. Whatever action, just or otherwise, a man performs with his body, speech, and mind, these five are its causes. That being so, the undiscerning man, who being of an unrefined understanding, sees the agent in the immaculate self, sees not (rightly) ³. He who has no feeling of egoism ⁴, and whose mind is not tainted, even though he kills (all) these people, kills not, is not fettered ⁵ (by the action). Knowledge ⁶, the object of knowledge, the knower—threefold is the prompting to action. The instrument, the action, the agent, thus in brief is action threefold. Knowledge and action and agent

¹ The original is *sannyāsi*, but Śrīdhara is probably right in taking it to mean one who has command of 'abandonment.' Sāṅkara and Madhusūdana, however, take the word in its ordinary sense of 'ascetic.' What follows explains, says Śrīdhara, why 'the fruit does not accrue to renouncers.'

² Sāṅkara and Madhusūdana say this means Vedānta-sāstra. Śrīdhara suggests also the alternative Sāṅkhya-sāstra. Substratum = the body, in which desire, aversion, &c. are manifested; agent = one who egoistically thinks himself the doer of actions; organs = senses of perception, action, &c.; movements = of the vital breaths in the body; deities = the deities which preside over the eye and other senses (as to this cf. *Aitareya-upanishad*, p. 45; *Prasna*, pp. 216, 217; *Mundaka*, p. 314; *Aitareya-āranyaka*, pp. 88-270; and Max Müller's *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 204, note). ³ Cf. p. 106.

⁴ Egoism = the feeling that he is the doer of the action; taint = the feeling that the fruit of the action must accrue to him.

⁵ Cf. p. 45, and *Dhammapada*, stanza 294.

⁶ Knowledge, i.e. that something is a means to what is desired; object is the means; the knower is he who has this knowledge. When these co-exist we have action. The instrument = senses, &c.

are declared in the enumeration of qualities ¹ (to be) of three classes only, according to the difference of qualities. Hear about these also as they really are. Know that knowledge to be good, by which (a man) sees one entity, inexhaustible, and not different in all things (apparently) different ² (from one another). Know that knowledge to be passionate, which is (based) on distinctions ³ (between different entities), which sees in all things various entities of different kinds. And that is described as dark, which clings to one created (thing) only as everything, which is devoid of reason, devoid of real principle, and insignificant ⁴. That action is called good, which is prescribed, which is devoid of attachment, which is not done from (motives of) affection or aversion, (and which is done) by one not wishing for the fruit. That is described as passionate, which (occasions) much trouble, is performed by one who wishes for objects of desire, or one who is full of egotism ⁵. The action is called dark, which is commenced through delusion, without regard to consequences, loss, injury, or strength ⁶. That agent is called good, who has cast off attachment, who is free from egotistic talk, who is possessed of courage and energy, and unaffected by success or ill-success. That agent is called passionate, who is full of affections ⁷.

¹ The system of Kapila.

² Cf. p. 104.

³ Cf. *Kaṭhopanishad*, p. 129.

⁴ Reason=argument in support; real principle=truth, view of things as they are; insignificant, i.e. in comprehensiveness.

⁵ I.e. 'pride of learning,' &c., Sāṅkhya; 'egoism,' Rāmānuja.

⁶ Consequences=good or evil resulting; loss=of wealth or strength; injury=to others; strength=one's own capacity.

⁷ I.e. 'for children,' &c., according to Śrīdhara; 'for the action,' according to others.

who wishes for the fruit of actions, who is covetous, cruel, and impure, and feels joy and sorrow. That agent is called dark, who is without application¹, void of discernment, headstrong, crafty, malicious, lazy, melancholy, and slow. Now hear, O Dhanañgaya! the threefold division of intelligence² and courage, according to qualities, which I am about to declare exhaustively and distinctly. That intelligence, O son of Prithā! is good which understands action and inaction³, what ought to be done and what ought not to be done, danger and the absence of danger, emancipation and bondage. That intelligence, O son of Prithā! is passionate, by which one imperfectly understands piety and impiety, what ought to be done and also what ought not to be done. That intelligence, O son of Prithā! is dark, which shrouded by darkness, understands impiety (to be) piety, and all things incorrectly. That courage, O son of Prithā! is good courage, which is unswerving⁴, and by which one controls the operations of the mind, breath, and senses, through abstraction. But, O Arjuna! that courage is passionate, by which one adheres to piety, lust, and wealth⁵, and through attachment⁶ wishes,

¹ I.e. attention to work; melancholy=always desponding and wanting in energy.

² The nature of the faculty of understanding; and courage is the firmness of that faculty.

³ See p. 115. Sāhikara takes these to mean the 'paths' of action and knowledge, and Nīlakantha takes the next expression to mean that which is constant and that which is not constant—nitya, anitya.

⁴ Always co-existing with mental abstraction and supporting it.

⁵ Three of the aims of mankind, the highest being final emancipation. In the view of the Gītā, piety, leading only to heaven, is of doubtful benefit.

⁶ I.e. to the action for attaining them, in the belief that one is

O son of *Prithā*! for the fruit. That courage is dark, O son of *Prithā*! by which an undiscerning man does not give up sleep, fear, sorrow, despondency, and folly. Now, O chief of the descendants of *Bharata*! hear from me about the three sorts of happiness. That happiness is called good, in which one is pleased after repetition¹ (of enjoyment), and reaches the close of all misery, which is like poison first and comparable to nectar in the long run, and which is produced from a clear knowledge of the self². That happiness is called passionate, which (flows) from contact between the senses and their objects, and which is at first comparable to nectar and in the long run like poison. That happiness is described as dark, which arises from sleep, laziness, heedlessness, which deludes the self, both at first and in its consequences. There is no entity either on earth or in heaven among the gods, which is free from these three qualities born of nature. The duties of *Brāhmaṇas*, *Kshatriyas*, and *Vaiśyas*, and of *Sūdras*, too, O terror of your foes! are distinguished according to the qualities born of nature³. Tranquillity⁴, restraint of the senses, penance, purity, forgiveness, straightforwardness, also knowledge, experience, and belief (in a future world), this is the natural duty of *Brāhmaṇas*. Valour, glory, courage,

the doer of it; the 'fruit' scil. of the action performed with an eye to the three things named.

¹ Not at once, as in the case of sensuous pleasures.

² Cf. p. 51. The original has also been rendered by 'tranquillity of one's own mind.'

³ Cf. p. 59.

⁴ I.e. resulting from control of the mind, purity here is both external and internal. And see p. 119.

dexterity¹, not slinking away from battle, gifts, exercise of lordly power², this is the natural duty of Kshatriyas. Agriculture, tending cattle, trade, (this) is the natural duty of Vaisyas. And the natural duty of Sûdras, too, consists in service. (Every) man intent on his own respective duties obtains perfection³. Listen, now, how one intent on one's own duty obtains perfection. Worshipping, by (the performance of) his own duty, him from whom all things proceed, and by whom all this is permeated, a man obtains perfection. One's duty, though defective, is better than another's duty well performed⁴. Performing the duty prescribed by nature, one does not incur sin. O son of Kuntl! one should not abandon a natural duty though tainted with evil; for all actions are enveloped by evil, as fire by smoke⁵. One who is self-restrained, whose understanding is unattached everywhere, from whom affections have departed, obtains the supreme perfection of freedom from action⁶ by renunciation. Learn from me, only in brief, O son of Kuntl! how one who has obtained perfection attains the Brahman, which is the highest culmination of knowledge. A man possessed of a pure understanding, controlling his self by courage, discarding sound and other objects of sense, casting off

¹ I. e. in battle, Nîlakantha seems to say. Sāṅkara says it means ready resource whenever occasion arises.

² I. e. 'power to restrain people from going astray,' Nîlakantha.

³ Eligibility for the path of knowledge.

⁴ Cf. p. 56.

⁵ Cf. p. 121; the evil appears to be the quality of 'fettering' the soul.

⁶ Śrīdhara compares p. 65 (V, 13) and distinguishes this from p. 64 (V, 8 seq.) Sāṅkara says the perfection here spoken of is emancipation, and it is obtained by true knowledge.

affection and aversion ; who frequents clean places, who eats little, whose speech, body, and mind are restrained, who is always intent on meditation and mental abstraction¹, and has recourse to unconcern, who abandoning egoism², stubbornness, arrogance, desire, anger, and (all) belongings, has no (thought that this or that is) mine, and who is tranquil, becomes fit for assimilation with the Brahman. Thus reaching the Brahman³, and with a tranquil self, he grieves not, wishes not ; but being alike to all beings, obtains the highest devotion to me. By (that) devotion he truly understands who I am and how great. And then understanding me truly, he forthwith enters into my (essence). Even performing all actions, always depending on me, he, through my favour, obtains the imperishable and eternal seat. Dedicating in thought⁴ all actions to me, he constantly given up to me, (placing) your thoughts on me, through recourse to mental abstraction. (Placing) your thoughts on me, you will cross over all difficulties by my favour. But if you will not listen through egotism⁵, you will be ruined. If entertaining egotism, you think that you may not fight, vain, indeed, is that resolution of yours. Nature⁶ will constrain you. That, O son of Kuntl! which through delusion you do not wish to do, you will do involuntarily.

¹ Abstraction is concentrated and exclusive meditation, Sâṅkara. The other commentators take dhyânayoga as meditation simply,—as treated of in chapter VI, says Nîlakantha.

² See p. 52.

³ I. e. comprehending his identity with the Brahman.

⁴ Cf. p. 55.

⁵ Pride of learning and cleverness, or of piety. See p. 124, note 5.

⁶ The nature of a Kshatriya, Sâṅkara.

tied down by your own duty, flowing from your nature. The lord, O Arguna! is seated in the region of the heart¹ of all beings, turning round all beings (as though) mounted on a machine, by his delusion. With him, O descendant of Bharata! seek shelter in every way²; by his favour you will obtain the highest tranquillity, the eternal seat. Thus have I declared to you the knowledge more mysterious than any mystery. Ponder over it thoroughly, and then act as you like. Once more, listen to my excellent words—most mysterious of all. Strongly I like you, therefore I will declare what is for your welfare. On me (place) your mind, become my devotee, sacrifice to me, reverence me, and you will certainly come to me. I declare to you truly, you are dear to me. Forsaking all duties³, come to me as (your) sole refuge. I will release you from all sins. Be not grieved. This⁴ you should never declare to one who performs no penance⁵, who is not a devotee⁶, nor to one who does not wait on (some preceptor)⁷, nor yet to one who calumniates me. He who, with the highest devotion⁸ to me, will proclaim this supreme mystery among my devotees, will come to me, freed from (all) doubts. No one

¹ Svetârvatara-upanishad, pp. 333-345; Ka/hopanishad, p. 157.

² Cf. p. 114; by thought, word, and deed.

³ Of caste or order, such as Agnihotra and so forth.

⁴ All that has been taught in the Gîtâ.

⁵ Sridhara renders this to mean, 'who performs no pious acts.'

⁶ I. e. of God and a preceptor. Cf. last stanza of Svetârvatara-upanishad.

⁷ Cf. p. 62. Saṅkara says all these elements must co-exist to give eligibility.

⁸ I. e. belief that in disseminating it, he is serving me. Cf. Ka/hopanishad, p. 120.

amongst men is superior to him in doing what is dear to me. And there will never be another on earth dearer to me than he. And he who will study this holy dialogue of ours, will, such is my opinion, have offered to me the sacrifice of knowledge¹. And the man, also, who with faith and without carping will listen (to this), will be freed (from sin), and attain to the holy regions of those who perform pious acts². Have you listened to this, O son of *Prithâ* ! with a mind (fixed) on (this) one point only ? Has your delusion (caused) by ignorance been destroyed, O *Dhanañgaya* ?

Arguna said :

Destroyed is my delusion ; by your favour, O un-degraded one ! I (now) recollect³ myself. I stand freed from doubts⁴. I will do your bidding.

Saṅgaya said :

Thus did I hear this dialogue between *Vāsudeva* and the high-minded son of *Prithâ*, (a dialogue) wonderful and causing the hair to stand on end. By the favour of *Vyâsa*, I heard this highest mystery, (this) devotion⁵, from *Kṛishṇa* himself, the lord of the possessors of mystic power, who proclaimed it in person. O king ! remembering and (again) remembering this wonderful and holy dialogue of *Kesava* and *Arguna*, I rejoice over and over again. And remembering and (again) remembering that

¹ Which is the best of sacrifices ; see p. 62.

² Cf. p. 72.

³ I.e. understand my real essence, what I am, &c.

⁴ As to whether the battle was right or not.

⁵ The work is so called, as it refers to devotion.

excessively wonderful form of Hari also, great is my amazement, O king! and I rejoice over and over again. Wherever (is) *Kṛishṇa*, the lord of the possessors of mystic power, wherever (is) the (great) archer, the son of *Prithā*, there in my opinion (are) fortune, victory, prosperity¹, and eternal justice.

¹ Prosperity is the greater development of fortune.

SANATSUGÂTÎYA.

INTRODUCTION

TO

S A N A T S U G Â T Î Y A.

THE Sanatsugâtîya is, like the Bhagavadgîtâ, one of the numerous episodes of the Mahâbhârata¹. It is true, that it has never commanded anything like that unbounded veneration which has always been paid in India to the Bhagavadgîtâ. Still it is sometimes studied even in our days, and it has had the high distinction of being commented on by the great leader of the modern Vedântic school—Sâṅkarâcârya². The Sanatsugâtîya purports to be a dialogue mainly between Sanatsugâta on the one side and Dhṛitarâshṭra on the other. Sanatsugâta, from whom it takes its name, is said to be identical with Sanatku-mâra, a name not unfamiliar to students of our Upanishad literature. And Dhṛitarâshṭra is the old father of those Kauravas who formed one of the belligerent parties in the bellum plusquam civile which is recorded in the Mahâbhârata. The connexion of this particular episode with the main current of the narrative of that epos is one of the loosest possible character—much looser, for instance, than that of the Bhagavadgîtâ. As regards the latter, it can fairly be contended that it is in accordance with poetical justice for Arguna to feel despondent and unwilling to engage in battle, after actual sight of 'teachers, fathers, sons,' and all the rest of them, arrayed in opposition to him; and that therefore it was necessary for the poet to adduce some specific explanation as to how Arguna was ultimately enabled to get over such natural scruples. But as regards the Sanatsugâtîya, even such a contention as this

¹ Mahâbhârata, Udyoga Parvan, Adhyâya 41-46.

² Mâdhavâcârya, in speaking of Sâṅkara's works, describes him as having commented on the Sanatsugâtîya, which is 'far from evil (persons,)' [*asatsudû-ras*]. Sâṅkara-vigaya, chapter VI, stanza 62.

can have no place. For this is how the matter stands. In the course of the negotiations for an amicable arrangement¹ between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, Sañgaya, on one occasion, came back to Dhṛitarāshṭra with a message from the Pāṇḍavas. When he saw Dhṛitarāshṭra, however, he said that he would deliver the message in the public assembly of the Kauravas the next morning, and went away after pronouncing a severe censure on Dhṛitarāshṭra for his conduct. The suspense thus caused was a source of much vexation to the old man, and so he sent for Vidura, in order, as he expresses it, that Vidura might by his discourse assuage the fire that was raging within him. Vidura accordingly appears, and enters upon an elaborate prelection concerning matters spiritual, or, perhaps, more accurately quasi-spiritual, and at the outset of the Sanatsugâtiya he is supposed to have reached a stage where, as being born a Sûdra, he hesitates to proceed. After some discussion of this point, between Vidura and Dhṛitarāshṭra, it is determined to call in the aid of Sanatsugâta, to explain the spiritual topics which Vidura felt a delicacy in dealing with; and Sanatsugâta is accordingly introduced on the scene in a way not unusual in our epic and purāṇic literature, viz. by Vidura engaging in some mystic process of meditation, in response to which Sanatsugâta appears. He is received then with all due formalities, and after he has had some rest, as our poem takes care to note, he is catechised by Dhṛitarāshṭra; and with one or two exceptions, all the verses which constitute the Sanatsugâtiya are Sanatsugâta's answers to Dhṛitarāshṭra's questions².

This brief statement of the scheme of this part of the Mahābhārata shows, as already pointed out, that the connexion of the Sanatsugâtiya with the central story of that epic is very loose indeed; and that it might have been entirely omitted without occasioning any æsthetical or other defect. And therefore, although there is nothing positive

¹ See p. 3 supra.

² After this dialogue is over, the dawn breaks, and Dhṛitarāshṭra and the Kaurava princes meet in general assembly.

tending to prove the Sanatsugātiya to be a later addition to the original epos, still the misgivings which are often entertained upon such points may well, in this case, be stronger than in the case of the Bhagavadgītā. The text, too, of the Sanatsugātiya is not preserved in nearly so satisfactory a condition as that of the Gītā. I have had before me, in settling my text, the editions of the Mahābhārata respectively printed and published at Bombay¹, Calcutta, and Madras, and three MSS., one of which was most kindly and readily placed at my disposal by my friend Professor Rāmkrishna Gopāl Bhāndārkar; the second by another friend, Professor Ābāt Vishṇu Kāthavaṭe; and the third was a copy made for me at Sāgar in the Central Provinces, through the good offices of a third friend, Mr. Vāman Mahādeva Kolhaṭkar. The copy lent me by Professor Bhāndārkar comes from Puṇa, and that lent by Professor Kāthavaṭe also from Puṇa. This last, as well as the Sāgar copy, and the edition printed at Madras, contains the commentary of Saṅkarācārya. And the text I have adopted is that which is indicated by the commentary as the text which its author had before him. But the several copies of the commentary differ so much from one another, that it is still a matter of some doubt with me, whether I have got accurately the text which Saṅkara commented upon. For instance, the Sāgar copy entirely omits chapter V, while the other copies not only give the text of that chapter, but also a commentary upon it which calls itself Saṅkarācārya's commentary². Again, take the stanzas which stand within brackets at pp. 167, 168³ of our translation. There is in none of the copies we have, any commentary of Saṅkarācārya on them. And yet the stanzas exist in the text of the Mahābhārata as given in those copies which do contain Saṅkara's commentary. The matter is evidently one for further investigation. I have not, however, thought it

¹ This contains Nilakamṭha's commentary, but his text avowedly includes the text of Saṅkara, and verses and readings contained in more modern copies.

² The commentary on the sixth chapter, however, takes up the thread from the end of the fourth chapter.

³ See p. 182, where one of the lines recurs.

absolutely necessary to make such an investigation for the purposes of the present translation. But to be on the safe side, I have retained in the translation everything which is to be found in those copies of the Sanatsugātiya which also contain Saṅkara's commentary. As to other stanzas—and there are some of this description—which other MSS. or commentators vouch for, but of which no trace is to be found in the MSS. containing Saṅkara's commentary¹, I have simply omitted them.

These facts show that, in the case of the Sanatsugātiya, the materials for a trustworthy historical account of the work are not of a very satisfactory character. The materials for ascertaining its date and position in Sanskrit literature are, indeed, so scanty, that poor as we have seen the materials for the Bhagavadgītā to be, they must be called superlatively rich as compared with those we have now to deal with. As regards external evidence on the points now alluded to, the first and almost the last fact falling under that head, is the fact of the work being quoted from and commented upon by Saṅkarākārya. In his commentary on the Svetāsvatara-upanishad², Saṅkara cites the passage about the flamingo at p. 189, introducing it with the words, 'And in the Sanatsugāta also.' In the same³ commentary some other passages from the Sanatsugātiya are also quoted, but without naming the work except as a Smṛiti, and mixing up together verses from different parts of the work.

This is really all the external evidence, that I am aware of, touching the date of the Sanatsugātiya. There is, however, one other point, which it is desirable to notice, though not, perhaps, so much because it is of any very great value in itself, as because it may hereafter become useful, should further research into the Mahābhārata and other works yield the requisite information. There are, then, eight stanzas in the thirty-sixth, thirty-seventh, thirty-ninth, and fortieth chapters of the Udyoga Parvan of the Mahābhā-

¹ See note 1, p. 137.

² P. 283.

³ P. 252. See, too, Śāṅkara Bhāṣya, p. 828.

rata (the Sanatsugātiya commencing at the forty-first chapter), seven of which are quoted in the *Pañkatantra*¹, and the eighth in the *Mahābhāshya*² of Patañjali. Of course, it almost goes without saying, that neither the *Pañkatantra* nor the *Mahābhāshya* mentions the source from which they derive the verses in question. But I do not think it unallowable to make the provisional assumption, that they were derived from the *Mahābhārata*, so long as we cannot produce any other, and more likely, source. It is true, that Professor Weber has, in another connexion, impugned the cogency of this argument. He seems to think, that the probability—in the case he was actually dealing with—of the *Rāmāyana* having borrowed from the *Mahābhāshya*, is quite as strong as the probability of the *Mahābhāshya* having borrowed from the *Rāmāyana*³. And doubtless, he would by parity of reason contend, in the case before us, that the probabilities, as between the *Mahābhārata* on the one hand, and the *Mahābhāshya* and the *Pañkatantra* on the other, bear the same mutual relation. I cannot accept this view. I am not now concerned to discuss the merits of the conclusion in support of which Professor Weber has advanced this argument⁴. I am only considering, how far it affects the question now before us. And as to that question, I may say, that the *Pañkatantra* expressly introduces the stanzas now under consideration with some such expression as, 'For it has been said,' indicating clearly that it was there quoting the words of another⁵. And so, too, does the *Mahābhāshya*,

¹ Cf. Kosegarten's *Pañkatantra*, p. 28 (I, 28, Bombay S. C. ed.), with *Udyoga Parvan*, chap. XI, st. 7 (Bombay ed.); *Pañkatantra*, pp. 112 and 209 (II, 10; IV, 5, Bombay ed.), with *Udyoga Parvan*, chap. XXXVIII, 9; p. 35 I, 37, Bombay ed.) with chap. XXXVI, st. 34; p. 140 (II, 40, Bombay ed.) with chap. XXXVII, st. 15; p. 160 (III, 62, Bombay ed.) with chap. XXXVII, st. 17, 18; p. 106 (II, 2, Bombay ed.) with chap. XXXVI, st. 59.

² *Udyoga Parvan*, chap. XXXVIII, st. 1, and *Mahābhāshya* VI, 1-4, p. 35 (Banāras ed.)

³ See *Indian Antiquary* IV, 247. The parallel from *Mādhava* which Professor Weber adduces is quite inconclusive, and as far as it goes appears to me to militate against the Professor's own view.

⁴ I may, however, admit at once, that I ought not to have expressed myself as strongly as I did in the note which Professor Weber criticises.

⁵ See p. 203 *infra*.

where the passage we refer to runs as follows : ‘(It is) laid down, (that there is) a sin in one of tender age not rising to receive (an elderly person), and (that there is) merit in rising to receive. How? Thus, “The life-winds of a youth depart upwards, when an elderly man approaches (him). By rising to receive (him), and salutation, he obtains them again.”’ It appears to me, that the indications of this being a quotation in the Bhāshya are very strong. But apart from that, I do demur to the proposition, that the probabilities are equal, of a work like the Mahābhārata or Rāmāyana borrowing a verse from the Mahābhāshya, and vice versa. It appears to me perfectly plain, I own, that the probability of a grammatical work like the Bhāshya borrowing a verse from a standard work like the Bhārata or Rāmāyana for purposes of illustration is very much the stronger of the two. And this, quite independently of any inquiry as to whether the Bhāshya does or does not show other indications of acquaintance with the Bhārata or the Rāmāyana.

If these arguments are correct, it seems to me that they carry us thus far in our present investigation—namely, that we may now say, that we have reason to believe some parts, at all events, of the thirty-sixth, thirty-seventh, thirty-eighth, and fortieth chapters of the Udyoga Parvan of the Mahābhārata to have probably been in existence prior to the sixth century A.C.¹; and that some parts of the thirty-seventh chapter were probably extant in the time of Patañjali, viz. the second century B.C.² Now, internal evidence does not yield any indications tending to show that the several chapters here referred to must have been prior in time to the chapters composing the Sanatsugâtīya, which come so soon after them in the Mahābhārata. On the contrary, it is not too much to maintain, that to a certain extent the style and language of the Sanatsugâtīya is, if anything, rather indicative of its priority in time over the five chapters immediately preceding it. And, therefore, so far as this argument goes, it enables us—provisionally only, it must be

¹ See p. 29 supra.

² See p. 32 supra.

remembered—to fix the second century B.C. as a terminus ad quem for the date of the Sanatsugātiya.

This is all the external evidence available for a discussion of the question—when the Sanatsugātiya was composed. We now turn to the internal evidence. Standing by itself, internal evidence is not, in my opinion, of much cogency in any case. Still in ascertaining, as best we can, the history of our ancient literature, even this species of evidence is not to be despised; it must only be used and received with caution. Under this head, then, we may note first the persons who are supposed to take part in the dialogue. Sanatsugāta¹—or Sanatkumāra—as already pointed out, is a name already familiar to the readers of one of our older Upanishads—the *Khândogya*. Dhṛitarāshṭra is not known in the Upanishads, but he is an important personage in the epic literature. And it is to be remarked, that his character as disclosed in the Sanatsugātiya is not at all similar to that which has attached itself to his name, alike in the later literature of our country, and in that popular opinion which was probably formed by this later literature. In the dialogue before us, he figures as an earnest inquirer after truth; he is described as the ‘talented king Dhṛitarāshṭra;’ and is addressed by Sanatsugāta as, ‘O acute sir!’ ‘O learned person!’ True it is, that Nilakanṭha in one place, as we have noticed in our note there², endeavours to bring out the later view of Dhṛitarāshṭra’s character³; but it seems to me that that endeavour, based as it is on a forced and far-fetched interpretation of a single word in our poem, is an unsuccessful one. None of the questions, which Dhṛitarāshṭra puts to Sanatsugāta in the course of their dialogue, indicates the avaricious old man who wished to deprive his innocent nephews of their just rights in the interests of his own wicked and misguided sons. They rather indicate the bona fide student of spiritual lore, and thus point to what is, perhaps, an earlier view of Dhṛitarāshṭra’s character.

¹ See Hall’s *Sākhyaśāstra*, preface, pp. 14, 15.

² P. 151, note 2.

³ Nilakanṭha himself, however, treats Dhṛitarāshṭra’s question later on as showing that he had attained indifference to worldly concerns. That question does not occur in Śaṅkara’s text, but is given at p. 158 infra.

If we look next to the general style of this poem, we find that it has none of that elaboration which marks what I have called the age of Kāvya and Nāṭakas. The remarks on this topic in the Introduction to the Gītā apply pretty accurately to this work also. We observe here the same paucity of long-drawn compounds, the same absence of merely ornamental adjectives, the same absence of figures and tropes¹; in one word, the same directness and simplicity of style. Furthermore, there is a somewhat greater want of finish about the syntax of our poem than there is even in the Gītā. Such constructions as we find *inter alia* at chapter II, stanza 2, or 25, or at chapter III, stanza 14, or chapter IV, stanza 12, or in the early verses of the last chapter, indicate a period in the history of the language, when probably the regulations of syntax were not quite thoroughly established in practice.

If we turn to the metre of the poem, an analogous phenomenon strikes us there. Similar irregularities in the collocation of long and short syllables, similar superfluities and deficiencies of syllables, meet us in the Sanatsugâtīya and the Bhagavadgītā. And in the former work, as in the latter, the irregularities are less observable in the Anuṣṭubh² than in the other metres used. Probably the explanation, apart from the great elasticity of that metre, is that the Anuṣṭubh had been more used, and had in consequence become comparatively more settled in its scheme even in practical composition.

Looking now more particularly to the language of the work before us, we find one word to be of most frequent occurrence, namely, the word *vai*, which we have rendered 'verily.' It is not a common word in the later literature, while in the Upanishad literature we meet with great frequency, not merely *vai*, but the words, which I think are cognate with it, *vā* and *vāva*. The former word, indeed,

¹ The five similes which occur, and which are nearly all that occur, in the poem, are the very primitive ones—of the hunter, of water on grass, the tiger of straw, death eating men like a tiger, dogs eating what is vomited, a branch of a tree and the moon, and birds and their nests.

² Cf. as to this the *Nṛsiṃha Tāpinī*, p. 105.

appears to me to stand in some passages of the Upanishads for vai by euphonic alterations. Thus in the passage *tvam vâ aham asmi bhagavo devate, aham vai tvam asi*, it is difficult not to suppose that the *vâ* of the first part of the sentence is the same word as the *vai* of the second part, only altered according to the rules of Sandhi in Sanskrit.

A second point of similarity between the language of the Upanishads and that of the Sanatsugâtîya is to be found in the phrase, 'He who knows this becomes immortal.' This sentence, or one of like signification, is, as is well known, of common occurrence in the Upanishads and in the Brâhmanas. In the Bhagavadgîtâ, the verses towards the end, which come after Krishna's summing-up of his instruction, seem to be of a somewhat analogous, though in some respects different, nature. And in the Purânas we meet sometimes with elaborate passages extolling the merits of a particular rite, or a particular pilgrimage, and so forth. This form of the Phalaruti, as it is called, appears to have been developed in process of time from the minute germ existing in the Brâhmanas and the Upanishads. In the Sanatsugâtîya, however, we are almost at the beginning of those developments; indeed, the form before us is identically the same as that which we see in the works where it is first met with. It is a short sentence, which, though complete in itself, still appears merely at the end of another passage, and almost as a part of such other passage.

There is one other point of a kindred nature which it may be well to notice here. As in the Gîtâ, so in the Sanatsugâtîya, we meet with a considerable number of words used in senses not familiar in the later literature. They are collected in the Index of Sanskrit words in this volume; but a few remarks on some of them will not, it is thought, be entirely out of place here. The word *mârگا*¹—in the sense of 'worldly life'—is rather remarkable. Saṅkara renders it by 'the path of *samsâra*' or worldly life. And he quotes as a parallel the passage from the *Khândogya-*

¹ I give no references here, as they can be found in the Index of Sanskrit words at the end of this volume.

upanishad which speaks of returning to the 'path.' There, however, Sāṅkara explains it to mean the 'path by which the self returns to worldly life,' namely, from space to the wind and so forth into vegetables, and food, ultimately appearing as a foetus. Another remarkable word is 'varga,' which occurs twice in the Sanatsugāṭīya. Sāṅkara and Nilakantha differ in their explanations of it, and Nilakantha indeed gives two different meanings to the word in the two passages where it occurs. We may also refer here specially to *utsa*, *ṛitvig*, and *matvā*. In Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon the only passages cited under 'utsa' are from Vedic works, except two respectively from Susruta and the Dasakumāra-karita. One passage, however, there cited, viz. *Vishṇoḥ pade parame madhva utsaḥ*, is plainly the original of the passage we are now considering. As to *ṛitvig* in the sense it bears here, we see, I think, what was the earlier signification of that word before it settled down into the somewhat technical meaning in which it is now familiar. And *matvā* in the sense of 'meditating upon' is to be found in the Upanishads, but not, I think, in any work of the classical literature. These words, therefore, seem to indicate that the Sanatsugāṭīya was composed at a stage in the development of the Sanskrit language which is a good deal earlier than the stage which we see completely reached in the classical literature.

Coming now to the matter of the Sanatsugāṭīya, it appears to me, that we there see indications pointing in a general way to the same conclusion as that which we have here arrived at. There is, in the first place, a looseness and want of rigid system in the mode of handling the subject, similar to that which we have already observed upon as characterising the Bhagavadgītā. There is no obvious bond of connexion joining together the various subjects discussed, nor are those subjects themselves treated after any very scientific or rigorous method. Again, if the fourth chapter is a genuine part of the Sanatsugāṭīya, we have an elaborate repetition in one part, of what has been said in another part of the work, with only a few variations in words, and

perhaps fewer still in signification. As, however, I am not at present prepared to stand finally by the genuineness of that chapter, I do not consider it desirable to further labour this argument than to point out, that similar repetitions, on a smaller scale, perhaps, are not uncommon in our older literature¹.

Coming now to the manner in which the Vedas are spoken of in the work before us, there are, we find, one or two noteworthy circumstances proper to be considered here. In the first place, we have the reference to the four Vedas together with *Ākhyānas* as the fifth Veda. This is in conformity with the old tradition recorded in the various works to which we have referred in our note on the passage. The mention of the *Atharva-veda*, which is implied in this passage, and expressly contained in another, might be regarded as some mark of a modern age. But without dwelling upon the fact, that the *Atharva-veda*, though probably modern as compared with the other Vedas, is still old enough to date some centuries before the Christian era², it must suffice to draw attention here to the fact that the *Kāṇḍogya-upanishad* mentions that Veda, and it is not here argued that the *Sanatsugātiya* is older than the *Kāṇḍogya-upanishad*. We have next to consider the reference to the *Sāman* hymns as 'vimala,' or pure. The point involved in this reference has been already sufficiently discussed in the Introduction to the *Gītā*³; and it is not necessary here to say more than that, of the two classes of works we have there made, the *Sanatsugātiya* appears from the passage under discussion to rank itself with the class which is prior in date.

The estimate of the value of the Vedas which is implied in the *Sanatsugātiya* appears to coincide very nearly with that which we have shown to be the estimate implied in the *Bhagavadgītā*. The Vedas are not here cast aside as useless any more than they are in the *Bhagavadgītā*. For, I do not think the word *Anṛitas* which occurs in one passage of the work can be regarded really as referring to those

¹ See p. 181, note 1 *infra*.

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² P. 19 *supra*.

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³ Pp. 19, 20.

who entirely reject the Vedic revelation. But without going as far as that, the Sanatsugâtiya seems certainly to join the Bhagavadgītā in its protest against those men of extreme views, who could see nothing beyond the rites and ceremonies taught in the Vedas. A study of the Vedas is, indeed, insisted on in sundry passages of the Sanatsugâtiya. But it is equally maintained, that the performance of the ceremonies laid down in the Vedas is not the true means of final emancipation. It is maintained, that action done with any desire is a cause of bondage to worldly life; that the gods themselves are ordinary creatures who have reached a certain high position owing to the practice of the duties of Brahmakârins, but that they are not only not superior to, but are really under the control of, the man who has acquired the true knowledge of the universal self. On all these points, we have opinions expressed in the Sanatsugâtiya, which conclusively establish an identity of doctrine as between the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgītā¹ on the one hand, and the Sanatsugâtiya on the other. Lastly, we have an explicit statement, that the mere study of Vedic texts avails nothing, and that sin is not to be got rid of by one who merely 'studies the *Rik* and the *Yagus* texts, and the *Sâma-veda*.' It is not necessary to repeat here the chronological deductions which may be based upon this relation between the Sanatsugâtiya and the Vedas. We have already argued in the Introduction to the Bhagavadgītā, that such a relation points to a period of Indian religious history prior to the great movement of Gautama Buddha².

There is, however, this difference, perhaps, to be noted between the Gītā and the Sanatsugâtiya—namely, that the latter work seems to afford more certain indications of the recognition, at the date of its composition, of a *Gñanakānda* as distinguished from a *Karmakānda* in the Vedas, than, we have seen, are contained in the Bhagavadgītā³. The passage, for instance, which speaks of the *Kṛhandas* as

¹ Cf. p. 16 *supra*.

² Cf. pp. 25, 26.

³ P. 17.

referring 'of themselves' to the Brahman, and the passage which refers to an understanding of the Brahman by means of the Vedas, according to the principle of the moon and the branch—these seem rather to point to a portion of the Vedas which was regarded as giving instruction in true knowledge, as distinguished from merely laying down various sacrifices and ceremonials for special purposes. In fact, in one passage we have the germ of the whole Vedāntic theory as afterwards settled. For there we are told, that sacrifices and penances are laid down as the preliminary steps towards the acquisition of true knowledge. By those sacrifices one is purified of one's sins, and then acquires a knowledge of the supreme self as described in the Vedas—which, I apprehend, must mean the Upanishads. .

There is but one other point on which we need say anything further. And that is connected with the definition of a Brāhmaṇa. That definition appears to me, to point to an earlier stage in religious progress than is indicated in Āpastamba and Manu. The true Brāhmaṇa is he who is attached to the Brahman. Perhaps, this marks some little advance beyond the more general doctrine of the Gītā, but it is still very far short of the petrified doctrine, if I may so call it, of the later law-givers. The Brāhmaṇa has not yet degenerated into the mere receiver of fees and presents, but is still in possession of the truth.

We thus see, that the external and internal evidence bearing upon the question of the position of the Sanatsugātīya in Sanskrit literature, seems to point to nearly the same period and place for it as for the Bhagavadgītā. It is plain enough, that the evidence under both heads is extremely scanty and meagre. But such as it is, it appears to us to justify a provisional conclusion, that the Sanatsugātīya dates from a period prior to the rise of Buddhism, and forms part of that same movement in the religious history of ancient India of which the Gītā is another embodiment. More than this, we are not at present in a position to assert. To this extent, the evidence enables us, I think, to go. And we accordingly hold, that unless

other and further evidence requires a reversal of this judgment, the Sanatsugâtiya may be treated as a work nearly contemporary with the Bhagavadgītā, and occupying generally the same point of view.

One word, finally, about the translation. As stated already, the text adopted is that which appears to have been before Saṅkarākārya. And the translation follows mainly his interpretations in his commentary. Sometimes we have followed Nilakantha, whose commentary has been consulted as well as a very incorrect copy of another commentary by one Sarvagña Nārāyaṇa, contained in the MS. from Puna lent me by Professor Bhāndārkar. In some places even the commentators have failed to clear up obscurities, and there we have given the best translation we could suggest, indicating the difficulties. There has been an endeavour made here, as in the case of the Bhagavadgītā, to keep the translation as close and faithful to the text as the exigencies of the English language permitted. The exegetical notes are mostly taken from the commentaries, even where the name of the commentator is not specified; while the references to parallel passages have been collected, mostly by myself, in the same way as in the case of the Bhagavadgītā.

SANATSUGÂTÎYA.

CHAPTER I.

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

If, O Vidura ! there is anything not (yet) said by you in (your) discourse, then do impart it to me who wish to hear, for you have spoken marvellous (things).

Vidura said :

O Dhṛitarāshṭra ! the ancient youth Sanatsugâta, (otherwise called) Sanâtana¹, who declared that death exists not—he, O descendant of Bharata ! the best of all talented men, will explain all the doubts of your mind, both those (which are) secret², and those openly declared.

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

What, do you not yourself know more about this (subject), that Sanâtana should explain (it) to me ? Explain (it) yourself, O Vidura ! if there is any remnant of intelligence (left) in you.

¹ So Nilakanṭha. Saṅkara says Sanatsugâta is Sanatkumâra, and the component parts of the name he paraphrases by 'born from Brahman.' For Sanâtana, see *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 506, and note 1, p. 141 supra.

² I.e. relating to subjects which may be freely discussed by all, and those which may not. Nilakanṭha adopts a different reading, which he interprets to mean 'doctrines exoteric and esoteric,' e.g. self-restraint, &c., and the acquisition of mystic power, &c., respectively. The expression 'doubts of the mind' occurs, however, further on.

Vidura said :

I am born of a Sûdra womb, and do not like to say more than what (I have said). But the intelligence of that youth, I believe to be eternal¹. He who has come of a Brâhmaṇa womb, even though he may proclaim a great mystery, does not thereby become liable to the censure of the gods. Therefore do I say this to you.

Dhṛitarâshṭra said :

Do you, O Vidura! speak to the ancient Sanâtana for me, so that there may be a meeting even here, between (myself in) this body (and him).

Vaisampâyana² said :

(Then) Vidura meditated on that sage whose vows are laudable³. And he, too, O descendant of Bharata! knowing of such meditation, made his appearance. And he⁴, too, received him with the ceremonies prescribed in the ordinances. After he had been comfortably seated, and had taken rest, Vidura then spoke to him : 'Venerable sir! there is some doubt in Dhṛitarâshṭra's mind, which cannot

¹ I.e., I suppose, never-failing, and such as can deal with all sorts of topics. Sanatkumâra, it need scarcely be stated, is the teacher of Nârada in the famous dialogue in the *Khândogyaopaniṣad*, p. 473.

² Vaisampâyana is the narrator of the grand story of which pieces like the present form parts.

³ The reading is sometimes different, so as to mean 'of rigid vows,' as at *Gitâ*, p. 61 *supra*.

⁴ The pronouns here are too numerous. Does 'he' here refer to Dhṛitarâshṭra? Vidura seems more likely, though the express mention of him in the next sentence might be treated as pointing the other way.

be explained by me. Do you be pleased to explain (it) to him. Hearing it (explained), this lord of men may cross beyond all misery, so that gain and loss¹, (what is) agreeable and (what is) odious, old age and death, fear and vindictiveness, hunger and thirst, frenzy and worldly greatness, disgust and also laziness, desire and wrath, ruin and prosperity, may not trouble him.'

CHAPTER II.

Vaisampāyana said :

Then the talented king, Dhṛitarāshṭra, bowed² to those words uttered by Vidura, and, in a secluded place³, interrogated Sanatsugāta regarding the highest knowledge⁴, wishing to become (a) high-souled (man)⁵.

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

O Sanatsugāta ! which of the two is correct, your teaching⁶, about which I have heard, that death exists not, or that⁷ the gods and demons practised

¹ Comp. Gītā passim ; disgust, scil. that resulting from a general dissatisfaction with everything. As to 'ruin and prosperity,' Nilakanṭha adds, 'and their causes, sin and merit.'

² Literally 'respected.' Nilakanṭha says it means 'rejoiced over,' for Dhṛitarāshṭra thought, that in spite of his treachery he was safe, as death was taught by Sanatsugāta to have no existence.

³ I.e. free from the presence of ignorant and vulgar people. Cf. Gītā, p. 68 supra.

⁴ I.e. knowledge concerning the supreme Self.

⁵ Saṅkara's construction seems different, but is not quite clear. He says, 'wishing to become—Brahman—the meaning is wishing to acquire the self lost through ignorance.'

⁶ I.e. imparted to your pupils, Saṅkara adds ; 'heard,' scil. from Vidura.

⁷ The construction is imperfect, but the sense is clear. Is your

the life of Brahmaċārins¹, for freedom from death?

Sanatsugāta said:

Some (say), that freedom from death (results) from action²; and others that death exists not. Hear me explain (this), O king! have no misgiving about it³. Both truths, O Kshatriya! have been current from the beginning⁴. The wise maintain what (is called) delusion (to be) death. I⁵ verily call heedlessness death, and likewise I call freedom from heedlessness immortality. Through heedlessness, verily, were the demons⁶ vanquished; and through freedom

view correct, or the view involved in the practice of gods and demons?

¹ See Gītā, p. 69 supra; *Kāthopanishad*, p. 102; *Prasna*, p. 162. As to the gods being afraid of death, see *Khândogya*, p. 50; and *Nṛsiṃha Tāpinī*, p. 32; and as to gods and demons practising the life of Brahmaċārins, see *Khândogya*, p. 571; and cf. *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka*, p. 964.

² I.e. action prescribed in the Vedas.

³ I.e. as to how I shall be able to reconcile the seeming contradiction between the 'two truths.'

⁴ I.e. of creation.

⁵ Sanatsugāta says he differs from 'the wise;' delusion=thinking the not-self to be the self; heedlessness=falling off from one's natural condition as the Brahman—which is the cause of delusion (*Saṅkara*). See p. 153 infra; *Kaṭha*, p. 152; and *Taittiriya-upanishad*, p. 80.

⁶ *Saṅkara* suggests that demons might mean creatures attached to worldly objects; and gods those who are pleased in their own self; and he cites a stanza in support of this suggestion. The allusion, however, seems to be plainly to the story at *Khândogya*, p. 571 seq., where the idea and expression of 'being vanquished' also occurs (p. 583). That word *Saṅkara* interprets in connexion with his suggested interpretation to mean 'are born in lower species.' See *Khândogya*, p. 585, and *Maitrī*, p. 211, about asuras or demons. It is interesting to note that in the Introduction to the *Mahābhāṣya*, there is an allusion to a story of the 'demons' being 'vanquished' in consequence of their grammatical blunders.

from heedlessness the gods attained to the Brahman. Death, verily, does not devour living creatures like a tiger; for, indeed, his form is not to be perceived. Some¹ say that death is different from this, (named) Yama, who dwells in the self²; the (practice of the) life of Brahmacārins (being) immortality. That god governs his kingdom in the world of the *Pitr̥is*, (being) good to the good, and not good to (those who are) not good. That death, (or) heedlessness, develops in men as desire, and afterwards as wrath, and in the shape of delusion³. And then travelling in devious paths⁴ through egoism, one does not attain to union⁵ with the self. Those who are deluded by it⁶, and who remain under its influence, depart from this (world), and there again fall down⁷. Then the deities⁸ gather around them. And then he undergoes death after death⁹. Being attached to the fruit of action, on action presenting itself, they follow after it¹⁰, and do not cross

¹ Those deluded by worldly objects; 'this' means 'heedlessness.'

² Saṅkara cites a stanza from Manu, which says that king Yama Vaivasvata dwells in the heart of every one. Cf. *Aitareya-upanishad*, p. 187. The following clause he understands to contain two epithets of Yama, meaning 'immortal, and intent on the Brahman.' I follow *Nīlakaṇṭha*, but not very confidently.

³ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 57. Here we have the developments, the varying forms, of death or heedlessness.

⁴ I.e. paths contrary to *Sr̥utis* and *Sm̥ritis*.

⁵ Concentration of mind on the self or Brahman.

⁶ I.e. the egoism spoken of before.

⁷ I.e. to this mortal world. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 84, and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, pp. 855, 856. There = from the next world. Saṅkara says, 'having lived there.'

⁸ I.e. the senses. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 123, and *inter alia* *Īsopanishad*, p. 10.

⁹ Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 129, and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 889.

¹⁰ I.e. the fruit. Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 155, and *Mundaka*, p. 317.

beyond death. And the embodied (self), in consequence of not understanding union¹ with the real entity, proceeds on all hands² with attachment to enjoyments. That³, verily, is the great source of delusion to the senses; for by contact⁴ with unreal entities, his migrations⁵ are (rendered) inevitable; because having his inner self contaminated by contact with unreal entities, he devotes himself to objects of sense on all sides, pondering on them (only). (That) pondering, verily, first ruins⁶ him; and soon afterwards desire and wrath, after attacking him. These⁷ lead children to death. But sensible men cross beyond death by their good sense. He who pondering (on the self) destroys⁸ (the) fugitive (objects of sense), not even thinking of them through contempt (for them), and who being possessed of knowledge destroys desires in this way, becomes, as it were, the death of death (itself), and swallows (it) up⁹. The being who

¹ I.e. its identity with the Brahman.

² I.e. in various forms of life, *Nīlakanṭha*.

³ The going about in search of enjoyments.

⁴ The contact leads to pondering on them, and that to desire, &c., as described further on.

⁵ Through various lives. Birth and death are certain for him.

⁶ I.e. causes oblivion of his real nature, *Saṅkara*. Cf. the whole train of cause and effect at *Gītā*, p. 50 supra.

⁷ I.e. the pondering, desire, wrath, &c. As to 'children,' cf. *Kaṭha*, pp. 96 and 123, where *bāla* is contrasted with *dhīra*, as here. The 'good sense' is of help in withstanding the temptations of worldly objects.

⁸ Destroys=abandons; pondering, just before this, is rendered by *Saṅkara* to mean 'thinking of the objects as transient, impure,' &c.

⁹ *Saṅkara* cites on this a stanza of unknown authorship, which says, 'The learned and clever man who knows the self, and by discrimination destroys all objects of sense, is said to be the death of death.' See too p. 178 infra.

pursues desires, is destroyed (in pursuing) after the desires¹. But casting away desires, a being gets rid of all taint² whatever. This body, void of enlightenment³, seems (to be) a hell for (all) beings. Those who are avaricious run about⁴, going head-long to a ditch. A man, O Kshatriya! who contemns everything else⁵ learns nothing. To him (the body is) like a tiger made of straw⁶. And this internal self (joined to) delusion and fear⁷ in consequence of wrath and avarice, within your body,—that verily is death⁸. Understanding death⁹ to be thus produced, and adhering to knowledge, one is not afraid of death¹⁰ in this (world). In his province death is destroyed, as a mortal (is destroyed) on arriving in the province of death.

Dhṛitarāṣṭra said :

The good, eternal, and most holy worlds¹¹, which

¹ On this *Nilakanṭha* quotes these lines, 'The antelope, elephant, butterfly, bee, and fish—these five are destroyed by the five,' i.e. the five objects of sense, sound, &c. See *Sānti Parvan* (*Moksha Dharma*), chap. 174, st. 45.

² I.e. misery, *Nilakanṭha*; merit or sin, *Saṅkara*.

³ I.e. void of discrimination between the real and unreal, *Nilakanṭha*; result of ignorance, *Saṅkara*. 'A hell, as being full of filth,' says *Saṅkara*, 'such as phlegm, blood, excretions.' Cf. *Maitrī*, p. 48.

⁴ As blind men groping about fall into a ditch, so do these, *Saṅkara*.

⁵ I.e. other than the sensuous objects he loves; 'learns nothing' about the supreme Self which he disregards.

⁶ Useless for any good purpose.

⁷ Cf. *Taittirīya-upanishad*, p. 102.

⁸ As being ruinous to oneself. *Saṅkara* compares *Gītā*, p. 68. Cf. also *Taittirīya-upanishad*, p. 103, and see *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 61.

⁹ I.e. heedlessness and its developments as stated.

¹⁰ *Saṅkara* cites on this *Taittirīya-upanishad*, p. 78.

¹¹ Such as *Satyaloka*, &c.

are mentioned (as attainable) by the twice-born by means of worship¹, those, say the Vedas, are the highest aim². How is it, then, that one who understands this does not resort to action?

Sanatsugāta said :

(Thinking) so, an ignorant man does resort to action. The Vedas likewise do lay down various benefits³ (for him). But that⁴ (man) comes not hither⁵. (Becoming) the supreme self⁶, he attains the supreme, by the (right) path destroying the wrong paths⁷.

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

Who⁸ is it that constrains this unborn primeval (self), if it is (itself) all this severally⁹? And what

¹ Gyotish/oma, Asvamedha, and other rites.

² As leading to final emancipation.

³ I.e. objects for which various ceremonies (or 'actions') should be performed.

⁴ I.e. the man of knowledge.

⁵ I.e. into the sphere of action. Cf. Gītā, p. 48.

⁶ Knowing the supreme self is identical with becoming the supreme self, *Mundaka*, p. 323.

⁷ I.e. getting rid of the paths which keep one away from the Brahman by means of contemplation of the Brahman, &c. *Nilakantha* renders 'right path' to mean the Sushumnā passage by which the soul proceeds to final emancipation, see *Khândogya*, p. 570; *Kaṭha*, p. 157.

⁸ Saṅkara says: 'Having shown that true death is heedlessness, and having shown that heedlessness in its forms of anger &c. is the cause of all evil, and having also shown that death is destroyed by true knowledge, and having shown further that heaven &c. are really not man's highest goal; the author has also implied the unity of the supreme and individual self. On that arises a doubt, which is stated in this passage.'

⁹ All this=all the developments of the Brahman, i.e. space, wind, fire, water, earth, vegetation, food, living creatures; see *Taittirīyopanishad*, p. 68.

has it to do, or what is its unhappiness¹? Tell me all that accurately, O learned person!

Sanatsugâta said :

There is great danger² in attributing distinctions to it. The everlasting³ (principles) exist by connexion with the beginningless⁴ (principle). So that his greatness is not lost at all⁵, and beings exist by connexion with the beginningless⁴ (principle). That which is the real—the supreme Being⁶—is eternal. He creates the universe by means of changes⁷, for such is his power held to be; and for such connexions of things the Vedas are (authority)⁸.

¹ What is the purpose of its existence, and what misery does it undergo on entering the course of worldly life?

² 'The danger,' says Sāṅkara, 'is that of contravening Vedic texts such as "I am the Brahman," "Thou art that," &c.' May it not rather be that pointed out at *Kaṭh*opanishad, p. 129, viz. never attaining final emancipation? Cf. also *Nṛsiṃha* Tāpini, p. 223.

³ The individual selfs, Sāṅkara.

⁴ Nature or *mâyā*.

⁵ The appearance of degradation to an inferior state being delusive.

⁶ The original word implies the possession of *aiśvarya*, *dharma*, *varas*, *ṛt*, *vairāgya*, *moksha*. See *Svetāśvatara*, p. 329 (where the list is slightly different). For another definition, see *Maitrī*, p. 6 (gloss).

⁷ See note 9, p. 156.

⁸ Sāṅkara says: 'The question of *Dhṛitarāṣṭra* having suggested a difference between two principles, one of which constrains, and the other of which is constrained, the answer is—Such a difference ought not to be alleged, as it involves "danger." Then the question arises, How is the difference, which does appear, to be explained? The reply is, It is due to the beginningless principle—delusion or ignorance. The next sentence shows that the universe as it appears is also a result of delusion.' *Nilakanṭha* says expressly, changes=delusion. He renders the original which we have translated by 'beginningless' first, to mean 'collection of objects of enjoyments.' Sāṅkara's explanation seems tautological as regards the words 'connexion with the beginningless,' which occur twice in the above. *Nilā-*

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

Since some practise piety¹ in this world, and some likewise practise impiety in this world; is the piety destroyed by the sin, or else does the piety destroy sin?

Sanatsugāta said :

Whichever² he adheres to, the man of understanding always destroys both by means of knowledge; (that is) settled³. Likewise, in the other case⁴, the embodied (self) obtains merit; and to such a one sin (also) accrues; (that too is) settled⁵. Departing (from this world), he enjoys by his actions both (kinds of) fruit, which are not enduring⁶—of actions (which are) pure, and of (those which are) sinful. The man of understanding casts aside sin by piety in this (world), for know that his piety is more powerful⁷. Those Brāhmaṇas, in whom there is emulation⁸ about (their) piety, as there is in strong men about (their) strength, after departing from this world, become glorious in heaven⁹. And

kantha's is not quite clear. May the expression on the second occasion mean, that the connexion by which beings are stated before to exist has had no beginning—has existed from eternity? The translation should then run thus: 'And beings exist by a connexion which had no beginning;' (see Sâriraka Bhâshya, p. 494.) Connexions of things=creation of universe by his power.

¹ E.g. Agnishṭoma, &c., Saṅkara.

² I.e. impiety or piety, sin or merit.

³ In *Srutis* and *Smṛtis*, which Saṅkara quotes. *Aḥṇodgya*, p. 622; *Mundaka*, p. 309; *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 911. See, too, *Maitrî*, p. 131.

⁴ Of the man devoid of knowledge.

⁵ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 76, and *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 636.

⁶ See p. 164, note 9 *infra*.

⁷ The feeling of one's own superiority over others in piety.

⁸ 'In the shape of *Nakshatras*,' says Saṅkara, which is not quite intelligible. See *Aḥṇodgya*, p. 258, and *Anugîtâ* *infra*, p. 240.

to those in whom there is no emulation about (their) piety, that (piety) is a means of (acquiring) knowledge¹. Such Brāhmaṇas released from this (world), go to the heaven which is free from the threefold source of pain². People who understand the Vedas call his conduct good. (But) people closely connected³, as well as strangers, do not pay much regard to him. Wherever he may believe food and drink for a Brāhmaṇa to exist in abundance, like water on grass in the autumn, there would he live and not be vexed⁴. (To him) only that person is good, and no other (as a companion), who does nothing in excess, and who occasions fear and injury to a taciturn man⁵. And his food is acceptable to the good, who does not vex the self of a taciturn man, and who does not destroy the property of a Brāhmaṇa⁶. A Brāhmaṇa should hold, that living in the midst of kinsmen, his actions should be always unknown⁷; and he should not

¹ According to the Vedāntic theory, the acts of piety purify the inner man, and are thus a stepping-stone to knowledge. See Introduction, p. 147 supra. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 122; and *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 899.

² I.e. physical, mental, and such as is caused by superhuman agency. This is Sāṅkara's explanation. It is somewhat far-fetched, but I can find none better. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 49. And see also *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 876, and the commentary of Sāṅkara there with Ānandagiri's gloss.

³ E.g. wife, children, &c.

⁴ I.e. vexed as to how his livelihood is to be earned, &c.

⁵ Excess, e.g. too much obsequiousness towards a 'taciturn man,' owing to his holiness, &c. Taciturn man = ascetic. Injury = disrespect, &c. Perhaps the protest against worldliness is here carried to an extreme. Sāṅkara cites *Manu* as a parallel, 'A Brāhmaṇa should be afraid of (worldly) respect as of poison.'

⁶ E.g. the Kura grass, deerskin, &c., mentioned at *Gītā*, p. 68.

⁷ I.e. he should not parade his actions. Sāṅkara compares *Vasiṣṭha* and a Vedic text. See, too, the quotation at *Taitt. Āraṇ.* p. 902.

think¹ (about them). What Brāhmaṇa ought to think of the inner self, which is void of symbols², immovable, pure, and free from all pairs of opposites, in this way³? What sin is not committed by that thief, who steals away his own self⁴, who regards his self as one thing, when it is a different thing. The far-seeing Brāhmaṇa, who knows the Brahman, is not wearied⁵, he receives nothing⁶; he is honoured, free from trouble⁷, and wise, but acts as if he was not wise⁸. As dogs eat what is vomited, so do they, enjoying their own bravery⁹, eat what is vomited, always with disaster (to themselves). Those twice-born persons, who are not

¹ Cf. *Gitā*, p. 103. Śaṅkara suggests an alternative explanation of this stanza, which will make it mean that one performing the operations of the senses, should devote oneself nevertheless to the unknown principle, and not consider the senses to be the self.

² I. e. beyond the reach of inference; 'subtle,' says Śaṅkara. Cf. *Svetāśvatara*, p. 364; *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 855; *Maitrī*, p. 182; and *Kaṭha*, p. 149, where Śaṅkara suggests a somewhat different meaning. As to immovable, cf. *Īśa*, p. 10, and *Gitā*, p. 104. Śaṅkara renders it by 'void of activity'; and pure he paraphrases by 'free from ignorance and other taints.'

³ It is difficult to say what 'in this way' refers to. Śaṅkara renders it by 'as possessing qualities appertaining to the two kinds of body.' On Śaṅkara's suggested meaning of the stanza preceding (see note 1), it would refer to the confusion of the senses with the self.

⁴ Such a person is called a destroyer of his own self at *Īropanishad*, p. 9.

⁵ I. e. by the troubles of worldly life.

⁶ Cf. 'without belongings' at *Gitā*, p. 128.

⁷ Anger and other obstacles to concentration of mind.

⁸ I. e. unintelligent. The text of *Vasishṭha* referred to in note 7, p. 159, says he should act like an unintelligent man. Cf. also *Gaudapāda-kārikās*, p. 443, and *Sāṅkhya Bhāṣya*, p. 1041.

⁹ I. e. singing the praises of their own greatness and worth, instead of keeping their 'conduct unknown.'

first¹ in respect of human wealth, but who are first in the Vedas², are unconquerable, not to be shaken³; they should be understood to be forms of the Brahman. Whosoever may in this (world) know all the gods⁴—doers of favours—he is not equal to a Brâhmana, (nor even) he⁵ for whom he exerts himself. The man who makes no efforts⁶, and is respected, does not, being respected, think himself respected⁷, nor does he become vexed in consequence of disrespect. One who is respected⁸ should think it to be a natural operation of people, like their opening or closing of the eyelids, that the learned respect him in this world. One who is not respected should think, that the deluded people who do not understand piety, and who are devoid of (knowledge of) the world and the Sâstras, will never respect one who is worthy of respect. Respect and taciturnity⁹, verily, never dwell together; for this world is (the field) for respect, the next for taciturnity, as is understood¹⁰. For worldly wealth dwells in the

¹ Highly esteemed for or strongly attached to, Saṅkara. Human wealth = wife, offspring, property, &c. Cf. *A'hândogya*, p. 319; *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 262.

² I. e. veracity and other duties taught by the Vedas.

³ 'They need fear nought,' says Nīlakaṇṭha.

⁴ I. e. may sacrifice to them, Saṅkara.

⁵ Not even the deity to whom the sacrifice is offered is equal to one who knows the Brahman. Cf. *Taittirīya*, p. 23, and *Anugṛhā*, p. 250.

⁶ I. e. one who is 'taciturn' and does not parade his greatness.

⁷ He does not care for the respect shown him.

⁸ Because he knows the Brahman.

⁹ I. e. restraint of all senses, not of speech only. For the contrast compare that between *sreya* and *preya* at *Kaṭha*, p. 92.

¹⁰ I. e. by all men of understanding. Saṅkara's rendering is different: 'The next, which is known as *Tad*, is for taciturnity.' He cites for this *Gītā*, p. 120.

sphere of respect¹, and that, too, is an obstacle². While the Brahmic wealth³, O Kshatriya! is difficult to be attained by any one devoid of knowledge. The ways (to it) are stated by the good to be of various descriptions, and difficult to reach—truth, straightforwardness, modesty⁴, restraint (of senses), purity, knowledge, which are the six impediments (in the way) of respect and delusion.

CHAPTER III.

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

Who possesses this taciturnity⁵, and which of the two⁶ is taciturnity? Describe, O learned person! the condition of taciturnity here. Does a learned man reach taciturnity⁷ by taciturnity? And how, O sage! do they practise taciturnity in this world?

¹ I. e. they both follow on devotion to worldly life.

² I. e. in the way to final emancipation.

³ The enjoyment of supreme felicity, *Brahmānanda* (*Saṅkara*); the greatness consisting of a knowledge of *Rik*, *Yagus*, *Sāman*, and the substance of their teaching, which is worthy of a *Brāhmaṇa* (*Nilakanṭha*). See, too, *Anugītā*, p. 232.

⁴ Modesty = being ashamed of doing wrong; restraint (of senses) = mental restraint; and purity is both internal and external,—*Saṅkara*; knowledge is, of course, knowledge of the Brahman.

⁵ I. e. that spoken of in the last chapter.

⁶ Viz. mere silence, or the contemplation of the self after restraining all the senses. In the *Bṛihadāranyaka-upanishad*, *Saṅkara* (p. 605) renders the original word, *mauna*, to mean, 'The fruit of the destruction of the consciousness of anything other than the self.' And his commentator makes it clearer thus: 'The conviction in the mind that one is the self—the supreme Brahman—and that there is nothing else existing but oneself.'

⁷ I. e. the highest seat—the Brahman; for mind, sense, &c. are all non-existent there. Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 151, and *Maitrī*, p. 161.

Sanatsugāta said :

Since the Vedas, together with the mind ¹, fail to attain to him, hence (is he) taciturnity ²—he about whom the words of the Vedas were uttered ³, and who, O king! shines forth as consubstantial ⁴ with them.

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

Does ⁵ the twice-born person who studies the *Rik* and the Yagus texts, and the Sāma-veda, committing sinful (acts), become tainted, or does he not become tainted ?

Sanatsugāta said :

Not the Sāman texts, nor yet the *Rik* texts, nor the Yagus texts ⁶ save him, O acute sir! from sinful

¹ Cf. Kenopanishad, p. 39 ; *Kaṭha*, p. 152 ; *Taittirīya*, p. 119.

² ' Taciturnity is his name,' says Nīlakanṭha.

³ Or, says Saṅkara, ' who is the author of the Vedas.'

⁴ I. e. ' with the Vedas,' says Nīlakanṭha, Om, the quintessence of the Vedas, being a name of the Brahman (as to which cf. *Gītā*, p. 79, and *Maitrī*, p. 84). Saṅkara takes the whole expression to mean *gyotirmaya*, consisting of light. Nīlakanṭha says this stanza answers the five following questions put in the stanza preceding, viz. of what use is taciturnity? which of the two is taciturnity? &c., as above. The first four questions are answered by the first two lines of this stanza—the substance of the answer being, that the use of taciturnity is to attain the seat which is not to be grasped even by the mind, that taciturnity includes both restraint of mind and of the external senses. By means of such restraint, the external and internal worlds cease to be perceived as existing, and the highest goal is attained.

⁵ This question arises naturally enough on Nīlakanṭha's interpretation of the preceding stanza, the meaning of which is in substance that the Vedas cannot grasp the Brahman fully, but they are of use towards a rudimentary comprehension of it, as is said further on, see p. 172 *infra*.

⁶ Cf. *Svetāsvatara-upanishad*, p. 339 ; see, too, *Nṛsiṃha Tāpinī*, pp. 81–98.

action. I do not tell you an untruth. 'The *Kṛandas* do not save a sinful deceitful¹ man who behaves deceitfully². At the time of the termination (of his life), the *Kṛandas* abandon³ him, as birds who have got wings (abandon their) nest.

Dhṛitarâshtra said :

If, O acute sir! the Vedas are not able to save one who understands the Vedas, then whence is this eternal talk⁴ of the *Brâhmanas*?

Sanatsugâta said :

O you of great glory! this universe becomes manifest through his special forms—names⁵ and the rest. The Vedas proclaim (his form) after describing (it) well⁶, and (they⁷ also) state his difference from the universe. For that⁸ are this penance and sacrifice prescribed. By these a learned man acquires merit, and afterwards destroying sin by merit⁹, he has his self illuminated by knowledge. By knowledge the learned man attains

¹ I. e. one who parades his piety.

² I. e. hypocritically.

³ I. e. do not rise to his memory—*Nilakanṭha*, citing *Gîtâ*, p. 78 supra.

⁴ Scil. about the veneration due to one who has studied the Vedas—*Nilakanṭha*, citing one or two passages in point.

⁵ The universe consists of 'names and forms,' the reality being the Brahman only. Cf. *Kṛândogya*, p. 407 seq.

⁶ *Saṅkara* refers to *Taittiriya-upanishad*, p. 68; *Kṛândogya*, p. 596 seq. &c.

⁷ *Saṅkara* takes this to mean 'sages,' who, according to him, state the difference. He quotes *Parâsara* for this.

⁸ I. e. the Brahman, that is to say, for attaining to it. Penance=*tândrânyasa* and other observances; sacrifice=*gyotish/oma*, &c.

⁹ Cf. p. 158 supra, and *Taittiriya-âraṇyaka*, p. 888.

the self¹. But, on the other hand, one who wishes for the fruit—heaven²—takes with him³ all that he has done in this (world), enjoys it in the next, and then returns to the path⁴ (of this world). Penance is performed in this world; the fruit is enjoyed elsewhere. But the penance of Brāhmaṇas is further developed⁵; that of others remains only as much (as when first performed).

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

How does the pure penance become developed and well developed⁶? O Sanatsugāta! tell (me) how I should understand that, O Lord!

Sanatsugāta said :

This penance, free from sin⁷, is called pure⁸; and this pure penance becomes developed and well developed, not otherwise⁹. All this¹⁰, O Kshatriya!

¹ Cf. Svetāśvatara, p. 327; *Mundaka*, p. 323.

² So Saṅkara. Nīlakanṭha takes the original word to mean 'the group of the senses,' and the whole phrase to mean 'enjoyments of sense.' Nīlakanṭha is supported by a passage further on, p. 167. But as to 'those who wish for heaven,' cf. *Gītā*, pp. 48-84.

³ I. e. in the form of merit, &c.

⁴ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 84.

⁵ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 23. Brāhmaṇas=those that know the Brahman. See p. 171 *infra*.

⁶ I am not quite sure about the meaning of the original here. *Riddha*, which I have rendered 'developed,' Nīlakanṭha understands to mean 'what is performed merely for show.' What has been rendered 'well developed' in the text, Nīlakanṭha takes to mean 'performed from some desire,' &c.

⁷ Anger, desire, &c.

⁸ The original is *kevala*. Nīlakanṭha says it is so called as being a means of *kaivalya*, 'final emancipation.'

⁹ I. e. not that which is not free from sin, which latter is not developed at all.

¹⁰ All objects of enjoyment, Nīlakanṭha.

has for its root that penance about which you question me. By penance¹, those conversant with the Vedas attained immortality, after departing from this world.

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

I have heard about penance free from sin, O Sanatsugāta ! Tell me what is the sin (connected) with penance, so that I may understand the eternal mystery².

Sanatsugāta said :

The twelve beginning with wrath, and likewise the seven cruelties, are the defects (connected) with it; and there are (stated) in the Śāstras twelve merits (connected) with it, beginning with knowledge, which are known to the twice-born, and may be developed. Wrath, desire³, avarice, delusion⁴, craving⁵, mercilessness, censoriousness, vanity, grief⁶, attachment⁷, envy⁸, reviling others—these twelve should always be avoided by a man of high quali-

¹ Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 899. Tapas is variously rendered. See inter alia, *Prasna*, pp. 162-170; *Svetāsvatara*, p. 307; *Mundaka*, pp. 270-280, 311-314; *Khândogya*, p. 136; *Anugītā*, pp. 247, 339.

² I. e. Brahma-vidyā, or science of the Brahman, *Nilakantha*; the Brahman itself, *Saṅkara*.

³ I. e. lust.

⁴ Want of discrimination between right and wrong.

⁵ Desire to taste worldly objects.

⁶ For the loss of anything desired.

⁷ Desire to enjoy worldly objects. The difference between this and craving, according to *Saṅkara*, appears to be between merely tasting and continual enjoyment. According to *Nilakantha*, the former is a desire which is never contented; the latter is merely a general liking.

⁸ Impatience of other people's prosperity; censoriousness being the pointing out of flaws in other people's merits; and reviling being an ignoring of the merits and merely abusing.

fications¹. These, O king of kings! attend each and every man, wishing to find some opening², as a hunter (watches) animals. [Boastful, lustful, haughty, irascible, unsteady³, one who does not protect (those dependent⁴ on him), these six sinful acts are performed by sinful men who are not afraid (even) in the midst of great danger⁵.] One whose thoughts are (all) about enjoyments, who prospers by injuring (others), who repents of generosity, who is miserly, who is devoid of the power⁶ (of knowledge), who esteems the group⁷ (of the senses), who hates his wife⁸—these seven, different (from those previously mentioned), are the seven forms of cruelty. Knowledge, truth, self-restraint, sacred learning, freedom from animosity (towards living beings), modesty⁹, endurance¹⁰, freedom from censoriousness, sacrifice, gift, courage¹¹, quiescence¹²,—these are the twelve great observances¹³ of a Brāhmaṇa. Whoever is not devoid of these twelve can govern this whole world, and those who are

¹ Scil. for attaining to the Brahman.

² Some weak point by which they may attack a man.

³ Fickle in friendship, &c.

⁴ Such as a wife, &c.

⁵ Connected with this or the next world, *Nīlakanṭha*. This and a stanza further on I place within brackets, as it is not quite certain whether Śaṅkara's copy had them, though they are now in some of our copies of the text with his commentary. See Introduction.

⁶ Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 319; *Kāṇḍogya*, p. 494.

⁷ See note 2, at page 165.

⁸ The wife having no other protector.

⁹ See note 4, at page 162.

¹⁰ Of pairs of opposites, such as heat and cold, &c.

¹¹ Restraint of senses in presence of their objects.

¹² Cf. *Gitā*, pp. 69, 70.

¹³ Which are serviceable in attaining the highest goal.

possessed of three, two, or even one (of these) become, in (due) course, distinguished (for knowledge) and identified with the Brahman¹. [Self-restraint, abandonment², and freedom from heedlessness—on these depends immortality. And the talented Brâhmanas say that truth is chief over them.] Self-restraint has eighteen defects; if (any one of them is) committed, it is an obstacle (to self-restraint). They are thus stated. Untruthfulness, backbiting, thirst³, antipathy (to all beings), darkness⁴, repining⁵, hatred⁶ of people, haughtiness, quarrelsomeness, injuring living creatures, reviling others, garrulity, vexation⁷, want of endurance⁸, want of courage⁹, imperfection¹⁰, sinful conduct, and slaughter. That is called self-restraint by the good, which is free from these defects. Frenzy has eighteen defects¹¹; and abandonment is of six kinds. The contraries of those which have been laid down¹² are stated to be the defects of frenzy. Abandonment of six kinds is excellent. Of those six, the third is hard to achieve. With it one certainly crosses

¹ The original is the word 'taciturnity' as at p. 162 *supra*.

² Offering one's acts to God (*Nilakantha*), as to which cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 64. See also p. 182 *infra* for this stanza.

³ I. e. for objects of sense.

⁴ Ignorance.

⁵ Discontent even when one obtains much.

⁶ This is active; antipathy is passive only.

⁷ Of oneself, by brooding on evil. Cf. *Taittirîya*, p. 119. One copy of Sankara's commentary says this means 'thinking ill of others without cause.'

⁸ Of pairs of opposites.

⁹ Restraint of senses in presence of their objects.

¹⁰ I. e. of piety, knowledge, and indifference to worldly objects.

¹¹ I. e. qualities which destroy it.

¹² Scil. as defects of self-restraint, viz. untruthfulness, &c.

beyond all misery without distinction¹. That being achieved, (everything) is accomplished². The (first is the) giving away of sons and wealth to a deserving man who asks (for them); the second is gifts at Vedic ceremonies, and gifts at ceremonies laid down in the *Smṛitis*³. The abandonment of desires, O king of kings! by means of indifference (to worldly objects) is laid down as the third⁴. With these one should become free from heedlessness. That freedom from heedlessness, too, has eight characteristics, and is (a) great (merit). Truthfulness, concentration, absorbed contemplation, reflexion⁵, and also indifference (to worldly objects), not stealing⁶, living the life of a *Brahmāṭarin*, and

¹ Scil. any distinction as to physical, mental, or that which is caused by superhuman agency.

² Literally, 'all is conquered.' Everything that needs to be done is done. Cf. *Kaṭhopanishad*, p. 155; *Mundaka*, p. 317.

³ Another interpretation of *ish/âpūrta* is 'offerings to gods, and offerings to the manes;' a third 'sacrifices, &c., and works of charity, such as digging tanks and wells;' for a fourth, see *Saṅkara* on *Mundaka*, p. 291.

⁴ Each of the three classes mentioned contains two sub-classes, and so the six are made up. It is not quite easy to see the two heads under the third class; but perhaps indifference, and the consequent abandonment of desire, may be the two intended. To indicate that, I have adopted the construction which takes the words 'by means of indifference' with abandonment, instead of with 'gifts at Vedic ceremonies,' &c. *Saṅkara* seems to understand 'giving away of wealth' with the words 'by means of indifference,' and thus to constitute the second head under the third class. But he is not quite clear.

⁵ Concentration=fixing the mind continuously on some object, such as the being in the sun, &c.; contemplation is that in which one identifies oneself with the Brahman; reflexion as to what one is, whence one comes, and so forth.

⁶ *Saṅkara* says this may refer to the 'stealing' mentioned at p. 160. The life of a *Brahmāṭarin* is here taken to mean con-

likewise freedom from all belongings¹. Thus have the defects of self-restraint been stated; one should avoid those defects. Freedom from (those) defects is freedom from heedlessness; and that, too, is deemed to have eight characteristics². Let truth be your (very) self, O king of kings! On truth all the worlds rest³. Truth is said to be their main (principle). Immortality depends on truth⁴. Getting rid of (these) defects, one should practise the observance of penance. This is the conduct prescribed by the Creator. Truth is the solemn vow of the good. The pure penance, which is free from these defects, and possessed of these characteristics, becomes developed, and well developed⁵. I will state to you, in brief, O king of kings! what you ask of me. This (observance)⁶ is destructive of sin, and pure, and releases (one) from birth and death and old age⁷. If one is free from the five senses, and also from the mind⁸, O descendant of Bharata! also from (thoughts regarding) the past and the future⁹, one becomes happy.

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

Some people make great boasts in consequence of (their knowing) the Vedas with the Ākhyānas as

tinence by the commentators, as also at *Mundaka*, p. 311 inter alia. See also *Āhândogya*, p. 533.

¹ Son, wife, home, &c.; as to which cf. *Gītā*, p. 103, and *Nṛsiṃha Tāpinī*, p. 198, commentary.

² The eight mentioned already. ³ Cf. *Taitt. Āraṇ.* p. 885.

⁴ Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 312; *Sānti Parvan (Moksha)*, chap. 199, st. 64 seq. Immortality = final emancipation.

⁵ P. 165 supra.

⁶ Of penance, that is to say.

⁷ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 109 for the collocation.

⁸ *Kaṭhōpanishad*, p. 151; *Maitrī*, p. 161. Saṅkara seems to take the five and the senses separately; the five meaning the five classes of sensuous objects. ⁹ Past losses and future gains, *Nilakantha*.

the fifth¹; others, likewise, are (masters) of four Vedas; others, too, of three Vedas; others are (masters) of two Vedas, and of one Veda; and others of no Veda². Tell me which of these is the greatest, whom I may know (to be) a Brāhmaṇa.

Sanatsugāta said :

Through ignorance of the one Veda³—the one truth—O king of kings! numerous Vedas came into existence. Some⁴ only adhere to the truth. The fancies of those who have fallen away from the truth are abortive, and through ignorance of the truth, ceremonies become amplified⁵. One should understand a Brāhmaṇa, who (merely) reads much, to be a man of many words⁶. Know him only to be the (true) Brāhmaṇa, who swerves not from the truth⁷. O you who are the highest among men⁸! the Kṛṇḍas, indeed, refer of themselves⁹ to it. There-

¹ Cf., as to this, Max Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 38 seq.; and *Kṛṇḍogya*, pp. 164, 474, 493; *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, pp. 456, 687, 926; *Maitrī*, p. 171; *Nṛsiṃha Tāpinī*, p. 105.

² The original is 'void of *Rikṣ*.' The commentators give no explanation. Does it mean those who abandon the karma-mārga? Heretics who reject all Vedas are scarcely likely to be referred to in this way. Nīlakaṇṭha's interpretation of all this is very different. See his gloss.

³ Śaṅkara gives various interpretations of this. Perhaps the best is to take it as meaning knowledge. 'The one knowledge—the one truth'—would then be like the famous text—*Taittirīya*, p. 56—'The Brahman is truth, knowledge,' &c.

⁴ For this phrase cf. *Gītā*, p. 73.

⁵ Those who do not understand the Brahman lose their natural power of obtaining what they wish, and so go in for various ceremonies for various special benefits. Cf. *Kṛṇḍogya*, p. 541; *Gītā*, p. 47; and p. 184 *infra*.

⁶ Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 893.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 636.

⁸ Literally, 'highest among bipeds,' a rather unusual expression.

⁹ Nīlakaṇṭha says, 'The part of the Vedas which teaches the

fore, studying them, the learned persons who understand the *Kṛāndas*, attain to the Veda, not that which is to be known¹. Among the Vedas, there is none which understands². By the unintelligent³, one understands not the Veda, nor the object of knowledge⁴. He who knows the Veda knows the object of knowledge. He who knows the object of knowledge⁵ knows not the truth. He who understands the Vedas understands also the object of knowledge; but that⁶ is not understood by the Vedas or by those who understand the Vedas. Still the Brāhmaṇas who understand the Vedas, understand the Veda by means of the Vedas⁷. As the branch of a tree with regard to the part of a portion of the glorious⁸ one, so, they declare, are the Vedas with

knowledge of the supreme is enough by itself for its purpose; it is not like the part about rites, &c., which rites must be performed before they serve any useful purpose.' The *Gṛānakāṇḍa* is enough by itself for understanding the Brahman. Saṅkara compares *Gītā*, p. 113, and *Kaṭha*, p. 102.

¹ The Veda=the Brahman, as above, cf. *Svetāśvatara*, p. 372 and commentary; that which is to be known=the material world, which is a subject for human knowledge.

² Scil. understands the Veda—the Brahman.

³ 'The mind,' says *Nilakanṭha*; literally, 'that which is to be understood.'

⁴ Because a real knowledge of it requires a knowledge of the Brahman. As to the next clause cf. *inter alia Kṛāndogya*, p. 384; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 450.

⁵ This is the converse of the last sentence, as to which cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 925.

⁶ The supreme.

⁷ The apparent contradiction is explained in the next sentence.

⁸ I.e. the moon. This refers to the well-known *sākṣātandra-nṛyā*. As the small digit of the moon, which cannot be perceived by itself, is pointed out as being at the tip of a branch of a tree pointing towards the moon, so the Vedas are of use as pointing towards the Brahman, though inaccurately and imperfectly.

regard to the subject of understanding the supreme self. I understand him to be a Brâhmaṇa who is ingenious, and explains¹ (Vedic texts). He who apprehends (those texts) thus², does verily know that supreme (principle). One should not go in search of it among (things) antagonistic³ to it at all. Not looking (for him there) one sees that Lord by means of the Veda⁴. Remaining quiet, one should practise devotion, and should not even form a wish in the mind⁵. To him the Brahman presents⁶ itself, and directly afterwards he attains to the perfect⁷ (one). By taciturnity⁸, verily, does one become a sage; (one does) not (become) a sage by dwelling in a forest⁹. And he is called the highest sage, who understands that indestructible (principle). One is called an analyser¹⁰ (also) in consequence of

¹ Scil. in the manner just indicated.

² As giving an idea of the Brahman. The first step to a knowledge of the Brahman is to 'hear' about it from Vedic texts. Cf. *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 925.

³ Such as the body, the senses, &c., which must be distinguished as quite distinct from the self, though most often confounded with it.

⁴ Such passages, namely, as 'Thou art that, I am the Brahman,' &c.

⁵ About the objects of the senses.

⁶ Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 155.

⁷ Cf. *Āṇḍogya*, p. 516. The Bhûman there is the same as the Bahu here, viz. the Brahman. Saṅkara says expressly in his comment on the Upanishad text, that Bahu and Bhûman, among other words, are synonyms.

⁸ Self-restraint, as explained before at p. 163.

⁹ Though this is not unimportant, as may be seen from the contrast between town and forest at *Āṇḍogya*, p. 340. See also *Maitrî*, p. 100; *Mundaka*, p. 240. As to the 'highest sage,' see *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 899, where the passage about 'sacrifice, gift, penance' should be compared with *Gitâ*, p. 122.

¹⁰ The construction in the original is not quite clear. I understand the sense to be as follows: In the science of the soul, the

analysing all objects. The analysis (is) from that as the root; and as he makes (such an) analysis, hence is he so (called). The man who sees the worlds directly sees everything¹. A Brâhmana, verily, adhering to the truth, understands it, and becomes omniscient. I say to you, O learned man! that adhering to knowledge and the rest² in this way, one sees the Brahman, O Kshatriya! by means of a course (of study) in the Vedas³.

CHAPTER IV.

Dhṛitarâshtra said :

O Sanatsugâta! since you have spoken these words of highest significance, relating to the Brahman, and of numerous forms⁴, give me that advice which is excellent, and difficult to obtain in the

analyser (the word is the same as the word for grammarian) is he who analyses objects, not words merely. Now the true analysis of objects reduces them all to the Brahman (cf. *Khândogya*, p. 407; *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 152); and the sage understands this, and makes the analysis accordingly, so he is rightly called an analyser.

¹ This again is not clear, and the discrepancies of the MSS. make it more perplexing. The meaning, I take to be, that a man may perceive all material things, such as the worlds, Bhûr, &c. (as the commentators put it), but to be really omniscient, you must have knowledge of the truth—the Brahman. See *Sabhâ Parvan*, chapter V, stanza 7. And see, too, *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 613.

² P. 167 *supra*.

³ 'Hearing the Vedântas—Upanishads,' &c., says Sâṅkara. See note 2 *supra*, p. 173.

⁴ Does this mean referring to many aspects of the Brahman? Sâṅkara merely says *nânârûpâ*. Nîlakantha takes it differently, and as meaning that in which everything is elucidated; 'relating to the Brahman' Nîlakantha takes to mean 'leading to the Brahman,' or 'instrument for attaining to the Brahman.'

midst of these created objects¹. Such is my request, O youth!

Sanatsugâta said:

This Brahman, O king! about which you question me with such perseverance, is not to be attained by anybody who is in a hurry. When the mind is absorbed in the understanding², then can that knowledge, which must be deeply pondered over, be attained by living the life of a Brahmakârin³. For you are speaking of that primordial knowledge⁴, which consists in the truth; which is obtained by the good by living the life of Brahmakârins⁵; which being obtained, men cast off this mortal world; and which knowledge, verily, is to be invariably (found) in those who have been brought up under preceptors⁶.

Dhritarâshtra said:

Since that knowledge is capable of being truly acquired by living the life of a Brahmakârin, therefore tell me, O Brâhmaṇa! of what description the life of a Brahmakârin is⁷.

Sanatsugâta said:

Those who entering (as it were) the womb⁸ of a

¹ In this material world, the highest knowledge is not to be got. Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 96.

² I. e. withdrawn from objects and fixed on the self only. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 79, and *Maitrî*, p. 179, where, however, we have *hrîd* for *buddhi*.

³ *Viroḥana* and *Indra* do so according to the *Khândogya*, p. 570. See also *Mundaka*, p. 311.

⁴ The object of which is the primal Brahman.

⁵ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 534; and *Gîtâ*, pp. 78, 79, and the passage from the *Kaṭha* there cited.

⁶ *Khândogya*, pp. 264-459. ⁷ See *Khândogya*, p. 553 seq.

⁸ I. e. attending closely upon him; *foetus* = pupil.

preceptor, and becoming (as it were) a foetus, practise the life of Brahma \acute ârin, become even in this world authors of Sâstras¹, and they repair to the highest truth² after casting off (this) body. They subjugate desires here in this world, practising forbearance in pursuit of the Brahmic state³; and with courage, they even here remove the self out of the body⁴, like the soft fibres from the Mu \tilde ga. Father and mother, O descendant of Bharata! only form the body. But the birth⁵ obtained from the preceptor, that verily is true⁶, and likewise immortal. He perfects⁷ (one), giving (one) immortality. Recognising what he has done (for one), one should not injure him. The disciple should always make obeisance to the preceptor⁸; and, free from heedlessness, should always desire sacred instruction. When the pure man obtains knowledge by this same course of discipleship⁹, that is the first quarter of his life as a Brahma \acute ârin. As (is) his conduct

¹ Learned, men of knowledge, Sa \acute nkara.

² The supreme, which is described as 'truth, knowledge,' &c. In our ancient works the truth often means the real.

³ The state of being absorbed in the Brahman. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 52.

⁴ Cf. *Ka \acute tha*, p. 158.

⁵ Sa \acute nkara cites Âpastamba (p. 11) in support of this, and Prasna-upanishad, p. 256. The consciousness of being one with the Brahman is a new birth. See, too, *Mundaka*, p. 282.

⁶ That birth is not merely delusive, and does not result in death.

⁷ Immortality or final emancipation is not to be achieved without knowledge, which can only be got from a preceptor. And one is not perfect without that immortality; one is limited by the conditions of human existence. See *Nirukta* (Roth's ed.), p. 41.

⁸ Sa \acute nkara compares Svetâsvatara, p. 374; see also p. 203 *infra*. The necessity of having a Guru is often insisted on even in the Upanishads. Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 282; *K \acute ândogya*, p. 264.

⁹ Stated at the beginning of this speech, Sa \acute nkara.

always towards his preceptor, so likewise should he behave towards the preceptor's wife, and so likewise should he act towards the preceptor's son—(that) is said to be the second quarter. What one, recognising what the preceptor has done for one, and understanding the matter¹ (taught), feels with a delighted heart regarding the preceptor—believing that one has been brought into existence² by him—that is the third quarter of life as a Brahmatârin. One should do what is agreeable to the preceptor, by means of one's life and riches, and in deed, thought, and word³—that is said to be the fourth quarter. (A disciple) obtains a quarter by time⁴, so likewise a quarter by associating with the preceptor, he also obtains a quarter by means of his own energy; and then he attains to a quarter by means of the Sâstras. The life as a Brahmatârin of that man, whose beauty⁵ consists in the twelve beginning with knowledge, and whose limbs are the other (qualifications mentioned), and who has

¹ The meaning of the Vedic texts, &c., Saṅkara in one copy; the highest aim of man, according to another copy.

² See note 5 on p. 176.

³ I keep the order of the original, though I do not translate quite literally; 'thought and word' should be literally 'mind and speech.' See, on the collocation, Gîtâ, p. 123 *inter alia*.

⁴ Time=maturity of understanding which comes by time; energy=intellectual power; Sâstras=consultation about Sâstras with fellow-students—Saṅkara, who adds that the order is not material as stated, and quotes a stanza which may be thus rendered, 'The pupil receives a quarter from the preceptor, a quarter by his own talent; he receives a quarter by time; and a quarter through fellow-Brahmatârin.

⁵ The body being disregarded, these qualities are attributed to the self in this way. For the twelve, see p. 167; the others are abandonment, truthfulness, &c., p. 169.

strength¹, bears fruit, they say, by association with a preceptor, in (the shape of) contact with that entity—the Brahman. Whatever wealth may come to a man who lives in this way, he should even pay that over to the preceptor. He would thus be adopting the conduct of the good which is of many merits; and the same conduct is (to be adopted) towards the preceptor's son. Living thus, he prospers greatly² on all sides in this world; he obtains sons and position; the quarters³ and sub-quarters shower (benefits⁴) on him, and men pass their lives as Brahmacārins under him. By this life as a Brahmacārin, the divinities obtained their divinity. And the sages, too, became great by living the life of Brahmacārins. By this same (means), too, the Apsarasas, together with the Gandharvas, achieved for themselves beautiful forms. And by this life as a Brahmacārin, the sun illuminates (the universe). That man of knowledge, O king! who practising penance, may by penance pierce through or tear off his body, crosses beyond childhood⁵ by means of this (life as a Brahmacārin), and at the time of the termination (of life) overcomes death⁶. Those who understand this (life as a Brahmacārin) attain to a

¹ To observe the duties referred to, Sāṅkara. But see, too, p. 167, note 6.

² 'Obtains wealth, learning, and greatness,' says a commentator. For similar benefits, cf. *Khândogya*, p. 122.

³ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 132.

⁴ 'Wealth,' says Nilakantha, as well as another commentator.

⁵ Ignorance; cf. note 7 at p. 154 supra. Nilakantha reads 'reaches' instead of 'crosses beyond,' and interprets 'bālya' to mean 'freedom from affection, aversion,' &c. Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 605. As to the divinity of divinities, cf. Taitt. Āraṇ. p. 886.

⁶ Nilakantha reads 'vanquishes death.' The meaning is, he reaches final emancipation. Cf. p. 154 supra.

condition like that of those who ask (for what they want) from the wish-granting stone¹, when they obtain the thing desired. By performing action, O Kshatriya! people conquer (for themselves only) perishable worlds². (But) the man of understanding attains by knowledge to the everlasting glory—for there is no other way to it³.

Dhṛitarāshṭra said:

Where a Brāhmaṇa possessed of knowledge, perceives it, does it appear as white⁴, as red, or again as black, or again as grey or tawny? What is the colour of that immortal, indestructible goal?

Sanatsugāta said:

It appears not as white, as red, nor again as black, nor again as grey, nor tawny⁵. It dwells not on earth, nor in the sky; nor does it bear a body in this ocean⁶-(like world). It is not in the stars, nor does it dwell in the lightning; nor is its form⁷ to be seen in the clouds, nor even in the air, nor in the deities; it is not to be seen in the moon, nor in the sun. It is not to be seen in *Rik* texts, nor in

¹ Called *Kintāmani*. The effect of Brahmatārya is that those who practise it can get what they desire.

² Cf. *Gītā*, p. 76; *Khândogya*, p. 538; *Mundaka*, p. 279.

³ Cf. *Svetāśvatara*, p. 327.

⁴ Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 877.

⁵ Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 119; and *Mundaka*, p. 267. As to its not dwelling in earth, sky, &c., Sāṅkara refers to *Khândogya*, p. 518, as implying that.

⁶ Literally, 'it bears no water in the ocean.' 'Water' is said by the commentators to mean the five elements of which the body is composed. See *Manu* I, 5, and *Khândogya*, p. 330. In the *Svetāśvatara* it signifies mind (see p. 388). For ocean meaning world, or *samsāra*; cf. *Aitareya-upanishad*, p. 182.

⁷ Here I do not render *rūpa* by colour, as before.

Yagus texts; nor yet in the Atharvan texts, nor in the pure Sâman texts; nor yet, O king, in the Rathantara or *Bṛihadhratha*¹ hymns. It is seen in the self of a man of high vows². It is invincible, beyond darkness³, it comes forth from within⁴ at the time of destruction. Its form is more minute than the most minute (things), its form is larger even than the mountains⁵. That is the support⁶ (of the universe); that is immortal; (that is) all things perceptible⁷. That is the Brahman, that is glory⁸. From that all entities were produced⁹, in that they are dissolved. All this shines forth as dwelling in it in the form of light¹⁰. And it is perceived by means of knowledge¹¹ by one who understands the self; on it depends this whole universe. Those who understand this become immortal.

¹ See Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. i, p. 16; *Tândya-brâhmana*, p. 838; *Gîtâ*, p. 90; and Kaushîtaki, p. 21. *Bṛihadhratha* = *Bṛihat-sâman* (?).

² The twelve great vows—knowledge, &c., mentioned above, see p. 167. *Nilakantha* takes *Mahâvratâ* to refer to the sacrifice of that name. It is described in the *Aitareya Âranyaka*.

³ See *Gîtâ*, p. 78, note 4.

⁴ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 82, and *Îsopanishad*, p. 12.

⁵ See *Gîtâ*, p. 78, note 3.

⁶ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 113; *Kaṭha*, p. 99.

⁷ So *Nilakantha*. The original word ordinarily means 'worlds.'

⁸ Cf. *Svetâsvatara*, p. 347.

⁹ Cf. the famous passage in the *Taittirîya*, p. 123: and also *Mundaka*, p. 289.

¹⁰ The explanations of the commentators are not quite clear as to the word *ahnâ*, 'in the form of light.' Probably the meaning is: The universe depends on the Brahman, and is, as it were, the light of the Brahman. *Saṅkara* compares the passages referred to at *Gîtâ*, p. 112, note 1.

¹¹ 'Not by means of action,' says *Saṅkara*.

CHAPTER V¹.

Grief and wrath, and avarice, desire, delusion, laziness, want of forgiveness, vanity, craving, friendship², censoriousness, and reviling others—these twelve great enormities are destructive of a man's life. These, O king of kings! attend on each and every man. Beset by these, a man, deluded in his understanding, acts sinfully. A man full of attachments, merciless, harsh (of speech), talkative, cherishing wrath in his heart, and boastful—these are the men of cruel qualities; (such) persons, even obtaining wealth, do not always enjoy (it)³. One

¹ The whole of this chapter is wanting in one of our copies of Sāṅkara's commentary. In the copy published in the *Mahābhārata* (Madras edition) there is, however, this passage: 'Wrath &c. have been already explained, still there are some differences here and there, and those only are now explained.' The chapter is for the most part a repetition of what we have already had. For such repetitions cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, pp. 317-1016; 444-930. The same copy of Sāṅkara's commentary gives this general statement of the object of this and the next chapter: 'The course of study of the science of the Brahman, in which knowledge is the principal thing, and concentration of mind &c. are subsidiary, has been described. Now is described the course of study in which concentration of mind is principal, and knowledge subsidiary. The first mode consists in understanding the meaning of the word "you" by means of concentration of mind, and then identifying it with the Brahman by means of a study of the Upanishads; the second, in first intellectually understanding the identity of the individual self and Brahman, by such study of the Upanishads, and then realising the identity to consciousness by contemplation, &c. In both modes the fruit is the same, and the means are the same; and to show this, the merits and defects already stated are here again declared.' This explanation is verbatim the same in Nilakantha's commentary.

² The original is 'pity,' which is explained to mean 'friendship' by Sāṅkara and Nilakantha.

³ 'Owing to there being in it no enjoyment for the self,' says one

whose thoughts are fixed on enjoyments, who is partial¹, proud², boastful when he makes a gift, miserly, and devoid of power³, who esteems the group (of the senses), and who hates (his) wife—thus have been stated the seven (classes of) cruel persons of sinful dispositions. Piety, and truthfulness, and penance, and self-restraint, freedom from animosity, modesty, endurance, freedom from censoriousness, liberality, sacred learning, courage, forgiveness—these are the twelve great observances of a Brāhmaṇa. Whoever does not swerve from these twelve may govern this whole world. And one who is possessed of three, two, or even one, of these, must be understood to have nothing of his own⁴. Self-restraint, abandonment, freedom from delusion, on these immortality depends⁵. These are possessed by those talented Brāhmaṇas to whom the Brahman is the principal⁶ (thing). A Brāhmaṇa's speaking ill of others, whether true or false, is not commended.

copy of Sāṅkara's commentary. Another reading, which is in the Madras edition and in Nīlakaṇṭha, may be rendered, 'even obtaining benefits, they do not respect one (from whom they obtain them).'

¹ The commentary says the meaning is the same as that of the expression used in the corresponding place before, viz. one who prospers by injuring others.

² One copy of Sāṅkara's commentary takes this to mean one who thinks the not-self to be the self. I adopt the other meaning, however, as agreeing with that of *atimānī*, which is the reading of some copies instead of *abhimānī*.

³ Nīlakaṇṭha reads *durbala* and does not explain it. See p. 167.

⁴ One commentator says this means that he should not be supposed to have incurred the demerit of having any attachment to this world. Nīlakaṇṭha says, he gives up everything in the pursuit of even one of these observances.

⁵ See p. 168.

⁶ I.e. the goal to be reached. The commentary takes Brahman to mean the Vedas, and the whole phrase to mean those who devote themselves to the performance of actions stated in the Vedas.

The men who act thus have their places in hell. Frenzy has eighteen defects—as already described here—hatred of men, factiousness¹, censoriousness, untruthful speech, lust, wrath, want of self-control², speaking ill of others, backbiting, mismanagement in business³, quarrelsomeness, animosity, troubling living creatures, want of forgiveness, delusion, flippancy, loss of reason⁴, censoriousness⁵; therefore a wise man should not be subject to frenzy, for it is always censured. Six characteristics should be understood as (belonging) to friendship—that one should rejoice at (anything) agreeable; and feel grieved at (anything) disagreeable; that with a pure heart one, when asked by a deserving (man), should give to him who asks what can⁶ certainly be given, (though it) may be beneficial to oneself, and even though it ought not to be asked, (namely) one's favourites, sons, wealth, and one's own wife; that one should not dwell there where one has bestowed (all one's) wealth, through a desire (to get a return for one's liberality); that one should enjoy

¹ One copy of Śaṅkara's commentary says this means 'obstructing other people's acts of piety,' &c.

² One copy of Śaṅkara's commentary says this means 'being given up to intoxicating drinks,' &c.; another copy says, 'doing another's bidding without thought.'

³ One copy says this means 'inattention to any work undertaken; another renders the original by 'destruction of property, i.e. squandering it on dancers,' &c.

⁴ I.e. discrimination between right and wrong.

⁵ This seems to be some error, for 'censoriousness' has occurred before. But neither the texts nor the commentaries give any help to correct the error. Perhaps the latter is to be distinguished as referring to the habit, and the former only to sporadic acts, of censoriousness. These qualities, I presume, constitute frenzy; they are not the 'defects.'

⁶ I.e. where the power to give exists.

(the fruit of one's¹ own) toils (only); and that one should forego one's own profit². Such a man, possessed of wealth, and possessed of merits, is a liberal man of the quality of goodness³; such a one diverts the five elements from the five⁴ (senses). This⁵ pure penance, acquired out of desire⁶ by those who are fallen off from the truth, even though developed, leads upwards⁷; since sacrifices are performed owing to a misapprehension of the truth⁸. (The

¹ Not a friend's. ² For a friend. ³ See Gītā, p. 120.

⁴ The commentators take this to mean objects of sense, and they interpret 'elements' before to mean senses.

⁵ 'Viz. the turning away of the senses from their objects,' says one copy of Sāṅkara.

⁶ Scil. to enjoy the higher enjoyments of superior worlds.

⁷ I. e. to the higher worlds; it does not lead to emancipation here.

⁸ Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 277. I must own that I do not quite understand this passage, nor its explanation as given in the commentaries. I do not quite see what the penance here mentioned has to do with sacrifice, and yet the commentators seem to take the words 'since sacrifices,' &c., with what precedes them, not with what follows. Taking them, however, with what follows, it is difficult to explain the word 'since.' As far as I can understand the passage I take the sense of it to be as follows: The author having said that penance performed out of a particular motive does not lead to final emancipation, he then proceeds to point out that all 'action' or 'sacrifice' is due to an imperfect understanding of the truth (cf. p. 171 supra), being mostly due to some particular motive. Then he goes on to show the different classes of sacrifice, and finally points out that he who is free from desires is superior to one who is actuated by desires. The original for 'misapprehension' is *ava-bodha*, which commonly means 'apprehension,' but Sāṅkara finally makes it mean *moha* or 'delusion.' The original for truth is rendered by *Nilakantha* to mean 'fancies.' *Nīlakantha* says that the sacrifice by the mind is the highest; that by speech, viz. *Brahmayagñā*, *Gāpa*, &c., is middling; and that by deed, viz. with clarified butter and other offerings, of the lowest class. 'Perfected by fancies' = one whose fancies are always fulfilled 'through a knowledge,' says *Nilakantha*, 'of the Brahma as possessing qualities.'

sacrifices) of some are by the mind, of others by speech, and also by deed. The man void of fancies takes precedence over the man perfected by fancies, —especially among Brâhmanas¹. And hear this further from me. One should teach this great and glorious² (doctrine); (other doctrines) the wise call mere arrangements of words. On this concentration of mind³, all this⁴ depends. Those who know this become immortal. Not by meritorious action only, O king! does man conquer the truth⁵. One may offer offerings, or sacrifice. By that the child(-like man) does not cross beyond death; nor, O king! does he obtain happiness in his last moments⁶. One should practise devotion quietly, and should not be active even in mind⁷; and then one should avoid delight and wrath (resulting) from praise and censure⁸. I say to you, O learned person! that adhering to this⁹, one attains the Brahman and perceives it, O Kshatriya! by a course (of study) of the Vedas.

¹ This also is far from clear. Should it be, 'and a Brâhmana more especially?' This might be taken as referring to one who knows the Brahman as devoid of qualities, as Nīlakantha does take it. But his construction is not quite clear.

² As serviceable in attaining to 'the glory,' the Brahman; see p. 180.

³ See note 1 at p. 181. As to 'arrangements of words,' cf. Maitrī, p. 179.

⁴ 'Everything,' says one copy of Sāṅkara's commentary; 'all that is good and desirable,' says another.

⁵ Cf. *inter alia*, *Mundaka*, pp. 281-314.

⁶ For he has got to undergo migration from one life to another as the result of the action. Cf. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 856; *Mundaka*, p. 278.

⁷ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 70.

⁸ Ibid. pp. 101-110.

⁹ I.e. the yoga or concentration of mind here described. This stanza, like many others in this chapter, occurs in chapter III with slight variations.

CHAPTER VI.

That pure¹, great light², which is radiant; that great glory³; that, verily, which the gods worship⁴; that by means of which the sun shines forth⁵—that eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. From (that) pure (principle) the Brahman⁶ is produced; by (that) pure (principle) the Brahman is developed⁷; that pure (principle), not illumined among all radiant (bodies), is (itself) luminous and illuminates (them)⁸. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. The perfect is raised out of the perfect. It (being raised) out of the perfect is called the perfect. The perfect is withdrawn from the perfect, and the perfect only remains⁹. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees.

¹ Free from ignorance and other taints. See *Kaṭha*, p. 144.

² Saṅkara compares *Kaṭha*, p. 142. See, too, *Mundaka*, p. 303; and note 4 *infra*.

³ *Svetâsvatara*, p. 347, and p. 180 *supra*.

⁴ Saṅkara refers to *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 887.

⁵ Cf. *Gitâ*, p. 112, note 1.

⁶ 'Named *Hiranyagarbha*,' Saṅkara. Cf. *Gitâ*, p. 107; *Svetâsvatara*, p. 354; *Mundaka*, p. 309; *Maitrî*, p. 130; *Taitt. Âraṇ.* p. 894.

⁷ 'In the form of *Virâg*,' says Saṅkara. As to these two, cf. *Mundaka*, pp. 270-272; and Saṅkara's and Ânandagiri's notes there. See also *Svetâsvatara*, pp. 324, 325; and *Nṛisimha Tâpinî*, pp. 233, 234; *Colebrooke*, *Essays*, pp. 344, 368 (Madras reprint). The *Virâg* corresponds rather to the gross material world viewed as a whole; the *Hiranyagarbha* to the subtle elements similarly viewed, an earlier stage in the development. Cf. the *Vedântasâra*.

⁸ Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 303, and *Gitâ*, p. 112.

⁹ The individual self is part of the supreme (*Gitâ*, p. 112); perfect = not limited by space, time, &c.; as being part of a thing perfect in its essence, the individual soul also is perfect. The individual self is withdrawn from the perfect, viz. the whole aggregate of body, senses, &c. presided over by the self, and when so withdrawn it appears to be the pure self only. Cf. *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 948.

(From the Brahman), the waters¹ (are produced); and then from the waters, the gross body. In the space within that², dwelt the two divine (principles). Both enveloping the quarters and sub-quarters, support earth and heaven³. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. The horse⁴ (-like senses) lead towards heaven him, who is possessed of knowledge and divine, (who is) free from old age, and who stands on the wheel of this chariot (-like body), which is transient, but the operations of which are imperishable⁵. That eternal divine being⁶ is perceived by devotees. His form has no parallel⁷; no one sees him with the eye⁸. Those who apprehend him by means of the understanding, and also the mind and heart, become immortal⁹. That eternal

¹ 'The five elements,' says Sāṅkara, cf. Aitareya, p. 189; and for 'gross body,' the original is literally 'water;' see supra, p. 179, note 6; and see, too, Īropanishad, p. 11, and Svetāśvatara, p. 368, for different but kindred meanings.

² Viz. the lotus-like heart. Cf. Kāṇḍogya, p. 528.

³ The two principles between them pervade the universe, the individual self being connected with the material world, the other with heaven; 'divine' is, literally, 'the brilliant,' says Sāṅkara, who quotes Kaṭha, p. 305, as a parallel for the whole passage.

⁴ Cf. Kaṭha, p. 111; Maitrī, pp. 19-34; and Mahābhārata Śrī Parvan, chap. VII, st. 13. Heaven = the Brahman here (see Brīhadāraṇyaka, p. 876); divine = not vulgar, or unrefined—Sāṅkara, who adds that though the senses generally lead one to sensuous objects, they do not do so when under the guidance of true knowledge.

⁵ The body is perishable, but action done by the self while in the body leaves its effect.

⁶ To whom, namely, the man of knowledge goes, as before stated.

⁷ Cf. Svetāśvatara, p. 347.

⁸ Cf. Kaṭha, p. 152, and comment there, where the eye is said to stand for all the senses.

⁹ Kaṭha, p. 149; Svetāśvatara, pp. 346-348, also p. 330 (should it be *manśhā* there instead of *manviro*?). The meanings of the three words are difficult to fix accurately. Sāṅkara varies in his interpre-

divine being is perceived by devotees. The currents of twelve collections¹, supported by the Deity, regulate the honey²; and those who follow after it move about in (this) dangerous (world). That eternal divine being³ is perceived by devotees. The bee⁴ drinks that accumulated honey for half a month⁵. The Lord created the oblation for all beings⁶. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. Those who are devoid of wings⁷, coming

tations. Probably the meaning he gives here is the best. Mind and understanding have been explained at Gîtâ, p. 57. The heart is the place within, where the self is said to be, and it may be taken as indicating the self, the meaning would then be—a direct consciousness in the self of its unity with the Supreme. See, too, Taitt. Âraṇ. p. 896.

¹ The five organs of action, the five senses of perception, the mind and understanding make the twelve.

² Each current has its own honey regularly distributed to it under the supervision of the Deity, the Supreme. Honey=material enjoyment. Cf. Kaṭha, p. 126, where Saṅkara renders it by *karmaphala*, 'fruit of action.'

³ Who supervises the distribution as stated. Cf. Vedānta-sūtra III, 2, 28-31.

⁴ Bhramara, which the commentators interpret to mean 'one who is given to flying about—the individual self.'

⁵ I. e. in one life in respect of actions done in a previous life.

⁶ Saṅkara says this is in answer to a possible difficulty that action performed here cannot have its fruit in the next world, as the fruit is so far removed in time from the action. The answer is, The Lord, the Supreme, can effect this, and taking his existence into account there is no difficulty. Oblation=food, &c., Saṅkara. The meaning of the whole passage, which is not very clear, seems to be that the Lord has arranged things so that each being receives some of this honey, this food, which is the fruit of his own action. Then the question arises, Do these beings always continue taking the honey and 'migrating,' or are they ever released? That is answered by the following sentence.

⁷ 'The wings of knowledge,' says Saṅkara, citing a Brāhmaṇa text, 'those, verily, who have knowledge are possessed of wings, those who are not possessed of knowledge are devoid of wings.'

to the Asvattha of golden leaves¹, there become possessed of wings, and fly away happily². That eternal divine being³ is perceived by devotees. The upward life-wind swallows up the downward life-wind; the moon swallows up the upward life-wind; the sun swallows up the moon⁴; and another⁵ swallows up the sun. Moving about above the waters, the supreme self⁶ does not raise one leg⁷. (Should he raise) that, which is always performing sacrifices⁸, there will be no death, no immortality⁹. That eternal divine being¹⁰ is perceived by devotees.

¹ So, literally; Sāṅkara explains 'golden' to mean 'beneficial and pleasant,' by a somewhat fanciful derivation of the word *hiranya*. He refers to *Gītā*, p. 111, about the leaves of the *Asvattha*. *Nilakantha* takes the leaves to be son, wife, &c., which are 'golden,' attractive at first sight. 'Coming to the *Asvattha*,' Sāṅkara says, 'means being born as a *Brāhmaṇa*,' &c. 'Flying away' = obtaining final emancipation.

² The 'selves' are compared to birds in the famous passage at *Mundaka*, p. 306 (also *Svetāśvatara*, p. 337). See also *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 499.

³ Knowledge of whom leads to 'flying away happily.'

⁴ Cf. *Kāṇḍogya*, p. 441. Sāṅkara says that the author here explains the yoga by which the Supreme is to be attained. As to the life-winds, cf. *Gītā*, p. 61. 'The moon,' says Sāṅkara, 'means the mind, and the sun the understanding, as they are the respective deities of those organs' (cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, pp. 521-542, and *Āitareya*, p. 187, where, however, the sun is said to appertain to the eye).

⁵ I.e. the Brahman; the result is, one remains in the condition of being identified with the Brahman.

⁶ Literally, flamingo. Cf. *Svetāśvatara*, pp. 332, 367; see also p. 289; *Maitrī*, p. 99; and the commentary on *Svetāśvatara*, p. 283.

⁷ Viz. the individual self, Sāṅkara; that is, as it were, the bond of connexion between the Supreme and the world. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 112.

⁸ This is the meaning, though the word in the original is *Ritvig*, which in the later literature only means priest.

⁹ As the whole of the material world is dissolved, when the self is dis severed from the delusion which is the cause of it.

¹⁰ Viz. who moves about on the waters, as above stated.

The being which is the inner self, and which is of the size of a thumb¹, is always migrating in consequence of the connexion with the subtle body². The deluded ones do not perceive that praiseworthy lord, primeval and radiant, and possessed of creative power³. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. Leading mortals to destruction by their own action⁴, they conceal themselves like serpents in secret recesses⁵. The deluded men then become more deluded⁶. The enjoyments afforded by them cause delusion, and lead to worldly life⁷. That eternal divine being⁸ is perceived by devotees. This⁹ seems to be common to all mankind—whether possessed of resources¹⁰ or not possessed of resources—it is common to immortality and the other¹¹. Those who are possessed (of them)¹² attain there to the source of the honey¹³. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. They go,

¹ Svetâsvatara, pp. 330–355; Taitt. Âran. p. 858, and comments there.

² The life-winds, the ten organs or senses, mind, and understanding. See the same word similarly interpreted at Svetâsvatara, p. 306, and Sâṅkhya-sûtra III, 9.

³ According to Saṅkara, he who makes the distinct entities, after entering into them; he alludes apparently to *Khândogya*, p. 407.

⁴ Namely, that of giving the poison of sensuous objects.

⁵ I. e. the eye, ear, &c., like the holes of serpents.

⁶ I. e. can appreciate nought but those sensuous objects.

⁷ One reading is, 'lead to danger' = which means 'to hell,' according to Nilakantha.

⁸ Scil. delusion about whom leads to 'danger' or 'worldly life.'

⁹ The quality of being one with the Brahman in essence.

¹⁰ Self-restraint, tranquillity, &c.

¹¹ I. e. whether in the midst of worldly life, or in the state of perfect emancipation.

¹² Viz. the resources spoken of before.

¹³ Viz. the supreme Brahman. 'There' Saṅkara takes to mean 'in the supreme abode of Vishṇu.' See Introduction.

pervading both worlds by knowledge¹. Then the Agnihotra though not performed is (as good as) performed². Your (knowledge) of the Brahman, therefore, will not lead you to littleness³. Knowledge is (his)⁴ name. To that the talented ones attain. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. The self of this description absorbing the material cause⁵ becomes great. And the self of him who understands that being is not degraded here⁶. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. One should ever and always be doing good. (There is) no death, whence (can there be) immortality⁷? The real and the unreal have both the same real (entity) as their basis. The source of the existent and the non-existent is but one⁸. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. The

¹ Sāṅkara does not explain this. Nīlakaṇṭha says pervading = fully understanding; both worlds = the self and the not-self. Is the meaning something like that of the passage last cited by Sāṅkara under Vedānta-sūtra IV, 2, 14?

² He obtains the fruit of it, Sāṅkara. See as to Agnihotra, *Khândogya*, p. 381 seq.; and Vedānta-sūtra IV, 1, 16.

³ I.e. this mortal world, as action &c. would do.

⁴ I.e. of one who understands himself to be the Brahman. See *Aitareya-upanishad*, p. 246.

⁵ Sāṅkara says, 'the cause in which all is absorbed.' Cf. a similar, but not identical, meaning given to Vaisvānara at *Khândogya*, p. 264; and see Vedānta-sūtra I, 2, 24. Becomes great = becomes the Brahman, Sāṅkara.

⁶ Even in this body, Sāṅkara; degradation he takes to mean departure from the body, citing *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 540.

⁷ There is no worldly life with birth and death for one who does good, and thinks his self to be the Brahman; hence no emancipation from such life either.

⁸ The Brahman is the real, and on that the unreal material world is imagined. Cf. *Taittirīya*, p. 97, and Sāṅkara's comments there, which are of use in understanding this passage.

being who is the inner self, and who is of the size of a thumb, is not seen, being placed in the heart¹. He is unborn, is moving about day and night, without sloth. Meditating on him, a wise man remains placid². That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. From him comes the wind³; in him, likewise, is (everything) dissolved. From him (come) the fire and the moon; and from him comes life⁴. That is the support (of the universe); that is immortal; that is all things perceptible⁵; that is the Brahman, that glory. From that all entities were produced; and in that (they) are dissolved⁶. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. The brilliant (Brahman) supports the two divine principles⁷ and the universe, earth and heaven, and the quarters. He from whom the rivers flow in (various) directions, from him were created the great oceans⁸. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. Should one fly, even after furnishing oneself with thousands upon thousands of wings, and even though one should have the velocity of thought⁹, one would never reach the end of the (great) cause¹⁰. That eternal divine

¹ Cf. *Kaṭha*, pp. 130, 157; and *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 360.

² Cf. *Svetâsvatara*, p. 342; *Kaṭha*, pp. 100, 107; *Maitrî*, p. 134.

³ Cf. *Taittirîya*, p. 67; *Kaṭha*, p. 146; *Mundaka*, p. 293.

⁴ *Kaṭha*, p. 298; *Mundaka*, p. 288.

⁵ See p. 180, note 7.

⁶ See p. 180 supra.

⁷ 'The individual soul, and God,' say the commentators, the latter being distinct from the supreme self. 'The universe,' says *Nilakantha*, 'means earth,' &c., by which I suppose he means earth, heaven, quarters, mentioned directly afterwards.

⁸ *Kaṭha*, p. 293.

⁹ This figure is implied in the *Îropanishad*, p. 10.

¹⁰ 'Therefore it is endless,' says *Saṅkara*; and as to this, cf. *Taittirîya*, p. 51.

being is perceived by devotees. His form dwells in the unperceived¹; and those whose understandings are very well refined² perceive him. The talented man who has got rid (of affection and aversion) perceives (him) by the mind. Those who understand him³ become immortal. When one sees this self in all beings stationed in various places⁴, what should one grieve for after that⁵? The Brāhmaṇa has (as much interest) in all beings, as in a big reservoir of water, to which waters flow from all sides⁶. I alone am your mother⁷, father;

¹ 'In a sphere beyond the reach of perception,' says Saṅkara, who also quotes *Kaṭha*, p. 149, or *Svetāśvatara*, p. 347, where the same line also occurs.

² The original for understandings is *sattva*, which Saṅkara renders to mean *antaḥkarāṇa*. 'Refined,' he says, 'by sacrifices and other sanctifying operations.' In the *Kaṭha* at p. 148 *sattva* is rendered by Saṅkara to mean *buddhi*—a common use of the word.

³ 'As being,' says Saṅkara, 'identical with themselves.' It will be noted that the form of expression is slightly altered here. It is not 'those who understand this.'

⁴ I.e. in different aggregates of body, senses, &c. Cf. *Gītā*, pp. 104 and 124; also *Khāndogya*, pp. 475-551.

⁵ Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 882; Saṅkara also refers to *Īśopaniṣad*, p. 14.

⁶ The words are pretty nearly the same as at *Gītā*, p. 48. Saṅkara says, the Brāhmaṇa 'who has done all he need do' has no interest whatever in any being, as he has none in a big reservoir, and he cites *Gītā*, p. 54, in support of this. One copy of Saṅkara, however, differs from this; that runs thus: 'As a person who has done all he need do, has no interest in a big reservoir of water, so to a Brāhmaṇa who sees the self in all beings, there is no interest in all the actions laid down in the Vedas, &c.; as he has obtained everything by mere perception of the self.' Nīlakanṭha's reading is exactly the same as at *Gītā*, p. 48.

⁷ Saṅkara says that Sanatsugāta states here his own experiences, like Vāmadeva (about whom there is a reference at *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 216) and others, to corroborate what he has already said. Cf. also *Gītā*, p. 83, as to the whole passage.

and I too am the son. And I am the self of all this—that which exists and that which does not exist¹. (I am) the aged grandfather of this, the father, and the son, O descendant of Bharata! You dwell in my self only². You are not mine, nor I (yours). The self only is my seat³; the self too is (the source of) my birth⁴. I am woven through and through⁵ (everything). And my seat is free from (the attacks of) old age⁶. I am unborn, moving about day and night, without sloth. Knowing (me), verily, a wise man remains placid⁷. More minute than an atom⁸, possessed of a good mind⁹, I am stationed within all beings¹⁰. (The wise) know the father of all beings to be placed in the lotus¹¹ (-like heart of every one).

¹ See Gîtâ, p. 84. Nilakantha takes what exists to mean 'present,' and what does not exist to mean 'past and future.' Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 532.

² See Gîtâ, p. 82, where there is also a similar apparent contradiction.

³ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 518.

⁴ That is to say he is 'unborn,' says Nilakantha. Sankara seems to take 'my' with 'seat' only, and not with birth; for he says, 'everything has its birth from the self.'

⁵ Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 298; *Maitrî*, p. 84, and comment there.

⁶ Cf. Gîtâ, pp. 77, 109, and *Khândogya*, pp. 535, 550.

⁷ See p. 192, note 2.

⁸ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 78, and note 3 there.

⁹ I.e. a mind free from affection and aversion, hatred, &c., Sankara.

¹⁰ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 113, and note 3; and also *Îsopanishad*, p. 12.

¹¹ *Khândogya*, p. 528; and cf. Gîtâ, p. 113.

ANUGÎTÂ.

INTRODUCTION

TO

ANUGÎTÂ.

LIKE the Bhagavadgîtâ and the Sanatsugâtîya, the Anugîtâ is one of the numerous episodes of the Mahâbhârata. And like the Sanatsugâtîya, it appears here for the first time in an English, or, indeed, it is believed, in any European garb. It forms part of the Asvamedha Parvan of the Mahâbhârata, and is contained in thirty-six chapters of that Parvan. These chapters—being chapters XVI to LI—together with all the subsequent chapters of the Asvamedha Parvan, form by themselves what in some of our copies is called the Anugîtâ Parvan—a title which affords a parallel to the title Bhagavadgîtâ Parvan, which we have already referred to. The Anugîtâ is not now a work of any very great or extensive reputation. But we do find some few quotations from it in the Bhâshyas of Saṅkarâcârya, and one or two in the Sâṅkhya-sâra of Viṣṇûna Bhikshu, to which reference will be made hereafter. And it is included in the present volume, partly because it affords an interesting glimpse of sundry old passages of the Upanishad literature in a somewhat modified, and presumably later, form; and partly, perhaps I may say more especially, because it professes to be a sort of continuation, or rather recapitulation, of the Bhagavadgîtâ. At the very outset of the work, we read, that after the great fratricidal war of the Mahâbhârata was over, and the Pândavas had become sole and complete masters of their ancestral kingdom, *Krishna* and *Arguna*—the two interlocutors in the Bhagavadgîtâ—happened to take a stroll together in the great magical palace built for the Pândavas by the demon *Maya*. In the course of the conversation which they held on the occasion, *Krishna* communicated to *Arguna* his wish to return to his own people at *Dvârakâ*, now that the business which had called

him away from them was happily terminated. Arguna, of course, was unable to resist the execution of this wish ; but he requested *Kṛishṇa*, before leaving for *Dvārakā*, to repeat the instruction which had been already conveyed to him on 'the holy field of *Kurukshetra*,' but which had gone out of his 'degenerate mind.' *Kṛishṇa* thereupon protests that he is not equal to a verbatim recapitulation of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, but agrees, in lieu of that, to impart to Arguna the same instruction in other words, through the medium of a certain 'ancient story'—or *purātana itihāsa*. And the instruction thus conveyed constitutes what is called the *Anugītā*, a name which is in itself an embodiment of this anecdote.

Now the first question which challenges investigation with reference to this work is, if we may so call it, the fundamental one—how much is properly included under the name? The question is not one quite easy of settlement, as our authorities upon it are not all reconcilable with one another. In the general list of contents of the *Asvamedha Parvan*, which is given at the end of that *Parvan* in the edition printed at Bombay, we read that the first section is the *Vyāsa Vākya*, and the second the *Saṁvartamaruttiya*. With neither of these have we aught to do here. The list then goes on thus : ' *Anugītā*, *Vāsudevāgamana*, *Brāhmaṇa Gītā*, *Gururishyasamvāda*, *Uttankopākhyāna*,' and so forth. With the later sections, again, we are not here concerned. Now let us compare this list with the list which may be obtained from the titles of the chapters in the body of the work itself. With the sixteenth chapter, then, of the *Asvamedha Parvan*, begins what is here called the *Anugītā Parvan* ; and that chapter and the three following chapters are described as the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth chapters respectively of the *Anugītā Parvan*, which forms part of the *Asvamedha Parvan*. The title of the twentieth chapter contains a small, but important, addition. It runs thus, 'Such is the twentieth chapter of the *Anugītā Parvan*, forming part of the *Asvamedha Parvan*—being the *Brahma Gītā*.' This form is continued down to the thirty-fourth chapter, only *Brāhmaṇa*

Gītā being substituted for Brahma Gītā. At the close of the thirty-fifth chapter, there is another alteration caused by the substitution of Gurusishyasamvāda for Brāhmaṇa Gītā; and this continues down to the fifty-first chapter, where the thread of the narrative is again taken up—the philosophical parenthesis, if I may so say, having come to an end. With the fifty-first chapter our present translation also ends. Now it appears from the above comparison, that the list of contents set out above is accurate, save in so far as it mentions Vāsudevāgamaṇa as a distinct section of the Asvamedha Parvan. No such section seems to be in existence. And there appears to be nothing in the Asvamedha Parvan to which that title could be appropriately allotted. The edition printed at Madras agrees in all essential particulars with the Bombay edition; with this difference, that even at the close of the twentieth chapter, the name is Brāhmaṇa Gītā, and not Brahma Gītā as it is in the Bombay edition. The Calcutta edition also agrees in these readings. Turning now to a MS. procured for me by my excellent friend Professor Ābāṅī Vishṇu Kāthavāse at Ahmedabad, and bearing date the 15th of Phālguna Vadya 1823, Sunday, we find there at the end of the Asvamedha Parvan a list of contents like that which we have seen in the printed edition. The relevant portion of that list is as follows: 'Samvartamarut-tīya, Anugītā, Gurusishyasamvāda, and Uttankopākhyāna.' Here we find neither the erroneous entry of Vāsudevāgamaṇa, nor the correct entry of Brahma Gītā, which are both contained in the other list. In another MS. which I have now before me, and which has been lent me by Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, who purchased it in Pura for the Government of Bombay—in this MS., which contains the commentary of Arguna Misra, the earlier chapters are described not as chapters of the Anugītā Parvan, but of the Anugītā contained in the Asvamedha Parvan, and they are numbered there as they are numbered in our translation, not continuously with the numbering of the previous chapters of the Asvamedha Parvan. At the close of chapter IV, we have an explicit statement that the Anugītā ends there. Then the Brahma Gītā begins. And the first chapter is

described as a chapter of the *Brahma Gitâ* in the *Asvamedha Parvan*. The numbering of each of these chapters of the *Brahma Gitâ* is not given in the copy before us—the titles and descriptions of the various chapters being throughout incomplete. Some of the later chapters are described as chapters of the *Brâhma Gitâ*, and some as chapters of the *Brâhmaṇa Gitâ*; but this discrepancy is probably to be put to the account of the particular copyist who wrote out the copy used by us. With what is chapter XX in our numbering the *Gurusishyasaṃvâda* begins. This MS. omits all reference to any *Anugîtâ Parvan*, and fails to number the various chapters. Its list of sections agrees with that in the Bombay edition. It bears no date.

So much for what may be described as our primary sources of information on this subject. Let us now glance at the secondary sources. And, first, *Nilakantha* in commenting on what is, according to his numbering, chapter XV, stanza 43, apparently distinguishes that chapter from what he speaks of as the *Brâhmaṇa Gitâ* and *Gurusishyasaṃvâda*, which, as he implies, follow after that chapter—thus indicating that he accepted in substance the tradition recorded in the passages we have already set forth, viz. that the first four chapters of our translation form the *Anugîtâ*, the next fifteen the *Brâhmaṇa Gitâ*, and the last seventeen the *Gurusishyasaṃvâda*. This is also the view of *Arguna Misra*. At the close of his gloss on chapter IV, he distinctly states that the *Anugîtâ* ends at that chapter; and again at the close of the gloss on chapter XIX, he explicitly says that the *Brâhmaṇa Gitâ* ends there. He also adds the following interesting observation: 'The feminine form (*Gitâ*, namely) is used in consequence of (the word) *Upanishad* being feminine.' The full title of that part of the *Mahâbhârata* would then be, according to this remark of *Arguna Misra*, 'the *Upanishads* sung by the *Brâhmaṇa*,' a title parallel to that of the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, 'the *Upanishads* sung by the Deity.' It is to be further remarked, that the last chapter of the *Gurusishyasaṃvâda* is called in this commentary the eighteenth chapter of the *Gurusishyasaṃvâda*, a fact which seems to indicate that *Arguna Misra* either

found in the MS. which he used, or himself established, a separate numbering for the chapters in the several sections¹ of which the Asvamedha Parvan is made up.

Although the information here set out from these various sources is not easily to be harmonised in all its parts, the preponderance of testimony seems to be in favour of regarding the portion of the Asvamedha Parvan embraced in our translation as containing three distinct sections, viz. the Anugītā, the Brāhmaṇa Gītā, and the Gurusishyasamvāda. And some indirect support for this conclusion may be derived from one or two other circumstances. In the Sāṅkhya-sāra of Vigñāna Bhikshu—a work which, as we shall see in the sequel, expressly mentions the Anugītā—we have a passage cited as from the 'Bhārata'² which coincides almost precisely with a passage occurring in chapter XXVII of our translation (see p. 335). And in the Bhāṣya of Saṅkarācārya on the Bhagavadgītā, chapter XV, stanza 1, we have a citation as from a 'Purāṇa' of a passage which coincides pretty closely with one which occurs in chapter XX of our translation (see p. 313). If the discrepancies between the quotations as given by Vigñāna Bhikshu and Saṅkara, and the passages occurring in our text, may be treated merely as various readings—and there is nothing inherently improbable in this being the case—it may be fairly contended, that neither Saṅkara nor Vigñāna Bhikshu would have used the vague expressions, 'a Purāṇa,' or even 'the Bhārata,' if they could have correctly substituted in lieu of them the specific name Anugītā. And this, it may be said, is a contention of some weight, when it is remembered, that both Saṅkara and Vigñāna show, in other parts of their writings, an acquaintance with this very Anugītā. If this reasoning is correct,

¹ In the beginning of his gloss on the Anugītā he says, that he proposes to explain difficult passages in the Anugītā, &c.—Anugītādīshu. And at the outset of his gloss on the whole Parvan he says, that in the Anugītā we have a statement of the miseries of birth, &c. as a protest against worldly life; in the Brāhma Gītā we have a recommendation of Prāyāṇa, &c.; and in the Gurusishyasamvāda we have a eulogium on the perception of the self as distinct from Prakṛiti or nature, and incidentally a protest against Pravṛtti or action.

² P. 21.

the conclusion to be derived from it must be, that Saṅkara and Vigñāna must have considered the chapters of the *Asvamedha Parvan* from which their respective quotations are taken as not forming part of the *Anugītā*.

The testimony we have thus collected is apparently of considerable weight. Against it, however, we have to weigh some testimony which appears to me to be entitled, upon the whole, to even greater weight. In the *Sāṅkhya-sāra* of Vigñāna Bhikṣu, to which we have already referred, we have two quotations¹ from the *Anugītā* which are distinctly stated to be taken from that work. The first occurs in our translation at p. 332, the second at p. 313. Now, if we adopt the conclusion above referred to, regarding the correct titles of the thirty-six chapters which we have translated, it is a mistake to attribute the passages in question to the *Anugītā*. They would, on that view, form part of the *Gurusishyasamvāda*. Again, in his commentary on the *Sanatsugātīya*, Saṅkara refers to sundry passages which he expressly says are taken from the *Anugītā*, but which are not contained in the *Anugītā* as limited by the evidence we have considered above. One of the passages referred to is taken from chapter XI of our translation, and others are contained in the comments on *Sanatsugātīya* I, 6, and on I, 20 and I, 41². It is difficult to resist the conclusion to which this positive evidence leads. One cannot possibly explain this evidence upon the view which we have first stated; while, on the other hand, the points which apparently support that view are capable of some explanation on the theory that the *Anugītā* includes all the chapters here translated. And that in this wise. The passages which we have referred to as cited by Saṅkara and Vigñāna from a *Purāṇa* and from the *Bhārata* may have been actually taken from some other work than the *Anugītā*. Even waiving the fact that the readings are different,—though in regard especially to the quotation given by Saṅkara it is not one to be entirely lost sight of,—there is this fact which is of great and almost conclusive weight on such a point as

¹ Pp. 15, 21. The latter corresponds to Saṅkara's quotation above referred to.

² See p. 206 note.

this, namely, that we have many instances of passages common, almost verbatim et literatim, to the Mahābhārata and other works. For one instance, take the very passage on which a chronological argument has been founded by us in the Introduction to the Sanatsugāṭīya¹. It ought to have been there pointed out, that the stanza about a young man being bound to rise to receive an elderly person, occurs in the Manu Smṛiti² also in exactly the same words. The omission to note this circumstance in its proper place in the Introduction to the Sanatsugāṭīya was due to a mere inadvertence. But the conclusion there hinted at was expressed in very cautious language, and with many qualifications, out of regard to circumstances such as those which we are now considering. Similar repetitions may be pointed out in other places. The passage about the Kshetragṇa and Sattva and their mutual relations (see p. 374) occurs, as pointed out in the note there, in at least two other places in the Mahābhārata. The passage likewise which occurs in Gītā, p. 103, about the 'hands, feet, &c., on all sides,' is one which may be seen, to my own knowledge, in about half a dozen places in the Mahābhārata. Such cases, I believe, may be easily multiplied; and they illustrate and are illustrated by Mr. Freeman's proposition respecting the epic age in Greece, to which we have already alluded. It follows, consequently, that the quotations from Saṅkara and Viṅṇāna, to which we have referred above, do not militate very strongly against the final conclusion at which we have arrived. The testimony of the MSS. and the commentators is of considerably greater force. But Nilakanta, whatever his merits as an exegete—and even these are often marred by a persistent effort to read his own foregone conclusions into the text he comments on—Nilakanta is but an indifferent authority in the domain of historical criticism. In his commentary on the Sanatsugāṭīya, for instance, he tells us that he has admitted into his text sundry verses which were not in the copy used by Saṅkara, and for which he had none but a very modern voucher, and he very naively adds that he has done so on the principle of collecting all

¹ P. 139, and cf. p. 176 with Vishnu XXX, 44 seq.

² See II, 120.

good things to a focus. Arguna Misra is a very much more satisfactory commentator. But he is not likely to be a writer of a very remote date. I assume, that he must be more recent than Saṅkarākārya, though I cannot say that I have any very tenable ground for the assumption. But assuming that, I think it more satisfactory to adopt Saṅkarākārya's nomenclature, and to treat the thirty-six chapters here translated as constituting the Anugītā. It is not improbable, if our assumption is correct, that the division of the thirty-six chapters in the manner we have seen may have come into vogue after the date of Vigñāna Bhikshu, who, according to Dr. F. E. Hall, 'lived in all probability in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and whom there is some slight reason for carrying back still further'.¹

Do these thirty-six chapters, then, form one integral work? Are they all the work of one and the same author? These are the questions which next present themselves for consideration. The evidence bearing upon them, however, is, as might be expected, excessively scanty. Of external evidence, indeed, we have really none, barring Saṅkara's statement in his commentary on the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka-upanishad*² that the verse which he there quotes from the Anugītā has Vyāsa for its author. That statement indicates that Saṅkara accepted the current tradition of Vyāsa's authorship of the Anugītā; and such acceptance, presumably, followed from his acceptance of the tradition of Vyāsa's authorship of the entire Mahābhārata. If that tradition is incorrect, and Vyāsa is not the author of the Anugītā, we have no means of ascertaining who is the author. And as to the tradition in question, it is difficult, in the present state of our materials, to form any satisfactory judgment. We therefore proceed at once to consider whether the Anugītā is really one work. And I must admit at the outset that I find it difficult to answer this question. There are certainly some circumstances connected with the work which might be regarded as indicating a different authorship of different parts of it. Thus

¹ See Preface, Sāṅkhya-sāra, p. 37.

² P. 234.

in an early portion of the work, we find the first personal pronoun is used, where the Supreme Being is evidently intended to be signified, and yet the passage is not put into the mouth of *Kṛishṇa*, but of the *Brāhmaṇa*. A similar passage occurs a little later on also. Now it must be taken to be a somewhat strained interpretation of the words used in the passages in question to suppose that the speaker there used the first personal pronoun, identifying himself for the nonce with the Supreme Being¹. Again, in a passage still further on, we have the vocative O *Pārtha*! where the person addressed is not *Arguna* at all, but the *Brāhmaṇa*'s wife. Now these lapses are susceptible of two explanations—either we are to see in them so many cases of 'Homer nodding,' or we may suppose that they are errors occasioned by one writer making additions to the work of a previous writer, without a vivid recollection of the framework of the original composition into which his own work had to be set². I own, that on balancing the probabilities on the one side and the other, my mind rather leans to the hypothesis of one author making a slip in the plexus of his own story within story, rather than the hypothesis of a deliberate interpolator forgetting the actual scheme of the original work into which he was about to foist his own additions³. And this the rather, that we find a similar slip towards the very beginning of the work, where we have the *Brāhmaṇa Kāryapa* addressed as *Parantapa*, or destroyer of foes—an epithet which, I think, is exclusively reserved for *Kshatriyas*, and is, in any case, a very inappropriate one to apply to a humble seeker for spiritual light. This slip appears to me to be incapable of explanation on any theory of interpolation⁴. And hence the other slips above noted can hardly be regarded as supporting any such theory. Another circumstance, not indeed bearing

¹ In fact the *Brāhmaṇa* is not identified with the Supreme Being afterwards. But that fact has not much bearing on the question here.

² Cf. Wilson's *Daśakumārāvalī*, Introd. p. 22.

³ The third alternative, that a work independently written was afterwards bodily thrown into the *Mahābhārata*, is one which in the circumstances here seems to me improbable.

⁴ See also pp. 235, 252, 299.

out that theory, but rendering interpolations possible, deserves to be noted. The scheme of the Anugītā certainly lends itself to interpolations. A story might without much difficulty be added to the series of story joined to story which it contains. Against this, however, it must not be forgotten, that the Sānti Parvan of the Mahābhārata and the Yogavāsishṭha exhibit a precisely similar framework of contents, and that the Pañcatantra and the Kathāsaritsāgara, among other works, follow the same model. And from this fact it may be fairly argued, that while there is, doubtless, room for suspecting interpolations in such cases, there is this to be remembered, that with respect to any particular one of these cases, such suspicion can carry us but a very short way. And further, it is to be observed, valeat quantum, that the connexion of the several chapters of the Anugītā one with the other is not altogether a loose one, save at one or two points only, while they are all linked on to the main body of the narrative, only in what we have treated as the last chapter of the Anugītā, without any trace of any other connecting link anywhere else. Upon the whole, therefore, we here conclude, though not without doubt, that the whole of the Anugītā is the work of one author.

The next question to be discussed is the important one of the age of the work. The quotations already given above from Saṅkarākārya's works, and one other which is referred to in the note below¹, suffice to show that the Anugītā must have been some few centuries old in the time of Saṅkarākārya. For whether we treat the Anugītā as a part of the original Mahābhārata or not, it is not likely that such a scholar as Saṅkara would have accepted the book as a genuine part of the Mahābhārata, and as a work of Vyāsa, if it had not been in his day of some respectable antiquity, of antiquity sufficient to have thrown the real author into oblivion, and to have substi-

¹ See Saṅkara, Sātraka Bhāṣya, p. 726. That, however, may be a quotation from some other work. It may be noted that the passages quoted in the Bhāṣya on Sanatsugātīya I, 20 and I, 41 are not to be traced in our copies, though expressly stated there to have been taken from the Anugītā.

tuted in his place Vyāsa, who lived at the junction of the Dvāpara and Kali ages¹, upwards of thirty centuries before the Christian era. The calculation is avowedly a very rough one, but I think we may, as the result of it, safely fix the third century of the Christian era as the latest date at which the Anugītā can have been composed. Let us now endeavour to find out whether we can fix the date as lying within any better defined period. It is scarcely needful to say, that the Anugītā dates from a period considerably subsequent to the age of the Upanishads. The passages relating to the Prāṇasaṃvāda and so forth, which occur originally in the Upanishads, are referred to in the Anugītā as 'ancient stories'—an indication that the Upanishads had already come to be esteemed as ancient compositions at the date of the latter work. It is not necessary, therefore, to go through an elaborate examination of the versions of the ancient stories alluded to above, as contained in the Upanishads and in the Anugītā, more especially because it is possible for us to show that the Anugītā is later than the Bhagavadgītā, which latter work, as we have seen, is later than the Upanishads. And to this point we shall now address ourselves. We have already observed upon the story referred to at the opening of this Introduction, which, historically interpreted, indicates the priority of the Bhagavadgītā to the Anugītā. This conclusion is confirmed by sundry other circumstances, which we must now discuss in some detail, as they are also of use in helping to fix the position of the work in the history of Sanskrit literature and philosophy. First, then, it seems to me, that the state of society mirrored in the Anugītā indicates a greater advance in social evolution than we have already seen is disclosed in the Bhagavadgītā. Not to mention decorations of houses and so forth, which are alluded to in one passage of the Anugītā, we are here told of royal oppressions, of losses of wealth accumulated with great difficulty, and of fierce captivities; we are told, to adapt the language of a modern English poet, of laws grinding the weak, for strong men rule the

¹ Cf. Śāstraka Bhāṣya, p. 913.

law; we have references to the casting of images with liquefied iron, and to the use of elephants as vehicles¹; and we meet with protests against the amusements of music and dancing, and against the occupation of artisans². True it is, that all these indications put together, fail to constitute what, according to the standard of modern times, would be called a highly artificial state of society. But it seems to me to mark a very perceptible and distinct advance beyond the social condition when mankind was divided into four castes or classes, with such a division of duties, to put it briefly, as that of preparation for a future world, government of this world, agriculture and trade, and service respectively³. Artisans, it will be observed, are not even referred to in the Bhagavadgītā, nor is there any trace of royal oppressions, or unequal laws. Then as regards music, it may be noted, that there are references to it in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* and *Kaushītaki-upanishads*⁴, without any indications of disapprobation. The protest against music, therefore, and the sister art of dancing, is probably to be explained as evoked by some abuses of the two arts which must have come into prevalence about the time of the composition of the *Anugītā*. A similar protest is found recorded in the *Dharmasāstras* of Manu and *Āpastamba* and *Gautama*⁵. We shall consider in the sequel the chronological positions of the *Anugītā* with reference to those *Dharmasāstras*. But we have already pointed out that the *Gītā* stands prior to them both⁶.

Look again at the views on caste which are embodied in the *Anugītā* and the *Bhagavadgītā* respectively. The reference to the Kshatriya as representing the quality of passion, while the *Brāhmaṇa* represents the quality of goodness⁷, seems to place a considerably larger distance between the *Brāhmaṇa* and the Kshatriya than is suggested by the *Bhagavadgītā*, and thus marks an advance in the direction of the later doctrine on the subject. And in connexion

¹ Cf. *Lalita Vistara*, p. 17.

² See pp. 325-365.

³ See *Gītā*, p. 126.

⁴ See *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 454, and *Kaushītaki*, p. 68.

⁵ See Buhler's *Āpastamba* I, 1, 3, 11, *Gautama* II, 13, and *Manu* II, 178.

⁶ P. 21 seq.

⁷ P. 329.

with this, perhaps, the discrepancy between the reading of the *Bhagavadgītā* at p. 85, and that of the *Anugītā* at p. 255, is not entirely without significance, though much weight would not be due to it, if it stood alone. The expression 'devoted royal sages,' which we find in the one work, makes way for 'well-read Kshatriyas who are intent on their own duties' in the other. Again, although the passage at p. 353 is undoubtedly susceptible of a different interpretation, it seems to me, that the word 'twice-born' there employed, was meant to be interpreted as meaning the *Brāhmaṇas*, and not the three twice-born castes; and if this interpretation is correct, we have here the very proposition upon the absence of which in the *Bhagavadgītā* we have already made some observations¹. That twice-born in the passage in question means *Brāhmaṇa* only, is, of course, not a proved fact. But having regard to the passages noted above and to the passage at p. 320, where reference is made to disparagement of *Brāhmaṇas*—it is not twice-born there—and in the same clause with disparagement of gods and Vedas, it seems to me that the interpretation we have suggested must be taken to be the true one. And it is to be further noted, that this conclusion is corroborated by a comparison of the passage now under consideration with a passage occurring in the *Sānti Parvan*², in the *Rāgadharma* section of it, where we read that 'the cow is the first among quadrupeds, gold among metals, a mantra among words, and the *Brāhmaṇa* is the first among bipeds.' The cow and gold occur in the passage in the *Anugītā* also, very near the clause we are now discussing. And it is allowable to argue, that reading the two together, twice-born in the *Anugītā* must be interpreted to be synonymous with *Brāhmaṇa* in the *Rāgadharma*. And the same conclusion is, to my mind, confirmed indirectly by comparing the clause 'the twice-born among men' of the *Anugītā* with 'the ruler of men among men' of that *Bhagavadgītā*, the teaching of which the former work professes to recapitulate.

¹ P. 24 *supra*.² See note at p. 353.

A similar inference seems to be derivable from a comparison of the specific doctrines as to the duties of Brâhmanas which are enunciated in the Gîtâ and the Anugîtâ. In the latter work, the famous six duties are expressly mentioned. We have already argued in our Introduction to the Gîtâ, that a comparison of the teaching of that work upon this point with the teaching of Âpastamba and Manu shows the former to have been older than the latter. The six duties mentioned in the Anugîtâ are those also mentioned by Manu and Âpastamba. It follows, therefore, that the Gîtâ is prior to the Anugîtâ also. Whether the Anugîtâ is prior or subsequent to Manu and Âpastamba, is a question which will have to be discussed in the sequel.

The net result of the whole of this comparison appears to me to clearly show the Anugîtâ to be a work of considerably more recent date than the Bhagavadgîtâ. What interval of time lay between the two, is a most interesting, but also a most difficult, question. The differences we have noted appear to me to indicate a pretty wide interval. If I am right in regarding the Gîtâ as a work of what may be called, for practical purposes, the age of the older Upanishads, I am inclined to think that the interval between the Gîtâ and the Anugîtâ must have been one of larger extent than even three or four centuries. For as we have already pointed out, the description of the various 'Itihâsas' mentioned in the Anugîtâ as 'purâtana'—ancient—points to at least three or four centuries having elapsed between the close of the Upanishad period and the composition of the Anugîtâ. It is obvious, however, that this result is not one with which we can rest satisfied. Even if it were more precise and accurate, it would only fix the age of the Anugîtâ with reference to the age of another work itself of unknown and unascertained date. We must therefore endeavour to compare the Anugîtâ with some other work, the date of which is better known. For this purpose, it seems to be not of any great use to refer to the Sâṅkhya and Yoga-sûtras, although it is not improbable that some materials might be forthcoming for a useful comparison between them and the Anugîtâ. Neither the Sâṅkhya nor the Yoga-sûtras can

be said to have their ages fixed with even any approach to accuracy. And in the case of the Sāṅkhya-sūtras, there is the further difficulty presented by the circumstance, that there is room for very serious doubts as to whether the current Sūtras are really of the authorship of Kapila, or whoever else was the original founder of the system. With regard to the Yoga, one or two observations from a different point of view may not, however, be entirely out of place. At p. 248 the Yoga Sāstra is referred to *eo nomine*. What Sāstra is here alluded to? Is it Patañjali's, or some other Sāstra dealing with similar topics? Or, again, is it an entirely different matter that is alluded to, and are we not to see in the expression in question an allusion to any system formally propounded? I own, as stated in the note on the passage, that my mind inclines to the last view. There is not very much to say on either side of the question, as far as I am able to understand it. But the view I incline to appears to have one small circumstance in its favour. At p. 249 we have an allusion to persons who understand the Yoga, and to a certain illustration propounded by them. Now who are these persons? My limited knowledge of Yoga literature has not enabled me to trace the illustration anywhere else than in the Kaṭhōpanishad, and in the Sanatsugātiya. It seems to me very unlikely, that the illustration can have been put forward in any work older than the Kaṭhōpanishad. And we may, I think, assume it as most probable that the Sanatsugātiya borrowed it from that work. If so, it is not likely that the Anugītā can have referred to any other master of the Yoga than the author of the Kaṭhōpanishad. And then it would seem to follow, that the Anugītā must have been composed at a time when, although the Upanishads were looked on with reverence and as works of authority, they were not yet regarded as part and parcel of the Vedic revelation¹. It is impossible not to perceive, that the train of reasoning here is at every stage hedged round with difficulties and doubts. And the inference therefore to which we are led by it must be accepted with proportionate

¹ This seems to be also the implication of the passage at p. 309, where the rules for final emancipation are alluded to.

caution. But if the reasoning is correct, it seems to be certain, that the Anugītā belongs to some period prior to the second, and probable, that it belongs to some period prior to the third century, before Christ. For in the second century before Christ was composed the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, in which Rahasyas—which is another name for Upanishads—are mentioned as forming part of the Vedic literature. And in Āpastamba's Dharma-sūtras, which are older than Patañjali, Upanishads¹ are mentioned in the same way. I am aware that it may be said, that because Upanishads as a class of works are mentioned by Patañjali and Āpastamba, it does not follow that any particular Upanishad, such as the *Kaṭha*, for instance, also existed at that time. This is quite true. But without going now into the general question, it is sufficient to point out, that our argument here is concerned merely with the recognition of the Upanishads as a class of works forming part of the Vedic canon. Such recognition must have come later than the period at which the Anugītā could speak of a passage in the *Kaṭha*-upanishad as the utterance of Yogavids, or persons who understood the Yoga.

Turning now to the materials available for ascertaining the relative chronological positions of the Anugītā and the rise of Buddhism, we have again to complain of their unsatisfactory character. We will briefly note the two or three circumstances which appear to have a bearing upon this question. In the first place, we have the word *Nirvāṇa* used in one passage of the Anugītā in the sense of the highest tranquillity, and there the simile of the extinction of the fire is expressly adduced. On this it may be argued, that if the term *Nirvāṇa* had become the well-understood property of Buddhism, such a use of it as we find here would probably not have occurred. Again, we have the injunction that an ascetic must dwell in a town only for one day and no more, while he may stay at one place during the rains. This is very similar to an injunction prescribed by the Buddhistic teachers also. But

¹ They are also referred to in the Buddhistic *Lalitā Vistara*, p. 63.

this fact furnishes, I think, no safe ground for a chronological inference, more especially because, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler, the Buddhistic injunction is itself only borrowed from the Brahminical rules on the subject¹. It is impossible, therefore, to say that the *Anugītā* borrowed its doctrine from Buddhism. It is, of course, equally impossible on the other hand to say, that Buddhism borrowed its rule from the *Anugītā*. And, therefore, we can build no safe inference upon this fact either. We have next the very remarkable passage at chapter XXXIV, where various contradictory and mutually exclusive views of piety are stated, or rather passingly and briefly indicated—a passage which one most devoutly wishes had been clearer than it is. In that passage I can find no reference to Buddhism. True it is that *Nilakantha*'s commentary refers some of the doctrines there stated to Buddhistic schools². But that commentary, unsatisfactory enough in other places, is particularly unsatisfactory here. And its critical accuracy may be judged from its reference to *Saugatas* and *Yogākāras* apparently as two distinct schools, whereas in truth the *Saugatas* are Buddhists, and *Yogākāras* one of the four principal Buddhist sects. And it must be further remembered, that the interpretations of *Nilakantha*, upon which his specifications of the different schools are based, are by no means such as necessarily claim acceptance. If then we do not find any reference to Buddhism in this passage, that fact becomes certainly a remarkable one. Still, on the other hand, I am not prepared to apply the 'negative argument' here, and to say that inasmuch as Buddhism is not referred to where so many different opinions are referred to, Buddhism cannot have come into existence at the date of the *Anugītā*. It seems to me that the argument will here be a very hazardous one, because if the author of the *Anugītā* was, as we may assume he was, an orthodox Hindu, he might well have declined, although not unacquainted with Buddhism, to put into the mouths of the seven sages even as a possible view, that

¹ See *Gautama*, pp. lv and 191. ² See also the gloss on chap. XXXIV, st. 14.

which was the view of a school esteemed heretical by the author and his co-religionists. This passage, therefore, also fails to furnish any tangible ground for a chronological inference, at all events in the present state of our knowledge. Lastly, we come to the allusion to those who indulge in constant talk in disparagement of Vedas and Brâhmaṇas, the two being thus bracketed together in the original. That seems, at the first blush, to be a somewhat more distinct allusion to Buddhism than any of those we have noted above. But even that is not unambiguous. If the stanzas quoted by Mādhavākārya, in his Sarvadarsanasamgraha in its first section, are the composition of the original founder of the Kārvāka school, or even if they correctly represent the earliest opinions of that school, it is at least quite as likely that the Kārvākas were the target for the denunciations of the Anugîtâ in the passage in question as that the Buddhists were so. To me, indeed, it appears to be more likely. For Buddha's opinion with regard to the Vedas is, that they are inadequate; with regard to the Brâhmaṇas, that they are in no sense the chosen of God as they claim to be. The opinion of the Kārvākas, on the other hand, is a far more aggressive one, so to say. According to Mādhavākārya, they taught that the Vedas were either simple fatuity or imposture, and that the Brâhmaṇas were impostors. It seems to me much more likely, that this, which I have called a comparatively aggressive attitude, was the one at which the remarks of the Anugîtâ were levelled; and more especially does this appear to be correct when we remember, that the view taught by Gautama Buddha regarding the Vedas and the Brâhmaṇas was propounded by him only in its strongest form; and that even before his time, the doctrine of the inadequacy of the Vedas for the purpose of securing the summum bonum of humanity had been taught by other teachers. It is further to be recollected, that we have evidence showing that other thinkers also than Buddha, or Bṛhaspati, had in early days attacked the authority of the Vedas. Kautsa is the name of one who was probably the most distinguished among them. It is certainly possible that his followers

were the people branded as of 'the dark quality' by the *Anugītā* in the passage in question. We have, therefore, at least two different recognised bodies of thinkers, and one individual thinker, to whom the words under discussion may apply, and it is plainly unsafe, under these circumstances, to draw any chronological inference based on the hypothesis of one particular body out of those three being the one intended by the author. Before closing this part of the investigation, it may be interesting to note, that the phrase 'turning the wheel,' a phrase now so familiar to us as one of the household words of Buddhism, is used in the *Anugītā* with respect to king *Ganaka*. I do not think, however, that either alone, or even coupled with the word *Nirvāṇa*, that phrase can be made the basis of any legitimate deduction in favour of the priority of the *Anugītā* to Buddhism. At the outside, the only deduction admissible, if any deduction were admissible, would be, that the *Anugītā* was composed prior to the recognition, of *Nirvāṇa* and *Kakrapravartana* as specially Buddhistic words. But priority to such recognition is not, I apprehend, necessarily synonymous with priority to the rise of Buddhism.

The net result of this part of the investigation appears to be, that we have pretty strong grounds for holding the *Anugītā* to belong to a period very considerably removed from the period of the Upanishads and the *Bhagavadgītā*; but that we have no tangible grounds on which to base any deduction regarding its priority or otherwise to the *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* systems of philosophy, or to the great movement of *Gautama Buddha*. There is only one other point, which we can establish in a not entirely unsatisfactory way, and which enables us to draw closer the limits within which the *Anugītā* must have been composed. That point is the position of the *Anugītā* with reference to *Āpastamba's Dharma-sūtra*. I need not say again, that I accept here the proposition about the age of *Āpastamba* which has been laid down by *Dr. Bühler*, as a sufficiently satisfactory working hypothesis. And accepting that proposition, I venture to suggest the fourth century B.C. as a not unlikely date for the *Anugītā*. It appears to me, that a comparison of

the Anugītā and the rules of Āpastamba upon one important point which they both deal with shows the priority of the former work. I allude to the rules and regulations touching the four Āśramas or orders contained in the Anugītā and in the Dharma-sūtra of Āpastamba. One circumstance strikes us at once on comparing the two works on this point. Āpastamba goes into a very great deal of minute details more than the Anugītā, although the latter work does not deal with the topic in any very summary mode. Taking all the differences between the two works together, and the fact that the Anugītā sets about the discussion of the topic in a manner which seems intended to be—not, indeed, absolutely exhaustive, but still—very full, I am very strongly inclined to attribute the differences to an actual development and progress of doctrine. I will endeavour to illustrate this view by means of a few detailed instances¹. And let us first take the order of householders to which the Anugītā gives precedence over the others. One of the injunctions laid down by the Anugītā is that the householder should always be devoted to his wife. Against this simple precept, we have a very minute series of rules prescribed by Āpastamba, which it is not necessary to refer to specifically, but which may be seen in several of the Sūtras contained in the first Khanda of the first Pāṭala of the second Prasna. Compare again the excessive minuteness of the rules regarding the Bali-offering or the reception of guests, as given by Āpastamba, with the simple statement of the Anugītā that the five great sacrifices should be performed. There again, I think, we are to see in this difference of treatment the result of a pretty long course of ceremonial progress. Proceeding to the rules regarding the Brahmacārin or student, an analogous phenomenon meets us there. Taking first the subject of food, we have a considerable number of detailed injunctions in Āpastamba, compared with the simple rule of the Anugītā, that the student should, with the leave of his preceptor, eat his food without decrying it. Again with regard to alms, whereas the Anugītā simply

¹ Cf. pp. 358, 360 *infra* with Āpastamba, pp. 9 seq., 103 seq., 114 seq.

says that the student should take his food out of the alms received by him, Āpastamba has an elaborate catena of rules as to how the alms are to be collected, and from whom, and so forth. Take again the provisions in the two works regarding the description of the cloth, staff, and girdle of the student. Āpastamba refers to various opinions on this subject, of which there is not even a trace in the Anugītā¹. It appears that even before Āpastamba's time, distinctions had been laid down as to the description of girdle staff and cloth to be used by the different castes—distinctions of which there is no hint in the Anugītā, where all students, of whatever caste, are spoken of under the generic name. These distinctions appear to me to point very strongly to that ceremonial and doctrinal progress of which we have spoken above. The tendency is visible in them to sever the Brāhmaṇas from the other castes—by external marks. And that tendency, it seems to me, must have set in, as the merits which had given the Brāhmaṇa caste its original position at the head of Hindu society were ceasing to be a living reality, and that caste was intrenching itself, so to say, more behind the worth and work of the early founders of its greatness, than the worth and work of their degenerating representatives. These comparisons, taken together, appear to me to warrant the proposition we have already laid down with regard to the priority of the Anugītā to Āpastamba. If we have not referred to the rules relating to the two other orders of forester and ascetic, it is because the scope for a comparison of those is very limited. Those rules alone would scarcely authorise the inference drawn above; but I can perceive nothing in them to countervail the effect of the comparisons already made. And it must be remembered, that the rules as to foresters and ascetics would be less apt to undergo change than those as to students and householders.

It appears to me that the view we have now expressed may be also supported by a comparison of the doctrines of the Anugītā and Āpastamba touching the duties of Brāhmaṇas. According to Āpastamba, the occupations lawful

¹ Cf. also Bühler's *Gautama*, p. 175.

to Brāhmaṇas are the famous six referred to in our Introduction to the Bhagavadgītā, and two others superadded, namely, inheritance and gleanings in the fields. These last are not mentioned in the Anugītā, or in Manu either, and are, even according to Āpastamba, common to Brāhmaṇas with Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. But as regards the six above referred to, it is worthy of note, that the Anugītā apparently groups them into two distinct sets of three. The first set of three consists of those which, in our Introduction to the Bhagavadgītā, we have characterised as constituting rather the rights than the duties of Brāhmaṇas, and which the Anugītā describes as 'means of livelihood for Brāhmaṇas.' The other set of three consists of real duties, and these the Anugītā speaks of as 'pious duties.' This grouping appears to me to furnish powerful corroboration of the view put forward in our Introduction to the Bhagavadgītā. It would seem, that the possession of the moral and spiritual merits which, according to the Gītā, constituted the duty of Brāhmaṇas, in the simple and archaic society there disclosed, was developed, in a more advanced and artificial state of society, into the performance of the 'pious duties' of the Anugītā and the duties which are 'the means of livelihood.' Then in the further social evolution, in the course of which the old spiritual view began to be forgotten, and the actual facts of the past began to be transmuted into the dogmatic rules of the future, the occupations of receiving presents, imparting instruction, and officiating at sacrifices, became the special occupations of the Brāhmaṇas, and the distinction between these occupations from their higher duties was thrown into the background; and accordingly we find no allusion to any such distinction in Āpastamba or Manu, or, as far as I know, in any other later embodiment of the current ideas on the subject¹. If all this has been correctly argued, the conclusion derivable from it is in entire accord with that which we have already drawn, namely, that the Bhagavadgītā, the Anugītā, and the Dharma-sūtra of Āpastamba, belong to different

¹ In Gautama X, 1 3, the 'pious duties' are called 'obligatory,' the others 'additional for Brāhmaṇas.' See the note on the passage in Bühler's edition, and cf. Gautama VIII, 9, 10.

stages of ancient Indian history, and that the stage to which the *Gîtâ* belongs is the earliest, and that to which *Âpastamba* belongs, the latest of such stages.

I am unable to find anything else in the way of internal evidence bearing upon the date of the *Anugîtâ*. It appears to me, that the date to which the investigation we have now gone through leads us, is one which, in the present state of our information, may be fairly accepted as a provisional hypothesis. It does not appear to me to conflict with any ascertained dates, while it is pointed to as probable by the various lines of testimony which we have here considered. We now proceed to discuss one or two other points which may have a bearing upon this topic, but which at present cannot yield us any positive guidance in our search for the date of the *Anugîtâ*. And first among these, let us consider the various names of deities that occur in different parts of the work. We have, then, *Vishṇu*, *Sambhu*, *Gishṇu*, *Soma*, *Âditya*, *Sûrya*, *Mitra*, *Agni*, *Kandra*, *Rudra*, *Siva*, *Varuṇa*, *Pragâpati*, *Maghavat*, *Purandara*, *Indra*, *Brahman*, *Satakratu*, *Dharma*, *Nârâyana*, *Vâyu*, *Yama*, *Tvashtri*, *Hari*, *Īsvara*, and lastly *Umâ* under three different names, namely, *Umâ*, *Mâhesvari*, and *Pârvatî*. Now, leaving aside for the moment the three names of *Umâ*, which appear from the passage where they are used to be all three the names of the same goddess, there is no doubt that in the list above set out, some of the names are merely used in different passages, but still to indicate the same being. Thus, *Indra*, *Satakratu*, *Purandara*, and *Maghavat* are really the names of one and the same deity. But when *Soma* is mentioned as the deity presiding over the tongue, and *Kandramas* as the deity presiding over the mind, it becomes doubtful whether the two names do really indicate the same deity, albeit in later Sanskrit *Soma* and *Kandramas* both signify the moon. Similarly, when *Arka* is said to be the deity presiding over the eye, and *Mitra* over another organ, it seems open to question whether *Arka* and *Mitra* both signify the sun there, as they undoubtedly do in classical Sanskrit. True it is, that even in such a recent work as the *Sâṅkhya-sâra*, this mention

of Arka and Mitra as presiding deities of two several organs does occur. But it is plain, that that circumstance can have no bearing on the inquiry before us, for the Sāṅkhya-sāra is avowedly a compilation based on older authorities, and in the particular part under consideration, really reproduces a passage from some older work. It cannot, therefore, be argued, that because Arka and Mitra were identified with one another at the time of the Sāṅkhya-sāra, and yet are mentioned as deities of two separate organs, therefore, they must have also been regarded as one in the older original work where they are also mentioned as deities of two separate organs. And it may, perhaps, be remarked here in passing, that the Vedānta Paribhāṣhā has *Mṛityu* instead of *Mitra*, which would get rid of the difficulty here altogether ; while as regards *Soma* and *Kandra*, the passage in the Sāṅkhya-sāra reads *Praketas* instead of *Soma*, which would get rid of the other difficulty above pointed out. Whether these discrepancies are owing to any tampering with the lists of organs and deities, at a time when the later identifications between different deities took place, or whether they are to be explained on some other theory, it is impossible at present to say. And, therefore, it is also unnecessary to pursue the inquiry here any further. It must suffice for the present to have drawn attention to the matter.

Akin to this point, though quite distinct from it, is one which arises on a passage where the emancipated being is identified with *Vishṇu*, *Mitra*, *Agni*, *Varuṇa*, and *Prajāpati*¹. Now it is reasonable to suppose, that the deities thus specified here must have been among those held in highest repute at the time, the whole significance of the passage where they are mentioned requiring that that should be so. But in our Pantheon as disclosed by our later literature, *Mitra* and *Agni* and *Varuṇa* occupy but a very subordinate position. Even in *Kālidāsa*², the subordination of these deities to our celebrated Trinity seems to be quite

¹ See p. 345.

² See inter alia, Kumāra II, 20 seq., and VII, 44 seq., and cf. our *Bhartṛihari* (Bombay Sanskrit Classics), Introd. p. xix.

fully established. But, on the other hand, in the Vedic theogony, they are among the most prominent deities. In the Taittiriya-upanishad, we have in the very first sentence Mitra, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, and Brahman (who may be identified with Prajāpati) all mentioned together, and their blessings invoked. This does not help in fixing a date for the Anugītā; but it lends some support to the conclusion already arrived at on that point, by showing that the theogony of the Anugītā is not yet very far removed from the theogony of the Vedic times, while it is separated by a considerable interval from the theogony disclosed in the works of even such an early writer of the classical period as Kālidāsa.

Another point of similar bearing on our present investigation is the mode in which the story of Parasurāma is dealt with in the Anugītā. There is in the first place no allusion to his being an incarnation of Viṣṇu, nor to the encounter between him and his namesake, the son of Dasaratha and the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa. We have, on the contrary, an explicit statement, that after the advice of the 'Pitṛis' he entirely abandons the slaughter of the Kṣatriyas, and resorting to penance thereby achieves final emancipation. We have elsewhere argued¹, that the theory of Parasurāma being an incarnation of Viṣṇu, must have probably originated prior to the time of Bhartṛhari, but later than the time of Kālidāsa. The allusion to Parasurāma in the work before us does not, however, enable us to judge of its chronological position with reference to Kālidāsa. But the last point discussed renders it unnecessary to consider this question further. It may be noted, by the way, that the Anugītā represents Parasurāma, although living in the Āsrama or hermitage of his father, who was a Rishi, as mounting a chariot for the purpose of sweeping away the kinsmen of Kārtavīrya. Whence he obtained a chariot in a hermitage, the Anugītā does not explain.

In connexion with the episode of Parasurāma, may be noted the list which occurs in the course of it, of the

¹ See 'Was the Rāmāyaṇa copied from Homer?' pp. 56, 57.

degraded Kshatriya tribes, of Dravidas, Sabaras, &c. I am unable to see that those names can give us any further help in our present investigation than in so far as they show that, at the time of the Anugitā, there must have been some information about the south of India available in the districts where the author of the Anugitā lived. Some of the tribes mentioned appear to have been located far in the south of the Indian peninsula. But this is a point on which we shall have to say something more in discussing the next item of internal evidence to which we shall refer. Here it is enough to point out that some of the tribes mentioned in the Anugitā are also referred to in no less a work than the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa¹.

We come next to the enumeration of the principal mountains which is contained in one passage of the Anugitā. Those mountains are the Himālaya, the Pāriyātra, the Sahya, the Vindhya, the Trikūṭavat, the Sveta, the Nīla, the Bhāsa, the Koshīṭavat, the Mahendra, the Mālyavat, and perhaps the Guruskandha. I am not sure whether the last name is intended to be taken as a proper name, or only as an epithet of Mahendra. Now compared with the mountains mentioned in the Bhagavadgītā, this is certainly a remarkable list. The Gītā mentions only Meru² and Himālaya; while here we have in the Anugitā the Sahya, and Malaya, and Trikūṭavat, and Nīla (the same, I presume, with the modern Nilgiri, the Sanatorium of the Madras Presidency), which take us far to the west and south of the Indian peninsula; and the Mahendra and Mālyavat, which, coupled with the mention of the river Ganges, cover a considerable part of the eastern districts. The Pāriyātra and Vindhya occupy the regions of Central India. The Anugitā, therefore, seems to belong to that period in the history of India, when pretty nearly the whole,

¹ Haug's ed., p. 183. And see generally on these tribes, Wilson's *Vishnu Purāṇa* (Hall's ed., vol. ii, p. 170 seq., and *Sānti Parvan* (Moksha), chap. 207, st. 42.

² This is also mentioned in the Anugitā, but in a different passage. The Nīla is said by Professor Wilson to be a mountain in Orissa. But our suggestion has, I find, been already made by Dr. F. E. Hall also: see on this, and generally, Wilson's *Vishnu Purāṇa*, vol. ii, p. 141 seq. (ed. Hall). See also *Indian Antiquary*, VI, 133 seq.

if not absolutely the whole, of the Indian continent was known to the Sanskrit-speaking population of the country. When was this knowledge reached? It is difficult to fix the precise period; and even if it could be fixed, it would not help us to fix satisfactorily any point of time to which the *Anugītā* could be attributed. But it may be pointed out here, that in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* we have evidence of such knowledge having been possessed by the Āryas in the second century B.C. In truth, the evidence available in the *Mahābhāṣya* is even fuller than this in the *Anugītā*. For Patañjali tells us of a town or city in the south named *Kāñkīpura*¹; he speaks of the dominions of the *Pāṇḍya* kings, and of the *Kōla* and *Kerala* districts²; he refers also to the large tanks of the south; and he makes allusions to linguistic usages current in the southern and other provinces³. Before Patañjali's time there had taken place Mahendra's invasion of Ceylon, and the invading army must have penetrated through the southern provinces. And there had been also put up the great Inscriptions of Asoka, which have attracted so much interest, and are proving such prolific sources of information in various departments of knowledge. One of these inscriptions was at *Gaṅgam*, which is not very far from the Mahendra mountain alluded to in the *Anugītā*⁴. All these facts support the conclusion drawn by General Cunningham from the correctness of the information given to Alexander the Great by the Hindus of his time, namely, that 'the Indians, even at that early date in their history, had a very accurate knowledge of the form and extent of their native land⁵.' And not only do they support that conclusion, they show that the knowledge covered other facts regarding

¹ Banāras ed., p. 74 (IV, 2, 2).

² P. 60 (IV, 1, 4). See also p. 65.

³ See *Mahābhāṣya*, p. 82 (I, 1, 5), p. 16 (I, 1, 1); and cf. Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. ii, pp. 152, 355.

⁴ See Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum*, I, p. 1.

⁵ See *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 3. And compare also the information collected in the *Periplus of the Euxine Sea* (translated by Mr. McKindle), pp. 112-136, where a large number of ports is mentioned as existing on the Indian coasts. The *Periplus* seems to date from about 90 A.D. see *ibid.* p. 5).

their native land than its form and extent. It follows consequently that this enumeration of mountains does not require the date of the Anugītā to be brought down to a later period than the fourth century B.C., and leaves it open to us, therefore, to accept whatever conclusion the other evidence available may seem to justify. On the other hand, it is plain also, that it affords no positive information as to when the Anugītā was composed, and therefore we need not dwell any further upon the point on the present occasion.

There are a few other points which arise upon the contents of the Anugītā, but which are not, in the present condition of our knowledge, capable of affording any certain guidance in our present investigation. Thus we have the story of Dharma appearing before king Ganaka disguised as a Brāhmaṇa. I am not aware of any case of such disguises occurring in any of the Upanishads, although there are numerous parallel instances throughout the Purāṇik literature¹. It is, however, difficult to draw any definite chronological inference from this fact. There is further the reference to the attack of Rāhu on the sun. It is difficult, in the present state of our knowledge, to say for certain, when the theory of eclipses there implied was prevalent. In the *Khândogya-upanishad*² we have the emancipated self compared to the moon escaped from the mouth of Rāhu. And a text of the Rig-veda, quoted by Mr. Yagñesvara Sāstrin in his *Ārya-vidyāsudhākara*³, speaks of the demon Rāhu attacking the sun with darkness. Here again we have another matter of some interest; but I cannot see that any safe deduction can be derived from it, without a more ample knowledge of other relevant matters than is at present accessible. Take again the references to certain practices which look very much like the practices of the Gainas of the present day. Is the Anugītā, then, earlier or later than the rise of the Gaina system? It is not safe, I think, to found an answer to this question upon the very narrow basis afforded by the

¹ And see, too, Kālidāsa Kumāra V, st. 84.

² P. 622.

³ P. 26. In Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* the true explanation of eclipses is alluded to. See Canto XIV, 40.

passage referred to. But it may be observed, that the precepts laid down in the passage in question are laid down as precepts for orthodox Hindus, and not as the doctrines of a heretical sect. They are also very general, and not so minute as those which the *Gainas* of the present day observe as binding upon them. If, therefore, any conclusion is to be drawn from these precepts, it must be that the *Anugītā* must have been composed prior to the rise of *Gainism*; and that *Gainism* must have appropriated and developed this doctrine which it obtained from the current *Brāhmanism*¹. If this is so, the *Anugītā* must be a very ancient work indeed. It is not, however, necessary to further work out this line of argument, having regard to the opinions recently expressed by Mr. Thomas², rehabilitating the views enunciated long ago by Colebrooke and others. If those views are correct, and if *Gainism* was a dominant system in this country prior even to the time of Gautama Buddha, and if, further, we are right in the suggestion—for it is no more, it must be remembered—that the *Anugītā* dates from a period prior to the rise of *Gainism*, then it would seem to follow that the *Anugītā* belongs to some period prior to the sixth century B.C. All this, however, is at present very hypothetical, and we draw attention to it only that the question may be hereafter considered when fuller materials for expressing a final judgment upon it become accessible. Meanwhile, having regard to the views above alluded to as so elaborately put forward by Mr. Thomas, it is possible for us still to hold that, in the present state of our knowledge, the third or fourth century B.C. is not too early a date to assign to the *Anugītā*, even on the assumption that the precepts contained in that work regarding the care to be taken of worms and insects were borrowed by it from the *Gaina* system. With this negative result, we must for the present rest contented.

One other fact of similar nature to those we have now

¹ As the Buddhists did in sundry instances. Cf. inter alia Buhler's *Gautama*, pp. lv and 191. And cf. also 'Was the *Kāmāyāna* copied from Homer?' pp. 48, 49.

² See Mr. Thomas's very elaborate discussion of the whole subject in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series)*, vol. ix, p. 155 seq.

dealt with may, perhaps, be also noticed here. We allude to the stanzas which we find in the *Anugītā* and also in the *Sānti Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Manusmṛiti*. There is also one which the *Anugītā* has in common with the *Parisishṭa* of Yāska's *Nirukta*¹. It is not possible, I conceive, to say finally whether one of these works borrowed these stanzas from the other of them; while, on the other hand, it is quite possible, as already argued by us in the *Introduction* to the *Gītā*, that all these works were only reproducing from some entirely different work, or that the stanzas in question were the common property of the thinkers of the time. We have no means available for deciding between these conflicting hypotheses.

We have thus noticed all the salient points in the evidence, external and internal, which is available for determining the position of the *Anugītā* in our ancient literature. Nobody who has seen even a little of the history of that literature will be surprised at the quantity or quality of that evidence, or the nature of the conclusions legitimately yielded by it. We have endeavoured to express those conclusions in language which should not indicate any greater certainty attaching to them than can fairly be claimed for them. The net result appears to be this. The *Anugītā* may be taken with historical certainty to have been some centuries old in the time of the great *Saṅkarācārya*. It was very probably older than the *Dharma-sūtras* of *Āpastamba*, but by what period of time we are not in a position at present to define. It was, perhaps, older also than the rise of *Buddhism* and *Gainism*, and of the *Yoga* philosophy; but on this it is impossible to say anything with any approach to confidence. It is, on the other hand, almost certain that it belongs to a period very considerably removed from the older *Upanishads*; probably removed by a distance of some centuries, during which 'stories' not contained in the *Upanishads* had not only obtained currency, but also come to be regarded as belonging to antiquity². And yet the period to

¹ Cf. *Anugītā* I, 36 with Yāska (ed. Roth), p. 190.

² Some of the *Purātana Itihāsas*, e. g. that of *Nārada* and *Devamata*, are not traceable in any Vedic work known to us. *Devamata*'s name I do not find referred to anywhere else.

which the work belongs was one in which the Upanishads were only revered as the authoritative opinions of eminent men, not as the words of God himself¹. In this respect, it may be said that the Anugītā seems rather to belong to an earlier stratum of thought than even the Sanatsugātiya, in which a *Gṇānakānda*, as forming a part of the Vedic canon, seems to be recognised². But it is abundantly clear, that the Anugītā stands at a very considerable chronological distance from the Bhagavadgītā.

Such are the results of our investigation. We have not thought it necessary to discuss the verse or the language of the work. But it must in fairness be pointed out, that upon the whole, the verse and language are both pretty near the classical model. There are, it is true, a few instances of the metrical anomalies we have noticed elsewhere, but having regard to the extent of the work, those instances are far from being very numerous. The language and style, too, are not quite smooth and polished; though, judging from them alone, I should rather be inclined to place the Sanatsugātiya prior to the Anugītā. But that suggests a question which we cannot now stop to discuss.

One word, in conclusion, about the translation. The text used has been chiefly that adopted in the commentary of Arguna Misra, a commentary which on the whole I prefer very much to that of Nilakanṭha, which has been printed in the Bombay edition of the Mahābhārata. Arguna Misra, as a rule, affords some explanation where explanation is wanted, and does not endeavour to suit his text to any foregone conclusion. His comments have been of the greatest possible help to me; and my only regret is that the only copy of his commentary which was available to me, and the use of which I owe to the kindness of my friend Professor Bhāndārkar, was not as correct a one as could be desired. I have also looked into the Vishamasloki, a short work containing notes on difficult passages of the Mahābhārata.

¹ See p. 211 *supra*.

² See p. 146 *supra*. The Buddhists seem to have borrowed the division of Karma and *Gṇānakānda*. See Dr. Ragendralāla Mitra's *Lalitā Vistara* (transl.), p. 21. The division, therefore, was probably older than the first century B. C.

The MS. of it belonging to the Government Collection of MSS. deposited in Deccan College was lent me also by Professor Bhândārkar. The principles adopted in the translation and notes have been the same as those followed in the other pieces contained in this volume.

P. S. I take this opportunity of stating that it is not at all certain that Arguna Misra is the name of the author of the commentary which I have used. I find that in supposing Arguna Misra to be the author, I confounded that commentary, which does not mention its author's name, with the commentary on another section of the Mahābhārata which does give its author's name as Arguna Misra, and which is also among the MSS. purchased by Professor Bhândārkar for the Government of Bombay. (See with regard to these MSS. Professor Bhândārkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. of 7th July, 1880.)

ANUGĪTĀ.

CHAPTER I.

Ganamegaya¹ said :

What conversation, O twice-born one²! took place between the high-souled Kesava and Arguna, while they dwelt in that palace³ after slaying their enemies?

Vaisampāyana said :

The son of Prithā, after becoming possessed of his kingdom (in an) undisturbed (state), enjoyed himself in the company of Kṛishṇa, full of delight in that heavenly palace. And once, O king! they happened to go, surrounded by their people, and rejoicing, to a certain portion of the palace which resembled heaven. Then Arguna, the son of Pāṇdu, having surveyed with delight that lovely palace, in the company of Kṛishṇa, spoke these words: 'O you of mighty arms! O you whose mother is Devaki⁴! when the battle was about to commence, I became aware of your greatness, and that divine

¹ This is the prince to whom the Mahābhārata, as we have it, purports to have been related.

² I. e. Vairampāyana, who relates the Mahābhārata to Ganamegaya.

³ This appears to have been situated at Indraprastha, and to have been the one built for the Pāṇdavas by the demon Maya, as related in the Sabhā Parvan.

⁴ This is a rather unusual form of address.

form of yours¹. But that, O Kesava! which through affection (for me) you explained before², has all disappeared, O tiger-like man! from my degenerate mind. Again and again, however, I feel a curiosity about those topics. But (now), O Mādhava! you will be going at no distant date to Dvārakā.'

Vaisampāyana said :

Thus addressed, that best of speakers, *Kṛishṇa*, possessed of great glory, replied in these words after embracing *Arguna*.

Vāsudeva said :

From me, O son of *Prithā*! you heard a mystery, and learnt about the eternal³ (principle), about piety in (its true) form, and about all the everlasting worlds⁴. It is excessively disagreeable to me, that you should not have grasped it through want of intelligence. And the recollection (of it) now again is not possible (to me). Really, O son of *Pāṇḍu*! you are devoid of faith and of a bad intellect. And, O *Dhanañgaya*! it is not possible for me to repeat in full (what I said before). For that doctrine was perfectly adequate for understanding the seat⁵ of the Brahman. It is not possible for me to state it again in full in that way. For then accompanied by my mystic power⁶, I declared to you the Supreme Brahman. But I shall relate an ancient story upon

¹ Cf. *Bhagavadgītā*, chapters X and XI *passim*.

² I.e. in the *Bhagavadgītā*.

This may also be taken with piety thus : 'and learnt about the eternal piety in (its true) form.'

³ As to the plural, see *Saṅkara* on *Mundaka*, p. 320.

⁴ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 78. For 'understanding' here we might, perhaps, substitute 'attaining.' The original word means both understanding and attaining.

⁶ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 82.

that subject, so that adhering to this knowledge, you may attain the highest goal. O best of the supporters of piety ! listen to all that I say. (Once), O restrainer of foes ! there came from the heavenly world and the world of Brahman¹, a Brāhmaṇa difficult to withstand², and he was (duly) honoured by us. (Now) listen, without entertaining any misgivings, O chief of the descendants of Bharata ! O son of Prithā ! to what he said on being interrogated by us according to heavenly rules³.

The Brāhmaṇa said :

O *Krishna* ! O destroyer of Madhu ! I will explain to you accurately what you, out of compassion for (all) beings⁴, have asked me touching the duties (to be performed) for final emancipation. It is destructive of delusion, O Lord ! Listen to me with attention⁵, as I relate it, O Mādhava ! A certain Brāhmaṇa named Kāśyapa, who had performed (much) penance, and who best understood piety, approached a certain twice-born (person) who had learnt the Scriptures relating to (all) duties⁶, having heard (of him, as one) who had over and over again gone through all knowledge and experience about coming and going⁷, who was well versed in the true nature of all worlds⁸,

¹ This seems to mean not the Supreme Brahman, but the Creator.

² Cf. *Sanatsugātiya*, p. 161, 'not to be shaken.'

³ I suppose this to mean according to the forms proper in the case of such a being as the one in question. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 62, and note there.

⁴ This is not easy to understand. Perhaps the allusion is to the doctrine at *Gītā*, pp. 54, 55. ⁵ Cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 447.

⁶ I.e. all prescribed acts of piety.

⁷ As to knowledge and experience, cf. *Gītā*, p. 57 ; and as to coming and going, cf. *ibid.* p. 84.

⁸ I.e. as stated, for instance, at *Gītā*, p. 79, or *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 613.

who knew about happiness and misery¹, who knew the truth about birth and death², who was conversant with merit and sin, who perceived the migrations of embodied (souls) of high and low (degrees) in consequence of (their) actions, who moved about like an emancipated being, who had reached perfection³, who was tranquil, whose senses were restrained, who was illumined with the Brahmic splendour⁴, who moved about in every direction, who understood concealed movements⁵, who was going in company of invisible Siddhas and celestial singers⁶, and conversing and sitting together (with them) in secluded (places), who went about as he pleased, and was unattached (anywhere) like the wind. Having approached him, that talented ascetic possessed of concentration (of mind), that best of the twice-born, wishing to acquire piety, fell at his feet, after seeing that great marvel. And amazed on seeing that marvellous man, the best of the twice-born, Kāśyapa, pleased the preceptor by his great devotion. That was all appropriate⁷, (being) joined to sacred learning and correct conduct. And, O terror of your foes! he pleased that (being) by (his purity of) heart and behaviour (suitable) towards a preceptor⁸. Then being satisfied and pleased, he spoke to the pupil these words, referring to the

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 245.

² Cf. *Gītā*, pp. 48, 103.

³ Cf. *Gītā*, *passim*.

⁴ Cf. *Sanatsugātīya*, p. 162.

⁵ I. e. moving about so as not to be seen by everybody.

⁶ Literally, 'holders of wheels,' which Arguna Misra interprets to mean 'Āśāwas.' At *Sānti Parvan* (*Moksha Dharma*) CCXLIV, 26 *Nilakantha* renders *Kakradhara* by *Kakravartin* or Emperor.

⁷ I. e. as Kāśyapa was possessed of Vedic lore, and behaved as he ought to behave in his capacity of pupil, it was natural that the other should be pleased.

⁸ See p. 176 *seq.* *supra*.

highest perfection. Hear (them) from me, O Ganârdana !

The Siddha said :

Mortals, O dear friend¹ ! by their actions which are (of) mixed (character), or which are meritorious and pure, attain to this world as the goal, or to residence in the world of the gods². Nowhere is there everlasting happiness ; nowhere eternal residence³. Over and over again is there a downfall from a high position attained with difficulty. Overcome by lust and anger, and deluded by desire, I fell into uncomfortable and harassing states (of life), in consequence of (my) committing sin. Again and again death, and again and again birth⁴. I ate numerous (kinds of) food, sucked at various breasts, saw various mothers, and fathers of different sorts ; and, O sinless one ! (I saw) strange pleasures and miseries. Frequently (I suffered) separation from those I loved, association with those I did not love. Loss of wealth also came on me, after I had acquired that wealth with difficulty ; ignominies full of affliction from princes and likewise from kinsmen ; excessively poignant pain, mental and bodily. I also underwent frightful indignities, and fierce deaths and captivities ; (I had a) fall into hell, and torments in the house of Yama⁵. I also suffered much from old age, continual ailments, and numerous misfortunes flowing from the pairs of opposites⁶. Then on one occasion, being much afflicted with misery, I abandoned the whole

¹ The same word as at Gîtâ, p. 72.

² Cf. *Khândogya-upanishad*, pp. 356-359, and Gîtâ, p. 84.

³ See Gîtâ, p. 76, and cf. *Ka/ha*, p. 90.

⁴ For the whole of this passage, cf. *Maitrî-upanishad*, p. 8.

⁵ See *Manu* VI, 61.

⁶ See Gîtâ, p. 48.

course of worldly life, through indifference (to worldly objects), and taking refuge with the formless (principle)¹. Having learnt about this path in this world, I exercised myself (in it), and hence, through favour of the self², have I acquired this perfection³. I shall not come here again⁴; I am surveying the worlds, and the happy migrations⁵ of (my) self from the creation of beings to (my attaining) perfection. Thus, O best of the twice-born! have I obtained this highest perfection. From here I go to the next⁶ (world), and from there again to the still higher (world)—the imperceptible seat of the Brahman. Have no doubt on that, O terror of your foes⁷! I shall not come back to this mortal world. I am pleased with you, O you of great intelligence! Say, what can I do for you? The time is now come for that which you desired in coming to me. I know for what you have come to me. But I shall be going away in a short time, hence have I given

¹ Taking refuge, says Nilakantha, in the belief of my being identical with the Brahman, which is to be comprehended by means of the profound contemplation called Asampragñāta Samādhi.

² I.e., says Nilakantha, the mind, and he cites Maitrī, p. 179. Cf. Kaṭha, p. 108. The rendering at p. 192 supra will also suit (through the self becoming placid). This placidity is defined at Sānti Parvan (Moksha Dharma) CCXLVII, 11, with which cf. Gītā, p. 69. See Gītā, p. 51.

³ As above described.

⁴ Cf. Kāṇḍogya, p. 628; see also ibid. p. 282.

⁵ He calls them happy because they have ended happily, I presume. 'Surveying the worlds' Nilakantha takes to be an index of omniscience. Cf. Sanatsugātiya, p. 174. See also Yoga-sūtras III, 25, and commentary there.

⁶ I.e. the world of Brahman, or the Satyaloka; and the next step is assimilation into the Brahman.

⁷ So read all the copies I have seen, though Kāśyapa is the person addressed.

this hint to you. I am exceedingly pleased, O clever one! with your good conduct. Put (your) questions without uneasiness, I will tell (you) whatever you desire. I highly esteem your intelligence, and greatly respect it, inasmuch as you have made me out¹; for, O Kāsyapa! you are (a) talented (man).

CHAPTER II.

Vāsudeva² said :

Then grasping his feet, Kāsyapa asked questions very difficult to explain, and all of them that (being), the best of the supporters of piety, did explain.

Kāsyapa said :

How does the body perish, and how, too, is it produced? How does one who moves in this harassing course of worldly life become freed? And (how) does the self, getting rid of nature, abandon the body (produced) from it³? And how, being freed from the body, does he attain to the other⁴? How does this man enjoy the good and evil acts done by himself? And where do the acts of one who is released from the body remain?

The Brāhmaṇa said :

Thus addressed, O descendant of *Vṛishṇi*! that Siddha answered these questions in order. Hear me relate what (he said).

¹ This was difficult, as the Siddha possessed extraordinary powers, such as that of concealed movement, &c. ² Sic in MSS.

³ Cf. as to getting rid of nature, *Gītā*, pp. 75-106. As to the body produced from nature, cf. *ibid.* p. 112, and pp. 317-318 *infra*.

⁴ I.e. the Brahman, says Nilakantha.

The Siddha said :

When those actions, productive of long life and fame¹, which a man performs here, are entirely exhausted, after his assumption of another body, he performs (actions of an) opposite character, his self being overcome at the exhaustion of life². And his ruin being impending, his understanding goes astray. Not knowing his own constitution³, and strength, and likewise the (proper) season, the man not being self-controlled, does unseasonably what is injurious to himself. When he attaches himself to numerous very harassing (actions); eats too much⁴, or does not eat at all; when he takes bad food, or meat⁵, or drinks, or (kinds of food) incompatible with one another, or heavy food in immoderate quantities, or without (previously taken food) being properly digested; or takes too much exercise, or is incontinent; or constantly, through attachment to action, checks the regular course (of the excretions⁶); or takes juicy food⁷; or sleeps by day⁸; or (takes food) not thoroughly prepared; (such a man) himself aggravates the dis-

¹ One reading omits 'fame,' as to which cf. *Taittirīya-upanishad*, p. 129; *Khândogya*, pp. 122-227. As to long life, cf. *Khândogya*, p. 272; exhausted, i.e. by enjoyment of fruit in another world.

² Cf. *Sârîraka Bhâshya*, p. 753 seq., where we have a slightly different view.

³ *Arguna Mirra* renders the original, *sattva*, by *svabhâva*.

⁴ Cf. for all this, *Gîtâ*, pp. 62, 69, 118, which passages, however, are from a slightly different point of view. See also *Khândogya*, p. 526.

⁵ A various reading here excludes meat. But cf. *Âpastamba I*, 1, 2, 23; *Gautama II*, 13.

⁶ So says *Nîlakantha*.

⁷ I.e. which turns to juice in digestion, much juice being a cause of indigestion, say the commentators.

⁸ This is doubtful. The sense may be, 'who takes juicy or not thoroughly prepared food by day and night.' But see *Ârvalâyana Grihya-sûtra*, p. 90; *Âpastamba I*, 1, 2, 24; *Gautama II*, 13.

orders (in the body) when the time comes¹. By aggravating the disorders (in) his own (body), he contracts a disease which ends in death, or he even engages in unreasonable (acts), such as hanging² (oneself). From these causes, the living³ body of that creature then perishes. Learn about that correctly as I am about to state it. Heat being kindled in the body, and being urged by a sharp-wind⁴, pervades the whole frame, and, verily, checks the (movements of all the) life-winds. Know this truly, that excessively powerful heat, if kindled in the body, bursts open the vital parts—the seats of the soul⁵. Then the soul, full of torments, forthwith falls away from the perishable (body). Know, O best of the twice-born! that (every) creature leaves the body, when the vital parts are burst open, its self being overcome with torments. All beings are constantly distracted with birth and death; and, O chief of the twice-born! are seen abandoning (their) bodies, or entering the womb on the exhaustion of (their previous) actions⁶. Again, a man suffers similar torments, having his joints broken and suffering from

¹ The time of destruction, says Arguna Misra.

² Which, say the commentators, leads to death, even without any disease.

³ So I construe the original, having regard to the question, 'how does the body perish?' The other reading, which is in some respects better, is equivalent to 'the life falls away from the body of that creature.'

⁴ This is different, as the commentators point out, from the ordinary life-winds.

⁵ The original here is *gīva*, not *ātman*, which we have rendered 'self.' This refers rather to the vital principle. As to the seats, cf. *Yāgyavalkya Smṛiti* III, 93 seq.

⁶ I adopt the reading *karmanām*, which I find in one of the MSS. I consulted. I think it probable that that was the reading before the commentators. The other reading is *marmanām*.

cold, in consequence of water¹. As the compact association of the five elements is broken up, the wind in the body, distributed within the five elements², between the upward and downward life-winds, being aggravated by cold, and urged by a sharp wind³, goes upwards⁴, abandoning the embodied (self) in consequence of pain. Thus it⁵ leaves the body, which appears devoid of breath. Then devoid of warmth, devoid of breath, devoid of beauty, and with consciousness destroyed, the man, being abandoned by the Brahman⁶, is said to be dead. (Then) he ceases to perceive (anything) with those very currents⁷ with which the supporter of the body⁸ perceives objects of sense. In the same way, it is the eternal soul which preserves in the body the life-winds which are produced from food⁹. Whatever (part of the body) is employed in the collection¹⁰ of that, know

¹ Having spoken of heat, he now speaks of the effects of cold. I am not sure if the water here refers to the water of the 'juicy' substances before referred to.

² This means, I presume, within the dissolving body. Cf. *Maitrī-ūpanishad*, p. 42.

³ See note 4, last page.

⁴ To the head, *Arguna Misra*.

⁵ That is, the wind, I suppose, and then the breath departs from the body, and the man is said to die. 'Devoid of beauty,' further on, means, disfigured in the state of death.

⁶ I.e. the mind, *Arguna Misra*.

⁷ The senses. Cf. *Svetāsvatara*, p. 288.

⁸ See and cf. p. 262 *infra*.

⁹ This, says *Arguna Misra*, is in answer to the possible question why this 'sharp wind' does not work with the life-winds. The answer is, that such working requires the presence of the soul, which *Arguna Misra* says here means 'mind.' As to 'production from food,' cf. *Khândogya*, p. 421 seq., and *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, p. 893.

¹⁰ Collection of that = turning the food into semen, says *Arguna Misra*, who adds, 'in those vital parts, which are useful for this purpose, the life-wind dwells.'

that to be a vital part, for thus it is seen (laid down) in the Scriptures. Those vital parts being wounded, that (wind) directly comes out therefrom, and entering the bosom of a creature obstructs the heart¹. Then the possessor of consciousness knows nothing². Having his knowledge enveloped by darkness³, while the vitals are still enveloped, the soul⁴, being without a fixed seat, is shaken about by the wind. And then he heaves a very deep and alarming gasp, and makes the unconscious body quiver as he goes out (of it). That soul, dropping out of the body, is surrounded on both sides by his own actions⁵, his own pure and meritorious, as also his sinful (ones). Brāhmaṇas, possessed of knowledge, whose convictions are correctly (formed) from sacred learning, know him by (his) marks as one who has performed meritorious actions or the reverse. As those who have eyes see a glow-worm disappear here and there in darkness, so likewise do those who have eyes of knowledge. Such a soul, the Siddhas see with a divine eye, departing (from the body), or coming to the birth, or entering into a womb⁶. Its three descriptions⁷ of seats are here learnt from the Scriptures. This world is the world of actions⁸, where

¹ Arguna Misra renders this to mean 'mind.'

² As the mind is obstructed, says Arguna Misra. The possessor of consciousness = the self, Arguna.

³ I.e. pain, Arguna Misra.

⁴ I.e. mind, Arguna Misra. ⁵ Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 843.

⁶ See *Aitareya-upanishad*, p. 222, and Śaṅkara's commentary there. The coming to the birth is the coming out of the womb into the world. Cf. also *Gītā*, p. 112.

⁷ As stated further on, viz. this world, the next world, and the womb. With this compare *Khândogya*, p. 359.

⁸ Cf. our *Bhārtrihari* (Bombay series), Notes (*Nitirataka*), p. 27.

creatures dwell. All embodied (selves), having here performed good or evil (actions), obtain (the fruit). It is here they obtain higher or lower enjoyments by their own actions. And it is those whose actions here are evil, who by their actions go to hell. Harassing is that lower place where men are tormented. Freedom from it is very difficult, and the self should be specially protected from it. Learn from me now the seats in which creatures going up¹ dwell, and which I shall describe truly. Hearing this, you will learn the highest knowledge, and decision regarding action². All (the worlds in) the forms of stars, and this lunar sphere³, and also this solar sphere which shines in the world by its own lustre, know these to be the seats of men who perform meritorious actions. All these, verily, fall down again and again in consequence of the exhaustion of their actions⁴. And there, too, in heaven, there are differences of low, high, and middling⁵. Nor, even there, is there satisfaction, (even) after a sight of most magnificent splendour. Thus have I stated to you these seats distinctly. I will after this (proceed to) state to you the production of the foetus⁶. And, O twice-born one! hear that attentively from me as I state it.

¹ Cf. on this and 'lower place,' *Gītā*, p. 109; *Sāṅkhya Kārikā*, 44.

² The readings here are most unsatisfactory. The meaning of the printed reading adopted above would seem to be, 'decision as to what actions should be performed,' &c.

³ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 81, and *Sanatsugāṭīya*, p. 158. ⁴ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 84.

⁵ *Arguna Misra* says, 'In heaven = in the next world, low = inferior (?), high = heaven, and middling = the space below the skies (*antariksha*).' For the three degrees of enjoyment in heaven, see *Yogavāsishtha* I, 35 seq.

⁶ This is the third of the three seats above referred to.

CHAPTER III.

There is no destruction here of actions good or not good¹. Coming to one body after another they become ripened in their respective ways². As a fruitful (tree) producing fruit may yield much fruit, so does merit performed with a pure mind become expanded³. Sin, too, performed with a sinful mind, is similarly (expanded). For the self engages in action, putting forward this mind⁴. And now further, hear how⁵ a man, overwhelmed with action, and enveloped in desire and anger⁶, enters a womb. Within the womb of a woman, (he) obtains as the result of action a body good or else bad⁷, made up of virile semen and blood. Owing to (his) subtlety and imperceptibility, though he obtains a body appertaining to the Brahman, he is not attached anywhere; hence is he the eternal Brahman⁸. That is the seed of all beings; by that

¹ Cf. *Maitrī-ūpanishad*, p. 53, and *Mundaka*, p. 270. And see generally as to this passage, *Sārīraka Bhāṣya*, pp. 751-760.

² I.e. they yield their respective fruits; cf. *Maitrī*, p. 43, and *Āṇḍogya*, p. 358.

³ This explains, say the commentators, how even a little merit or sin requires sometimes more than one birth to enjoy and exhaust.

⁴ As a king performs sacrifices 'putting forward' a priest, *Arguna Mirra*; and cf. *Dhammapada*, the first two verses.

⁵ *Arguna Mirra* has *tathā*, 'in the same way,' instead of this, and renders it to mean 'putting forward' the mind.

⁶ Hence he does not get rid of birth and death.

⁷ Good=of gods or men; bad=of the lower species of creatures, *Arguna*.

⁸ He, in the preceding sentences, according to *Arguna Mirra*, means the self, through the mind, or 'putting forward' the mind, as said above. In this sentence, he takes 'he' to mean the mind itself; Brahman=the self; and the mind, he says, is called the Brahman, as it, like the self, is the cause of the *Kaitanya*, intelligence, in all creatures.

all creatures exist. That soul, entering all the limbs of the foetus, part by part, and dwelling in the seat of the life-wind¹, supports (them) with the mind². Then the foetus, becoming possessed of consciousness, moves about its limbs. As liquefied iron being poured out assumes the form of the image³, such you must know is the entrance of the soul into the foetus. As fire entering a ball of iron, heats it, such too, you must understand, is the manifestation of the soul in the foetus. And as a blazing lamp shines in a house, even so does consciousness light up bodies⁴. And whatever action he performs, whether good or bad, everything done in a former body must necessarily be enjoyed (or suffered). Then⁵ that is exhausted, and again other (action) is accumulated, so long as the piety which dwells in the practice of concentration of mind for final emancipation⁶ has not been learnt. As to that, O best (of men)! I will tell you about that action by which, verily, one going the round of various births, becomes happy. Gifts, penance, life as a Brahmacārin, adherence to prescribed regulations, restraint of the senses⁷, and also

¹ I. e. the heart.

² Arguna Misra says that the soul at the beginning of the sentence means the mind, and mind here means knowledge or intelligence. Cf. p. 238 supra.

³ In the mould of which, that is to say, it is poured.

⁴ Cf. Gītā, p. 106. The three similes, says Nilakanṭha, show that the soul pervades the whole body, is yet imperceptible, and also unattached to the body. Arguna Misra's explanation is different, but I prefer Nilakanṭha's.

⁵ I. e. by the enjoyment or suffering.

⁶ I. e. while he does not possess the knowledge which leads to the piety necessary as a preliminary for final emancipation, and which ultimately destroys action. Cf. Gītā, p. 62.

⁷ I. e. keeping the senses of hearing &c. from all operations

tranquillity, compassion to (all) beings, self-restraint, and absence of cruelty, refraining from the appropriation of the wealth of others, not acting dishonestly even in thought towards (any) being in this world, serving mother and father, honouring deities and guests, honouring preceptors, pity, purity, constant restraint of the organs¹, and causing good to be done; this is said to be the conduct of the good². From this is produced piety, which protects people to eternity. Thus one should look (for it) among the good, for among them it constantly abides. The practice to which the good adhere, points out (what) piety (is)³. And among them dwells that (course of) action which constitutes eternal piety. He who acquires that, never comes to an evil end⁴. By this are people held in check from making a slip in the paths of piety⁵. But the devotee who is released⁶ is esteemed higher than these. For the deliverance from the course of worldly life of the man who acts piously and well, as he should act, takes place after a long time⁷. Thus a creature always meets with (the effects of) the action performed (in a) previous (life). And that⁸ is the sole cause by which he comes here (in a) degraded (form). There is

save those relating to the Brahman. Tranquillity is the same thing as regards the mind.

¹ This I take to mean restraint of the active organs, such as speech, &c. 'Self-restraint' is rendered by *Nīlakanṭha* to mean 'concentration of mind.'

² Cf. *Maitrī*, p. 57; *Kāṇḍogya*, p. 136; and *Gītā*, pp. 103, 119.

³ Cf. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 1, 2; I, 7, 20, 7; *Sakuntalā*, p. 30 (Williams).

⁴ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 72.

⁵ By this, i.e. by the practice of the good, *Arguna Misra*.

⁶ From delusion, *Arguna Misra*; emancipated by force of his devotion, *Nīlakanṭha*.

⁷ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 73; *Kāṇḍogya*, pp. 136, 137. ⁸ Scil. the action.

in the world a doubt as to what originally was the source from which he became invested with a body. And that I shall now proceed to state. Brahman, the grandfather of all people, having made a body for himself, created the whole of the three worlds, moving and fixed¹. From that he created the Pradhâna, the material cause of all embodied (selfs), by which all this is pervaded, and which is known in the world as the highest². This is what is called the destructible³; but the other⁴ is immortal and indestructible. And Pragâpati, who had been first created, created all creatures and (all) the fixed entities, (having) as regards the moving (creation), a pair separately for each⁵ (species). Such is the ancient (tradition) heard (by us). And as regards that, the grandsire fixed a limit of time, and (a rule) about migrations among (various) creatures, and about the return⁶. What I say is all correct and proper, like (what may be said by) any talented person who has in

¹ I.e. animate and inanimate. 'A body for himself' = undeveloped Âkâsa, Nilakantha. But see Sâṅkhya-sâra, p. 19, and Sâṅkhya Prav. Bhâṣhya I, 122, and III, 10.

² Cf. inter alia Gîtâ, p. 58 and note, and Sâṅkhya-sâra, p. 11. As to the words at the beginning of this sentence, 'from that,' cf. Taittirîya-upanishad, p. 67, where everything is derived from Âkâsa, mentioned in the last note, and Âkâsa from the Brahman.

³ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 113, where there are three principles distinguished from each other.

⁴ I.e. the self, Arguna Mirra.

⁵ A pair, i.e. a male and female for each species, such as man, &c., Arguna Mirra.

⁶ Pragâpati fixed the limit of life for every 'moving' creature, and the rule as to going from one species of body into another, and as to going from one world to another. As to a part of 'the ancient tradition,' the first stanza of the Mundaka-upanishad may be compared.

a former birth perceived the self¹. He who properly perceives pleasure and pain to be inconstant, the body to be an unholy aggregate², and ruin to be connected with action³, and who remembers that whatever little there is of happiness is all misery⁴, he will cross beyond the fearful ocean of worldly life, which is very difficult to cross. He who understands the Pradhâna⁵, (though) attacked by birth and death and disease, sees one (principle of) consciousness in all beings possessed of consciousness⁶. Then seeking after the supreme seat, he becomes indifferent to everything⁷. O best (of men)! I will give you accurate instruction concerning it. Learn from me exhaustively, O Brâhmaṇa! the excellent knowledge concerning the eternal imperishable seat, which I am now about to declare.

CHAPTER IV.

He who becoming placid⁸, and thinking of nought, may become absorbed in the one receptacle⁹, abandoning each previous (element), he will cross beyond

¹ Arguna Misra says the strength of the impression in the former birth would give him this knowledge in the subsequent birth.

² Cf. Sanatsugâtîya, p. 155.

³ Cf. inter alia p. 256 infra.

⁴ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 79.

⁵ Otherwise called Prakṛti, or nature.

⁶ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 124.

⁷ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 111.

⁸ We now begin, as Nīlakanṭha points out, the answer to the question put above by Kâryapa about the emancipation of the self. Placid, Arguna Misra renders to mean 'silent, taciturn.' See p. 234 supra.

⁹ The path of knowledge, says Arguna Misra; the Brahman, says Nīlakanṭha. Abandoning each element=absorbing the gross into the subtle elements, and so forth, Nīlakanṭha; abandoning each elementary mode of worship till one reaches that of contemplating the absolute Brahman, Arguna Misra.

(all) bonds. A man who is a friend of all, who endures all, who is devoted to tranquillity¹, who has subdued his senses, and from whom fear and wrath have departed, and who is self-possessed², is released. He who moves among all beings as if they were like himself³, who is self-controlled, pure, free from vanity⁴ and egoism, he is, indeed, released from everything. And he, too, is released who is equable towards both life and death⁵, and likewise pleasure and pain, and gain and loss, and (what is) agreeable and odious⁶. He who is not attached to any one, who contemns no one, who is free from the pairs of opposites, and whose self is free from affections⁷, he is, indeed, released in every way. He who has no enemy, who has no kinsmen, who has no child, who has abandoned piety, wealth, and lust altogether, and who has no desire, is released. He who is not pious and not impious⁸, who casts off (the merit or sin) previously accumulated, whose self is tranquillised by the exhaustion of the primary elements of the body⁹, and who is free from the pairs of opposites, is released. One who does no action¹⁰, and who has no desire, looks on this universe as

¹ This, in the terminology of the Vedānta, means keeping the mind from everything save 'hearing' &c. about the Brahman.

² One who has his mind under his control. But see *Gītā*, p. 63.

³ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 71.

⁴ I.e. the desire to be honoured or respected, *Arguna Misra*. Cf. *Sanatsugâtīya*, p. 161.

⁵ Who does not care when death comes.

⁶ Cf. p. 151 *supra*.

⁷ Cf. *Gītā* for all this, pp. 101, 103, 125, &c.

⁸ Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 101.

⁹ *Nilakantha* says this means the constituents of the body. *Arguna Misra* says, 'Prāṇa or life-wind,' &c. They are seven. See gloss on *Aṅgīrasya-upanishad*, p. 441, and p. 343 *infra*.

¹⁰ Because, says *Arguna Misra*, he has no desire. *Nilakantha* says this means an ascetic, *sannyāsin*. See p. 257 *infra*, note 1.

transient, like an *Asvattha* tree¹, always full of birth, death, and old age². Having his understanding always (fixed) upon indifference to worldly objects, searching for his own faults³, he procures the release of his self from bonds in no long time. Seeing the self void of smell⁴, void of taste, void of touch, void of sound, void of belongings, void of colour, and unknowable, he is released. He who sees the enjoyer of the qualities⁵, devoid of qualities, devoid of the qualities of the five elements⁶, devoid of form, and having no cause, is released. Abandoning by the understanding⁷ all fancies bodily and mental⁸, he gradually obtains tranquillity⁹, like fire devoid of fuel. He who is free from all impressions¹⁰, free from the pairs of opposites, without belongings, and who moves among the collection of organs with penance¹¹, he is indeed released. Then freed from all impressions, he attains to the eternal

¹ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 111, where *Saṅkara* explains the name to mean 'what will not remain even till to-morrow.'

² Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 109, and other passages.

³ *Arguna* *Misra* has a different reading, which means 'particularly observing the evils of (the three kinds of) misery.'

⁴ Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 119; *Mundaka*, p. 267; and *Māndukya*, p. 371.

⁵ Cf. *Gîtâ*, pp. 104, 105, and *Kaṭha*, p. 112.

⁶ *Nilakantha* says this refers to the gross elements, the next expression to the subtle ones, and being free from these two, he is 'devoid of qualities,' viz. the three qualities. ⁷ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 65.

⁸ I.e. those which cause bodily and mental activity.

⁹ Cf. *Maitrî*, p. 178. The original is the famous word '*Nirvāṇa*.'

¹⁰ Scil. derived from false knowledge, says *Arguna* *Misra*. *Nilakantha* says all impressions from outside oneself which are destroyed by those produced from concentration of mind, &c. See p. 391 infra.

¹¹ I.e. all those operations by which the internal man is rendered pure and free from all taints; see below, p. 248, where *Nilakantha* renders it as 'the performance of one's duty which is called penance.' But see, too, pp. 74, 119, 166 supra. The meaning seems to be that the

Supreme Brahman, tranquil, unmoving, constant, indestructible¹. After this I shall explain the science of concentration of mind, than which there is nothing higher, (and which teaches) how devotees concentrating (their minds) perceive the perfect self². I will impart instruction regarding it accurately. Learn from me the paths³ by which one directing the self within the self perceives the eternal⁴ (principle). Restraining the senses, one should fix the mind on the self; and having first performed rigorous penance⁵, he should practise concentration of mind for final emancipation. Then the talented Brāhmaṇa, who has practised penance, who is constantly practising concentration of mind, should act on (the precepts of) the science of concentration of mind⁶, seeing the self in the self by means of the mind⁷. If such a good man is able to concentrate the self on the self, then he, being habituated to exclusive meditation⁸, perceives the self in the self. Being

man in question lets his senses work, but does not permit himself to be in any way identified with their operations. Cf. Gītā, p. 64.

¹ Cf. the expressions at Gītā, p. 45. 'Unmoving,' which occurs at Īśa, p. 10, is there explained by Śaṅkara to mean 'always the same.' The same sense is given by Mahidhara. Weber's *Satapatha*, p. 980.

² 'Perfect' would seem to mean here free from all bonds or taints, the absolute.

³ I.e. sources of knowledge, says Arguna Misra.

⁴ Cf. as to 'directing the self within the self,' Gītā, p. 69. Nilakantha says, 'paths, means of mental restraint, the self, mind; in the self, in the body.'

⁵ See p. 247, note 11. Nilakantha's note there referred to occurs on this passage. See also p. 166, note 1 *supra*.

⁶ It is not easy to say what this science is. Is it Patañjali's system that is meant? No details occur to enable one to identify the 'science.' But, probably, no system is alluded to.

⁷ See note 4 above.

⁸ Nilakantha has a very forced explanation of the original word.

self-restrained and self-possessed¹, and always concentrating his mind, and having his senses subjugated, he who has achieved proper concentration of mind² sees the self in the self. As a person having seen one in a dream, recognises him (afterwards), saying, 'This is he;' so does one who has achieved proper concentration of mind perceive the self³. And as one may show the soft fibres, after extracting them from the Muñga, so does a devotee see the self extracted from the body. The body is called the Muñga; the soft fibres stand⁴ for the self. This is the excellent illustration propounded by those who understand concentration of mind. When an embodied (self) properly perceives the self concentrated⁵, then there is no ruler over him, since he is the lord of the triple world⁶. He obtains various bodies as he pleases; and casting aside old age and death, he grieves not and exults not. The man who

which also occurs further on; he takes the meaning to be, 'he who is habituated to that by which the One is attained, viz. meditation.'

¹ The original is the same as at Gītā, p. 63.

² That is to say, one who has got the power of concentrating his mind as he pleases; and the words 'always concentrating' &c., just before, would mean 'one who always exercises that power.'

³ I.e. having perceived the self in the state of concentration, he sees the whole universe to be the self in this state when the concentration has ceased, Nilakantha. Arguna Mirra says, 'having perceived the self at the time of concentration, he recognises it as the same at the time of direct perception,' meaning, apparently, the time of final emancipation.

⁴ I.e. the reality, which in this simile forms the substratum of what are called the fibres; the simile is in the Kaṭha-upanishad; see, too, Sanatsugātīya, p. 176.

⁵ I.e. on the supreme self, as above explained.

⁶ Cf. Sanatsugātīya, p. 161; Svetārvata, p. 290; and Brīhadāraṇyaka, p. 218; Kāṇḍogya, p. 523; Aitareya, p. 26; Kaushitaki, p. 126.

has acquired concentration of mind, and who is self-restrained, creates for himself even the divinity of the gods¹; and abandoning the transient body, he attains to the inexhaustible Brahman. When (all) beings are destroyed, he has no fear; when (all) beings are afflicted, he is not afflicted by anything². He whose self is concentrated, who is free from attachment, and of a tranquil mind, is not shaken by the fearful effects of attachment and affection³, which consist in pain and grief⁴. Weapons do not pierce him⁵; there is no death for him; nothing can be seen anywhere in the world happier than he. Properly concentrating his self, he remains steady to the self; and freed from old age and grief, he sleeps at ease. Leaving this human frame, he assumes bodies at pleasure. But one who is practising concentration should never become despondent⁶. When one who has properly achieved concentration perceives the self in the self, then he forthwith ceases to feel any attachment to Indra himself⁷.

¹ I do not quite understand the original. The other reading, *dehatvam* for *devatvam*, is not more intelligible. But comparing the two, the meaning seems to be, that the divinity of the gods, i.e. their qualities and powers as gods, are within his reach, if he likes to have them.

² Cf. *Gītā*, p. 107.

³ Affection is the feeling that a thing is one's own; attachment is the feeling of liking one has for a thing acquired with difficulty, *Arguna Misra*.

⁴ Pain appears to be the feeling immediately following on hurt or evil suffered; grief is the constant state of mind which is a later result.

⁵ Cf. *Yoga-sūtra Bhāṣya*, p. 208.

⁶ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 70. Despondency is the feeling that one has not acquired 'concentration' after much practice, and that therefore the practice should be abandoned.

⁷ The other reading here may be rendered, 'Then forthwith Indra himself esteems him highly.'

Now listen how one habituated to exclusive meditation attains concentration. Thinking¹ of a quarter seen before, he should steady his mind within and not out of the city in which he dwells. Remaining within (that) city, he should place his mind both in its external and internal (operations) in that habitation in which he dwells. When, meditating in that habitation, he perceives the perfect one, his mind should not in any way wander outside. Restraining the group of the senses, in a forest² free from noises and unpeopled, he should meditate on the perfect one within his body with a mind fixed on one point. He

¹ This is all rather mystical. Nilakantha takes 'city' to mean 'body,' and 'habitation' to mean the mûlâdhâra, or other similar mystic centre within the body, where, according to the Yoga philosophy, the soul is sometimes to be kept with the life-winds, &c. 'Thinking of a quarter,' &c., he explains to mean 'meditating on the instruction he has received after studying the Upanishads.' I do not understand the passage well. 'City' for 'body' is a familiar use of the word. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 65. The original word for habitation occurs at Aitareya-upanishad, p. 199, where Saṅkara explains it to mean 'seat.' Three 'seats' are there mentioned,—the organs of sight, &c.; the mind; and the Âkāśa in the heart. There, too, the body is described as a 'city,' and Anandagiri explains habitation to mean 'seat of amusement or sport.' Here, however, the meaning seems to be that one should work for concentration in the manner indicated, viz. first fix the mind on the city where one dwells, then on the particular part of it oftenest seen before, then one's own habitation, then the various parts of one's body, and finally one's own heart and the Brahman within it. Thus gradually circumscribed in its operations, the mind is better fitted for the final concentration on the Brahman. As to external and internal operations, cf. note 8, p. 247. The perfect one is the Brahman. Cf. Sanatsugâtîya, p. 171. As to âvasatha, which we have rendered by 'habitation,' see also Mândukya, p. 340; Brhadâraṇyaka, p. 751; and the alternative sense suggested by Saṅkara on the Aitareya, loc. cit.

² Cf. Maitrî-upanishad, p. 100.

should meditate on his teeth¹, palate, tongue, neck, and throat likewise, and also the heart, and likewise the seat of the heart. That talented pupil, O destroyer of Madhu! having been thus instructed by me, proceeded further to interrogate (me) about the piety (required) for final emancipation, which is difficult to explain. 'How does this food eaten from time to time become digested in the stomach? How does it turn to juice and how also to blood? And how, too, do the flesh, and marrow, and muscles, and bones—which all (form) the bodies for embodied (selves)—develop in a woman as that (self) develops? How, too, does the strength develop? (And how is it also) about the removal of non-nutritive (substances)², and of the excretions, distinctly? How, too, does he breathe inwards or outwards? And what place does the self occupy, dwelling in the self³? And how does the soul moving about carry the body? And of what colour and of what description (is it when) he leaves it? O sinless venerable sir! be pleased to state this accurately to me.' Thus questioned by that Brâhmaṇa, O Mâdhava! I replied⁴, 'O you of mighty arms! O

¹ Nīlakanṭha cites numerous passages from works of the Yoga philosophy in illustration of this. He takes 'heart' to mean the Brahman seated in the heart (cf. *Āṭhândogya*, p. 528), and 'the seat of the heart' to mean the one hundred and one passages of the heart. The latter expression Arguna Misra seems to render by 'mind.' See also generally on this passage, *Maitrī-upanishad*, p. 133, and *Yoga-sūtra* III, 1 and 28 seq., and commentary there.

² Literally, 'those which are void of strength.' I adopt Arguna Misra's reading. The other reading literally means 'obstructions.'

³ The self here means the body, I take it. See p. 248 *supra*.

⁴ The reply does not appear here. Nīlakanṭha says that the succeeding chapters contain it. Arguna Misra seems to say that the answer has been already given. The context here is obscure.

restrainer of (your) foes! according to what (I had) heard. As one placing any property in his store-room should fix his mind on the property¹, so placing one's mind in one's body, and (keeping) the passages confined, one should there look for the self and avoid heedlessness². Being thus always assiduous and pleased in the self, he attains in a short time to that Brahman, after perceiving which he understands the Pradhâna³. He is not to be grasped by the eye, nor by any of the senses. Only by the mind (used) as a lamp is the great self perceived⁴. He has hands and feet on all sides; he has eyes, heads, and faces on all sides; he has ears on all sides; he stands pervading everything in the world⁵. The soul sees the self⁶ come out from the body; and abandoning his body, he perceives the self,—holding it to be the immaculate Brahman,—with, as it were, a mental smile⁷. And then depending upon it thus, he attains final emancipation in me⁸.

¹ *Nīlakanṭha* says the original means household effects; *Arguna Mīra* says wealth, and adds, the mind is fixed on it from fear of others finding it out.

² Cf. *Sanatsugâtīya*, p. 152. Here, however, the sense is the ordinary one.

³ I.e. all nature, that from which the universe is developed.

⁴ Cf. *Kaṭha*, pp. 117–130. See *Sānti Parvan* (Moksha) CCXL, 16.

⁵ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 103. The stanza occurs often in the *Bhārata*. This, says *Arguna Mīra*, answers the question 'how the soul carries the body.' The soul can do that as it is all-pervading.

⁶ The individual soul, which has acquired true knowledge, perceives the self to be distinct from the body. See p. 249 supra.

⁷ I.e. at the false notions which he entertained. *Nīlakanṭha* says, 'smile, i.e. amazement that he should have been deceived by the mirage-like course of worldly life.'

⁸ I.e. final emancipation and assimilation with the supreme; 'depending upon it thus' = taking refuge with the Brahman in the way above stated.

This whole mystery I have declared to you, O best of Brāhmaṇas¹! I will now take my leave, I will go away; and do you (too) go away, O Brāhmaṇa! according to your pleasure.' Thus addressed by me, O *Kṛishṇa*! that pupil, possessed of great penance,—that Brāhmaṇa of rigid vows,—went away as he pleased.

Vāsudeva said :

Having spoken to me, O son of *Prithā*! these good words relating to the piety (required) for final emancipation, that best of Brāhmaṇas disappeared then and there. Have you listened to this, O son of *Prithā*! with a mind (fixed) on (this) one point only²? For on that occasion, too, sitting in the chariot you heard this same (instruction). It is my belief, O son of *Prithā*! that this is not easily understood by a man who is confused, or who has not acquired knowledge with his inmost soul purified³. What I have spoken, O chief of the descendants of *Bharata*! is a great mystery (even) among the gods. And it has never yet been heard by any man in this world, O son of *Prithā*! For, O sinless one! there is no other man than you worthy to hear it. Nor is it easily to be understood by (one whose) internal self (is) confused. The world of the gods⁴, O son of *Kuntī*! is filled by those who perform

¹ Arguna Misra says, the only questions among those stated above, which are of use for final emancipation, have been here answered. The others should be looked for elsewhere.

² The original words here are identical with those at *Gītā*, p. 139.

³ I adopt *Nilakanṭha*'s reading here. Arguna Misra reads 'vigagdhena,' which he explains to mean 'one who eats kinds of food incompatible with one another.' A third reading is 'kṛitaghṇena,' ungrateful!

⁴ See *Gītā*, p. 84.

actions. And the gods are not pleased with a cessation of the mortal form¹. For as to that eternal Brahman, O son of *Prithā*! that is the highest goal, where one, forsaking the body, reaches immortality and is ever happy. Adopting this doctrine, even those who are of sinful birth, women, Vaisyas, and *Sûdras* likewise, attain the supreme goal. What then (need be said of) *Brâhmanas*, O son of *Prithā*²! or well-read *Kshatriyas*, who are constantly intent on their own duties, and whose highest goal is the world of the Brahman? This has been stated with reasons; and also the means for its acquisition; and the fruit of its full accomplishment, final emancipation, and determination regarding misery³. O chief of the descendants of *Bharata*! there can be no other happiness beyond this. The mortal, O son of *Pāndu*! who, possessed of talents, full of faith, and energetic⁴, casts aside as unsubstantial the (whole) substance of this world⁵, he forthwith attains the highest goal by these means. This is all that is to be said, there is nothing further than this. Concentration of mind comes to him, O son of *Prithā*! who practises concentration of mind constantly throughout six months⁶.

¹ Cf. *Brhadâraṇyaka*, p. 234, where *Saṅkara* quotes the original stanza, but with a reading which means, 'And the gods are not pleased at mortals rising above (them).' That is a better reading.

² See *Gītā*, pp. 85, 86, where the words are nearly identical with those in the text.

³ This is not quite clear. Does 'determination regarding misery,' the original of which is *duḥkhasya ka vinirṇayaḥ*, mean 'conclusion of all misery?' Comp. *Gītā*, p. 79.

⁴ *Arguna Mirra* says this means assiduous.

⁵ I.e. wealth and so forth, says *Nīlakanṭha*. Cf. 'human wealth' at *Sanatsugâtīya*, p. 161.

⁶ Cf. *Maitrī-upanishad*, p. 154. The copy of *Arguna Mirra*'s

CHAPTER V.

On this ¹, too, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! they relate this ancient story, (in the form of) a dialogue, which occurred, O son of Prithā! between a husband and wife. A Brāhmaṇa's wife, seeing the Brāhmaṇa her husband, who had gone through all knowledge and experience ², seated in seclusion, spoke to him (thus): 'What world, indeed, shall I go to, depending on you as (my) husband, you who live renouncing (all) action, and who are harsh and un-discerning ³. We have heard that wives attain to the worlds acquired by (their) husbands. What goal, verily, shall I reach, having got you for my husband?' Thus addressed, that man of a tranquil self, spoke to her with a slight smile: 'O beautiful one! O sinless one! I am not offended at these words of yours. Whatever action there is, that can be caught (by the touch) ⁴, or seen, or heard, that only do the men of action engage in as action. Those who are devoid of knowledge only lodge ⁵ delusion in themselves by means of action. And freedom from action is not to be attained in this world even for an

commentary which I have used, says that the Anugītā ends here. But, as we have shown, there is a verse coming further on, which Śaṅkarācārya cites as from the Anugītā. In the printed copies of the Mahābhārata the next chapter is called the Brāhmaṇagītā.

¹ I.e. the questions at p. 252, *Nilakanṭha*; more probably, perhaps, the 'doctrine' mentioned at p. 254 is what is alluded to.

² Cf. *Gītā*, p. 57 and note.

³ *Nilakanṭha* says this means 'ignorant that the wife has no other support.' Arguna Misra interprets *kṛnāsa* to mean 'indigent' instead of 'harsh.'

⁴ So Arguna Misra. *Nilakanṭha*'s reading and his interpretation of the passage are different.

⁵ I follow Arguna Misra; the original literally means 'restrain.'

instant¹. From birth to the destruction of the body, action, good or bad, by act, mind or speech², does exist among (all) beings. While the paths³ (of action), in which the materials are visible, are destroyed by demons⁴, I have perceived by means of the self the seat abiding in the self⁵—(the seat) where dwells the Brahman free from the pairs of opposites, and the moon together with the fire⁶, upholding (all) beings (as) the mover of the intellectual principle⁷; (the seat) for which⁸ Brahman and others concentrating (their minds) worship that indestructible (principle), and for which learned men have their senses restrained, and their selves tranquil, and (observe) good vows. It is not to be smelt by the nose, and not to be tasted by the tongue. It is not to be touched by the sense of touch, but is to be apprehended by the mind. It cannot be

¹ Cf. *Gītā*, pp. 52, 53; see also, as to freedom from action, *Gītā*, p. 127.

² I.e. thought, word, and deed. I have in the text kept to a more literal rendering.

³ This is *Nīlakanṭha*'s reading and interpretation. *Arguna Mirra* reads 'actions visible and invisible.'

⁴ Cf. *inter alia* *Kumāra-sambhava* II, 46.

⁵ I.e. says *Arguna Mirra*, the safe place, within the body; and says *Nīlakanṭha*, the seat called *Avimukta*, between the nose and the brows; as to which cf. *Gītā*, p. 67. In the *Kenopanishad* (p. 220) the word *āyatana* is used to signify a means to the attainment of the Brahman.

⁶ The moon and fire constitute the universe, says *Arguna Mirra*. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 113. *Nīlakanṭha* interprets this more mystically as referring to the *Idā* and *Pīṅgalā* arteries.

⁷ So *Nīlakanṭha*, but he takes it to stand for 'vāyu' or wind, as a distinct principle. The sense is by no means clear. But the moon being the deity of the mind also may, perhaps, be described as she is here, on that account.

⁸ This is *Arguna Mirra*'s interpretation of the original locative.

conquered by the eyes, and is entirely beyond the senses of hearing. It is devoid of smell, devoid of taste and touch, devoid of colour and sound, and imperishable¹. (It is that) from which (this whole) expanse² (of the universe) proceeds, and on which it rests. From this the *Prâna*, *Apâna*, *Samâna*, *Vyâna*, and *Udâna* also proceed, and into it they enter³. Between the *Samâna* and the *Vyâna*, the *Prâna* and the *Apâna* moved. When that⁴ is asleep, the *Samâna* and *Vyâna* also are absorbed⁵; and between the *Prâna* and the *Apâna* dwells the *Udâna* pervading (all). Therefore the *Prâna* and the *Apâna* do not forsake a sleeping person. That is called the *Udâna*, as the life-winds are controlled⁶ (by it). And therefore those who study the Brahman engage in penance⁷ of which I am the goal⁸. In

¹ Cf. note 4, p. 247 supra, and p. 253.

² Arguna Misra says this means the five great elements, the eleven organs (active and perceptive, and the mind), the life-wind, and the individual soul.

³ The *Prâna* is at the nose, the *Apâna* at the arms, the *Samâna* at the navel, the *Vyâna* pervades the whole body, and the *Udâna* is at all the joints; cf. *Yoga-sûtra* III, 38 seq. *Nilakantha* says this explains how the 'expanse' (meaning, he says, the operations of the creation, &c.) 'proceeds' from the Brahman. See on the life-winds, *Brhadâranyaka*, p. 667; *Khândogya*, pp. 42-188; *Sânkhya-tattvakaumudî*, p. 96; *Vedânta Paribhâshâ*, p. 45; p. 271 infra.

⁴ The self, Arguna Misra. *Nilakantha* says, 'the *Prâna* accompanied by the *Apâna*.'

⁵ I.e. into the *Prâna* and *Apâna*, Arguna Misra.

⁶ *Nilakantha* derives the word thus, *utkarshena ânayati*.

⁷ I.e. the subjugation of the life-winds as indicated at *Gîtâ*, p. 61.

⁸ The meaning of the passage as a whole is not very clear, and the commentators afford but little help. The sense appears to be this: The course of worldly life is due to the operations of the life-winds which are attached to the self and lead to its manifestations as individual souls. Of these, the *Samâna* and *Vyâna* are

the interior¹, in the midst of all these (life-winds) which move about in the body and swallow up one another², blazes the Vaisvâna fire³ sevenfold. The nose, and the tongue, and the eye, and the skin, and the ear as the fifth, the mind and the understanding, these are the seven tongues⁴ of the blaze of Vaisvânara. That which is to be smelt, that which is to be drunk, that which is to be seen, that which is to be touched, and likewise that which is to be heard, and also that which is to be thought of, and that which is to be understood, those are the seven (kinds of) fuel for me⁵. That which smells, that which eats, that which sees, that which touches, and that which hears as the fifth, that which thinks, and that which understands, these are the seven great officiating priests⁶. And mark this always,

controlled and held under check by the Prâna and Apâna, into which latter the former are absorbed in sleep. The latter two are held in check and controlled by the Udâna, which thus controls all. And the control of this, which is the control of all the five, and which is otherwise called penance, destroys the course of worldly life, and leads to the supreme self.

¹ I. e. within the body.

² As explained in note 8, p. 258.

³ This, says Nīlakantha, explains the word 'I' in the sentence preceding. Vaisvânara is a word often used to denote the self. The Vishamasloki derives it thus, 'that which saves all beings from hell'; see the Prâna-upanishad, pp. 167-188 (where seven tongues are also referred to); Mundaka, p. 292; Khândogya, p. 364; Mândukya, p. 341.

⁴ Cf. Taittiriya-âranyaka, p. 802.

⁵ I. e. the Vaisvânara. Cf. Taittiriya-âranyaka, p. 803 and gloss.

⁶ These I take to be the powers of hearing, &c., which are presided over by the several deities; or, better, perhaps, they may mean the soul distinguished as so many with reference to these several powers; cf. Brîhadâranyaka, p. 169; Maitrî, p. 96; Prâna, pp. 214, 215; Kaushîtaki, p. 96; Aitareya, p. 187; Khândogya, p. 616. The latter sense is accepted by Arguna Misra.

O beautiful one ! The learned sacrificers throwing (in) due (form) the seven offerings into the seven fires in seven ways, produce them in their wombs¹ ; (namely), that which is to be smelt, that which is to be drunk, that which is to be seen, that which is to be touched, and likewise that which is to be heard, that which is to be thought of, and also that which is to be understood. Earth, air, space, water, and light as the fifth, mind and understanding, these seven, indeed, are named wombs. All the qualities which stand² as offerings are absorbed in the mouth of the fire³ ; and having dwelt within that dwelling are born in their respective wombs⁴. And in that very (principle), which is the generator of all entities, they remain absorbed during (the time of) deluge. From that⁵ is produced smell ; from that is produced taste ; from that is produced colour ; from that touch is produced ; from that is produced sound ; from that doubt⁶ is produced ; from that is produced determination. This (is what) they know as the sevenfold production. In this very way was it⁷ comprehended by the ancients. Becoming perfected by the perfect sacrifice⁸, they were perfectly filled with light.'

¹ The next clause explains this ; that which is to be smelt is earth, and so on throughout. The men who sacrifice all sensuous objects, get such powers that they can create the objects whenever they like. As to 'in their wombs,' see Yoga Bhāshya, p. 108.

² I. e. are so treated in the above allegory.

³ I. e. the Brahman.

⁴ I. e. when the sacrificer wishes, as stated in note 1.

⁵ That principle—viz. the Brahman.

⁶ This is the operation of the mind, see Gītā, p. 57 note.

⁷ The Brahman, Arguna Misra. Or it may be the 'sevenfold production.'

⁸ The wholesale sacrifice of all sensuous perceptions. The

CHAPTER VI.

The Brâhmaṇa said :

On this, too, they relate this ancient story. Learn now of what description is the institution of the ten sacrificial priests¹. The ear², the skin, the two eyes, the tongue, the nose, the two feet, the two hands, speech, the genital organ, and the anus, these, verily, are ten sacrificial priests, O beautiful one! Sound, touch, colour, and taste, smell, words, action, motion, and the discharge of semen, urine, and excrement, these are the ten oblations. The quarters, wind, sun, moon, earth and fire, and Vishṇu also, Indra, Prajāpati, and Mitra, these, O beautiful one! are the ten fires³. The ten organs are the makers of the offering; the offerings are ten, O beautiful one! Objects of sense, verily, are the fuel; and they are offered up into the ten fires. The mind is the ladle⁴; and the wealth is the pure, highest knowledge⁵. (Thus) we have heard, was the universe duly divided⁶. And the mind, which is the instru-

root corresponding with perfect occurs three times in the original, hence the repetition of perfect above.

¹ Cf. *Taittirīya-brâhmaṇa*, p. 411, and *Âraṇyaka*, p. 281.

² Cf. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 459. The reading in the printed edition of Bombay is defective here.

³ See p. 337 seq., where all this is more fully explained. And cf. the analogous Buddhistic doctrine stated at *Lalita Vistara* (Translation by Dr. R. Mitra), p. 11.

⁴ See *Taittirīya-âraṇyaka* loc. cit., and cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 61. 'The wealth' probably means the *Dakṣhiṇâ* to be given to the priests, which is mentioned at *Gîtâ*, p. 119.

⁵ The 'priests' here being the senses, the knowledge would accrue to them, as to which cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 108.

⁶ See note 3.

ment of knowledge, requires everything knowable¹ (as its offering). The mind is within the body the upholder of the frame, and the knower is the upholder of the body². That³ upholder of the body is the Gârhapatya fire; from that another is produced, and the mind which is the Âhavanīya; and into this the offering is thrown. Then the lord of speech was produced⁴; that (lord of speech) looks up to the mind. First, verily, are words produced; and the mind runs after them.

¹ Each sense can only offer up its own perceptions—the mind offers up all knowledge whatever.

² Arguna Misra says this is an implied simile, the mind is an upholder of the body as the 'knower' or self is.

³ Arguna Misra says this means 'the mind.' I think it better to take it here as the self (see p. 238 *supra*), to which the 'mind' and the 'other,' mentioned further on, would be subordinate; the 'other' Arguna Misra renders by the 'group of the senses.' The senses are compared to fires at Gîtâ, p. 61. The passage at Taittiriya-âraṇyaka above cited refers only to the Gârhapatya and Âhavanīya fires. Nilakanṭha's text and explanation of this passage are, to my mind, not nearly so satisfactory as Arguna Misra's.

⁴ In the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa and Âraṇyaka loc. cit., the equivalent of the original word for 'lord of speech' here occurs, viz. Vâkpati for Vâkṣpati here; but that is there described as the Hotrī priest, and speech itself as the Vedī or altar. The commentator there interprets 'lord of speech' to mean the wind which causes vocal activity, and resides in the throat, palate, &c. As to mind and speech, see also *Khândogya*, pp. 285-441, and comments of Saṅkara there. The meaning of this passage, however, is not by any means clear to my mind. The *Dasahotrī* mantras in the Taittirīya are stated to be the mantras of the Ishī, or sacrifice, performed by Pragâpati for creation. It is possible, then, that the meaning here is, that speech which is to be learnt by the pupil, as stated further on—namely, the Vedas—was first produced from that Ishī (cf. *Kullûka* on *Manu* I, 21). But to understand that speech, mind is necessary; hence it is said to look up to the mind. The Brāhmaṇa's wife, however, seems to understand speech as ordinary speech, hence her question.

The Brāhmaṇa's wife said :

How did speech come into existence first, and how did the mind come into existence afterwards, seeing that words are uttered (after they have been) thought over by the mind? By means of what experience does intelligence come to the mind, and (though) developed, does not comprehend¹? What verily obstructs it?

The Brāhmaṇa said :

The Apāna becoming lord changes it into the state of the Apāna in consequence. That is called the movement of the mind, and hence the mind is in need (of it)². But since you ask me a question regarding speech and mind, I will relate to you a dialogue between themselves. Both speech and mind went to the self of all beings³ and spoke (to him thus), 'Say which of us is superior; destroy our doubts, O lord!' Thereupon the lord positively said to speech, 'Mind (is superior).' But speech thereupon said to him, 'I, verily, yield (you) your desires⁴.'

¹ This, again, is to my mind very hard to understand. The original word for 'intelligence' is *mati*, which at *K'hândogya*, p. 514, Śaṅkara interprets thus: 'intelligence is pondering, application to (literally, respect for) the subject of thought.' The original for 'developed,' Arguna Misra renders by 'mixed or assimilated with;' and 'does not comprehend,' he takes to mean 'does not understand—speech or words.' This question appears to be suggested by the last words of the previous speech.

² These two sentences are again very obscure. Nilakanṭha, as usual, deserts his original, giving peculiar meanings to the words without producing any authority. Arguna Misra is very meagre, and besides the MS. is very incorrect. See p. 264, note 5 *infra*.

³ I. e. Prajāpati, says Arguna Misra, which seems to be justified by the sequel. Nilakanṭha takes it to mean the individual self, which doubtless is its meaning elsewhere, e. g. Mairi, p. 56.

⁴ I. e. speech conveys information on all matters, Arguna Misra;

The Brâhmana¹ said :

Know, that (in) my (view), there are two minds², immovable and also movable. The immovable, verily, is with me ; the movable is in your dominion. Whatever mantra, or letter, or tone goes to your dominion, that indeed is the movable mind³. To that you are superior. But inasmuch, O beautiful one! as you came personally to speak to me (in the way you did)⁴, therefore, O Sarasvatî! you shall never speak after (hard) exhalations⁵. The goddess speech, verily, dwelt always between the Prâna and Apâna⁶. But, O noble one! going with the Apâna

as the means of acquiring desired fruit, visible or invisible, is learnt by speech, *Nilakantha*. Cf. as to all this, *Bṛhadâraṇyaka-upanishad*, pp. 50 seq. and 261.

¹ I.e. *Nilakantha* says, 'the Brâhmana named mind,' alluding apparently to p. 310 infra. But the reading of some of the MSS., viz. Brahman for the Brâhmana, seems preferable, having regard to what follows. Apparently, the Brâhmana's own speech should begin at 'The goddess speech' further on.

² *Nilakantha* says, immovable=to be understood by the external senses ; movable=not perceptible by senses, such as heaven, &c., which is not quite intelligible. Arguna Misra says, the immovable mind is that of the teacher, which is fixed, as it has not to learn or acquire anything, while that of the pupil is movable as acquiring new impressions and knowledge.

³ I.e. it is the movable mind which takes cognisance of the significations of all mantras (sacred texts), letters, tones, in which, I presume, sacred instruction is conveyed. To this mind, speech is superior, as that mind only works on what speech places before it ; but the mind which is 'with' Pragâpati, is superior to speech as it is not dependent on speech like the other.

⁴ I.e. proudly, about her being the giver of desires to Brahman.

⁵ I.e., says Arguna Misra, the words will not come out with the Prâna life-wind and convey any sense to the hearer, but will be absorbed down into the Apâna life-wind, and not be articulated as speech at all. Cf. Kaushitaki, p. 41 ; *Kaṭha*, p. 184 (with glosses) ; and *Khândogya*, p. 42.

⁶ I.e., I presume, was dependent on the two life-winds named.

wind¹, though impelled, (in consequence of) being without the *Prāṇa*, she ran up to *Pragāpati*, saying, 'Be pleased², O venerable sir!' Then³ the *Prāṇa* appeared again nourishing speech. And therefore speech never speaks after (hard) exhalation. It is always noisy or noiseless. Of those two, the noiseless is superior to the noisy⁴ (speech). This excellent (speech), like a cow, yields milk⁵, and speaking of the Brahman it always produces the eternal (emancipation). This cow-like speech, O you of a bright smile! is divine, with divine⁶ power. Observe the difference of (its) two subtle, flowing (forms)⁷.

The *Brāhmaṇa*'s wife said :

What did the goddess of speech say on that occasion in days of old, when, though (she was) impelled with a desire to speak, words could not be uttered?

The *Brāhmaṇa* said :

The (speech) which is produced in the body by

Cf. p. 353 *infra*. For this sense of the word 'between,' see p. 258 *supra*, and *Khândogya-upanishad*, p. 623.

¹ And not with the *Prāṇa*, so as to be articulated. Cf. p. 264.

² I. e. to withdraw the 'curse' pronounced, as above stated.

³ After the curse was withdrawn, says *Arguna Mirra*. Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 317.

⁴ Since, says *Arguna Mirra*, noiseless speech is the source of all words—*Vānmaya*. Perhaps we may compare *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* (*Haug*), p. 47.

⁵ Viz. *Vānmaya* ; milk, as a source of pleasure.

⁶ I. e. enlightening, *Arguna Mirra*. But, perhaps, the translation should be, 'has powers divine and not divine.' As to this, cf. *Sāṅkhya Bhāṣya* on III, 41, and *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī*, p. 118, and *Wilson's Sāṅkhya Kārikā*, p. 37 (*Sanskrit*), and *Svetāśvatara*, p. 284 (gloss).

⁷ *Arguna Mirra* refers to a 'Satapatha text' in praise of the subtle speech. I cannot trace the text. But see *Nirukta* (*Roth*), pp. 167-187.

means of the *Prāṇa* ¹, and which then goes into the *Apāna*, and then becoming assimilated with the *Udāna* leaves the body ², and with the *Vyāna* envelopes all the quarters ³, then (finally) dwells in the *Samāna* ⁴. So speech formerly spoke. Hence the mind is distinguished by reason of its being immovable, and the goddess distinguished by reason of her being movable ⁵.

CHAPTER VII.

The *Brāhmaṇa* said :

On this, too, O beautiful one! they relate this ancient story, (which shows) of what description is the institution of the seven sacrificial priests ⁶. The

¹ Cf. *Āhāndogya*, p. 285, and the passage there quoted by *Saṅkara* as well as *Ānandagiri's* gloss. And see, too, p. 353 *infra*.

² Viz. the part of it which specially appertains to speech—the throat, &c.

³ All the *nāḍīs* or passages of the body, *Arguna Misra*.

⁴ I. e. at the navel in the form of sound, as the material cause of all words. There and in that condition speech dwells, after going through the body, as above stated. There, adds *Arguna Misra*, devotees are to meditate on speech.

⁵ This is not quite clear, but the meaning seems to be, that the merit of the immovable mind consists in its unchangeability, and that of speech in being the cause of variations in the movable mind by conveying new knowledge and new impressions. Cf. on this result, *Āhāndogya-upanishad*, p. 482.

⁶ *Arguna Misra* says, the last chapter explained *Prāṇāyāma*, and this explains *Pratyāhāra*. *Prāṇāyāma* is the restraint of the life-winds, *Pratyāhāra* that of the senses, according to the *Yoga* philosophy (see the quotation in the commentary at *Yoga-sūtra* III, 1, and see also pp. 141–145). Cf. also *Gītā*, p. 61. The *Sapta-hotri-vidhāna* as taught in the *Taittiriya-brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka* is to be found a few pages after the pages referred to for the *Dasahotri-vidhāna* at p. 261 *supra*. And the other *Vidhānas* also are to be found in the same parts of those books.

nose, and the eye, and the tongue, and the skin, and the ear as the fifth, mind and understanding, these are the seven sacrificial priests separately stationed. Dwelling in a minute space, they do not perceive each other. Do you, verily, O beautiful one! learn about these sacrificial priests, (which are) seven according to (their several) natures.

The Brāhmaṇa's wife said :

How (is it) these do not perceive each other, dwelling (as they do) in a minute space? What are their natures, O venerable sir? Tell me this, O lord!

The Brāhmaṇa said :

Not knowing the qualities (of anything) is ignorance (of it). Knowledge of the qualities is knowledge. And these never know the qualities of each other. The tongue, the eye, the ear likewise, the skin, the mind, and the understanding also, do not apprehend smells, the nose apprehends them. The nose, the eye, the ear likewise, the skin, the mind, and the understanding also, do not apprehend tastes, the tongue apprehends them. The nose, the tongue, the ear likewise, the skin, the mind, and the understanding also, do not apprehend colours, the eye apprehends them. The nose, the tongue, and next the eye, the ear, the understanding, the mind likewise, do not apprehend (objects of) touch, the skin apprehends them. The nose, the tongue, and the eye, the skin, the mind, and the understanding also, do not apprehend sounds, the ear apprehends them. The nose, the tongue, and the eye, the skin, the ear, and the understanding also, do not apprehend doubt, the mind apprehends it. The nose, the tongue, and the eye, the skin, the ear, and the mind

also, do not apprehend final determination, the understanding apprehends it. On this, too, they relate this ancient story,—a dialogue, O beautiful one! between the senses and the mind.

The mind said :

The nose smells not without me, the tongue does not perceive taste, the eye does not take in colour, the skin does not become aware of any (object of) touch. Without me, the ear does not in any way hear sound. I am the eternal chief among all elements¹. Without me, the senses never shine, like an empty dwelling, or like fires the flames of which are extinct. Without me, all beings, like fuel half dried and half moist, fail to apprehend qualities or objects, even with the senses exerting themselves².

The senses said :

This would be true as you believe, if you, without us, enjoyed the enjoyments (derived from) our objects³. If when we are extinct, (there is) pleasure and support of life, and if you enjoy enjoyments, then what you believe is true; or if when we are absorbed⁴, and objects are standing, you enjoy objects according to their natures by the mere operation of the mind.

¹ Cf. Kaushîtaki-upanishad, p. 93; *Khândogya*, p. 297; *Maitrî*, p. 158; and *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 284. The passages in the last two works seem to be identical ones.

² I. e. in their respective operations.

³ The implication, of course, is, as Arguna Misra says, that this is not so, as what is not perceived by the senses cannot be the object of the mind's operations,—a proposition which reminds one of the maxim, 'Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuerit in sensu,' apparently without Leibnitz's limitation of it. Cf. Archbishop Thomson's *Laws of Thought*, p. 52.

⁴ As in sleep, &c.

If again you think your power over our objects is constant¹, then take in colours by the nose, take in tastes by the eye, take in smells by the ear, take in (objects of) touch by the tongue, and take in sounds by the skin, and also (objects of)² touch by the understanding. For those who are powerful have no rules (to govern them); rules are for the weak. You should accept enjoyments unenjoyed before; you ought not to enjoy what has been tasted³ (by others). As a pupil goes to a preceptor for Vedic learning, and having acquired Vedic learning from him, performs the directions of the Vedic texts, so you treat as yours⁴ objects shown⁵ by us, both past and future⁶, in sleep and likewise wakefulness. Besides, when creatures of little intelligence are distracted in mind, life is seen to be supported, when our objects⁷ perform their functions. And even after having carried on numerous mental operations, and indulged in dreams, a creature, when troubled by desire to enjoy, does run to objects of sense only. One entering upon enjoyments, resulting from mental operations (alone), and not connected with objects

¹ I.e. if you can enjoy objects independently of the senses, whenever you choose to perform your operations. This, says Arguna Mirra, meets an objection which might be made, that the mind at the time stated does not desire objects.

² Sic in original. It comes twice.

³ Eating what has been tasted by another is a cause of degradation. Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 81; *Maitrî*, p. 103; and p. 363 *infra*.

⁴ You incorrectly attribute to yourself the quality of apprehending them.

⁵ I.e. presented before you by us.

⁶ This is not quite clear. Arguna Mirra has, 'not past, not future;' literally, 'not come, not gone.'

⁷ Viz. smell, sound, &c.; not by the mere operations of the mind, but by obtaining the objects, is life supported.

of sense, (which is) like entering a house without a door¹, always meets death, on the exhaustion of the life-winds², as a fire which is kindled (is extinguished) on the exhaustion of fuel. Granted, that we have connexions with our (respective) qualities, and granted that we have no perception of each other's qualities; still, without us, you have no perception³, and so long no happiness can accrue to you.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Brāhmaṇa said :

On this, too, they relate an ancient story, O beautiful one! (showing) of what description is the institution of the five sacrificial priests. The learned know this to be a great principle, that the Prāṇa and the Apāna, and the Udāna, and also the Samāna and the Vyāna, are the five sacrificial priests.

The Brāhmaṇa's wife said :

My former belief was that the sacrificial priests were seven by (their) nature⁴. State how the great principle is that there are verily five sacrificial priests⁵.

¹ The senses are the doors of the house here, as they are among the doors of the city at Gītā, p. 65.

² Owing to the want of food, &c. Cf. Maitrī, p. 112, and *Khândogya*, p. 422.

³ Perception of pleasure, says Arguna Misra; but he takes the subsequent clause to mean this, 'and without you no pleasure accrues to us either.' The text is here in an unsatisfactory state.

⁴ As stated in the last chapter; some MSS. read 'your' for 'my' at the beginning of the sentence.

⁵ Arguna Misra says that in this *Paññahotri-vidhāna* the five chief *Hotris* only are stated for briefly explaining the *Prāṇāyāma*.

The Brâhmaṇa said :

The wind prepared by the Prâṇa afterwards becomes the Apâna. The wind prepared in the Apâna then works as the Vyâna. The wind prepared by the Vyâna works as the Udâna. And the wind prepared in the Udâna is produced as Samâna¹. They formerly went to the grandsire, who was born first, and said to him, 'Tell us which is greatest among us. He shall be the greatest among us².'

Brahman said :

He, verily, is the greatest, who being extinct, all the life-winds in the body of living creatures become extinct; and on whose moving about, they again move about. (Now) go where (you) like.

The Prâṇa said :

When I am extinct, all the life-winds in the body

¹ Arguna Misra says, 'The wind going to the Prâṇa, and being obstructed in upward progress by the Prâṇa, goes to the Apâna, and then unable to go upwards or downwards, enters the passages or nâḍis of the body and becomes Vyâna. In the same way Udâna, by the collision of the two, produces sound in the throat, and depends on Prâṇa and Apâna; so, too, the Samâna dwelling in the navel and kindling the gastric fire is also dependent on those two.' The meaning seems to be that one life-wind is distributed in the different places, and gets different names, as stated, in the order mentioned. See Maitrî, p. 28.

² A similar visit on the part of the Prâṇas (who, however, are not there the life-winds only, but the Prâṇa life-wind and the active organs) to Pragâpati is mentioned at *Bṛihadâraṇyaka-upanishad*, p. 1016, and *Khândogya*, p. 297. Cf. also *Prama*, p. 178; *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 317; and *Kaushîtaki*, p. 63. See also, generally, as to the life-winds and their functions, *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 280, and *Śaṅkara's* comment there; *Yoga-sûtras* III, 38, and comment; *Cowell's* note at *Maitrî*, p. 247; *Sânti Parvan* (*Moksha Dharma*), chap. 184, st. 24-25; chap. 185, st. 1 seq.; and p. 258 supra.

of living creatures become extinct; and on my moving about, they again move about. I am the greatest. See I am extinct!

The Brâhmaṇa said :

Then the Prâṇa became extinct, and again moved about. Then the Samâna and Udâna also¹, O beautiful one! spoke these words, 'You do not pervade all this here as we do. You are not the greatest among us, O Prâṇa, because the Apâna is subject to you².' The Prâṇa again moved about³, and the Apâna⁴ said to him.

The Apâna said :

When I am extinct, all the life-winds in the body of living creatures become extinct; and on my moving about, they again move about. I am the greatest. See I am extinct!

The Brâhmaṇa said :

Then the Vyâna and the Udâna addressed him who was speaking (thus): 'You are not the greatest, O Apâna! because the Prâṇa is subject to you.' Then the Apâna moved about, and the Vyâna spoke to him: 'I am the greatest among (you) all. Hear the reason why. When I am extinct, all the life-winds in the body of living creatures become extinct.

¹ Arguna Misra says, Vyâna and Apâna also by force of the two 'ands' which occur in the original; and so in other places too.

² Arguna Misra says on this, 'The Prâṇa moves upwards through the help of the Apâna. If it moved downwards, it would be simply absorbed into the Apâna.'

³ I.e. recommenced its proper operation in its proper place.

⁴ And the other life-winds also, Arguna Misra says, the name Prâṇa being merely 'indicative,' as the phrase is, of the class to which it belongs.

And on my moving about, they again move about. I am the greatest. See I am extinct!

The Brāhmaṇa said :

Then the Vyāna became extinct, and again moved about. And the Prāṇa and Apāna, and the Udāna, and the Samāna, spoke to him, 'You are not the greatest among us, O Vyāna! because the Samāna¹ is subject to you.' The Vyāna moved about again, and the Samāna spoke again. 'I am the greatest among (you) all. Hear the reason why. When I am extinct, all the life-winds in the body of living creatures become extinct; and on my moving about, they again move about. I am the greatest. See I am extinct!' Then the Samāna moved about, and the Udāna said to him: 'I am the greatest among (you) all. Hear the reason why. When I am extinct, all the life-winds in the body of living creatures become extinct; and on my moving about, they again move about. I am the greatest. See I am extinct!' Then the Udāna became extinct, and again moved about. And the Prāṇa and Apāna, and the Samāna, and the Vyāna also, spoke to him: 'O Udāna! you are not the greatest. The Vyāna² only is subject to you.'

The Brāhmaṇa said :

Then Brahman, the lord of (all) creatures, said to them who were assembled together: 'You are all greatest, and not greatest³. You are all possessed

¹ Because the Samāna helps in the digestion of the food which afterwards goes to the Vyāna for distribution through the nāḍīs.

² Because the Udāna is able to generate sound after the nāḍīs are filled up by the Vyāna.

³ 'Not greatest' because none of them is independent of the other. 'Greatest' Arguna Misra renders by 'superior to objects.'

of one another's qualities¹. All are greatest in their own spheres, and all support one another. There is one unmoving² (life-wind). There are others moving about, (which are) five, owing to (their) specific qualities. My own self is one only³, (but) accumulated in numerous (forms). Being friendly with one another, and pleasing one another, go away happily. Welfare be to you ! Support one another.'

CHAPTER IX.

The Brâhmana said :

On this, too, they relate this ancient story, a dialogue between Nârada and the sage Devamata.

Devamata said :

When a creature is about to be born, what comes into existence first, his Prâna, or Apâna, or Samâna, or Vyâna, or else Udâna ?

Nârada said :

By whichever the creature is produced, that which is other than this first comes to him. And the pairs of the life-winds should be understood, which (move) upwards, or downwards, or transversely.

¹ This is not quite clear. I presume it means that each one has the generic qualities which make the others great in their own spheres ; but the specific qualities are different.

² The one life-wind is supposed here to be generally unmoving, but its distribution among the different parts of the body as specified, for instance, in the commentary on the Yoga-sûtra III, 38, gives it the different names. The expression does not seem to be quite accurate for this, which nevertheless seems to be the true sense.

³ Another reading is, 'That one is my own self.' Cf. Maitri, pp. 28 seq., 105, and Brâhadâraṇyaka, p. 169.

Devamata said :

By which (of the life-winds) is a creature produced? and which (of them) first comes to him? Explain to me also the pairs of the life-winds, which (move) upwards, or downwards, or transversely.

Nârada said :

Pleasure is produced from a mental operation¹, and (it) is also produced from a sound, (it) is also produced from taste, and (it) is also produced from colour, and (it) is also produced from touch, and (it) is also produced from smell. This is the effect² of the Udâna ; the pleasure is produced from union³. From desire the semen is produced ; and from the semen is produced menstrual excretion. The semen and the blood are produced by the Samâna and the Vyâna in common⁴. From the combination of the semen and the blood, the Prâna comes first into operation ; and the semen being developed by the Prâna, the Apâna then comes into operation. The pair Prâna and Apâna go upwards and downwards, and the Samâna and Vyâna are called the pair (moving) transversely. It is the teaching of the

¹ I.e. desire. 'Sound' = recollection of a woman's voice ; 'taste,' scil. of chastity ; 'colour' = the beauty of a woman, Arguna Misra. Cf. Âpastamba I, 2, 7, 8, and Lalita Vistara, p. 19.

² Literally, 'form,' which Arguna Misra interprets to mean effect, and adds, 'The Udâna causes mental activity, and by mental activity sound &c. are apprehended.'

³ I.e. of Udâna and mind, Arguna Misra ; adding, 'the result is that a creature is produced by the Udâna.'

⁴ Or, perhaps, generally, that is to say, the store of them, the specific semen being produced from desire, as before stated. The Samâna's function is the digestion of food, and that of the Vyâna is the distribution of the digested food to the whole body through the nâdis, hence the proposition in the text.

Veda, that the fire verily is all the deities¹, and knowledge (of it) arises among Brāhmaṇas, being accompanied by intelligence². The smoke of that (fire), which is of excellent glory, (appears) in the shape of (the quality of) darkness; (its) ashes, (the quality of) passion; and (the quality of) goodness is that in connexion with it³, in which the offering is thrown. Those who understand the sacrifice understand the Samāna and the Vyāna as the principal (offering). The Prāṇa and Apāna are portions⁴ of the offering of clarified butter, and between them is the fire. That is the excellent seat of the Udāna as understood by Brāhmaṇas⁵. As to that which is distinct from these pairs⁶, hear me speak about

¹ Cf. *inter alia*, Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (Haug's ed.), p. 1.

² Arguna Misra says intelligence means 'discussion, or argument'. The connexion of this with what has gone before, according to Arguna Misra, is this, that the author having first stated the five Hotris fully, now explains in what the Prāṇa and Apāna are to be offered up for acquiring the Prāṇāyama. The fire he takes to mean the self. Cf. what has been said about Vaisvānara above, p. 259.

³ That is to say, the flame, I take it. He is drawing out here the figure of the fire.

⁴ These are only a subordinate part of the offering, called Āgyabhāga. They are called subordinate, I suppose, as the operations of the Samāna and Vyāna are more practically important for vitality. The fire is the self. The place of the principal offering is between the Āgyabhāgas, as stated by Arguna Misra.

⁵ The Udāna is here treated as the life-wind into which the others are to be offered up. See p. 258, and note 8 there.

⁶ The next three sentences seem to indicate what is to be destroyed in common with the life-winds. One has to get rid of all notions about day and night, good and evil, existence and non-existence, and then final emancipation is reached. The fire, which is common to all the passages, stands for the self; into that apparently all the ideas of time, and good and evil, and so forth, are to be offered as the life-winds are; and that fire stands in the place of the Udāna, for this purpose, as into the last all the other life-winds

that. Day and night are a pair, between them is the fire. That is the excellent seat of the Udâna as understood by Brâhmaṇas. That which exists and that which does not exist are a pair, between them is the fire. That is the excellent seat of the Udâna as understood by Brâhmaṇas. The two—good and evil—are a pair, between them is the fire. That is the excellent seat of the Udâna as understood by Brâhmaṇas. First¹, the Samâna and Vyâna, their function² is performed: then, secondly, the Samâna comes into operation again. Then the Vâmadevya³ for tranquillity, and tranquillity is the eternal Brahman. This is the excellent seat of the Udâna as understood by Brâhmaṇas.

CHAPTER X.

On this, too, they relate an ancient story (showing) of what nature is the institution of the *Kâturhotra*⁴. The due performance of it in its entirety is now taught. Hear me, O good woman! state this won-

have to be offered. As to that which exists, &c., cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 103, and p. 370, note 9 *infra*. As to good and evil and generally, cf. *Kâṇḍogya*, p. 60; *Kaushîtaki*, p. 19. They are nothing to one who knows the Brahman. Day and night *Arguna Mirra* takes to mean the *Idâ* and *Pingalâ nâdis*, between which is the *Sushumâ*, as they are connected with the sun and moon. But the sense of the whole passage is far from clear.

¹ *Arguna Mirra* understands these to be three Savanas.

² Of taking into the *nâdis* the food digested in the night, this is the morning Savana; the afternoon Savana is the kindling of the gastric fire for digesting new food.

³ The Vâmadevya is a *sûkta* beginning '*Kayâ narâtrâ*' (*Rv.* IV, 31, 1). The singing of it is the third Savana, *Arguna Mirra*. And see *Taittirîya-âraṇyaka*, p. 889.

⁴ Cf. *Aitareya-brâhmaṇa* (*Haug*), pp. 132, 133.

derful mystery. The instrument, the action, the agent, and emancipation¹, these, indeed, O you of a (pure) heart! are the four *Hotrīs* by whom this universe is enveloped. Hear also the assignment of causes exhaustively². The nose, and the tongue, and the eye, and the skin, and the ear as the fifth, mind and understanding, these seven should be understood to be the causes of (the knowledge of³) qualities. Smell, and taste, and colour, sound, and touch as the fifth, the object of the mental operation and the object of the understanding⁴, these seven are causes of action. He who smells, he who eats, he who sees, he who speaks, and he who hears as the fifth, he who thinks, and he who understands, these seven should be understood to be the causes of the agents⁵. These⁶, being possessed of qualities⁷, enjoy their own qualities, agreeable and disagreeable. And I am here devoid of qualities. Thus these seven are the causes of emancipation⁸. And among the learned who understand (everything), the

¹ Cf. as to the three first, *Gitā*, p. 123. They are the four categories, to one or other of which everything in the world may be referred.

² The texts here differ. *Arguna Misra*'s reading he interprets to mean 'the subjugation of these *Hotrīs*.' The reading followed in the text seems to some extent to be supported by the sequel. But the passage altogether is not very clear.

³ So *Arguna Misra*—through these the knowledge of the qualities of objects of sense is acquired.

⁴ The sensations, or perceptions, referred to lead to action.

⁵ This seems to mean, that the powers of smelling, &c., when attributed to the self, make him appear as an agent, as an active principle.

⁶ I. e. action, agent, and instrument, *Arguna Misra*.

⁷ I. e. the three, goodness, passion, and darkness.

⁸ It is these seven from which the self is to be emancipated. 'I' must mean the self, not the *Brāhmaṇa* who speaks.

qualities¹ which are in the position of the deities, each in its own place, always enjoy the offering according to prescribed rules. To him who is not learned, eating various (kinds of) food, the (feeling of this or that being) mine adheres. And cooking food for himself, he, through the (feeling of this or that being) mine, is ruined². The eating of that which should not be eaten, and drinking of intoxicating drinks also destroys him. He destroys the food, and destroying that food he is destroyed in return. The learned man, being (himself) a ruler, destroying this food again produces it³. And not even a trifling obstacle⁴ arises to him from that food. Whatever is thought by the mind⁵, whatever is spoken by speech, whatever is heard by the ear, whatever is seen by the eye, whatever is touched by the sense of touch, and whatever is smelt by the nose, absorbing all these offerings from all sides, together with those (senses) which with the mind are six⁶, my fire⁷ of (high) qualifications⁸, shines dwelling within the body. My sacrifice of concentration of mind is in progress, the performance of which yields the fire⁹ of knowledge ;

¹ I. e., I presume, the senses. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 55. The learned do not suppose their self to have aught to do with them. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 64.

² Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 53 ; *Manu* III, 118.

³ His knowledge gives him this power. He is not 'destroyed' by the food as the other man is. *Nilakantha* compares *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 884. See, too, p. 260, note 1 supra.

⁴ I. e. mischief owing to the destruction of life necessary for getting food, says *Nilakantha* quoting *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 913.

⁵ This includes the operation of the understanding also. *Nilakantha* says this verse explains what the word 'food' means here.

⁶ For the phrase cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 112.

⁷ That is to say, my self, *Arguna* Misra. See p. 259, note 3 supra.

⁸ As the objects of sense &c. are all absorbed into it.

⁹ It is called 'fire,' as it burns up all action. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 62.

the Stotra in which, is the upward life-wind; the Sastra, the downward life-wind; and which is very beneficial on account of the abandonment of everything¹; the Brahman priest in which, is the counsellor in all action²; the Hotri priest, the self; the Adhvaryu priest, (the self) whose hymn of praise³ is the offering; the Sastra of the Prasāstri, truth; and the Dakshinā, final emancipation. On this, too, *Rik* verses are recited by the men who understand Nārāyana⁴—the god Nārāyana to whom they formerly offered animal⁵ (offerings). On that Sāman hymns⁶ are sung, of which an illustration is stated⁷.

¹ Arguna Misra's commentary is not intelligible here, so I follow Nilakantha, but diffidently.

² I. e. the mind, say the commentators. 'Mantā' simply is given among the synonyms of Ahāṅkāra at Sāṅkhya-sāra, p. 16.

³ I. e. the actions performed for knowledge of the truth, Arguna Misra.

⁴ Nilakantha refers to a *Rik* 'Tapa āśīd-grihapatiḥ,' and also the famous allegory at the end of the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka. These are cited, he says, as authorities for this 'sacrifice (consisting of) concentration of mind.'

⁵ I. e. the senses, Nilakantha. Arguna Misra compares the whole passage with the Puruṣa Sūkta, which are the *Rik* verses alluded to, according to him. He refers for further explanations to his own commentary on that sūkta of the Rig-veda.

⁶ They sing these hymns, out of the gratification produced by knowledge of the self, says Nilakantha, and he cites Taittirīya-āraṇyaka, p. 749. See also Taittirīya-upanishad, p. 138, and Saṅkara's commentary there.

⁷ The readings of our texts here are not very satisfactory. The illustration is stated, says Nilakantha, whose reading we follow, by the Taittirīyas in the passage referred to in the last note. Arguna Misra's reading means 'such as Tāhu āhu,' which would seem to be the words of the Sāman hymn referred to. But his commentary does not show what the words before him were. The whole figure as drawn out in this passage is not quite clear, though the general sense is pretty intelligible. Cf. the allegories at Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, pp. 132, 133, and at the close of the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka.

O modest one! understand that god Nārāyaṇa, who is the self of everything.

CHAPTER XI.

There is one director¹; there is no second director. I speak concerning him who abides in the heart. This being, the director, dwells in the heart and directs (all creatures). Impelled by that same (being), I move as I am ordered, like water on a declivity. There is one instructor; there is no second (different) from him. I speak concerning him who abides in the heart. Taught by that instructor, all snakes whatever are ever hated in the world². There is one kinsman; there is no second (different) from him. I speak concerning him who abides in the heart. Taught by him kinsmen are possessed of kinsmen³, (and) the seven *Rishis*. O son of *Prithā*⁴! shine in heaven⁵. There

¹ I. e. the Supreme Being, *Arguna Misra*. *Nilakantha* connects this with the preceding chapter by saying that this describes Nārāyaṇa, who is there mentioned. See *Sānti Parvan* (*Moksha Dharma*), chap. 226, st. 8 (Bombay ed.)

² The natural feelings of animosity are caused by the Supreme Being within. Such seems to be the meaning. Cf. *Gītā*, pp. 128, 129. I may remark that *Arguna Misra* seems to interpret the original words, which we have rendered by 'I speak concerning him,' &c., to mean 'I repeat what has been said by,' &c. This does not seem to me to be satisfactory; and it may be added, too, that *Arguna Misra*'s interpretation appears in his gloss not on the first verse, about the 'director,' but only on the second, about the 'instructor.' Hated = full of animosity, *Nilakantha*.

³ I. e. the feeling of kinship arises from his inspiration.

⁴ The poet seems to be nodding here, as this expression cannot form part of the *Brāhmaṇa*'s speech to his wife.

⁵ The seven sages are always mentioned together, and may well be spoken of as types of the feeling of kinship.

is one hearer¹; there is no second (different) from him. I speak concerning him who abides in the heart. Living under that instructor, (according to the proper mode of) living with an instructor, Sakra² acquired immortality in all worlds. There is one enemy; there is no second (different) from him. I speak concerning him who abides in the heart. Taught by that instructor, all snakes whatever are ever hated in the world³.

On this, too, they relate an ancient story, (about the) instruction of the snakes, and the gods, and sages, by Pragâpati. The gods, and sages, and the snakes, and the demons, approaching Pragâpati, said (to him): 'Tell us the highest good.' To them who were inquiring about the highest good, the venerable one said, 'Om⁴, the Brahman, in a single syllable.' Hearing that, they ran away in (various) directions⁵. When they were running for instruction regarding the self, the inclination of the snakes to biting had been already formed. The natural inclination of the demons towards ostentatiousness had been formed. The gods had been engaged in gifts, and the great sages in restraint of the senses. Having had one teacher,

¹ Nilakantha takes this to mean pupil, but it is difficult to reconcile that with the rest of the passage. Arguna Misra renders it by 'the destroyer of every one's doubts.' For that, it will be necessary to take the word as a form of the causative, and not the simple root *śru*, to hear. But see, too, p. 283, 'the instructor . . . the hearer.'

² Cf. Saṁsugâtīya, p. 152, note 1.

³ The words here are nearly the same as before; the commentators give no explanation of the repetition. But see p. 281, note 2.

⁴ Cf. Gîtā, p. 79. The full sense is that from the study of this Om the highest good is attained.

⁵ I. e. to their own dwellings, believing that they had learnt what they wanted.

and having been instructed with one word, the snakes, the gods, the sages, and the demons, all engaged in different¹ (pursuits). One hears what is said (to one) and apprehends it duly; (but even) to one who inquires and extols highly, there is no other instructor². And by his counsel does action afterwards take place. The instructor, the learner, the hearer, and the enemy, are always within the heart. Acting sinfully in the world, he becomes (a man of) sinful conduct. Acting virtuously in the world he becomes (a man of) virtuous conduct³. And he becomes a man of conduct according to his own desire⁴, who, owing to his desires, is given up to the pleasures of the senses. But he who, casting aside vows⁵ and actions, merely adheres to the Brahman, he moving about in the world identifying himself with the Brahman, becomes a Brahmakārin. To him the Brahman itself is the fuel, the Brahman the fire, the Brahman his origin, the Brahman water, the Brahman the instructor. He is *raṭ* in the

¹ The meaning seems to be that the original inclination was not altered by the new instruction received by them. *Nīlakantha* seems to understand the passage differently. What has been rendered in the text by 'when they were running for instruction,' he renders by 'when they were practically carrying out the instruction received by them;' but this rendering seems to omit all consideration of the words 'Pūrvameva tu'—already. Though, therefore, there are one or two circumstances in favour of this construction, I have adopted the other. Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 964.

² The meaning is that the real instructor is within oneself, 'abiding in the heart,' as said before, although instruction may in form be received from one outside, of whom one seeks to learn, and whom one respects (or extols highly, as the text has it), and although such instruction may be well apprehended.

³ Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, pp. 546–853.

⁴ See *Gītā*, p. 117.

⁵ I. e. fasts and other like observances.

Brahman¹. Such is this subtle life as a Brahmatârin understood by the wise. Understanding it they practised it, being instructed by the Kshetragña².

CHAPTER XII.

The Brâhmana said:

I have crossed beyond that very impassable place, in which fancies are the gadflies and mosquitoes³, in which grief and joy are cold and heat, in which delusion is the blinding darkness, in which avarice is the beasts of prey and reptiles, in which desire and anger are the obstructors, the way to which consists in worldly objects, and is to be crossed by one singly⁴. And I have entered the great forest⁵.

The Brâhmana's wife said:

Where is that forest, O very intelligent person! what are the trees (there), and what the rivers, and the hills and mountains; and at what distance is that forest?

¹ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 61. The water is that required for the sacrifice. The words 'the Brahman is his origin' are not quite clear, as being not connected with the figure employed. Perhaps it might be taken otherwise thus, 'the Brahman (is) the fire produced from the Brahman,' this last standing for the *arani*.

² I. e. one who understands the truth, *Nilakantha*; God, *Arguna Misra*. The same sentence winds up two of the following chapters; and at p. 310 *Krishna* says the Kshetragña signifies the supreme self. See Gîtâ, p. 102 seq.

³ Cf. *Lalita Vistara*, p. 44.

⁴ I. e. not with the help of son, wealth, &c., says *Nilakantha*, as each man's salvation after having got into the course of worldly life depends on himself. Cf. *Sânti Parvan* (*Moksha Dharma*), chap. 193, st. 32, and *Manu* IV, 240; obstructor, thief, *Arguna Misra*.

⁵ I. e. the Brahman. *Nilakantha* compares a text from the *Śruti*, 'Kim svid vanam ka u sa vriksha āsa;' see *Rig-veda* X, 31, 7.

The Brāhmaṇa said :

There is nothing else more delightful than that, when there is no distinction from it. There is nothing more afflicting than that, when there is a distinction from it¹. There is nothing smaller than that, there is nothing larger than that². There is nothing more subtle than that; there is no other happiness equal to that. Entering it, the twice-born do not grieve, and do not exult³. They are not afraid of anybody, and nobody is afraid of them. In that forest⁴ are seven large trees⁵, seven fruits, and seven guests; seven hermitages, seven (forms of) concentration, and seven (forms of) initiation. This is the description of the forest. That forest is filled with trees producing splendid flowers and fruits of five colours⁶. That forest

¹ Cf. *Khândogya*, pp. 516, 517.

² Cf. *Sanatsugâtīya*, p. 180 and note there.

³ Cf. as to all this *Gîtâ*, p. 101.

⁴ This is not the forest spoken of before, but what has been before called the 'impassable place,' but which also at p. 286 is by implication called a forest, viz. the course of worldly life.

⁵ Viz. the eye, ear, tongue, skin, and nose, and the mind, and understanding—these are called trees, as being producers of the fruits, namely, the pleasures and pains derived from their several operations; the guests are the powers of each sense personified—they receive the fruits above described; the hermitages are the trees above mentioned, in which the guests take shelter; the seven forms of concentration are the exclusion from the self of the seven functions of the seven senses &c. already referred to; the seven forms of initiation refer to the initiation into the higher life, by repudiating as not one's own the actions of each member out of the group of seven. Cf. as to this *Khândogya*, p. 219, and commentary there.

⁶ Cf. for these different numbers of colours, *Yoga-sûtra* II, 19, and commentary, p. 105, and *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 18. The trees here meant are the *Tanmâtras*, or subtle elements, and the theory is that the *Gandha-tanmâtra*, or subtle element of smell, has five qualities, its

is filled with trees producing flowers and fruits of four colours. That forest is filled with trees producing flowers and fruits of three colours, and mixed. That forest is filled with trees producing flowers and fruits of two colours, and of beautiful colours. That forest is filled with trees producing flowers and fruits of one colour, and fragrant. That forest is filled with two large trees producing numerous flowers and fruits of undistinguished colours¹. There is one fire² here, connected with the Brahman³, and having a good mind⁴. And there is fuel here, (namely) the five senses. The seven (forms of) emancipation from them are the seven (forms of) initiation⁵. The qualities are the fruits, and the guests eat the fruits. There, in various places, the great sages receive hospitality. And when they have been worshipped and have disappeared⁶, another forest shines forth, in which intelligence is the tree, and emancipation the fruit, and which possesses shade (in the form of) tran-

own special one, so to say, and the four special ones of the others; the next is taste, the next colour, the next touch, and the last sound; each has one quality less than its predecessor. See *Yoga-sūtra*, p. 106, and gloss; *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* I, 62; and *Vedānta Paribhāṣā*, p. 45.

¹ These are mind and understanding; the fruits and flowers are here of 'undistinguished colours,' as the text expresses it, since they include the colours of all the fruits of all the other five sets of trees; that is to say, the subject-matter of their operations is sound, taste, &c., the subject-matters of all the senses together. 'Undistinguished colours' is, perhaps, more literally 'of colours not clear.' *Arguna Misra* paraphrases it by 'of variegated colours,' which is no doubt the true ultimate sense.

² The self, *Nīlakanṭha*. See p. 279, note 7 *supra*.

³ I. e., I presume, devoted to the Brahman.

⁴ I. e. true knowledge, *Arguna Misra*. ⁵ See note 5, p. 285.

⁶ I. e. when the senses having worked, as unconnected with the self, are finally absorbed into it. Cf. *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* 49 and *Kaṭha*, p. 151.

quillity, which depends on knowledge, which has contentment for its water, and which has the Kshetragña within for the sun. The good who attain to that, have no fear afterwards. Its end cannot be perceived upwards or downwards or horizontally¹. There always dwell seven females there², with faces (turned) downwards, full of brilliance, and causes of generation. They absorb³ all the higher delights of people, as inconstancy (absorbs) everything⁴. In that same⁵ (principle) the seven perfect sages, together with their chiefs, the richest⁶, abide, and again emerge from the same. Glory, brilliance, and greatness, enlightenment, victory, perfection, and power⁷—these seven rays follow after this same sun. Hills and mountains also are there collected together, and rivers and streams flowing with water produced from the Brahman⁸. And there is the confluence of the rivers in the secluded place⁹ for the

¹ It extends on all sides, its end cannot be perceived on any side.

² These are, according to Arguna Misra, the Mahat, Ahaikāra, and five Tanmātras. Their faces are turned downwards, as they are obstacles in the way upwards, viz. the way of final emancipation; they are brilliant, as they light up the course of worldly life; and hence, too, they are 'causes of generation.' They give birth to the universe.

³ They conceal the higher delight of final emancipation.

⁴ I follow Arguna Misra, but the text is doubtful.

⁵ Viz the Brahman.

⁶ Cf. *Khândogya*, pp. 295-300. The word sages here, as before, means the various organs. See *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 415.

⁷ Glory=renown; brilliance=Brahmic splendour (Brahmategas); perfection=obtaining what is desired; power=not being conquered by others, Arguna Misra. About the sun, see line 3 of text above.

⁸ I. e. contentment. See the second line in the text above.

⁹ I. e. the space in the heart, the sacrifice being that of 'concentration of mind,' *yogayagña*,—*Nilakantha*. A confluence of

sacrifice, whence those who are contented in their own self repair to the divine grandsire himself. Those whose wishes are reduced¹, whose wishes are (fixed) on good vows, whose sins are burnt up by penance, merging the self in the self², devote themselves to Brahman. Those people who understand the forest of knowledge³, praise tranquillity. And aspiring to that forest, they are born so as not to lose courage⁴. Such, indeed, is this holy forest, as understood by Brāhmaṇas. And understanding it, they act (accordingly), being directed by the Kshetragṇa.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Brāhmaṇa said :

I do not smell smells, I perceive no tastes, I see no colour, and I do not touch, nor yet do I hear various sounds, nor even do I entertain any fancies¹. Nature desires objects which are liked; nature hates all (objects) which are hateful². Desire and hatred are born from nature³, as the upward and

downward rivers is very sacred—here the meaning intended seems to be the absorption of all desires by contentment into the heart.

¹ Literally, 'lean.' ² I. e. the body in the soul, Arguna Misra.

³ Knowledge is Brahman, which is described as a forest here, Arguna Misra.

⁴ Cf. Gītā, p. 70.

⁵ This is the name for the operations of the mind.

⁶ The sense is similar to that at Gītā, p. 55. The self has nothing to do with these feelings; the qualities deal with the qualities.

⁷ Cf. Gītā, p. 65. The meaning of nature here, as in the Gītā, is in substance the result of all previous action with which the self has been associated, which result, of course, exists connected not with the self, but with the developments of nature, in the form of body,

downward life-winds, after attaining to the bodies of living creatures. Apart from them, and as the constant entity underlying them, I see the individual self in the body. Dwelling in that (self), I am in no wise attached¹ (to anything) through desire or anger, or old age, or death. Not desiring any object of desire, not hating any evil, there is no taint on my natures², as there is no (taint) of a drop of water on lotuses³. They are inconstant things appertaining to this constant (principle) which looks on various natures. Although actions are performed, the net of enjoyments does not attach itself to it, as the net of the sun's rays does not attach itself to the sky⁴. On this⁵, too, they relate an ancient story, (in the shape of) a dialogue between an Adhvaryu priest and an ascetic. Understand that, O glorious one! Seeing an animal being sprinkled⁶ at a sacrificial ceremony, an ascetic who was sitting (there) spoke to the Adhvaryu, censuring (the act) as destruction of life. The Adhvaryu

senses, &c. The comparison appears to mean that the feelings of desire &c. are, like the life-winds, unconnected with the self, though associated with it, and are both alike manifestations of nature.

¹ *Nīlakanṭha* compares *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 770. Arguna Misra has a different reading, meaning 'liable (to be subjugated).'

² The plural, which is in the original, is unusual. The various aspects of the 'result' stated in p. 288, note 7, being looked at separately, are described as 'natures,' like the leaves of a lotus, which in their ensemble make one lotus.

³ *Lalita Vistara*, p. 2, and p. 64 *supra*.

⁴ The figure seems to be somewhat like that at *Gītā*, p. 82, about the atmosphere and space, which latter remains untainted by the former. Looking on various natures, i.e. as distinct from the self.

⁵ *Viz.* the remaining untainted.

⁶ I.e. with water, preparatory to its being offered up for the sacrifice.

answered him (saying), this goat will not be destroyed. (This) creature will obtain welfare, since the Vedic text is such. For that part of him which is of the earth will go to the earth; whatever in him is produced from water, that will enter water. His eye (will enter) the sun, (his) ear the quarters, and his life-winds likewise the sky¹. There is no offence on my part, adhering (as I do) to the scriptures².

The Ascetic said :

If you perceive (that) good (will) result upon his life being severed (from him), then the sacrifice is for the goat, what benefit (is it) to you? Let the brother, father, mother, and friend (of the goat) give you their consent³; take him (to them) and consult (them), especially as he is dependent. You ought to inquire of those who can give their consent thus. After hearing their consent, (the matter) will be fit for consideration⁴. The life-winds⁵, too, of this goat have gone to their sources, and I think only his unmoving body remains. To those who wish to derive enjoyment from the slaughter (of a living creature), the unconscious body being comparable to fuel, that which is called an animal becomes

¹ Cf. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 542, and p. 337 below.

² Cf. *Khândogya-upanishad*, p. 627, and also *Sāṅkhya Bhāṣya* on *Sūtra* III, 1, 25, p. 774.

³ I.e. for his slaughter, which is to bring welfare to the goat. Arguna Misra says that this is a sort of *reductio ad absurdum*, as the sacrifice is in truth not in the interests of the goat at all.

⁴ Viz. whether the goat should be killed. Without their consent he ought not to be slaughtered; with their consent, it becomes a matter for consideration, Arguna Misra.

⁵ It may also mean the senses, as in the *Khândogya*, p. 297.

the fuel¹. The teaching of the elders² is, that refraining from slaughter (of living creatures) is (the duty) among all duties. We maintain that that action should be performed which involves no slaughter. (Our) proposition is no slaughter (of living creatures). If I spoke further, it would be possible to find fault with your proceedings in many ways³. Always refraining from the slaughter of all beings is what we approve. We substantiate (this) from what is actually visible⁴, we do not rely on what is not visible.

The Adhvaryu said:

You enjoy the earth's quality of fragrance, you drink watery juices, you see the colours of shining bodies, you touch the qualities of the air, you hear the sound produced in space, you think by the mind (on the objects of) mental operations. And all these entities, you believe, have life. You have not (then) abstained from taking life. You are (engaged) in the slaughter (of living creatures)⁵. There is no movement⁶ without slaughter (of living creatures). Or what do you think, O twice-born one?

¹ This is not very clear, but the meaning seems to be that the slaughter is committed for the enjoyment of the sacrificer; the sacrificer only requires fuel, and the slaughtered animal is then used for that purpose.

² Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 627, and next note; and *Gîtâ*, inter alia, p. 114, and p. 348 infra.

³ See *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī*, p. 7.

⁴ I.e. a rule expressly laid down. What is not visible means what is not expressly stated, but is to be derived by inference, and so forth (cf. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 4, 8). The express text is the famous one, 'Na himsyātsarvā bhūtāni.' *Himsā*, which is rendered slaughter here, may mean also 'giving pain' generally.

⁵ This is the *tu quoque* argument. The sustentation of life requires some sort of slaughter.

⁶ I.e. the support of the body, says *Arguna* *Misra*.

The Ascetic said :

The indestructible and the destructible, such is the double manifestation of the self. Of these the indestructible is the existent¹, the manifestation as an individual² (entity) is called the destructible³. The life-winds, the tongue, the mind, and (the quality of) goodness, together with (the quality of) passion⁴, (these make up) the manifestations as individual entities. And to one who is free from these manifestations, who is free from the pairs of opposites, who is devoid of expectations, who is alike to all beings, who is free from (the thought that this or that is) mine, who has subdued his self, and who is released on all hands⁵, there is no fear anywhere⁶.

The Adhvaryu said :

O best of talented men ! one should in this (world)

¹ Arguna Misra takes it otherwise, 'the true nature of the Sat, the self.' *Nīlakanṭha* renders the original by *sadrūpam* without further explanation. This indestructible seems to correspond to that mentioned at *Gītā*, p. 113, which should be considered in connection with *Gītā*, pp. 73, 74. The note at the former page is, perhaps, not quite accurately expressed, as the word 'material cause' conveys some inadmissible associations. Perhaps 'underlying principle' might be a nearer approach to the correct idea. The existent will thus be that which really exists, as it is indestructible.

² Cf. *Gītā*, p. 77. ³ See *Sānti Parvan* (Moksha), ch. 240, st. 31.

⁴ Arguna Misra says, 'The life-winds here are indicative of the operations of the organs of action (as to which see p. 290, note 5 supra), the tongue of the perceptive senses, the mind of the internal activities, the quality of goodness of all sources of pleasure, and passion of all sources of pain,' the last two apparently covering the external world, the previous ones the human activities, internal and external.

⁵ Released scil. from piety or impiety, &c.,—Arguna Misra, who says 'self' in the phrase preceding means mind.

⁶ Because, says Arguna Misra, according to the very authority which says there is sin in slaughter, all sin is destroyed by knowledge. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 64.

dwell in company of good men only¹. For having heard your opinion, my mind is enlightened. O venerable sir! I approach you, in the belief (that you are) the Lord; and I say (to you), O twice-born one! there is no fault (attaching) to me, performing (as I have done) the rites performed by others².

The Brāhmaṇa said:

With this explanation, the ascetic thereafter remained silent, and the Adhvaryu also proceeded with the great sacrifice, freed from delusion. Thus Brāhmaṇas understand the very subtle emancipation to be of this nature, and understanding it, they act (accordingly), being directed by the Kshetragña.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Brāhmaṇa said:

On this³, too, they relate an old story, (in the shape of) a dialogue, O you of a pure heart! between Kārtavīrya and the ocean. (There lived once) a king named Arguna⁴, a descendant of Kṛitavīrya, possessed of a thousand arms, who with his bow conquered the (whole) earth up to the ocean. Once

¹ Cf. Taittirīya-upanishad, p. 40.

² The readings here in the MSS. are not satisfactory. I adopt as the best that which appears to have been before Arguna Misra. The meaning seems to be this:—I have now understood the truth, but I cannot be blamed for having hitherto done that which I saw every one else do. Now I have had the benefit of conversation with a good man, and have become free from my delusion.

³ Namely, that final emancipation is not to be obtained by action, and that slaughter is sinful.

⁴ He is also called a Yogin at Raghuvamśa VI, 38. See Mallināth's commentary there.

on a time, as we have heard, he was walking about near the sea, proud of his strength, and showering hundreds of arrows on the sea. The ocean, saluting him, and with joined hands, said, 'O brave man! do not throw arrows (on me). Say, what shall I do for you? The creatures, who take shelter with me, are being destroyed, O tiger-like king! by the great arrows thrown by you. Give them security, O Lord!'

Arguna said :

If there is anywhere any wielder of the bow equal to me in battle, who might stand against me in the field, name him to me.

The ocean said :

If, O king! you have heard of the great sage Gamadagni, his son is (the) proper (person) to show you due hospitality¹.

Then the king, full of great wrath, went away, and arriving at that hermitage approached Râma only. In company with his kinsmen, he did many (acts) disagreeable to Râma, and caused much trouble to the high-souled Râma. Then the power of Râma, whose power was unbounded, blazed forth, burning the hosts of the enemy, O lotus-eyed one! And then Râma, taking up his axe, hacked away that man of the thousand arms in battle, like a tree of many branches. Seeing him killed and fallen, all (his) kinsmen assembled together, and taking swords and lances, surrounded the descendant of Bhṛigu. Râma also taking up a bow, and hurriedly mounting a chariot, shot away volleys of arrows, and blew away the army of the king. Then some of the

¹ I.e. by giving him what he desired—a 'foeman worthy of his steel' to fight with him.

Kshatriyas, often troubled by fear of the son of Gamadagni, entered mountains and inaccessible places, like antelopes troubled by a lion. And the subjects of those (Kshatriyas) who were not performing their prescribed duties¹ through fear of him, became *Vrishalas*, owing to the disappearance of *Brāhmaṇas*². Thus the *Dravidas*, *Ābhīras*, *Paundras*, together with the *Sābaras*, became *Vrishalas*³, owing to the abandonment of their duties by Kshatriyas. Then when the heroic (children) of Kshatriya women were destroyed again and again, the Kshatriyas, who were produced by the *Brāhmaṇas*⁴, were also destroyed by the son of Gamadagni. At the end of the twenty-first slaughter, a bodiless voice from heaven, which was heard by all people, spoke sweetly to Rāma, 'O Rāma! O Rāma! desist (from this slaughter). What good, dear friend, do you perceive, in taking away the lives of these kinsmen of Kshatriyas over and over again?' Then, too, his grandfathers⁵, with *Rikṭka* as their head, likewise said to the high-souled (Rāma), 'Desist, O noble one⁶!' But Rāma, not forgiving his father's

¹ Viz. the protection of their subjects.

² As the kings failed to protect the people, the *Brāhmaṇas* apparently were nowhere forthcoming.

³ Cf. Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i, pp. 482 seq., 358, 391; vol. ii, p. 423; *Sānti Parvan*, ch. 65, st. 13; ch. 207, st. 42 (*Rāgadharma*).

⁴ As Kshatriyas were required for the protection of the people, the *Brāhmaṇas* procreated them on Kshatriya women. See Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i, p. 451 seq. And as they were the offspring of these anomalous connexions they are described as 'kinsmen of Kshatriyas.' Cf. *Khāndogya*, p. 317; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 1037 and comments there. As to heroic, see Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. iv, p. 302 note.

⁵ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 40, note 1.

⁶ See as to the whole story, Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i, p. 442.

murder, said to those sages, 'You ought not to keep me back from this.'

The *Pitris* said :

O best of victors! you ought not to destroy these kinsmen of Kshatriyas. It is not proper for you, being a *Brāhmaṇa*, to slaughter these kings.

CHAPTER XV.

The *Pitris* said :

On this¹, too, they relate an ancient story; hearing that (story), O best of the twice-born! you should act accordingly. There was (once) a royal sage, named Alarka, whose penance was very great, who understood duty, who was veracious, high-souled, and very firm in his vows. Having with his bow conquered this world as far as the ocean,—having performed very difficult deeds²,—he turned his mind to subtle³ (subjects). While he was sitting at the foot of a tree, O you of great intelligence! his thoughts, abandoning (those) great deeds, turned to subtle (questions).

Alarka said :

My mind is become (too) strong⁴; that conquest is constant in which the mind is conquered. (Though) surrounded by enemies, I shall direct my arrows elsewhere⁵. As by its unsteadiness, it wishes⁶ to

¹ The impropriety or sinfulness of slaughter.

² Such as the subjugation of enemies and so forth.

³ The Brahman, says Nilakantha.

⁴ I.e. too strong to be under control.

⁵ That is to say, elsewhere than towards the external foes with whom he was waging war.

⁶ The text is unsatisfactory here. I adopt Nilakantha's reading.

make all mortals perform action, I will cast very sharp-edged arrows at the mind.

The mind said :

These arrows, O Alarka! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and your vital part being pierced, you will die. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

Hearing that, he then spoke these words after consideration :—

Alarka said :

Smelling very many perfumes, one hankers after them only. Therefore I will cast sharp arrows at the nose.

The nose¹ said :

These arrows, O Alarka! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and your vital part being pierced, you will die. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

Hearing that, he then spoke these words after consideration :—

Alarka said :

Enjoying savory tastes, this (tongue) hankers after

¹ This and the other corresponding words must be understood to refer not to the physical nose and so forth, but the sense seated there. The nose here, for instance, stands for the sense of smell. Nīlakanṭha understands all these words of Alarka as indicating the so-called Ha/ka-yoga, which, he adds, invariably occasions death. As to the throwing of arrows at the mind, he says, it means, 'I will subdue the mind by the restraint of the excretive organs by means of the Ha/ka-yoga.' And finally he says, 'A man, having restrained all the senses by means of the Ha/ka-yoga, merely droops away; becoming deficient in those senses, he does not accomplish his end.'

them only. Therefore I will cast sharp arrows at the tongue.

The tongue said :

These arrows, O Alarka ! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and your vital part being pierced, you will die. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

Hearing that, he then spoke these words after consideration :—

Alarka said :

Touching various (objects of) touch, the skin hankers after them only. Therefore I will tear off the skin by various feathered arrows.

The skin said :

These arrows, O Alarka ! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and your vital part being pierced, you will die. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

Hearing that, he then said after consideration :—

Alarka said :

Hearing various sounds, the (ear) hankers after them only. Therefore I (will) cast sharp arrows at the ear.

The ear said :

These arrows, O Alarka ! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and then you will lose (your) life. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

Hearing that, he then said after consideration :—

Alarka said :

Seeing numerous colours, the eye hankers after them only. Therefore I will destroy the eye with sharp arrows.

The eye said :

These arrows, O Alarka! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and your vital part being pierced, you will die. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

Hearing that, he then said after consideration :—

Alarka said :

This (understanding) forms various determinations by its operation. Therefore I will cast sharp arrows at the understanding.

The understanding said :

These arrows, O Alarka! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and your vital part being pierced, you will die. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

The Brāhmaṇa¹ said :

Then Alarka even there employed himself in a fearful penance² difficult to perform; but he did not obtain any arrows for these seven by his devotions. Then that king deliberated with a mind very intent on one (subject), and after deliberating for a long time, O best of the twice-born! Alarka, the best of talented (men), could not arrive at anything better

¹ Sic in our copies. It should be the *Pitrīs*, seeing that they are relating Alarka's story to Parasurāma.

² Meditation, or pondering, according to *Nīlakaṇṭha*.

than concentration of mind¹. Then directing his mind to one point², he became steady, and applied himself to concentration of mind. And (then) the brave man forthwith destroyed the senses with one arrow; and entering the self by means of concentration of mind, he reached the highest perfection. And the royal sage, amazed, then uttered this verse, 'O! Alas! that we should have engaged in all external (matters); that being possessed of a desire for enjoyments, we should have devoted ourselves before now to sovereignty! I have now subsequently learnt that there is no higher happiness than concentration of mind.' Do you understand this too, O Râma! and do not kill Kshatriyas. Perform a fearful³ penance, thence you will obtain the highest good. Thus spoken to by (his) grandfathers, the noble son of Gamadagni engaged himself in fearful penance, and attained that perfection which is difficult to reach.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Brâhmaṇa said :

There are, verily, three foes in (this) world, and they are stated to be (divided) ninefold, according to qualities. Exultation, pleasure, joy⁴, these three

¹ I.e. the rāga-yoga, says Nilakanṭha, which consists in mere control of the mind. Cf. Sāṅkhya-sāra, p. 39.

² See Yoga-sūtra, p. 45.

³ This means difficult, and occasioning many trials to one who performs it.

⁴ Nilakanṭha says exultation is when one is sure of obtaining what is desired, pleasure when it is obtained, and joy when the thing obtained is enjoyed. Arguna Misra takes a different distinction; but our copy of his commentary is not quite intelligible in

are qualities appertaining to the quality of goodness. Grief, wrath, persistent hatred, these are stated to be qualities appertaining to the quality of passion. Sleep, sloth, and delusion, these three qualities are qualities appertaining to the quality of darkness. Cutting these off by multitudes of arrows¹, a courageous man, free from sloth, having a tranquil self, and senses controlled, is energetic about subjugating others². On this, people who know about ancient times celebrate verses which were sung of old by the king Ambarīsha, who had become tranquil (in mind). When vices³ were in the ascendant, and good (men) were oppressed, Ambarīsha, of great glory, forceably possessed him-

the beginning. Pleasure he takes to mean 'pride felt in supposing oneself to possess some merit,' and joy that produced when impending danger is averted. As to the next triad, the text is again unsatisfactory. The text printed in the edition which contains Nīlakantha's commentary, is 'desire, anger,' &c. There is nothing about them in the commentary. Arguna Misra's text is the one we have adopted. He says, 'grief, pain caused by loss of what is desired; anger, the pain caused by the counteraction of one's attempts to injure another; persistent hatred, the pain caused by believing another to be doing harm to oneself.' Persistent hatred is Nīlakantha's interpretation. I think his interpretation is preferable. The two triads seem to be based on one principle of gradation. The distinctive marks of the three qualities are pleasure, pain, and delusion respectively, and those characterise the three triads stated in the text. See *Sānti Parvan* (Moksha), chap. 194, st. 27 seq.

¹ Tranquillity and so forth, Nīlakantha; practising yoga or concentration of mind, Arguna Misra.

² I.e. external, says Arguna Misra; external foes of one's own emancipation is, I presume, what is meant.

³ Arguna Misra says, 'his own and those of others.' Nīlakantha takes good to mean not men, but tranquillity, &c. The next sentence seems rather to militate against this view, which in itself is not a well-founded one.

self of the kingdom¹. He (then) restraining his own vices, and honouring good men, attained high perfection, and sang these verses: 'I have conquered most vices; destroyed all foes; but there is one, the greatest, vice which should be destroyed and which I have not destroyed—that (vice), being impelled by which, a creature does not attain freedom from desire, and being troubled by desire, understands (nothing) while running into ditches²; (that vice), being impelled by which, a man even does what ought not to be done. That avarice—cut (it) off, cut (it) off with sharp swords. For from avarice³ is born desire; then anxiety comes into existence; and he who desires, mostly acquires qualities appertaining to the quality of passion. Obtaining those, he mostly acquires qualities appertaining to the quality of darkness⁴. When the bodily frame is destroyed, he, owing to these qualities, is born again and again, and engages in action. And at the expiration of life, again with his body dismembered and scattered about, he meets death, and again birth. Therefore, properly perceiving this, and restraining avarice by courage, one should wish for sovereignty in the self. This is sovereignty⁵; there is no other sovereignty here. The self properly understood is itself the sovereign.' Such were

¹ For the good of the people, says Arguna Misra.

² I.e. base actions, Nilakantha.

³ Avarice, according to Arguna Misra, is the belief that one has not got that which one has, and desire is the wish for more and more. Avarice, seems, however, to be the general frame of mind, always wishing for something, never being contented, and desire is the wish for a specific object.

⁴ Which are sources of delusion. Cf. a similar doctrine at Āpāstamba II, 5, 140. ⁵ Nilakantha compares Taittirīya, p. 26.

the verses sung with regard to the great sovereignty, by the glorious Ambartsha, who destroyed the one (chief vice), avarice.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Brāhmaṇa said :

On this¹, too, they relate this ancient story (in the shape of) a dialogue, O you of a pure heart! between a Brāhmaṇa and Ganaka. King Ganaka, by way of punishment, said to a Brāhmaṇa who had fallen into some offence : 'You should not live within my dominions.' Thus spoken to, the Brāhmaṇa then replied to that best of kings : 'Tell me, O king! how far (extend) the dominions which are subject to you. I wish, O Lord! to live in the dominions of another king, and, O master of the earth! I wish to do your bidding according to the Sāstras.' Thus spoken to by that glorious Brāhmaṇa, the king then heaved frequent and warm sighs, and said nothing in reply. While that king of unbounded power was seated, engaged in meditation, a delusion suddenly came upon him, as the planet² upon the sun. Then when the delusion had gone off, the king recovered himself, and after a short while spoke these words to the Brāhmaṇa.

Ganaka said :

Though this country, which is the kingdom of my father and grandfather, is subject (to me), I cannot

¹ On getting rid of the notion that this, that, and the other thing is one's own,—Arguna Misra. Nīlakaṇṭha agrees, and adds also on the subject of cutting off avarice.

² That is to say, Rāhu.

find my domain¹, searching through the (whole) earth. When I did not find it on the earth, I looked for Mithilā; when I did not find it in Mithilā, I looked for my own offspring. When I did not find it among them, then came the delusion on me. Then on the expiration of the delusion, intelligence again came to me. Now I think that there is no domain (of mine), or that everything is my domain. Even this self is not mine, or the whole earth is mine. And as mine, so (is it) that of others too, I believe, O best of the twice-born! Live (here, therefore) while you desire, and enjoy while you live².

The Brāhmaṇa said :

Tell me, what belief you have resorted to, by which, though this country, which is the kingdom of your father and grandfather, is subject to you, you have got rid of (the notion that this or that is) mine. What conviction have you adopted, by which verily you consider your whole domain as not (your) domain, or all as your domain?

Ganaka said :

I understand (all) conditions here, in all affairs, to be terminable³, hence I could not find anything that should be (called) mine⁴. (Considering) whose this

¹ Meaning, apparently, that over which he and no one else has power. He contracts his vision gradually, and finds nothing at all which he can call his own to the exclusion of others. He explains, further on, how he arrives at the alternative conviction stated towards the close of this speech. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (p. 916) he is said to have offered his kingdom to Yāgyavalkya and himself as his slave, after learning the *Brahma-vidyā*. See too Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. iv, p. 426 seq.

² See *Sānti Parvan* (Moksha) I, 13.

³ Conditions of indigence or affluence, *Nilakantha*. Arguna Misra's reading is different.

⁴ There is a familiar verse, ascribed to *Ganaka*, which says, 'If

was, (I thought of) the Vedic text about anybody's property, (hence) I could not find by my intelligence anything that should be (called) mine¹. Resorting to this conviction, I have got rid of (the notion that this or that is) mine. Now hear the conviction, holding which, my domain (appears to me to be) everywhere². I do not desire for myself even smells existing in the nose³. Therefore the earth⁴ being conquered is always subject to me. I do not desire for myself tastes even dwelling in the mouth. Therefore water being conquered is always subject to me. I do not desire for myself the colour (or) light appertaining to the eye. Therefore light being conquered is always subject to me. I do not desire for myself the (feelings of touch) which exist in the skin. Therefore air being conquered is always

Mithilâ is on fire, nothing of mine is burnt (in it).’ The verse occurs in the Mahâbhârata, Sânti Parvan (Moksha Dharma), chap. 178, st. 2, and also chap. 276, st. 4. See too Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. i, p. 429.

¹ This is not clear. I have followed Nîlakantha's text. Arguna Misra's is in the earlier part more intelligible, ‘Whose is this to-day, whose to-morrow?’ But I cannot find that there is any Vedic text to this effect. Nîlakantha cites on his text Îsopanishad, p. 5. The meaning here seems to be, ‘When I considered as to whom the things I saw in my thoughts belonged to, I remembered the Vedic text that one should not wish to obtain another's property, and so, thinking about the matter with that caution, I could not make out that there was anything which I could call my own.’

² This is the alternative conclusion he has come to.

³ The sense of smell enjoys the smell, my self has nothing to do with it. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 55, also Maitrî, pp. 112, 113.

⁴ Whenever there is any smell, it is supposed that particles of earth are there; so the meaning here is ‘all things having the quality of smell are subject to me,’ and so throughout. The objects of sense are all used for the purposes of the prescribed actions, the benefits of which accrue to gods, &c. Cf. Gîtâ, pp. 53, 54, and see also pp. 84, 85.

subject to me. I do not desire for myself sounds even though existing in the ear. Therefore sounds being conquered are always subject to me. I do not desire for myself the mind always within me. Therefore the mind being conquered is always subject to me. All these actions of mine are, verily, for this purpose, (namely) for the gods, the *Pitris*, the *Bhūtas*, together with guests. Then the *Brāhmaṇa*, smiling, again said to *Ganaka*: 'Know me to be Dharma, come here to-day to learn (something) about you¹. You are the one person to turn this wheel, the nave of which is the Brahman², the spoke the understanding, and which does not turn back³, and which is checked by the quality of goodness as its circumference⁴.'

CHAPTER XVIII.

The *Brāhmaṇa* said :

O modest one ! I do not move about in this world in the way which, according to your own understanding, you have guessed. I⁵ am a *Brāhmaṇa*, I am

¹ I.e. to put him to the test. Such examinations are often referred to in our later literature.

² I.e. Veda, says *Arguna Misra*.

³ I.e. says *Arguna Misra*, which leads to the seat from which there is no return. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 112.

⁴ The wheel is the yoga, says *Arguna Misra*. The expression is noteworthy, as being that used of Buddha's teaching. See on that *David's Buddhism*, p. 45.

⁵ The man who has achieved final emancipation has got that, in which the benefits to be derived from the course of life of a *Brāhmaṇa*, &c., are included (see p. 191 *supra*). Hence, says he, the

emancipated, I am a forester, and I likewise perform the duties of a householder, observing vows. I am not such, O beautiful one! as you see me with the eye. I pervade every single thing that is in this world. Whatever creatures there are in the world, movable or not moving, know me to be the destroyer of them as fire is of wood¹. Sovereignty over the whole world, and even over heaven; that, or else this knowledge; (of these two) knowledge is my only wealth². This³ is the path of the Brāhmaṇas, by which those who understand that⁴ proceed, to households, or residence in forests, or, dwelling with preceptors, or among mendicants⁵. With numerous unconfused symbols only one knowledge is approached. And those who, adhering to various symbols and Āśramas, have their understanding full of tranquillity⁶, go to the single entity as rivers to the ocean. This path is traversed by the understanding, not by the body⁷. Actions have a beginning and an end, and the body is tied down by action. Hence, O beautiful one! you

doubt, on which your question is based as to what world you will go to by being joined to me, is wrong. See p. 256 supra.

¹ He is speaking here on the footing of the essential identity of everything. Cf. Gītā, p. 62.

² The expression here is clumsy; the meaning is that he prefers knowledge to sovereignty, if the alternative is offered him.

³ Viz. knowledge.

⁴ I.e. the Brahman.

⁵ These are the four orders or Āśramas.

⁶ The knowledge to be acquired, by whatever symbols the attempt to acquire it is made, is but this, that all is one; and that is acquired certainly when tranquillity has been achieved.

⁷ I.e. by realising the identity of everything, not by the actions performed with the body, which, as he goes on to show, are perishable, and cannot lead to any lasting result.

(need) have no fear occasioned by the other world. With your heart intent upon the real entity, you will certainly come into my self.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Brāhmaṇa's wife said :

This is not possible to be understood by one whose self¹ is frivolous, or by one whose self is not refined ; and my intelligence is very frivolous, and narrow, and confused. Tell me the means by which this knowledge is acquired. I (wish to) learn from you the source from which that knowledge proceeds.

The Brāhmaṇa said :

Know that he who devotes himself to the Brahman is the (lower) Arāṇi, the instructor is the upper Arāṇi. Penance and sacred learning cause the attrition², and from that the fire of knowledge is produced.

The Brāhmaṇa's wife said :

As to this symbol of the Brahman which is denominated the Kshetragnā, where, indeed, is (to be found) a description of it, by which it³ is capable of being comprehended ?

¹ I. e. mind, Arguna Misra.

² Scil. of the Arāṇis (i.e. the wood used for kindling fire) ; the sense is, that the pupil who has penance and Vedic learning goes to a teacher for knowledge. See Svetārvataṛa, pp. 307, 308.

³ I. e. the Brahman, says Arguna Misra, of which the Kshetragnā is only a symbol. For a definition of Kshetragnā, see Sānu Parvan (Moksha), chap. 187, st. 23.

The Brâhmaṇa said :

He is without symbols¹, and also without qualities; nothing exists that is a cause of him. I will only state the means by which he can be comprehended or not. A good means is found, namely, action² and knowledge, by which that³ (entity), which has the symbols (useful) for knowledge⁴ attributed to it through ignorance, is perceived as by bees⁵. In the (rules for) final emancipation, it is not laid down, that a certain thing should be done, and a certain thing should not⁶. But the knowledge of the things beneficial to the self is produced in one who sees and hears⁷. One should adopt as many of these things, (which are) means of direct perception, as may here be practicable—unperceived, and those whose form is perceived⁸, in hundreds and in thousands, all of various descriptions. Then one comes near to that beyond which nothing exists.

The Deity said :

Then the mind of the Brâhmaṇa's wife, after the

¹ See Sanatsugâtîya, p. 160.

² Viz. that which is required as a preliminary to the acquisition of knowledge, and hence is necessary for final emancipation.

³ The Brahman.

⁴ I. e. symbols which are to convey a knowledge of the Brahman.

⁵ I. e. in a way not perfect; as bees hovering above a flower get the fragrance of it without grasping the flower itself, so these means give one an imperfect knowledge of the Brahman to be afterwards perfected by constant meditation upon it (nididhyâsa).

⁶ As it is in the prior portion of the Vedas, as to sacrifices, &c.

⁷ Sees, i. e. by contemplation; hears, i. e. from a teacher, Arguna Misra.

⁸ This seems to mean such things as hearing, reading, &c., which would be 'perceived' scil. by the senses; and all intellectual operations which would be 'unperceived.'

destruction of the Kshetragñā¹, turned to that which is beyond (all) Kshetragñās by means of a knowledge of the Kshetra².

Arguna said :

Where, indeed, O *Krishna*! is that *Brāhmaṇa*'s wife, and where is that chief of *Brāhmaṇas*, by both of whom this perfection was attained? Tell me about them both, O undegraded one!

The Deity said :

Know my mind to be the *Brāhmaṇa*, and know my understanding to be the *Brāhmaṇa*'s wife. And he, O *Dhanañgaya*! who has been spoken of as the Kshetragñā, is I myself³.

CHAPTER XX.

Arguna said :

Be pleased to explain to me the Brahman which is the highest object of knowledge; for by your favour my mind is much interested in (these) subtle⁴ (subjects).

Vāsudeva said :

On this, too, they relate an ancient story (in the shape of) a dialogue, connected with final emancipation, between a preceptor and a pupil. A talented

¹ I.e. after the identification of the individual self with the universal self, when the individual ceases to be perceived as such. Cf. *Sānti Parvan* (*Moksha*), chap. 187, st. 23.

² That beyond Kshetragñās=the absolute supreme self. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 106.

³ The substance of this speech, says *Arguna Misra*, is that the mind and understanding devoted to the supreme lead to final emancipation.

⁴ See p. 296 *supra*. The last chapter closes what in some of the MSS. is called the *Brahma Gītā*, or *Brāhmaṇa Gītā* contained in the *Anugītā Parvan*. See further as to this our Introduction, where the point is further dwelt on.

pupil, O terror of your foes! asked a Brāhmaṇa preceptor of rigid vows, (when he was) seated, something about the highest good. 'I' (he said), 'whose goal is the highest good, am come to you (who are) venerable; I pray of you with (bowed) head, O Brāhmaṇa! that you should explain to me what I ask.' The preceptor, O son of Prithā! said to the pupil who spoke thus: 'I will explain to you everything, O twice-born one! on which you verily have any doubt.' Thus addressed by the preceptor, O best of the Kauravas! he who was devoted to the preceptor, put (his) questions with joined hands. Listen to that, O you of great intelligence!

The pupil said:

Whence am I¹, and whence are you? Explain that which is the highest truth. From what were the movable and immovable entities born? By what do entities live, and what is the limit of their life? What is truth, what penance, O Brāhmaṇa? What are called the qualities by the good? And what paths are happy? What is pleasure, and what sin? These questions of mine, O venerable Brāhmaṇa sage! O you of excellent vows! do you be pleased to explain² correctly, truly, and accurately. There is none else here who can explain these questions. Speak, O best of those who understand piety! I feel the highest curiosity (in this matter). You are celebrated in the worlds as skilled in topics connected with the piety (required for) final emancipation. And there exists none else but you who can destroy all

¹ Compare the questions at the beginning of the Svetāsvatara-upanishad.

² A similar expression to that in the Sanatsugāṭīya, p. 149, and elsewhere.

doubts. And we¹, likewise, are afraid of worldly life, and also desirous of final emancipation.

Vâsudeva said :

That talented preceptor, who preserved (all) vows, O son of *Prithâ* ! O chief of the family of the *Kauravas* ! O restrainer of foes ! duly explained all those questions to that pupil, who had approached him (for instruction), who put (his) questions properly, who was possessed of (the necessary) qualifications, who was tranquil, who conducted himself in an agreeable manner, who was like (his) shadow², and who was a self-restrained ascetic and a *Brahmakârin*.

The preceptor said :

All this, which is connected with the knowledge of the *Vedas*³ and involves a consideration of the real entity, and which is cultivated by the chief sages, was declared by *Brahman*. We consider knowledge only as the highest thing ; and renunciation⁴ as the best penance. And he who understands determinately the true object of knowledge which is impregnable⁵—the self abiding in all entities—and who can move about anywhere⁶, is esteemed highest. The learned man who perceives the abiding together⁷,

¹ It is not easy to account for the change here from the singular to the plural.

² I. e. always attended on the preceptor. Cf. generally, *Mundaka*, p. 283.

³ The question was not quite from his own imagination, says *Nilakantha*. *Arguna Misra* has a different reading, which he interprets to mean 'that on which the *Vedas* are all at one.'

⁴ Of the fruit of action, *Arguna Misra*.

⁵ I. e. not such as to require modification by any other knowledge, as knowledge of the world does.

⁶ *Nilakantha* compares *Āhândogya*, pp. 523-553.

⁷ I. e. of *Āt* and *Gadâ*, says *Nilakantha* ; of *Brahman* and its manifestations, as alluded to, inter alia, at pp. 105, 106, 191 supra.

and the severance also, and likewise unity and variety¹, is released from misery. He who does not desire anything, and has no egoism about anything, becomes eligible for assimilation with the Brahman, even while dwelling in this world². He who knows the truth about the qualities of nature, who understands the creation of all entities, who is devoid of (the thought that this or that is) mine, and who is devoid of egoism, is emancipated; there is no doubt of that. Accurately understanding the great (tree) of which the unperceived³ is the sprout from the seed, which consists of the understanding as its trunk, the branches of which are the great egoism, in the holes of which are the sprouts, namely, the senses, of which the great elements are the flower-bunches⁴, the gross elements the smaller boughs, which is always possessed of leaves, always possessed of flowers, and from which pleasant fruits are always produced, on which all entities subsist, which is eternal, and the seed of which is the Brahman; and cutting it with that excellent sword—knowledge—one attains immortality, and casts off birth and death⁵. I will state to you to-day, O highly

¹ I.e. that variety is only in this world, but that the unity of everything is the true proposition. Cf. *inter alia* *Gîtâ*, p. 104.

² Cf. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 858, and *Gîtâ*, p. 65.

³ I.e. the *Prakṛiti* of the *Sāṅkhya*s.

⁴ The great elements are the five *tanmâtras* of earth, water, fire, air, and space, which afterwards produce what we have called the gross elements in the text, namely, the earth &c. which we perceive.

⁵ The tree typifies worldly life. Cf. pp. 111–189 *supra*. The leaves and flowers, *Arguna* *Misra* says, stand for volition and action; and *Nilakantha* seems to agree. The tree is called eternal, as worldly life is supposed to have had no beginning. Cf. *Sâṁkhya Bhâṣya*, p. 494, 'sprout from the seed,' this rendering is necessitated by Brahman being described as the seed. Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 288; *Svetâsvatara*, p. 362; *Kaṭha*, pp. 143, 144.

talented one! the true conclusion¹ about the past, the present, the future, and so forth, and piety, desire, and wealth², which is understood by the multitudes of Siddhas, which belongs to olden times, and is eternal, which ought to be apprehended, and understanding which talented men have here attained perfection. Formerly³, the sages, *Br̥haspati*, *Bharadvāga*, *Gautama*, and likewise *Bhārgava*, *Vasishṭha*, and also *Kāśyapa*, and *Viśvāmitra*, and *Atri* also, desiring knowledge, met each other, after having travelled over all paths⁴, and becoming wearied of their own actions. And those twice-born (sages), giving the lead to the old sage *Āṅgīrasa*, saw *Brahman*, from whom (all) sin has departed, in *Brahman's* mansion. Having saluted that high-souled one who was sitting at ease, the great sages, full of humility, asked him this momentous (question) concerning the highest good: 'How should one perform good action? how is one released from sin? what paths are happy for us? what is truth and what vice? By what action are the two paths southern and northern obtained⁵? (and what is) destruction⁶ and emancipation, the birth and death of entities?' What the grandsire said conformably to the scriptures⁷,

¹ I. e. the means of arriving at it, *Arguna Misra*.

² The triad, the acquisition of which worldly men aspire to.

³ He explains how the doctrine belongs to olden times.

⁴ I. e. paths of action, *Nilakanṭha*. See *Sanatsugātīya*, p. 165.

⁵ Namely, the *Pitṛyāna* and *Devayāna* (*Arguna Misra*), as to which see *Aṭhāndogya*, p. 341, *Kaushītaki*, p. 13, and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 1034.

⁶ *Nilakanṭha* seems to interpret this to mean the temporary and final dissolutions of the worlds, on which see, inter alia, *Vedānta Paribhāṣā*, p. 48.

⁷ So *Nilakanṭha*. May it not be 'according to the received tradition?'

when thus spoken to by the sages, I will state to you. Listen (to that) O pupil!

Brahman said:

From the truth were the entities movable and immovable produced. They live by penance¹. Understand that, O you of excellent vows! By their own action they remain transcending their own source². For the truth joined with the qualities is invariably of five varieties. The Brahman³ is the truth; penance is the truth; Pragâpati also is truth; the entities are born from the truth; the universe consisting of (all) creatures is the truth. Therefore Brâhmanas whose final goal is always concentration of mind, from whom anger and vexation have departed, and who are invariably devoting themselves to piety, are full of the truth. I will speak about those (Brâhmanas) who are restrained by one another⁴, who are possessed of knowledge, who are the establishers of the bridge of piety, and who are the constant creators of the people⁵. I will speak of the four (branches of) knowledge, and likewise of the castes, and of the four orders, distinctly. The wise always speak of piety as one, (but) having

¹ I.e. by action, *Nilakantha*. Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 280, and see p. 166 supra, note 1.

² I.e. they remain apart from the Brahman, being engaged in action. This answers some of the questions put by the pupil to the preceptor. As to 'the truth,' see p. 162, note 2 supra.

³ I.e. *Īvara*, or god; penance=piety; Pragâpati=the individual soul, *Nilakantha*. Brahman='that' (but how is 'that' 'joined with qualities?'); Pragâpati=Brahman, *Arguna Misra*. They agree about penance and entities (which they take to mean the gross elements) and creatures. Brahman and Pragâpati=Virâg and *Hiranyagarbha* (?), p. 186 supra. Cf. *Sânti Parvan (Moksha)*, chap. 190, st. 1.

⁴ I.e. who commit no breach of piety through fear of one another, *Nilakantha*.

⁵ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 86.

four quarters. I will speak to you, O twice-born ones! of the happy path, which is productive of pleasure, and which has been invariably travelled over by talented men in old days for (obtaining) assimilation with the Brahman. Learn, O noble ones! from me, now speaking exhaustively, of that highest path which is difficult to understand, and of the highest seat. The first step is said to be the order of Brahmaçârins; the second is that of householders; next after that is that of foresters; and next after that too, the highest step must be understood to be that relating to the Adhyâtma¹. Light², space, sun, air, Indra, Pragâpati, one sees not these, while one does not attain to the Adhyâtma³. I will subsequently state the means to that, which you should understand. The order of foresters, (the order) of the sages who dwell in forests and live on fruits, roots and air, is prescribed for the three twice-born (castes). The order of householders is prescribed for all castes. The talented ones speak of piety as having faith for its characteristic. Thus have I described to you the paths leading to the gods⁴, which are occupied by good and talented men by means of their actions, and which are bridges of piety. He who, rigid in his vows, takes up any one of these modes of piety separately, always comes in time to perceive the production and dissolution of

¹ That is to say, that of the ascetic, who specially devotes himself to the acquisition of knowledge about the relation of the supreme and individual self (Adhyâtma).

² The deity presiding over the bright fortnight, says Arguna Misra. The words space and sun and air must be similarly interpreted.

³ Nilakantha says 'one sees these only while one has not had a perception of the self.' He takes light &c. to mean the 'universe.'

⁴ I.e. the means of reaching the Devayâna path (mentioned at p. 314, note 5), Nilakantha. Cf. also Mundaka, p. 312.

(all) entities¹. Now I shall state with accuracy and with reasons, all the elements which abide in parts in all objects. The great self², the unperceived³ likewise, and likewise also egoism, the ten senses and the one⁴ (sense), and the five great elements, and the specific characteristics of the five elements⁵, such is the eternal creation. The number of the elements is celebrated as being twenty-four plus one. And the talented man who understands the production and dissolution of (all) elements, he, of all beings, never comes by delusion. He who accurately understands the elements, the whole of the qualities⁶, and also all the deities⁷, casting aside sin, and getting rid of (all) bonds, attains to all the spotless worlds.

CHAPTER XXI.

Brahman said :

That unperceived (principle), all-pervading, everlasting, and immutable, which is in a state of equilibrium⁸, should be understood (to become) the city of nine portals, consisting of three qualities, and five

¹ Namely, how they are all manifestations of the Brahman, and are all dissolved in it. Cf. *inter alia* Gîtâ, pp. 74, 92.

² See the *Ka/hopanishad*, p. 149. See also p. 332 *infra*.

³ See p. 313, note 3 *supra*.

⁴ I. e. the mind. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 102. ⁵ Viz. smell, sound, &c.

⁶ Tranquillity, self-restraint, &c., *Arguna Mirra*. Are they not rather the three qualities? As to 'twenty-four plus one' above, see p. 368.

⁷ Does this mean the senses, as at Gîtâ, p. 123? An accurate understanding of the things noted requires a knowledge of their relation to the supreme, which is the means of final emancipation. And see p. 337 *infra*.

⁸ See Gîtâ, p. 107, and *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 11, and note 2, p. 331 *infra*.

constituent principles¹, encircled by the eleven², consisting of mind³ as the distinguishing power, and of the understanding as ruler, this is (an aggregate made up of) eleven⁴. The three currents⁵ which are within this (city) support (it)⁶ again and again, and those three channels run on, being constituted by the three qualities. Darkness, passion, and goodness, these are called the three qualities, which are all coupled with one another, and likewise serve one another, which depend on one another, and attend on one another, and are joined to one another⁷. And the five constituent principles

¹ The five gross elements of which the body is composed (cf. *Mahābhārata*, *Sānti Parvan*, *Moksha Dharma*, chap. 183, st. 1 seq.) are developments of the unperceived principle, the *Prakṛiti*. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 112, where the words 'which remain (absorbed) in nature' have been inadvertently omitted after 'with the mind as the sixth.' As to the nine portals cf. *Gītā*, p. 65.

² The five active organs, the five perceptive senses, and the mind.

³ This *Arguna Misra* takes to mean 'egoism.' *Nilakantha* takes the usual meaning, and adds, objects are produced from mental operations; 'distinguishing,' that is, manifesting as distinct entities.

⁴ The eleven are, according to *Arguna Misra*, the three qualities, the five gross elements, the group of organs and senses as one, egoism, and understanding.

⁵ Viz. the *nāḍīs*, *Idā*, *Pīṅgalā*, and *Sushumnā*, *Arguna Misra*, who adds that they are respectively of the quality of darkness, passion, and goodness.

⁶ The three *nāḍīs*, says *Arguna Misra*, support the life-winds. *Nilakantha* takes the three currents to be the threefold inclination of the mind, viz. towards a pure piety, towards injuring other living creatures, and towards that mixed piety which requires the destruction of life for its performance. *Nilakantha* also has a different reading from *Arguna Misra*, which means 'are replenished' instead of 'support.' And the three channels are, according to *Nilakantha*, the *Samskāras*, or effects of previous actions of piety or impiety.

⁷ Coupled=always existing in association with one another; serving=being necessary to the operations of one another; depending=supporting one another like three staves, says *Nilakantha*;

(are made up of) the three qualities. Goodness is the match of darkness, and passion is the match of goodness; and goodness is also the match of passion, and darkness the match of goodness. Where darkness is restrained, passion there prevails. Where passion is restrained, goodness there prevails¹. Darkness should be understood to consist in obscurity. It has three qualities², and is called delusion. Its characteristic is also impiety, and it is constant in sinful actions. This is the nature of darkness; it also appears combined (with others). Passion is said to consist in activity, and is the cause of successive³ (acts). When it prevails, its characteristic, among all beings, appears to be production⁴. Light, lightness⁵, faith, such is stated to be the nature of goodness (prevailing) among all beings, as accepted by good men. The true nature of their characteristics, in aggregation and separation, will now be stated together with the reasons; learn those accurately. Delusion, ignorance,

upholding, says Arguna Misra, as the total absence of one would lead to the absence of the others also; attending=becoming subordinate to whichever of them is dominant for the time being; joined=so as to become one organic whole. Cf. as to all this, Yoga-sûtra II, 18, and commentary, p. 101; Sâṅkhya-kārikā, Kārikā 12, with Vāṭaspati Misra's comments on it.

¹ Cf. Gitā, p. 108, and the quotation in the Sâṅkhyatattvakau-mudī, p. 64.

² I.e. characteristics, viz. obscurity (which seems to stand for ignorance), delusion (which is false knowledge), and impiety (doing that which is known to be sinful and wrong).

³ The original means, according to Nilakanṭha, wrong, unlawful conduct. As to all this cf. Sānti Parvan (Moksha), chap. 194, st. 29.

⁴ I.e. apparently perpetually doing something. Cf. Gitā, p. 108.

⁵ Cf. as to this, and generally also, Sâṅkhya-kārikā 13, and commentary of Vāṭaspati Misra (p. 64). The blazing upwards of fire is said to illustrate the lightness of the quality of goodness which belongs to fire.

want of liberality, indecision about actions¹, sleep, haughtiness², fear, avarice, grief, finding fault with good acts, want of memory³, immaturity (of intellect), nihilism⁴, violation of (the rules of) conduct, want of discrimination⁵, blindness, behaviour of the lowest⁶ quality, pride of performance without (actual) performance, pride of knowledge without (actual) knowledge, unfriendliness, evil disposition, want of faith, deluded convictions, want of straightforwardness, want of knowledge⁷, sinful action, want of knowledge (of the subtle principle), stolidity⁸, lassitude, want of self-restraint, going into inferior ways; all these qualities, O Brâhmaṇas! are celebrated as being dark. And whatever other states of mind, connected with delusion, are found in various places in this world, all these are dark qualities. Constant talk in disparagement of gods, Brâhmaṇas and Vedas, want of liberality, vanity, delusion⁹, anger, want of forgiveness likewise, and also animosity

¹ According to Gîtâ, p. 108, doing nothing—stolid laziness—is a mark of darkness. Cf. generally on this passage Gîtâ, pp. 107, 118, 124 seq.; Maitrî, p. 49.

² The same word as at Gîtâ, pp. 116, 125 (headstrong in the latter passage should have been haughty). Cf. as to the word, *Khândogya*, p. 383.

³ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 51.

⁴ The opposite of the belief mentioned at Gîtâ, p. 126.

⁵ The same word as at Gîtâ, p. 109. But the commentators render it here by *himsra*, i. e. destructive.

I am not sure about the original word here, and the word next but one after this. The latter *Arguna Misra* renders by *sûkshmatattvâvedanam*, which I have translated above in the text. The former seems to mean general unintelligence.

⁷ Heaviness and dullness, induced by indolence, &c., *Nīlakanṭha*. Lassitude is drooping from despondency. Going into inferior ways, *Arguna Misra* says, means falling into the inferior castes; *Nīlakanṭha* says it means love for base actions.

⁸ Not being cognisant of one's own shortcomings, *Arguna Misra*.

towards people, this is considered to be dark conduct. Whatever vain¹ actions (there are), and whatever vain gifts, and vain eating, that is considered to be dark conduct. Reviling, and want of forgiveness, animosity, vanity, want of faith also, this is considered to be dark conduct. And whatever such people there are in this world, doers of sinful acts, who break through (all) regulations, they are all held to be dark. I will state the wombs appointed for these (men) of sinful actions. They go to the hell, (namely) the brute (species), to be born in the lower hell²; (or become) the immovable entities³, animals, beasts of burden, demons, and serpents, and worms, insects, birds, and also creatures born from eggs, and all quadrupeds, and idiots, deaf and dumb men, and whatever others are attacked by diseases generated by sin⁴. These dark, evil-conducted men, who are sunk in darkness, who bear the marks of their own actions, the current of whose (thoughts) is downwards⁵, sink into darkness. I will now proceed to state their improvement and ascent; how, becoming men of meritorious actions, they attain to the worlds of those who perform good acts⁶. Resorting to a contrary⁷ (course of life), and growing old in (good) actions⁸, they exert

¹ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 83.

² Cf. *Gītā*, p. 116.

³ Such as trees and so forth, which are also forms of life.

⁴ This is alluded to in some *Smṛitis* too. And cf. *Khândogya*, p. 358, and the quotation in the commentary on *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* V, 122.

⁵ Such, says *Nīlakaṇṭha*, as to fit them for the nether world. See *Tattvakaumudī*, p. 113. As to marks, cf. p. 239 supra.

⁶ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 130.

⁷ I.e. contrary to that already described as dark.

⁸ *Nīlakaṇṭha* renders this to mean 'destroyed for Agnihotra and such ceremonies,' like the goat referred to above at p. 290.

themselves, and through the ceremonies (performed for them) by benevolent Brâhmanas devoted to their own duties, they go upwards to the same world (as the Brâhmanas)—the heaven of the gods. Such is the Vedic text. Resorting to a contrary¹ (course of life), and growing old in their own duties, they become men in this world whose nature is to return². Coming to a sinful womb, as *Kândâlas*³, or deaf, or lisping men, they attain to higher and higher castes in order; going beyond the *Sûdra* womb, and (beyond) whatever other dark qualities there are which abide in the quality of darkness⁴ in the current (of this world). Attachment to objects of desire is laid down to be the great delusion. There, sages and saints and gods become deluded, wishing for pleasure. Darkness⁵, delusion, the great delusion, the great obscurity called anger, and death the blinding obscurity; anger is called the great obscurity. I have now duly described to you, O Brâhmanas! this quality of darkness, in full and accurately with reference to

¹ See note 7 on last page. The sequence of ideas seems not to be properly brought out here. In the course of transmigration after their course of conduct is altered they become men, and then proceed to heaven. This seems the real sense here.

² To return to life and death, and so on, until they fit themselves for final emancipation. Cf. *Âpastamba* II, 5, 11, 10-11.

³ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 359.

⁴ This is not very clear, and the commentators give but little help. The meaning probably is, that they gradually, in course of improvement, cross beyond the *Sûdra* caste, and all those qualities or tempers of mind, and so forth, which have been stated to appertain to the quality of darkness.

⁵ Cf. *Sâṅkhya-kārikā*, pp. 47, 48, and *Vāṭaspati's* comment. There these are identified with the 'afflictions' of the *Yoga-râtra*—ignorance, self-consciousness, affection, aversion, persistent attachment, and they are five divisions of false knowledge, or the quality of darkness, as it is here called. See, too, *Svetâsvatara* (comm.), p. 284.

its nature, and also its qualities, and also its source. Who, indeed, understands this properly; who, indeed, perceives this properly? The definition of the essence of darkness is, that one sees the real in what is unreal. The qualities of darkness have been described to you in many ways. And darkness in its higher and lower¹ (forms) has been accurately stated. The man who always understands these qualities gets rid of all dark qualities.

CHAPTER XXII.

Brahman said:

O best (of men)! I will explain to you accurately the quality of passion. Learn, O noble ones! the action of the quality of passion. Injuring (others), beauty², toil, pleasure and pain, cold and heat, power³, war, peace, argument, repining³, endurance, strength, valour, frenzy, wrath, exercise and quarrel too, vindictiveness, desire, backbiting, battle, the thought (that this or that is) mine, preservation⁴, slaughter, bonds, affliction, buying and selling, touching⁵ other people's weak points, by cutting, breaking, piercing; fierceness and cruelty, vilifying, pointing out others' weaknesses, thinking of (this) world, harbouring evil thoughts, animosity, abuse,

¹ Generally and specifically, says Arguna Mirra.

² Arguna Mirra says these mean pride of beauty and pride of power respectively. Cf. as to this list generally, Mairi, pp. 50, 51.

³ Cf. Sanatsugâtîya, p. 168.

⁴ I presume this means solicitude for preserving what one has got. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 48.

⁵ Literally, piercing. 'Cutting, breaking piercing,' further on, seems to indicate the greater or less offensiveness of the operation of 'touching others' weak points.'

uttering falsehoods, bad¹ gifts, doubt, boasting, censure, praise, laudation², prowess, defiance, attendance (on another), obedience³, service, harbouring desire, management⁴, policy, heedlessness, contumely, belongings⁵, and the various decorations which prevail in this world, for men, for women, for living creatures, for articles, and for houses, vexation, and also want of faith, vows and regulations⁶, and actions with expectations, and the various acts of public charity⁷, the ceremony of Svâhâ, the ceremony of Svadhâ, the ceremony of Vashat⁸, salutation, both officiating at sacrifices and imparting instruction, and also sacrificing and study, gifts and acceptance of gifts, expiations, auspicious rites, the wish 'this may be mine and that may be mine,' affection generated by the qualities⁹, treachery and likewise deception, disrespect and respect, theft, slaughter, disgust, vexing (oneself), wakefulness, ostentation, haughtiness, and attachment also, devotion, pleasure and delight, gambling, common scandal, association with women,

¹ I. e. to undeserving persons, Arguna Misra. Probably it includes the other defects also pointed out at Gîtâ, p. 120. As to doubt, see Gîtâ, p. 63.

² The one is attributing merits which do not exist, the other is merely parading merits which do exist.

³ Arguna Misra takes this literally to mean 'wish to hear.'

⁴ Cleverness in worldly affairs, Nîlakantha.

⁵ Cf. Gîtâ, passim, and see also Yoga-sûtras II, 30, and commentary (pp. 127-129, Calc. ed.)

⁶ Fasts and other observances for special benefits.

⁷ E. g. digging tanks and wells, &c.

⁸ Vashat and Svâhâ indicate offerings to gods, Svadhâ to the manes. See *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 982, and *Māṇḍukya* (*Gauḍapāda Kārikâ*), p. 443, and commentaries there.

⁹ I presume this means attachment to the operations of the qualities. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 48. As to the wish just before, see Gîtâ, pp. 115, 116.

devotion to dancing, and instrumental or vocal music, all these qualities, O Brāhmaṇas! are described as passionate. The men who meditate on past, present, and future entities in this world¹, who are always devoted to the triad—piety, wealth, and lust also²—who acting under (the impulse of) desires exult on the success of all their desires, these men, who are enveloped by passion, have (their) currents downwards³. Born again and again in this world, they rejoice⁴, and wish for the fruit appertaining to the life after death⁵ and that appertaining to this world also. They give and receive, and make Tarpaṇa⁶, and also sacrifice. The qualities of passion have been described to you in many ways, and the action of the quality has also been stated accurately. The man who always understands these qualities, gets rid of all passionate qualities.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Brahman said :

Now I shall proceed to describe the third—the best—quality, beneficial to all creatures, and unblamable, the duty of the good. Joy⁷, pleasure, nobility, enlightenment and happiness also, absence of stinginess, absence of fear, contentment, faith, forgiveness, courage, harmlessness, equability, truth, straightforwardness, absence of wrath, absence of calumnia-

¹ I. e. who are always thinking of what they have done and what they have to do, and so forth. Cf. Gītā, pp. 115, 116.

² And not that which is higher than these, viz. final emancipation.

³ See p. 321 and note 5 there. ⁴ Cf. *inter alia*, Gītā, p. 48.

⁵ Viz. heaven. Cf. Gītā, p. 48. ⁶ I. e. offerings to the manes.

⁷ Cf. p. 300 *supra*, and Sānti Parvan (Moksha), chap. 194, st. 34; chap. 219, st. 36. For nobility, Arjuna Mirra has manifestation of joy.

tion, purity, dexterity, valour. He who possesses the piety of concentration of mind, (holding) knowledge to be vain¹, (good) conduct vain, service vain, and labour vain, he attains the highest in the next world. Devoid of (the notion that this or that is) mine, devoid of egoism, devoid of expectations, equable everywhere, not full of desires, (to be) such is the eternal duty of the good. Confidence, modesty², forgiveness, liberality, purity, freedom from laziness, absence of cruelty, freedom from delusion, compassion to (all) creatures, absence of backbiting, joy, contentment, joviality, humility, good behaviour, purity in all action for (acquiring) tranquillity³, righteous feelings, emancipation⁴, indifference⁵, life as a Brahma-kârin, abandonment on all hands, freedom from (the notion that this or that is) mine, freedom from expectations⁶, unbroken piety⁷, (holding that) gifts (are) vain, sacrifices vain, learning vain, vows vain, receipt of gifts vain, piety vain, penance vain. Those talented Brâhmanas in this world, whose conduct is of this description, who adhere to the quality of goodness, abiding in the seat of the Brahman⁸, perceive (everything) aright. Getting rid of all

¹ Such is Nilakantha's reading, and he takes knowledge to mean mere knowledge derived from books, &c. Arguna Misra has a different reading for vain, which he interprets to mean 'wish for fruit.'

² See Sanatsugâtiya, p. 162.

³ I.e. pure and straightforward conduct in the performance of whatever is done for attaining final emancipation.

⁴ Of other people from sorrow, Arguna Misra.

⁵ The state of being unconcerned, udâsîna, Nilakantha.

⁶ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 60, inter alia.

⁷ Arguna Misra understands the original here to mean 'not being under the control of another.'

⁸ I.e. the source of the Vedas, according to Nilakantha. The supreme is called Brahmayoni, the original word here, at Svetâ-

sins, and free from grief, those talented men reach heaven, and create (various) bodies¹. The power of governing, self-restraint, minuteness², these those high-souled ones make (for themselves) by (the operations of their own) minds like the gods dwelling in heaven. They are said to have their currents upwards³, and to be gods, and of the quality of goodness⁴; and having gone to heaven they verily change in various ways, by means of nature⁵. They obtain and divide⁶ whatever they desire. Thus, O chiefs of the twice-born! have I described to you the conduct of the quality of goodness. Understanding this according to rule, one obtains whatever one desires. The qualities

svatara, p. 354, where Brahman is rendered to mean *Prakṛiti* by Śaṅkara. See *Sanatsugātiya*, p. 186, note 6, and *Taittirīya-āraṇyaka*, p. 894. As to the probable sense here, see p. 339, note 2 *infra*.

¹ I. e. for themselves. Cf. p. 345 *infra*; *Yoga-sūtras*, p. 227; and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 849.

² These include, according to *Nilakanṭha*, the other qualities of the same class unnamed here, for which see *Yoga-sūtra* III, 44 (p. 207). The power of governing, i. e. producing, destroying, or combining worldly objects as one pleases; self-restraint, i. e. in the presence of tempting objects; minuteness = power of becoming as minute as one pleases. The other qualities are lightness, largeness, and heaviness; power of attracting everything so as to be near oneself (e. g. touching the moon with the finger), power of obtaining one's wish.

³ Cf. p. 321 *supra* and note 5. Arguna Mirra, and *Nilakanṭha* also, here render it by 'those who go upwards.' As to which, see *Gītā*, p. 109.

⁴ Cf. for this sense, which is given by Arguna Mirra, *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 19.

⁵ *Nilakanṭha* says this means that they change their minds for purposes of enjoyment by means of the impression of previous enjoyments. The changes, however, seem to be those above referred to—minuteness, &c., and the acquisition of other bodies. As to nature, cf. *Gītā*, pp. 58 and 112, with the correction made at p. 318 *supra*.

⁶ This is not quite clear. Does it mean distribute among themselves or others?

of goodness have been specifically described, and the operation of the qualities has been accurately stated. The man who always understands these qualities, enjoys the qualities¹, but is not attached to the qualities.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Brahman said :

The qualities cannot be explained altogether distinctly (from one another). Passion, goodness, and darkness likewise are seen mixed up (with one another). They are attached to one another, they feed on one another. They all depend on one another, and likewise follow one another². There is no doubt of this, that as long³ as there is goodness so long darkness exists. And as long as goodness and darkness, so long is passion said (to exist) here. They perform their journey together, in union, and moving about collectively. For they act with cause or without cause⁴, moving in a body. Of all these acting with one another, but differing in development, the increase and diminution will now be stated. Where darkness is increased, abiding⁵ in the lower entities, there passion should be understood to be little, and goodness likewise to be less. Where

¹ Cf. *Gītā* inter alia, p. 104.

² Cf. p. 318 *supra*.

³ So *Arguna Mirra*. *Nilakantha* says on this, 'However much goodness may be increased, it is still held in check by darkness, and thus there is the continual relation of that which checks and that which is checked between the three qualities; hence they are alike. So also passion being increased, holds goodness and darkness in check. The sense seems to be that the qualities dominate all in this world and exist together though varying in strength' (*Gītā*, p. 73).

⁴ I. e. spontaneously, *Arguna Mirra*. Cf. *Sānti Parvan* (*Moksha*), chap. 194, st. 35.

⁵ It is in the lower species that darkness is predominant.

passion is developed, abiding in those of the middle current¹, there darkness should be understood to be little, and goodness likewise to be less. And where goodness is developed, abiding in those of the upward current², there darkness should be understood to be little, and passion likewise to be less³. Goodness is the cause of the modifications in the senses, and the enlightener⁴. For there is no other higher duty laid down than goodness. Those who adhere to (the ways of) goodness go up; the passionate remain in the middle; the men of the quality of darkness, being connected with the lowest quality, go down⁵. The three qualities abide in the three castes thus: darkness in the *Sûdra*, passion in the *Kshatriya*, and the highest, goodness, in the *Brâhmaṇa*⁶. Even from afar⁷, darkness, goodness, and passion also, are seen to have been together and moving about collectively. We have never heard of them (as existing) separately. Seeing the sun rising, evil-doers are alarmed, and travellers, suffering trouble from the heat, feel the warmth. The sun is goodness developed, evil-doers likewise are darkness, and the heat to the travellers is said to be a property of

¹ I. e. the human species, Arguna Misra. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 109.

² See *Gîtâ*, p. 109, also p. 327 *supra*. In his *Sāṅkhyatattva-kaumudī*, *Vātaspati* Misra applies the epithet to *Yogins* (see p. 13 of *Tārānāth's* edition, and the editor's note there).

³ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 108.

⁴ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 108. The modifications of the senses constituting perception by them is an operation of the quality of goodness. This seems to be the meaning of the text; as to this, cf. *Tattva-kaumudī*, p. 14 (*Tārānāth's* edition).

⁵ See *Gîtâ*, p. 109; the words are nearly identical.

⁶ Cf. *Sānti Parvan* (*Moksha*), chap. 188, st. 15. The *Vaisya* is omitted here.

⁷ I. e. Arguna Misra says, even after much observation.

passion¹. The light in the sun is goodness ; the heat is the quality of passion ; and its eclipse on the Parvan² days must be understood to be of the quality of darkness. So in all shining bodies, there exist three qualities. And they act by turns in the several places in several ways. Among immovable entities, darkness is in the form of their belonging to the lower species ; the qualities of passion are variable ; and the oleaginous property is of the quality of goodness³. The day should be understood to be threefold, the night is stated to be threefold, and likewise months, half-months, years, seasons, and the conjunctions⁴. Threefold are the gifts given⁵, threefold the sacrifices performed, threefold are the

¹ This illustrates the existence of the qualities as one body. Even the enlightening sun, which embodies the quality of goodness, produces effects which belong to the other qualities. The fear and sorrow which evil-doers, that is thieves, feel, is an effect of the rising of the sun, which appertains to the quality of darkness, and the heat as being the cause of vexation and consequent delusion to travellers, appertains to the quality of passion.

² I.e. the days of the moon's conjunction or opposition.

³ I understand this to mean that in the 'immovable entities' the three qualities co-exist ; the birth in the lower species is an effect of darkness ; the variable qualities, viz. the heat, &c., as Arguna Misra says, are the properties of passion ; and the oleaginous properties among them appertain to goodness, as, says Arguna Misra, they are sources of pleasure (cf. *Gītā*, p. 118). *Nilakantha* says, 'Immovable entities being very unintelligent, darkness is very much developed among them,' but this last, as an interpretation of *tiryagbhāvagata*, appears to me to be alike unwarranted and inappropriate here.

⁴ Does this mean the period about the close of one and beginning of another yuga or age ? That is the only sense *ejusdem generis* with the words preceding it that I can think of ; yet the jump from years to yuga-sandhis is a long one.

⁵ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 120. With reference to some, at least, of the things enumerated here, the division would be rather fanciful.

worlds, threefold the gods, threefold the (departments of) knowledge, and threefold the path¹. The past, the present, and the future; piety, wealth, and lust; the *Prâna*, the *Apâna*, and the *Udâna*; these are the three qualities. And whatever there is in this world, all that is (made of) these three qualities². The three qualities—goodness, passion, and darkness also—are always acting unperceived. The creation of the qualities is eternal. Darkness, unperceived, holy³, constant, unborn, womb, eternal, nature, change⁴, destruction, *Pradhâna*, production and absorption, not developed, not small, unshaking, immovable, immutable, existent and also non-existent⁵—all these, the unperceived, (consisting) of the three qualities, is said to be. These names should be learnt by men who ponder on matters relating to the self. He who understands correctly all the names of the unperceived, and the qualities, and its pure operations, he, freed from the body, understanding the truth about (all) distinctions, and being free from all misery, is released from all qualities.

¹ See these three mentioned at *Khândogya*, pp. 340–359. As to departments of knowledge, cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 84; *Arguna Mirra* reads, ‘threefold the Vedas.’

² The universe is all developed from the *Prakṛti*, which is merely the three ‘qualities in equilibrium.’ Cf. *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* I, 61.

³ Because it gives final emancipation to one who discriminates it from *Purusha*, *Arguna Mirra*. Cf. *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* II, 1 seq., and *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, p. 56 seq., and commentary. For another list of names of *Prakṛti*, see *Svetâsvatara* (comm.), p. 283.

⁴ Nature is not a development from anything, and hence is called *avikṛti* in *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* 3; but ‘change’ here probably means the whole aggregate of *Vikṛtis*, ‘changes’ or developments, which make up *Prakṛti*; or by a different derivation it may, perhaps, also mean that from which all development or change takes place.

⁵ See *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* V, 52–56; and also I, 26, and commentary here. The *Vedântins* speak of *Mâyâ*—which answers to what the

CHAPTER XXV.

Brahman said :

From the unperceived was first produced the great self¹, of great intelligence, the source of all qualities²; it is said to be the first creation. That great self is signified by these synonymous terms—the great self, intelligence, Vishṇu³, Gishṇu, Sambhu, the valiant, the understanding, means of knowledge, means of perception, and likewise cognition, courage, memory. Knowing that (great self), a learned Brāhmaṇa comes not by delusion. It has hands and feet on all sides⁴, it has eyes, heads, and faces on all sides; it stands pervading everything in the world⁵. The being of great power is stationed in the heart of all. Minuteness⁶, lightness, (the power of) obtaining (everything) (are his); he is the governor, the light, inexhaustible. Now people who comprehend the understanding, and who are always possessed of a good heart, who practise meditation, who are constant at concentration of mind, who are true to their promises, and whose senses are subdued, who are possessed of knowledge, who are not avaricious, who have subdued wrath, whose minds are clear, who are talented, who are devoid of (the thought that this or that is) mine, who are devoid of egoism,

Sāṅkhyas call *Prakṛiti* (see *Svetāśvatara*, p. 340, and *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* I, 69, and commentary there)—as ‘*sattvāsattvābhyāmanirvātya*.’

¹ I. e. the understanding, on which see *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* I, 61–64. It is called being (*Purusha*) further on, as it dwells in the body (*Puri*).

² I. e. of the effects of all qualities (namely, the universe; cf. *Gītā*, p. 48), *Nīlakaṇṭha*.

³ I. e. all-pervading, *Arguna Misra*. On the whole passage, see *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, pp. 15, 16, and note 3 on page 333 *infra*.

⁴ As, says *Arguna Misra*, it is the source of all activity.

⁵ The words are identical with those at *Gītā*, p. 103.

⁶ See p. 327 *supra*.

these being emancipated, attain greatness¹. And the talented man who understands that high and holy goal, the great self², he among all people comes not by delusion. The self-existent Vishṇu is the Lord in the primary creations³. And he who thus knows the lord lying in the cave⁴, the transcendent, ancient being, of universal form, and golden⁵, the highest goal of those possessed of understanding, that talented man, abides transcending the understanding⁶.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Brahman said :

That Mahat which was first produced, is (afterwards) called egoism ; when it is born as (the feeling itself) 'I, that is said to be the second creation. That egoism is stated to be the source of all entities⁷,

¹ I.e., says Arguna Mirra, the world of the understanding. Does this mean the world of Hiranyagarbha? The understanding is said to be the 'subtle body' of Hiranyagarbha (Vedānta Paribhāṣā, p. 46). Probably the reference spiritually interpreted is to the state in which egoism and all its products are non-existent.

² Literally, 'the high and holy passage to the great self.'

³ The Mahat first manifests itself as Vishṇu before it manifests itself as Brahman or Siva (Sāṅkhya-sāra, p. 16), hence he is said to be the Lord in the primary creation. It may be added, that in the Sāṅkhya-sāra where this passage is quoted the original word rendered 'cognition' above (khyāti) does not occur, but in lieu of it occurs Brahman. The sentence 'And the talented man' &c. is also wanting there.

⁴ I.e. the understanding. See Sāṅkara on Svetārvatara, p. 329 ; Kaṭha, p. 100.

⁵ Source of enlightenment, Arguna Mirra. Cf. *Mundaka*, pp. 303-308 (gloss).

⁶ I.e. attaching himself to the Purusha, as the never-changing reality, and rising above Prakṛiti and its manifestations.

⁷ I.e. when the Mahat develops into the feeling of self-consciousness—I—then it assumes the name of egoism.

⁸ See on this Sāṅkhya-sāra, Hall's Introd. p. 31, note.

that from which the changes take place¹; it is full of light, the supporter of consciousness; it is that from which the people are produced, the Praṣāpati. It is a deity, the producer of the deities, and of the mind; it is the creator of the three worlds. That which feels² thus—‘I am all this’—is called (by) that (name). That eternal world is for those sages who are contented with knowledge relating to the self, who have pondered on the self, and who are perfected by sacred study and sacrifice. By³ consciousness of self one enjoys the qualities; and thus that source of all entities, the producer of the entities, creates (them); and as that from which the changes take place, it causes all this to move; and by its own light, it likewise charms the world.

¹ So Arguna Misra. Nilakantha says it means ‘born from the change, or development, viz. Mahat.’ The Sāṅkhya-sāra, p. 17, however, shows it means ‘appertaining to the quality of goodness.’ See also Sāṅkhya-kārikā 25, and commentary there, which is of great help here. The sense is this: Egoism is of three descriptions; it appertains to the quality of goodness, and as such is the creator of the deities and mind, the deities being those presiding over the ten senses (cf. Sāṅkhya-sāra, p. 17); it is full of light, or appertains to the quality of passion (cf. *ibid.*), and as such imparts to the other two qualities their virtue of activity (cf. Sāṅkhya-kārikā commentary, p. 91, Târânâth’s ed.); it is also of the quality of darkness, and as such the producer of the triple world (see *ibid.*). See Sāṅkhya-sūtra II, 17, 18, and comment, where a view somewhat different in one or two details is stated.

² Sāṅkhya-sāra, p. 16; Sāṅkhya-kārikā 24, p. 89 (Târânâth’s ed.).

³ Arguna Misra says that the words Ahaṅkāra &c. are here explained; qualities here means objects, as at Gītā, p. 55. The meaning of the first clause is, that the feeling that the objects are for oneself, and therefore enjoying them, gives the name of Ahaṅkāra to the principle in question; its creation of all the elements gives it the name of Bhūtādi. It is called Vaikārika, as the cause of the various activities and developments going on. The last clause seems to be an explanation of the epithet Taigasa, also applied to egoism.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Brahman said :

From egoism, verily, were the five great elements born—earth, air, space, water, and light as the fifth. In these five great elements, in the operations of (perceiving) sound, touch, colour, taste, and smell, creatures are deluded¹. When, at the termination of the destruction of the great elements, the final dissolution approaches, O talented one! a great danger for all living beings arises². Every entity is dissolved into that from which it is produced. They are born one from the other, and are dissolved in the reverse order³. Then when every entity, movable or immovable, has been dissolved, the talented men who possess a (good) memory⁴ are not dissolved at all. Sound, touch, and likewise colour, taste, and smell as the fifth; the operations (connected with these) have causes⁵, and are inconstant, and their name is delusion. Caused by the production of avarice⁶, not different from one another⁷, and insignificant⁸, connected with flesh and blood, and depending upon one another,

¹ The contact of the objects of sense with the senses is the source of delusion.

² Cf. *Gītā*, p. 107, and note 1 there.

³ Cf. *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* I, 121, and p. 387 *infra*.

⁴ I.e. knowledge of the truth, Arguna Misra.

⁵ Hence, as they have a beginning, they also must have an end, and hence they are inconstant.

⁶ This and following epithets expand the idea of inconstancy.

⁷ Being all in substance connected with the *Prakṛiti*, the material world, so to say.

⁸ Containing no reality, *Nīlakanṭha*.

excluded from the self¹, these are helpless and powerless. The Prāṇa and the Apāna, the Udāna, the Samāna, and the Vyāna, these five winds also are joined to the inner self², and together with speech, mind, and understanding make the eight constituents of the universe³. He whose skin, nose, ear, eye, tongue, and speech are restrained, and whose mind is pure, and understanding unswerving⁴, and whose mind is never burnt by these eight fires⁵, he attains to that holy Brahman than which nothing greater exists. And the eleven organs, which are stated as having been produced from egoism—these, O twice-born ones! I will describe specifically. The ear, the skin, the two eyes, the tongue, the nose also as the fifth, the two feet, the organ of excretion, and the organ of generation, the two hands, and speech as the tenth; such is the group of organs, the mind is the eleventh. This group one should subdue first, then the Brahman shines (before him). Five (of these) are called the organs of perception, and five the

¹ Nilakantha apparently takes the original here to mean of gross nature, not subtle, such as anything connected with the self would be. They are helpless and powerless without support from other principles, and mainly the self.

² He here states what is more closely connected with the self, and, as Nilakantha puts it, accompanies the self till final emancipation. The inner self Nilakantha takes to mean the self associated with egoism or self-consciousness.

³ Nilakantha cites certain texts to show that the perceptive senses work only through the mind, and that the objects of the senses are produced from the senses, and hence the universe, he says, is constituted of the eight enumerated above.

⁴ I. e. from the truth.

⁵ I. e. vexed by the operations of any of these.

organs of action. The five beginning with the ear are truly said to be connected with knowledge. And all the rest are without distinction connected with action. The mind should be understood to be among both¹, and the understanding is the twelfth. Thus have been stated the eleven organs in order. Understanding these², learned men think they have accomplished (everything). I will now proceed to state all the various organs. Space³ is the first entity; as connected with the self it is called the ear; likewise as connected with objects (it is) sound; and the presiding deity there is the quarters. The second entity is air; it is known as the skin as connected with the self; as connected with objects (it is) the object of touch; and the presiding deity there is lightning. The third (entity) is said to be light; as connected with the self it is called the eye; next as connected with objects (it is) colour; and the presiding deity there is the sun. The fourth (entity) should be understood to be water; as connected with the self it is called the tongue; as connected with objects it is taste; and the presiding deity there is Soma. The fifth entity is earth; as connected with the self it is the nose; as connected with objects likewise it is smell; and the presiding deity there is the wind. Thus are the five entities stated to be divided among the three⁴. I will now proceed to state all the various organs.

¹ Cf. *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* 27; *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 17.

² Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 148.

³ Cf. *Lalita Vistara* (translated by Dr. R. Mitra), p. 11.

⁴ The above sentences show the entities in the three different aspects mentioned, which correspond to each other; the ear is the sense, that which is connected with the self; sound is the object of that sense, as connected with the external world; and the

As connected with the self, the feet are mentioned by Brāhmaṇas, who perceive the truth; as connected with objects it is motion; the presiding deity there is Viṣṇu. The Apāna wind, the motion of which is downward, as connected with the self, is called the organ of excretion; as connected with objects it is excretion¹; and the presiding deity there is Mitra. As connected with the self the generative organ is mentioned, the producer of all beings; as connected with objects it is the semen; and the presiding deity there is Prajāpati. Men who understand the Adhyātma speak of the two hands as connected with the self; as connected with objects it is actions; and the presiding deity there is Indra. Then first, as connected with the self, is speech which relates to all the gods; as connected with objects it is what is spoken; and the presiding deity there is fire. As connected with the self they mention the mind, which follows after the five entities²; as connected with objects it is the mental operation; the presiding deity there is the moon. Likewise (there is) egoism, the cause of the whole course of worldly life, as connected with the self; as connected with objects, self-consciousness; the presiding deity there is Rudra. As connected with the self, they mention the understanding impelling the six senses³;

quarters, Dik, are the deities presiding over the senses; as to this cf. Sāṅkhya-sāra, p. 17, and Vedānta Paribhāṣhā, p. 45, which show some discrepancies. The distinctions of Adhyātma &c. are to be found in the Upanishads; cf. inter alia, Kāṇḍogya, p. 227, and cf. Gītā, p. 77.

¹ As to the original word, cf. inter alia, Svetāsvatara, pp. 197-202.

² This probably means the five senses which can perceive only when associated with the mind. See p. 268 supra.

³ The understanding is called the charioteer at Kaṭha, p. 111.

as connected with objects that which is to be understood; and the presiding deity there is Brahman. There are three seats for all entities—a fourth is not possible—land, water, and space. And the (mode of) birth is fourfold. Those born from eggs, those born from germs, those born from perspiration, and those born from wombs—such is the fourfold (mode of) birth of the group of living beings¹. Now there are the inferior beings and likewise those moving in the air. Those should be understood to be born from eggs, as also all reptiles. Insects are said to be born from perspiration; and worms of the like description. This is said to be the second (mode of) birth, and inferior. Those beings, however, which are born after the lapse of some time, bursting through the earth, are said to be born from germs, O best of the twice-born! Beings of two feet or more than two feet, and those which move crookedly, are the beings born from wombs. Understand about them also, O best of men! The eternal seat (where) the Brahman² (is to be attained) should be understood to be twofold—penance³ and meritorious action. Such is the doctrine of the learned. Action should be understood to be of various⁴

¹ Cf. *Khândogya*, pp. 404–406, and glosses; *Aitareya*, p. 243; *Vedānta Paribhāṣā*, p. 47; *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* V, 111; *Manu* I, 43; Max Müller's note at p. 94 of his *Khândogya* in this series.

² So *Nīlakaṇṭha*, but he also adds that this means birth as a *Brāhmaṇa*, which seems to be quite wrong. Arguna Misra's 'means of acquiring Brahman' is right. See p. 369 *infra*.

³ I. e., I presume, 'knowledge.' Sāṅkara has so interpreted the word at *Mundaka*, p. 270, and *Kaṭha*, p. 127, and elsewhere; and see *Sanatsugātīya*, p. 166 *supra*.

⁴ Another reading is 'of two kinds.' But I prefer this, as three kinds are mentioned further on.

descriptions, (namely) sacrifice, gift at a sacrifice, and sacred study¹, for (every one) who is born². Such is the teaching of the ancients. He who duly understands this, becomes possessed of concentration of mind, O chief of the twice-born! and know, too, that he is released from all sins. Space³ is the first entity; as connected with the (individual) self it is called the ear; as connected with objects likewise it is called sound; and the presiding deity there is the quarters. The second entity is air; as connected with the (individual) self it is called the skin; as connected with objects it is the object of touch; and the presiding deity there is the lightning. The third is called light; as connected with the (individual) self it is laid down to be the eye; next as connected with objects it is colour; the presiding deity there is the sun. The fourth should be understood to be water; as connected with the (individual) self it is stated to be the tongue; as connected with objects it should be understood to be taste; the presiding deity there is Soma. The fifth element is earth; as connected with the (individual) self it is called the nose; as connected with objects likewise it is called smell; the presiding deity there is Vāyu. Thus have I

¹ Cf. as to this *Khândogya*, p. 136, which justifies our rendering, though the commentator *Arguna Misra* seems to understand the passage differently.

² *Arguna Misra* seems to understand this to mean 'twice-born.'

³ This is a repetition of what occurs at p. 337, and apparently is spurious. But two of the MSS., both those containing commentaries, contain the passage twice. One of the other MSS. omits the passage where it occurs before, and has it here. I think that the passage is in its place before, and probably interpolated here.

accurately described to you the creation¹ as connected with the (individual) self. A knowledge of this, O ye who understand piety! is here obtained by those who possess knowledge. One should place all these together, (viz.) the senses, the objects of the senses, and the five great elements, and hold them by the mind². When everything is absorbed into the mind, the pleasures of (worldly) life³ are not esteemed. The learned (men) whose understandings are possessed of knowledge esteem the pleasure derived from that⁴. Now⁵ I shall proceed to describe that discarding of all entities by (means) gentle and hard⁶, which produces attachment to subtle⁷ (topics), and is sanctifying. The (mode of) conduct in which qualities are not (treated as) qualities⁸, which is free from attachment, in which one lives alone⁹, which is uninterrupted¹⁰, and which is full of the Brahman¹¹, is called happiness (dwelling) in one aggregate¹².

¹ I am not quite sure that this is a correct rendering. But I can think of none better, and the commentators afford no help.

² *Nilakantha* says, 'Thinking that the great elements are not distinct from the senses, one should hold them absorbed in the mind.' *Arguna Mirra* says, 'In the mind as their seat they should be placed,' as being not distinct from the mind, I presume. Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 148.

³ Literally, 'birth.'

⁴ From knowledge, I presume. The commentators afford no help.

⁵ *Arguna Mirra*'s text appears to commence a new chapter here.

⁶ Such as meditation or *upāsana*, and *prāṇāyama* or restraint of life-winds respectively, *Arguna Mirra*.

⁷ Cf. p. 310 *supra*.

⁸ I. e. bravery, learning, &c. are treated as not being merits, as they cause pride, &c., *Nilakantha*.

⁹ I. e. in solitude, *Nilakantha*; devoting oneself to the self only, *Arguna Mirra*. Cf. also p. 284 *supra*, note 4.

¹⁰ Or, says *Nilakantha*, free from any belief in distinctions.

¹¹ Another reading would mean 'which exists among *Brāhmanas*.'

¹² I. e. all collected together, I presume.

The learned man who absorbs objects of desire from all sides, as a tortoise (draws in) his limbs¹, and who is devoid of passion, and released from everything², is ever happy. Restraining objects of desire within the self³, he becomes fit for assimilation with the Brahman⁴, having his cravings destroyed, and being concentrated in mind, and friendly and affectionate⁵ to all beings. The fire of the Adhyâtma⁶ is kindled in a sage by his abandoning the country⁷, and by the restraint of all the senses which hanker after objects of sense. As fire kindled with fuel shines forth with a great blaze, so the great self⁸ shines forth through the restraint of the senses. When one with a tranquil self perceives all entities in one's own heart, then being self-illumined⁹, one attains to that which is subtler than (the most) subtle (thing)¹⁰, and than which there is nothing higher. It is settled, that the body in which the colour¹¹ is fire, the flowing¹²

¹ Cf. Gītā, pp. 50, 51, and Sānti Parvan (Moksha Dharma) I, 51, where the phrase is precisely the same as here.

² I. e. from all bonds, I suppose. See p. 292 supra.

³ Cf. Gītā, p. 51. ⁴ Cf. Gītā, p. 110. ⁵ Cf. Gītā, p. 68.

⁶ I. e. experience, Nīlakantha. It means direct perception of the relations between the supreme and individual self. Cf. Gītā, p. 111.

⁷ As opposed to forests. See Sanatsugâtīya, p. 159, note 9.

⁸ This must mean here the supreme self, apparently.

⁹ I. e. being devoted to the self only, Arguna Misra. The ordinary meaning of the word, however, is one who has direct experience or perception without the aid of senses, &c. Cf. Brīhadāraṇyaka, p. 765, and Sārāka Bhāṣya, pp. 648, 784, &c.

¹⁰ Nīlakantha says, 'The supreme Brahman which is subtler than the Brahman within the lotus-like heart.'

¹¹ I. e. that which perceives colour, viz. the sense, Arguna Misra. This applies to the analogous words coming further on.

¹² I. e. taste, says Arguna Misra, which seems to be more correct than Nīlakantha's blood and such other liquid elements of the body.

(element) water, and the feeling of touch is air, the hideous holder of the mud¹ is earth, and likewise the sound is space; which is pervaded by disease and sorrow; which is surrounded by the five currents²; which is made up of the five elements; which has nine passages³ and two deities⁴; which is full of passion; unfit to be seen⁵; made up of three qualities and of three constituent elements⁶; pleased with contacts⁷; and full of delusion⁸;—this same (body), which is difficult to move in this mortal world, and which rests on the real (entity)⁹, is the very wheel of time which rotates in this world¹⁰. It is a great ocean, fearful and unfathomable, and is named¹¹ delusion. The world, together with the immortals, should cast it aside, curtail it,

¹ I. e. the flesh, bone, and so forth, *Nīlakantha*; the mucus in the nose, *Arguna Misra*.

² I. e. the senses. Cf. p. 238 supra, note 7.

³ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 65.

⁴ See *Sanatsugātīya*, p. 187 supra.

⁵ As being unholy, *Nīlakantha*; as the bodies of *Kāṇḍālas* &c. when seen are productive of sin, *Arguna Misra*. See p. 155 supra.

⁶ Viz. *vāta*, *pitta*, *śleshma*, or wind, bile, and phlegm. The *dhātus* are sometimes spoken of as seven. See *Yoga-sūtras*, p. 192; *Taitt. Ār.* p. 874, commentary, and p. 246 supra. See, too, however, *Svetāsvatara*, commentary, p. 287.

⁷ Which is delighted only by contact with food and so forth, not otherwise, *Nīlakantha*.

⁸ I. e. cause of delusion. The original word for 'it is settled' at the beginning of this sentence is otherwise rendered by *Arguna Misra*. He takes it to mean 'in this light (namely, as above stated) should one contemplate the body.' The other rendering is *Nīlakantha*'s.

⁹ I. e. the self, *Arguna Misra*; the understanding, *Nīlakantha*; difficult to move = difficult to adjust if attacked by disease, &c., *Nīlakantha*.

¹⁰ It is owing to this body that the self becomes limited by time, *Arguna Misra*. *Nīlakantha*'s gloss I do not follow. Cf. p. 187 supra, and p. 355 infra.

¹¹ I. e. characterised by delusion, *Arguna Misra*.

and restrain it¹. Desire, wrath, fear, avarice, treachery, and falsehood also, (all these), which are difficult to get rid of, the good do get rid of by restraint of the senses². And he who in this world has vanquished the three qualities and the five constituent elements³, obtains the highest⁴—the infinite—seat in heaven. Crossing the river of which the five senses are the lofty banks, the agitation of mind⁵ the mighty waters, and delusion the reservoir⁶, one should vanquish both desire and wrath. Freed from all sins, he then perceives that highest (principle), concentrating the mind within the mind⁷, and seeing the self within the self⁸. Understanding everything, he sees the self with the self in all entities as one⁹, and also as various,

¹ I am not sure about the meaning here. Arguna Misra says, (reading visriget, 'send forth,' for vikshipet, 'cast aside,') 'send forth at the creation, curtail at the dissolution, and restrain at the final emancipation.' The commentary reads rodhayet, which we have adopted above. The text in the same copy, however, is bodhayet. Arguna Misra adds, as far as I can make out from an incorrect copy: 'as in this life everything is accomplished by these actions' (namely, I suppose, the casting aside, &c.). Nīlakantha says, 'This same thing is the cause of creation, destruction, and knowledge.' reading bodhayet.

² Cf. Gītā, p. 57.

³ I. e. the five great elements, as stated in Williams' Dictionary, citing Yāgyavalkya III, 145. See Sānti Parvan (Moksha), chap. 182, st. 16; chap. 184, st. 1.

⁴ I. e. the seat of the Brahman, Nīlakantha.

⁵ See Gītā, p. 66, where the word is the same, viz. vega.

⁶ From which, namely, the river issues. Cf. for the whole figure, Sānti Parvan (Moksha), chap. 251, st. 12.

⁷ The mind=the lotus-like heart, Nīlakantha. Cf. Gītā, p. 79. Concentrating=withdrawing from external objects, &c.

⁸ I. e. in the body, Nīlakantha. See p. 248.

⁹ Cf. Gītā, p. 83, and note 4 there. Nīlakantha says, 'as one, i. e.

changing from time to time¹. He can always perceive (numerous) bodies like a hundred lights from one light. He verily is Vishṇu, and Mitra, and Varuṇa, Agni, and Pragâpati. He is the supporter, and the creator. He is the lord whose faces are in all directions². (In him) the great self—the heart of all beings—is resplendent. Him, all companies of Brâhmanas, and also gods, and demons, and Yakshas, and Pisâkas, and Pitris, and birds, and the bands of Rakshases, and the bands of Bhûtas³, and also all the great sages, ever extol.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Brahman said :

Among men the royal Kshatriya is the middle⁴ quality; among vehicles the elephant⁵, and among denizens of the forest the lion; among all sacrificial animals the sheep, and among the dwellers in holes the snake; among cattle also the bull, and among

by direct perception of the unity of the individual and supreme, and as various, i. e. in the all-comprehending form.'

¹ I. e. creating or acting, Arguna Misra. I think it probable that it was meant to go with the preceding words. See Gîtâ, p. 83 note; but, for this, 'changing' must be in the accusative. It is in the nominative. As the original stands, and on Arguna Misra's interpretation, the sense seems to be that when he is about to engage in the work of creation, he can obtain as many bodies as he likes. Nîlakantha compares Kṛtândogya, p. 526. And see pp. 249, 327 supra. Can always perceive = invariably obtains when he wishes.

² Cf. Gîtâ, pp. 83, 93, and note 1 there.

³ Cf. Gîtâ, pp. 85, 118.

⁴ I. e. passion—that quality is dominant in the Kshatriya, Nîlakantha. See p. 329 supra.

⁵ Commenting on Gîtâ V, 18 (p. 65) Saṅkara calls the elephant atyantatâmasa, belonging entirely to the quality of darkness.

females a male¹. The Nyagrodha, the Gambu, the Pippala, and likewise the Sâlmali, the Sinsapâ, and the Meshasṛiṅga, and likewise the bamboo and willow²; these are the princes among trees in this world, there is no doubt of that. The Himavat, the Pâriyâtra, the Sahya, the Vindhya, the Trikûṭavat, the Sveta, the Nîla, the Bhâsa, and the Koshṭhavat mountain, the Mahendra, the Guruskandha, and likewise the Mâlyavat mountain, these are the princes among mountains³. Likewise the Maruts are (the princes) among the Ganas; the sun is the prince among the planets, and the moon⁴ among the Nakshatras; Yama is the prince among the Pitris, and the ocean among rivers; Varuṇa is the king of the waters, and Indra is said to be (the king) of the Maruts. Arka is the king of hot (bodies), and Indu is said to be (the king) of shining bodies. Fire is ever the lord of the elements⁵, and Brîhaspati of Brâhmanas; Soma is the lord of herbs, Vishṇu is the chief among the strong; Tvashṭri is the prince

¹ As to the constructions here, cf. generally Gîtâ, p. 88, and see the remarks of Râmânuga and Sridhara on Gîtâ X, 21. The meaning here is, of course, the male is ruler over females.

² I do not know what distinction is intended between these two. Generally kiṭṭaka is used for the hollow bamboo, which whistles when the wind blows through it.

³ Some of these mountains are mentioned in Patañjali. See Introduction.

⁴ This list may be compared with that at Gîtâ, chapter X. Sometimes the same object occurs more than once with reference to more than one class; thus the moon occurs as lord of Nakshatras, of shining bodies, and of herbs—unless Soma there stands for the Soma plant. See Gîtâ, p. 113. Arguna Misra says expressly that the moon occurs more than once as the correlatives, the classes with reference to which she is mentioned, are different. In such cases I have kept the original names untranslated; Arka=sun; Indu=moon.

⁵ Cf. Kaṭha, p. 83.

of the Rudras, and Śiva is the ruler of (all) creatures; likewise, sacrifice of (all) initiatory ceremonies¹, and Maghavat² likewise of the gods; the north among the quarters, and among all vipras the powerful king Soma³; Kubera (is lord) of all jewels, Purandara of (all) deities. Such is the highest creation among all entities. Prajāpati (is lord) of all peoples; and of all entities whatever I, who am full of the Brahman, and great, (am lord). There is no higher being than myself or Viṣṇu. The great Viṣṇu full of the Brahman is the king of kings over all. Understand him to be the ruler, the creator, the uncreated Hari. For he is the ruler of men, Kinnaras, and Yakshas; of Gandharvas, snakes, and Rakshases; of gods, demons, and Nāgas. Among all those who are followed by (men) full of desires, (the chief) is⁴ the great goddess Māheshvarī, who has beautiful eyes. She is called Pārvatī. Know the goddess Umā⁵ to be the best and (most) holy of (all) females. Among women who are (a source⁶ of) happiness, likewise, the brilliant⁷ Apsarases (are chief). Kings desire

¹ This must mean, I presume, that the sacrifice is higher than the initiation, as male than female, see p. 346, note 1.

² This is another repetition. Indra has been mentioned before, and Purandara is mentioned further on.

³ As to king Soma, see inter alia *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 237; *Kāṇḍogya*, p. 342, where Śaṅkara explains 'king' by adding 'of Brāhmaṇas.' Vipras = Brāhmaṇas.

⁴ I. e. Māheshvarī is the most beautiful of womankind.

⁵ It is well known that Umā, Pārvatī, Māheshvarī are names of the consort of the third member of the Hindu Trinity; see Kena, p. 13, and Śaṅkara's comment there. See, too, Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. iv, p. 421, and *Taittirīya-āraṇyaka*, p. 839.

⁶ The idea of 'source' is supplied by Arguna Misra.

⁷ Literally, 'rich.' Arguna Misra paraphrases it by 'Gyotishmati.' Nilakantha's explanation here is not quite clear.

piety; and Brāhmaṇas are the bridges¹ of piety. Therefore a king should always endeavour to protect the twice-born². Those kings in whose dominions good men lie low, lose all their qualifications³, and go into wrong paths after death. But those high-souled kings in whose dominions good men are protected, rejoice in this world, and attain the infinite (seat) after death. Understand this, O chiefs of the twice-born! I shall now proceed to state the invariable characteristics of piety. Non-destruction is the highest piety⁴, and destruction is of the nature of impiety. Enlightenment⁵ is the characteristic of gods; action⁶ the characteristic of men; sound is the characteristic of space; (the sensation of) touch is the characteristic of air; colour is the characteristic of light; taste is the characteristic of water; the characteristic of earth, the supporter of all beings, is smell; words are the characteristic of speech⁷ refined into vowels and consonants; the characteristic of mind is thought. Likewise as to what is described here as understanding, a deter-

¹ I. e. instrumental in piety, or guides to piety. Cf. *Svetāsvatara*, p. 370; *Mundaka*, p. 297.

² So literally, doubtless Brāhmaṇas only are intended here.

³ I. e., I presume, they lose all their merits, their good points are destroyed by this dereliction of duty.

⁴ Cf. p. 291 supra. Arguna Misra begins a fresh chapter with 'I shall now,' &c. ⁵ Knowledge of the truth, Arguna Misra.

⁶ I. e. action performed for the purpose of obtaining the fruit of it. The next five items refer to the five elements and their characteristic properties. Nīlakanṭha's explanation, that all these are merely parallels not stated for their own relevancy here, but as illustrations, seems to be the only available one.

⁷ I. e. the learning of other people, Nīlakanṭha. The meaning seems to be that we know speech only in its manifestation in the form of words.

mination is here formed by (that) understanding about objects which have been thought over by the mind¹. And there is no doubt of this that determination is the characteristic of the understanding. The characteristic of mind is meditation²; and the characteristic of a good man is (living) unperceived³. The characteristic of devotion is action⁴; and knowledge the characteristic of renunciation. Therefore a man of understanding should practise renunciation, giving prominence to knowledge⁵. The renouncer possessed of knowledge attains the highest goal. And crossing beyond darkness, and transcending death and old age, he repairs to that which has no second⁶. Thus have I duly spoken to you concerning the characteristic of piety. I will now proceed to explain properly the comprehension⁷ of the qualities. As to the smell of the earth, verily, that is comprehended by the nose; and the wind⁸ likewise residing in the nose is appointed⁹ to the knowledge of smell. Taste¹⁰,

¹ The text here is rather unsatisfactory; I have adopted that which I find in the copy containing Arguna Misra's commentary.

² Frequent pondering on matters learnt from Sāstras or common life, *Nilakantha*. Why mind comes twice the commentators do not explain.

³ Does this refer to what is said at *Sanatsugātīya*, p. 159?

⁴ Devotion means here, as in the *Gītā*, action without desire of fruits. For action the word here is the same as at *Gītā*, p. 115, note 2.

⁵ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 52, note 7.

⁶ This is Arguna Misra's interpretation, and appears to me to be correct. *Nilakantha*'s is different, but seems to omit all account of *abhyeti*, 'repairs.'

⁷ Arguna Misra's interpretation seems to be different, but our copy is not quite intelligible.

⁸ See p. 337 *supra*. The wind is the presiding deity of the nasal organ.

⁹ I.e. that is its function. Arguna Misra says, 'it is pondered on,' which is not clear. ¹⁰ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 74, as to taste and water.

the essence of water, is always comprehended by the tongue. And the moon likewise, who resides in the tongue, is appointed to the knowledge of taste. The quality of light is colour, and that is comprehended by the eye; and the sun residing in the eye is appointed always to the knowledge of colour. The (sensation of) touch, belonging to the air, is perceived by the skin, and the wind¹ residing in the skin is always appointed to the knowledge of (the objects) of touch. The quality of space is sound, and that is comprehended by the ear. And all the quarters residing in the ear are celebrated as (being appointed) to the knowledge of sound. Thought is the quality of mind, and that is comprehended by the understanding. The supporter of consciousness² residing in the heart is appointed to the knowledge of mind³. The understanding (is comprehended in the form of) determination, and the Mahat⁴ of knowledge. To (this) positive comprehension, the unperceived⁵ (is appointed), there is no doubt of that. The Kshetragña, which is in its essence devoid of qualities and eternal, is not to be comprehended by any

¹ This cannot be the presiding deity here, though one expects such deity to be mentioned; see p. 337 supra.

² The text of more than one of the lines here is rather doubtful; we follow *Nilakantha*, who takes this to mean the *gīva*, the individual soul. Cf. p. 239, note 2 supra.

³ I. e. thought, as *Nilakantha* points out.

⁴ Mahat is properly the same as buddhi, understanding, but as it is here mentioned separately, I suppose, it signifies *Ahaṅkāra*. *Nilakantha* takes its operation, here called knowledge, to mean 'the feeling I am,' which agrees with our interpretation, for which some support is also to be derived from p. 333 supra.

⁵ I here follow *Arguna Misra*, though somewhat diffidently. The knowledge 'this is I,' and the knowledge 'this is so and so and nothing else' is presided over by the unperceived—the *Prakṛiti*.

symbols. Therefore the characteristic of the Kshetragñā, which is void of symbols¹, is purely knowledge. The unperceived is stated to be the Kshetra² in which the qualities are produced and absorbed. And I always see, know, and hear it, (though) concealed. The Purusha knows it, therefore is he called Kshetragñā³. And the Kshetragñā likewise perceives all the operations of the qualities⁴. The qualities created again and again, do not know themselves⁵, being non-intelligent, to be created and tied down to a beginning, middle, and end⁶. Only the Kshetragñā attains, no one (else) attains, to the truth, which is great, transcendent, and beyond the qualities and the entities (produced)⁷ from the qualities. Hence a man who understands piety, abandoning qualities, and the creation⁸, in this world, and transcending the qualities, and having his sins destroyed, then enters into the Kshetragñā. One who is free from the pairs of opposites, free from the ceremony of salutations, and

¹ See Sanatsugātīya, p. 146. See also p. 309 supra.

² See Gītā, p. 102 seq. ³ I. e. he who knows the Kshetra.

⁴ Enlightenment, activity, and delusion, *Nilakanṭha*.

⁵ I. e. do not know the self, *Nilakanṭha*; better, I think, 'the qualities do not know themselves, only the Kshetragñā knows them.' Cf. *Sānti Parvan (Moksha Dharma)*, chap. 194, st. 41.

⁶ I. e. production, existence, and destruction, *Nilakanṭha*. This must, however, mean their manifestation, continuance, and dissolution in any particular form. For the *prakṛti*, which is made up of the three qualities, is beginningless. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 104.

⁷ I. e. the actual physical manifestations, as we may say, of the qualities.

⁸ The original, *sattva*, *Nilakanṭha* renders by *buddhi*, and qualities by visible objects. In the familiar *Sāṅkhya* phrase *sattvapuruṣānyatāpratyaya* *sattva* means creation, or what is other than *purusha* (cf. *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī*, pp. 9-144). That is the meaning here. See too p. 371 infra, and *Sānti Parvan (Moksha Dharma)*, chap. 194, st. 38 seq. and comments there.

from the svâhâ ceremony¹, who is unmoving, and homeless², is the Kshetragnâ, he is the Supreme Lord.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Brahman said :

I will state truly all about that which has a beginning, middle, and end³, and about the means for its comprehension, together with names and characteristics⁴. It is stated that day was first and then night; that months have the bright⁵ first, the Nakshatras Śravaṇa⁶ as the first (among them), and the seasons the winter as the first (among them). The earth is the source⁷ of smells, water of tastes, the light (of) the sun is the source of colours, the wind is stated to be the source of (the feelings of) touch; likewise space is the source of sound. These are the qualities of the elements. Now I shall proceed to state the highest and first of all entities. The sun is

¹ See p. 324 supra.

² See Gîtâ, p. 101. Unmoving probably means 'not perturbed by the qualities' (Gîtâ, p. 110), or perhaps the same thing as 'of steady mind' at Gîtâ, p. 101. The sense is pretty much the same in both places.

³ Which has birth &c., Nīlakanṭha, i. e. all the creation, I presume.

⁴ The names, that is to say, of the various elements, and their qualities.

⁵ This must mean fortnights.

⁶ This is specified, says Arguna Misra, as the six months of the northern solstice are caused by the sun being at this Nakshatra. As to those six months, cf. Gîtâ, p. 81. For the same reason, Arguna Misra adds, the winter season is mentioned as the best.

⁷ The word âdi, literally beginning, is used in the whole of this passage in different senses; it means the source, it means the best, and it means the first in order.

the first among shining bodies¹; fire is said to be the first of the elements²; Sāvitrī³ of all branches of learning; Pragāpati of deities; the syllable Om of all the Vedas; and the Prāṇa life-wind, of all words⁴; whatever is prescribed in this world, all that is called Sāvitrī⁵. The Gāyatrī is the first among metres; among (sacrificial) animals, the goat⁶ is mentioned (as the first). Cows are the first among quadrupeds, and the twice-born among men⁷. The Syena is first among birds; among sacrifices, the offering (into the fire) is the best; and among all reptiles, O best of the twice-born! the snake⁸ is the highest. Of all ages the Krīta is the first, there is no doubt of that. Among all precious things, gold (is the first), and among vegetable (products) likewise the barley seed⁹. Among all things to be eaten or swallowed food is the highest; and of

¹ This should be compared with the enumeration at p. 345 supra, and that in the Gītā there referred to.

² Cf. p. 346 supra. *Nilakantha* takes fire to mean the gastric fire, and *bhūta*, rendered by us elements, to mean the species of beings born from eggs and wombs.

³ The famous verse 'Tat savitur,' &c. See inter alia *Brhadāraṇyaka*, p. 999; *Āpastamba* I, 1, 1, 9; *Manu* II, 77 seq., 104-170.

⁴ See pp. 264, 265 supra.

⁵ Here he turns back to the Sāvitrī, 'looking back in the manner of the lion,' says *Nilakantha*, and for purposes of upāsana. He does not give up the thread of his discourse entirely, but simply interjects this little clause. *Nilakantha* adds, Sāvitrī here includes every mode of worship prescribed for *Brāhmanas*, &c., and even for *Mlecchas*. Cf. note 3, and *Gautama* (*Bühler's* ed.), p. 174 note.

⁶ Cf. *Kāndogya*, p. 109, and *Śaṅkara's* commentary. *Arguna* *Mitra* compares this text, *Tasmādesha eteshām parunām śreshtha-tamogah*. Where it occurs I know not.

⁷ Cf. *Sānti Parvan* (*Rāgadharma*), chap. 11, st. 11.

⁸ I.e. *Vāsuki*, *Nilakantha*. More probably it refers to the species.

⁹ As it is used in various ceremonies.

all liquid substances which are to be drunk, water is the best. And among all immovable entities, without distinction, the Plaksha, the ever holy field of Brahman¹, is stated to be the first. I, too, (am the first) among all the patriarchs², there is no doubt of that. And the unthinkable, self-existent Vishnu is stated to be my own self. Of all mountains, the great Meru is stated to be the first-born. And among all quarters and sub-quarters, likewise, the eastern quarter³ is the first. Likewise the Gaṅgā going in three paths is stated to be the first-born among rivers. And likewise of all wells and reservoirs of water, the ocean is the first-born. And of all gods, Dānavas, Bhūtas, Pisākas, snakes, and Rakshases, and of men, Kinnaras, and Yakshas, Īsvara⁴ is the lord. The great Vishnu, who is full of the Brahman, and than whom there is no higher being in these three worlds, is the source of all the universe. Of all orders⁵, that of householders (is the first), there is no doubt of that. The unperceived is the source of the worlds; and the same is also the end of everything. Days end with (the sun's) setting⁶; the night ends with (the sun's) rising; the end of pleasure is ever grief:

¹ I.e. the Creator; his field means, I presume, his special seat.

² Beings from whom all creatures were born. See inter alia Sānti Parvan (Moksha Dharma), chap. 208, st. 5; Manu I, 34.

³ At p. 347 the north is mentioned. Arguna Misra has 'ūrdhva,' or upward here, and yet 'north' before. Is the north the best as the seat of the higher world mentioned at Sānti Parvan (Moksha Dharma), chap. 192, st. 8 seq.?

⁴ I.e. Rudra, says Nilakantha.

⁵ Viz. Brahmaçārin, householder, forester, and Samnyāsin. Cf. Sānti Parvan (Moksha), ch. 191, st. 10; Manu VI, 89; Gautama, p. 190.

⁶ These stanzas also occur in the Sānti Parvan, chap. 27, st. 31 seq. (Rāgadharma). A part of them appears to be quoted in Sāṅkhya-sūtra V, 80. And the commentator Vigñāna Bhikshu introduces it with the expression 'iti śrūyate.' But it is not a Vedic text.

the end of grief ever pleasure. All accumulations end in exhaustion ; all ascents end in falls ; all associations end in dissociations ; and life ends in death. All action ends in destruction ; death is certain for whatever is born¹ ; (everything) movable or immovable in this world is ever transient. Sacrifice, gift, penance, study, observances, and regulations, all this ends in destruction². There is no end for knowledge. Therefore one whose self is tranquil, whose senses are subjugated, who is devoid of (the idea that this or that is) mine, who is devoid of egoism, is released from all sins by pure knowledge.

CHAPTER XXX.

Brahman said :

The wheel of life³ moves on ; a wheel of which the spoke is the understanding, of which the pole⁴ is the mind, of which the bonds are the group of the senses, of which the outer rim⁵ is the five great elements, of which the environment is home⁶ ; which

¹ Cf. *Ghā*, p. 45.

² All this is action, the fruit of which is perishable ; the fruit of knowledge, on the other hand, is everlasting.

³ Literally, time ; it seems, however, to stand for the vicissitudes of worldly life. Cf. *Svetārvata*, p. 283. The body is called 'wheel of time' at p. 53 *supra*, but *Arguna Misra* there says 'it is the wheel which causes the rotation of the wheel of time.'

⁴ The cause of its being large in dimensions, *Arguna Misra* ; the supporting pillar, *Nīlakanṭha*. I prefer the former, and take the sense to be that worldly life is co-extensive with the operations or 'fancies' of the mind.

⁵ What is outside the elements, the physical manifestations of *Prakṛiti*, is beyond the domain of worldly life.

⁶ The possession of 'home' is equivalent to a dwelling in the midst of worldly life. Hence the idea of homelessness at *inter alia* *Ghā*, pp. 101-103.

abounds in old age and grief, which moves in the midst of disease and misfortune, which rotates in ¹ space and time; the noise of which is trouble and toil, the rotations ² of which (constitute) day and night; which is encircled with cold and heat; of which pleasure and pain are the joints, and hunger and thirst the nails fixed into it, of which sunshine and shade are the ruts; which staggers in the opening or closing of an eyelid, which is enveloped in the fearful waters of delusion, which is ever revolving and void of consciousness ³, which is measured by months and half months, is ever-changing ⁴, which moves through (all) the worlds ⁵; the mud ⁶ for which is penance and regulations, the mover of which is the force of the quality of passion ⁷; which is lit up ⁸ by the great egoism, which is sustained by the qualities; the fastenings in which are vexations ⁹;

¹ This means, I presume, that worldly life is conditioned, so to say, by space and time. See p. 343 supra.

² I.e. the cause of the rotation, *Nīlakantha*.

³ I.e. unintelligent.

⁴ Now takes the form of a man, now of an animal, and then of some other thing, *Nīlakantha*. I think, however, that the meaning is, that it is not alike to all; different persons are in different states in this world.

⁵ *Arguna Misra* says this means that it is the cause of the movements in all the worlds. That is the sense I extract from his words, which are not quite clear, *lokânâm samkaraṇe hetus*. The rendering in the text follows *Nīlakantha*.

⁶ I.e., I presume, that which retards the revolutions of the 'wheel.' Instead of 'penance,' *Nīlakantha*'s reading is 'the quality of darkness.'

⁷ Cf. *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, p. 13, and *Vātsaspati*'s commentary thereon.

⁸ 'Animated,' *Nīlakantha*. Egoism is the cause of the world, and of all knowledge of it. Cf. *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, p. 24.

⁹ The text here is unsatisfactory. I follow *Nīlakantha*, who says 'vexations=those arising from not obtaining what is desired.'

which revolves in the midst of grief and destruction ¹, which is full of actions and instruments of action ², which is large, and which is extended by means of attachments ³, which is rendered unsteady by avarice and desire ⁴, which is produced by ignorance of various (matters) ⁵, which is attended upon by fear and delusion, and which is the cause of the delusion of all beings, which moves towards joy and pleasure ⁶, which has desire and wrath as its appurtenances, which is made up of (the entities) beginning with the Mahat and ending with the gross elements ⁷, which is unchecked, the imperishable source (of all) ⁸, the speed of which is like that of the mind, and which is (never) fatigued. This wheel of life, which is associated with the pairs of opposites, and which is devoid of consciousness, all the world, together with the immortals, should cast away, abridge, and check ⁹. That man, among all creatures, who always

¹ Revolves in the midst of, = lives upon, is fed by, *Nīlakanṭha*.

² I.e. the organs of action, I presume.

³ The more attachments one has, the more one is tied down to worldly life, and the more comprehensive such life becomes.

⁴ Avarice is coveting another's wealth when one has one's own; desire is the wish for that which one has not.

⁵ *Nīlakanṭha* reads 'vikītra,' which he renders to mean diversified, as being made up of the three qualities, ignorance there being the same thing as *Prakṛti*, which is probably a better sense altogether than that obtainable from *Arguna Mirra's* reading.

⁶ Which moves by attachment to external pleasures, &c., *Nīlakanṭha*. See p. 300 *supra*.

⁷ I.e. all the world developed from *Prakṛti*—a common phrase.

⁸ This is *Nīlakanṭha's* forced meaning. But the text here is doubtful. Perhaps the sense is 'in which production and dissolution are going on unchecked.'

⁹ See p. 344 note. For the last word, the variant here is *sthāpayet*, make steady or stop.

accurately understands the movement and stoppage¹ of the wheel of life is never deluded. (That) sage, released from all impressions², transcending all pairs of opposites, and released from all sins, attains the highest goal. The householder, and the Brahmacārin, the forester, and also the beggar³, all these four orders are stated to have the order of householder for their basis. Whatever system of rules⁴ is prescribed in this world, to follow it is good; this has been celebrated from ancient times⁵. He who has been first refined by ceremonies⁶, and who has duly observed vows, being (born) in a caste of (high) qualifications⁷, and who understands the Vedas, should return⁸ (from his preceptor's house). Always devoted to his own wife, behaving like⁹ good men, with his senses restrained, and full of faith, one should perform the five sacrifices¹⁰ in this world. The sage who eats what remains after (offerings) to deities¹¹ and guests, who is devoted to Vedic rites, who duly performs sacrifices and

¹ I.e. the causes of the revolution and stoppage, *Nīlakaṇṭha*.

² Impressions of previous actions, delusions, &c. And see p. 247 *supra*.

³ I.e. the Samnyāsin.

⁴ *Sāstra*. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 117.

⁵ 'Such is the eternal fame,' literally.

⁶ I.e. on whom the Vedic rites or *Samskāras* are duly performed. And see *Gītā*, p. 122.

⁷ I.e. one of the three higher castes.

⁸ The original is the technical word for the return of a Brahmacārin after finishing his studies. He is describing the 'householder.'

⁹ I.e. following the rule of conduct sanctioned by the good.

¹⁰ Vide Williams' Dictionary, s.v. *mahāyagña*; *Ārvalāyana Gr̥hya* III, 1, 3; *Manu* II, 69; IV, 21.

¹¹ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 62; a guest must always be fed, and unless he is satisfied the host must not eat. Cf. *Sānti Parvan* (*Moksha*), chap. 192, st. 15; *Manu* III, 106; *Āpastamba* II, 3, 7, 3.

gifts according to his means, who is not thoughtlessly active¹ with the hand or foot, who is not thoughtlessly active with the eye, and who is not thoughtlessly active with his speech or any of his limbs, to such a one the (word) good applies. One should always have the sacred thread and a clean cloth, and be of pure vows, and self-restrained, and should always associate with good men, making gifts, and with one's external organs restrained; one should restrain one's lust and hunger², should be kind, should behave like the good, and keep a bamboo stick and a water-pot filled with water³. One should learn and teach, should likewise perform sacrifices and officiate at others' sacrifices, and should give and receive gifts,—(thus) one should adopt the sixfold mode of life⁴. Know that three (of these) duties are the means of livelihood for Brāhmaṇas, the two teaching and officiating at sacrifices, and also receiving untainted gifts⁵. And as to the other remaining three duties, gift, study, and sacrifice, they are pious⁶ duties. With regard to those three duties, the sage who understands piety, who is self-restrained, kind, possessed of forgiveness, and equable to all creatures, should avoid heedlessness⁷. The

¹ The same word as at *Gītā*, p. 114, there rendered 'vain activity.'

² Cf. *Āpastamba II*, 1, 1, 2 seq.

³ Cf. *Manu IV*, 36; *Āpastamba II*, 1, 1, 15.

⁴ These are the well-known six duties of Brāhmaṇas as specified by *Manu* and others. See the discussion of this point in the Introduction.

⁵ Another reading is 'gifts from an untainted (source).'

⁶ What is the exact meaning of this here? I suppose the meaning is that the performance of them is a pure performance of duty; the others are duties the performance of which supplies one's own wants, and is therefore interested. Cf. *Gautama X*, 1 and 2.

⁷ I.e. omission or mistake in performance.

Brāhmaṇa householder, who is of rigid vows, who is thus devoted, discharging all these duties as much as is in his power, conquers heaven.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Brahman said :

Thus ¹ duly studying to the best of his power, in the way above ² stated, and likewise living as a Brahmatârin, one who is devoted to his own duty and learned, who is a sage with all his senses restrained, who applies himself to what is agreeable and beneficial to the preceptor, who is pure ³, and constant in veracity and piety, should, with the permission of the preceptor, take food without decrying it ⁴, should eat (the leavings) of sacrificial offerings, and alms, and should stand, sit, and take exercise ⁵ (duly), should sacrifice twice to the fire after becoming clean and with a concentrated (mind), and should always bear a staff of the Bilva or Palâsa ⁶ (wood). The clothing of the twice-born (man) should be of linen, or of cotton, or also a deerskin, or a cloth entirely (dyed with) reddish colour. There should also be a girdle of muñga ; he should have matted hair, and likewise always (carry) water (with him), and have his sacred thread, be engaged in sacred

¹ Arguna Misra says, 'Having described first the order of householder, as that is the chief, he now describes that of Brahmatârin.' Cf. Âpastamba II, 9, 21, 1, and note.

² Where? This is obscure.

³ Both internally and externally, I presume.

⁴ Cf. Taittiriya, p. 129 ; Sânti Parvan (Moksha), chap. 192, st. 6.

⁵ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 69. Arguna Misra says, 'Having exercise by means of standing and sitting ; the meaning is not sleeping except at the proper time.'

⁶ Cf. Manu II, 41 seq.

study, and free from avarice, and of rigid observances. (Such) a Brahmacārin, always making offerings likewise of pure water to satisfy the deities, being restrained in mind¹, is esteemed. One who is thus devoted², who is concentrated in mind, and continent³, conquers heaven, and reaching the highest seat, does not return to birth. Refined by means of all ceremonies, and likewise living as a Brahmacārin⁴, a sage who has renounced⁵ (all) should go out of towns and dwell in forests⁶. Wearing a skin or the bark of a tree, he should bathe (every) morning and evening, and always living within the forest, should not enter a town again. He should honour guests, and should also give them shelter at (the proper) time, living on fruits and leaves, and roots and Syāmāka grain. He should without sloth feed on water, air, and all forest-products down to grass as they come, in order⁷, in accordance with the (regulations⁸ at his) initiation. He should honour a guest who comes, by (giving him) water accompanied with roots, fruits, and leaves. And he should always without sloth give alms out of whatever he has for food. He should also eat always after the deities and guests⁹

¹ Or it may be, 'being self-restrained and with (all his) heart.' The constructions in the original vary greatly, and so they do in the translation.

² Applying himself to his duties.

³ Cf. Maitrī, p. 18, and comment there.

⁴ Cf. Manu VI, 1 seq.

⁵ I.e. who is a mendicant ascetic.

⁶ Cf. p. 173 *supra*, note 9. Here he gives a description of the third order of forester, as to which compare generally Manu VI.

⁷ First the jungle-products, then air, &c., *Arguna Misra*. The sense seems to be that the restrictions should become gradually harder. Cf. Manu VI, 24-31; *Āpastamba* II, 9, 22, 2 seq.; II, 9, 23, 2.

⁸ I.e. whatever restriction he put on himself when entering upon the particular mode of life.

⁹ *Supra*, p. 358, and cf. *Taittirīya*, p. 38.

(are satisfied) and with his speech restrained, having a mind free from envy¹, eating little, and depending on the deities. Restraining the external senses, kind, full of forgiveness, preserving his hair and moustache, performing sacrifices, addicted to sacred study, and devoted to veracity and piety, pure in body², always dexterous³, always in forests, and concentrated in mind,—a forester whose senses are subdued and who is thus devoted⁴ conquers the worlds.

A householder, or a Brahmatârin, or again a forester, who wishes to apply himself to final emancipation should adopt the best (line of) conduct⁵. Offering safety to all beings, the sage should become free from all action⁶, and be agreeable to all beings, kind, and restrained in all his senses. He should make a fire⁷ and feed on the alms (obtained) without asking⁸ and without trouble⁹, and which have come spontaneously¹⁰, in a place free from smoke and where people have already¹¹ eaten. One who

¹ I.e. of others for obtaining more, and so forth. Arguna Misra's reading is different, and he renders it to mean, 'one by whom the rule of life as a Brahmatârin has not been violated.'

² Arguna Misra's reading, 'one who has cast away (all attachment to) the body.' Compare as to hair and moustache, Manu VI, 6 seq.

³ See Gîtâ, p. 127. Here the meaning is probably assiduous in the performance of duties, vows, and so forth.

⁴ I.e. applies himself to his duties.

⁵ Arguna Misra says this means ânandâśramam, but there must be some bad copying here. I take the word as it stands to mean something like the 'godlike endowments' at Gîtâ, p. 114.

⁶ See Gîtâ, pp. 54, 127. The meaning here is probably that of action without egoism. See Gîtâ, p. 55.

⁷ I.e. Arguna Misra says, 'not at night.' The readings are unsatisfactory. I read *krîtvâ vahnim*, but diffidently. Is the allusion to the rule at Âpastamba II, 9, 21, 10? Cf. Gautama III, 27.

⁸ Cf. Kaushîtaki, p. 32.

⁹ I.e. to the giver. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 120.

¹⁰ See Gîtâ, p. 10. ¹¹ Cf. Manu VI, 56; Gautama III, 15.

understands final emancipation should seek to obtain alms after the cleaning¹ of the vessels (used for cooking), and should not rejoice if he obtains, and should not be dejected if he does not obtain (alms). Nor should he beg for too much alms², seeking merely to sustain life. Eating only a little, he should go about for alms with a concentrated mind, looking out for the (proper) time. He should not wish for earnings in common with another, nor should he eat when honoured; for an ascetic should be averse from all earnings (accompanied) with honour³. When eating, he should not taste any articles of food which have been eaten by others⁴, or which are pungent, astringent, or bitter, and likewise no sweet juices. He should eat just enough for his livelihood—for the support of life. One who understands final emancipation should seek for a livelihood without obstructing (other) creatures; and when he goes about for alms, he should not go following after another⁵. He should not parade (his) piety, he should move about in a secluded place, free from passion. He should resort for shelter to an empty house, or a forest, or the foot of a tree, or a river likewise, or the cavern of a mountain. In summer, (he should pass) but a single night⁶ in a town; and in the rains, he may dwell in one place. He should move about the

¹ I.e., I presume, in order to avoid interfering with others' comforts. And see last note.

² See Manu VI, 55. As to proper time further on, see last note.

³ Cf. Sanatsugātīya, pp. 145-147; 'without respect' at Gītā, p. 120, means probably with disrespect, otherwise that passage and this would be somewhat inconsistent. See too Manu II, 162.

⁴ Cf. Manu II, 56; Gītā, p. 118; and p. 269 supra.

⁵ As that other may get nothing if they go together, Arguna Mirra. Cf. Manu VI, 51.

⁶ Cf. Gautama III, 21.

world like a worm¹, his path being pointed out by the sun, and he should walk with circumspection over the earth out of compassion to all beings². He should not make any accumulations; and should eschew dwelling with friends³. And the man who understands final emancipation should verily do all acts which he has to do, always with clean water. A man should always bathe in clean water. And with his senses restrained, he should devote himself to these eight observances⁴,—harmlessness, life as a Brahmacārin, veracity, and also straightforwardness, freedom from anger, freedom from (the habit of) carping, restraint of the external organs, and habitual freedom from (the habit of) backbiting. He should always practise a sinless (mode of) conduct, not deceptive and not crooked; and free from attachment should always make one who comes (as a guest) take a morsel of food. He should eat just enough for livelihood—for the support of life. And he should eat (only) what has been obtained with piety⁵, and should not follow his own (mere) desire⁶. He should not accept anything at all other than food and clothing. And he should accept as much as he eats and no more. He should not receive from others, nor should he ever give to others⁷.

¹ I.e. not very fast, Arguna Misra; 'the path being pointed out by the sun'=not at night, for fear of destroying worms, &c.

² This seems to be very like the practice of the Gainas of the present day. And cf. Manu VI, 69. ³ Cf. Gītā, pp. 68–103.

⁴ Cf. Gītā, p. 114, and cf. also Sanatsugatīya, p. 153.

⁵ That is to say, obtained without violation of any binding obligation, or rule of the Sāstras. ⁶ Cf. Gītā, p. 117.

⁷ This is not very clear, and Arguna Misra's comments are not intelligible. The sense seems to be this, 'He should not take more than is wanted, nor should he keep any accumulations from which to give to others, but should at once share with others all that is earned.'

But owing to the helplessness of people, a wise man should always share (with others). He should not appropriate another's riches, and should not take (anything) unasked. Nor, verily, after enjoying any object should one become afterwards attached to it. One who has anything to do¹ should take earth, water, pebbles likewise, and leaves, flowers, and fruits which are not secured² (by anybody), as they come³. One should not live by the occupation of an artisan⁴, nor should one wish for gold. One should not hate, should not teach⁵, and should be void of (all) belongings⁶. One should eat what is consecrated by faith⁷, and should avoid (all) controversies, should act without a purpose⁸, should be free from attachment, and without fixed appointments with people⁹. One should not perform, or cause to be performed, any action involving expectation of fruit, or involving any destruction of life, or the assemblage of people¹⁰. Rejecting all things,

¹ Arguna Misra says that this means if he wants them for any particular purpose he should take the earth, &c.

² I.e. apparently, taken possession of and preserved as one's own by anybody.

³ Arguna Misra renders this by 'which lead to action.' Is it not rather the 'spontaneous earnings' at Gîtâ, p. 60?

⁴ Cf. Manu III, 64; Âpastamba I, 6, 18, 18; Gautama XVII, 7.

⁵ I.e. teach one who does not ask to be instructed. Cf. Manu II, 110.

⁶ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 60; the original word, however, is not the same.

⁷ See p. 360, note 3 *supra*; Manu II, 54-55; Gautama IX, 59. 'Controversies;' the original is *nimitta*, and the interpretation is what appears to be Arguna Misra's. It may also mean 'omens.' That this is the true sense appears from Manu VI, 50.

⁸ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 48.

⁹ Arguna Misra says, 'e.g. I shall come to you to-morrow for alms,' &c. Cf. Âpastamba I, 6, 19, 12.

¹⁰ The words are the same as at Gîtâ, p. 54, 'keeping people (to

and being equable to all beings, moving and un-moving, one should become an ascetic with small belongings. One should not perturb any other (person), nor should one be perturbed by any other (person¹). He who is trusted by all beings is said to be the foremost among those who understand final emancipation. One should not think of what is not come², nor reflect on that which is past; one should disregard the present, being concentrated (in mind) and indifferent to time³. He should not defile⁴ anything by the eye, or the mind, or by speech, nor should he do anything wrong openly or in secret. One who draws in the senses from all sides as a tortoise (draws in) his limbs⁵, and in whom the senses, mind, and understanding are absorbed⁶, who is free from desires, who understands all truth, who is free from the pairs of opposites, and from the ceremony of svâhâ, and who is free from salutations⁷, and who is free from (the thought that this or that is) mine, who is free from egoism, who is free from anxiety for new acquisitions or protection of old acquisitions, and self-controlled⁸, who is free from

their duties),⁹ but the sense seems to be different. The commentators say nothing on this.

¹ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 101.

² I.e. one should not look to the future with any aspirations or expectations, and should not look back on the past with grief, *Arguna Misra*. See too p. 170, note 9 *supra*.

³ I am not sure if this is a correct interpretation. But it does not seem likely that the other possible sense—literally ‘expecting time’—can be intended here.

⁴ This is obscure. Is the sense this, that one should not observe, or think, or speak badly of the bad side of things?

⁵ Cf. p. 342 *supra*, note 1.

⁶ Cf. *Ka/ta*, p. 151.

⁷ See p. 352 *supra*, note 1.

⁸ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 48, where the original words are the same.

expectations, who is free from attachments to any entity, and who is dependent on none¹, who is attached to the self, and who understands the truth, is emancipated, there is no doubt of that. Those who perceive the self, which is without hands, foot, or back, without a head, without a stomach, which is free from the operations of the qualities², absolute, untainted, and stable, devoid of smell, devoid of taste or touch, devoid of colour, and also devoid of sound, which is to be understood³, which is unattached, and which is also devoid of flesh, which is free from anxiety⁴, imperishable, divine, and though dwelling in a house⁵, always dwelling in all entities, they never die⁶. There the understanding reaches not, nor the senses, nor the deities, nor Vedas, sacrifices, nor worlds⁷, nor penance, nor valour⁸; the attainment to it of those who are possessed of knowledge is stated to be without comprehension of symbols⁹. Therefore the learned man who knows (the) property of being void of symbols¹⁰, being devoted to pious conduct, and

¹ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 60.

² These are effects of *Prakṛiti* by which the *Puruṣa* is unaffected.

³ Literally, 'pursued.'

⁴ This is obscure. *Arguna Mirra's* text is *niskityam*. Does that mean 'which should be accurately understood?' The rendering in the text of *Nilakanṭha's* reading may mean that the Brahman has no such thoughts (*āntā*) as are referred to at Gîtâ, p. 115.

⁵ Does this mean the body?

⁶ I.e. are free from birth and death. Cf. *Âpastamba* I, 8, 22, 4.

⁷ This, again, is not quite clear. Probably the explanation is to be found in the passage at Gîtâ, p. 79.

⁸ *Nilakanṭha's* reading is 'observances or vows.'

⁹ I.e. 'not to be acquired by inference,' *Arguna Mirra*, p. 351 *supra*.

¹⁰ See p. 309 *supra*; 'who is without symbols, and knows piety,' according to *Arguna Mirra's* reading.

resorting to concealed¹ piety should adopt the mode of life (necessary) for experience². Though undeluded, he should act in the manner of the deluded³, not finding fault with piety⁴. He should perform piety, behaving so that others would always disrespect him⁵, and should not find fault with the ways of the good⁶. That sage is said to be the best who has adopted this (line of) conduct. The senses, and the objects of the senses, and the five great elements, and mind, understanding, egoism, the unperceived, and the Purusha likewise⁷, by an accurate determination about the truth, after understanding all these, one attains heaven⁸, being released from all bonds. One who knows the truth, understanding these same (entities) at the time of the termination (of his life), should meditate, exclusively pondering on one point⁹; and then, depending on none¹⁰, he gets emancipation. Freed from all attachments, like the atmosphere dwelling in space¹¹, with his accumulations¹² exhausted, and free from distress¹³, he attains to the highest seat.

¹ See p. 159 supra, note 7, and cf. *Manu* III, 109, which is the text referred to in note 5 there.

² I.e. direct perception of the Brahman. See *Gītā*, p. 57, note 5.

³ See p. 160 supra, note 8, and cf. also *Manu* II, 110.

⁴ *Arguna Misra* compares *Gītā*, p. 55, about 'shaking convictions.'

⁵ Cf. pp. 159-161 supra.

⁶ This means, I presume, the good devoted to action and not to knowledge only.

⁷ These are the famous elements of the *Sāṅkhyas*; see *Sūtra* I, 61.

⁸ Cf. p. 159 and note 2.

⁹ Cf. p. 300 supra.

¹⁰ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 60.

¹¹ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 82, note 3.

¹² Of actions previously performed. See p. 246 supra.

¹³ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 101, where, however, the original word is different.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Brahman said :

The ancients who perceived the established (truth) call renunciation¹ penance; and the Brāhmaṇas dwelling in the seat of the Brahman² understand knowledge to be concerned with the Brahman³. The highest Brahman is very far off⁴, and (the attainment of it) depends on Vedic knowledge⁵; it is free from the pairs of opposites, devoid of qualities⁶, everlasting, of unthinkable qualities, and supreme. The men of talent, who are pure⁷, and whose minds are refined, transcending passion, and being untainted, perceive that supreme (principle) by means of knowledge and penance. Those who are constantly devoted to renunciation⁸, and understand the Brahman and wish for the supreme, go to the happy path by penance. Penance⁹ is said to be a light; (correct) conduct is the means to piety; knowledge verily should be understood to be the highest, and renunciation the best penance. He who understands determinately the self which is unperturbed, which abides in all entities, and which is the essential

¹ Abandoning of fruit, Arguna Misra. Cf. Gītā, p. 121.

² Cf. p. 339 supra, note 4, dwelling in=adhering to.

³ See Gītā, p. 104.

⁴ Cf. Sanatsugāthya, p. 158 seq. ⁵ Viz. the three famous ones.

⁶ Pure, refined, and untainted are not easily distinguished. Probably 'pure' refers to external cleanliness; 'untainted' to freedom from sin and such taints; and 'refined' to freedom from error.

⁷ I.e. who have no 'belongings,' Arguna Misra.

⁸ Action without desire, Arguna Misra, who adds that it is called a light, as it leads to knowledge. See too p. 166, and p. 247, note 11, and p. 340 supra.

element in knowledge, he is laid down¹ (as being able) to move everywhere. The learned man who perceives, association and dissociation, and likewise unity and diversity², is released from misery. He who desires nothing, and despises nothing³, becomes eligible, even dwelling in this world, for assimilation with the Brahman⁴. He who knows the truth about the qualities of Pradhâna⁵, and understands the Pradhâna of all entities⁶, who is free from (the thought that this or that is) mine, and free from egoism⁷, is emancipated, there is no doubt of that. One who is free from the pairs of opposites, free from the (ceremonies of) salutation, free from (the ceremony of) svadhâ⁸, attains to that everlasting (principle) which is free from the pairs of opposites, and devoid of qualities, by tranquillity only. Abandoning all action, whether agreeable or disagreeable, developed from the qualities⁹, and abandoning both truth and falsehood¹⁰, a creature is emancipated, there is no doubt of that. The great tree of Brahman¹¹ is

¹ 'Laid down' is literally 'wished.'

² I presume this means the real fact underlying the appearances of association and so forth, namely, that there is but one reality, and all appearances of difference &c. are unreal. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 124. See also p. 313 supra, note 1, and p. 374 infra.

³ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 65, and see Ka/ha, p. 155. ⁴ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 65.

⁵ The qualities, viz. the three, of Pradhâna, i.e. constituting Prakṛti, or nature. ⁶ See Gîtâ, p. 106, and note 3 there.

⁷ For this whole expression, which occurs so frequently, cf. Maitrî, p. 44, and comment there.

⁸ See p. 324 supra, note 8. ⁹ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 48; Svetâsvatara, p. 360.

¹⁰ I.e., I presume, what is real and unreal in a worldly view,—the great truth is not to be 'abandoned.' Cf. Taittirîya, pp. 97-99; p. 191 supra; Sânti Parvan (Moksha), chap. 174, st. 53; Apastamba II, 9, 21, 13.

¹¹ I.e., says Arguna Misra, the tree of worldly life produced from the Brahman. Compare chapter XII supra.

eternal; a tree which is produced from the unperceived as the seed, which consists of the understanding as its trunk, whose collection of boughs is the great egoism, the sprouts within which are the senses, the great branches of which are the great elements, and the side branches the objects of sense, which is always possessed of leaves, always possessed of flowers, in which agreeable and disagreeable fruits are always produced, and which is fed upon by all creatures. Cutting and piercing this (tree)¹ with the sword of knowledge of the truth, and abandoning the bonds in the shape of attachment, which cause birth, death, and old age², a wise man who is free from (the thought that this or that is) mine, and who is devoid of egoism, is emancipated, there is no doubt of that. There are these two birds³, (which are) unchanging, and which should also be known to be unintelligent⁴. But as to that other who is above them, he is called intelligent. (When) the inner self, devoid of knowledge of nature⁵, and (as it were) non-intelligent⁶, understands that which is

¹ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 111; and *Mundaka*, p. 307, and commentary there.

² So I render the original, though the sense at first sight appears to be 'which are caused by birth,' &c.

³ Viz. the understanding and egoism, which dwell in the 'tree,' *Arguna Mirra*. *Nīlakantha* says, 'the great and the individual self.'

⁴ Cf. *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* 11, and comment of *Vātsaspati Mirra*. The self is not unintelligent; and as the birds are so described, they must stand for some manifestation of *Prakṛti*, which understanding and egoism are. Otherwise 'bird' does stand for 'self.' See p. 189 supra.

⁵ The original word here is *sattva*, on which see p. 351 supra. *Arguna Mirra* renders it here by *Prakṛti*.

⁶ So *Nīlakantha*; 'the only intelligent principle,'—*Arguna Mirra*. On *Nīlakantha*'s interpretation 'inner self' must be the same thing as *Bhūtātman* at *Maitrī*, p. 41.

beyond nature, then understanding the Kshetra¹, and with an understanding comprehending all, and transcending the qualities² he is released from all sins.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Brahman said :

Some (think of) the Brahman as a tree ; some (think of) the Brahman as a great forest ; and some (think of) the Brahman as unperceived ; and some as transcendent and without misery³ ; and they⁴ think all this to be produced from and absorbed into the unperceived. He who even for (the space of) a (single) exhalation, at the time of the termination (of life⁵) becomes equable⁶, attaining to the self, becomes fit for immortality. Restraining the self in the self⁷, even for (the space of) a wink, he repairs to the inexhaustible acquisition⁸ of those who have knowledge, through the tranquillity of the self⁹. And restraining the life-winds again and

¹ See p. 351 supra.

² See Gītā, p. 109.

³ As to the first two clauses comp. pp. 284-371 supra ; the last two are said by Arguna Misra to represent the Sāṅkhya and Yoga doctrines respectively.

⁴ I presume this means all teachers. But Nīlakanṭha takes it to mean the Sāṅkhyas, and he takes the preceding words as indicating two views based on Śruti texts, viz. the first, that the world is a development of the Brahman, and the other that the Brahman does not undergo any development or change. Anāmaya he takes to mean changeless, and Brahmanmaya he takes to mean developed from the Brahman.

⁵ Cf. Gītā, pp. 77, 78.

⁶ One who sees the supreme as the only real entity, Arguna Misra. Nīlakanṭha takes it to mean one who identifies himself with everything. See Gītā, p. 65, and note 4 there.

⁷ See p. 344 supra.

⁸ I. e. the goal to be acquired.

⁹ 'Tranquillity'—the original may also be rendered by 'favour,'

again by control of the life-winds¹, of ten or twelve² (modes), (he repairs to) that which is beyond the twenty-four³. Thus having first a tranquil self, he obtains whatever he desires. When the quality of goodness predominates in the unperceived⁴, that fits one for immortality. The men of knowledge extol nothing else beyond goodness. By inference⁵ we understand the (attainment of the) being to depend on goodness. It is not possible otherwise⁶ to attain that being, O best of the twice-born! Forgiveness, courage, harmlessness, equability, truth, straightforwardness, knowledge, abandonment⁷, and also renunciation are laid down as (constituting) con-

as to which cf. p. 234 supra, but further on the phrase 'having a tranquil self' occurs, where the latter sense is not quite suitable. See *Gītā*, p. 51, and *Yoga-sūtra* I, 33.

¹ I.e. the specific modes which are mentioned of control of life-winds, e. g. at *Gītā*, p. 61, or *Yoga-sūtra* II, 49 seq.

² *Nīlakanṭha* proposes two interpretations of this. He says the ten are the eight mentioned in *Yoga-sūtra* II, 29, and in addition *tarka* and *vairāgya* (as to which see *Yoga-sūtra* I, 15 and 17). To make up the twelve he substitutes for the last two the four named at *Yoga-sūtra* I, 33. He also suggests that 'ten or twelve' may mean twenty-two, which he makes up thus. The five modes of *yama* (*Yoga-sūtra* II, 30), five of *niyama* (*ibid.* 32), the remaining six in *Yoga-sūtra* II, 29, the four in *Yoga-sūtra* I, 33, and *tarka* and *vairāgya* as before.

³ The twenty-four are the elements according to the *Sāṅkhya* system. See *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 11, and p. 368 supra. That which is beyond them is *Purusha*.

⁴ The unperceived, it should be noted, is made up of the three qualities; the predominance of goodness indicates enlightenment or knowledge. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 108.

⁵ The middle term in the inference being, says *Arguna Misra*, the enlightening effect of the quality in question.

⁶ Cf. p. 167 supra.

⁷ The original is *tyāga*, which *Arguna Misra* renders by 'abandonment of all belongings;' renunciation, scil. of fruit. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 121, and p. 114.

duct of the quality of goodness. By this very inference the wise verily believe in the Being and nature as one, there is no doubt of that. Some learned men, who are devoted to knowledge, assert the unity of the Kshetragñā and nature¹. But that is not correct. That they are always distinct (from one another) is also (said) without (due) consideration². Distinction and also association³ should be accurately understood. Unity and diversity⁴ are likewise laid down. Such is the doctrine of the learned. Between the gnat and the udumbara⁵ there is observed unity and diversity also. As a fish is in water distinct (from it), such is their relation; (such is) the relation of the drops of water with the leaf of the lotus.

· The preceptor said :

Then those Brāhmaṇas, who were the best of sages, having again felt doubts, interrogated the grandsire of the people who spoke to them thus.

¹ Here, says Nīlakanṭha, the author indicates an objection to the proposition stated just before. But the passage is not clear.

² This, says Nīlakanṭha, is a reply to the Sāṅkhyas, who hold the two to be distinct. Nīlakanṭha adds, that if the two are distinct, nature will, conceivably, adhere even to an emancipated creature; and if they are one, then the being or self would be really engaging in action and so forth, and that activity being really a property of the self, could not be destroyed save by the destruction of the self. Hence that view is also wrong.

³ Like that of sea and wave, Nīlakanṭha.

⁴ Unity of Brahman and diversity of manifestation of nature. Arguna Misra, who adds—by reason of the association they are spoken of as one, by reason of the unity and diversity they are distinct. The next sentence contains three parallel cases.

⁵ Cf. as to all this, Sānti Parvan, chap. 194, st. 38 seq. (Moksha Dharma); chap. 249, st. 20 seq.; chap. 285, st. 33 seq.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The sages said :

Which (form of) piety is deemed to be the most worthy of being performed ? We observe the various modes of piety to be as it were contradictory. Some say (it ¹ remains) after the body (is destroyed) ; some say that is not so. Some (say) everything ² is doubtful ; and others that there is no doubt. Some say the permanent (principle) is impermanent, and others, too, that it exists, and (others) that it exists not ³. Some (say it is) of one form or twofold, and others (that it is) mixed ⁴. Some Brâhmanas, too, who know the Brahman and perceive the truth, believe it to be one ; others distinct ; and others again (that it is) manifold ⁵. Some say both time and space (exist) ⁶, and others that that is not so. Some have matted hair and skins ; and some (are) clean-shaven and without covering. Some people are for bathing ; some for the omission ⁷ of bathing. Some are for taking food ; others are intent on fasting. Some people extol action, and

¹ I. e. the piety, Arguna Misra ; the self, Nīlakantha.

² I. e. such as piety, &c., Arguna Misra.

³ I follow Arguna Misra, who says 'permanent' means soul, &c. The correct expression would seem to be 'that which is called permanent by others is impermanent.'

⁴ This is the view of those who hold the theory of Parināma, or development, says Arguna Misra.

⁵ 'To be one' = knowledge to be all of one description, 'distinct' = knowledge having various entities for its distinct objects (this is the view of the holders of the Viśiṣṭādvaita, says Arguna Misra) ; manifold = that the selfs are numberless. The words here are nearly identical with those at Gītā, p. 83, see note 4 there.

⁶ I. e. help in action, Arguna Misra.

⁷ See Āpastamba I, 1, 1, 2 (comment).

others tranquillity. Some extol final emancipation ; some various kinds of enjoyments ; some wish for riches, and others indigence. Some (say) means¹ should be resorted to ; others that that is not so. Some are devoted to harmlessness, and some given up to destruction ; some are for merit and glory ; and others say that is not so. Some are devoted to goodness ; some are in the midst of doubts ; some are for pleasure, and some for pain². Some people (say) meditation³, other Brāhmaṇas (say) sacrifice, and others, gifts ; but others extol penance, and other persons sacred study ; some knowledge, and renunciation⁴ ; and those who ponder on the elements⁵, nature⁶. Some extol everything, and others nothing⁷.

¹ I.e. for the acquisition of anything desirable, Arguna Misra, who adds, 'by those who wish for piety.' Nilakanṭha says means = 'meditation and so forth ;' as to 'that is not so' he cites what he calls a Sruti, which is however one of the Kārikās of Gaudapāda on the Māndukya ; see p. 432.

² This, too, is not quite clear, but Nilakanṭha says, 'meditation should be practised for release from pain, and for acquisition of pleasure ;' 'and others say not so, it should be done without desire.'

³ That is to say, they hold that meditation should be practised.

⁴ Arguna Misra seems to take this to mean 'renunciation of knowledge,' i.e. a blank, and says this was the view of the Mādhyamikas,—I suppose the Mādhyamika Bauddhas.

⁵ I.e. the Kārvākas, Arguna Misra.

⁶ Svetāśvatara, p. 276, and Saṅkara's commentary there.

⁷ Were there optimists and pessimists at the time of the Anugītā in India? This verse, however, does not occur in some MSS. Nilakanṭha's note on this passage may be of some interest. He says, 'Some hold that the self exists after the body is lost ; others, that is the Lokāyatas or Kārvākas, hold the contrary. Everything doubtful is the view of the Syādvādins ; nothing doubtful that of the Tairthikas, the great teachers (I presume, about their own respective doctrines). Everything impermanent, Tārikas ; permanent, Mīmāṃsakas ; nothing exists, the Sūnyavādins ; something exists, but only momentarily,

And, O best of the gods ! piety being thus confused and abounding in contradictions, we are deluded, and come to no determination. People are acting, (saying) this is good, this is good. And he who is attached to a certain (form of) piety, always esteems that. Here (therefore) our understanding breaks down, and our mind is distracted. We wish, O best (of beings) ! to be informed of what is good. Be pleased now to proceed to state what is (so) mysterious, and what is the cause of the connexion between the Kshetragña and nature. Thus addressed by those Brāhmanas, the venerable, holy, and talented creator of worlds told them accurately (what they asked).

Saugatas ; knowledge is one, but the ego and non-ego are two different principles, the Yogātāras ; mixed, Uśulomas ; one, is the view of the worshippers of the Brahman as possessed of qualities ; distinct, other Mīmāṃsakas, who hold that the special actions are the cause (of everything, is meant, I presume) ; manifold = the atomists ; time and space = astrologers. Those who "say that is not so," that is to say, that what we see has no real existence at all, are the Vṛiddhas, ancient philosophers ; omission to bathe = the condition of Naiṣhika Brahmatārins ; bathing = householder's condition ; "means should be resorted to, that is not so," those who are against all meditation, &c., according to the Sruti text, which Nīlakaṇṭha quotes ; "merit and glory, that is not so," some say there is no merit as the Lokāyatas or Kārvākas ; "knowledge, renunciation," the former is to be gained only by means of the latter ; "ponder on elements" = who are intent on the investigation of the true nature of things ; nature = abundance of resources, by which alone knowledge is produced, not by mere renunciation.' It will be understood, that this commentary assumes a different syntactical construction of the original in some places from that adopted in our translation.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Brahman said :

Well then, I will declare to you what you ask of me, O best (of men)! Learn what a preceptor told a pupil who went to him. Hearing it all, deliberate on it properly. Non-destruction of all creatures, that is deemed to be the greatest duty¹. This is the highest seat², free from vexation and holy in character. The ancients who perceived the established (truth) call knowledge the highest happiness. Therefore by pure knowledge one is released from all sins. And those who are constantly engaged in destruction, and who are infidels³ in their conduct, and who entertain avarice and delusion, go verily to hell. Those who without sloth perform actions with expectations, rejoice in this world, being born again and again. But those wise and talented men, who perform actions with faith, free from any connexion with expectations, perceive correctly⁴. Now I will proceed to state how the association and dissociation of Kshetragña and nature (take place). Learn that, O best (of men)! The relation here is said to be that between the object and subject⁵. The subject

¹ See p. 291 supra, and note 3 there.

² So literally; the sense is—that which one is to aim at.

³ The original is nâstika, the contrary of that 'âstikya,' which at Gîtâ, p. 126, we have rendered by 'belief (in a future world),' following Sridhara. Râmânuga, whose commentary came to hand too late for any other than a very occasional use in the translation of the Gîtâ, renders it by 'belief in the truth of the teaching of the Vedas.'

⁴ I. e. learn the truth.

⁵ I use the terms subject and object here in the philosophical sense explained by Sir W. Hamilton, viz. the thinking agent and the object of thought respectively. And cf. also the passage referred to in note 3 on p. 379 infra.

is always the being, and nature is stated to be the object. It has been explained in the above mode, as (having the relation) of the gnat and the udumbara¹. Nature which is non-intelligent knows nothing, though it is the object of enjoyment². Who enjoys and what is enjoyed³ is learnt from the Sâstras. Nature is said always to abound in the pairs of opposites, and to be constituted of the qualities; the Kshetragña is free from the pairs of opposites, devoid of parts, and in essence free from the qualities. He abides in everything alike⁴, and is connected with (all) knowledge⁵; and he always enjoys nature as a lotus-leaf (enjoys) water. Even brought into contact with all qualities, a learned man remains untainted⁶. There is no doubt that the being is unattached just like the unsteady drop of water placed upon a lotus-leaf⁷. It is established that nature is the property⁸ of the being. And the relation of the two is like that of matter and the maker⁹. As one goes into (a) dark (place) taking a light (with him), so those who wish for the supreme go with the light of nature¹⁰. While there is oil

¹ P. 374 supra. The relation is one of close connexion, coupled with some identity of nature (because, says Nīlakaṇṭha, an entirely extraneous thing could not get into the inside of the fruit, and the gnat's body therefore must have come from the fruit itself), but still the elements are distinct.

² See p. 371 supra, note 4.

³ Cf. Maitrī, p. 108.

⁴ Cf. Gītā, pp. 105, 106.

⁵ Knowledge of the Kshetragña forms part of all real knowledge. Arguna Misra's reading and interpretation are different. He says, 'As he is seen coming to light everywhere alike, so,' &c.

⁶ Cf. Gītā, pp. 55-110.

⁷ Again the common simile.

⁸ The original is dravya, rendered 'matter' in the next sentence. Arguna Misra paraphrases it by 'upakarana,' paraphernalia.

⁹ So the original, the sense is not clear. But see Svetaśvatara, p. 368.

¹⁰ Knowledge, which, says Nīlakaṇṭha, is a manifestation of nature. Arguna Misra says the knowledge of the truth which the

and wick¹, the light shines; but the flame is extinguished when the oil and wick are exhausted. Thus nature is perceived²; the being is laid down (as being) unperceived. Understand this, O Brāhmanas! Well now, I will tell you something more. One who has a bad understanding does not acquire knowledge even with a thousand (admonitions). And one who is possessed of knowledge enhances (his) happiness even with a fourth share³. Thus should one understand the accomplishment of piety by (apt) means. For the talented man who knows (these) means, attains supreme happiness⁴. As a man travelling along some way without provisions for the journey, travels with great discomfort, and may even be destroyed on the way, so should one understand, that by action⁵ the fruit is or is not produced. For a man to see within (his) self⁶ what is agreeable and what is disagreeable to him is good. And as one who is devoid of a perception of the truth rashly travels on foot by a long way unseen before⁷, while (another) goes by the same self acquires is by means of nature. Cf. Sāṅkhya-kārikā 56, and comment.

¹ So Nilakantha. Arguna Misra does not take *guṇa* here to mean 'wick.'

² I. e., I presume, in its manifestations; it is perceived for some time and then vanishes. Cf. Sāṅkhya-kārikā 59-61; the Purusha is not 'perceived' in this sense. ³ Viz. of admonition, Arguna Misra.

⁴ Cf. Gītā, p. 70, where the same phrase occurs.

⁵ The fruit of this is uncertain; knowledge which is in one's self is the thing to be worked for.

⁶ I. e. the mind, Nilakantha. The meaning is, he should not care for external pleasure and pain. Cf. Gītā, *inter alia*, p. 50.

⁷ This seems to be so left imperfect in the original. The construction seems to be this: the progress of the latter is as great as that of one who drives in a chariot as compared with that of one who goes on foot with much suffering. Cf. the construction on next page.

way in a carriage¹ drawn by horses, and going swiftly, such is the progress of the men of understanding. Having climbed up a mountain one should not look at the surface of the earth². One sees a man travelling in a chariot, and void of intelligence, afflicted by reason of the chariot. As far as there is a carriage-path, he goes in the carriage; where the carriage-path stops, a learned man goes on abandoning the carriage. So travels the talented man, who understands the procedure respecting (knowledge of the) truth and devotion³, and who knows about the qualities, comprehending the gradations⁴ one above the other. As one who without a boat dives into the ocean with his arms only, through delusion, undoubtedly wishes for destruction; while a wise man likewise knowing distinctions⁵, and having a boat with good oars, goes in the water without fatigue, and soon crosses the reservoir, and having crossed (it) goes to the other shore, throwing

¹ I.e. the Sāstras, says *Nīlakantha*. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 117.

² When one has arrived at knowledge,—the highest seat, says *Nīlakantha*,—one need not perform the dictates of the Sāstras, which are only preliminary to the acquisition of knowledge. Cf. *Gītā*, pp. 48, 73. Cf. as to this figure of the chariot and the next one about the boat, *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 695.

³ I adopt *Arguna's* rendering of the original here, viz. Yoga. The meaning, on that rendering, is the same as it is in the *Gītā*.

⁴ According to *Arguna Mirra*, action with desire, action without desire, and lastly, knowledge. According to *Nīlakantha*, action laid down in the Sāstras, then Yoga, and then the condition of *Hamsa*, *Paramahamsa*, &c.

⁵ Literally, one knowing divisions. I presume the meaning is distinctions between various things as to which suits which, and so forth. The boat, says *Nīlakantha*, is a preceptor, and even a preceptor is not to be sought for after a man has achieved Yoga; hence the text proceeds to speak further on of casting aside the boat. Wishes for destruction= is sure to meet destruction.

aside the boat, and devoid of (the thought that this or that is) mine. This has been already explained by the parallel of the carriage and pedestrian. One who has come by delusion through affection, adheres to that like a fisherman to his boat, being overcome by (the thought that this or that is) mine. It is not possible to move on land after embarking in a boat. And likewise one cannot move in water after entering a carriage. Thus there are various actions in regard to different objects¹. And as action is performed in this world, so does it result to them². That which sages by their understanding meditate upon, which is void of any smell whatever, void of taste, and void of colour, touch, or sound, that is called the Pradhâna³. Now that Pradhâna is unperceived; a development of the unperceived is the Mahat; and a development of the Pradhâna (when it is) become Mahat is egoism. From egoism is produced the development, namely, the great elements; and of the elements respectively, objects of sense are verily stated to be the development⁴. The unperceived is of the nature of seed⁵, and also productive in its essence. And we have heard

¹ I. e. appertaining to the various orders of householders, &c., Nilakantha. But I am not aware of any authority for this sense of vishaya.

² I. e. those who perform them.

³ Nilakantha says, 'Having stated above the means of knowledge, he now states the proper object of knowledge.'

⁴ See p. 332 supra. The original for development is *gusa*, literally quality.

⁵ The meaning of this passage seems to be identical with that of Sāṅkhya-kārikā 3. Productive (Prasavātmakam) is probably to be explained as Prasavadharmi is at Sāṅkhya-kārikā 11 (see commentary of Vātsapati, pp. 59, 60), viz. always undergoing development. The great elements are of course the *tanmātra*s.

that the great self is of the nature of seed and a product. Egoism is of the nature of seed and a product also again and again. And the five great elements are verily of the nature of seed and products. The objects of the five elements are of the nature of seed¹, but they do not yield products. Learn about their properties. Now space has one quality, air is said to have two qualities; it is said that light has three qualities; and water, too, is of four qualities; and earth, abounding with movables and immovables, the divine source of all entities, full of examples of agreeable and disagreeable (things), should be understood to be of five qualities². Sound, touch, colour likewise, taste, and smell as the fifth—these, O best of the twice-born! should be understood to be the five qualities of earth. Smell always belongs to the earth³; and smell is stated to be (of) numerous descriptions. I will state at length the numerous qualities of smell⁴. Smell is agreeable or disagreeable, sweet, sour, and bitter likewise, diffusive and compact also, soft, and rough, and clear also⁵—thus should

¹ This is not clear, unless 'product' above means productive, and seed means a product, it being a product of the *aṅkura* or sprout. *Nilakanṭha* says, 'seed=cause; product=effect. The unperceived is an effect, and so the contrary doctrine of the Sāṅkhya is here shown to be wrong. The objects are causes, as their enjoyment causes an impression.'

² See pp. 285, 286 *supra*.

³ That is to say, smell is the special property of the earth only, the other qualities are common to it with the other elements. The word in the original is *guṇa* or quality everywhere.

⁴ See *Sānti Parvan* (*Moksha Dharma*), chap. 184, st. 27.

⁵ Bitter, *Nilakanṭha* exemplifies by the smell of the chili, apparently interpreting *kaṭvi*, as it may be interpreted, to mean sharp; diffusive=overcoming all other smells, like *Asafoetida*; compact=made up of many smells. *Nilakanṭha* adds, that soft is like that of

smell, which belongs to the earth, be understood to be of ten descriptions. Sound, touch, and colour likewise, and taste, are stated to be the qualities of water. I will now give (some) information about taste. Taste is stated to be of numerous descriptions. Sweet¹, sour, bitter, sharp, astringent, and saltish likewise—thus are the forms of taste, which is a development of water, said to be of six descriptions. Sound, touch, and likewise colour; thus is light said to have three qualities. The quality of light is colour, and colour is stated to be of numerous descriptions. White, black, red likewise, green, yellow, and grey likewise, short, long, narrow², broad, square, and circular—thus is the colour of light said to be of twelve forms. It should be understood³ by aged Brāhmaṇas, who speak the truth, and are conversant with piety. Sound and touch also should be understood; air is said to have (these) two qualities. And touch is the quality of air, and touch is stated to be of numerous descriptions. Rough, cold and hot likewise, tender and clear also, hard, glutinous, smooth, slippery, hurtful, and soft⁴—thus the quality of air is properly said by Brāhmaṇas who have reached perfection, who are conversant with piety and perceive the truth, to be of twelve descriptions. Now space has one quality.

liquid ghee, rough of the oil of mustard, and clear as of cooked rice. The Sānti Parvan passage omits 'sour.' ¹ Cf. Gītā, p. 118.

² Literally, lean and fat. These are rather unusual qualities to attribute to colour. The Sānti Parvan passage gives more.

³ Sic. Does it mean 'it is understood?' Cf. Pāṇini III, 3, 113.

⁴ Tender=like the touch of a son, &c.; clear=like that of an excellent cloth, *Nilakanṭha*; glutinous=like that of oil; smooth=like that of a gem; slippery=not really smooth, but appearing to be such, like that of saliva (?), *Arguna Mīṣa*. The enumeration of these in the Sānti Parvan loc. cit. is again different.

and that is stated to be sound only. I will speak at length of the numerous qualities of sound. *Shadga*, *Rishabha*, together with *Gândhâra*, *Madhyama*, and likewise *Pañkama*, and beyond these should be understood to be *Nishâda* and *Dhaivata* likewise¹; agreeable and disagreeable sound also, compact, and of (many) ingredients². Thus sound, which is produced in space, should be understood to be of ten descriptions. Space is the highest element³, egoism is above that; above egoism is understanding, and above that understanding is the self⁴; above that is the unperceived, and above the unperceived is the being. One who knows which is superior and inferior among entities, and who knows the proper procedure in all actions, and who identifies himself with every being⁵, repairs to the imperishable self.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Brahman said :

Since the mind is ruler of these five elements, in (the matter of) absorbing or bringing (them) forth⁶,

¹ This is the Hindu Gamut.

² These are not in the *Sânti Parvan*; of many ingredients = collection of sounds, *Arguna Misra*.

³ Being all-pervading, *Arguna Misra*. Cf. its position at *Taittiriya*, p. 67.

⁴ Cf. *Kaṭha*, pp. 114, 115, 149, and *Śaṅkarācārya's* commentary there, for an explanation of the whole passage. And see *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 16, as to what are here called self and understanding.

⁵ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 64, where the words are identical.

⁶ The elements are perceived or are not perceived by the senses under the direction of the mind; absorbing = destroying; bringing forth = producing, *Nilakantha*. See p. 268 *supra*, and *Sânti Parvan* (*Moksha*), chap. 240, st. 12.

the mind itself is the individual self¹. The mind always presides over the great elements. The understanding proclaims its power², and it is called the Kshetragña. The mind yokes the senses as a charioteer (yokes) good horses. The senses, the mind, and the understanding are always joined to the Kshetragña³. That individual self, mounting the chariot to which big horses⁴ are yoked, and in which the understanding is the drag⁵, drives about on all sides. The great chariot which is pervaded by the Brahman⁶, has the group of the senses yoked (to it), has the mind for a charioteer, and the understanding for a drag. That learned and talented person verily, who always understands thus the chariot pervaded by the Brahman, comes not by delusion in the midst of all entities⁷. This forest of the Brahman⁸ begins with the unperceived, and ends with the gross objects⁹:

¹ The word is the same as at Maitrī, p. 41, the comment on which should be seen.

² I.e. the mind's power is to be perceived by itself, *Nīlakantha*. The meaning seems to be that the understanding can only operate on what the mind places before it.

³ The passage at *Kaṭha*, p. 111 seq., and Śaṅkara's commentary there, throw light on this, though the figure is not drawn out in the same way in both places. For a definition of Kshetragña, see *Sānti Parvan* (Moksha), chap. 187, st. 23.

⁴ I.e. the senses.

⁵ I.e. that which holds the horses in check. *Nīlakantha* seems to render it by 'whip,' but that is not correct, I think.

⁶ So *Arguna Misra*. *Nīlakantha* says, 'The senses, &c., when they turn towards the outer world make the self drive about, as an individual self; when turned inwards they show him that he is the Brahman.' *Nīlakantha* thus likens this to the *Kaṭha* passage. See also p. 187 and notes there.

⁷ Or it may mean, among all men.

⁸ See p. 164 *supra*, note 2; and p. 285, note 4.

⁹ That is to say, it includes all *Samsāra*, all the elements recognised by the Sāṅkhya philosophy, save the Being or *Puruṣa*.

and includes movables and immovables, receives light from the radiance of the sun and moon, is adorned with planets and nakshatras, and is decked on all sides with nets of rivers and mountains, and always beautified likewise by various (descriptions of) waters; it is (the means of) subsistence for all entities¹, and it is the goal of all living creatures. In this the Kshetragña always moves about. Whatever entities (there are) in this world, movable or immovable, they are the very first² to be dissolved; and next the developments produced from the elements³; and (after) these developments, all the elements. Such is the upward gradation⁴ among entities. Gods, men, Gandharvas, Pisâkas, Asuras, Râkshasas, all have been created by nature⁵, not by actions, nor by a cause. These Brâhmanas⁶, the creators of the world, are born here again and again. And what-

¹ Cf. p. 371 supra.

² Another reading means 'they are dissolved in the waters.' As to the order, cf. Vedânta Paribhâshâ, p. 48, and p. 335 supra.

³ I take these to mean the gross elements of which things movable and immovable may be said to be made, if one may use a non-idealist phrase in the Sâṅkhya philosophy. Then the elements next spoken of are the subtle ones or tanmâtras. Cf. the references in note 2. As to developments, see p. 382, note 4.

⁴ Viz. gross object, gross element, subtle element.

⁵ The original is *svabhâva*, which Arguna Mirra renders by *Prakṛiti*. 'Actions' both *Nîlakantha* and Arguna Mirra take to mean sacrifices, &c., and 'cause' the former interprets by Brahman; the latter by tanmâtras or subtle elements, and adds, 'the sense is—not by sacrifice or tanmâtras only.' *Nîlakantha* says, 'The gods, &c., are produced by nature, as the gods, &c., seen in a dream.' The meaning seems to be that there are energies in nature which evolve these forms of being. Cf. also *Gîtâ*, p. 65.

⁶ I presume this means that the patriarchs (*Marîçi* and others, says *Nîlakantha*) are also born again and again—that is to say, in different kalpas, I suppose—by nature only.

ever is produced from them¹ is dissolved in due time in those very five great elements, like billows in the ocean. The great elements are in every way (beyond) the elements that make up the world². And he who is released, even from those five elements, goes to the highest goal. The Lord Praṅgā-pati created all this by the mind³ only. And in the same manner⁴ the sages attained the godhead⁵ by means of penance⁶. And in like manner, those who have achieved perfection, who have acquired concentration by a course of penance, and who likewise feed on fruits and roots, perceive the triple world⁷ here by penance. Medicines, and herbs, and the various sciences are all acquired⁸ by means of penance alone. For all acquisition⁹ has penance for its root. Whatever is difficult to obtain¹⁰, difficult to

¹ I think this must mean the elements, though it might at first sight be referred to the Brāhmanas.

² I. e. the gross elements, I take it; the others are the tanmātras.

³ I. e. the meditation which constitutes true knowledge, Arguna Misra. But see Gītā, p. 87, note 1, and Sāṅkhya-sūtra.

⁴ I. e. by the mind, as to which cf. Taittirīya, p. 89; Kaṭha, p. 164. Arguna Misra says, 'This apparent deviation from the ordinary modes of cause and effect is not altogether without parallel, so he adds this to show that.'

⁵ Literally, 'the gods,' but the meaning seems to be that given in the text, as Arguna Misra says.

⁶ This is only the concentration of mind and senses on one object, Nilakantha. See p. 166, note 1 supra.

⁷ See p. 174 supra.

⁸ Literally, 'are accomplished,' which seems to mean that they are acquired so as to be practically at one's command when required.

⁹ The original word is derived from the same root as the subject of the last note.

¹⁰ Difficult to obtain=the seat of Indra, &c.; to learn=Vedas, &c.; to vanquish=fire, &c.; to pass through=a great deluge, &c.,

learn, difficult to vanquish, and difficult to pass through; all that can be accomplished by penance, for penance is difficult to overcome. One who drinks spirituous liquors, one who kills a Brāhmaṇa, one who steals, one who destroys an embryo, one who violates the bed of his preceptor¹, is released from that sin only by penance well performed. (Those) men, Pitṛis, gods, (sacrificial) animals², beasts and birds, and all other creatures movable or immovable, (who are) constantly devoted to penance, always reach perfection by penance. And in like manner the noble(-minded) gods went to heaven³. Those who without sloth perform actions with expectations, and being full of egoism, they go near Pragāpati⁴. Those high-souled ones who are devoid of (the thought that this or that is) mine, and devoid of egoism, by means of a pure concentration (of mind) on contemplation, obtain the great and highest world. Those who best understand the self, attaining concentration (of mind) on contemplation⁵, and having their minds always tranquil, enter into the unperceived accumulation of happiness⁶. Those

Nīlakanṭha. Arguna Misra seems to interpret the last word, where his reading 'is doubtful, to mean 'difficult to do.'

¹ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 361. Except the destruction of the embryo (see Taitt. Âraṇ. p. 870, but at *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 795, Kaushîtaki, p. 77, and *Âpastamba* I, 6, 19, 16, the commentators render *Bhrûna* by 'learned Brāhmaṇa'), the rest are the great sins. But note that stealing gold, not theft generally, is mentioned as a great sin.

² Or, perhaps, cattle. The original is *paśu*.

³ See p. 160 *supra*, and cf. p. 178.

⁴ I. e. Karyapa, as gods, &c. This seems to be Arguna Misra's interpretation. This condition is inferior to that described in the following sentence.

⁵ See p. 162, note 1.

⁶ *Nīlakanṭha*'s rendering is 'that by which (worldly) happiness is

who are free from (all thought that this or that is) mine, and who are free from egoism, attaining concentration (of mind) on contemplation¹, enter the highest world of the great, which is the unperceived. Born from that same unperceived² (principle), again acquiring knowledge, and getting rid of the (qualities of) passion and darkness, and resorting to the pure (quality of) goodness, a man gets rid of all sins, and abandons everything as fruitless. He should be understood to be the Kshetragnâ. He who understands him understands the Vedas³. Withdrawing from the mind the objects⁴ of mental operations, a sage should sit down self-restrained. (He) necessarily. (becomes) that on which his mind⁵ (is fixed). This is the eternal mystery. That which begins with the unperceived and ends with the gross objects⁶ is stated to be of the nature of ignorance⁷. But (you should) learn that whose nature is devoid

heightened.' He compares *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 816. See also *Taittirīya*, p. 112.

¹ See *Gîtâ*, p. 128, note 1, where *dhyâna* and *yoga* are taken separately. Here the compound is in the singular. *Nīlakaṇṭha's* reading is different.

² The sense here is not quite clear. It seems, however, to be this. The acquisitions mentioned in the preceding sentence take the acquirers to some temporary world from which they afterwards return; but when they get rid of the qualities, they get final emancipation. As to the unperceived, cf. *inter alia Gîtâ*, p. 112, note 1.

³ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 111, and note 2 there. That seems to approach the question from the opposite point of view.

⁴ So *Arguna Misra*. At *Gîtâ XVI*, 16, *hitta* means the operation itself. That also will do here.

⁵ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 78; *Maitrī*, p. 178; *Prasna*, p. 194; and the quotations at *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 3.

⁶ This phrase has occurred before; it means all the developments which make up worldly life. See *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 5.

⁷ See p. 371 *supra*.

of qualities. Two syllables¹ are death; three syllables the eternal Brahman. Mine is death, and not mine is the eternal². Some men of dull understandings extol action. But as to the high-souled ancients they do not extol action³. By action a creature is born with a body and made up of the sixteen⁴. Knowledge brings forth⁵ the being, and that is acceptable and constitutes immortality. Therefore those who are far-sighted have no attachment to actions. This being is stated to be full of knowledge, not full of action⁶. The self-restrained man who thus understands the immortal, changeless, incomprehensible, and ever indestructible and unattached (principle), he dies not⁷. He who thus understands the self to which there is nothing prior, which is uncreated, changeless, unmoving⁸, which is incomprehensible (even) to those who feed on nectar, he certainly becomes immortal⁹ and not to be restrained⁹, in consequence of these means¹⁰.

¹ See *Sānti Parvan* (*Rāgadharmā*) XIII, 4. Cf. *Maitrī*, p. 180. This means the two and three syllables of 'mama' and 'na mama,' mine and not mine. Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 970, and *Khândogya*, p. 118, and p. 548, for a similar conceit.

² Final emancipation follows on abandoning the idea of 'mine;' bondage on harbouring it. ³ See *Mundaka*, p. 279.

⁴ The eleven organs and the five great elements which go to form the body. See *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* 3, and comment thereon; *Sānti Parvan*, chap. 210, st. 32 seq.; chap. 242, st. 7 seq.; *Prana*, p. 230.

⁵ I. e. shows. ⁶ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 118; *Sānti Parvan*, ch. 242, st. 15.

⁷ See p. 367 supra, note 6; and cf. *Kaṭha*, pp. 155, 156.

⁸ I. e. which remains unconcerned, cf. *Īśa*, p. 10. *Apūrvam* (to which there is nothing prior), *Arguna Mīra* renders by 'not familiarly known,' and *Nīlakaṇṭha* by 'not understood by any other means of knowledge.' See also *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 502, and *Saṅkara* on that.

⁹ This is not very clear, but I suppose the meaning to be the same as that of 'unconquerable' at p. 161, and see p. 231.

¹⁰ I. e. the means mentioned further on, says *Nīlakaṇṭha*.

Expelling all impressions¹, and restraining the self in the self², he understands that holy Brahman, than which nothing greater exists. And when the understanding is clear, he attains tranquillity³. And the nature of tranquillity is as when one sees a dream⁴. This⁵ is the goal of those emancipated ones who are intent on knowledge. And they see all the movements⁶ which are produced by development. This is the goal of those who are indifferent (to the world). This is the eternal piety. This is what is acquired by men of knowledge. This is the uncensured (mode of) conduct. This goal can be reached by one who is alike to all beings⁷, who is without attachment, who is without expectations.

¹ Impressions from external causes. Cf. inter alia Sâṅkhya-sūtra III, 83; see, too, pp. 247-358 supra and notes there.

² I. e. restraining the mind in the lotus-like heart, Nīlakaṇṭha. Cf. as to this, pp. 248, 372 inter alia.

³ Cf. Gītā, p. 51. See also Maitrī-upaniṣad, p. 176, and Mundaka, p. 314.

⁴ Arguna Misra says, 'The nature of tranquillity is this, that in that state you perceive everything to be unreal like what is seen in a dream.' Nīlakaṇṭha says, 'The nature of tranquillity is this, that in that state the self abides without attachment to the body, and any external objects, but working within itself as in a dream.' But see on this Kāṣha, p. 147.

⁵ Viz. tranquillity, Nīlakaṇṭha.

⁶ I. e., says Nīlakaṇṭha, they see all worldly objects past and future. Arguna Misra, 'They see the actions performed for some wealth and so forth.' I am not satisfied with either meaning. Arguna Misra's is besides based on a reading different from that adopted in the text, namely, *Parimāṇagāh*, instead of *Parimāṇagāh*. I think 'parimāṇa' is the development which, according to the Sâṅkhya philosophy, produces the universe, and the movements are the actions which that development—namely, here the activity of egoism and its products—occasions. Cf. as to some extent supporting this, Sâṅkhya-sāra, p. 16.

⁷ See inter alia Gītā, pp. 68-70.

and who looks alike on everything¹. I have now declared everything to you, O best of Brāhmaṇa sages! Act thus forthwith; then you will acquire perfection.

The preceptor said:

Thus instructed by the preceptor Brahman, those high-souled sages acted accordingly, and then attained to the worlds². Do you, too, O noble person, of pure self! duly act according to the words of Brahman which I have stated. Then will you attain perfection.

Vāsudeva said:

That pupil thus instructed in the highest piety by the preceptor, did everything (accordingly), O son of Kuntl! and then attained final emancipation. And the pupil, having done all he should have done, attained to that seat, O supporter of the family of the Kauravas! going to which one grieves not³.

Arguna said:

Who, indeed, was that Brāhmaṇa, O *Krishna*! and who the pupil, O *Ganārdana*! If this verily is fit to be heard by me, O Lord! then tell it me.

Vāsudeva said:

I⁴ am the preceptor, O you of mighty arms! and

¹ See inter alia *Gītā*, pp. 68–70.

² I. e., I presume, Bhūr and the rest. But see also *Kāṇḍogya*, pp. 272, 541, 620, and *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, pp. 302, 608.

³ See p. 285 supra, and cf. inter alia *Kāṇḍogya*, p. 550.

⁴ I. e. I, the *Kṣhetragṛha*, am the preceptor, and the mind is that which has to be taught. This shows that one's instructor must be oneself, *Nīlakantha*. Arguna Misra says, 'I am the preceptor, the mind is the pupil. The meaning of this is that anybody who has not acquired knowledge is treated here as a pupil; there is no other special pupil intended.' Cf. also p. 310 supra.

know the mind to be my pupil. And, O Dhanañgaya ! I have related this mystery to you out of love for you. If you have love for me, O supporter of the family of the Kauravas ! then having heard this (instruction) relating to the self, always duly act ¹ (according to it). Then when this piety is duly practised, you will attain the absolute final emancipation, getting rid of all sins. It was this same thing I stated to you before ² when the time for battle had come, O you of mighty arms ! Therefore fix your mind on this. And now ³, O chief of the descendants of Bharata ! it is long since I saw the lord my father. I wish to see him, with your consent, O Phālguna ⁴ !

Vaisampāyana said :

When *Kṛishṇa* spoke these words, Dhanañgaya replied (saying), 'O *Kṛishṇa* ! let us verily go to-day to the city of Gāgasa ⁵. Be pleased, O you who understand piety ! to see there king Yudhishthira, who is of a devout heart, and after taking leave of him to go to your own city.'

¹ *Nilakantha* interprets the words without supplying anything, thus 'be devoted to yama niyama,' &c. Yama &c. are the eight requisites for Yoga or concentration of mind as taught by *Patañjali*.

² That is to say, in the *Gītā*.

³ Here he takes up the thread of the story. In the first chapter it was hinted that *Kṛishṇa* was anxious to go to *Dvārakā*.

⁴ This is a name of *Arguna*.

⁵ I. e. *Hastināpur*, the capital of the *Pāṇḍavas*. They were, when the dialogue was held, at *Indraprastha*. See p. 229 *supra*.

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N.B. Only in some cases have references been given to all the passages in which a certain word occurs. In most cases, only the passages in which words are used in noteworthy senses are referred to.

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CONSONANTS	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Phoenic.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	...	...	क	𐬕	𐤊	𐬑	𐤊	𐤊	k
2 " aspirata	kh	...	...	ख	𐬖	𐤋	𐬒	...	𐤌	kh
3 Media	g	...	...	ग	𐬗	𐤍	𐬓	...	𐤎	...
4 " aspirata	gh	...	...	घ	𐬘	𐤏	𐬔	...	𐤐	...
5 Gutturulo-labialis	q	...	...	...	𐬙	𐤑	𐬕	...	𐤒	...
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	...	...	ङ	{ 𐬚 (ng) 𐬛 (N) 𐬜 (ng h)	...	...	...	...	...
7 Spiritus asper	h	...	...	ह	𐬞	𐤒	𐬖	...	𐤓	h, hs
8 " lenis . . . . .	,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	𐤔	...
9 " asper faucalis	ʔ	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	𐤕	...
10 " lenis faucalis	ʔ	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	𐤖	...
11 " asper fricatus	'h	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	𐤗	...
12 " lenis fricatus	'h	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	k	...	...	क	𐬕	𐤊	𐬑	...	𐤊	k
14 " aspirata	kh	...	...	ख	𐬖	𐤋	𐬒	...	𐤌	kh
15 Media	g	...	...	ग	𐬗	𐤍	𐬓	...	𐤎	...
16 " aspirata	gh	...	...	घ	𐬘	𐤏	𐬔	...	𐤐	...
17 " Nasalis	ṅ	...	...	ङ	𐬙	𐤑	𐬕	...	𐤒	...

CONSONANTS (continued)	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬨	𐬨	ی	ي	י	י
19 Spiritus asper		(y)			𐬨					
20 " lenis		(y)								
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬨	𐬨	ش	ش		
22 " lenis assibilatus		s			𐬨	𐬨	س	س		z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬨	𐬨	ت	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th			थ	𐬨	𐬨	ث	ث	ת	th
25 " assibilata										
26 Media	d			द	𐬨	𐬨	د	د		
27 " aspirata	dh									
28 " assibilata										
29 Nasalis	n			न	𐬨	𐬨	ن	ن		n
30 Semivocalis	l			ल	𐬨	𐬨	ل	ل		l
31 " mollis 1		l								
32 " mollis 2										
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬨	𐬨	س	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2										
35 " lenis										
36 " asperimus 1	z			ז	𐬨	𐬨	ز	ز	ז	z
37 " asperimus 2										zh

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.									
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutral	o									ə
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē									ē
3 " labialis	ō									ō
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	ا	ا	א	ā
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	𐬁	𐬁	ā	ā	א	ā
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	ī	ī	י	ī
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	𐬃	𐬃	ī	ī	י	ī
8 Dentalis brevis	u			उ	𐬄	𐬄	ū	ū	ו	ū
9 " longa	ū			ऊ	𐬅	𐬅	ū	ū	ו	ū
10 Lingualis brevis	e			ए	𐬆	𐬆	e	e	ו	e
11 " longa	ē			ऐ	𐬇	𐬇	ē	ē	ו	ē
12 Labialis brevis	o			ओ	𐬈	𐬈	o	o	ו	o
13 " longa	ō	(o)		औ	𐬉	𐬉	ō	ō	ו	ō
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	ai	(ai)		इ	𐬊	𐬊	ai	ai	ו	ai
15 " longa	āi	(āi)		ई	𐬋	𐬋	āi	āi	ו	āi
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	ei (ēi)			ए	𐬌	𐬌	ei	ei	ו	ei, ēi
17 " "	oi (ōu)			औ	𐬍	𐬍	oi	oi	ו	oi, ōi
18 " "	o			ओ	𐬎	𐬎	o	o	ו	o
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	au	(au)		अ	𐬏	𐬏	au	au	ו	au
20 " longa	āu	(āu)		आ	𐬐	𐬐	āu	āu	ו	āu
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	eu (ēu)			इ	𐬑	𐬑	eu	eu	ו	eu, ēu
22 " "	ou (ōu)			औ	𐬒	𐬒	ou	ou	ו	ou, ōu
23 " "	ū			ऊ	𐬓	𐬓	ū	ū	ו	ū
24 Gutturalis fracta	ɣ			घ	𐬔	𐬔	ɣ	ɣ	ו	ɣ
25 Palatalis fracta	ʃ			च	𐬕	𐬕	ʃ	ʃ	ו	ʃ
26 Labialis fracta	β			फ	𐬖	𐬖	β	β	ו	β

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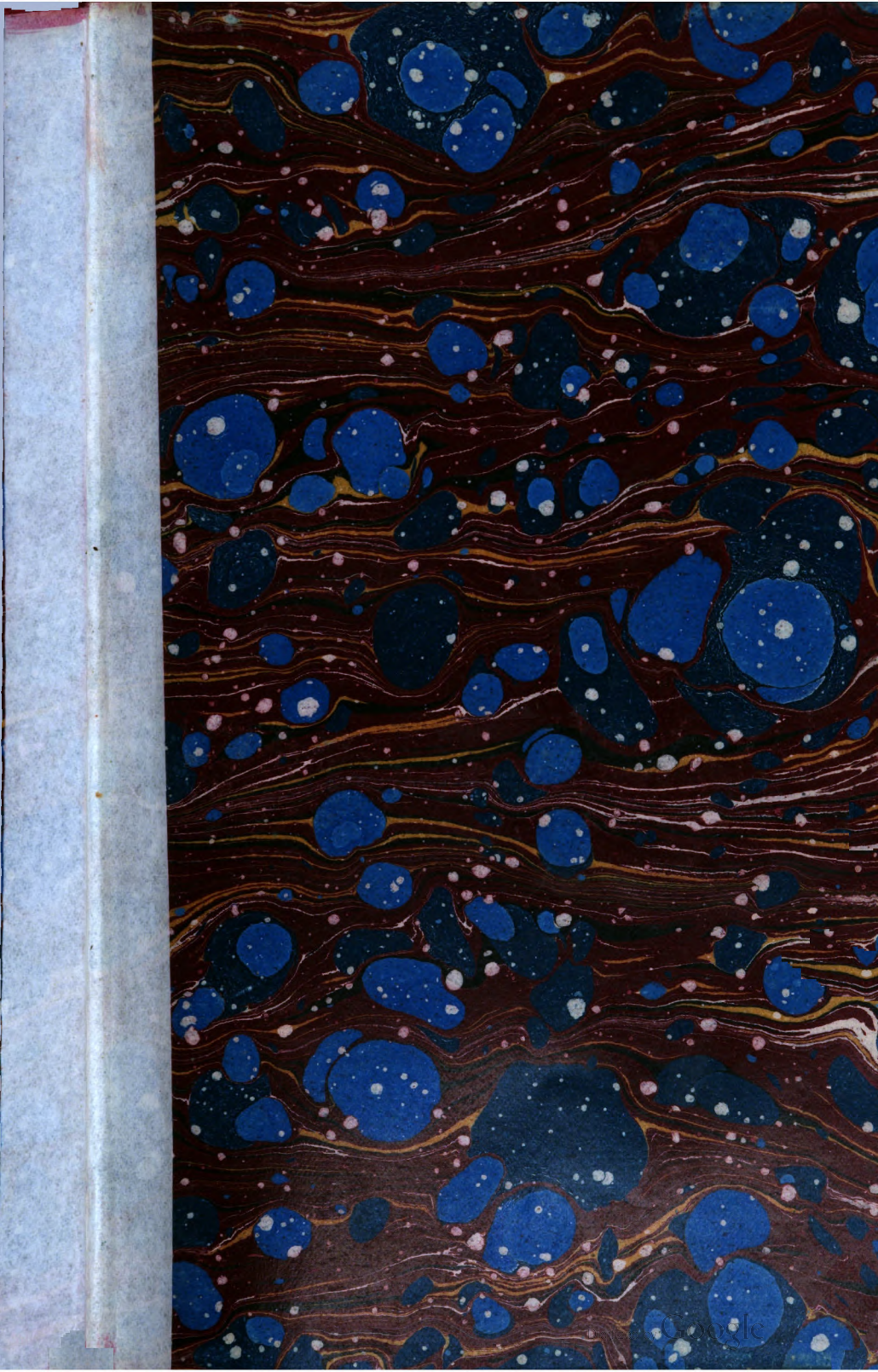
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THE
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1880

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THE QUR'ÂN

TRANSLATED BY

E. H. PALMER

PART II

CHAPTERS XVII TO CXIV



Oxford

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THE QUR'ÂN.

THE CHAPTER OF THE NIGHT JOURNEY¹.

(XVII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Celebrated be the praises of Him who took His servant a journey by night from the Sacred Mosque² to the Remote Mosque³, the precinct of which we have blessed, to show him of our signs! verily, He both hears and looks.

And we gave Moses the Book and made it a guidance to the children of Israel: 'Take ye to no guardian but me.'

Seed of those we bore with Noah (in the ark)! verily, he was a thankful servant!

And we decreed to the children of Israel in the Book, 'Ye shall verily do evil in the earth twice⁴, and ye shall rise to a great height (of pride).'

¹ Also called 'The Children of Israel.' The subject of Mohammed's miraculous journey in one night from Mecca to Jerusalem, and his ascent into heaven, will be found discussed in the Introduction.

² The Kaabah at Mecca.

³ The Temple at Jerusalem.

⁴ The Mohammedan commentators interpret this as referring the first to either Goliath, Sennacherib, or Nebuchadnezzar, and the latter to a second Persian invasion. The two sins committed by the Jews, and for which these punishments were threatened and executed, were, first, the murder of Isaiah and the imprisonment of Jeremiah, and the second, the murder of John the Baptist. Mohammedan views of ancient history are, however, vague.

[5] And when the threat for the first (sin) of the two came, we sent over them servants of ours, endued with violence, and they searched inside your houses; and it was an accomplished threat.

Then we rallied you once more against them, and aided you with wealth and sons, and made you a numerous band.

‘If ye do well, ye will do well to your own souls; and if ye do ill, it is against them!’

‘And when the threat for the last came¹—to harm your faces and to enter the mosque as they entered it the first time, and to destroy what they had got the upper-hand over with utter destruction.’

It may be that thy Lord will have mercy on you;—but if ye return we will return, and we have made hell a prison for the misbelievers.

Verily, this Qur’ân guides to the straightest path, and gives the glad tidings to the believers [10] who do aright that for them is a great hire; and that for those who believe not in the hereafter, we have prepared a mighty woe.

Man prays for evil as he prays for good; and man was ever hasty.

We made the night and the day two signs; and we blot out the sign of the night and make the sign of the day visible, that ye may seek after plenty from your Lord, and that ye may number the years and the reckoning; and we have detailed everything in detail.

And every man’s augury² have we fastened on

¹ Supply, ‘we sent foes.’

² I. e. ‘fortune’ or ‘fate,’ literally, ‘bird;’ the Arabs, like the ancient Romans, having been used to practise divination from the flight of birds.

his neck; and we will bring forth for him on the resurrection day a book offered to him wide open. [15] 'Read thy book, thou art accountant enough against thyself to-day!'

He who accepts guidance, accepts it only for his own soul: and he who errs, errs only against it; nor shall one burdened soul bear the burden of another.

Nor would we punish until we had sent an apostle. And when we desired to destroy a city we bade¹ the opulent ones thereof; and they wrought abomination therein; and its due sentence was pronounced; and we destroyed it with utter destruction.

How many generations have we destroyed after Noah! but thy Lord of the sins of his servant is well aware, and sees enough.

Whoso is desirous of this life that hastens away, we will hasten on for him therein what we please,—for whom we please. Then we will make hell for him to broil in—despised and outcast.

[20] But whoso desires the next life, and strives for it and is a believer—these, their striving shall be gratefully received.

To all—these and those—will we extend the gifts of thy Lord; for the gifts of thy Lord are not restricted.

See how we have preferred some of them over others, but in the next life are greater degrees and greater preference.

Put not with God other gods, or thou wilt sit despised and forsaken.

Thy Lord has decreed that ye shall not serve other than Him; and kindness to one's parents,

¹ Bade them obey the Apostle.

whether one or both of them reach old age with thee; and say not to them, 'Fie!' and do not grumble at them, but speak to them a generous speech. [25] And lower to them the wing of humility out of compassion, and say, 'O Lord! have compassion on them as they brought me up when I was little!' Your Lord knows best what is in your souls if ye be righteous, and, verily, He is forgiving unto those who come back penitent.

And give thy kinsman his due and the poor and the son of the road; and waste not wastefully, for the wasteful were ever the devil's brothers; and the devil is ever ungrateful to his Lord.

[30] But if thou dost turn away from them to seek after mercy from thy Lord¹, which thou hopest for, then speak to them an easy speech.

Make not thy hand fettered to thy neck, nor yet spread it out quite open, lest thou shouldst have to sit down blamed and straitened in means. Verily, thy Lord spreads out provision to whomsoever He will or He doles it out. Verily, He is ever well aware of and sees his servants.

And slay not your children² for fear of poverty; we will provide for them; beware! for to slay them is ever a great sin!

And draw not near to fornication; verily, it is ever an abomination, and evil is the way thereof.

[35] And slay not the soul that God has forbidden you, except for just cause; for he who is slain unjustly we have given his next of kin authority; yet

¹ I. e. if you are compelled to leave them in order to seek your livelihood; or if your present means are insufficient to enable you to relieve others.

² See Part I, p. 256, note 2.

let him not exceed in slaying; verily, he is ever helped.

And draw not near to the wealth of the orphan, save to improve it, until he reaches the age of puberty, and fulfil your compacts; verily, a compact is ever enquired of.

And give full measure when ye measure out, and weigh with a right balance; that is better and a fairer determination.

And do not pursue that of which thou hast no knowledge; verily, the hearing, the sight, and the heart, all of these shall be enquired of.

And walk not on the earth proudly; verily, thou canst not cleave the earth, and thou shalt not reach the mountains in height.

[40] All this is ever evil in the sight of your Lord and abhorred.

That is something of what thy Lord has inspired thee with of wisdom; do not then put with God other gods, or thou wilt be thrown into hell reproached and outcast. What! has your Lord chosen to give you sons, and shall He take for Himself females from among the angels? verily, ye are speaking a mighty speech.

Now have we turned it in various ways in this Qur'ân, so let them bear in mind; but it will only increase them in aversion.

Say, 'Were there with Him other gods, as ye say, then would they seek a way against the Lord of the throne.'

[45] Celebrated be His praises, and exalted be He above what they say with a great exaltation!

The seven heavens and the earth celebrate His praises, and all who therein are; nor is there aught

but what celebrates His praise: but ye cannot understand their celebration;—verily, He is clement and forgiving.

And when thou readest the Qur'ân we place between thee and those who believe not in the hereafter a covering veil. And we place covers upon their hearts, lest they should understand, and dulness in their ears.

And when thou dost mention in the Qur'ân thy Lord by Himself they turn their backs in aversion.

[50] We know best for what they listen when they listen to thee; and when they whisper apart—when the wrong-doers say, 'Ye only follow a man enchanted.'

Behold, how they strike out for you parables, and err, and cannot find the way!

They say, 'What! when we have become bones and rubbish are we to be raised up a new creature?' Say, 'Be ye stones, or iron, or a creature, the greatest your breasts can conceive—!' Then they shall say, 'Who is to restore us?' Say, 'He who originated you at first;' and they will wag their heads and say, 'When will that be?' Say, 'It may, perhaps, be nigh.'

The day when He shall call on you and ye shall answer with praise to Him, and they will think that they have tarried but a little.

[55] And say to my servants that they speak in a kind way¹; verily, Satan makes ill-will between them; verily, Satan was ever unto man an open foe.

Your Lord knows you best; if He please He will have mercy upon you, or if He please He will

¹ I.e. they are not to provoke the idolaters by speaking too roughly to them so as to exasperate them.

torment you: but we have not sent thee to take charge of them.

And thy Lord best knows who is in the heavens and the earth; we did prefer some of the prophets over the others, and to David did we give the Psalms.

Say, 'Call on those whom ye pretend other than God;' but they shall not have the power to remove distress from you, nor to turn it off.

Those on whom they call¹, seek themselves for a means of approaching their Lord, (to see) which of them is nearest: and they hope for His mercy and they fear His torment; verily, the torment of thy Lord is a thing to beware of.

[60] There is no city but we will destroy it before the day of judgment, or torment it with keen torment;—that is in the Book inscribed.

Naught hindered us from sending thee with signs, save that those of yore said they were lies; so we gave Thamûd the visible she-camel, but they treated her unjustly! for we do not send (any one) with signs save to make men fear.

And when we said to thee, 'Verily, thy Lord encompasses men!' and we made the vision which we showed thee only a cause of sedition unto men, and the cursed tree² as well; for we will frighten them, but it will only increase them in great rebellion.

¹ Sale interprets this to mean 'the angels and prophets.' Rodwell remarks that it is an 'obvious allusion to the saint worship of the Christians.' As, however, precisely the same expression is used elsewhere in the Qur'ân for the false gods of the Arabs, and the existence of those ginn and angels whom they associated with God is constantly recognised, their divinity only being denied, I prefer to follow the Moslem commentators, and refer the passage to the gods of the Arabian pantheon at Mecca; cf. Part I, p. 127, note 2.

² The Zaqqûm; see Chapter XXXVII, verse 60. The vision

And when we said to the angels, 'Adore Adam; and they adored, save Iblîs, who said, 'Am I to adore one whom Thou hast created out of clay?'

Said he, 'Dost thou see now? this one whom Thou hast honoured above me, verily, if Thou shouldst respite me until the resurrection day, I will of a surety utterly destroy his seed except a few.'

[65] Said He, 'Begone! and whoso of them follows thee—verily, hell is your recompense, an ample recompense. Entice away whomsoever of them thou canst with thy voice; and bear down upon them with thy horse and with thy foot; and share with them in their wealth and their children; and promise them,—but Satan promises them naught but deceit. Verily, my servants, thou hast no authority over them; thy Lord is guardian enough over them!'

It is your Lord who drives the ships for you in the sea that ye may seek after plenty from Him; verily, He is ever merciful to you. And when distress touches you in the sea, those whom ye call on, except Him, stray away from you; but when He has brought you safe to shore, ye turn away; for man is ever ungrateful.

[70] Are ye sure that He will not cleave with you the side of the shore, or send against you a heavy sand-storm? then ye will find no guardian for yourselves.

Or are ye sure that He will not send you back therein another time, and send against you a violent wind, and drown you for your misbelief? then ye will find for yourselves no protector against us.

referred to is the night journey to heaven, although those commentators who believe this to have been an actual fact suppose another vision to account for this passage.

But we have been gracious to the children of Adam, and we have borne them by land and sea, and have provided them with good things, and have preferred them over many that we have created.

✞ The day when we will call all men by their high priest; and he whose book is given in his right hand—these shall read their book, nor shall they be wronged a straw. But he who in this life is blind shall be blind in the next too, and err farther from the way. ┘

[75] They had well-nigh beguiled thee from what we inspired thee with, that thou shouldst forge against us something else, and then they would have taken thee for a friend; and had it not been that we stablished thee, thou wouldst have well-nigh leant towards them a little: then would we have made thee taste of torment both of life and death, then thou wouldst not have found against us any helper¹.

And they well-nigh enticed thee away from the land, to turn thee out therefrom; but then—they should not have tarried after thee except a little.

[This is] the course of those of our prophets whom we have sent before thee; and thou shalt find no change in our course.

[80] Be thou steadfast in prayer from the declining of the sun until the dusk of the night, and the reading of the dawn; verily, the reading of the dawn is ever testified to.

¹ The commentators say that this refers to a treaty proposed by the tribe of *THaqîf*, who insisted, as a condition of their submission, that they should be exempt from the more irksome duties of Muslims, and should be allowed to retain their idol *Allât* for a certain time, and that their territory should be considered sacred, like that of Mecca.

And for the night, watch thou therein as an extra service. It may be that thy Lord will raise thee to a laudable station.

And say, 'O my Lord! make me enter with a just entry; and make me come forth with a just coming forth; and grant me from Thee authority to aid.'

And say, 'Truth has come, and falsehood has vanished! verily, falsehood is transient.'

And we will send down of the Qur'ân that which is a healing and a mercy to the believers, but it will only increase the wrong-doers in loss.

[85] And when we favour man he turns away and retires aside, but when evil touches him he is ever in despair. Say, 'Every one acts after his own manner, but your Lord knows best who is most guided in the way.'

They will ask thee of the spirit¹. Say, 'The spirit comes at the bidding of my Lord, and ye are given but a little knowledge thereof.'

If we had wished we would have taken away that with which we have inspired thee; then thou wouldst have found no guardian against us, unless by a mercy from thy Lord; verily, His grace towards thee is great!

[90] Say, 'If mankind and ginns united together to bring the like of this Qur'ân, they could not bring the like, though they should back each other up!'

We have turned about for men in this Qur'ân every parable; but most men refuse to accept it, save ungratefully.

¹ According to some, the soul generally; but according to others, and more probably, the angel Gabriel as the agent of revelation.

And they say, 'We will by no means believe in thee, until there gush forth for thee a fountain from the earth ; or there be made for thee a garden of palms and grapes, and rivers come gushing out amidst them ; or thou make the sky to fall down upon us in pieces ; or thou bring us God and the angels before us ; [95] or there be made for thee a house of gold ; or thou climb up into the heaven ; and even then we will not believe in thy climbing there, until thou send down on us a book that we may read !'

Say, 'Celebrated be the praises of my Lord ! was I aught but a mortal apostle ?'

Naught prohibited men from believing when the guidance came to them, save their saying, 'God has sent a mortal for an apostle.'

Say, 'Were there angels on the earth walking in quiet, we had surely sent them an angel as an apostle.'

Say, 'God is witness enough between me and you ; verily, He is ever of His servants well aware, and sees.'

He whom God guides, he is guided indeed ; and he whom God leads astray, thou shalt never find patrons for them beside Him ; and we will gather them upon the resurrection day upon their faces, blind, and dumb, and deaf ; their resort is hell ; whenever it grows dull we will give them another blaze !

[100] That is their reward for that they disbelieved in our signs, and said, 'What ! when we are bones and rubbish, shall we then be raised up a new creation ?'

Could they not see that God who created the

heavens and the earth is able to create the like of them, and to set for them an appointed time ; there is no doubt therein, yet the wrong-doers refuse to accept it, save ungratefully !

Say, 'Did ye control the treasures of the mercy of my Lord, then ye would hold them through fear of expending ; for man is ever niggardly !'

And we did bring Moses nine manifest signs ; then ask the children of Israel (about) when he came to them, and Pharaoh said to him, 'Verily, I think thee, O Moses ! enchanted.'

He said, 'Well didst thou know that none sent down these save the Lord of the heavens and the earth as visible signs ; and, verily, I think thee, O Pharaoh ! ruined.'

[105] And he desired to drive them out of the land ; but we drowned him and those with him, one and all.

And after him we said to the children of Israel, 'Dwell ye in the land ; and when the promise of the hereafter comes to pass, we will bring you in a mixed crowd (to judgment).

'In truth have we sent it down, and in truth has it come down ; and we have not sent thee as aught but a herald of glad tidings and a warner.

'And a Qur'ân which we have divided, that thou mayst read it to mankind leisurely, and we sent it down, sending it down ¹.

Say, 'Believe ye therein, or believe not ; verily, those who were given the knowledge before it, when it is read to them fall down upon their beards adoring ! and they say, "Celebrated be the praises

¹ As occasion required.

of our Lord! verily, the promise of our Lord is ever fulfilled"—they fall down upon their beards weeping, and it increases their humility.'

[110] Say, 'Call on God, or call on the Merciful One, whichever ye may call on Him by; for His are the best of names¹.'

And do not say thy prayers openly, nor yet murmur them, but seek a way between these.

And say, 'Praise belongs to God, who has not taken to Himself a son, and has not had a partner in His kingdom, nor had a patron against (such) abasement.' And magnify Him greatly²!

THE CHAPTER OF THE CAVE
(XVIII. Mecca.)



IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Praise belongs to God, who sent down to His servant the Book, and put no crookedness therein,—straight, to give warning of keen violence from Him; and to give the glad tidings to the believers, who do what is right, that for them is a goodly reward wherein they shall abide for ever and for

¹ The Arabs whom Mohammed addressed seem to have imagined that he meant by Allâh and Ar-ra'h mân (the Merciful One) two separate deities. The various epithets which are applied to God in the Qur'ân, such as 'kind,' 'seeing,' 'knowing,' &c., are called by the Muslims al 'asmâ'u 'Thusnâ, 'the best of names,' and are repeated in telling the beads of their rosary.

² This command is obeyed by the Muslims frequently pronouncing the phrase Allâhu akbar, especially as an expression of astonishment. It is the same expression as that used by the Egyptian women concerning Joseph, in Chapter XII, verse 31.

aye; and to give warning to those who say, 'God hath taken to Himself a son.'

They have no knowledge thereof, nor their fathers; a serious word it is that comes forth from their mouths! verily, they only speak a lie!

[5] Haply thou wilt grieve thyself to death for sorrow after them, if they believe not in this new revelation. Verily, we have made what is on the earth an ornament thereof, to try them, which of them is best in works; but, verily, we are going to make what is thereon bare soil.

Hast thou reckoned that the Fellows of the Cave and Er-raqm were a wonder amongst our signs¹?

When the youths resorted to the cave and said, 'O our Lord! bring us mercy from Thee, and dispose for us our affair aright!'

[10] And we struck their ears (with deafness) in the cave for a number of years. Then we raised them up again, that we might know which of the two crews² could best calculate the time of their tarrying. We will narrate to thee their story in truth. Verily, they were youths who believed in their Lord, and we added to their guidance, and we braced up their hearts, when they stood up and said, 'Our Lord is the Lord of the heavens and the earth, we will not call upon any god beside Him, for then we should have said an extravagant thing.

¹ This is the well-known story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. What is meant by Er-raqm no one knows. The most generally accepted Mohammedan theory is that it was a dog belonging to the party; though some commentators take it to be the name of the valley or mountain in which the cave was situated; others again say that it was a metal plate inscribed with the name of the Sleepers.

² That is, the youths themselves or the people they met on their awakening.

These people of ours have taken to other gods beside Him. Though they do not bring any manifest authority for them. And who is more unjust than he who forges against God a lie?

[15] 'So when ye have gone apart from them and what they serve other than God, then resort ye to the cave. Our Lord will unfold His mercy to you, and will dispose for you your affair advantageously.'

And thou mightst have seen the sun when it rose decline from their cave towards the right hand, and when it set leave them on the left hand, while they were in the spacious part thereof. That is one of the signs of God. Whom God guides he is guided indeed, and whom He leads astray thou shalt surely find for him no patron to guide aright. Thou mightst have reckoned them waking though they were sleeping, as we turned them towards the right and towards the left; and their dog spreading out his fore-paws on the threshold. Hadst thou come suddenly upon them thou wouldst surely have turned and fled away from them, and wouldst surely have been filled by them with dread.

Thus did we raise them up that they might question each other. Spake a speaker amongst them, 'How long have ye tarried?' They said, 'We have tarried a day or part of a day.' They said, 'Your Lord knows best your tarrying; so send one of you with this coin of yours to the city, and let him look which of them has purest food, and let him bring you provision thereof; and let him be subtle and not let any one perceive you. Verily, they—should they perceive you—would stone you, or would force you back again unto their faith, and ye would never prosper then.'

[20] Thus did we make their people acquainted with their story, that they might know that God's promise is true; and that the Hour, there is no doubt concerning it. When they disputed amongst themselves concerning their affair, and said, 'Build a building over them, their Lord knows best about them;' and those who prevailed in their affair said, 'We will surely make a mosque over them.'

They will say, 'Three, and the fourth of them was their dog:' and they will say, 'Five, and the sixth of them was their dog:' guessing at the unseen: and they will say, 'Seven, and the eighth of them was their dog.' Say, 'My Lord knows best the number of them; none knows them but a few.'

Dispute not therefore concerning them save with a plain disputation, and ask not any one of them¹ concerning them.

And never say of anything, 'Verily, I am going to do that to-morrow,' except 'if God please;' and remember thy Lord when thou hast forgotten, and say, 'It may be that my Lord will guide me to what is nearer to the right than this².'

They tarried in their cave three hundred years and nine more. [25] Say, 'God knows best of their tarrying. His are the unseen things of the heavens and the earth—He can see! and hear³!'

¹ That is, the Christians.

² Mohammed being asked by the Jews concerning the number of the Seven Sleepers, had promised to bring them a revelation upon the subject on the morrow: this verse is a rebuke for his presumption.

³ This expression Sale takes to be ironical, and translates, 'make thou him to see and hear;' Rodwell renders it, 'look thou and hearken unto him:' both translators having missed both the force

They have no patron beside Him, nor does He let any one share in His judgment. So, recite what thou art inspired with of the Book of thy Lord; there is no changing His words; nor shalt thou ever find a refuge beside Him; and keep thyself patient, with those who call upon their Lord morning and evening, desiring His face; nor let thine eyes be turned from them, desiring the adornment of the life of this world; and obey not him¹ whose heart we have made heedless of remembrance of us, and who follows his lusts, for his affair is ever in advance (of the truth).

But say, 'The truth is from your Lord, so let him who will, believe; and let him who will, disbelieve.' Verily, we have prepared for the evildoers a fire, sheets of which shall encompass them; and if they cry for help, they shall be helped with water like molten brass, which shall roast their faces:—an ill drink and an evil couch!

Verily, those who believe and act aright,—verily, we will not waste the hire of him who does good works.

[30] These, for them are gardens of Eden; beneath them rivers flow; they shall be adorned therein with bracelets of gold, and shall wear green robes of silk, and of brocade; reclining therein on

of the idiom and the explanation given by the commentators Al Bâidhâvî and Jalâlâin, to whom Sale refers. The meaning is that which I have given, and the idiom is equivalent to that which occurs in a passage of Harîrî, Maqâmah 3 (p. 30, De Sacy's first edition), *akrim bihi*, 'how noble it is!' *abzar bihi* being equivalent to *mâ abzarahu*, 'how observant He is!'

¹ Said to refer to Ommâiyet ibn 'Zalf, who had requested Mohammed to give up his poorer followers to please the Qurâis; see Chapter VI, verse 52.

thrones;—pleasant is the reward, and goodly the couch!

Strike out for them a parable: Two men, for one of whom we made two gardens of grapes, and surrounded them with palms, and put corn between the two. Each of the two gardens brought forth its food and did not fail in aught. And we caused a river to gush forth amidst them; and he had fruit, and said unto his fellow, who was his next-door neighbour, 'I am more wealthy than thee, and mightier of household.'

And he went in unto his garden, having wronged himself: said he, 'I do not think that this will ever disappear; and I do not think that the hour is imminent; and if even I be sent back unto my Lord, I shall find a better one than it in exchange.'

[35] Said unto him his fellow, who was his next-door neighbour, 'Thou hast disbelieved in Him who created thee from earth, and then from a clot, then fashioned thee a man; but God, He is my Lord; nor will I associate any one with my Lord. Why couldst thou not have said, when thou didst go into thy garden, "What God pleases!¹ there is no power save in God,"—to look at, I am less than thee in wealth and children; but haply my Lord will give me something better than thy garden, and will send upon it thunder-claps from the sky, and it shall be on the morrow bare slippery soil; or on the morrow its water may be deeply sunk, so that thou canst not get thereat!'

[40] And his fruits were encompassed, and on the

¹ In the original *Mâ sâ' allâh*; this is the usual formula for expressing admiration among Muslims.

morrow he turned down the palms of his hands¹ for what he had spent thereon, for it was fallen down upon its trellises. And he said, 'Would that I had never associated any one with my Lord!' And he had not any party to help him beside God, nor was he helped. In such a case the patronage is God's, the true; He is best at rewarding and best at bringing to an issue.

Strike out for them, too, a parable of the life of this world; like water which we send down from the sky, and the vegetation of the earth is mingled therewith;—and on the morrow it is dried up, and the winds scatter it; for God is powerful over all.

Wealth and children are an adornment of the life of this world; but enduring good works are better with thy Lord, as a recompense, and better as a hope.

┐ [45] And the day when we will move the mountains, and thou shalt see the (whole) earth stalking forth; and we will gather them, and will not leave one of them behind. Then shall they be presented to thy Lord in ranks.—Now have ye come to us as we created you at first! nay, but ye thought that we would never make our promise good┐

And the Book shall be placed², and thou shalt see the sinners in fear of what is in it; and they will say, 'Alas, for us! what ails this Book, it leaves neither small nor great things alone, without numbering them?' and they shall find present what they have done; and thy Lord will not wrong any one.

And when we said to the angels, 'Adore Adam,'

¹ I. e. wrung his hands.

² In the hand of each.

they adored him, save only Iblîs, who was of the ginn, who revolted from the bidding of his Lord. 'What! will ye then take him and his seed as patrons, rather than me, when they are foes of yours? bad for the wrong-doers is the exchange!'

I did not make them witnesses of the creation of the heavens and the earth, nor of the creation of themselves, nor did I take those who lead astray for my supporters.

[50] On the day when He shall say, 'Call ye my partners whom ye pretend:' and they shall call on them, but they shall not answer them; and we will set the vale of perdition between them; and the sinners shall see the fire, and shall think that they are going to fall therein, and shall find no escape therefrom. We have turned about in this Qur'ân for men every parable; but man is ever at most things a caviller.

Naught prevented men from believing when the guidance came to them, or from asking pardon of their Lord, except the coming on them of the course of those of yore, or the coming of the torment before their eyes¹.

We sent not prophets save as heralds of glad tidings and as warners; but those who misbelieve wrangle with vain speech to make void the truth therewith; and they take my signs and the warnings given them as a jest.

[55] Who is more unjust than he who, being

¹ This passage is aimed at the Qurâis. The 'course of those of yore' is the punishment inflicted on the 'people of Noah, Lot,' &c. for similar acts of misbelief, and 'the torment' is said to refer to their losses at the battle of Bedr.

reminded of the signs of his Lord, turns away therefrom, and forgets what his hands have done before? verily, we will place veils upon their hearts lest they should understand, and dulness in their ears!

And if thou shouldst call them to the guidance, they will not be guided then for ever.

But thy Lord is forgiving, endowed with mercy; were He to punish them for what they have earned He would have hastened for them the torment. Nay rather, they have their appointed time, and shall never find a refuge beside Him.

These cities, we destroyed them when they were unjust; and for their destruction we set an appointed time.

And when Moses said to his servant, 'I will not cease until I reach the confluence of the two seas, or else I will go on for years¹.'

[60] But when they reached the confluence of the two² they forgot their fish, and it took its way in the sea with a free course.

And when they had passed by, he said to his servant, 'Bring us our dinners, for we have met with toil from this journey of ours.' Said he, 'What thinkest thou? when we resorted to the rock, then, verily, I forgot the fish, but it was only Satan who made me forget it, lest I should remember it; and it took its way in the sea wondrously!'

Said he, 'This is what we were searching for³.' So they turned back upon their footsteps, following them up.

¹ The word used signifies a space of eighty years and upwards.

² Literally, 'of their intermediate space.'

³ See Part II, note 3, p. 23.

Then they found a servant of our servants, to whom we had given mercy from ourselves, and had taught him knowledge from before us. [65] Said Moses to him, 'Shall I follow thee, so that thou mayest teach me, from what thou hast been taught, the right way?' said he, 'Verily, thou canst never have patience with me. How canst thou be patient in what thou comprehendest no knowledge of?' He said, 'Thou wilt find me, if God will, patient; nor will I rebel against thy bidding.' He said, 'Then, if thou followest me, ask me not about anything until I begin for them the mention of it.'

[70] So they set out until when they rode¹ in the bark, he scuttled it.

Said he, 'Hast thou scuttled it to drown its crew? Thou hast produced a strange thing.'

Said he, 'Did I not tell thee, verily, thou canst never have patience with me?'

Said he, 'Rebuke me not for forgetting, and impose not on me a difficult command.' So they set out until they met a boy, and he killed him. And he (Moses) said, 'Hast thou killed a pure person without (his killing) a person? thou hast produced an unheard-of thing.'

Said he, 'Did I not tell thee, verily, thou canst not have patience with me?'

[75] Said he, 'If I ask thee about anything after it, then do not accompany me. Now hast thou arrived at my excuse.' So they set out until when they came to the people of a city; and they asked

¹ That is, embarked. All nautical metaphors in Arabic being taken from camel riding. The Arabs do not call the camel 'the ship of the desert,' but they call a ship 'the riding camel of the sea.'

the people thereof for food; but they refused to entertain them. And they found therein a wall which wanted¹ to fall to pieces, and he set it upright. Said (Moses), 'Hadst thou pleased thou mightst certainly have had a hire for this.'

Said he, 'This is the parting between me and thee. I will give thee the interpretation of that with which thou couldst not have patience. As for the bark it belonged to poor people, who toiled on the sea, and I wished to damage it, for behind it was a king who seized on every bark² by force. And as for the youth, his parents were believers, and we feared lest he should impose upon them rebellion and misbelief. [80] So we desired that their Lord would give them in exchange a better one than him in purity, and nearer in filial affection. And as for the wall, it belonged to two orphan youths in the city, and beneath it was a treasure belonging to them both, and their father was a righteous man, and their Lord desired that they should reach puberty, and then take out their treasure as a mercy from thy Lord; and I did it not on my own bidding. That is the interpretation of what thou couldst not have patience with³.'

¹ The expression wanted to fall is colloquial in Arabic as well as in English. *Bâidhâvî* says, 'the expression wanting to is in this case figuratively used for being on the point of.'

² That is, every whole or sound ship.

³ For this legend there appears to be no ancient authority whatever; the Mohammedan commentators merely expand it, and say that El '*Hidhr* (a mythical personage, who is identified with the prophet Elias, St. George, and the prime minister of Alexander the Great) had disappeared in search of the water of immortality. Moses was inspired to search for him, and told that he would find him by a rock where two seas met, and where he should lose a fish

And they will ask thee about Dhu 'l Qarnâin¹, say, 'I will recite to you a mention of him; verily, we stablished for him in the earth, and we gave him a way to everything; and he followed a way until when he reached the setting of the sun, he found it setting in a black muddy spring², and he found thereat a people.'

[85] We said, 'O Dhu 'l Qarnâin! thou mayest either torment these people, or treat them well.' Said he, 'As for him who does wrong, I will torment him, then shall he be sent back to his Lord, and He will torment him with an unheard-of torment; but as for him who believes and acts aright, for him is an excellent reward, and we will tell him our easy bidding.'

Then he followed a way until when he reached the rising of the sun, he found it rise upon a people to whom we had given no shelter therefrom.

[90] So! And we comprehended the knowledge of what (forces) he had with him.

Then he followed a way until when he reached the point between the two mountains, he found below them both a people who could scarcely under-

which he was directed to take with him. Moses' servant in the legend is Joshua, and the mysterious young man who guided him is generally supposed to be El 'Hidhr himself, rendered immortal and supernaturally wise by having found and drunk of the water of life.

¹ Literally, 'the two horned;' this personage is generally supposed to be Alexander the Great, who is so represented on his coins. The Mohammedan histories of him, however, contain so many gross anachronisms, making him, for instance, a contemporary with Moses, Abraham, &c., that it is probable they may have confused him with some much more ancient traditional conqueror.

² Probably, as Bâidhâvî suggests, the ocean, which, with its dark waters, would remind an Arab of such a pool.

stand speech. They said, 'O Dhu 'l Qarnâin! verily, Yâgûg and Mâgûg¹ are doing evil in the land. Shall we then pay thee tribute, on condition that thou set between us and them a rampart?' He said, 'What my Lord hath established me in is better; so help me with strength, and I will set between you and them a barrier.

[95] 'Bring me pigs of iron until they fill up the space between the two mountain sides.' Said he, 'Blow until it makes it a fire.' Said he, 'Bring me, that I may pour over it, molten brass².'

So they³ could not scale it, and they could not tunnel it.

Said he, 'This is a mercy from my Lord; but when the promise of my Lord comes to pass, He will make it as dust, for the promise of my Lord is true.'

And we left some of them to surge on that day⁴ over others, and the trumpet will be blown, and we will gather them together.

¹ Gog and Magog. The people referred to appear to be tribes of the Turkomans, and the rampart itself has been identified with some ancient fortifications extending from the west coast of the Caspian to the Pontus Euxinus. The word translated mountains is the same as that translated rampart a little further on. I have, in rendering it mountains, followed the Mohammedan commentators, whose view is borne out by the subsequent mention of mountain sides.

² The process here described for repressing the incursions of Gog and Magog is the building of a wall of pig iron across the opening between the two mountains, fusing this into a compact mass of metal, and strengthening it by pouring molten brass over the whole.

³ Gog and Magog.

⁴ On the day of judgment, or, as some think, a little before it.

[100] And we will set forth hell on that day before the misbelievers, whose eyes were veiled from my Reminder, and who were unable to hear. What! did those who misbelieve reckon that they could take my servants for patrons beside me? Verily, we have prepared hell for the misbelievers to alight in!

Say, 'Shall we inform you of those who lose most by their works? those who erred in their endeavours after the life of this world, and who think they are doing good deeds.'

[105] Those who misbelieve in the signs of their Lord and in meeting Him, vain are their works; and we will not give them right weight on the resurrection day. That is their reward,—hell! for that they misbelieved and took my signs and my apostles as a mockery.

Verily, those who believe and act aright, for them are gardens of Paradise¹ to alight in, to dwell therein for aye, and they shall crave no change therefrom.

Say, 'Were the sea ink for the words of my Lord, the sea would surely fail before the words of my Lord fail; aye, though we brought as much ink again!'

[110] Say, 'I am only a mortal like yourselves; I am inspired that your God is only one God. Then let him who hopes to meet his Lord act righteous acts, and join none in the service of his Lord.'

¹ Here the Persian word Firdâus is used, which has supplied the name to the abode of the blessed in so many languages.

THE CHAPTER OF MARY.

(XIX. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

K. H. Y. 'H. Z. The mention of thy Lord's mercy to His servant Zachariah, when he called on his Lord with a secret calling. Said he, 'My Lord! verily, my bones are weak, and my head flares with hoariness;—and I never was unfortunate in my prayers to Thee, my Lord! [5] But I fear my heirs after me, and my wife is barren; then grant me from Thee a successor, to be my heir and the heir of the family of Jacob, and make him, my Lord! acceptable.'

'O Zachariah! verily, we give thee glad tidings of a son, whose name shall be John. We never made a namesake of his before¹.'

Said he, 'My Lord! how can I have a son, when my wife is barren, and I have reached through old age to decrepitude?'

[10] He said, 'Thus says thy Lord, It is easy for Me, for I created thee at first when yet thou wast nothing.'

Said he, 'O my Lord! make for me a sign.' He said, 'Thy sign is that thou shalt not speak to men for three nights (though) sound.'

Then he went forth unto his people from the

¹ Cf. Luke i. 61, where, however, it is said that none of Zachariah's kindred was ever before called by that name. Some commentators avoid the difficulty by interpreting the word *samīyyun* to mean 'deserving of the name.'

chamber, and he made signs to them: 'Celebrate (God's) praises morning and evening!'

'O John! take the Book with strength;' and we gave him judgment when a boy, and grace from us, and purity; and he was pious and righteous to his parents, and was not a rebellious tyrant.

[15] So peace upon him the day he was born, and the day he died, and the day he shall be raised up alive.

And mention, in the Book, Mary; when she retired from her family into an eastern place; and she took a veil (to screen herself) from them; and we sent unto her our spirit; and he took for her the semblance of a well-made man. Said she, 'Verily, I take refuge in the Merciful One from thee, if thou art pious.' Said he, 'I am only a messenger of thy Lord to bestow on thee a pure boy.'

[20] Said she, 'How can I have a boy when no man has touched me, and when I am no harlot?' He said, 'Thus says thy Lord, It is easy for Me! and we will make him a sign unto man, and a mercy from us; for it is a decided matter.'

So she conceived him, and she retired with him into a remote place. And the labour pains came upon her at the trunk of a palm tree, and she said, 'O that I had died before this, and been forgotten out of mind!' and he called¹ to her from beneath her, 'Grieve not, for thy Lord has placed a stream beneath thy feet; [25] and shake towards thee the trunk of the palm tree, it will drop upon thee fresh dates fit to

¹ Either the infant himself or the angel Gabriel; or the expression 'beneath her' may be rendered 'beneath it,' and may refer to the palm tree.

gather ; so eat, and drink, and cheer thine eye ; and if thou shouldst see any mortal say, "Verily, I have vowed to the Merciful One a fast, and I will not speak to-day with a human being." "

Then she brought it to her people, carrying it ; said they, ' O Mary ! thou hast done an extraordinary thing ! O sister of Aaron¹ ! thy father was not a bad man, nor was thy mother a harlot !'

[30] And she pointed to him, and they said, ' How are we to speak with one who is in the cradle a child ?' He said, ' Verily, I am a servant of God ; He has brought me the Book, and He has made me a prophet, and He has made me blessed wherever I be ; and He has required of me prayer and almsgiving so long as I live, and piety towards my mother, and has not made me a miserable tyrant ; and peace upon me the day I was born, and the day I die, and the day I shall be raised up alive.' "

[35] That is, Jesus the son of Mary,—by the word of truth whereon ye do dispute !

God could not take to himself any son ! celebrated be His praise ! when He decrees a matter He only says to it, ' BE,' and it is ; and, verily, God is my Lord and your Lord, so worship Him ; this is the right way.

And the parties have disagreed amongst themselves, but woe to those who disbelieve, from the witnessing of the mighty day ! they can hear and they can see², on the day when they shall come to us ; but the evildoers are to-day in obvious error !

[40] And warn them of the day of sighing, when

¹ See Part I, note 1, p. 50.

² See Part II, note 3, p. 16.

the matter is decreed while they are heedless, and while they do not believe.

Verily, we will inherit the earth and all who are upon it, and unto us shall they return!

And mention, in the Book, Abraham; verily, he was a confessor,—a prophet. When he said to his father, 'O my sire! why dost thou worship what can neither hear nor see nor avail thee aught? O my sire! verily, to me has come knowledge which has not come to thee; then follow me, and I will guide thee to a level way.

[45] 'O my sire! serve not Satan; verily, Satan is ever a rebel against the Merciful. O my sire! verily, I fear that there may touch thee torment from the Merciful, and that thou mayest be a client of Satan.'

Said he, 'What! art thou averse from my gods, O Abraham? verily, if thou dost not desist I will certainly stone thee; but get thee gone from me for a time!'

Said he, 'Peace be upon thee! I will ask forgiveness for thee from my Lord; verily, He is very gracious to me: but I will part from you and what ye call on beside God, and will pray my Lord that I be not unfortunate in my prayer to my Lord.'

[50] And when he had parted from them and what they served beside God, we granted him Isaac and Jacob, and each of them we made a prophet; and we granted them of our mercy, and we made the tongue of truth lofty for them¹.

And mention, in the Book, Moses; verily, he was sincere, and was an apostle,—a prophet. We called

¹ That is, 'gave them great renown.'

him from the right side of the mountain; and we made him draw nigh unto us to commune with him, and we granted him, of our mercy, his brother Aaron as a prophet.

[55] And mention, in the Book, Ishmael; verily, he was true to his promise, and was an apostle,—a prophet; and he used to bid his people prayers and almsgiving, and was acceptable in the sight of his Lord.

And mention, in the Book, Idrîs¹; verily, he was a confessor,—a prophet; and we raised him to a lofty place.

These are those to whom God has been gracious, of the prophets of the seed of Adam, and of those whom we bore with Noah, and of the seed of Abraham and Israel, and of those we guided and elected; when the signs of the Merciful are read to them, they fall down adoring and weeping.

[60] And successors succeeded them, who lost sight of prayer and followed lusts, but they shall at length find themselves going wrong, except such as repent and believe and act aright; for these shall enter Paradise, and shall not be wronged at all,—gardens of Eden, which the Merciful has promised to His servants in the unseen; verily, His promise ever comes to pass!

They shall hear no empty talk therein, but only 'peace;' and they shall have their provision therein, morning and evening; that is Paradise which we will give for an inheritance to those of our servants who are pious!

[65] We do not descend² save at the bidding

¹ Generally identified with Enoch.

² Amongst various conjectures the one most usually accepted

of thy Lord; His is what is before us, and what is behind us, and what is between those; for thy Lord is never forgetful,—the Lord of the heavens and the earth, and of what is between the two; then serve Him and persevere in His service. Dost thou know a namesake of His?

Man will say, 'What! when I have died shall I then come forth alive? Does not man then remember that we created him before when he was naught?'

And by thy Lord! we will surely gather them together, and the devils too; then we will surely bring them forward around hell, on their knees!

[70] Then we will drag off from every sect whichever of them has been most bold against the Merciful.

Then we know best which of them deserves most to be broiled therein.

There is not one of you who will not go down to it,—that is settled and decided by thy Lord¹.

7 Then we will save those who fear us; but we will leave the evildoers therein on their knees.

And when our signs are recited to them manifest, those who misbelieve say to those who believe, 'Which of the two parties is best placed and in the best company?'

[75] And how many generations before them

by the Mohammedan commentators is, that these are the words of the angel Gabriel, in answer to Mohammed's complaint of long intervals elapsing between the periods of revelation.

¹ This is interpreted by some to mean that all souls, good and bad, must pass through hell, but that the good will not be harmed. Others think it merely refers to the passage of the bridge of el Aarâf.

have we destroyed who were better off in property and appearance ?

Say, 'Whosoever is in error, let the Merciful extend to him length of days!—until they see what they are threatened with, whether it be the torment or whether it be the Hour, then they shall know who is worse placed and weakest in forces!'

And those who are guided God will increase in guidance.

And enduring good works are best with thy Lord for a reward, and best for restoration.

[80] Hast thou seen him who disbelieves in our signs, and says, 'I shall surely be given wealth and children¹ ?'

Has he become acquainted with the unseen, or has he taken a compact with the Merciful? Not so! We will write down what he says, and we will extend to him a length of torment, and we will make him inherit what he says, and he shall come to us alone. They take other gods besides God to be their glory. [85] Not so! They² shall deny their worship and shall be opponents of theirs!

Dost thou not see that we have sent the devils against the misbelievers, to drive them on to sin? but, be not thou hasty with them. Verily, we will number them a number (of days),—the day when we will gather the pious to the Merciful as ambassadors, and we will drive the sinners to hell like

¹ 'Hâsîy ibn Wâil, being indebted to 'Habbâb, refused to pay him unless he renounced Mohammed. This 'Habbâb said he would never do alive or dead, or when raised again at the last day. El 'Hâsîy told him to call for his money on the last day, as he should have wealth and children then.

² That is, the false gods.

(herds) to water! [90] They shall not possess intercession, save he who has taken a compact with the Merciful.

They say, 'The Merciful has taken to Himself a son:—ye have brought a monstrous thing! The heavens well-nigh burst asunder thereat, and the earth is riven, and the mountains fall down broken, that they attribute to the Merciful a son! but it becomes not the Merciful to take to Himself a son! there is none in the heavens or the earth but comes to the Merciful as a servant; He counts them and numbers them by number, [95] and they are all coming to Him on the resurrection day singly.

Verily, those who believe and act aright, to them the Merciful will give love.

We have only made it easy for thy tongue that thou mayest thereby give glad tidings to the pious, and warn thereby a contentious people.

How many a generation before them have we destroyed? Canst thou find any one of them, or hear a whisper of them?

THE CHAPTER OF T. H.

(XX. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

T. H. We have not sent down this Qur'ân to thee that thou shouldst be wretched; only as a reminder to him who fears—descending from Him who created the earth and the high heavens, the Merciful settled on the throne! [5] His are what

is in the heavens, and what is in the earth, and what is between the two, and what is beneath the ground! And if thou art public in thy speech—yet, verily, he knows the secret, and more hidden still.

God, there is no god but He! His are the excellent names.

Has the story of Moses come to thee? When he saw the fire and said to his family, 'Tarry ye; verily, I perceive a fire! [10] Haply I may bring you therefrom a brand, or may find guidance by the fire¹.' And when he came to it he was called to, 'O Moses! verily, I am thy Lord, so take off thy sandals; verily, thou art in the holy valley *Tuvâ*, and I have chosen thee. So listen to what is inspired thee; verily, I am God, there is no god but Me! then serve Me, and be steadfast in prayer to remember Me.

[15] 'Verily, the hour is coming, I almost make it appear², that every soul may be recompensed for its efforts.

'Let not then him who believes not therein and follows his lusts ever turn thee away therefrom, and thou be ruined.

'What is that in thy right hand, O Moses?'

Said he, 'It is my staff on which I lean, and

¹ The Arabs used to light fires to guide travellers to shelter and entertainment. These fires, 'the fire of hospitality,' 'the fire of war,' &c. are constantly referred to in the ancient Arabic poetry. No less than thirteen fires are enumerated by them.

² This may be also rendered, 'I almost conceal it (from myself);' *i'ẓfâ'un* having, like many words in Arabic, two meanings directly opposite to each other. This probably arose from words being adopted into the Qurâis idiom from other dialects.

wherewith I beat down leaves for my flocks, and for which I have other uses.'

[20] Said He, 'Throw it down, O Moses!' and he threw it down, and behold! it was a snake that moved about.

Said He, 'Take hold of it and fear not; we will restore it to its first state.

'But press thy hand to thy side, it shall come forth white without harm,—another sign! to show thee of our great signs!

[25] 'Go unto Pharaoh, verily, he is outrageous!'

Said he, 'My Lord! expand for me my breast; and make what I am bidden easy to me; and loose the knot from my tongue¹, that they may understand my speech; [30] and make for me a minister² from my people,—Aaron my brother; gird up my loins through him³, and join him with me in the affair; that we may celebrate Thy praises much and remember Thee much.

[35] 'Verily, Thou dost ever behold us!'

He said, 'Thou art granted thy request, O Moses! and we have already shown favours unto thee at another time. When we inspired thy mother with what we inspired her, "Hurl him into the ark, and hurl him into the sea; and the sea shall cast him on the shore, and an enemy of mine and of his shall take him;"—for on thee have I cast my

¹ The Muslim legend is that Moses burnt his tongue with a live coal when a child. This incident is related at length, together with other Mohammedan legends connected with Moses and the Exodus, in my 'Desert of the Exodus,' Appendix C. p. 533. Transl.

² Literally, vizîr, 'vizier,' 'one who bears the burden' of office.

³ I.e. 'strengthen me.' The idiom is still in common use amongst the desert Arabs.

love, [40] that thou mayest be formed under my eye. When thy sister walked on and said, "Shall I guide you to one who will take charge of him?" And we restored thee to thy mother, that her eye might be cheered and that she should not grieve. And thou didst slay a person and we saved thee from the trouble, and we tried thee with various trials. And thou didst tarry for years amongst the people of Midian; then thou didst come (hither) at (our) decree, O Moses! And I have chosen thee for myself. Go, thou and thy brother, with my signs, and be not remiss in remembering me. [45] Go ye both to Pharaoh; verily, he is outrageous! and speak to him a gentle speech, haply he may be mindful or may fear.'

They two said, 'Our Lord! verily, we fear that he may trespass against us, or that he may be outrageous.'

He said, 'Fear not; verily, I am with you twain. I hear and see!

'So come ye to him and say, "Verily, we are the apostles of thy Lord; send then the children of Israel with us; and do not torment them. We have brought thee a sign from thy Lord, and peace be upon him who follows the guidance!

[50] "'Verily, we are inspired that the torment will surely come upon him who calls us liars and turns his back.'"

Said he, 'And who is your Lord, O Moses?'

He said, 'Our Lord is He who gave everything its creation, then guided it.'

Said he, 'And what of the former generations?'

He said, 'The knowledge of them is with my Lord in a book; my Lord misleads not, nor forgets!

[55] Who made for you the earth a bed; and has traced for you paths therein; and has sent down from the sky water,—and we have brought forth thereby divers sorts of different vegetables. Eat and pasture your cattle therefrom; verily, in that are signs to those endued with intelligence. From it have we created you and into it will we send you back, and from it will we bring you forth another time.'

We did show him our signs, all of them, but he called them lies and did refuse.

Said he, 'Hast thou come to us, to turn us out of our land with thy magic, O Moses? [60] Then we will bring you magic like it; and we will make between us and thee an appointment; we will not break it, nor do thou either;—a fair place.'

Said he, 'Let your appointment be for the day of adornment¹, and let the people assemble in the forenoon².'

But Pharaoh turned his back, and collected his tricks, and then he came.

Said Moses to them, 'Woe to you! do not forge against God a lie; lest He destroy you by torment; for disappointed has ever been he who has forged.'

[65] And they argued their matter among themselves; and secretly talked it over.

Said they, 'These twain are certainly two magicians, who wish to turn you out of your land by their magic, and to remove your most exemplary doctrine³. Collect therefore your tricks, and then

¹ I. e. the festival.

² In order that they might all see.

³ Or, 'your most eminent men,' as some commentators interpret it, i. e. the children of Israel.

form a row; for he is prosperous to-day who has the upper hand.'

Said they, 'O Moses! either thou must throw, or we must be the first to throw.'

He said, 'Nay, throw ye!' and lo! their ropes and their staves appeared to move along. [70] And Moses felt a secret fear within his soul.

Said we, 'Fear not! thou shalt have the upper hand. Throw down what is in thy right hand; and it shall devour what they have made. Verily, what they have made is but a magician's trick; and no magician shall prosper wherever he comes.'

And the magicians were cast down in adoration; said they, 'We believe in the Lord of Aaron and of Moses!'

Said he¹, 'Do ye believe in Him before I give you leave? Verily, he is your master who taught you magic! Therefore will I surely cut off your hands and feet on alternate sides, and I will surely crucify you on the trunks of palm trees; and ye shall surely know which of us is keenest at torment and more lasting.'

[75] Said they, 'We will never prefer thee to what has come to us of manifest signs, and to Him who originated us. Decide then what thou canst decide; thou canst only decide in the life of this world! Verily, we believe in our Lord, that He may pardon us our sins, and the magic thou hast forced us to use; and God is better and more lasting!'

Verily, he who comes to his Lord a sinner,—verily, for him is hell; he shall not die therein, and shall not live.

¹ Pharaoh.

But he who comes to Him a believer who has done aright—these, for them are the highest ranks,—gardens of Eden beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye; for that is the reward of him who keeps pure.

And we inspired Moses, 'Journey by night with my servants, and strike out for them a dry road in the sea. [80] Fear not pursuit, nor be afraid!' Then Pharaoh followed them with his armies, and there overwhelmed them of the sea that which overwhelmed them. And Pharaoh and his people went astray and were not guided.

O children of Israel! We have saved you from your enemy; and we made an appointment with you on the right side of the mount; and we sent down upon you the manna and the quails. 'Eat of the good things we have provided you with, and do not exceed therein, lest my wrath light upon you; for whomsoever my wrath lights upon he falls!

'Yet am I forgiving unto him who repents and believes and does right, and then is guided.

[85] 'But what has hastened thee on away from thy people, O Moses?'

He said, 'They were here upon my track and I hastened on to Thee, my Lord! that thou mightest be pleased.'

Said He, 'Verily, we have tried thy people, since thou didst leave, and es Sâmartý¹ has led them astray.'

And Moses returned to his people, wrathful, grieving!

¹ I.e. the Samaritan; some take it to mean a proper name, in order to avoid the anachronism.

Said he, 'O my people! did not your Lord promise you a good promise? Has the time seemed too long for you, or do you desire that wrath should light on you from your Lord, that ye have broken your promise to me?'

[90] They said, 'We have not broken our promise to thee of our own accord. But we were made to carry loads of the ornaments of the people, and we hurled them down, and so did es Sâmarîy cast; and he brought forth for the people a corporeal calf which lowed.' And they said, 'This is your god and the god of Moses, but he has forgotten!' What! do they not see that it does not return them any speech, and cannot control for them harm or profit? Aaron too told them before, 'O my people! ye are only being tried thereby; and, verily, your Lord is the Merciful, so follow me and obey my bidding.'

They said, 'We will not cease to pay devotion to it until Moses come back to us.'

Said he, 'O Aaron! what prevented thee, when thou didst see them go astray, from following me? Hast thou then rebelled against my bidding?'

[95] Said he, 'O son of my mother! seize me not by my beard, or my head! Verily, I feared lest thou shouldst say, "Thou hast made a division amongst the children of Israel, and hast not observed my word."'

Said he, 'What was thy design, O Sâmarîy?' Said he, 'I beheld what they beheld not, and I grasped a handful from the footprint of the messenger¹ and cast it; for thus my soul induced me.'

¹ A handful of dust from the footprint of the angel Gabriel's

Said he, 'Then get thee gone; verily, it shall be thine in life to say, "Touch me not!" and, verily, for thee there is a threat which thou shalt surely never alter. But look at thy god to which thou wert just now devout; we will surely burn it, and then we will scatter it in scattered pieces in the sea.

'Your God is only God who,—there is no god but He,—He embraceth everything in His knowledge.'

Thus do we narrate to thee the history of what has gone before, and we have brought thee a reminder from us.

[100] Whoso turns therefrom, verily, he shall bear on the resurrection day a burden:—for them to bear for aye, and evil for them on the resurrection day will it be to bear.

On the day when the trumpet shall be blown, and we will gather the sinners in that day blue-eyed².

They shall whisper to each other, 'Ye have only tarried ten days.' We know best what they say, when the most exemplary of them in his way shall say, 'Ye have only tarried a day.'

[105] They will ask thee about the mountains;

horse, which, being cast into the calf, caused it to become animated and to low.

¹ The idea conveyed seems to be that he should be regarded as a leper, and obliged to warn people from coming near him. The reference is no doubt to the light in which the Samaritans (see Part II, p. 40, note 1) were regarded by the Jews.

² Because 'blue eyes' were especially detested by the Arabs as being characteristic of their greatest enemies, the Greeks. So they speak of an enemy as 'black-livered,' 'red-whiskered,' and 'blue-eyed.' The word in the text may also mean 'blear-eyed,' or 'blind.'

say, 'My Lord will scatter them in scattered pieces, and He will leave them a level plain, thou wilt see therein no crookedness or inequality.'

On that day they shall follow the caller in whom is no crookedness¹; and the voices shall be hushed before the Merciful, and thou shalt hear naught but a shuffling.

On that day shall no intercession be of any avail, save from such as the Merciful permits, and who is acceptable to Him in speech.

He knows what is before them and what is behind them, but they do not comprehend knowledge of Him.

[110] Faces shall be humbled before the Living, the Self-subsistent; and he who bears injustice is ever lost.

But he who does righteous acts and is a believer, he shall fear neither wrong nor diminution.

Thus have we sent it down an Arabic Qur'ân; and we have turned about in it the threat,—haply they may fear, or it may cause them to remember.

Exalted then be God, the king, the truth! Hasten not the Qur'ân before its inspiration is decided for thee; but say, 'O Lord! increase me in knowledge².'

We did make a covenant with Adam of yore, but he forgot it, and we found no firm purpose in him.

[115] And when we said to the angels, 'Adore

¹ That is, the angel who is to summon them to judgment, and from whom none can escape, or who marches straight on.

² Cf. Part II, p. 16, note 2.

Adam,' they adored, save Iblîs, who refused. And we said, 'O Adam! verily, this is a foe to thee and to thy wife; never then let him drive you twain forth from the garden or thou wilt be wretched. Verily, thou hast not to be hungry there, nor naked! and, verily, thou shalt not thirst therein, nor feel the noonday heat!'

But the devil whispered to him. Said he, 'O Adam! shall I guide thee to the tree of immortality, and a kingdom that shall not wane?'

And they eat therefrom, and their shame became apparent to them; and they began to stitch upon themselves some leaves of the garden; and Adam rebelled against his Lord, and went astray.

[120] Then his Lord chose him, and relented towards him, and guided him. Said he, 'Go down, ye twain, therefrom altogether, some of you foes to the other. And if there should come to you from me a guidance; then whoso follows my guidance shall neither err nor be wretched. But he who turns away from my reminder, verily, for him shall be a straitened livelihood; and we will gather him on the resurrection day blind!'

[125] He shall say, 'My Lord! wherefore hast Thou gathered me blind when I used to see?' He shall say, 'Our signs came to thee, and thou didst forget them; thus to-day art thou forgotten!'

Thus do we recompense him who is extravagant and believes not in the signs of his Lord; and the torment of the hereafter is keener and more lasting!

Does it not occur to them¹ how many generations

¹ The Meccans.

we have destroyed before them?—they walk in their very dwelling-places; verily, in that are signs to those endued with intelligence.

And had it not been for thy Lord's word already passed (the punishment) would have been inevitable and (at) an appointed time.

[130] Bear patiently then what they say, and celebrate the praises of thy Lord before the rising of the sun, and before its setting, and at times in the night celebrate them; and at the ends of the day; haply thou mayest please (Him).

And do not strain after what we have provided a few¹ of them with—the flourish of the life of this world, to try them by; but the provision of thy Lord is better and more lasting.

Bid thy people prayer, and persevere in it; we do not ask thee to provide. We will provide, and the issue shall be to piety.

They say, 'Unless he bring us a sign from his Lord—What! has there not come to them the manifest sign of what was in the pages of yore?'

But had we destroyed them with torment before it, they would have said, 'Unless Thou hadst sent to us an apostle, that we might follow Thy signs before we were abased and put to shame.'

[135] Say, 'Each one has to wait, so wait ye! but in the end ye shall know who are the fellows of the level way, and who are guided!'

¹ Literally, 'pairs.'

THE CHAPTER OF THE PROPHETS.

(XXI. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Their reckoning draws nigh to men, yet in heedlessness they turn aside.

No reminder comes to them from their Lord of late, but they listen while they mock, and their hearts make sport thereof! And those who do wrong discourse secretly (saying), 'Is this man aught but a mortal like yourselves? will ye accede to magic, while ye can see?'

Say, 'My Lord knows what is said in the heavens and the earth, He hears and knows!'

[5] 'Nay!' they say, '— a jumble of dreams; nay! he has forged it; nay! he is a poet; but let him bring us a sign as those of yore were sent.'

No city before them which we destroyed believed—how will they believe? Nor did we send before them any but men whom we inspired? Ask ye the people of the Scriptures if ye do not know. Nor did we make them bodies not to eat food, nor were they immortal. Yet we made our promise to them good, and we saved them and whom we pleased; but we destroyed those who committed excesses.

[10] We have sent down to you a book in which is a reminder for you; have ye then no sense?

How many a city which had done wrong have we broken up, and raised up after it another people! And when they perceived our violence they ran away from it. 'Run not away, but return to what

ye delighted in, and to your dwellings! haply ye will be questioned.' Said they, 'O woe is us! verily, we were wrong-doers.'

[15] And that ceased not to be their cry until we made them mown down,—smouldering out!

We did not create the heaven and the earth and what is between the two in play. Had we wished to take to a sport, we would have taken to one from before ourselves; had we been bent on doing so. Nay, we hurl the truth against falsehood and it crashes into it, and lo! it vanishes, but woe to you for what ye attribute (to God)!

His are whosoever are in the heavens and the earth, and those who are with Him are not too big with pride for His service, nor do they weary. [20] They celebrate His praises by night and day without intermission. Or have they taken gods from the earth who can raise up (the dead)?

Were there in both (heaven and earth) gods beside God, both would surely have been corrupted. Celebrated then be the praise of God, the Lord of the throne, above what they ascribe!

He shall not be questioned concerning what He does, but they shall be questioned.

Have they taken gods beside Him? Say, 'Bring your proofs. This is the reminder of those who are with me, and of those who were before me.' Nay, most of them know not the truth, and they do turn aside.

[25] We have not sent any prophet before thee, but we inspired him that, 'There is no god but Me, so serve ye Me.'

And they say, 'The Merciful has taken a son¹;

¹ Or, child, since the passage refers both to the Christian

celebrated be His praise!'—Nay, honoured servants; they do not speak until He speaks; but at His bidding do they act. He knows what is before them, and what is behind them, and they shall not intercede except for him whom He is pleased with; and they shrink through fear.

[30] And whoso of them should say, 'Verily, I am god instead of Him,' such a one we recompense with hell; thus do we recompense the wrong-doers.

Do not those who misbelieve see that the heavens and the earth were both solid, and we burst them asunder; and we made from water every living thing—will they then not believe?

And we placed on the earth firm mountains lest it should move with them, and He made therein open roads for paths, haply they may be guided! and we made the heaven a guarded roof; yet from our signs they turn aside!

He it is who created the night and the day, and the sun and the moon, each floating in a sky.

[35] We never made for any mortal before thee immortality; what, if thou shouldst die, will they live on for aye?

Every soul shall taste of death! we will test them with evil and with good, as a trial; and unto us shall they return!

And when those who misbelieve see thee¹, they only take thee for a jest, 'Is this he who mentions your gods?' Yet they at the mention of the Merciful do disbelieve.

doctrine and to the Arab notion that the angels are daughters of God.

¹ Mohammed.

Man is created out of haste. I will show you my signs; but do not hurry Me.

And they say, 'When will this threat (come to pass), if ye tell the truth?'

[40] Did those who misbelieve but know when the fire shall not be warded off from their faces nor from their backs, and they shall not be helped! Nay, it shall come on them suddenly, and shall dumbfounder them, and they shall not be able to repel it, nor shall they be respited.

Prophets before thee have been mocked at, but that whereat they jested encompassed those who mocked.

Say, 'Who shall guard you by night and by day from the Merciful?' Nay, but they from the mention of their Lord do turn aside.

Have they gods to defend them against us? These cannot help themselves, nor shall they be abetted against us.

[45] Nay, but we have granted enjoyment to these men and to their fathers whilst life was prolonged. Do they not see that we come to the land and shorten its borders? Shall they then prevail?

Say, 'I only warn you by inspiration;' but the deaf hear not the call when they are warned. But if a blast of the torment of thy Lord touches them, they will surely say, 'O, woe is us! verily, we were wrong-doers!'

We will place just balances upon the resurrection day, and no soul shall be wronged at all, even though it be the weight of a grain of mustard seed, we will bring it; for we are good enough at reckoning up.

We did give to Moses and Aaron the Discrimination, and a light and a reminder to those who fear; [50] who are afraid of their Lord in secret; and who at the Hour do shrink.

This is a blessed reminder which we have sent down, will ye then deny it?

And we gave Abraham a right direction before; for about him we knew. When he said to his father and to his people, 'What are these images to which ye pay devotion?' Said they, 'We found our fathers serving them.' [55] Said he, 'Both you and your fathers have been in obvious error.' They said, 'Dost thou come to us with the truth, or art thou but of those who play?'

He said, 'Nay, but your Lord is Lord of the heavens and the earth, which He originated; and I am of those who testify to this; and, by God! I will plot against your idols after ye have turned and shown me your backs!'

So he brake them all in pieces, except a large one they had; that haply they might refer it to that.

[60] Said they, 'Who has done this with our gods? verily, he is of the wrong-doers!' They said, 'We heard a youth mention them who is called Abraham.'

Said they, 'Then bring him before the eyes of men; haply they will bear witness.'

Said they, 'Was it thou who did this to our gods, O Abraham?' Said he, 'Nay, it was this largest of them; but ask them, if they can speak.'

[65] Then they came to themselves and said, 'Verily, ye are the wrong-doers.' Then they turned

upside down again¹: 'Thou knewest that these cannot speak.'

Said he, 'Will ye then serve, beside God, what cannot profit you at all, nor harm you? fie upon you, and what ye serve beside God! have ye then no sense?'

Said they, 'Burn him, and help your gods, if ye are going to do so!'

We said, 'O fire! be thou cool and a safety for Abraham!'

[70] They desired to plot against him, but we made them the losers.

And we brought him and Lot safely to the land which we have blessed for the world, and we bestowed upon him Isaac and Jacob as a fresh gift, and each of them we made righteous persons; and we made them high priests² to guide (men) by our bidding, and we inspired them to do good works, and to be steadfast in prayer, and to give alms; and they did serve us.

And Lot, to him we gave judgment and knowledge, and we brought him safely out of the city which had done vile acts; verily, they were a people who wrought abominations! [75] And we made him enter into our mercy; verily, he was of the righteous!

And Noah, when he cried aforetime, and we answered him and saved him and his people from the mighty trouble, and we helped him against the people who said our signs were lies; verily,

¹ Literally, 'they turned upside down upon their heads,' the metaphor implying that they suddenly changed their opinion and relapsed into belief in their idols.

² See Part I, p. 17, note 1.



they were a bad people, so we drowned them all together.

And David and Solomon, when they gave judgment concerning the field, when some people's sheep had strayed therein at night; and we testified to their judgment¹; and this we gave Solomon to understand. To each of them we gave judgment and knowledge; and to David we subjected the mountains to celebrate our praises, and the birds too,—it was we who did it².

[80] And we taught him the art of making coats of mail for you, to shield you from each other's violence; are ye then grateful?

And to Solomon (we subjected) the wind blowing stormily, to run on at his bidding to the land³ which we have blessed,—for all things did we know,—and some devils to dive for him, and to do other works beside that; and we kept guard over them.

And Job, when he cried to his Lord, 'As for me, harm has touched me, but Thou art the most merciful of the merciful ones.' And we answered

¹ This case, say the commentators, being brought before David and Solomon, David said that the owner of the field should take the sheep in compensation for the damage; but Solomon, who was only eleven years old at the time, gave judgment that the owner of the field should enjoy the produce of the sheep—that is, their milk, wool, and lambs—until the shepherd had restored the field to its former state of cultivation, and this judgment was approved by David.

² This legend, adopted from the Talmud, arises from a too literal interpretation of Psalm cxlviii.

³ The legend of Solomon, his seal inscribed with the holy name by which he could control all the powers of nature, his carpet or throne that used to be transported with him on the wind wherever he pleased, his power over the jinns, and his knowledge of the language of birds and beasts are commonplaces in Arabic writings.

him, and removed from him the distress that was upon him; and we gave his family, and the like of them with them, as a mercy from us, and a remembrance to those who serve us.

[85] And Ishmael, and Idrîs, and Dhu 'l Kifl¹, all of these were of the patient: and we made them enter into our mercy; verily, they were among the righteous.

And Dhu 'nnûn², when he went away in wrath and thought that we had no power over him; and he cried out in the darkness, 'There is no god but Thou, celebrated be Thy praise! Verily, I was of the evildoers!' And we answered him, and saved him from the trouble. Thus do we save believers!

And Zachariah, when he cried unto his Lord, 'O Lord! leave me not alone; for thou art the best of heirs³.' [90] And we answered him, and bestowed upon him John; and we made his wife right for him; verily, these vied in good works, and called on us with longing and dread, and were humble before us.

And she who guarded her private parts, and we breathed into her of our Spirit, and we made her and her son a sign unto the worlds. Verily, this your nation⁴ is one nation; and I am your Lord, so serve me.

¹ That is, Elias, or, as some say, Joshua, and some say Zachariah, so called because he had a portion from God Most High, and guaranteed his people, or because he had double the work of the prophets of his time and their reward; the word Kifl being used in the various senses of 'portion,' 'sponsorship,' and 'double.' —Bâidhâvî.

² Literally, 'he of the fish,' that is, Jonah.

³ See Part II, p. 27.

⁴ The word 'ummatun' is here used in the sense rather of

But they cut up their affair amongst themselves; they all shall return to us; and he who acts aright, and he who is a believer, there is no denial of his efforts, for, verily, we will write them down for him.

[95] There is a ban upon a city which we have destroyed that they shall not return, until *Yâgûg* and *Mâgûg* are let out ¹, and they from every hummock ² shall glide forth.

And the true promise draws nigh, and lo! they are staring—the eyes of those who misbelieve! O, woe is us! we were heedless of this, nay, we were wrong-doers!

Verily, ye, and what ye serve beside God, shall be the pebbles of hell ³, to it shall ye go down!

Had these been God's they would not have gone down thereto: but all shall dwell therein for aye; [100] for them therein is groaning, but they therein shall not be heard.

Verily, those for whom the good (reward) from us was fore-ordained, they from it shall be kept far away; they shall not hear the slightest sound thereof, and they in what their souls desire shall dwell for aye. The greatest terror shall not grieve them; and the angels shall meet them, (saying), 'This is your day which ye were promised!'

'religion,' regarding the various nations and generations as each professing and representing a particular faith, and means that the religion preached to the Meccans was the same as that preached to their followers by the various prophets who are mentioned in this chapter.

¹ See Part II, p. 25.

² 'Hadab, some read *gadath*, 'grave.'

³ See Part I, p. 4, l. 1.

The day when we will roll up the heavens as es-Sigill rolls up the books¹; as we produced it at its first creation will we bring it back again—a promise binding upon us; verily, we are going to do it. And already have we written in the Psalms [105] after the reminder that ‘the earth shall my righteous servants inherit’².

Verily, in this is preaching for a’ people who serve me!

We have only sent thee as a mercy to the worlds.

Say, ‘I am only inspired that your God is one God; are ye then resigned?’ But if they turn their backs say, ‘I have proclaimed (war) against all alike, but I know not if what ye are threatened with be near or far!’

[110] Verily, He knows what is spoken openly, and He knows what ye hide.

I know not, haply it is a trial for you and a provision for a season.

Say, ‘My Lord! judge thou with truth! and our Lord is the Merciful whom we ask for aid against what they ascribe!’

¹ Es-Sigill is the name of the angel who has charge of the book on which each human being’s fate is written, which book he rolls up at a person’s death. The word, however, may mean a scroll or register, and the passage may be rendered, ‘like the rolling up of a scroll for writings.’

² Psalm xxxvii. 29.

THE CHAPTER OF THE PILGRIMAGE.

(XXII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

O ye folk! fear your Lord. Verily, the earthquake of the Hour is a mighty thing.

On the day ye shall see it, every suckling woman shall be scared away from that to which she gave suck; and every pregnant woman shall lay down her load; and thou shalt see men drunken, though they be not drunken: but the torment of God is severe.

And amongst men is one who wrangles about God without knowledge, and follows every rebellious devil; against whom it is written down that whoso takes him for a patron, verily, he will lead him astray, and will guide him towards the torment of the blaze!

[5] O ye folk! if ye are in doubt about the raising (of the dead),—verily, we created you from earth, then from a clot, then from congealed blood, then from a morsel, shaped or shapeless, that we may explain to you. And we make what we please rest in the womb until an appointed time; then we bring you forth babes; then let you reach your full age; and of you are some who die; and of you are some who are kept back till the most decrepit age, till he knows no longer aught of knowledge. And ye see the earth parched, and when we send down water on it, it stirs and swells, and brings forth herbs of every beauteous kind.

That is because God, He is the truth, and because

He quickens the dead, and because He is mighty over all; and because the Hour is coming, there is no doubt therein, and because God raises up those who are in the tombs.

And amongst men is one who wrangles about God without knowledge or guidance or an illuminating book; twisting his neck from the way of God; for him is disgrace in this world, and we will make him taste, upon the resurrection day, the torment of burning.

[10] That is for what thy hands have done before, and for that God is not unjust unto His servants.

And amongst men is one who serves God (wavering) on a brink; and if there befall him good, he is comforted; but if there befall him a trial, he turns round again, and loses this world and the next—that is an obvious loss. He calls, besides God, on what can neither harm him nor profit him;—that is a wide error.

He calls on him whose harm is nigher than his profit,— a bad lord and a bad comrade.

Verily, God makes those who believe and do aright enter into gardens beneath which rivers flow; verily, God does what He will.

[15] He who thinks that God will never help him in this world or the next—let him stretch a cord to the roof¹ and put an end to himself; and let him cut it and see if his stratagem will remove what he is enraged at.

Thus have we sent down manifest signs; for, verily, God guides whom He will.

Verily, those who believe, and those who are

¹ The word may also be rendered 'sky.'

Jews, and the Sabæans, and the Christians, and the Magians, and those who join other gods with God, verily, God will decide between them on the resurrection day; verily, God is witness over all.

Do they not see that God, whosoever is in the heavens adores Him, and whosoever is in the earth, and the sun, and the moon, and the stars, and the mountains, and the beasts, and many among men, though many a one deserves the torments?

Whomsoever God abases there is none to honour him; verily, God does what He pleases.

[20] These are two disputants¹ who dispute about their Lord, but those who misbelieve, for them are cut out garments of fire, there shall be poured over their heads boiling water, wherewith what is in their bellies shall be dissolved and their skins too, and for them are maces of iron. Whenever they desire to come forth therefrom through pain, they are sent back into it: 'And taste ye the torment of the burning!'

Verily, God will make those who believe and do right enter into gardens beneath which rivers flow; they shall be bedecked therein with bracelets of gold and with pearls, and their garments therein shall be of silk, and they shall be guided to the goodly speech, and they shall be guided to the laudable way.

[25] Verily, those who misbelieve and who turn men away from God's path and the Sacred Mosque, which we have made for all men alike, the dweller therein, and the stranger, and he who desires therein profanation with injustice, we will make him taste grievous woe.

¹ Namely, the believers and the misbelievers.

And when we established for Abraham the place of the House, (saying), 'Associate naught with me, but cleanse my House for those who make the circuits, for those who stand to pray, for those who bow, and for those too who adore.

'And proclaim amongst men the Pilgrimage; let them come to you on foot and on every slim camel, from every deep pass, that they may witness advantages for them, and may mention the name of God for the stated days¹ over what God has provided them with of brute beasts, then eat thereof and feed the badly off, the poor.

[30] 'Then let them finish the neglect of their persons², and let them pay their vows and make the circuit round the old House.

'That do. And whoso magnifies the sacred things of God it is better for him with his Lord.

'Cattle are lawful for you, except what is recited to you; and avoid the abomination of idols, and avoid speaking falsely, being 'Hantfs to God, not associating aught with Him; for he who associates aught with God, it is as though he had fallen from heaven, and the birds snatch him up, or the wind blows him away into a far distant place.

'That—and he who makes grand the symbols³ of God, they come from piety of heart.

¹ The first ten days of Dhu 'l 'Higgeh, or the tenth day of that month, when the sacrifices were offered in the vale of Minâ, and the three following days.

² Such as not shaving their heads and other parts of their bodies, or cutting their beards and nails, which are forbidden the pilgrim from the moment he has put on the I'hrâm, or pilgrim garb, until the offering of the sacrifice at Minâ.

³ This means by presenting fine and comely offerings.

'Therein have ye advantages for an appointed time, then the place for sacrificing them is at the old House.'

[35] To every nation have we appointed rites, to mention the name of God over what He has provided them with of brute beasts ; and your God is one God, to Him then be resigned, and give glad tidings to the lowly, whose hearts when God is mentioned are afraid, and to those who are patient of what befalls them, and to those who are steadfast in prayer and of what we have given them expend in alms.

The bulky (camels) we have made for you one of the symbols of God, therein have ye good ; so mention the name of God over them as they stand in a row¹, and when they fall down (dead) eat of them, and feed the easily contented and him who begs.

Thus have we subjected them to you ; haply, ye may give thanks !

Their meat will never reach to God, nor yet their blood, but the piety from you will reach to Him.

Thus hath He subjected them to you that ye may magnify God for guiding you : and give thou glad tidings to those who do good.

Verily, God will defend those who believe ; verily, God loves not any misbelieving traitor.

[40] Permission is given to those who fight because they have been wronged,—and, verily, God to help them has the might,—who have been driven forth from their homes undeservedly, only for that they said, 'Our Lord is God ;' and were it not for God's repelling some men with others, cloisters and churches and synagogues and mosques, wherein God's name is

¹ Waiting to be sacrificed.

mentioned much, would be destroyed. But God will surely help him who helps Him; verily, God is powerful, mighty.

Who, if we stablish them in the earth, are steadfast in prayer, and give alms, and bid what is right, and forbid what is wrong; and God's is the future of affairs.

But if they call thee liar, the people of Noah called him liar before them, as did 'Âd and Thamûd, and the people of Abraham, and the people of Lot, and the fellows of Midian; and Moses was called a liar too: but I let the misbelievers range at large, and then I seized on them, and how great was the change!

And how many a city have we destroyed while it yet did wrong, and it was turned over on its roofs, and (how many) a deserted well and lofty palace!

[45] Have they not travelled on through the land? and have they not hearts to understand with, or ears to hear with? for it is not their eyes which are blind, but blind are the hearts which are within their breasts.

They will bid thee hasten on the torment, but God will never fail in his promise; for, verily, a day with thy Lord is as a thousand years of what ye number.

And to how many a city have I given full range while it yet did wrong! then I seized on it, and unto me was the return.

Say, 'O ye folk! I am naught but a plain warner to you, but those who believe and do right, for them is forgiveness and a generous provision; [50] but those who strive to discredit our signs, they are the fellows of hell!'

We have not sent before thee any apostle or prophet, but that when he wished, Satan threw not something into his wish¹; but God annuls what Satan throws; then does God confirm his signs, and God is knowing, wise—to make what Satan throws a trial unto those in whose hearts is sickness, and those whose hearts are hard; and, verily, the wrong-doers are in a wide schism—and that those who have been given 'the knowledge' may know that it is the truth from thy Lord, and may believe therein, and that their hearts may be lowly; for, verily, God surely will guide those who believe into a right way.

But those who misbelieve will not cease to be in doubt thereof until the Hour comes on them suddenly, or there comes on them the torment of the barren day².

[55] The kingdom on that day shall be God's, He shall judge between them; and those who believe

¹ Some say that the word *tamannâ* means 'reading,' and the passage should then be translated, 'but that when he read Satan threw something into his reading;' the occasion on which the verse was produced being that when Mohammed was reciting the words of the Qur'ân, Chapter LIII, verses 19, 20, 'Have ye considered Allât and Al 'Huzzâ and Manât the other third?' Satan put it into his mouth to add, 'they are the two high-soaring cranes, and, verily, their intercession may be hoped for;' at this praise of their favourite idols the Qurâir were much pleased, and at the end of the recitation joined the prophet and his followers in adoration. Mohammed, being informed by the angel Gabriel of the reason for their doing so, was much concerned until this verse was revealed for his consolation. The objectionable passage was of course annulled, and the verse made to read as it now stands.

² Either 'the day of resurrection,' as giving birth to no day after it, or, 'a day of battle and defeat,' that makes mothers childless, such as the infidels experienced at Bedr.

and do aright shall be in gardens of pleasure, but those who misbelieve and say our signs are lies, these—for them is shameful woe.

And those who flee in God's way, and then are slain or die, God will provide them with a goodly provision; for, verily, God is the best of providers.

He shall surely make them enter by an entrance that they like; for, verily, God is knowing, clement.

That (is so). Whoever punishes with the like of what he has been injured with, and shall then be outraged again, God shall surely help him; verily, God pardons, forgives.

[60] That for that God joins on the night to the day, and joins on the day to the night, and that God is hearing, seeing; that is for that God is the truth, and for that what ye call on beside Him is falsehood, and that God is the high, the great.

Hast thou not seen that God sends down from the sky water, and on the morrow the earth is green? verily, God is kind and well aware.

His is what is in the heavens and what is in the earth; and, verily, God is rich and to be praised.

Hast thou not seen that God has subjected for you what is in the earth, and the ship that runs on in the sea at His bidding, and He holds back the sky from falling on the earth save at His bidding¹? verily, God to men is gracious, merciful.

[65] He it is who quickens you, then makes you

¹ As it will do at the last day. The words of the text might also be rendered 'withholds the rain,' though the commentators do not seem to notice this sense.

die, then will He quicken you again—verily, man is indeed ungrateful.

For every nation have we made rites which they observe ; let them not then dispute about the matter, but call upon thy Lord ; verily, thou art surely in a right guidance !

But if they wrangle with thee, say, 'God best knows what ye do.'

God shall judge between them on the resurrection day concerning that whereon they disagreed.

Didst thou not know that God knows what is in the heavens and the earth ? verily, that is in a book ; verily, that for God is easy.

[70] And they serve beside God what He has sent down no power for, and what they have no knowledge of ; but the wrong-doers shall have none to help them.

When our signs are read to them manifest, thou mayest recognise in the faces of those who misbelieve disdain ; they well-nigh rush at those who recite to them our signs. Say, 'Shall I inform you of something worse than that for you, the Fire which God has promised to those who misbelieve ? an evil journey shall it be !'

O ye folk ! a parable is struck out for you, so listen to it. Verily, those on whom ye call beside God could never create a fly if they all united together to do it, and if the fly should despoil them of aught they could not snatch it away from it—weak is both the seeker and the sought.

They do not value God at His true value ; verily, God is powerful, mighty.

God chooses apostles of the angels and of men ; verily, God hears and sees. [75] He knows what is

before them and what is behind them; and unto God affairs return.

O ye who believe! bow down and adore, and serve your Lord, and do well, haply ye may prosper; and fight strenuously for God, as is His due. He has elected you, and has not put upon you any hindrance by your religion,—the faith of your father Abraham. He has named you Muslims before and in this (book), that the Apostle may be a witness against you, and that ye may be witnesses against men.

Be ye then steadfast in prayer, and give alms, and hold fast by God; He is your sovereign, and an excellent sovereign, and an excellent help!

THE CHAPTER OF BELIEVERS.

(XXIII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Prosperous are the believers who in their prayers are humble, and who from vain talk turn aside, and who in almsgiving are active. [5] And who guard their private parts—except for their wives or what their right hands possess for then, verily, they are not to be blamed;—but whoso craves aught beyond that, they are the transgressors—and who observe their trusts and covenants, and who guard well their prayers: [10] these are the heirs who shall inherit Paradise; they shall dwell therein for aye!

We have created man from an extract of clay; then we made him a clot in a sure depository; then

we created the clot congealed blood, and we created the congealed blood a morsel; then we created the morsel bone, and we clothed the bone with flesh; then we produced it another creation; and blessed be God, the best of creators¹!

[15] Then shall ye after that surely die; then shall ye on the day of resurrection be raised.

And we have created above you seven roads²; nor are we heedless of the creation.

And we send down from the heaven water by measure, and we make it rest in the earth; but, verily, we are able to take it away; and we produce for you thereby gardens of palms and grapes wherein ye have many fruits, and whence ye eat.

[20] And a tree growing out of Mount Sinai which produces oil, and a condiment for those who eat.

And, verily, ye have a lesson in the cattle; we give you to drink of what is in their bellies; and ye have therein many advantages, and of them ye eat, and on them and on ships ye are borne!

We sent Noah unto his people, and he said, 'O my people! worship God, ye have no god but Him; do ye then not fear?'

Said the chiefs of those who misbelieved among his people, 'This is nothing but a mortal like yourselves who wishes to have preference over you, and had God pleased He would have sent angels; we have not heard of this amongst our fathers of yore: [25] he is nothing but a man possessed; let him bide then for a season.'

Said he, 'Help me, for they call me liar!'

And we inspired him, 'Make the ark under

¹ See Part I, p. 126, note 2.

² That is, 'seven heavens.'

our eyes and inspiration ; and when the oven boils over, conduct into it of every kind two, with thy family, except him of them against whom the word has passed ; and do not address me for those who do wrong, verily, they are to be drowned !

‘ But when thou art settled, thou and those with thee in the ark, say, “ Praise belongs to God, who saved us from the unjust people ! ”

[30] ‘ And say, “ My Lord ! make me to alight in a blessed alighting-place, for Thou art the best of those who cause men to alight ! ” ’ Verily, in that is a sign, and, verily, we were trying them.

Then we raised up after them another generation ; and we sent amongst them a prophet of themselves (saying), ‘ Serve God, ye have no god but He ; will ye then not fear ? ’

Said the chiefs of his people who misbelieved, and called the meeting of the last day a lie, and to whom we gave enjoyment in the life of this world, ‘ This is only a mortal like yourselves, who eats of what ye eat, [35] and drinks of what ye drink ; and if ye obey a mortal like yourselves, verily, ye will then be surely losers ! Does he promise you that when ye are dead, and have become dust and bones, that then ye will be brought forth ?

‘ Away, away with what ye are threatened,—there is only our life in the world ! We die and we live, and we shall not be raised ! [40] He is only a man who forges against God a lie. And we believe not in him ! ’

Said he, ‘ My Lord ! help me, for they call me liar ! ’ He said, ‘ Within a little they will surely awake repenting ! ’

And the noise seized them deservedly ; and we

made them as rubbish borne by a torrent ; so, away with the unjust people !

Then we raised up after them other generations.

[45] No nation can anticipate its appointed time, nor keep it back.

Then we sent our apostles one after another. Whenever its apostle came to any nation they called him a liar ; and we made some to follow others ; and we made them legends ; away then with a people who do not believe !

Then we sent Moses and his brother Aaron with our signs, and with plain authority to Pharaoh and his chiefs, but they were too big with pride, and were a haughty people.

And they said, ' Shall we believe two mortals like ourselves, when their people are servants of ours ?'

[50] So they called them liars, and were of those who perished.

And we gave Moses the Book, that haply they might be guided.

And we made the son of Mary and his mother a sign ; and we lodged them both on a high place, furnished with security and a spring.

O ye apostles ! eat of the good things and do right ; verily, what ye do I know !

And, verily, this nation¹ of yours is one nation, and I am your Lord ; so fear me.

[55] And they have become divided as to their affair amongst themselves into sects², each party

¹ Or, 'religion.'

² Literally, 'into Scriptures,' i.e. into sects, each appealing to a particular book.

rejoicing in what they have themselves. So leave them in their flood (of error) for a time.

Do they reckon that that of which we grant them such an extent, of wealth and children, we hasten to them as good things — nay, but they do not perceive!

Verily, those who shrink with terror at their Lord, [60] and those who in the signs of their Lord believe, and those who with their Lord join none, and those who give what they do give while their hearts are afraid that they unto their Lord will return,—these hasten to good things and are first to gain the same. But we will not oblige a soul beyond its capacity; for with us is a book that utters the truth, and they shall not be wronged.

[65] Nay, their hearts are in a flood (of error) at this, and they have works beside this which they do¹. Until we catch the affluent ones amongst them with the torment; then lo! they cry for aid.

Cry not for aid to-day! verily, against us ye will not be helped. My signs were recited to you, but upon your heels did ye turn back, big with pride at it², in vain discourse by night.

[70] Is it that they did not ponder over the words, whether that has come to them which came not to their fathers of yore? Or did they not know their apostle, that they thus deny him? Or do they say, 'He is possessed by a ginn?' Nay, he came to them with the truth, and most of them are averse from the truth.

But if the truth were to follow their lusts, the

¹ I.e. their works are far different to the good works just described.

² At their possession of the Kaabah. The Qurâis are meant.

heavens and the earth would be corrupted with all who in them are!—Nay, we brought them their reminder, but they from their reminder turn aside.

Or dost thou ask them for a tribute? but the tribute of thy Lord is better, for He is the best of those who provide.

[75] And, verily, thou dost call them to a right way; but, verily, those who believe not in the hereafter from the way do veer.

But if we had mercy on them, and removed the distress¹ they have, they would persist in their rebellion, blindly wandering on!

And we caught them with the torment², but they did not abase themselves before their Lord, nor did they humble themselves; until we opened for them a door with grievous torment, then lo! they are in despair.

[80] He it is who produced for you hearing, and sight, and minds,—little is it that ye thank. And He it is who created you in the earth, and unto Him shall ye be gathered. And He it is who gives you life and death; and His is the alternation of the night and the day; have ye then no sense?

Nay, but they said like that which those of yore did say.

They said, 'What! when we have become earth and bones, are we then going to be raised? [85] We have been promised this, and our fathers too, before;—this is naught but old folks' tales!'

Say, 'Whose is the earth and those who are therein, if ye but know?'

¹ The famine which the Meccans suffered; and which was attributed to Mohammed's denunciations.

² Their defeat at Bedr.

They will say, 'God's.' Say, 'Do ye not then mind?'

Say, 'Who is Lord of the seven heavens, and Lord of the mighty throne?'

They will say, 'God.' Say, 'Do ye not then fear?'

[90] Say, 'In whose hand is the dominion of everything; He succours but is not succoured,—if ye did but know?'

They will say, 'God's.' Say, 'Then how can ye be so infatuated?'

Nay, we have brought them the truth, but, verily, they are liars!

God never took a son, nor was there ever any god with Him;—then each god would have gone off with what he had created, and some would have exalted themselves over others,—celebrated be His praises above what they attribute (to Him)!

He who knows the unseen and the visible, exalted be He above what they join with Him!

[95] Say, 'My Lord! if Thou shouldst show me what they are threatened,—my Lord! then place me not amongst the unjust people.'

Repel evil by what is better¹. We know best what they attribute (to thee). And say, 'My Lord! I seek refuge in Thee from the incitings of the devils; [100] and I seek refuge in Thee from their presence!'

Until when death comes to any one of them he says, 'My Lord! send ye me back², haply I may do right in that which I have left!'

¹ I. e. by doing good for evil, provided that the cause of Islâm suffers nothing from it.

² I. e. back to life. The plural is used 'by way of respect,' say the commentators.

Not so!—a mere word he speaks!—but behind them is a bar until the day they shall be raised.

And when the trumpet shall be blown, and there shall be no relation between them on that day, nor shall they beg of each other then!

[105] And he whose scales are heavy,—they are the prosperous. But he whose scales are light,—these are they who lose themselves, in hell to dwell for aye! The fire shall scorch their faces, and they shall curl their lips therein! 'Were not my signs recited to you? and ye said that they were lies!' They say, 'Our Lord! our misery overcame us, and we were a people who did err! Our Lord! take us out therefrom, and if we return¹, then shall we be unjust.'

[110] He will say, 'Go ye away into it and speak not to me!'

Verily, there was a sect of my servants who said, 'Our Lord! we believe, so pardon us, and have mercy upon us, for Thou art the best of the merciful ones.'

And ye took them for a jest until ye forgot my reminder and did laugh thereat. Verily, I have recompensed them this day for their patience; verily, they are happy now.

He will say, 'How long a number of years did ye tarry on earth?' [115] They will say, 'We tarried a day or part of a day, but ask the Numberers².'

He will say, 'Ye have only tarried a little, were ye but to know it. Did ye then reckon that we created you for sport, and that to us ye would not return?' But exalted be God, the true; there is no god but He, the Lord of the noble throne! and

¹ To our evil ways.

² That is, the recording angels.

whoso calls upon another god with God has no proof of it, but, verily, his account is with his Lord; verily, the misbelievers shall not prosper. And say, 'Lord, pardon and be merciful, for Thou art the best of the merciful ones!'

THE CHAPTER OF LIGHT.

(XXIV. Medīnah.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

A chapter which we have sent down and determined, and have sent down therein manifest signs; haply ye may be mindful.

The whore and the whoremonger. Scourge each of them with a hundred stripes, and do not let pity for them take hold of you in God's religion, if ye believe in God and the last day; and let a party of the believers witness their torment. And the whoremonger shall marry none but a whore or an idolatress; and the whore shall none marry but an adulterer or an idolater; God has prohibited this to the believers; but those who cast (imputations) on chaste women and then do not bring four witnesses, scourge them with eighty stripes, and do not receive any testimony of theirs ever, for these are the workers of abomination. [5] Except such as repent after that and act aright, for, verily, God is forgiving and compassionate.

And those who cast (imputation) on their wives and have no witnesses except themselves, then the testimony of one of them shall be to testify four

times that, by God, he is of those who speak the truth; and the fifth testimony shall be that the curse of God shall be on him if he be of those who lie. And it shall avert the punishment from her if she bears testimony four times that, by God, he is of those who lie; and the fifth that the wrath of God shall be on her if he be of those who speak the truth.

[10] And were it not for God's grace upon you and His mercy, and that God is relenting, wise . . .¹

Verily, those who bring forward the lie, a band of you,—reckon it not as an evil for you, nay, it is good for you; every man of them shall have what he has earned of sin; and he of them who managed to aggravate it, for him is mighty woe².

Why did not, when ye heard it, the believing men and believing women think good in themselves, and say, 'This is an obvious lie?' Why did they not bring four witnesses to it? but since they did not bring the witnesses, then they in God's eyes are

¹ He would punish you.

² This passage and what follows refers to the scandal about Mohammed's favourite wife Ayesha, who, having been accidentally left behind when the prophet and his followers were starting at night on an expedition, in the sixth year of the Hîgrah, was brought on to the camp in the morning by Zafwân ibn de Mu'ha'al: this gave rise to rumours derogatory to Ayesha's character, which these verses are intended to refute. Ayesha never forgave those who credited the reports against her innocence, and 'Ali, who had spoken in a disparaging manner of her on the occasion, so seriously incurred her displeasure that she contrived to bring about the ruin of his family, and the murder of his two sons Hasan and Husein; the principal parties concerned in the actual spread of the calumny were punished with the fourscore stripes above ordained, with the exception of the ringleader, Abdallah ibn Ubbâi, who was too important a person to be so treated.

the liars. And but for God's grace upon you, and His mercy in this world and the next, there would have touched you, for that which ye spread abroad, mighty woe. When ye reported it with your tongues, and spake with your mouths what ye had no knowledge of, and reckoned it a light thing, while in God's eyes it was grave.

[15] And why did ye not say when ye heard it, 'It is not for us to speak of this? Celebrated be His praises, this is a mighty calumny!'

God admonishes you that ye return not to the like of it ever, if ye be believers; and God manifests to you the signs, for God is knowing, wise.

Verily, those who love that scandal should go abroad amongst those who believe, for them is grievous woe in this world and the next; for God knows, but ye do not know.

[20] And but for God's grace upon you, and His mercy, and that God is kind and compassionate . . . !

O ye who believe! follow not the footsteps of Satan, for he who follows the footsteps of Satan, verily, he bids you sin and do wrong; and but for God's grace upon you and His mercy, not one of you would be ever pure; but God purifies whom He will, for God both hears and knows. And let not those amongst you who have plenty and ample means swear that they will not give aught to their kinsman and the poor¹ and those who have fled their homes in God's way, but let them pardon and pass it over. Do ye not like God to forgive you? and God is forgiving, compassionate.

¹ Abu bekr had sworn not to do anything more for a relation of his, named Mis'a'h, who had taken part in spreading the reports against Ayesha.

Verily, those who cast imputations on chaste women who are negligent but believing shall be cursed in this world and the next; and for them is mighty woe. The day when their tongues and hands and feet shall bear witness against them of what they did, on [25] that day God will pay them their just due; and they shall know that God, He is the plain truth.

The vile women to the vile men, and the vile men to the vile women; and the good women to the good men, and the good men to the good women: these are clear of what they say to them—forgiveness and a noble provision!

O ye who believe! enter not into houses which are not your own houses, until ye have asked leave and saluted the people thereof, that is better for you; haply ye may be mindful. And if ye find no one therein, then do not enter them until permission is given you, and if it be said to you, 'Go back!' then go back, it is purer for you; for God of what ye do doth know. It is no crime against you that ye enter uninhabited houses,—a convenience for you;—and God knows what ye show and what ye hide.

[30] Say to the believers that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts; that is purer for them; verily, God is well aware of what they do.

And say to the believing women that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts, and display not their ornaments, except those which are outside; and let them pull their kerchiefs over their bosoms and not display their ornaments save to their husbands and fathers, or the fathers of their

husbands, or their sons, or the sons of their husbands, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or what their right hands possess, or their male attendants who are incapable¹, or to children who do not note women's nakedness; and that they beat not with their feet that their hidden ornaments may be known²;—but turn ye all repentant to God, O ye believers! haply ye may prosper.

And marry the single amongst you, and the righteous among your servants and your hand-maidens. If they be poor, God will enrich them of His grace, for God both comprehends and knows. And let those who cannot find a match, until God enriches them of His grace, keep chaste.

And such of those whom your right hands possess as crave a writing³, write it for them, if ye know any good in them, and give them of the wealth of God which He has given you. And do not compel your slave girls to prostitution, if they desire to keep continent, in order to crave the goods of the life of this world; but he who does compel them, then, verily, God after they are compelled is forgiving, compassionate⁴.

Now have we sent down to you manifest signs, and the like of those who have passed away before you⁵, and as an admonition to those who fear.

¹ Or, according to some, of deficient intellect.

² I. e. they are not to tinkle their bangles or ankle-rings.

³ I. e. a document allowing them to redeem themselves on payment of a certain sum.

⁴ Abdallah ibn Ubbâi, mentioned in Part II, p. 74, note 2, had six slave girls whom he compelled to live by prostitution. One of them complained to Mohammed, whence this passage.

⁵ I. e. like the stories of Joseph, Part I, p. 221, and the Virgin

[35] God is the light of the heavens and the earth; His light is as a niche in which is a lamp, and the lamp is in a glass, the glass is as though it were a glittering star; it is lit from a blessed tree, an olive neither of the east nor of the west, the oil of which would well-nigh give light though no fire touched it,—light upon light!—God guides to His light whom He pleases; and God strikes out parables for men, and God all things doth know.

In the houses God has permitted to be reared and His name to be mentioned therein—His praises are celebrated therein mornings and evenings.

Men whom neither merchandize nor selling divert from the remembrance of God and steadfastness in prayer and giving alms, who fear a day when hearts and eyes shall be upset;—that God may recompense them for the best that they have done, and give them increase of His grace; for God provides whom He pleases without count.

But those who misbelieve, their works are like the mirage in a plain, the thirsty counts it water till when he comes to it he finds nothing, but he finds that God is with him; and He will pay him his account, for God is quick to take account.

[40] Or like darkness on a deep sea, there covers it a wave above which is a wave, above which is a cloud,—darknesses one above the other,—when one puts out his hand he can scarcely see it; for he to whom God has given no light, he has no light.

Mary, Part II, p. 29, both of whom, like Ayesha, were accused of incontinence, and miraculously proved innocent.

Hast thou not seen that God,—all who are in the heavens and the earth celebrate His praises, and the birds too spreading out their wings; each one knows its prayer and its praise, and God knows what they do?

Hast thou not seen that God drives the clouds, and then re-unites them, and then accumulates them, and thou mayest see the rain coming forth from their midst; and He sends down from the sky mountains¹ with hail therein, and He makes it fall on whom He pleases, and He turns it from whom He pleases; the flashing of His lightning well-nigh goes off with their sight?

God interchanges the night and the day; verily, in that is a lesson to those endowed with sight.

And God created every beast from water, and of them is one that walks upon its belly, and of them one that walks upon two feet, and of them one that walks upon four. God creates what He pleases; verily, God is mighty over all!

[45] Now have we sent down manifest signs, and God guides whom He pleases unto the right way.

They will say, 'We believe in God and in the Apostle, and we obey.' Then a sect of them turned their backs after that, and they are not believers.

And when they are called to God and His Apostle to judge between them, lo! a sect of them do turn aside. But had the right been on their side they would have come to him submissively enough.

Is there a sickness in their hearts, or do they doubt, or do they fear lest God and His Apostle

¹ I. e. masses of cloud as large as mountains.

should deal unfairly by them?—Nay, it is they who are unjust.

[50] The speech of the believers, when they are called to God and His Apostle to judge between them, is only to say, 'We hear and we obey;' and these it is who are the prosperous, for whoso obeys God and His Apostle and dreads God and fears Him, these it is who are the happy.

They swear by God with their most strenuous oath that hadst Thou ordered them they would surely go forth. Say, 'Do not swear—reasonable obedience¹; verily, God knows what ye do.'

Say, 'Obey God and obey the Apostle; but if ye turn your backs he has only his burden to bear, and ye have only your burden to bear. But if ye obey him, ye are guided; but the Apostle has only his plain message to deliver.'

God promises those of you who believe and do right that He will give them the succession in the earth as He gave the succession to those before them, and He will establish for them their religion which He has chosen for them, and to give them, after their fear, safety in exchange;—they shall worship me, they shall not associate aught with me: but whoso disbelieves after that, those it is who are the sinners.

[55] And be steadfast in prayer and give alms and obey the Apostle, haply ye may obtain mercy.

Do not reckon that those who misbelieve can

¹ The construction of the original is vague, and the commentators themselves make but little of it. The most approved rendering, however, seems to be either that obedience is the reasonable course to pursue, and not the mere swearing to obey.

frustrate (God) in the earth, for their resort is the Fire, and an ill journey shall it be.

O ye who believe! let those whom your right hands possess, and those amongst you who have not reached puberty, ask leave of you three times: before the prayer of dawn, and when ye put off your clothes at noon, and after the evening prayer;—three times of privacy for you¹: there is no crime on either you or them after these while ye are continually going one about the other. Thus does God explain to you His signs, for God is knowing, wise.

And when your children reach puberty let them ask leave as those before them asked leave. Thus does God explain to you His signs, for God is knowing, wise.

And those women who have stopped (child-bearing), who do not hope for a match, it is no crime on them that they put off their clothes so as not to display their ornaments; but that they abstain is better for them, for God both hears and knows.

[60] There is no hindrance to the blind, and no hindrance to the lame, and no hindrance to the sick, and none upon yourselves that you eat from your houses, or the houses of your fathers, or the houses of your mothers, or the houses of your brothers, or the houses of your sisters, or the houses of your paternal uncles, or the houses of your paternal aunts, or the houses of your maternal uncles,

¹ I. e. at the times when persons are undressed, namely, to rise in the morning, to sleep at noon, and to retire for the night, their attendants and children must not come in without first asking permission.

or the houses of your maternal aunts, or what ye possess the keys of, or of your friend, there is no crime on you that ye eat all together or separately¹.

And when ye enter houses then greet each other with a salutation from God, blessed and good. Thus does God explain to you His signs, haply ye may understand.

Only those are believers who believe in God and His Apostle, and when they are with Him upon public business go not away until they have asked his leave; verily, those who ask thy leave they it is who believe in God and His Apostle.

But when they ask thy leave for any of their own concerns, then give leave to whomsoever thou wilt of them, and ask pardon for them of God; verily, God is forgiving and merciful.

Make not the calling of the Apostle amongst yourselves like your calling one to the other²; God knows those of you who withdraw themselves covertly. And let those who disobey his order beware lest there befall them some trial or there befall them grievous woe. Ay, God's is what is in the heavens and the earth, He knows what ye are at; and the day ye shall be sent back to Him then He will inform you of what ye have done, for God all things doth know.

¹ The Arabs in Mohammed's time were superstitiously scrupulous about eating in any one's house but their own.

² That is, do not address the prophet without some respectful title.

THE CHAPTER OF THE DISCRIMINATION¹.

(XXV. Mecca.)



IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Blessed be He who sent down the Discrimination to His servant that he might be unto the world a warner; whose is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and who has not taken to Himself a son, and who has no partner in His kingdom, and created everything, and then decreed it determinately! And they take beside Him gods who create not aught, but are themselves created, and cannot control for themselves harm or profit, and cannot control death, or life, or resurrection.

[5] And those who misbelieve say, 'This is nothing but a lie which he has forged, and another people hath helped him at it;' but they have wrought an injustice and a falsehood.

And they say, 'Old folks' tales, which he has got written down while they are dictated to him morning and evening.'

Say, 'He sent it down who knows the secret in the heavens and the earth; verily, He is ever forgiving, merciful!'

And they say, 'What ails this prophet that he eats food and walks in the markets?—unless there be sent down to him an angel and be a warner with him Or there be thrown to him a treasury,

¹ In Arabic Al Furqân, which is one of the names of the Qur'ân.

or he have a garden to eat therefrom . . . !' and the unjust say, 'Ye only follow an infatuated man.'

[10] See how they strike out for thee parables, and err, and cannot find a way.

Blessed be He who, if He please, can make for thee better than that, gardens beneath which rivers flow, and can make for thee castles!

Nay, but they call the Hour a lie; but we have prepared for those who call the Hour a lie a blaze: when it seizes them from a far-off place they shall hear its raging and roaring; and when they are thrown into a narrow place thereof, fastened together, they shall call there for destruction.

[15] Call not to-day for one destruction, but call for many destructions!

Say, 'Is that better or the garden of eternity which was promised to those who fear—which is ever for them a recompense and a retreat?' They shall have therein what they please, to dwell therein for aye: that is of thy Lord a promise to be demanded.

And the day He shall gather them and what they served beside God, and He shall say, 'Was it ye who led my servants here astray, or did they err from the way?'

They shall say, 'Celebrated be Thy praise, it was not befitting for us to take any patrons but Thee; but Thou didst give them and their fathers enjoyment until they forgot the Reminder and were a lost people!'

[20] And now have they proved you liars for what ye say, and they¹ cannot ward off or help.

¹ Another reading of the text is, 'ye cannot.'

And he of you who does wrong we will make him taste great torment.

We have not sent before thee any messengers but that they ate food and walked in the markets; but we have made some of you a trial to others: will ye be patient? thy Lord doth ever look.

And those who do not hope to meet us say, 'Unless the angels be sent down to us, or we see our Lord . . . !' They are too big with pride in their souls and they have exceeded with a great excess!

— The day they shall see the angels,—no glad tidings on that day for the sinners, and they shall say, 'It is rigorously forbidden¹!'

[25] And we will go on to the works which they have done, and make them like motes in a sun-beam scattered! The fellows of Paradise on that day shall be in a better abiding-place and a better noonday rest.

The day the heavens shall be cleft asunder with the clouds, and the angels shall be sent down descending.

The true kingdom on that day shall belong to the Merciful, and it shall be a hard day for the misbelievers.

And the day when the unjust shall bite his hands² and say, 'O, would that I had taken a way with the Apostle³! [30] O, woe is me! would that I had

¹ The ancient Arabs used this formula when they met an enemy during a sacred month, and the person addressed would then abstain from hostilities. The sinners in this passage are supposed to use it to the angels, but without effect. Some commentators take it to mean that the 'glad tidings' are 'rigorously forbidden,' and that the angels are the speakers.

² See Chapter III, verse 115.

³ That is, followed him.

not taken such a one for a friend now, for he did lead me astray from the Reminder after it had come to me, for Satan leaves man in the lurch!

The Apostle said, 'O my Lord! verily, my people have taken this Qur'ân to be obsolete!'

Thus have we made for every prophet an enemy from among the sinners; but thy Lord is good guide and helper enough.

Those who misbelieve said, 'Unless the Qur'ân be sent down to him all at once¹ . . . !'—thus—that we may stablish thy heart therewith, did we reveal it piecemeal². [35] Nor shall they come to thee with a parable without our bringing thee the truth and the best interpretation.

They who shall be gathered upon their faces to hell,—these are in the worst place, and err most from the path.

And we did give to Moses the Book, and place with him his brother Aaron as a minister; and we said, 'Go ye to the people who say our signs are lies, for we will destroy them with utter destruction.'

And the people of Noah, when they said the apostles were liars, we drowned them, and we made them a sign for men; and we prepared for the unjust a grievous woe.

[40] And 'Âd and Thamûd and the people of ar Rass³, and many generations between them.

¹ Like the Pentateuch and Gospels, which were revealed all at once, according to the Mohammedan tradition.

² Or it may be rendered, 'slowly and distinctly,' the whole revelation of the Qur'ân extends over a period of twenty-three years.

³ The commentators do not know where to place ar Rass; some say it was a city in Yamâmah, others that it was a well near Midian, and others again that it was in 'Hadhramaut.

For each one have we struck out parables, and each one have we ruined with utter ruin.

Why, they¹ have come past the cities which were rained on with an evil rain; have they not seen them?—nay, they do not hope to be raised up again.

And when they saw thee they only took thee for a jest, 'Is this he whom God has sent as an apostle? he well-nigh leads us astray from our gods, had we not been patient about them.' But they shall know, when they see the torment, who errs most from the path. [45] Dost thou consider him who takes his lusts for his god? wilt thou then be in charge over him? or dost thou reckon that most of them will hear or understand? they are only like the cattle, nay, they err more from the way.

Hast thou not looked to thy Lord how He prolongs the shadow? but had He willed He would have made it stationary; then we make the sun a guide thereto, then we contract it towards us with an easy contraction.

And He it is who made the night for a garment; and sleep for repose, and made the day for men to rise up again. [50] And He it is who sent the winds with glad tidings before His mercy; and we send down from the heavens pure water, to quicken therewith the dead country, and to give it for drink to what we have created,—the cattle and many folk.

We have turned it² in various ways amongst them that they may remember; though most men

¹ That is, the idolatrous Meccans; see Part I, p. 249, note 2.

² That is, either the Qur'ân, cf. Part II, p. 5, line 25; or the words may be rendered, 'We distribute it' (the rain), &c.

refuse aught but to misbelieve. But, had we pleased, we would have sent in every city a warner. So obey not the unbelievers and fight strenuously with them in many a strenuous fight.

[55] He it is who has let loose the two seas, this one sweet and fresh, that one bitter and pungent, and has made between them a rigorous prohibition.

And He it is who has created man from water, and has made for him blood relationship and marriage relationship; for thy Lord is mighty.

Yet they worship beside God what can neither profit them nor harm them; but he who misbelieves in his Lord backs up (the devil).

We have only sent thee to give glad tidings and to warn. Say, 'I ask you not for it a hire unless one please to take unto his Lord a way¹.' [60] And rely thou upon the Living One who dies not; and celebrate His praise, for He knows well enough about the thoughts of His servants. He who created the heavens and the earth, and what is between them, in six days, and then made for the throne; the Merciful One, ask concerning Him of One who is aware.

And when it is said, 'Adore ye the Merciful!' they say, 'What is the Merciful? shall we adore what thou dost order us?' and it only increases their aversion.

Blessed be He who placed in the heavens zodiacal signs, and placed therein the lamp and an illuminating moon!

And He it is who made the night and the day

¹ That is, that if a man chose to expend anything for the cause of God he can do so.

alternating for him who desires to remember or who wishes to be thankful.

And the servants of the Merciful are those who walk upon the earth lowly, and when the ignorant address them, say, 'Peace!' [65] And those who pass the night adoring their Lord and standing¹; and those who say, 'O our Lord! turn from us the torment of hell; verily, its torments are persistent; verily, they are evil as an abode and a station.'

And those who when they spend are neither extravagant nor miserly, but who ever take their stand between the two; and who call not upon another god with God; and kill not the soul which God has prohibited save deservedly²; and do not commit fornication: for he who does that shall meet with a penalty; doubled for him shall be the torment on the resurrection day, and he shall be therein for aye despised. [70] Save he who turns again and believes and does a righteous work; for, as to those, God will change their evil deeds to good, for God is ever forgiving, merciful.

And he who turns again and does right, verily, he turns again to God repentant.

And those who do not testify falsely; and when they pass by frivolous discourse, pass by it honourably; and those who when they are reminded of the signs of their Lord do not fall down thereat deaf and blind; and those who say, 'Our Lord! grant us from our wives and seed that which may cheer our eyes, and make us models to the pious!'

[75] These shall be rewarded with a high place³ for that they were patient: and they shall meet

¹ For prayer.

² See Part I, p. 135, note 1.

³ In Paradise.

therein with salutation and peace,—to dwell therein for aye; a good abode and station shall it be!

Say, 'My Lord cares not for you though you should not call (on Him); and ye have called (the Apostle) a liar, but it shall be (a punishment) which ye cannot shake off.'

THE CHAPTER OF THE POETS.

(XXVI. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

T. S. M. Those are the signs of the perspicuous Book; haply thou art vexing thyself to death that they will not be believers!

If we please we will send down upon them from the heaven a sign, and their necks shall be humbled thereto. But there comes not to them any recent Reminder from the Merciful One that they do not turn away from. [5] They have called (thee) liar! but there shall come to them a message of that at which they mocked.

Have they not looked to the earth, how we caused to grow therein of every noble kind? verily, in that is a sign; but most of them will never be believers! but, verily, thy Lord He is mighty and merciful.

And when thy Lord called Moses (saying), 'Come to the unjust people, [10] to the people of Pharaoh, will they not fear?' Said he, 'My Lord! verily, I fear that they will call me liar; and my breast is straitened, and my tongue is not fluent; send then

unto Aaron¹, for they have a crime against me, and I fear that they may kill me².' Said He, 'Not so; but go with our signs, verily, we are with you listening.

[15] 'And go to Pharaoh and say, "Verily, we are the apostles of the Lord of the worlds (to tell thee to) send with us the children of Israel."'

And he said, 'Did we not bring thee up amongst us as a child? and thou didst dwell amongst us for years of thy life; and thou didst do thy deed which thou hast done, and thou art of the ungrateful!'

Said he, 'I did commit this, and I was of those who erred.

[20] 'And I fled from you when I feared you, and my Lord granted me judgment, and made me one of His messengers; and this is the favour thou hast obliged me with, that thou hast enslaved the children of Israel!'

Said Pharaoh, 'Who is the Lord of the worlds?' Said he, 'The Lord of the heavens and the earth and what is between the two, if ye are but sure.'

Said he to those about him, 'Do ye not listen?' [25] Said he, 'Your Lord and the Lord of your fathers of yore!'

Said he, 'Verily, your apostle who is sent to you is surely mad!'

Said he, 'The Lord of the east and of the west, and of what is between the two, if ye had but sense!'

Said he, 'If thou dost take a god besides Me I will surely make thee one of the imprisoned!'

Said he, 'What, if I come to thee with something obvious?'

¹ That he may be my minister.

² The slaying of the Egyptian.

[30] Said he, 'Bring it, if thou art of those who tell the truth!'

And he threw down his rod, and, behold, it was an obvious serpent! and he plucked out his hand, and, behold, it was white to the spectators!

He¹ said to the chiefs around him, 'Verily, this is a knowing sorcerer, he desires to turn you out of your land! what is it then ye bid?'

[35] They said, 'Give him and his brother some hope, and send into the cities to collect and bring to thee every knowing sorcerer.'

And the sorcerers assembled at the appointed time on a stated day, and it was said to the people, 'Are ye assembled? haply we may follow the sorcerers if we gain the upper hand.'

[40] And when the sorcerers came they said to Pharaoh, 'Shall we, verily, have a hire if we gain the upper hand?' Said he, 'Yes; and, verily, ye shall then be of those who are nigh (my throne).' And Moses said to them, 'Throw down what ye have to throw down.' So they threw down their ropes and their rods and said, 'By Pharaoh's might, verily, we it is who shall gain the upper hand!'

And Moses threw down his rod, and, lo, it swallowed up what they falsely devised!

[45] And the sorcerers threw themselves down, adoring. Said they, 'We believe in the Lord of the worlds, the Lord of Moses and Aaron!' Said he, 'Do ye believe in Him ere I give you leave? Verily, he is your chief who has taught you sorcery, but soon ye shall know. I will surely cut off your hands and your feet from opposite sides, and I will crucify you all together!'

¹ Pharaoh.

[50] They said, 'No harm; verily, unto our Lord do we return! verily, we hope that our Lord will forgive us our sins, for we are the first of believers!'

And we inspired Moses, 'Journey by night with my servants; verily, ye are pursued.'

And Pharaoh sent into the cities to collect; 'Verily, these are a small company. [55] And, verily, they are enraged with us; but we are a multitude, wary!

'Turn them out of gardens and springs, and treasures, and a noble station!'—thus,—and we made the children of Israel to inherit them.

[60] And they followed them at dawn; and when the two hosts saw each other, Moses' companions said, 'Verily, we are overtaken!' Said he, 'Not so; verily, with me is my Lord, He will guide me.'

And we inspired Moses, 'Strike with thy rod the sea;' and it was cleft asunder, and each part was like a mighty mountain. And then we brought the others. [65] And we saved Moses and those with him all together; then we drowned the others; and that is a sign: but most of them will never be believers! And, verily, thy Lord He is mighty, merciful.

And recite to them the story of Abraham; [70] when he said to his father and his people, 'What do ye serve?' They said, 'We serve idols, and we are still devoted to them.' He said, 'Can they hear you when ye call, or profit you, or harm?'

They said, 'No; but we found our fathers doing thus.' [75] He said, 'Have ye considered what ye have been serving, ye and your fathers before you? Verily, they are foes to me, save only the Lord of the worlds, who created me and guides me, and who

gives me food and drink. [80] And when I am sick He heals me; He who will kill me, and then bring me to life; and who I hope will forgive me my sins on the day of judgment! Lord, grant me judgment, and let me reach the righteous; and give me a tongue of good report amongst posterity; [85] and make me of the heirs of the paradise of pleasure; and pardon my father, verily, he is of those who err; and disgrace me not on the day when they are raised up again; the day when wealth shall profit not, nor sons, but only he who comes to God with a sound heart. [90] And paradise shall be brought near to the pious; and hell shall be brought forth to those who go astray, and it shall be said to them, "Where is what ye used to worship beside God? can they help you, or get help themselves?" And they shall fall headlong into it, they and those who have gone astray, [95] and the hosts of Iblîs all together!

'They shall say, while they quarrel therein, "By God! we were surely in an obvious error, when we made you equal to the Lord of the worlds! but it was only sinners who led us astray. [100] But we have no intercessors and no warm friend; but had we a turn we would be of the believers."—Verily, in that is a sign, but most of them will never be believers; and, verily, thy Lord He is mighty and merciful.

[105] The people of Noah said the apostles were liars, when their brother Noah said to them, 'Will ye not fear? verily, I am a faithful apostle to you; then fear God and obey me. I do not ask you for it any hire; my hire is only with the Lord of the worlds. [110] So fear God and obey me.' They

said, 'Shall we believe in thee, when the reprobates follow thee?' He said, 'I did not know what they were doing; their account is only with my Lord, if ye but perceive. And I am not one to drive away the believers, [115] I am only a plain warner.'

They said, 'Verily, if thou desist not, O Noah! thou shalt surely be of those who are stoned!' Said he, 'My Lord! verily, my people call me liar; open between me and between them an opening, and save me and those of the believers who are with me!'

So we saved him and those with him in the laden ark, [120] then we drowned the rest; verily, in that is a sign, but most of them will never be believers; and, verily, thy Lord He is mighty and merciful.

And 'Âd called the apostles liars; when their brother Hûd said to them, 'Will ye not fear? [125] Verily, I am to you a faithful apostle; then fear God and obey me. I do not ask you for it any hire; my hire is only with the Lord of the worlds. Do ye build on every height a landmark in sport, and take to works that haply ye may be immortal?'

[130] 'And when ye assault ye assault like tyrants; but fear God and obey me; and fear Him who hath given you an extent of cattle and sons, and gardens and springs. [135] Verily, I fear for you the torment of a mighty day!'

They said, 'It is the same to us if thou admonish or art not of those who do admonish; this is nothing but old folks' fictions, for we shall not be tormented!'

And they called him liar! but we destroyed them. Verily, in that is a sign, but most of them will never

be believers. [140] And, verily, thy Lord is mighty, merciful.

Thamûd called the apostles liars; when their brother Zâli'h said to them, 'Do ye not fear? verily, I am to you a faithful apostle; so fear God and obey me. [145] I do not ask you for it any hire; my hire is only with the Lord of the worlds. Shall ye be left here in safety with gardens and springs, and corn-fields and palms, the spathes whereof are fine? and ye hew out of the mountains houses skilfully. [150] But fear God and obey me; and obey not the bidding of the extravagant, who do evil in the earth and do not act aright!'

They said, 'Thou art only of the infatuated; thou art but mortal like ourselves; so bring us a sign, if thou be of those who speak the truth!'

[155] He said, 'This she-camel shall have her drink and you your drink on a certain day; but touch her not with evil, or there will seize you the torment of a mighty day!'

But they hamstrung her, and on the morrow they repented; and the torment seized them; verily, in that is a sign; but most of them will never be believers: but verily, thy Lord He is mighty, merciful.

[160] The people of Lot called the apostles liars; when their brother Lot said to them, 'Do ye not fear? verily, I am to you a faithful apostle; then fear God and obey me. I do not ask you for it any hire; my hire is only with the Lord of the worlds. [165] Do ye approach males of all the world and leave what God your Lord has created for you of your wives? nay, but ye are people who transgress!'

They said, 'Surely, if thou dost not desist, O Lot! thou shalt be of those who are expelled!'

Said he, 'Verily, I am of those who hate your deed; my Lord! save me and my people from what they do.'

[170] And we saved him and his people all together, except an old woman amongst those who lingered. Then we destroyed the others; and we rained down upon them a rain; and evil was the rain of those who were warned. Verily, in that is a sign; but most of them will never be believers. [175] And, verily, thy Lord He is mighty, merciful, compassionate.

The fellows of the Grove¹ called the apostles liars; Sho'hâib said to them, 'Will ye not fear? verily, I am to you a faithful apostle, then fear God and obey me. [180] I do not ask you for it any hire; my hire is only with the Lord of the worlds. Give good measure, and be not of those who diminish; and weigh with a fair balance, and do not cheat men of their goods; and waste not the land, despoiling it; and fear Him who created you and the races of yore!' [185] Said they, 'Thou art only of the infatuated; and thou art only a mortal like ourselves; and, verily, we think that thou art surely of the liars; so make a portion of the heaven to fall down upon us, if thou art of those who tell the truth!'

Said he, 'My Lord knows best what ye do!' but they called him liar, and the torment of the day of the shadow seized them; for it was the torment of a mighty day: [190] verily, in that is a sign; but

¹ See Part I, p. 249, note 3.

most of them will never be believers ; but, verily, thy Lord He is mighty, merciful !

And, verily, it¹ is a revelation from the Lord of the worlds ; the Faithful Spirit came down with it² upon thy heart, that thou shouldst be of those who warn ;—[195] in plain Arabic language, and, verily, it is (foretold) in the scriptures of yore ! Have they not a sign, that the learned men of the children of Israel recognise it³ ? Had we sent it down to any barbarian, and he had read it to them, they would not have believed therein. [200] Thus have we made for it⁴ a way into the hearts of the sinners ; they will not believe therein until they see the grievous woe ! and it shall come to them suddenly while they do not perceive ! They will say, ‘ Shall we be respited ?—What ! do they wish to hasten on our torment ? ’

[205] What thinkest thou ? if we let them enjoy themselves for years, and then there come to them what they are threatened, that will not avail them which they had to enjoy ! But we do not destroy any city without its having warners as a reminder, for we are never unjust.

[210] The devils did not descend therewith ; it is not fit work for them ; nor are they able to do it. Verily, they are deposed from listening⁵ ; call not then with God upon other gods, or thou wilt be of the tormented ; but warn thy clansmen who are near of kin. [215] And lower⁶ thy wing to those of the believers who follow thee ; but if they rebel against thee, say, ‘ Verily, I am clear of what ye

¹ The Qur'ân.

² The angel Gabriel.

³ The Qur'ân.

⁴ Infidelity.

⁵ See Part I, p. 50.

⁶ See Part I, p. 250, note 2.

do,' and rely thou upon the mighty, merciful One, who sees thee when thou dost stand up, and thy posturing amongst those who adore¹. [220] Verily, He both hears and knows!

Shall I inform you upon whom the devils descend? they descend upon every sinful liar, and impart what they have heard²; but most of them are liars.

And the poets do those follow who go astray! [225] Dost thou not see that they wander distraught in every vale? and that they say that which they do not do? save those who believe, and do right, and remember God much, and defend themselves after they are wronged; but those who do wrong shall know with what a turn they shall be turned³.

THE CHAPTER OF THE ANT.

(XXVII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

T. S. Those are the signs of the Qur'ân and the perspicuous Book; a guidance and glad tidings to the believers, who are steadfast at prayer, and give alms, and of the hereafter are sure; verily, those who believe not in the hereafter we have made seemly for them their works, and they shall wander

¹ Or, it may be thy going to and fro amongst believers, as Mo-hammed is reported to have done one night, to see what they were about, and he found the whole settlement 'buzzing like a hornet's nest with the sound of the recitation of the Qur'ân and of their prayers.'

² That is, by listening at the door of heaven; see Part I, p. 50, note 2.

³ That is, in what condition they shall be brought before God.

blindly on! [5] These are they who shall have an evil torment, and they in the hereafter shall be those who most lose! Verily, thou dost meet with this Qur'ân from the wise, the knowing One!

When Moses said to his people, 'Verily, I perceive a fire, I will bring you therefrom news; or I will bring you a burning brand; haply ye may be warmed.' But when he came to it he was called to, 'Blessed be He who is in the fire, and he who is about it! and celebrated be the praises of God, the Lord of the worlds! O Moses! verily, I am God, the mighty, wise; [10] throw down thy staff!' and when he saw it quivering, as though it were a snake, he turned back fleeing, and did not return. 'O Moses! fear not; verily, as for me—apostles fear not with me; save only those who have done wrong and then substitute good for evil; for, verily, I am forgiving, merciful! but put thy hand in thy bosom, it shall come forth white without hurt;—one of nine signs to Pharaoh and his people; verily, they are a people who act abominably.'

And when our signs came to them visibly, they said, 'This is obvious sorcery!' and they gainsaid them—though their souls made sure of them—unjustly, haughtily; but, behold what was the end of the evildoers!

[15] And we gave David and Solomon knowledge; and they both said, 'Praise belongs to God, who hath preferred us over many of His servants who believe!'

And Solomon was David's heir; and said, 'O ye folk! we have been taught the speech of birds, and we have been given everything; verily, this is an obvious grace!'

And assembled for Solomon were his hosts of the gins, and men, and birds, and they were marshalled; until they came upon the valley of the ants. Said an ant, 'O ye ants! go into your dwellings, that Solomon and his hosts crush you not while they do not perceive.'

And he smiled, laughing at her speech, and said, 'O Lord! excite me to be thankful for Thy favour, wherewith Thou hast favoured me and my parents, and to do righteousness which may please Thee; and make me enter into Thy mercy amongst Thy righteous servants!'

[20] And he reviewed the birds, and said, 'How is it I see not the hoopoe? is he then amongst the absent? I will surely torment him with a severe torment; or I will surely slaughter him; or he shall bring me obvious authority.'

And he tarried not long, and said, 'I have compassed what ye compassed not; for I bring you from Sebâ¹ a sure information: verily, I found a woman ruling over them, and she was given all things, and she had a mighty throne; and I found her and her people adoring the sun instead of God, for Satan had made seemly to them their works, and turned them from the path, so that they are not guided. [25] Will they not adore God who brings forth the secrets in the heavens, and knows what they hide and what they manifest?—God, there is no god but He, the Lord of the mighty throne!'

Said he, 'We will see whether thou hast told the truth, or whether thou art of those who lie. Go with this my letter and throw it before them,

¹ The Sheba of the Bible, in the south of the Arabian peninsula.

then turn back away from them, and see what they return.'

Said she, 'O ye chiefs! verily, a noble letter has been thrown before me. [30] It is from Solomon, and, verily, it is, "In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. Do not rise up against me, but come to me resigned!"' She said, 'O ye chiefs! pronounce sentence for me in my affair. I never decide an affair until ye testify for me.'

They said, 'We are endowed with strength, and endowed with keen violence; but the bidding is thine, see then what it is that thou wilt bid.'

She said, 'Verily, kings when they enter a city despoil it, and make the mighty ones of its people the meanest; thus it is they do! [35] So, verily, I am going to send to them a gift, and will wait to see with what the messengers return.'

And when he came to Solomon, he said, 'Do ye proffer me wealth, when what God has given me is better than what He has given you? nay, ye in your gifts rejoice! return to them, for we will surely come to them with hosts which they cannot confront; and we will surely drive them out therefrom mean and made small!'

Said he, 'O ye chiefs! which of you will bring me her throne before they come to me resigned?'

Said a demon of the *ginns*, 'I will bring thee it before thou canst rise up from thy place, for I therein am strong and faithful.'

[40] He who had the knowledge of the Book¹ said, 'I will bring it to thee before thy glance can

¹ The commentators are uncertain as to whether this was 'Âzaf, Solomon's prime minister, or whether it was the prophet *Hidhr*, or the angel Gabriel, or, indeed, Solomon himself.

turn.' And when he saw it settled down beside him, he said, 'This is of my Lord's grace, that He may try me whether I am grateful or ungrateful, and he who is grateful is only grateful for his own soul, and he who is ungrateful,—verily, my Lord is rich and generous.'

Said he, 'Disguise for her her throne; let us see whether she is guided, or whether she is of those who are not guided.' And when she came it was said, 'Was thy throne like this?' She said, 'It might be it;' and we were given knowledge before her, but we were resigned¹.

But that which she served beside God turned her away; verily, she was of the unbelieving people. And it was said to her, 'Enter the court;' and when she saw it, she reckoned it to be an abyss of water, and she uncovered her legs. Said he, 'Verily, it is a court paved with glass!' [45] Said she, 'My Lord! verily, I have wronged myself, but I am resigned with Solomon to God the Lord of the worlds!'

And we sent unto Thamûd their brother Zâlî'h, 'Serve God;' but behold, they were two parties who contended!

Said he, 'O my people! why do ye hasten on evil acts before good deeds? why do ye not ask forgiveness of God? haply ye may obtain mercy.' They said, 'We have taken an augury concerning thee and those who are with thee.' Said he, 'Your augury is in God's hands; nay, but ye are a people who are tried!'

¹ Commentators differ as to whether the last words are to be taken as the conclusion of the Queen of Sheba's speech, or as Solomon's comment upon it.

And there were in the city nine persons who despoiled the land and did not right. [50] Said they, 'Swear to each other by God, we will surely fall on him by night and on his people; then we will surely say unto his next of kin, "We witnessed not the destruction of his people, and we do surely tell the truth!"' And they plotted a plot, and we plotted a plot, but they did not perceive. Behold, how was the end of their plot, that we destroyed them and their people all together!

Thus are their houses overturned, for that they were unjust; verily, in that is a sign to people who do know!

But we saved those who believed and who did fear.

[55] And Lot when he said to his people, 'Do ye approach an abominable sin while ye can see? do ye indeed approach men lustfully rather than women? nay! ye are a people who are ignorant.' But the answer of his people was only to say, 'Drive out Lot's family from your city! verily, they are a folk who would keep pure.'

But we saved him and his family except his wife, her we destined to be of those who lingered; and we rained down upon them rain, and evil was the rain of those who were warned.

[60] Say, 'Praise belongs to God; and peace be upon His servants whom He has chosen! Is God best, or what they associate with Him?' He who created the heavens and the earth; and sends down upon you from the heaven water; and we cause to grow therewith gardens fraught with beauty; ye could not cause the trees thereof to grow! Is there a god with God? nay, but they are a people

who make peers with Him! He who made the earth, settled, and placed amongst it rivers; and placed upon it firm mountains; and placed between the two seas a barrier; is there a god with God? nay, but most of them know not! He who answers the distressed when he calls upon Him and removes the evil; and makes you successors in the earth; is there a god with God? little is it that ye are mindful. He who guides you in the darkness, of the land and of the sea; and who sends winds as glad tidings before His mercy; is there a god with God? exalted be God above what they associate with Him! [65] He who began the creation and then will make it return again; and who provides you from the heaven and the earth; is there a god with God? so bring your proofs if ye do speak the truth!

Say, 'None in the heavens or the earth know the unseen save only God; but they perceive not when they shall be raised!'—nay, but their knowledge attains to somewhat of the hereafter; nay, but they are in doubt concerning it! nay, but they are blind!

And those who disbelieved said, 'What! when we have become dust and our fathers too, shall we indeed be brought forth? [70] We were promised this, we and our fathers before us, this is nothing but old folks' tales!'

Say, 'Journey on through the land and see how was the end of the sinners! and grieve not for them, and be not straitened at what they plot.'

They say, 'When shall this threat be if ye do tell the truth?' Say, 'It may be that there is pressing close behind you a part of what ye would hasten on!' [75] But, verily, thy Lord is full of

grace to men, but most of them will not be thankful ; and, verily, thy Lord knows what their breasts conceal and what they manifest ; and there is no secret thing in the heaven or the earth, save that it is in the perspicuous Book !

Verily, this Qur'ân relates to the people of Israel most of that whereon they do dispute ; and, verily, it is a guidance and a mercy to the believers. [80] Verily, thy Lord decides between them by His judgment, for He is mighty, knowing. Rely thou then upon God, verily, thou art standing on obvious truth. Verily, thou canst not make the dead to hear, and thou canst not make the deaf to hear the call when they turn their backs on thee ; nor art thou a guide to the blind, out of their error : thou canst only make to hear such as believe in our signs, and such as are resigned.

And when the sentence falls upon them we will bring forth a beast out of the earth that shall speak to them, (and say) that, 'Men of our signs would not be sure.'

[85] And the day when we will gather from every nation a troop of those who said our signs were lies ; and they shall be marshalled ; until they come, and He will say, 'Did ye say my signs were lies, when ye had compassed no knowledge thereof ? or what is it that ye were doing ?' and the sentence shall fall upon them for that they did wrong, and they shall not have speech.

Did they not see that we have made the night for them to rest in, and the day to see by ? verily, in that are signs to people who believe.

And the day when the trumpet shall be blown and all who are in the heavens and the earth shall

be startled, save whom God pleases! and all shall come abjectly to Him. [90] And thou shalt see the mountains, which thou dost deem solid, pass away like the passing of the clouds;—the work of God who orders all things; verily, He is well aware of what ye do!

He who brings a good deed shall have better than it; and from the alarm of that day they shall be safe: but those who bring an evil deed shall be thrown down upon their faces in the fire. Shall ye be rewarded save for what ye have done?

I am bidden to serve the Lord of this country who has made it sacred, and whose are all things; and I am bidden to be of those who are resigned, and to recite the Qur'ân; and he who is guided he is only guided for himself; and he who errs,—say, 'I am only of those who warn!'

[95] And say, 'Praise be to God, He will show you His signs, and ye shall recognise them; for thy Lord is not heedless of what ye do!'

THE CHAPTER OF THE STORY.

(XXVIII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

T. S. M. Those are the signs of the perspicuous Book; we recite to thee from the history of Moses and Pharaoh in truth unto a people who believe.

Verily, Pharaoh was lofty in the land and made the people thereof sects; one party of them he weakened, slaughtering their sons and letting their women live. Verily, he was of the despoilers.

And we wished to be gracious to those who were weakened in the earth, and to make them models, and to make them the heirs; [5] and to establish for them in the earth; and to show Pharaoh and Hâmân¹ and their hosts what they had to beware of from them.

And we inspired the mother of Moses, 'Suckle him; and when thou art afraid for him then throw him into the river, and fear not and grieve not; verily, we are going to restore him to thee, and to make him of the apostles!'

And Pharaoh's family picked him up that he might be for them a foe and a grief; verily, Pharaoh and Hâmân and their hosts were sinners.

And Pharaoh's wife said, 'He is a cheering of the eye to me, and to thee. Kill him not; it may be that he will profit us, or that we may take him for a son;' for they did not perceive.

And the heart of Moses' mother was void on the morrow²; she well-nigh disclosed him, had it not been that we bound up her heart that she might be of the believers.

[10] And she said to his sister, 'Follow him up.' And she looked after him from afar, and they did not perceive. And we made unlawful for him the wet-nurses³. And she said, 'Shall I guide you to

¹ Hâmân, according to the Qur'ân, is made out to be the prime minister of Pharaoh.

² Either devoid of patience, according to some, or of anxiety, according to others, or it may be to everything but the thought of Moses.

³ That is, Moses was made to refuse the breast of the Egyptian woman before his sister came to offer her services, and point out a nurse who would rear him.

the people of a house who will take care of him for you, and who will be sincere respecting him?’

So we restored him to his mother that her eye might be cheered, and that she might not grieve, and that she might know that the promise of God is true, though most of them know not.

And when he reached puberty, and was settled, we gave him judgment and knowledge; for thus do we reward those who do well. And he entered into the city at the time the people thereof were heedless, and he found therein two men fighting; the one of his sect and the other of his foes. And he who was of his sect asked his aid against him who was of his foes; and Moses smote him with his fist and finished him. Said he, ‘This is of the work of Satan, verily, he is a misleading obvious foe.’

[15] Said he, ‘My Lord! verily, I have wronged my soul, but forgive me.’ So He forgave him; for He is forgiving and merciful.

Said he, ‘My Lord! for that Thou hast been gracious to me, I will surely not back up the sinners.’

And on the morrow he was afraid in the city, expectant. And behold, he whom he had helped the day before cried (again) to him for aid. Said Moses to him, ‘Verily, thou art obviously quarrelsome.’ And when he wished to assault him who was the enemy to them both, he said, ‘O Moses! dost thou desire to kill me as thou didst kill a person yesterday? thou dost only desire to be a tyrant in the earth; and thou dost not desire to be of those who do right!’ And a man came from the remote parts of the city running, said he, ‘O Moses! verily, the chiefs are deliberating concerning thee to kill

thee ; go then forth ; verily, I am to you a sincere adviser !'

[20] So he went forth therefrom, afraid and expectant. Said he, 'Lord, save me from the unjust people !'

And when he turned his face in the direction of Midian, he said, 'It may be that my Lord will guide me to a level path !' And when he went down to the water of Midian he found thereat a nation of people watering their flocks.

And he found beside them two women keeping back their flocks. Said he, 'What is your design ?' They said, 'We cannot water our flocks until the herdsmen have finished ; for our father is a very old man.' So he watered for them ; then he turned back towards the shade and said, 'My Lord ! verily, I stand in need of what Thou sendest down to me of good.'

[25] And one of the two came to him walking modestly ; said she, 'Verily, my father calls thee, to reward thee with hire for having watered our flocks for us.' And when he came to him and related to him the story, said he, 'Fear not, thou art safe from the unjust people.' Said one of them, 'O my sire ! hire him ; verily, the best of those whom thou canst hire is the strong and faithful.'

Said he, 'Verily, I desire to marry thee to one of these daughters of mine, on condition that thou dost serve me for hire eight years ; and if thou shalt fulfil ten it is of thyself ; for I do not wish to make it wretched for thee ; thou wilt find me, if it please God, of the righteous !'

Said he, 'That is between you and me ; whichever of the two terms I fulfil, let there be no enmity against me, for God over what we say keeps guard.'

And when Moses had fulfilled the appointed time, and was journeying with his people, he perceived from the side of the mountain a fire; said he to his people, 'Tarry ye here; verily, I have perceived a fire, haply I may bring you good news therefrom, or a brand of fire that haply ye may be warmed ¹.'

[30] And when he came to it he was called to, from the right side of the wady, in the blessed valley, out of the tree, 'O Moses! verily, I am God the Lord of the worlds; so throw down thy rod;' and when he saw it quivering as though it were a snake, he turned away and fled and did not return. 'O Moses! approach and fear not, verily, thou art amongst the safe. Thrust thy hand into thy bosom, it shall come out white, without hurt; and then fold again thy wing, that thou dost now stretch out through dread; for those are two signs from thy Lord to Pharaoh and his chiefs; verily, they are a people who work abomination!'

Said he, 'My Lord! verily, I have killed a person amongst them, and I fear that they will kill me: and my brother Aaron, he is more eloquent of tongue than I; send him then with me as a support, to verify me; verily, I fear that they will call me liar!'

[35] Said He, 'We will strengthen thine arm with thy brother; and we will make for you both authority, and they shall not reach you in our signs; ye two and those who follow you shall gain the upper hand.'

And when Moses came to them with our manifest signs, they said, 'This is only sorcery devised;

¹ See Part II, p. 35, note 1.

and we have not heard of this amongst our fathers of yore.'

Moses said, 'My Lord knows best who comes with guidance from Him, and whose shall be the issue of the abode. Verily, the unjust shall not prosper!'

And Pharaoh said, 'O ye chiefs! I do not know any god for you except me; then set fire, O Hâmân! to some clay and make for me a tower, haply I may mount up to the God of Moses; for, verily, I think he is of those who lie!'

And he grew big with pride, he and his armies in the land, without right; and they thought that they to us should not return. [40] And we overtook him and his army, and we flung them into the sea; behold, then, how was the end of the unjust!

But we made them models calling to the fire; and on the resurrection day they shall not be helped; and we followed them up in this world with a curse; and on the resurrection day they shall be abhorred!

And we gave Moses the Book, after that we had destroyed the former generations, as an insight to men and a guidance and a mercy; haply they may be mindful!

Thou wast not upon the western side when we decided for Moses, but afar off; nor wast thou of the witnesses. [45] But we raised up (other) generations, and life was prolonged for them; and thou wast not staying amidst the people of Midian, reciting to them our signs; but we were sending our apostles.

Nor wast thou by the side of the mountain when we called; but it is a mercy from thy Lord, that

thou mayest warn a people to whom no warner has come before thee; haply they may be mindful! And lest there should befall them a mishap for what their hands have sent before, and they should say, 'Our Lord! why didst thou not send to us an apostle? for we would have followed thy signs and been of the believers.'

And when the truth comes to them from us they say, 'We are given the like of what Moses was given.' Did they not disbelieve in what Moses was given before?—they say, 'Two works of sorcery¹ back up each other;' and they say, 'Verily, we do disbelieve in all.'

Say, 'Bring, then, a book from God which shall be a better guide than both, and I will follow it, if ye do tell the truth!'

[50] And if they cannot answer thee, then know that they follow their own lusts; and who is more in error than he who follows his own lust without guidance from God? verily, God guides not an unjust people!

And we caused the word to reach them, haply they may be mindful!

Those to whom we gave the Book before it, they believe therein; and when it is recited to them they say, 'We believe in it as truth from our Lord; verily, we were resigned before it came!' These shall be given their hire twice over, for that they were patient, and repelled evil with good, and of what we have bestowed upon them give alms.

[55] And when they hear vain talk, they turn away from it and say, 'We have our works, and ye

¹ That is, the Pentateuch and Qur'ân.

have your works. Peace be upon you! we do not seek the ignorant!'

Verily, thou canst not guide whom thou dost like, but God guides whom He pleases; for He knows best who are to be guided.

And they say, 'If we follow the guidance we shall be snatched away from the land.' Have we not established for them a safe sanctuary, to which are imported the fruits of everything as a provision from us? but most of them do not know.

How many a city have we destroyed that exulted in its means of subsistence? These are their dwellings, never dwelt in after them, except a little; for we were the heirs.

But thy Lord would never destroy cities until He sent to the metropolis thereof an apostle, to recite to them our signs; nor would we destroy cities unless their people were unjust. [60] Whatever thing ye may be given, it is a provision for this world's life and the adornment thereof; but what is with God is better and more enduring; have ye then no sense?

Is He to whom we have promised a goodly promise, which he shall meet with, like him to whom we have given the enjoyment of the life of this world, and who upon the resurrection day shall be of the arraigned?

And on the day when He will call them and will say, 'Where are those associates which ye did pretend?' And those against whom the sentence is due shall say, 'Our Lord! these are those whom we have seduced; we seduced them as we were seduced ourselves: but we clear ourselves to thee;—they did not worship us!'

And it will be said, 'Call upon your partners;' and they will call upon them, but they will not answer them, and they shall see the torment; would that they had been guided.

[65] And the day when He shall call them and shall say, 'What was it ye answered the apostles?' and the history shall be blindly confusing to them on that day, and they shall not ask each other.

But, as for him who turns again and believes and does right, it may be that he will be among the prosperous. For thy Lord creates what He pleases and chooses; they have not the choice! Celebrated be the praise of God! and exalted be He above what they associate with Him!

Thy Lord knows what they conceal in their breasts and what they manifest.

[70] He is God, there is no god but He; to Him belongs praise, in the first and the last; and His is the judgment; and unto Him shall ye return!

Have ye considered, if God were to make for you the night endless until the resurrection day, who is the god, but God, to bring you light? can ye not then hear?

Say, 'Have ye considered, if God were to make for you the day endless until the day of judgment, who is the god, except God, to bring you the night to rest therein? can ye not then see?' But of His mercy He has made for you the night and the day, that ye may rest therein, and crave of His grace, haply ye may give thanks.

And the day when He shall call them and shall say, 'Where are my partners whom ye did pretend?'

[75] And we will pluck from every nation a witness; and we will say, 'Bring your proof and know that

the truth is God's ;' and that which they had devised shall stray away from them.

Verily, Korah¹ was of the people of Moses, and he was outrageous against them ; and we gave him treasures of which the keys would bear down a band of men endowed with strength. When his people said to him, ' Exult not ; verily, God loves not those who exult ! but crave, through what God has given thee, the future abode ; and forget not thy portion in this world, and do good, as God has done good to thee ; and seek not evil doing in the earth ; verily, God loves not the evildoers !'

Said he, ' I have only been given it for knowledge which I have !' did he not know that God had destroyed before him many generations of those who were stronger than he, and had amassed more ? But the sinners need not to be asked concerning their crimes.

And he went out amongst the people in his ornaments ; those who desired the life of this world said, ' O would that we had the like of what Korah has been given ! verily, he is endowed with mighty fortune !'

[80] But those who had been given knowledge said, ' Woe to you ! the reward of God is better for him who believes and does right ; but none shall meet with it except the patient. And we clave the earth with him and with his house ; and he had no troop to help him against God, nor was he of those who were helped !'

And on the morrow those who had yearned for

¹ In Arabic Qârîn. The legend based upon Talmudic tradition of Korah's immense wealth appears to be also confused with that of Cræsus.

his place the day before said, 'Ah, ah! God extends provision to whom He pleases of His servants, or He doles it out; had not God been gracious to us, the earth would have cleft open with us! Ah, ah! the unbelievers shall not prosper!'

That is the future abode; we make it for those who do not wish to be haughty in the earth, nor to do evil, and the end is for the pious.

He who brings a good deed shall have better than it; and he who brings an evil deed—those who do evil deeds shall only be rewarded for that which they have done. [85] Verily, He who hath ordained the Qur'ân for thee will restore thee to thy returning place. Say, 'My Lord knows best who brings guidance, and who is in obvious error; nor couldst thou hope that the Book would be thrown to thee, save as a mercy from thy Lord! be not then a backer up of those who misbelieve; and let them not turn thee from the signs of God, after they have been sent down to thee; but call unto thy Lord and be not of the idolaters; and call not with God upon any other god; there is no god but He! everything is perishable, except His face; His is the judgment, and unto Him shall ye return!

THE CHAPTER OF THE SPIDER.

(XXIX. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

A. L. M. Do men then reckon that they will be left alone to say, 'We believe,' and not be tried?

we did try those who were before them, and God will surely know those who are truthful, and He will surely know the liars. Do those who do evil reckon that they can outstrip us? evil is it that they judge.

He who hopes for the meeting of God,—verily, God's appointed time will come; and He both hears and knows! [5] And he who fights strenuously, fights strenuously only for his own soul; verily, God is independent of the worlds.

Those who believe and do right, we will surely cover for them their offences; and we will surely reward them with better than that which they have done.

And we have enjoined on man kindness to his parents; and if they strive with thee that thou mayest join with me, what thou hast no knowledge of, then obey them not; to me is your return, and I will inform you of that which ye have done.

But those who believe and do right, we will make them enter amongst the righteous.

And there are those among men who say, 'We believe in God!' but when they are hurt in God's cause, they deem the trials of men like the torment of God; but if help come from thy Lord they will say, 'Verily, we were with you!' does not God know best what is in the breasts of the worlds? [10] God will surely know those who believe, and will surely know the hypocrites.

And those who misbelieved said to those who believed, 'Follow our path, we will bear your sins;' but they could not bear their sins at all; verily, they are liars! But they shall surely bear their own burdens, and burdens with their burdens; and

they shall surely be asked upon the resurrection day concerning what they did devise.

And we sent Noah to his people, and he dwelt among them for a thousand years save fifty years ; and the deluge overtook them while they were unjust : but we saved him and the fellows of the ark, and we made it a sign unto the worlds.

And Abraham when he said to his people, ' Serve God and fear Him, that is better for you if ye did but know. [15] Ye only serve beside God idols and do create a lie ; verily, those whom ye serve beside God cannot control for themselves provision ; then crave provision with God, and serve Him, and give thanks to Him ; unto Him shall ye return ! And if ye say it is a lie, nations before you called (the apostles) liars too ; but an apostle has only his plain message to preach !'

Have they not seen how God produces the creation, and then turns it back ? verily, that to God is easy.

Say, ' Journey ye on in the land, and behold how the creation appeared ; then God produces another production : verily, God is mighty over all !'

[20] He torments whom He will, and has mercy on whom He will ; and unto Him shall ye be returned.

Nor can ye make Him helpless in the earth, nor in the heavens ; nor have ye beside God a patron or a helper.

And those who disbelieve in God's signs and in meeting with Him, these shall despair of my mercy ; and these, for them is grievous woe.

But the answer of his people was only to say, ' Kill him or burn him !' But God saved him from

the fire ; verily, in that are signs unto a people who believe.

He said, ' Verily, ye take beside God idols, through mutual friendship in the life of this world ; then on the day of judgment ye shall deny each other, and shall curse each other, and your resort shall be the fire, and ye shall have none to help.'

[25] And Lot believed him. And (Abraham) said, ' Verily, I flee unto my Lord ! Verily, He is mighty, wise ! and we granted him Isaac and Jacob ; and we placed in his seed prophecy and the Book ; and we gave him his hire in this world ; and, verily, he in the next shall be among the righteous.'

And Lot when he said to his people, ' Verily, ye approach an abomination which no one in all the world ever anticipated you in ! What ! do ye approach men ? and stop folks on the highway ? and approach in your assembly sin ?' but the answer of his people was only to say, ' Bring us God's torment, if thou art of those who speak the truth !'

Said he, ' My Lord ! help me against a people who do evil !'

[30] And when our messengers came to Abraham with the glad tidings, they said, ' We are about to destroy the people of this city. Verily, the people thereof are wrong-doers.'

Said he, ' Verily, in it is Lot ;' they said, ' We know best who is therein ; we shall of a surety save him and his people, except his wife, who is of those who linger.' And when our messengers came to Lot, he was vexed for them, and his arm was straitened for them ; and they said, ' Fear not, neither grieve ; we are about to save thee and thy people, except thy wife, who is of those who linger. Verily, we

are about to send down upon the people of this city a horror from heaven, for that they have sinned ; and we have left therefrom a manifest sign unto a people who have sense.'

[35] And unto Midian we sent their brother Sho'hâib, and he said, 'My people, serve God, and hope for the last day ; and waste not the land, despoiling it.'

But they called him liar ; and the convulsion seized them, and on the morrow they lay in their dwellings prone.

And 'Âd and Thamûd—but it is plain to you from their habitations ; for Satan made seemly to them their works, and turned them from the way, sagacious though they were !

And Korah and Pharaoh and Hâmân—Moses did come to them with manifest signs, but they were too big with pride in the earth, although they could not outstrip us !

And each of them we seized in his sin ; and of them were some against whom we sent a sand-storm ; and of them were some whom the noise seized ; and of them were some with whom we cleaved the earth open ; and of them were some we drowned : God would not have wronged them, but it was themselves they wronged.

[40] The likeness of those who take, beside God, patrons is as the likeness of a spider, that takes to himself a house ; and, verily, the weakest of houses is a spider's house, if they did but know !

Verily, God knows whatever thing they call upon beside Him ; for He is the mighty, wise.

These are parables which we have struck out

for men ; but none will understand them, save those who know.

God created the heavens and the earth in truth ; verily, in this is a sign unto believers.

Recite what has been revealed to thee of the Book ; and be steadfast in prayer ; verily, prayer forbids sin and wrong ; and surely the mention of God is greater ; for God knows what ye do. [45] And do not wrangle with the people of the Book, except for what is better ; save with those who have been unjust amongst them and who say, 'We believe in what is sent down to us, and what has been sent down to you ; our God and your God is one, and we are unto Him resigned.'

Thus did we send down to thee the Book ; and every one to whom we have given the Book believes therein. But these will not believe therein ; though none gainsay our signs except the misbelievers.

Thou couldst not recite before this any book, nor write it with thy right hand, for in that case those who deem it vain would have doubted. Nay, but it is evident signs in the breasts of those who are endued with knowledge, and none but the unjust would gainsay our signs !

They say, 'Unless there be sent down upon him signs from his Lord — ;' say, 'Verily, signs are with God, and, verily, I am an obvious warner !'

[50] Is it not enough for them that we have sent down to thee the Book which thou dost recite to them ? verily, in that is a mercy and a reminder to a people who believe.

Say, 'God is witness enough between me and you ; He knows what is in the heavens and what is in the earth ; and those who believe in falsehood and

misbelieve in God, they shall be the losers.' They will wish thee to hasten on the torment; but were it not for a stated and appointed time, the torment would have come upon them suddenly, while yet they did not perceive.

They will wish thee to hurry on the torment, but, verily, hell encompasses the misbelievers!

[55] On the day when the torment shall cover them from above them and from beneath their feet, and He shall say, 'Taste that which ye have done!'

O my servants who believe! verily, my land is spacious enough¹; me therefore do ye worship.

Every soul must taste of death, then unto us shall ye return; and those who believe and act aright, we will surely inform them of upper chambers in Paradise, beneath which rivers flow; to dwell therein for aye—pleasant is the hire of those who work! those who are patient and rely upon their Lord!

[60] How many a beast cannot carry its own provision! God provides for it and for you; He both hears and knows!

And if thou shouldst ask them, 'Who created the heavens and the earth, and subjected the sun and the moon?' they will surely say, 'God!' how then can they lie?

God extends provision to whomsoever He will of His servants, or doles it out to him; verily, God all things doth know.

And if thou shouldst ask them, 'Who sends down from the heavens water and quickens therewith the

¹ I.e. if you are pressed in Mecca, there are plenty of places where you can take shelter, as Mohammed himself and a few of his followers did at Medīnah.

earth in its death ?' they will surely say, 'God !' say, 'And praise be to God !' nay, most of them have no sense.

This life of the world is nothing but a sport and a play; but, verily, the abode of the next world, that is life,—if they did but know !

[65] And when they ride in the ship they call upon God, making their religion seem sincere to Him ; but when He saves them to the shore, behold, they associate others with Him ; that they may disbelieve in our signs ; and that they may have some enjoyment : but soon they shall know.

Have they not seen that we have made a safe sanctuary whilst people are being snatched away around them ? is it then in falsehood that they will believe, and for the favours of God be ungrateful ?

But who is more unjust than he who devises against God a lie, or calls the truth a lie when it comes to him ? Is there not in hell a resort for the misbelievers ? but those who fight strenuously for us we will surely guide them into our way, for, verily, God is with those who do well.

THE CHAPTER OF THE GREEKS¹.

(XXX. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

The Greeks are overcome in the highest parts of the land ; but after being overcome they shall

¹ In Arabic Rûm, by which is meant the Byzantine or eastern Roman empire.

overcome¹ in a few years ; to God belongs the order before and after ; and on that day the believers shall rejoice in the help of God ;—God helps whom He will, and He is mighty, merciful. [5]—God's promise !—God breaks not His promise, but most men do not know !

They know the outside of this world's life, but of the hereafter they are heedless. Have they not reflected in themselves, that God created not the heavens and the earth, and what is between the two except in truth, and for a stated and appointed time ? but, verily, many men in the meeting of their Lord do disbelieve.

Have they not journeyed on in the land and seen how was the end of those before them who were stronger than they, and who turned up the ground and cultivated it more than they do cultivate it ? and there came to them their apostles with manifest signs ; for God would never wrong them : it was themselves they wronged !

Then evil was the end of those who did evil, in that they said the signs of God were lies and mocked thereat.

¹ About the beginning of the sixth year before the Higrâh the Persians conquered Syria, and made themselves masters also of Palestine, and took Jerusalem. The Greeks were so distressed by their defeat that there appeared little likelihood of their being able to retrieve their fortune, and in the following year the Persians proceeded to lay siege to Constantinople itself. In the year 625 A.D., however, the fourth year before the Higrâh, the Greeks gained a signal victory over the Persians, and not only drove them out of the borders of the Byzantine empire, but carried the war into Persian territory, and despoiled the city of Medâyen. It is the defeat which is alluded to in this passage, and the subsequent victory that is prophesied, the date of the chapter being ascribed to the period when the Persians took Jerusalem.

[10] God produces a creation, then He makes it go back again, then unto Him shall ye return.

And on the day when the Hour shall rise, the sinners shall be confused ; and they shall not have amongst their partners intercessors ; and their partners shall they deny.

And on the day when the Hour shall rise, on that day shall they be scattered apart ; and as for those who believe and do right, they in the garden shall be joyful ; [15] and as for those who misbelieved and said our signs and the meeting of the hereafter were lies, they shall be in the torment arraigned.

Celebrated be the praises of God, when ye are in the evening and when ye are in the morning ! for to Him belongs praise in the heavens and the earth ! and at the evening, and when ye are at noon.

He brings forth the living from the dead, and brings forth the dead from the living ; and He quickens the earth after its death, and thus shall ye too be brought forth.

And of His signs is this, that He hath created you from dust ; then, behold, ye are mortals who are spread abroad.

[20] And of His signs is this, that He hath created for you of yourselves wives with whom ye may cohabit ; He has made between you affection and pity. Verily, in that are signs unto a people who reflect.

And of His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the diversity of your tongues and colours ; verily, in that are signs unto the worlds¹.

¹ Or, according to another reading, 'unto those who know;' cf. Part II, p. 122, line 2.

And of His signs is your sleep by night and by day; and your craving after His grace. Verily, in that are signs unto a people who do hear.

And of His signs is this, that He shows you lightning for fear and hope; and sends down from the sky water, and quickens therewith the earth after its death; verily, in that are signs unto a people who have sense.

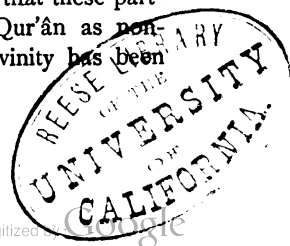
And of His signs is this, that the heavens and the earth stand by His order; then when He calls you from the earth, lo! ye shall come forth. [25] His are those who are in the heavens and the earth, and all to Him are devoted. And He it is who produces a creation and then makes it to go back again; for it is very easy to Him; and His are the loftiest similitudes in the heavens and the earth; and He is the mighty, wise!

He has struck out for you a parable from yourselves; have ye of what your right hand possess partners in what we have bestowed upon you, so that ye share alike therein? do ye fear them as ye fear each other?—Thus do we detail the signs unto a people who have sense¹.

Nay, when those who are unjust follow their lusts without knowledge,—and who shall guide him whom God has led astray? and they shall have none to help.

Set thy face steadfast towards the religion as an

¹ I.e. as they, the Meccans, do not consider their slaves their equals, still less does God hold the false gods they associate with Him to be His equals, it being always remembered that these partners or false gods were not spoken of in the Qur'an as non-existent, but as supernatural beings, to whom divinity has been wrongly ascribed.



'Hanîf, according to the constitution whereon God has constituted men ; there is no altering the creation of God, that is the standard religion, though most men do not know.

[30] Turn repentant towards Him ; and fear Him, and be steadfast in prayer ; and be not of the idolaters.

Of those who have divided their religion and become sects, every party in what they have, rejoice.

And when distress touches men they call upon their Lord, repentant towards Him ; then when He has made them taste mercy from Himself, behold ! a party of them associate others with their Lord, that they may disbelieve in what we have brought them ;—but enjoy yourselves ; for hereafter ye shall know !

Or have we sent down to them authority which speaks of what they do associate with Him ?

[35] And when we have made men taste of mercy, they rejoice therein ; and if there befall them evil for what their hands have sent before, behold ! they are in despair.

Have they not seen that God extends provision to whom He pleases, or does it out ? verily, in that are signs unto a people who believe.

Then give to the kinsman his due, and to the poor and to the wayfarer ; that is better for those who desire the face of God, and these it is who are prosperous.

And what ye put out to usury that it may increase with the wealth of men, it shall not increase with God ; but what ye put out in alms, desiring the face of God—these it is who shall gain double.

It is God who created you and then provided for

you ; and then will make you die, and then will quicken you again ; is there any of your partners who can do aught of that ? Celebrated be His praises, and exalted be He above what they associate with Him !

[40] Trouble hath appeared in the land and the sea, for what men's hands have gained ! to make them taste a part of that which they have done,—haply they may return !

Say, ' Journey on in the land, and behold what was the end of those before you,—most of them were idolaters !'

Set thy face steadfast to the standard religion, before there come a day from God which there is no averting ; on that day shall they be parted into two bands.

He who misbelieves, upon him is his misbelief ; but whoso does right, for themselves they are spreading couches¹ :

That He may reward those who believe and do right of His grace ; verily, He loves not the misbelievers !

[45] And of His signs is this, that He sends forth the winds with glad tidings, to make you taste of His mercy, and to make the ships go on at His bidding, and that ye may crave of His grace, and haply ye may give thanks.

We have sent before thee apostles unto their people, and they came to them with manifest signs : and we took vengeance upon those who sinned, but due from us it was to help the believers.

God it is who sends forth the winds to stir up

¹ In Paradise.

clouds ; then He spreads them forth over the sky as he pleases ; and He breaks them up and ye see the rain come forth from amongst them ; and when He causes it to fall upon whom He pleases of His servants, behold they hail it with joy, although before it was sent down upon them they were before then confused !

Look then to the vestiges of God's mercy, how He quickens the earth after its death ; verily, that is the quickener of the dead, and He is mighty over all !

[50] But if we should send a wind and they should see it yellow¹, they would after that become mis-believers.

But, verily, thou canst not make the dead to hear, nor canst thou make the deaf to hear the call, when they turn their backs and flee ; nor hast thou to guide the blind out of their error ; thou canst only make those to hear who believe in our signs and who are resigned.

God it is who created you of weakness, then made for you after weakness strength ; then made for you after strength, weakness and grey hairs : He creates what He pleases, for He is the knowing, the powerful !

And on the day when the Hour shall rise, the sinners shall swear [55] that they have not tarried save an hour ; thus were they wont to lie !

But those who are given knowledge and faith will say, 'We have tarried according to the Book of God, until the day of resurrection ;' and this ^{is} the day of resurrection, but ye—ye do not know.

And on that day their excuse shall profit not

¹ I. e. see the young corn parched.

those who did wrong ; nor shall they be asked to please God again.

We have struck out to men in this Qur'ân every kind of parable ; but if thou shouldst bring them a sign¹ then those who misbelieve will surely say, 'Ye are but followers of vanity ; thus does God set a stamp upon the hearts of those who do not know.'

[60] Be thou patient then ; verily, God's promise is true ! and let them not flurry thee who are not sure.

THE CHAPTER OF LOQMÂN².

(XXXI. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

A. L. M. These are the signs of the wise Book, a guidance and a mercy to those who do well, who are steadfast in prayer and give alms and who of the hereafter are sure ; these are in guidance from their Lord, and these are the prosperous.

[5] And amongst men is one³ who buys sportive legends, to lead astray from God's path, without knowledge, and to make a jest of it ; these, for

¹ I. e. a verse.

² This sage is generally identified with the Aesop of the Greeks. The legends current in the East concerning him accord exactly with those of the Greek fabulist.

³ An *Nadhr* ibn al 'Hareth had purchased in Persia some of the old legends of Rustam and Isfendiâr, which were afterwards embodied in the *Shâh-nâmeh* of Firdausî. These he read to the Qurâis as being more wonderful than the Qur'ân.

them is shameful woe! And when our signs are recited to him, he turns his back, too big with pride, as though he heard them not,—as if in his two ears were dulness. But give to him glad tidings of grievous woe!

Verily, those who believe and do right, for them are gardens of pleasure, to dwell therein for aye;—God's promise in truth, and He is mighty, wise.

He created the heavens without pillars that ye can see, and He threw upon the earth firm mountains lest it should move with you; and He dispersed thereon every sort of beast; and we send down from the heavens water, and we caused to grow therein of every noble kind.

[10] This is God's creation; show me what others beside Him have created;—nay, the unjust are in obvious error!

We did give unto Loqmân wisdom, saying, 'Thank God; for he who thanks God is only thankful for his own soul; and he who is ungrateful—verily, God is independent, worthy of praise!'

And when Loqmân said to his son while admonishing him, 'O my boy! associate none with God, for, verily, such association is a mighty wrong.'—

For we have commended his parents to man; his mother bore him with weakness upon weakness; and his weaning is in two years;—'Be thankful to me and to thy parents; for unto me shall your journey be. But if they strive with thee that thou shouldst associate with me that which thou hast no knowledge of, then obey them not. But associate with them in the world with kindness, and follow the way of him who turns repentant unto

me; then unto me is your return, and I will inform you of that which ye have done!—

[15] ‘O my son! verily, if there were the weight of a grain of mustard seed and it were (hidden) in the rock, or in the heaven, or in the earth, God would bring it (to light). Verily, God is subtle, well aware!

‘O my son! be steadfast in prayer, and bid what is reasonable and forbid what is wrong; be patient of what befalls thee, verily, that is one of the determined affairs.

‘And twist not thy cheek proudly, nor walk in the land haughtily; verily, God loves not every arrogant boaster: but be moderate in thy walk, and lower thy voice; verily, the most disagreeable of voices is the voice of asses!’

Have ye not seen that God has subjected to you what is in the heavens and what is in the earth, and has poured down upon you His favours, outwardly and inwardly? but amongst men are those who wrangle about God, without knowledge, and without guidance, and without an illuminating book!

[20] And when it is said to them, ‘Follow what God has sent down;’ they say, ‘Nay! we will follow what we found our fathers agreed upon;’—what! though Satan calls them to the torment of the blaze?

But he who resigns his face unto God, and does good, he has grasped the firm handle; unto God is the issue of affairs. But he who misbelieves, let not his misbelief grieve thee; to us is their return, and we will inform them of what they do;—for, verily, God knows the nature of men’s breasts!

We will let them enjoy themselves a little; then we will force them to rigorous woe!

And if thou shouldst ask them who created the heavens and the earth, they will surely say, 'God.' Say, 'Praise be to God!' but most of them do not know.

[25] God's is what is in the heavens and what is in the earth; verily, God, He is the independent, worthy of praise.

And were the trees that are in the earth pens, and the sea (ink) with seven more seas to swell its tide, the words of God would not be spent; verily, God is mighty, wise!

Your creation and your rising again are but as that of one soul; verily, God both hears and sees!

Dost thou not see that God joins on the night to the day, and joins on the day to the night, and has subjected the sun and the moon,—each of them runs on unto an appointed time? and that God of what ye do is well aware?

That is because God, He is true, and because what ye call on beside Him is falsehood, and because God, He is the high, the great!

[30] Dost thou not see that the ship rides on in the sea by the favour of God, that He may show you of His signs? verily, in that are signs to every grateful person.

And when a wave like shadows covers them, they call on God, being sincere in their religion; and when He saves them to the shore, then amongst them are some who halt between two opinions. But none gainsays our signs save every perfidious misbeliever.

O ye folk! fear your Lord and dread the day when the father shall not atone for his son, nor shall the child atone aught for its parent.

Verily, the promise of God is true ! Say, ' Let not the life of this world beguile you ; and let not the beguiler beguile you concerning God.'

Verily, God, with Him is the knowledge of the Hour ; and He sends down the rain ; and He knows what is in the wombs ; and no soul knows what it is that it shall earn to-morrow ; and no soul knows in what land it shall die ; verily, God is knowing, well aware !

THE CHAPTER OF ADORATION.

(XXXII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

A. L. M. The revelation of the Book, there is no doubt therein, from the Lord of the worlds.

Do they say, ' He has forged it ?' Nay ! it is the truth from thy Lord, that thou mayest warn a people, to whom no warner has come before thee, haply they may be guided.

God it is who created the heavens and the earth and what is between the two in six days ; then He made for the throne ! ye have no patron beside Him and no intercessor ; are ye not then mindful ?

He governs the affair from the heaven unto the earth ; then shall it ascend to him in a day, the measure of which is as a thousand years of what ye number.

[5] That is He who knows the unseen and the visible ; the mighty, the merciful, who has made the best of the creation of everything, and produced the

creation of man from clay; then He made his stock from an extract of despicable water; then He fashioned him and breathed into him of his spirit, and made for you hearing and eyesight and hearts;—little is it that ye give thanks!

And they say, 'When we are lost in the earth, shall we then become a new creation?' [10] Nay! in the meeting of their Lord they disbelieve.

Say, 'The angel of death shall take you away, he who is given charge of you; then unto your Lord shall ye be returned.'

And couldst thou see when the sinners hang down their heads before their Lord, 'O Lord! we have seen and we have heard; send us back then and we will do right. Verily, we are sure!'

Had we pleased we would have given to everything its guidance; but the sentence was due from me;—I will surely fill hell with the ginns and with men all together: 'So taste ye, for that ye forgot the meeting of this day of yours,—verily, we have forgotten you! and taste ye the torment of eternity for that which ye have done!'

[15] They only believe in our signs who when they are reminded of them fall down adoring and celebrate the praises of their Lord, and are not too big with pride. As their sides forsake their beds, they call upon their Lord with fear and hope; and of what we have bestowed upon them do they give alms. No soul knows what is reserved for them of cheerfulness for eye, as a reward for that which they have done! Is he who is a believer like him who is a sinner? they shall not be held equal.

As for those who believe and do right, for them

are the gardens of resort, an entertainment for that which they have done !

[20] But as for those who commit abomination there resort is the Fire. Every time that they desire to go forth therefrom, we will send them back therein, and it will be said to them, 'Taste ye the torment of the fire which ye did call a lie!' and we will surely make them taste of the torment of the nearer torment beside the greater torment¹,—haply they may yet return.

Who is more unjust than he who is reminded of the signs of his Lord, and then turns away from them? Verily, we will take vengeance on the sinners!

And we did give Moses the Book; be not then in doubt concerning the meeting with him²; and we made it a guidance to the children of Israel.

And we made amongst them high priests who guided by our bidding, since they were patient and were sure of our signs.

[25] Verily, thy Lord, he shall decide between them on the resurrection day concerning that whereon they do dispute.

Is it not conspicuous to them how many generations we have destroyed before them? they walk

¹ I. e. the torment of this world as well as that of the next.

² This may refer to the alleged meeting of Mohammed and Moses in heaven during the 'night journey;' or it may be translated, 'the reception of it,' i. e. the Qur'ân, the expression in Chapter XXVII, 6, being derived from the same root in Arabic, which means 'to meet.' The native commentators are divided in opinion as to these two interpretations. It is quite possible, however, that it may mean, 'be not in doubt as to a meeting with Him,' and be a mere reiteration of the sentiment so often expressed, that Muslims are to be certain of a meeting with their Lord.

over their dwellings! verily, in that are signs: do they not then hear?

Have they not seen that we drive the water to the sterile land, and bring forth thereby corn from which their cattle and themselves do eat? do they not then see?

And they say, 'When shall this decision come if ye do tell the truth?' Say, 'On the day of the decision their faith shall not profit those who misbelieved, nor shall they be respited;' [30] turn then from them and wait; verily, they are waiting too!

THE CHAPTER OF THE CONFEDERATES¹.

(XXXIII. Medīnah.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

O thou prophet! fear God and obey not the misbelievers and hypocrites; verily, God is ever knowing, wise!

But follow what thou art inspired with from thy Lord; verily, God of what you do is ever well aware. And rely upon God, for God is guardian enough.

God has not made for any man two hearts in his inside; nor has He made your wives,—whom you back away from,—your real mothers²; nor has He

¹ When this sūrah was written Medīnah was besieged by a confederation of the Jewish tribes with the Arabs of Mecca, Negd and Tehāmah, at the instigation of the Jewish tribe of Nadhīr, whom Mohammed had expelled from Mecca the year before. The event took place in the fifth year of the Higrāh.

² The Arabs were in the habit of divorcing their wives on certain occasions with the words, 'Thy back is to me as my

made your adopted sons your real sons. That is what ye speak with your mouths; but God speaks the truth and He guides to the path!

[5] Call them by their fathers' names; that is more just in God's sight; but if ye know not their fathers, then they are your brothers in religion and your clients. There is no crime against you for what mistakes ye make therein; but what your hearts do purposely—but God is ever forgiving and merciful.

The prophet is nearer of kin to the believers than themselves, and his wives are their mothers. And blood relations are nearer in kin to each other by the Book of God than the believers and those who fled¹; only your doing kindness to your kindred, that is traced in the Book.

And when we took of the prophets their compact², from thee and from Noah, and Abraham, and Moses, and Jesus the son of Mary, and took of them a rigid compact, that He might ask the truth-tellers of their truth. But He has prepared for those who misbelieve a grievous woe.

O ye who believe! remember God's favours towards you when hosts came to you and we sent against them a wind and hosts³ that ye could not see;—and God knew what ye were doing.

mother's back,' after which they considered it as unnatural to approach them as though they were their real mothers. This practice Mohammed here forbids. They used also to consider their adopted children in the same light as real children of their body; in forbidding this practice also, Mohammed legalised his marriage with Zâinab, the divorced wife of his freedman Zâid, who was also his adopted son.

¹ The Muhâgerîn.

² See Part I, p. 57, note 1.

³ Of angels.

[10] When they came upon you from above you and from below¹ you, and when your eyesights were distracted and your hearts came up into your throats, and ye suspected God with certain suspicions.

There were the believers tried and were made to quake with a severe quaking.

And when the hypocrites and those in whose hearts was sickness said, 'God and His Apostle have only promised us deceitfully.' And when a party of them said, 'O people of Yathreb²; there is no place for you (here)³, return then (to the city).' And a part of them asked leave of the prophet (to return), saying, 'Verily, our houses are defenceless;' but they were not defenceless, they only wished for flight.

But had they been entered upon from its environs and then been asked to show treason they would have done so; but they would only have tarried there a little while⁴.

¹ On the approach of the confederate army, to the number of 12,000, Mohammed, by the advice of Selmân the Persian, ordered a deep trench to be dug round Medînah, and himself went out to defend it with 3,000 men. The two forces remained for nearly a month in their respective camps without coming to an actual conflict: until one night a piercing east wind blew so violently, and made such disorder in the camp of the besiegers, that a panic seized upon them, and they retired precipitately. Some of them had been encamped on the heights to the east of the town, the others in the lower part of the valley.

² The ancient name of the city; it was only called 'El Medînah, 'the city,' after it had become famous by giving shelter to Mohammed.

³ In the trenches.

⁴ I. e. if the confederates had effected an entry, these half-hearted persons would have listened to their proposals, and have deserted the prophet.

[15] They had covenanted with God before, that they would not turn their backs; and God's covenant shall be enquired of.

Say, 'Flight shall avail you naught; if ye fly from death or slaughter, even then ye shall be granted enjoyment only for a little!'

Say, 'Who is it that can save you from God, if He wish you evil, or wish you mercy?' but they will not find beside God a patron or a helper.

Say, 'God knows the hinderers amongst you, and those who say to their brethren, "Come along unto us," and show but little valour;—covetous towards you¹. When fear comes thou wilt see them looking towards thee, their eyes rolling like one fainting with death; but when the fear has passed away they will assail you with sharp tongues, covetous of the best². These have never believed, and God will make vain their works, for that is easy with God.

[20] They reckoned that the confederates would never go away; and if the confederates should come they would fain be in the desert with the Arabs, asking for news of you! and if they were amongst you they would fight but little.

Ye had in the Apostle of God a good example for him who hopes for God and the last day, and who remembers God much.

And when the believers saw the confederates they said, 'This is what God and His Apostle promised us; God and His Apostle are true!' and it only increased them in faith and resignation.

Amongst the believers are men who have been

¹ I. e. chary of helping you, but greedy of the spoils.

² I. e. the best share of the spoils.

true to their covenant with God, and there are some who have fulfilled their vow¹, and some who wait and have not changed² with fickleness.

That God might reward the truthful for their truth, and punish the hypocrites if He please, or turn again towards them;—verily, God is forgiving, merciful!

[25] And God drove back the misbelievers in their rage; they gat no advantage;—God was enough for the believers in the fight, for God is strong, mighty!

And He drove down those of the people of the Book who had helped them³ from their fortresses⁴ and hurled dread into their hearts; a part ye slew and ye took captive a part: and He gave you their land, and their dwellings, and their property for an inheritance, and a land ye had not trodden, for God is ever mighty over all.

O thou prophet! say to thy wives, 'If ye be desirous of the life of this world and its adornments, come, I will give you them to enjoy and I will let you range handsomely at large! But if ye be desirous of God and His Apostle and of the abode of the hereafter, verily, God has prepared for those of you who do good a mighty hire⁵!'

¹ I. e. their vow to fight till they obtained martyrdom.

² I. e. changed their mind.

³ I. e. who had helped the confederates.

⁴ The Qurâi'ah Jews, whom Mohammed attacked after the siege of Medînah had been raised, and punished for their treachery in having joined the confederates although in league with him at the time.

⁵ Mohammed being annoyed by the demands made by his wives for costly dresses and the like, offered them the choice of divorce or of being content with their usual mode of living. They chose the latter.

[30] O ye women of the prophet! whosoever of you commits manifest fornication, doubled shall be her torment twice; and that is easy unto God!

But that one of you who is devoted to God and His Apostle and does right we will give her her hire twice over, and we have prepared for her a noble provision.

O ye women of the prophet! ye are not like any other women; if ye fear God then be not too complaisant in speech, or he in whose heart is sickness will lust after you; but speak a reasonable speech.

And stay still in your houses and show not yourselves with the ostentation of the ignorance of yore; and be steadfast in prayer, and give alms, and obey God and his Apostle;—God only wishes to take away from you¹ the horror as people of His House and to purify you thoroughly.

And remember what is recited in your houses of the signs of God and of wisdom; verily, God is subtle and aware!

[35] Verily, men resigned and women resigned², and believing men and believing women, and devout men and devout women, and truthful men and truthful women, and patient men and patient women, and humble men and humble women, and almsgiving men and almsgiving women, and fasting men and fasting women, and men who guard their private parts and women who guard their private parts, and

¹ Here the pronoun is changed from feminine to masculine, and the passage is appealed to by the Shiah as showing the intimate relations that existed between Mohammed and 'Alī, for they say that by 'his household' are particularly meant Faṭimah and 'Alī. In the next paragraph the feminine is again used.

² I. e. Muslims; see Part I, p. 15, note 1.

men who remember God much, and women who remember Him,—God has prepared for them forgiveness and a mighty hire.

It is not for a believing man or for a believing woman, when God and His Apostle have decided an affair, to have the choice in that affair; and whoso rebels against God and His Apostle has erred with an obvious error.

And when thou didst say to him God had shown favour to and thou hadst shown favour to, 'Keep thy wife to thyself and fear God;' and thou didst conceal in thy soul what God was about to display; and didst fear men, though God is more deserving that thou shouldst fear Him; and when Zâid had fulfilled his desire of her¹ we did wed thee to her that there should be no hindrance to the believers in the matter of the wives of their adopted sons when they have fulfilled their desire of them: and so God's bidding to be done².

There is no hindrance to the prophet about what God has ordained for him;—(such was) the course of God with those who have passed away before,—and God's bidding is a decreed decree! Those who

¹ I. e. divorced her.

² Zâid was Mohammed's freedman and adopted son. Mohammed had seen and admired Zâid's wife Zâinab, and her husband at once offered to divorce her: this Mohammed dissuaded him from until the transaction was sanctioned by the verse. The relations of the Arabs to their adopted children were, as has been remarked before, p. 138, note 2, very strict; and Mohammed's marriage with Zâinab occasioned much scandal among his contemporaries. This passage and those at the commencement of the chapter abrogate all these inconvenient restrictions. Zâid and Abu Laheb, Sûrah CXI, are the only two persons of Mohammed's acquaintance who are mentioned in the Qur'ân by name.

preach God's messages and fear Him and fear not any one except God,—but God is good enough at reckoning up.

[40] Mohammed is not the father of any of your men, but the Apostle of God, and the Seal of the Prophets; for God all things doth know!

O ye who believe! remember God with frequent remembrance, and celebrate His praises morning and evening.

He it is who prays¹ for you and His angels too, to bring you forth out of the darkness into the light, for He is merciful to the believers.

Their salutation on the day they meet Him shall be 'Peace!' and He has prepared for them a noble hire.

O thou prophet! verily, we have sent thee as a witness and a herald of glad tidings and a warner, [45] and to call (men) unto God by His permission, and as an illuminating lamp.

Give glad tidings then to the believers, that for them is great grace from God. And follow not the unbelievers and the hypocrites; but let alone their ill-treatment², and rely upon God, for God is guardian enough.

O ye who believe! when ye wed believing women, and then divorce them before ye have touche^d them,

¹ The same word is used as is rendered 'pray' in all the other passages in the Qur'ân, though the commentators interpret it here as meaning 'bless.' So, too, in the formula which is always used after Mohammed's name, zalla 'llâhu 'alâihi wa sallam, 'may God bless and preserve him!' is literally, 'may God pray for him and salute him!'

² Either, 'do not ill-treat them,' or, 'take no notice of their ill-treating thee.'

ye have no term that ye need observe; so make them some provision, and let them go handsomely at large.

O thou prophet! verily, we make lawful for thee thy wives to whom thou hast given their hire¹, and what thy right hand possesses² out of the booty that God has granted thee, and the daughters of thy paternal uncle and the daughters of thy paternal aunts, and the daughters of thy maternal uncle and the daughters of thy maternal aunts, provided they have fled with thee, and any believing woman if she give herself to the prophet, if the prophet desire to marry her;—a special privilege this for thee, above the other believers.

[50] We knew what we ordained for them concerning their wives and what their right hands possess, that there should be no hindrance to thee; and God is forgiving, merciful.

Put off³ whomsoever thou wilt of them and take to thyself whomsoever thou wilt, or whomsoever thou cravest of those whom thou hast deposed⁴, and it shall be no crime against thee. That is nigher to cheering their eyes and that they should not grieve, and should be satisfied with what thou dost bring them all; but God knows best what is in their hearts; and God is knowing, clement.

It is not lawful to thee to take women after (this), nor to change them for (other) wives, even though their beauty please thee; except what thy right hand possesses, for God is ever watchful over all.

¹ I. e. dowry.

² Slave girls.

³ I. e. from her turn of conjugal rights.

⁴ I. e. divorced.

O ye who believe! do not enter the houses of the prophet, unless leave be given you, for a meal,—not watching till it is cooked! But when ye are invited, then enter; and when ye have fed, disperse, not engaging in familiar discourse. Verily, that would annoy the prophet and he would be ashamed for your sake¹, but God is not ashamed of the truth².

And when ye ask them³ for an article, ask them from behind a curtain⁴; that is purer for your hearts and for theirs. It is not right for you to annoy the prophet of God, nor to wed his wives after him ever; verily, that is with God a serious thing.

If ye display a thing or conceal it, verily, God all things doth know.

[55] There is no crime against them⁵ (if they

¹ He would be reluctantly obliged to ask you to leave.

² The tent of an Arab chief is looked upon as a place of general entertainment, and is always besieged by visitors. The advent of a stranger, or indeed any occasion that demands the preparation of food or any form of entertainment, is the signal for every adult male of the encampment to sit round it, and wait for an invitation to partake of the meal. This becomes a very serious tax upon the sheikh, as the laws of Arab hospitality imperatively require every person present to be invited to join in the repast. The translator has often witnessed scenes—especially among the Arabs of Edom and Moab—which gave a very living significance to these words of the Qur'ân. Mohammed's exceptionally prominent position exposed him in a peculiar manner to these irruptions of unbidden guests. Another saying bearing upon the point is traditionally ascribed to him, *zur ghibban tazdâd 'hubban*, 'visit seldom and you will get more love.'

³ The prophet's wives.

⁴ The women to the present day always remain behind a curtain which screens off their part of the tent from the rest, but freely converse with their husband and his guests, and hand over the dishes and any other articles that may be required by the company.

⁵ The prophet's wives.

speak unveiled) to their fathers, or their sons, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or what their right hands possess; but let them fear God,—verily, God is witness over all.

Verily, God and His angels pray for the prophet. O ye who believe! pray for him and salute him with a salutation¹!

Verily, those who annoy God and His Apostle, God will curse them in this world and the next, and prepare for them shameful woe!

And those who annoy the believers for what they have not earned, such have to bear (the guilt of) calumny and obvious sin.

O thou prophet! tell thy wives and thy daughters, and the women of the believers, to let down over them their outer wrappers; that is nearer for them to be known and that they should not be annoyed; but God is forgiving, merciful.

[60] Surely if the hypocrites and those in whose hearts is a sickness and the insurrectionists in Medinah do not desist, we will surely incite thee against them. Then they shall not dwell near thee therein save for a little while. Cursed wherever they are found,—taken and slain with slaughter!

God's course with those who have passed away before: and thou shalt never find in God's course any alteration.

The folk will ask thee about the Hour; say, 'The knowledge thereof is only with God, and what is to make thee perceive that the Hour is haply nigh?'

¹ See p. 145, note 1.

Verily, God has cursed the misbelievers and has prepared for them a blaze!

[65] To dwell therein for ever and for aye; they shall not find a patron or a helper!

On the day when their faces shall writhe in the fire they shall say, 'O, would that we had obeyed God and obeyed the Apostle!'

And they shall say, 'Our Lord! verily, we obeyed our chiefs and our great men and they led us astray from the path! Our Lord! give them double torment and curse them with a great curse!'

O ye who believe! be not like those who annoyed Moses; but God cleared him of what they said, and he was regarded in the sight of God¹.

[70] O ye who believe! fear God and speak a straightforward speech. He will correct for you your works, and pardon you your sins; for he who obeys God and His Apostle has attained a mighty happiness.

Verily, we offered the trust² to the heavens and the earth and the mountains, but they refused to bear it, and shrank from it; but man bore it: verily, he is ever unjust and ignorant. That God may torment the hypocritical men and hypocritical women, and the idolaters and idolatresses; and that God may turn relenting towards the believing men and believing women; verily, God is ever forgiving, merciful.

¹ The occasion of the revelation of this verse is said to have been that Mohammed being accused of unfairly dividing certain spoils, said, 'God, have mercy on my brother Moses; he was wronged more than this, and bore it patiently.'

² That is, 'the faith.'

THE CHAPTER OF SEBÂ¹.

(XXXIV. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Praise belongs to God, whose is whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth; His is the praise in the next world, and He is the wise and well aware!

He knows what goes into the earth, and what comes forth therefrom, and what comes down from the sky, and what ascends thereto; for He is the merciful, forgiving.

Those who misbelieve say, 'The Hour shall not come to us;' say, 'Yea, by my Lord it shall surely come to you! by Him who knows the unseen! nor shall there escape from it the weight of an atom, in the heavens or in the earth, or even less than that, or greater, save in the perspicuous Book;' and that He may reward those who believe and do right; these,—for them is forgiveness and a noble provision.

[5] But those who strive concerning our signs to frustrate them; these,—for them is the torment of a grievous plague.

And those to whom knowledge has been given see that what is sent down to thee from thy Lord is the truth, and guides unto the way of the mighty, the praiseworthy.

And those who misbelieve say, 'Shall we guide

¹ A city of Yemen was also called Mârab; it was about three days' journey from Sanâ'h. The bursting of the dyke of Mârab and the destruction of the city by a flood are historical facts, and happened in about the first or second century of our era.

you to a man who will inform you that when ye are torn all to pieces, then ye shall be a new creation? he has forged against God a lie, or there is a *gin*n in him;’—nay, those who believe not in the hereafter are in the torment and in the remote error!

Have they not looked at what is before them and what is behind them of the heaven and the earth? if we pleased we would cleave the earth open with them, or we would make to fall upon them a portion of the heaven; verily, in that is a sign to every repentant servant.

[10] And we did give David grace from us, ‘O ye mountains! echo (God’s praises) with him, and ye birds!’ and we softened for him iron: ‘Make thou coats of mail and adapt the rings thereof, and do right; verily, I at what ye do do look.’ And to Solomon the wind; its morning journey was a month, and its evening journey was a month; and we made to flow for him a fountain of molten brass; and of the *ginns* some to work before him by the permission of his Lord; and whoso swerves amongst them from our bidding we will give him to taste the torment and the blaze; and they made for him what he pleased of chambers, and images, and dishes like troughs, and firm pots;—work, O ye family of David! thankfully; few is it of my servants who are thankful.

And when we decreed for him death, naught guided them to his death save a reptile of the earth that ate his staff; and when he fell down it was made manifest to the *ginns* that, had they but known the unseen, they need not have tarried in the shameful torment¹.

¹ The Mohammedan legend is that Solomon had employed the

Sebâ had in their dwellings a sign; two gardens, on the right hand and on the left, 'Eat from the provision of your Lord; and give thanks to Him! a good country and a forgiving Lord!' [15] but they turned away, and we sent against them the flood of the dyke; and we changed for them their two gardens into two gardens that grew bitter fruit and tamarisk, and some few lote trees¹.

This did we reward them with, for that they misbelieved; and do we so reward any but misbelievers?

And we made between them and the cities which we had blessed (other) cities which were evident; and we measured out the journey: 'Journey ye thereto nights and days in safety!' And they said, 'Our Lord! make a greater distance between our journeys;' and they wronged themselves, and we made them legends; and we tore them all to pieces; verily, in that are signs to every patient, grateful person. And Iblîs verified his suspicion concerning them,

ginns to construct the temple of Jerusalem for him, and perceiving that he must die before it was completed, he prayed God to conceal his death from them lest they should relinquish the work when no longer compelled to keep to it by fear of his presence. This prayer was heard, and Solomon, who died while resting on his staff, remained in this position for a year without his death being suspected, until a worm having eaten away his staff it broke, and the corpse fell to the ground, thus revealing the fact of his death. The shameful torment which the ginns might have avoided is their forced labour in building the temple.

¹ The Rhamnus Nabeca of Forshâl, the Rhamnus Nabeca Spina Christi of Linnæus, its fruit, which is called Nebuk, is a small round berry, in taste something like the jargonelle pear, and is a great favourite with the Bedawîn. It grows freely in the Sinaitic peninsula.

and they followed him, save a party of the believers¹.

[20] Yet had he no authority over them, save that we might know who it was that believed in the hereafter from him who amongst them was in doubt; for thy Lord guards everything.

Say, 'Call on those whom ye pretend beside God;' they cannot control the weight of an atom in the heavens or in the earth; nor have they any partnership in either; nor has He amongst them any supporter; nor is intercession of any avail with Him, except for him whom He permits; so that when fright is removed from their hearts they say, 'What is it that your Lord says?' they say, 'The truth; for He is the high, the great.'

Say, 'Who provides from the heavens and the earth?' Say, 'God.' And, verily, we or ye are surely in guidance or in an obvious error.

Say, 'Ye shall not be asked about what we have sent, nor shall we be asked about what ye do.'

[25] 'Our Lord shall assemble us together; then He shall open between us in truth, for He is the opener who knows.'

Say, 'Show me those whom ye have added to Him as partners; not so! nay, but He is God, the mighty, the wise!'

¹ A great trade used formerly to exist between Sebâ and Syria. The Mohammedan commentators suppose that the cessation of traffic, which naturally caused the gradual ruin of the intermediate towns, and the subsequent destruction of Sebâ or Mâreb itself by the flood, was a punishment for the covetous wish of the people of the city, that the distances which traders had to pass over were longer, so that they themselves might earn more money by providing them with camels and escorts.

We have only sent thee to men generally as a herald of glad tidings and a warner; but most men do not know.

And they say, 'When shall this promise be, if ye do speak the truth?' say, 'For you is the appointment of a day of which ye shall not keep back an hour, nor shall ye bring it on!'

[30] And those who misbelieve say, 'We will never believe in this Qur'ân or in what is before it;' but couldst thou see when the unjust are set before their Lord, they shall rebut each other in speech.

Those who were thought weak shall say to those who were big with pride, 'Had it not been for you we should have been believers.' Those who were big with pride shall say to those who were thought weak, 'Was it we who turned you away from the guidance after it came to you? nay, ye were sinners.'

And those who were thought weak shall say to those who were big with pride, 'Nay, but it was the plotting by night and day, when ye did bid us to disbelieve in God, and to make peers for Him!' and they shall display repentance when they see the torment; and we will put fetters on the necks of those who misbelieved. Shall they be rewarded except for that which they have done?

We have not sent to any city a warner but the opulent thereof said, 'We, in what ye are sent with, disbelieve.'

And they say, 'We have more wealth and children, and we shall not be tormented.'

[35] Say, 'Verily, my Lord extends provision to whom He pleases or doles it out, but most men do not know; but neither your wealth nor your children

is that which will bring you to a near approach to us, save him who believes and does right; these, for them is a double reward for what they have done, and they in upper rooms¹ shall be secure.'

And those who strive concerning our signs to frustrate them, these in the torment shall be arraigned. Verily, my Lord extends provision to whomsoever He will of His servants, or doles it out to him. And what ye expend in alms at all, He will repay it; for He is the best of providers.

And on the day He will gather them all together, then He will say to the angels, 'Are these those who used to worship you?'

[40] They shall say, 'Celebrated be thy praises! thou art our patron instead of them. Nay, they used to worship the *ginns*, most of them believe in them². But to-day they cannot control for each other, either profit or harm;' and we will say to those who have done wrong, 'Taste ye the torment of the fire wherein ye did disbelieve!'

And when our signs are recited to them they say, 'This is only a man who wishes to turn you from what your fathers served;' and they say, 'This is only a lie forged,' and those who misbelieve will say of the truth when it comes to them, 'It is only obvious sorcery!'

But we have not brought them any book which they may study, and we have not sent to them before thee a warner.

Those before them said it was a lie, and these³ have not reached a tithe of what we had given them.

¹ In Paradise.

² See Part I, p. 127, note 2.

³ That is, the Meccans.

And they said my apostles were liars, and how great a change was then !

[45] Say, 'I only admonish you of one thing, that ye should stand up before God in twos or singly, and then that ye reflect that there is no *ginn* in your companion¹. He is only a warner to you before the keen torment.'

Say, 'I do not ask you for it a hire ; that is for yourselves ; my hire is only from God, and He is witness over all.'

Say, 'Verily, my Lord hurls forth the truth ; and He well knows the unseen.'

Say, 'The truth has come, and falsehood shall vanish and shall not come back.'

Say, 'If I err I only err against myself ; and if I am guided it is all what my Lord inspires me ; verily, He is the hearing, the nigh !'

[50] And couldst thou see when they are scared, and there shall be no escape, and they shall be taken from a place that is nigh. And they say, 'We believe in it.' But how can they partake of it from a distant place ? They misbelieved before, and conjectured about the unseen from a distant place. And there shall be a barrier between them and that which they lust after ; as we did with their fellow sectaries before ; verily, they were in hesitating doubt.

¹ That he, Mohammed, is not possessed by a *ginn*.

THE CHAPTER OF THE ANGELS¹.

(XXXV. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Praise belongs to God, the originator of the heavens and the earth; who makes the angels His messengers, endued with wings in pairs, or threes or fours; He adds to creation what He pleases; verily, God is mighty over all!

What God opens to men of His mercy there is none to withhold; and what He withholds, there is none can send it forth after Him; for He is the mighty, the wise.

O ye folk! remember the favours of God towards you; is there a creator beside God, who provides you from the heavens and from the earth? There is no god but He; how then can ye lie?

And if they call thee liar, apostles were called liars before thee, and unto God affairs return.

[5] O ye folk! verily, God's promise is true; then let not the life of this world beguile you, and let not the beguiler beguile you concerning God. Verily, the devil is to you a foe, so take him as a foe; he only calls his crew to be the fellows of the blaze.

Those who misbelieve, for them is keen torment.

But those who believe and do right, for them is forgiveness and a great hire.

What! is he whose evil act is made seemly for him, so that he looks upon it as good, ——?

¹ Also called 'of the Originator.'

Verily, God leads astray whom He pleases and guides whom He pleases; let not thy soul then be wasted in sighing for them; verily, God knows what they do!

[10] It is God who sends the winds, and they stir up a cloud, and we irrigate therewith a dead country, and we quicken therewith the earth after its death; so shall the resurrection be!

Whosoever desires honour—honour belongs wholly to God; to Him good words ascend, and a righteous deed He takes up; and those who plot evil deeds, for them is keen torment, and their plotting is in vain.

God created you from earth, then from a clot; then He made you pairs; and no female bears or is delivered, except by His knowledge; nor does he who is aged reach old age, or is aught diminished from his life, without it is in the Book; verily, that is easy unto God.

The two seas are not equal: one is sweet and fresh and pleasant to drink, and the other is salt and pungent; but from each do ye eat fresh flesh, and bring forth ornaments which ye wear; and thou mayest see the ships cleave through it, that ye may search after His grace, and haply ye may give thanks.

He turns the night into day, and He turns the day into night; and He subjects the sun and the moon, each of them runs on to an appointed goal; that is God, your Lord! His is the kingdom; but those ye call on beside Him possess not a straw¹.

[15] If you call upon them they cannot hear your

¹ Literally, the husk of a date stone.

call, and if they hear they cannot answer you ; and on the resurrection day they will deny your associating them with God ; but none can inform thee like the One who is aware.

O ye folk ! ye are in need of God ; but God, He is independent, praiseworthy.

If He please He will take you off, and will bring a fresh creation ; for that is no hard matter unto God.

And no burdened soul shall bear the burden of another ; and if a heavily laden one shall call for its load (to be carried) it shall not be carried for it at all, even though it be a kinsman !—thou canst only warn those who fear their Lord in the unseen and who are steadfast in prayer ; and he who is pure is only pure for himself ; and unto God the journey is.

[20] The blind is not equal with him who sees, nor the darkness with the night, nor the shade with the hot blast ; nor are the living equal with the dead ; verily, God causes whom He pleases to hear, and thou canst not make those who are in their graves hear ; thou art but a warner !

Verily, we have sent thee in truth a herald of glad tidings and a warner ; and there is no nation but its warner has passed away with it.

And if they called thee liar, those before thee called their apostles liars too, who came to them with manifest signs, and the Scriptures, and the illuminating Book.

Then I seized those who misbelieved, and what a change it was !

[25] Dost thou not see that God has sent down from the heaven water, and has brought forth therewith fruits varied in hue, and on the mountains

dykes¹, white and red, various in hue, and some intensely black, and men and beasts and cattle, various in hue? thus! none fear God but the wise among His servants; but, verily, God is mighty, forgiving.

Verily, those who recite the Book of God, and are steadfast in prayer, and give alms of what we have bestowed in secret and in public, hope for the merchandise that shall not come to naught; that He may pay them their hire, and give them increase of His grace; verily, He is forgiving, grateful.

What we have inspired thee with of the Book is true, verifying what was before it; verily, God of His servants is well aware and sees.

Then we gave the Book for an inheritance to those whom we chose of our servants, and of them are some who wrong themselves, and of them are some who take a middle course, and of them are some who vie in good works by the permission of their Lord; that is great grace.

[30] Gardens of Eden shall they enter, adorned therein with bracelets of gold and pearls; and their garments therein shall be silk; and they shall say, 'Praise belongs to God, who has removed from us our grief; verily, our Lord is forgiving, grateful! who has made us alight in an enduring abode of His grace, wherein no toil shall touch us, and there shall touch us no fatigue.'

But those who misbelieve, for them is the fire of

¹ The word is here used in its geological sense, and is applied to the various coloured streaks which are so plainly to be seen in the bare mountain sides of Arabia. The Arabs of the desert to this day call them by the same name as is here used in the Qur'ân.

hell ; it shall not be decreed for them to die, nor shall aught of the torment be lightened from them ; thus do we reward every misbeliever ; and they shall shriek therein, ‘ O our Lord ! bring us forth, and we will do right, not what we used to do ! ’—‘ Did we not let you grow old enough for every one who would be mindful to be mindful ? and there came to you a warner !—[35] So taste it, for the unjust shall have none to help ! ’ verily, God knows the unseen things of the heavens and of the earth ; verily, He knows the nature of men’s breasts, He it is who made you vicegerents in the earth, and he who misbelieves, his misbelief is against himself ; but their misbelief shall only increase the misbelievers in hatred with their Lord ; and their misbelief shall only increase the misbelievers in loss.

Say, ‘ Have ye considered your associates whom ye call on beside God ? ’ show me what they created of the earth ; have they a share in the heavens, or have we given them a book that they rest on a manifest sign ? nay, the unjust promise each other naught but guile.

Verily, God holds back the heavens and the earth lest they should decline ; and if they should decline there is none to hold them back after Him ; verily, He is clement, forgiving.

[40] They swore by God with their most strenuous oath, verily, if there come to them a warner they would be more guided than any one of the nations ; but when a warner comes to them, it only increases them in aversion, and in being big with pride in the earth, and in plotting evil ; but the plotting of evil only entangles those who practise it ; can they then expect aught but the course of those of yore ? but

thou shalt not find any alteration in the course of God; and they shall not find any change in the course of God.

Have they not journeyed on in the land and seen what was the end of those before them who were stronger than they? but God, nothing can ever make Him helpless in the heavens or in the earth; verily, He is knowing, powerful.

Were God to catch men up for what they earn, He would not leave upon the back of it¹ a beast; but He respites them until an appointed time. [45] When their appointed time comes, verily, God looks upon His servants.

THE CHAPTER OF Y. S.

(XXXVI. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Y. S. By the wise Qur'ân, verily, thou art of the apostles upon a right way. The revelation of the mighty, the merciful! [5] That thou mayest warn a people whose fathers were not warned, and who themselves are heedless.

Now is the sentence due against most of them, for they will not believe. Verily, we will place upon their necks fetters, and they shall reach up to their chins, and they shall have their heads forced back; and we will place before them a barrier, and behind them a barrier; and we will cover them and they shall not see; and it is all the same to them if thou

¹ The earth.

dost warn them or dost warn them not, they will not believe. [10] Thou canst only warn him who follows the reminder, and fears the Merciful in the unseen; but give him glad tidings of forgiveness and a noble hire.

Verily, we quicken the dead, and write down what they have done before, and what vestiges they leave behind; and everything have we counted in a plain model¹.

Strike out for them a parable: the fellows of the city when there came to it the apostles; when we sent those two and they called them both liars, and we strengthened them with a third; and they said, 'Verily, we are sent to you.'

They said, 'Ye are only mortals like ourselves, nor has the Merciful sent down aught; ye are naught but liars.'

[15] They said, 'Our Lord knows that we are sent to you, and we have only our plain message to preach.'

They said, 'Verily, we have augured concerning you, and if ye do not desist we will surely stone you, and there shall touch you from us a grievous woe.'

Said they, 'Your augury is with you; what! if ye are reminded—? Nay, ye are an extravagant people!'

And there came from the remote part of the city a man hastening up. Said he, 'O my people! follow the apostles; [20] follow those who do not ask you a hire, and who are guided. What ails me that I should not worship Him who originated me, and unto whom I must return? Shall I take gods

¹ The Umm al Kitâb. See Part I, p. 2, note 2.

beside Him? If the Merciful One desires harm for me, their intercession cannot avail me at all, nor can they rescue me. Verily, I should then be in obvious error; verily, I believe in your Lord, then listen ye to me!

[25] It was said, 'Enter thou into Paradise!' said he, 'O, would that my people did but know! for that my Lord has forgiven me, and has made me of the honoured.'

And we did send down upon his people no hosts from heaven, nor yet what we were wont to send down; it was but a single noise, and lo! they were extinct¹.

Alas for the servants! there comes to them no apostle but they mock at him!

[30] Have they not seen how many generations we have destroyed before them? verily, they shall not return to them; but all of them shall surely altogether be arraigned.

And a sign for them is the dead earth which we have quickened and brought forth therefrom seed, and from it do they eat; and we made therein gardens and palms and grapes, and we have caused fountains to gush forth therein, [35] that they may eat from the fruit thereof, and of what their hands have made; will they not then give thanks?

Celebrated be the praises of Him who created

¹ The legend is that Jesus sent two of His disciples to the city of Antioch, none believing them but one 'Habîb en Naggâr, that is, 'Habîb the carpenter,' and all three were thrown into prison. Simon Peter was subsequently sent to their rescue; a great many were converted, and the rest were destroyed by a shout from the angel Gabriel. The shrine of 'Habîb en Naggâr at Antioch is still a favourite place of pilgrimage for Mohammedans.

all kinds, of what the earth brings forth, and of themselves, and what they know not of!

And a sign to them is the night, from which we strip off the day, and lo! they are in the dark; and the sun runs on to a place of rest for it¹; that is the ordinance of the mighty, the wise.

And the moon, we have ordered for it stations, until it comes again to be like an old dry palm branch.

[40] Neither is it proper for it to catch up the moon, nor for the night to outstrip the day, but each one floats on in its sky.

And a sign for them is that we bear their seed in a laden ship², and we have created for them the like thereof whereon to ride; and if we please, we drown them, and there is none for them to appeal to; nor are they rescued, save by mercy from us, as a provision for a season.

[45] And when it is said to them, 'Fear what is before you and what is behind you, haply ye may obtain mercy³;' and thou bringest them not any one of the signs of their Lord, but they turn away therefrom; and when it is said to them, 'Expend in alms of what God has bestowed upon you,' those who misbelieve say to those who believe, 'Shall we feed him whom, if God pleased, He would feed? ye are only in an obvious error.'

They say, 'When shall this promise come to pass, if ye do tell the truth?' They await but a single noise, that shall seize them as they are contending. [50] And they shall not be able to

¹ There is a various reading here, 'and has no place of rest.'

² Some take this to refer to Noah's ark.

³ That is, the punishment of this world and the next.

make a bequest; nor to their people shall they return; but the trumpet shall be blown, and, behold, from their graves unto their Lord shall they slip out!

They shall say, 'O, woe is us! who has raised us up from our sleeping-place? this is what the Merciful promised, and the apostles told the truth!' It shall be but a single noise, and lo! they are all arraigned before us.

And on that day no soul shall be wronged at all, nor shall ye be rewarded for aught but that which ye have done.

[55] Verily, the fellows of Paradise upon that day shall be employed in enjoyment; they and their wives, in shade upon thrones, reclining; therein shall they have fruits, and they shall have what they may call for. 'Peace!'—a speech from the merciful Lord!

'Separate yourselves to-day, O ye sinners! [60] Did I not covenant with you, O children of Adam! that ye should not serve Satan? verily, he is to you an open foe; but serve ye me, this is the right way. But he led astray a numerous race of you; what! had ye then no sense? this is hell, which ye were threatened; broil therein to-day, for that ye misbelieved!'

[65] On that day we will seal their mouths, and their hands shall speak to us, and their feet shall bear witness of what they earned. And if we please we could put out their eyes, and they would race along the road; and then how could they see? And if we pleased we would transform them in their places, and they should not be able to go on, nor yet to return. And him to whom we grant old age,

we bow him down in his form ; have they then no sense ?

We have not taught him¹ poetry, nor was it proper for him ; it is but a reminder and a plain Qur'an, [70] to warn him who is living ; but the sentence is due against the misbelievers.

Have they not seen that we have created for them of what our hands have made for them, cattle, and they are owners thereof ? and we have tamed them for them, and of them are some to ride, and of them are what they eat, and therein have they advantages and beverages ; will they not then give thanks ?

But they take, beside God, gods that haply they may be helped. [75] They cannot help them ; yet are they a host ready for them².

But let not their speech grieve thee : verily, we know what they conceal and what they display.

Has not man seen that we have created him from a clot ? and lo ! he is an open opponent ; and he strikes out for us a likeness ; and forgets his creation ; and says, 'Who shall quicken bones when they are rotten ?' Say, 'He shall quicken them who produced them at first ; for every creation does He know ; [80] who has made for you fire out of a green tree, and lo ! ye kindle therewith.'

Is not He who created the heavens and the earth able to create the like thereof ? yea ! He is the knowing Creator ; His bidding is only, when He desires anything to say to it, 'BE,' and it is. Then celebrated be the praises of Him in whose hands is

¹ Mohammed.

² I. e. they are ready to defend their false gods.

the kingdom of everything! and unto Him shall ye return.

THE CHAPTER OF THE 'RANGED.'

(XXXVII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

By the (angels) ranged in ranks, and the drivers driving¹, and the reciters of the reminder, 'Verily, your God is one, [5] the Lord of the heavens and the earth and what is between the two, and the Lord of the sunrises!'

Verily, we have adorned the lower heaven with the adornment of the stars, and to preserve it from every rebellious devil, that they may not listen to the exalted chiefs; for they are hurled at from every side², driven off, and for them is lasting woe; [10] save such as snatches off a word, and there follows him a darting flame!

Ask them³ whether they are stronger by nature or (the angels) whom we have created? We have created them of sticky clay.

Nay, thou dost wonder and they jest! and when they are reminded they will not remember; and when they see a sign they make a jest thereof, [15] and say, 'This is naught but obvious sorcery. What! when we are dead, and have become earth and bones, shall we then be raised? what! and our fathers of yore?'

Say, 'Yes, and ye shall shrink up, and it shall only

¹ Driving the clouds or 'scaring the devils.'

² See Part I, p. 50, note 2.

³ The people of Mecca.

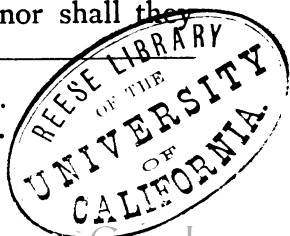
be one scare, and, behold, they shall look on, [20] and they shall say, 'O, woe is us! this is the day of judgment, this is the day of decision, which ye did call a lie!' Gather ye together, ye who were unjust, with their mates and what they used to serve beside God, and guide them to the way of hell, and stop them; verily, they shall be questioned. [25] 'Why do ye not help each other?' nay, on that day they shall resign themselves, and some shall draw near to others, to question each other, and they shall say, 'Verily, ye came to us from the right¹.' They shall say, 'Nay, ye were not believers, nor had we any authority over you; nay, ye were an outrageous people. [30] And the sentence of our Lord shall be due for us; verily, we shall surely taste thereof; we did seduce you—verily, we were erring too!' therefore, verily, on that day they shall share the torment: thus it is that we will do with the sinners.

Verily, when it is said to them, 'There is no god but God,' they get too big with pride, and say, [35] 'What! shall we leave our gods for an infatuated poet?' Nay, he came with the truth, and verified the apostles; verily, ye are going to taste of grievous woe, nor shall ye be rewarded save for that which ye have done!

Except God's sincere servants, [40] these shall have a stated provision of fruits, and they shall be honoured in the gardens of pleasure, upon couches facing each other²; they shall be served all round with a cup from a spring, [45] white and delicious to those who drink, wherein is no insidious spirit, nor shall they

¹ That is, with a good omen.

² See Chapter XV, verse 47.



be drunk therewith; and with them damsels, restraining their looks, large eyed; as though they were a sheltered egg; and some shall come forward to ask others; and a speaker amongst them shall say, 'Verily, I had a mate, [50] who used to say, "Art thou verily of those who credit? What! when we are dead, and have become earth and bones, shall we be surely judged?"' He will say, 'Are ye looking down?' and he shall look down and see him in the midst of hell. He shall say, 'By God, thou didst nearly ruin me! [55] And had it not been for the favour of my Lord, I should have been among the arraigned.'—'What! shall we not die save our first death? and shall we not be tormented?—Verily, this is mighty bliss! for the like of this then let the workers work.'

[60] Is that better as an entertainment, or the tree of Ez Zaqqûm¹? Verily, we have made it a trial to the unjust². Verily, it is a tree that comes forth from the bottom of hell; its spathe is as it were the heads of devils; verily, they shall eat therefrom, and fill their bellies therefrom. [65] Then shall they have upon it a mixture of boiling water; then, verily, their return shall be to hell.

Verily, they found their fathers erring, and they hurried on in their tracks; but there had erred before them most of those of yore, [70] and we had sent warners amongst them. Behold, then, what was the end of those who were warned, save God's sincere servants!

¹ Ez Zaqqûm is a foreign tree with an exceedingly bitter fruit, the name of which is here used for the infernal tree.

² The unbelievers objected that the tree could not grow in hell, where the very stones (see Part I, p. 4, note 1) were fuel for the fire.

Noah did call upon us, and a gracious answer did we give; and we saved him and his people from a mighty trouble; [75] and we made his seed to be the survivors; and we left for him amongst posterity 'peace upon Noah in the worlds; verily, thus do we reward those who do well; verily, he was of our believing servants.' [80] Then we drowned the others.

And, verily, of his sect was Abraham; when he came to his Lord with a sound heart; when he said to his father and his people, 'What is it that ye serve? with a lie do ye desire gods beside God? [85] What then is your thought respecting the Lord of the worlds?'

And he looked a look at the stars and said, 'Verily, I am sick!' and they turned their backs upon him fleeing¹. And he went aside unto their gods and said, 'Will ye not eat? [90] What ails you that ye will not speak?' And he went aside to them smiting with the right hand.

And they² rushed towards him. Said he, 'Do ye serve what ye hew out, when God has created you, and what ye make?'

[95] Said they, 'Build for him a pyre, and throw him into the flaming hell!' They desired to plot against him, but we made them inferior. Said he, 'Verily, I am going to my Lord, He will guide me. My Lord! grant me (a son), one of the

¹ Mohammedan commentators say that he pretended to a knowledge of astrology and made as though he saw a presage of coming sickness for himself in the stars, whereupon the others fled for fear of contagion, and Abraham took the opportunity of absenting himself from the festival which was being held in honour of the idols.

² The people of the city.

righteous;' and we gave him glad tidings of a clement boy.

[100] And when he reached the age to work with him, he said, 'O my boy! verily, I have seen in a dream that I should sacrifice thee¹, look then what thou seest right.'

Said he, 'O my sire! do what thou art bidden; thou wilt find me, if it please God, one of the patient!'

And when they were resigned, and Abraham had thrown him down upon his forehead, we called to him, 'O Abraham! [105] thou hast verified the vision; verily, thus do we reward those who do well. This is surely an obvious trial.' And we ransomed him with a mighty victim; and we left for him amongst posterity, 'Peace upon Abraham; [110] thus do we reward those who do well; verily, he was of our servants who believe!' And we gave him glad tidings of Isaac, a prophet among the righteous; and we blessed him and Isaac;—of their seed is one who does well, and one who obviously wrongs himself.

And we were gracious unto Moses and Aaron. [115] We saved them and their people from mighty trouble, and we helped them and they had the upper hand; and we gave them both the perspicuous Book; and we guided them to the right way; and we left for them amongst posterity, [120] 'Peace upon Moses and Aaron; verily, thus do we reward those who do well; verily, they were both of our servants who believe!'

¹ The Mohammedan theory is that it was Ishmael and not Isaac who was taken as a sacrifice.

And verily Elyâs¹ was of the apostles; when he said to his people, 'Will ye not fear? [125] do ye call upon Baal and leave the best of Creators, God your Lord and the Lord of your fathers of yore?'

But they called him liar; verily, they shall surely be arraigned, save God's sincere servants. And we left for him amongst posterity, [130] 'Peace upon Elyâsîn²; verily, thus do we reward those who do well; verily, he was of our servants who believe!'

And, verily, Lot was surely among the apostles; when we saved him and his people altogether, [135] except an old woman amongst those who lingered; then we destroyed the others; verily, ye pass by them in the morning and at night; have ye then no sense?

And, verily, Jonah was amongst the apostles; [140] when he ran away³ into the laden ship; and he cast lots and was of those who lost; and a fish swallowed him, for he was to be blamed; and had it not been that he was of those who celebrated

¹ Supposed by the Mohammedans to be the same as Al 'Hidhr and Idris.

² This is probably another form of the word Elyâs, on the model of many Hebrew words which have survived in the later Arabic dialect. The Mohammedan commentators however conjecturally interpret it in various ways, some consider it to be a plural form, including Elias and his followers; others divide the word and read it Âl-ya-sîn, i.e. 'the family of Ya-sin,' namely, Elias and his father. Others imagine it to mean Mohammed or the Qur'ân. Most probably however the final syllable -în was nothing more than a prolonged utterance of the case-ending, here improperly used in order to preserve the rhyme or final cadence of the verse. The modern Bedawîn frequently do the same, and I have heard them singing a song commencing 'Zaidûn, Zaidûn, Zaidûn,' when they should say, Zaidu, 'O Zaid!' &c. Trans.

³ The word used in the text is always applied to runaway slaves.

God's praises he would surely have tarried in the belly thereof to the day when men shall be raised.

[145] But we cast him on to the barren shore; and he was sick; and we made to grow over him a gourd tree; and we sent him to a hundred thousand or more, and they believed; and we gave them enjoyment for a season.

Ask them¹, 'Has thy Lord daughters while they have sons²? [150] or have we created the angels females while they were witnesses?' is it not of their lie that they say, 'God has begotten?' verily, they are liars.

Has he preferred daughters to sons? what ails you? how ye judge! [155] will ye not be mindful, or have ye obvious authority? then bring your Book if ye do speak the truth.

And they made him to be related to the ginns, while the ginns know that they shall be arraigned; celebrated be God's praises from what they attribute!—[160] save God's sincere servants.

'Verily, ye and what ye worship shall not try any one concerning him, save him who shall broil in hell; there is none amongst us but has his appointed place, and, [165] verily, we are ranged, and, verily, we celebrate His praises³.'

And yet they say, 'Had we a reminder from those of yore we should surely have been of God's sincere servants.'

[170] But they misbelieved in it⁴; but soon shall they know.

¹ The Meccans.

² See Part I, p. 256, note 2.

³ This speech is supposed to be the words of the angel Gabriel.

⁴ I. e. in the Qur'ân.

But our word has been passed to our servants who were sent that they should be helped; that, verily, our hosts should gain mastery for them.

Then turn thou thy back upon them for a time, [175] and look upon them, for soon they too shall look.

Would they hasten on our torment? but when it descends in their court, ill will the morning be of those who have been warned!

But turn thy back upon them for a time; and look, for soon they too shall look.

[180] Celebrated be the praises of thy Lord, the Lord of glory, above what they attribute! and peace be upon the apostles and praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds!

THE CHAPTER OF S.¹

(XXXVIII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

S. By the Qur'ân with its reminder! nay, but those who misbelieve are in pride, schism!

How many a generation have we destroyed before them, and they cried out, but it was no time to escape!

And they wonder that a warner has come from amongst themselves, and the misbelievers say, 'This

¹ The Arabic commentators say of this title, 'God only knows what He means by it.' All the explanations given of it are purely conjectural. See the Introduction for this and the other mysterious letters used throughout the Qur'ân.

is a magician, a liar!' What! does he make the gods to be one God? verily, this is a wondrous thing.

[5] And the chiefs of them went away: 'Go on and persevere in your gods; this is a thing designed; we never heard this in any other sect; this is nothing but a fiction! Has a reminder come down upon him from amongst us?' nay, they are in doubt concerning my reminder; nay, they have not yet tasted of my torment!

Have they the treasures of the mercy of thy mighty Lord, the giver? or have they the kingdom of the heavens and of the earth, and what is between the two?—then let them climb up the ropes thereof.

[10] Any host whatever of the confederates shall there be routed.

Before them did Noah's people, and 'Âd, and Pharaoh of the stakes¹ call the apostles liars; and Thamûd and the people of Lot, and the fellows of the Grove, they were the confederates too.

They all did naught but call the apostles liars, and just was the punishment! Do these² await aught else but one noise for which there shall be no pause?

[15] But they say, 'O our Lord, hasten for us our share before the day of reckoning!'

Be patient of what they say, and remember our servant David endowed with might; verily, he

¹ Some say this refers to the punishment which Pharaoh used to inflict upon those who had offended him, whom he used to tie to four stakes and then torture. Others take the expression to refer to the stability of Pharaoh's kingdom. The word in the original is applied to the pegs with which Arabs fasten their tents.

² The Meccans.

turned frequently to us. Verily, we subjected the mountains to celebrate with him our praises at the evening and the dawn; and the birds too gathered together, each one would oft return to him; and we strengthened his kingdom, and we gave him wisdom and decisive address.

[20] Has there come to thee the story of the antagonists when they scaled the chamber wall? when they entered in unto David, and he was startled at them, they said, 'Fear not, we are two antagonists; one of us has injured the other; judge then between us with the truth and be not partial, but guide us to a level way. Verily, this is my brother: he had ninety-nine ewes and I had one ewe; and he said, "Give her over to my charge;" and he overcame me in the discourse.' Said he, 'He wronged thee in asking for thy ewe in addition to his own ewes. Verily, many associates do injure one another, except those who believe and do what is right, and very few are they!'

And he thought that we were trying him; and he asked pardon of his Lord and fell down bowing, and did turn; and we pardoned him; for, verily, he has a near approach to us and an excellent resort.

[25] O David! verily, we have made thee a vicegerent, judge then between men with truth and follow not lust, for it will lead thee astray from the path of God. Verily, those who go astray from the path of God, for them is keen torment, for that they did forget the day of reckoning!

And we have not created the heavens and the earth, and what is between the two, in vain. That is what those who misbelieved did think, but woe from the fire to those who misbelieve!

Shall we make those who believe and do right like those who do evil in the earth? or shall we make the pious like the sinners?

A blessed Book which we have sent down to thee that they may consider its verses, and that those endowed with minds may be mindful.

And we gave to David, Solomon, an excellent servant; verily, he turned frequently to us. [30] When there were set before him in the evening the steeds that paw the ground¹, and he said, 'Verily, I have loved the love of good things better than the remembrance of my Lord, until (the sun) was hidden behind the veil; bring them back to me;' and he began to sever their legs and necks.

And we did try Solomon, and we threw upon his throne a form; then he turned repentant². Said he,

¹ The word in Arabic signifies a horse that stands on three legs and just touches the ground with the fore part of the hoof of the fourth. The story is that Solomon was so lost in the contemplation of his horses one day that he forgot the time of evening prayer, and was so smitten with remorse on discovering his negligence that he sacrificed them all except a hundred of the best. God however recompensed him by giving him dominion over the winds instead.

² The Mohammedan legend, borrowed from the Talmud, is that having conquered the king of Sidon and brought away his daughter Gerâdeh, he made her his favourite. She however so incessantly mourned her father that Solomon commanded the devils to make an image of him to console her, and to this she and her maids used to pay divine honours. To punish him for encouraging this idolatry, a devil named Sakhar one day obtained possession of his ring, which he used to entrust to a concubine named Amînah when he went out for any necessary purpose. As the whole secret of his power lay in this ring, which was engraved with the Holy Name, the devil was able to personate Solomon, who, being changed in form, was not recognised by his subjects, and wandered about for the space of forty days, the time during which the image had been worshipped in his house. After this Sakhar flew away and threw

‘My Lord, pardon me and grant me a kingdom that is not seemly for any one after me; verily, thou art He who grants!’

[35] And we subjected to him the wind to run on at his bidding gently wherever he directed it; and the devils—every builder and diver, and others bound in fetters—‘this is our gift, so be thou lavish or withhold without account!’

And, verily, he had with us a near approach, and a good resort.

[40] And remember our servant Job when he called upon his Lord that ‘the devil has touched me with toil and torment!’

‘Stamp with thy foot, this is a cool washing-place and a drink.’ And we granted him his family, and the like of them with them, as a mercy from us and a reminder to those endowed with minds,—‘and take in thy hand a bundle, and strike therewith, and break not thy oath!’ Verily, we found him patient¹, an excellent servant; verily, he turned frequently to us.

[45] And remember our servants Abraham and

the signet into the sea, where it was swallowed by a fish, which was afterwards caught and brought to Solomon, who by this means recovered his kingdom and power.

¹ The Mohammedan legend is that when Job was undergoing his trials, the devil appeared to his wife and promised, if she would worship him, to restore their former prosperity; this she asked her husband to allow her to do. Job was so enraged at her conduct that he swore if he recovered to give her a hundred stripes. When Job had uttered the prayer recorded on page 52, line 19, Gabriel appeared and bade him in the words of the text to strike the ground with his feet. A fountain at once gushed forth, in which he washed and was healed, his wife also becoming young and beautiful again. In order not to break his oath he was commanded to strike her with a bundle of palm leaves, giving her a hundred painless blows at once.

Isaac and Jacob, endowed with might and sight; verily, we made them sincere by a sincere quality—the remembrance of the abode; and, verily, they were with us of the elect, the best.

And remember Ishmael and Elisha and Dhu-l-kifl, for each was of the righteous¹. This is a reminder! verily, for the pious is there an excellent resort,—[50] gardens of Eden with the doors open to them;—reclining therein; calling therein for much fruit and drink; and beside them maids of modest glance, of their own age,—‘This is what ye were promised for the day of reckoning!’—‘This is surely our provision, it is never spent!’

[55] This!—and, verily, for the rebellious is there an evil resort,—hell; they shall broil therein, and an ill couch shall it be! This,—so let them taste it!—hot water, and pus, and other kinds of the same sort! ‘This is an army plunged in with you! there is no welcome for them! verily, they are going to broil in the fire!’

[60] They shall say, ‘Nay, for you too is there no welcome! it was ye who prepared it beforehand for us, and an ill resting-place it is!’

They shall say, ‘Our Lord! whoso prepared this beforehand for us, give him double torment in the fire!’ And they shall say, ‘What ails us that we do not see men whom we used to think amongst the wicked? whom we used to take for mockery? have our eyes escaped them?’

Verily, that is the truth; the contention of the people of the fire.

[65] Say, ‘I am only a warner; and there is no

¹ See page 53.

god but God, the one, the victorious, the Lord of the heavens and the earth, and what is between the two, the mighty, the forgiving!

Say, 'It is a grand story, and yet ye turn from it!' I had no knowledge of the exalted chiefs when they contended.

[70] I am only inspired that I am a plain warner. When thy Lord said to the angels, 'Verily, I am about to create a mortal out of clay; and when I have fashioned him, and breathed into him of my spirit, then fall ye down before him adoring.' And the angels adored all of them, save Iblis, who was too big with pride, and was of the misbelievers.

[75] Said He, 'O Iblis! what prevents thee from adoring what I have created with my two hands? art thou too big with pride? or art thou amongst the exalted?' Said he, 'I am better than he, Thou hast created me from fire, and him Thou hast created from clay.' Said He, 'Then go forth therefrom, for, verily, thou art pelted, and, verily, upon thee is my curse unto the day of judgment.'

[80] Said he, 'My Lord! then respite me until the day when they are raised.' Said He, 'Then thou art amongst the respited until the day of the stated time.' Said he, 'Then, by Thy might! I will surely seduce them all together, except Thy servants amongst them who are sincere!'. [85] Said He, 'It is the truth, and the truth I speak; I will surely fill hell with thee and with those who follow thee amongst them all together.'

Say, 'I do not ask thee for it any hire, nor am I of those who take too much upon myself. It is but a reminder to the servants, and ye shall surely know its story after a time.'

THE CHAPTER OF THE TROOPS.

(XXXIX. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

The sending down of the Book from God, the mighty, the wise.

Verily, we have sent down to thee the Book in truth, then serve God, being sincere in religion unto Him. Aye! God's is the sincere religion: and those who take beside Him patrons — 'We do not serve them save that they may bring us near to God —' Verily, God will judge between them concerning that whereon they do dispute.

[5] Verily, God guides not him who is a misbelieving liar.

Had God wished to take to Himself a child, He would have chosen what He pleased from what He creates; — celebrated be His praises! He is God, the one, the victorious. He created the heavens and the earth in truth! It is He who clothes the day with night; and clothes the night with day; and subjects the sun and the moon, each one runs on to an appointed time; aye! He is the mighty, the forgiving! He created you from one soul; then He made from it its mate; and He sent down upon you of the cattle four pairs¹! He creates you in the bellies of your mothers, — creation after creation, in three darknesses². That is God for you! His is the kingdom, there is no god but He; how then can ye be turned away?

¹ Camel, oxen, sheep, and goats.

² I. e. the belly, the womb, and the placenta.

If ye be thankless, yet is God independent of you. He is not pleased with ingratitude in His servants ; but if ye give thanks, He is pleased with that in you. But no burdened soul shall bear the burden of another ; then unto your Lord is your return, and He will inform you of that which ye have done. [10] Verily, He knows the natures of men's breasts!

And when distress touches a man he calls his Lord, turning repentant to Him ; then when He confers on him a favour from Himself he forgets what he had called upon Him for before, and makes peers for God to lead astray from His way ! Say, ' Enjoy thyself in thy misbelief a little, verily, thou art of the fellows of the Fire.'

Shall he who is devout throughout the night, adoring and standing, cautious concerning the hereafter, and hoping for the mercy of his Lord . . . ? Say, ' Shall those who know be deemed equal with those who know not ? only those will remember, who are endowed with minds !'

Say, ' O my servants who believe ! fear your Lord ! for those who do well in this world is good, and God's earth is spacious ; verily, the patient shall be paid their hire without count !'

Say, ' Verily, I am bidden to serve God, being sincere in religion to Him ; and I am bidden that I be the first of those resigned.'

[15] Say, ' Verily, I fear, if I rebel against my Lord, the torment of a mighty day.' Say, ' God do I serve, being sincere in my religion to Him ; serve then what ye will beside Him !' Say, ' Verily, the losers are those who lose themselves and their families on the resurrection day. Aye, that is the obvious loss.'

They shall have over them shades of fire, and under them shades; with that does God frighten His servants: O my servants! then fear me.

But those who avoid *Tâghût*¹ and serve them not, but turn repentant unto God, for them shall be glad tidings. Then give glad tidings to my servants who listen to the word and follow the best thereof; they it is whom God guides, and they it is who are endowed with minds. [20] Him against whom the word of torment is due,—canst thou rescue him from the fire?

But for those who fear their Lord for them are upper chambers, and upper chambers above them built, beneath which rivers flow; God's promise! God does not fail in His promise.

Hast thou not seen that God sends down from the heaven water, and conducts it into springs in the earth? then He brings forth therewith corn varied in kind, then it dries up, and ye see it grow yellow; then He makes it grit;—verily, in that is a reminder for those endowed with minds.

Is he whose breast God has expanded for Islâm, and who is in light from his Lord . . . ? And woe to those whose hearts are hardened against a remembrance of God! those are in obvious error.

God has sent down the best of legends, a book uniform and repeating; whereat the skins of those who fear their Lord do creep! then their skins and their hearts soften at the remembrance of God. That is the guidance of God! He guides therewith whom He will. But he whom God leads astray there is no guide for him.

¹ See Part I, p. 40, note 2.

[25] Shall he who must screen himself with his own face from the evil torment on the resurrection day . . . ? And it shall be said of those who do wrong, taste what ye have earned. ✓

Those before them called the (prophets) liars, and the torment came to them from whence they perceived it not ; and God made them taste disgrace in the life of this world. But surely the torment of the hereafter is greater, if they did but know. We have struck out for men in this Qur'ân every sort of parable, haply they may be mindful. An Arabic Qur'ân with no crookedness therein ; haply they may fear !

[30] God has struck out a parable, a man who has partners who oppose each other ; and a man who is wholly given up to another ; shall they be deemed equal in similitude ? praise be to God ! nay, but most of them know not !

✓ Verily, thou shalt die, and, verily, they shall die ; then, verily, on the resurrection day before your Lord shall ye dispute.

And who is more unjust than he who lies against God, and calls the truth a lie when it comes to him ? Is there not in hell a resort for those who misbelieve ? but whoso brings the truth and believes in it, these are they who fear.

[35] For them is what they please with their Lord, that is the reward of those who do well ; that God may cover for them their offences which they have done, and may reward them with their hire for the best of that which they have done. ✓

Is not God sufficient for His servants ? and yet they would frighten thee with those beside Him ¹.

¹ By their idols.

But he whom God leads astray there is no guide for him ; and he whom God guides there is none to lead him astray: is not God mighty, the Lord of vengeance ?

And if thou shouldst ask them who created the heavens and the earth, they will surely say, 'God !' Say, 'Have ye considered what ye call on beside God ? If God wished me harm¹, could they remove His harm ? or did He wish me mercy, could they withhold His mercy ?' Say, 'God is enough for me, and on Him rely those who rely.'

[40] Say, 'O my people! act according to your power; I too am going to act; and ye shall know.'

He to whom the torment comes it shall disgrace him, and there shall alight upon him lasting torment.

Verily, we have sent down to thee the Book for men in truth; and whosoever is guided it is for his own soul: but whoso goes astray it is against them, and thou art not a guardian for them.

God takes to Himself souls at the time of their death; and those which do not die (He takes) in their sleep; and He holds back those on whom He has decreed death, and sends others back till their appointed time;—verily, in that are signs unto a people who reflect.

Do they take besides God intercessors ? Say, 'What ! though they have no control over anything and have no sense.'

[45] Say, 'God's is the intercession, all of it; His

¹ The pronoun in Arabic is feminine, and refers to the false gods, especially to the favourite goddesses of the Qurâis.

is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth ; then unto Him shall ye be sent back.'

And when God alone is mentioned the hearts of those who believe not in the hereafter quake, and when those beside Him are mentioned, lo, they are joyful!

Say, 'O God! originator of the heavens and the earth, who knowest the unseen and the visible, thou wilt judge between thy servants concerning that whereon they do dispute!'

And had those who do wrong all that is in the earth, and the like thereof with it, they would ransom themselves therewith from the evil of the torment on the resurrection day! but there shall appear to them from God that which they had not reckoned on; and the evils of what they have earned shall appear to them; but that shall close in on them at which they mocked!

[50] And when harm touches man he calls on us; then, when we grant him favour from us, he says, 'Verily, I am given it through knowledge!' nay, it is a trial,—but most of them do not know!

Those before them said it too, but that availed them not which they had earned, and there befel them the evil deeds of what they had earned: and those who do wrong of these (Meccans), there shall befall them too the evil deeds of what they had earned, nor shall they frustrate Him.

Have they not known that God extends His provision to whom He pleases, or doles it out? verily, in that are signs unto a people who believe.

Say, 'O my servants! who have been extravagant against their own souls!' be not in despair of the

mercy of God; verily, God forgives sins, all of them; verily, He is forgiving, merciful.

[55] But turn repentant unto your Lord, and resign yourselves to Him, before there comes on you torment! then ye shall not be helped: and follow the best of what has been sent down to you from your Lord, before there come on you the torment suddenly, ere ye can perceive!

Lest a soul should say, 'O my sighing! for what I have neglected towards God! for, verily, I was amongst those who did jest!' or lest it should say, 'If God had but guided me, I should surely have been of those who fear!' or lest it should say, when it sees the torment, 'Had I another turn I should be of those who do well!'

[60] 'Yea! there came to thee my signs and thou didst call them lies, and wert too big with pride, and wert of those who misbelieved!'

And on the resurrection day thou shalt see those who lied against God, with their faces blackened. Is there not in hell a resort for those who are too big with pride?

And God shall rescue those who fear Him, into their safe place; no evil shall touch them, nor shall they be grieved.)

God is the creator of everything, and He is guardian over everything; His are the keys of the heavens and the earth; and those who misbelieve in the signs of God, they it is who lose!

Say, 'What! other than God would you bid me serve, O ye ignorant ones? [65] When He has inspired thee and those before thee that, "If thou dost associate aught with Him, thy work will surely be in vain, and thou shalt surely be of those who

lose !” Nay, but God do thou serve, and be of those who do give thanks !’

And they do not value God at His true value ; while the earth all of it is but a handful for Him on the resurrection day, and the heavens shall be rolled up in His right hand ! Celebrated be His praise ! and exalted be He above what they associate with Him ! And the trumpet shall be blown, and those who are in the heavens and in the earth shall swoon, save whom God pleases. Then it shall be blown again, and, lo ! they shall stand up and look on. And the earth shall beam with the light of its Lord, and the Book shall be set forth, and the prophets and martyrs¹ shall be brought ; and it shall be decreed between them in truth, and they shall not be wronged ! [70] And every soul shall be paid for what it has done, and He knows best that which they do ; and those who misbelieve shall be driven to hell in troops ; and when they come there, its doors shall be opened, and its keepers shall say to them, ‘ Did not apostles from amongst yourselves come to you to recite to you the signs of your Lord, and to warn you of the meeting of this day of yours ? ’ They shall say, ‘ Yea, but the sentence of torment was due against the misbelievers ! ’ It shall be said, ‘ Enter ye the gates of hell, to dwell therein for aye ! Hell is the resort of those who are too big with pride ! ’

But those who fear their Lord shall be driven to Paradise in troops ; until they come there, its doors shall be opened, and its keepers shall say to them, ‘ Peace be upon you, ye have done well ! ’

¹ Or witnesses.

so enter in to dwell for aye!' and they shall say, 'Praise be to God, who hath made good His promise to us, and hath given us the earth to inherit! We establish ourselves in Paradise wherever we please; and goodly is the reward of those who work!'

[75] And thou shalt see the angels circling round about the throne, celebrating the praise of their Lord; and it shall be decided between them in truth; and it shall be said, 'Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds!'

THE CHAPTER OF THE BELIEVER.

(XL. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

'H. M. The sending down of the Book from God, the mighty, the knowing, the forgiver of sin and acceptor of repentance, keen at punishment, long-suffering! there is no god but He! to whom the journey is!

None wrangle concerning the signs of God but those who misbelieve; then let not their going to and fro in the cities deceive thee.

[5] The people of Noah before them called the prophets liars; and the confederates after them; and every nation schemed against their Apostle to catch him. And they wrangled with falsehood that they might refute the truth thereby, but I seized them, and how was my punishment!

Thus was the sentence of thy Lord due against those who misbelieved, that they are the fellows of the Fire!

Those who bear the throne and those around it celebrate the praise of their Lord, and believe in Him, and ask pardon for those who believe: 'Our Lord! thou dost embrace all things in mercy and knowledge, then pardon those who turn repentant and follow thy way, and guard them from the torment of hell! Our Lord! make them enter into gardens of Eden which thou hast promised to them, and to those who do well of their fathers, and their wives, and their seed; verily, thou art the mighty, the wise! and guard them from evil deeds, for he whom thou shalt guard from evil deeds on that day, thou wilt have had mercy on, and that is mighty bliss!'

[10] Verily, those who misbelieve shall be cried out to, 'Surely, God's hatred is greater than your hatred of each other when ye were called unto the faith and misbelieved!' They shall say, 'Our Lord! Thou hast killed us twice, and Thou hast quickened us twice¹; and we do confess our sins: is there then a way for getting out?'

That is because when God alone was proclaimed ye did disbelieve; but when partners were joined to Him ye did believe; but judgment belongs to God, the high, the great! He it is who shows you His signs, and sends down to you from heaven provision; but none is mindful except him who turns repentant; then call on God, being sincere in your religion to Him, averse although the mis-believers be! [15] Exalted of degrees! The Lord

¹ Referring to the absence of life before birth and the deprivation of it at death, and to the being quickened at birth and raised again after death.

of the throne! He throws the spirit by His bidding upon whom He will of His servants, to give warning of the day of meeting. The day when they shall be issuing forth, naught concerning them shall be hidden from God. Whose is the kingdom on that day?—God's, the one, the dominant! to-day shall every soul be recompensed for that which it has earned. There is no wrong to-day; verily, God is quick at reckoning up!

And warn them of the day that approaches, when hearts are choking in the gullets; those who do wrong shall have no warm friend, and no intercessor who shall be obeyed. [20] He knows the deceitful of eye and what men's breasts conceal, and God decides with truth; but those they call on beside Him do not decide at all: verily, God, He both hears and looks.

Have they not journeyed on in the earth and seen how was the end of those who journeyed on before them? They were stronger than them in might, and their vestiges are in the land; but God caught them up in their sins, and they had none to guard them against God.

That is for that their apostles did come to them with manifest signs, and they misbelieved, and God caught them up; verily, He is mighty, keen to punish!

And we did send Moses with our signs, and with obvious authority, [25] unto Pharaoh and Hâmân and Qarûn. They said, 'A lying sorcerer!' and when they came to them with truth from us, they said, 'Kill the sons of those who believe with him, and let their women live!' but the stratagem of the misbelievers is only in error!

And Pharaoh said, 'Let me kill Moses; and then let him call upon his Lord! verily, I fear that he will change your religion, or that he will cause evil doing to appear in the land.'

And Moses said, 'Verily, I take refuge in my Lord and your Lord from every one who is big with pride and believes not on the day of reckoning.'

And a believing man of Pharaoh's people, who concealed his faith, said, 'Will ye kill a man for saying, My Lord is God, when he has come to you with manifest signs from your Lord? and if he be a liar, against him is his lie; and if he be truthful, there will befall you somewhat of that which he threatens you; verily, God guides not him who is an extravagant liar. [30] O my people! yours is the kingdom to-day, ye are eminent in the land, but who will help us against the violence of God, if it comes upon us?'

Said Pharaoh, 'I will only show you what I see, and I will only guide you into the way of right direction.'

And he who believed said, 'O my people! verily, I fear for you the like of the day of the confederates, the like of the wont of the people of Noah and 'Âd and Hâmân, and of those after them; for God desires not injustice for His servants. O my people! verily, I fear for you the day of crying out,— [35] the day when ye shall turn your backs, fleeing, with no defender for you against God; for he whom God leads astray, for him there is no guide!

'And Joseph came to you before with manifest signs, but ye ceased not to doubt concerning what he brought you, until, when he perished, ye said, "God will not send after him an apostle;" thus

does God lead astray him who is extravagant, a doubter.

‘Those who wrangle concerning the signs of God without authority having come to them are greatly hated by God and by those who believe; thus does God set a stamp upon the heart of every tyrant too big with pride!’

And Pharaoh said, ‘O Hâmân! build for me a tower, haply I may reach the tracts,—the tracts of heaven, and may mount up to the God of Moses, for, verily, I think him a liar.’

[40] And thus was his evil deed made seemly to Pharaoh, and he was turned from the way; but Pharaoh’s stratagem ended only in ruin, and he who believed said, ‘O my people! follow me, I will guide you to the way of the right direction. O my people! verily, the life of this world is but a provision, but, verily, the hereafter, that is the abode of stability! Whoso does evil, he shall only be recompensed with the like thereof; and whoso does right, be it male or female and a believer, these shall enter into Paradise; they shall be provided therein without count. O my people! why should I call you to salvation, and you call me to the fire? [45] Ye call on me to disbelieve in God, and to join with Him what I have no knowledge of; but I call you to the mighty forgiving One! no doubt that what ye call me to, ought not to be called on in this world or in the hereafter, and that we shall be sent back to God, and that the extravagant, they are the fellows of the Fire!

‘But ye shall remember what I say to you; and I entrust my affair to God, verily, God looks upon His servants!’

And God guarded him from the evils of what they plotted, and there closed in upon Pharaoh evil woe.

The fire—they shall be exposed to it morning and evening; and ‘on the day the Hour shall arise,’ enter, O people of Pharaoh! into the keenest torment.

[50] And when they argue together in the fire, and the weak say to those who were big with pride, ‘Verily, we were followers of yours, can ye then avail us against a portion of the fire?’

Those who were big with pride shall say, ‘Verily, we are all in it; verily, God has judged between His servants.’

And those who are in the fire shall say unto the keepers of hell, ‘Call upon your Lord to lighten from us one day of the torment.’ They shall say, ‘Did not your apostles come to you with manifest signs?’ They shall say, ‘Yea!’ They shall say, ‘Then, call!’—but the call of the misbelievers is only in error.

Verily, we will help our apostles, and those who believe, in the life of this world and on the day when the witnesses shall stand up: [55] the day when their excuse shall not avail the unjust; but for them is the curse, and for them is an evil abode.

And we did give Moses the guidance; and we made the children of Israel to inherit the Book, as a guidance and a reminder to those endowed with minds.

Be thou patient, then; verily, God’s promise is true: and ask thou forgiveness for thy sins, and

celebrate the praise of thy Lord in the evening and in the morn.

Verily, those who wrangle concerning the signs of God without authority having come to them, there is naught in their breasts but pride; but they shall not attain it: do thou then seek refuge in God; verily, He both hears and looks!

Surely the creation of the heavens and the earth is greater than the creation of man: but most men know it not.

[60] The blind and the seeing shall not be deemed alike, nor those who believe and do right and the evildoer; little is it that they remember.

Verily, the Hour will surely come; there is no doubt therein; but most men do not believe!

And your Lord said, 'Call upon me, I will answer you; verily, those who are too big with pride to worship shall enter into hell, shrinking up.'

God it is who has made for you the night to repose therein, and the day to see by; verily, God is Lord of grace to men, but most men give no thanks!

There is God for you! your Lord! the creator of everything! there is no god but He, how then can ye lie¹? [65] Thus did those lie who gainsaid the signs of God.

God it is who has made for you the earth as a resting-place, and a heaven as building, and has formed you and made excellent your forms; and has provided you with good things! there is God for you!—your Lord! then blessed be God, the Lord of the worlds!

¹ Or 'turn away.'

He is the living One, there is no god but He! then call on Him, being sincere in your religion to Him; praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds!

Say, 'Verily, I am forbidden to serve those whom ye call on beside God, since there have come to me manifest signs from my Lord, and I am bidden to be resigned unto the Lord of the worlds.'

He it is who created you from the earth, then from a clot, then from congealed blood, then He brings you forth a child; then ye reach to puberty; then do ye become old men,—though of you there are some who are taken away before,—that ye may reach an appointed time, and haply ye may have some sense.

[70] He it is who quickens and kills, and when He decrees a matter, then He only says to it, 'BE,' and it is.

Hast thou not seen those who wrangle concerning the signs of God how they are turned away? Those who call the Book, and what we have sent our apostles with, a lie, soon shall they know—when the fetters are on their necks and the chains, as they are dragged into hell!—then in the fire shall they be baked.

Then it shall be said to them, 'Where is what ye did associate beside God?' They shall say, 'They have strayed away from us; nay, we did not call before upon anything!'—thus does God lead the misbelievers astray.

[75] There! for that ye did rejoice in the land without right; and for that ye did exult; enter ye the gates of hell, to dwell therein for aye; for evil is the resort of those who are too big with pride!

But be thou patient ; verily, the promise of God is true ; and whether we show thee a part of what we promised them, or whether we surely take thee to ourself, unto us shall they be returned.

And we did send apostles before thee : of them are some whose stories we have related to thee, and of them are some whose stories we have not related to thee ; and no apostle might ever bring a sign except by the permission of God ; but when God's bidding came it was decided with truth, and there were those lost who deemed it vain !

God it is who has made for you cattle, that ye may ride on some of them ;—and of them ye eat, [80] and ye have in them advantages ;—and that ye may attain thereon a want which is in your breasts ; upon them and upon ships are ye borne.

He shows you His signs ; which sign then of your Lord do ye deny ?

Have they not journeyed on in the land and seen how was the end of those before them, who were more numerous than they and stronger in might, and in their vestiges which are still in the land ? but of no avail to them was that which they had earned.

And when there came to them their apostles with manifest signs they rejoiced in what knowledge they had ; but there closed in upon them that whereat they had mocked.

And when they saw our violence they said, 'We believe in God alone, and we disbelieve in what we once associated with Him.'

[85] But their faith was of no avail to them when they saw our violence—the course of God with His servants in time past, and there the misbelievers lose !

THE CHAPTER 'DETAILED.'

(XLI. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

'H. M. A revelation from the merciful, the compassionate; a book whose signs are detailed; an Arabic Qur'ân for a people who do know; a herald of glad tidings and a warning. But most of them turn aside and do not hear, and say, 'Our hearts are veiled from what thou dost call us to, and in our ears is dulness, and between us and thee there is a veil. Act thou; verily, we are acting too!' [5] Say, 'I am but a mortal like yourselves, I am inspired that your God is one God; then go straight to Him, and ask forgiveness of Him; and woe to the idolaters, who give not alms, and in the hereafter disbelieve!'

Verily, those who believe and do right, for them is a hire that is not grudged.

Say, 'What! do ye really misbelieve in Him who created the earth in two days, and do ye make peers for Him?—that is the Lord of the worlds!'

And He placed thereon¹ firm mountains above it and blessed it, and apportioned therein its foods in four days alike for those who ask. [10] Then He made for the heaven and it was but smoke, and He said to it and to the earth, 'Come, ye two, whether ye will or no!' They said, 'We come willingly!'

And He decreed them seven heavens in two days, and inspired every heaven with its bidding: and we

¹ On the earth.

adorned the lower heaven with lamps and guardian angels; that is the decree of the mighty, the knowing One.

But if they turn aside, then say, 'I have warned you of a thunder-clap like the thunder-clap of 'Âd and Thamûd; when their apostles came to them from before them and from behind them (saying), "Serve ye none but God." They said, 'If our Lord pleased He would send down angels; so we in what ye are sent with disbelieve.'

And as for 'Âd, they were big with pride in the land, without right, and said, 'Who is stronger than us in might?' Did they not see that God who created them He was stronger than they in might? But they did gainsay our signs. [15] And we sent upon them a cold blast in unfortunate days, that we might make them taste the torment of disgrace in the life of this world;—but the torment of the hereafter is more disgraceful, and they shall not be helped.

And as for Thamûd we guided them; but they preferred blindness to guidance, and the thunder-clap of the torment of abasement caught them for what they had earned; but we saved those who believed and who did fear.

And the day when the enemies of God shall be gathered together into the fire, marshalled along; until when they come to it, their hearing and their eyesight and their skins shall bear witness against them of that which they have done. [20] And they shall say to their skins, 'Why have ye borne witness against us?' they shall say, 'God gave us speech who has given speech to everything; He created you at first, and unto Him shall ye be returned;

and ye could not conceal yourselves that your hearing and your eyesight should not be witness against you, nor your skins; but ye thought that God did not know much of what ye do. And that thought of yours which ye thought concerning your Lord has destroyed you, and ye have now become of those who lose!

And if they are patient, still the fire is a resort for them; and if they ask for favour again, they shall not be taken into favour.

We will allot to them mates¹, for they have made seemly to them what was before them and what was behind them; and due against them was the sentence on the nations who passed away before them; both of ginnns and of mankind; verily, they were the losers!

[25] Those who misbelieve say, 'Listen not to this Qur'ân, but talk foolishly about it, haply ye may gain the upper hand².' But we will make those who misbelieve taste keen torment; and we will recompense them with the worst of that which they have done. That is, the recompence of the enemies of God,—the fire! for them is an eternal abode therein: a recompence for that they did gainsay our signs.

And those who misbelieved say, 'Our Lord, show us those who have led us astray amongst the ginnns and mankind; we will place them beneath our feet, and they shall both be amongst those who are put down!' [30] Verily, those who say, 'Our Lord is God,' and then go straight, the angels descend upon them—'fear not and be not grieved, but receive the glad tidings of Paradise which ye were promised;

¹ Devils, opposed to the guardian angels of the believers.

² I.e. interrupt the reading of the Qur'ân by talking, in order to overpower the voice of the reader.

we are your patrons in the life of this world and in the next, and ye shall have therein what your souls desire, and ye shall have therein what ye call for,—an entertainment from the forgiving, the merciful !'

And who speaks better than he who calls to God and does right, and says, 'Verily, I am of those resigned ?'

Good and evil shall not be deemed alike ; repel (evil) with what is best, and lo ! He between whom and thyself was enmity is as though he were a warm patron. [35] But none shall meet with it save those who are patient ; and none shall meet with it save those who are endowed with mighty good fortune.

And if an incitement from the devil incites you, then seek refuge in God ; verily, He both hears and knows.

And of His signs are the night and the day, and the sun and the moon. Adore ye not the sun, neither the moon ; but adore God who created you, if it be Him ye serve.

But if they be too big with pride—yet those who are with thy Lord celebrate His praises by night and day, and they are never weary.

And of His signs (is this), that thou mayest see the earth drooping, and when we send down water upon it it stirs and swells ; verily, He who quickens it will surely quicken the dead ; verily, He is mighty over all.

[40] Verily, those who are inclined to oppose our signs are not hidden from us. Is he who is cast into the fire better, or he who comes safe on the resurrection day ? Do what ye will : verily, He on what ye do doth look.

Verily, those who misbelieve in the reminder when it comes to them—and, verily, it is a glorious Book! falsehood shall not come to it, from before it, nor from behind it—a revelation from the wise, the praiseworthy One. Naught is said to thee but what was said to the apostles before thee, 'Verily, thy Lord is Lord of forgiveness and Lord of grievous torment!'

And had we made it a foreign Qur'ân, they would have said, 'Unless its signs be detailed. . . . What! foreign and Arabic¹?' Say, 'It is, for those who believe, a guidance and a healing. But those who believe not, in their ears is dulness, and it is blindness to them; these are called to from a far-off place.'

[45] And we gave Moses the Book, and it was disputed about; but had it not been for thy Lord's word already passed it would have been decided between them, for, verily, they were in hesitating doubt thereon.

Whoso does right it is for his soul, and whoso does evil it is against it, for thy Lord is not unjust towards His servants.

To Him is referred the knowledge of the Hour: and no fruits come forth from their husks, and no female conceives, or is delivered, save with His knowledge.

And the day when He shall call to them, 'Where

¹ I. e. they would have said, 'What! is the revelation in a foreign tongue, and we who are expected to read it Arabs?' This is paraphrased by Sale: 'If we had revealed the Qur'ân in a foreign language, they had surely said, "Unless the signs thereof be distinctly explained we will not receive the same: is the Book to be written in a foreign tongue, and the person unto whom it is directed an Arabian?"'

are the partners ye did join with me?' they shall say, 'We do own to thee there is no witness amongst us!' and that on which they used to call before shall stray away from them, and they shall think there is no escape for them. Man is never tired of praying for good, but if evil touch him, then he is despairing and hopeless.

[50] But if we make him taste mercy from us after distress has touched him he will surely say, 'This is for me, and I do not think the Hour is imminent; and if I be brought back to my Lord, verily, I shall surely have good with Him¹;' but we will inform those who misbelieve of what they have done, and we will surely make them taste wretched torment.

And when we have been gracious to man, he turns away and goes aside; but when evil touches him he is one of copious prayer.

Say, 'Let us see now! if it be from God and ye disbelieve in it, who is more in error than he who is in a remote schism?'

We will show them our signs in the regions and in themselves, until it is plain to them that it is the truth. Is it not enough for thy Lord that He is witness over all? Ay, verily, they are in doubt about the meeting of their Lord! Ay, verily, He encompasses all!

¹ Or the words may be rendered, 'There is good with him still due to me.'

THE CHAPTER OF COUNSEL.

(XLII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

'H. M. 'H. S. Q. Thus does God, the mighty, the wise, inspire thee and those before thee.

His is what is in the heavens and what is in the earth, and He is the high, the mighty!

The heavens well-nigh cleave asunder from above them; and the angels celebrate the praises of their Lord, and ask forgiveness for those who are on the earth. Ay, verily, God, He is the forgiving and merciful! but those who take beside Him patrons, God watches over them, and thou hast not charge over them.

[5] Thus have we revealed an Arabic Qur'ân, that thou mayest warn the Mother of cities¹ and all around it; and warn them of a day of gathering, there is no doubt therein;—a part in Paradise and a part in the blaze.

But had God pleased He would have made them one nation; but He makes whom He will enter into His mercy; and the unjust have neither patron nor help. Do they take other patrons besides Him, when God He is the patron, and He quickens the dead and He is mighty over all?

But whatsoever ye dispute about, the judgment of it is God's. There is God for you!—my Lord! upon Him do I rely, and unto Him I turn repentant. The originator of the heavens and the earth, He

¹ Mecca.

has made for you from yourselves wives; and of the cattle mates; producing you thereby. There is naught like Him, for He both hears and sees.

[10] His are the keys of the heavens and the earth, He extends provision to whom He will, or doles it out; verily, He knows everything.

He has enjoined upon you for religion what He prescribed to Noah and what we inspired thee with, and what we inspired Abraham and Moses and Jesus,—to be steadfast in religion, and not to part into sects therein—a great thing to the idolaters is that which ye call them to! God elects for Himself whom He pleases and guides unto Himself him who turns repentant.

But they did not part into sects until after the knowledge had come to them, through mutual envy; and had it not been for thy Lord's word already passed for an appointed time, it would surely have been decided between them; but, verily, those who have been given the Book as an inheritance after them, are in hesitating doubt concerning it.

Wherefore call thou, and go straight on as thou art bidden, and follow not their lusts; and say, 'I believe in the Book which God has sent down; and I am bidden to judge justly between you. God is our Lord and your Lord; we have our works and ye have your works; there is no argument between us and you. God will assemble us together and unto Him the journey is.'

[15] But those who argue about God after it has been assented to¹, their arguments shall be rebutted

¹ I.e. after the faith of Islâm had been accepted by them, or after God had assented to the prophet's prayer and supported the

before their Lord; and upon them shall be wrath, and for them shall be keen torment.

God it is who has sent down the Book with truth, and the balance¹; and what shall make thee know whether haply the Hour be nigh? Those who believe not would hurry it on; and those who believe shrink with terror at it and know that it is true. Ay, verily, those who dispute concerning the Hour are in remote error!

God is kind to His servants; He provides whom He will, and He is the mighty, the glorious.

He who wishes for the tilth of the next world, we will increase for him the tilth; and he who desires the tilth of this world, we will give him thereof: but in the next he shall have no portion.

[20] Have they associates who have enjoined any religion on them which God permits not?—but were it not for the word of decision² it would have been decreed to them. Verily, the unjust,—for them is grievous woe. Thou shalt see the unjust shrink with terror from what they have gained as it falls upon them; and those who believe and do right, in meads of Paradise, they shall have what they please with their Lord;—that is great grace!

That is what God gives glad tidings of to His servants who believe and do righteous acts.

Say, 'I do not ask for it a hire—only the love of my kinsfolk.' And he who gains a good action

faith, or after the Jews and Christians had assented to the teaching of Mohammed, for the commentaries are uncertain as to the exact meaning of the phrase.

¹ I. e. the law contained in the Qur'ân.

² I. e. were it not that God has promised that those things shall be decided at the day of judgment.

we will increase good for him thereby; verily, God is forgiving and grateful!

Or will they say he has forged against God a lie? But if God pleased He could set a seal upon thy heart; but God will blot out falsehood and verify truth by His word; verily, He knows the nature of men's breasts!

He it is who accepts repentance from His servants and pardons their offences and knows that which ye do. [25] And He answers the prayer of those who believe and do right, and gives them increase of His grace; but the misbelievers,—for them is keen torment.

And if God were to extend provision to His servants they would be wanton in the earth. But He sends down by measure what He pleases; verily, of His servants He is well aware and sees.

He it is who sends down the rain after they have despaired; and disperses His mercy, for He is the praiseworthy patron.

And of His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth, and what He hath spread abroad therein of beasts; and He is able to collect them when He will.

And what misfortunes befall you it is for what your hands have earned; but He pardons much; [30] yet ye cannot make Him helpless in the earth, nor have ye, besides God, either a patron or a helper.

And of His signs are the ships that sail like mountains in the sea. If He will, He calms the wind, and they become motionless on the back thereof: verily, in that are signs to every patient, grateful person:—or He makes them foundered for what they have earned; but He pardons much.

But let those who wrangle about our signs know that they shall have no escape!

And whatever ye are given it is but a provision of the life of this world; but what is with God is better and more lasting for those who believe and who upon their Lord rely, [35] and those who avoid great sins and abominations, and who when they are wroth forgive, and who assent to their Lord, and are steadfast in prayer, and whose affairs go by counsel amongst themselves, and who of what we have bestowed on them give alms, and who, when wrong befalls them, help themselves.

For the recompence of evil is evil like unto it; but he who pardons and does well, then his reward is with God; verily, He loves not the unjust. And he who helps himself after he has been wronged, for these—there is no way against them. [40] The way is only against those who wrong men and are wanton in the earth without right; these—for them is grievous woe.

But surely he who is patient and forgives,—verily, that is a determined affair¹.

But whomsoever God leads astray he has no patron after Him; and thou mayest see the unjust when they see the torment say, 'Is there no way to avert this²?' and thou mayest see them exposed to it, humbled with abasement, looking with a stealthy glance. And those who believe shall say, 'Verily, the losers are they who have lost themselves and their families too upon the resurrection day!' Ay, verily, the unjust are in lasting torment!

¹ I. e. it is a duty laid down by law.

² Or 'to return (to the world),' Bâidhâvî.

[45] And they shall have no patrons to help them beside God, and whomsoever God leads astray, there is no way for him.

Assent to your Lord before the day comes of which there is no averting from God; there is no refuge for you on that day; and for you there is no denial.

But if they turn aside, we have not sent thee to them as a guardian, thou hast only thy message to preach.

And, verily, when we have made man taste of mercy from us he rejoices therein; but if there befall them an evil for what their hands have done before—then, verily, man is ungrateful!

God's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, He creates what He pleases, He grants to whom He pleases females, and He grants to whom He pleases males, or He gives them in pairs, males and females; and He makes whom He pleases barren; verily, He is knowing, powerful!

[50] It is not for any mortal that God should speak to him, except by inspiration, or from behind a veil, or by sending an apostle and inspiring, by His permission, what He pleases; verily, He is high and wise!

And thus have we inspired thee by a spirit¹ at our bidding; thou didst not know what the Book was, nor the faith: but we made it a light whereby we guide whom we will of our servants. And, verily, thou shalt surely be guided into the right way,—the way of God, whose is what is in the heavens and what is in the earth. Ay, to God affairs do tend!

¹ Gabriel.

THE CHAPTER OF GILDING
(XLIII. Mecca.)



IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

'H. M. By the perspicuous Book, verily, we have made it an Arabic Qur'ân ; haply ye will have some sense. And it is in the Mother of the Book with us,—high and wise¹. Shall we then push aside from you the Reminder, because ye are a people who are extravagant ?

[5] How many prophets have we sent amongst those of yore ? and there never came to them a prophet but they did mock at him ; then we destroyed them—more valiant than these²; and the example of those of yore passed away.

And if thou shouldst ask them who created the heavens and the earth, they will surely say, 'The mighty, the knowing One created them,' who made for you the earth a couch and placed for you therein roads, haply ye may be guided : [10] and who sent down from the heaven water in due measure ; and we raised up thereby a dead country ; thus shall ye too be brought forth ; and who has created all species ; and has made for you the ships and the cattle whereon to ride that ye may settle yourselves on their backs ; then remember the favour of your Lord when ye settled thereon, and say, 'Celebrated be the praises of Him who hath subjected this to us ! We could not have got this ourselves ; and, verily, unto our Lord shall we return !'

¹ See Part I, p. 2, note 2.

² I. e. the Meccans.

Yet they make for Him of His servants offspring; verily, man is surely obviously ungrateful.

[15] Has He taken of what He creates daughters, and chosen sons for you?

Yet when the tidings¹ are given any one of that which he strikes out as a similitude for the Merciful One, his face grows black and he is choked. What! one brought up amongst ornaments, and who is always in contention without obvious cause²?

And have they made the angels, who are the servants of the Merciful One, females? Were they witnesses of their creation? their witness shall be written down, and they shall be questioned; and they say, 'Had the Merciful pleased we should never have worshipped them.' They have no knowledge of that, they only conjecture.

[20] Have we given them a book³ before it to which they might hold?

Nay; they say, 'We found our fathers (agreed) upon a religion, and, verily, we are guided by their traces.'

Thus, too, did we never send before thee to a city any warner, but the affluent ones thereof said, 'Verily, we found our fathers (agreed) upon a religion, and, verily, we are led by their traces.'

Say, 'What! if I come to you with what is a better guide than what ye found your fathers agreed upon?' and they will say, 'Verily, we in what ye are sent with disbelieve!'

¹ I. e. of the birth of a daughter, see Part I, p. 256, note 2.

² I. e. what! do they assign children of this kind, viz. daughters, to God?

³ I. e. a scripture authorising the practice of their religion, such as the worship of angels and the ascribing of daughters to God.

Then we took vengeance on them, and see how was the end of those who called the (apostles) liars.

[25] When Abraham said to his father and his people, 'Verily, I am clear of all that ye serve, except Him who created me; for, verily, He will guide me : ' and he made it a word remaining among his posterity, that haply they might return.

Nay; but I let these (Meccans) and their fathers have enjoyment until the truth came to them, and an apostle. And when the truth came to them they said, 'This is magic, and we therein do disbelieve ! ' [30] And they say, 'Unless this Qur'ân were sent down to a man great in the two cities. . . .¹'

Is it they who distribute the mercy of thy Lord ? We distribute amongst them their livelihood in the life of this world, and we exalt some of them above others in degrees, that some may take others into subjection ; but the mercy of thy Lord is better than that which they amass.

And but that men would then have been one nation, we would have made for those who misbelieve in the Merciful One roofs of silver for their houses, and steps up thereto which they might mount ; and to their houses doors, and bedsteads on which they might recline ; and gilding,—for, verily, all that is a provision of the life of this world, but the hereafter is better with thy Lord for those who fear !

[35] And whosoever turns from the reminder of the Merciful One, we will chain to him a devil, who shall

¹ I.e. had it been sent down to some man of influence and importance in Mecca and Tâ'if we would have received it.

be his mate ; and, verily, these shall turn them from the path while they reckon that they are guided ; until when he comes to us he shall say, 'O, would that between me and thee there were the distance of the two orients¹, for an evil mate (art thou)!' But it shall not avail you on that day, since ye were unjust ; verily, in the torment shall ye share !

What ! canst thou make the deaf to hear, or guide the blind, or him who is in obvious error ?

[40] Whether then we take thee off we will surely take vengeance on them ; or whether we show thee that which we have promised them ; for, verily, we have power over them.

Say, 'Dost thou hold to what is inspired thee ?' verily, thou art in the right way, and, verily, it is a reminder to thee and to thy people, but in the end they shall be asked.

And ask those whom we have sent before thee amongst the prophets, 'Did we make gods beside the Merciful One for them to serve ?'

[45] We did send Moses with our signs to Pharaoh and his chiefs, and he said, 'Verily, I am the apostle of the Lord of the worlds ; but when he came to them with our signs, lo, they laughed at them !'

And we did not show them a sign, but it was greater than its fellow ; and we seized them with the torment, haply they might turn.

And they said, 'O thou magician ! pray for us to thy Lord, as He has engaged with thee : verily, we are guided.'

¹ I. e. the east and west, though some understand it between the two solstices.

And when we removed from them the torment, behold they broke their word.

[50] And Pharaoh proclaimed amongst his people; said he, 'O my people! is not the kingdom of Egypt mine? and these rivers that flow beneath me? What! can ye then not see? Am I better than this fellow, who is contemptible, who can hardly explain himself¹? Unless then bracelets of gold be cast upon him, or there come with him angels as his mates . . . !'

And he taught his people levity; and they obeyed him: verily, they were an abominable people.

[55] And when they had annoyed us we took vengeance on them, and we drowned them all together, and we made them a precedent and an example to those after them.

And when the son of Mary was set forth as a parable, behold thy people turned away from him and said, 'Are our gods better, or is he?' They did not set it forth to thee save for wrangling. Nay, but they are a contentious people².

He is but a servant whom we have been gracious to, and we have made him an example for the children of Israel. [60] And if we please we can make of you angels in the earth to succeed you³. And, verily, he is a sign of the Hour⁴. Doubt not then

¹ See p. 36, note 1.

² The Arabs objected that Jesus was worshipped by Christians as a God, and that when Mohammed cursed their false gods, the ban must apply equally to him.

³ Just as Jesus was miraculously conceived, so can miraculously conceived offspring be produced among the Meccans themselves.

⁴ Some read, 'a sign,' which is perhaps better. The reference is to the predicted second advent of the Messiah, which is to precede

concerning it, but follow this right way; and let not the devil turn you away; verily, he is to you an open foe!

And when Jesus came with manifest signs he said, 'I am come to you with wisdom, and I will explain to you something of that whereon ye did dispute, then fear God, obey me; verily, God, He is my Lord and your Lord, serve Him then, this is the right way.'

[65] But the confederates disputed amongst themselves; and woe to those who are unjust from the torment of a grievous day!

Do they expect aught but that the Hour will come upon them suddenly while they do not perceive? Friends on that day shall be foes to each other, save those who fear.

O my servants! there is no fear for you on that day; nor shall ye be grieved who believe in our signs and who are resigned. [70] Enter ye into Paradise, ye and your wives, happy!

Dishes of gold and pitchers shall be sent round to them; therein is what souls desire, and eyes shall be delighted, and ye therein shall dwell for aye; for that is Paradise which ye are given as an inheritance for that which ye have done. Therein shall ye have much fruit whereof to eat.

Verily, the sinners are in the torment of hell to dwell for aye. [75] It shall not be intermitted for them, and they therein shall be confused. We have not wronged them, but it was themselves they wronged.

the end of the world. Some commentators, however, read 'it,' instead of 'he,' referring to the Qur'ân, instead of to Jesus.

And they shall cry out, 'O Mâlik¹! let thy lord make an end of us;' he shall say, 'Verily, ye are to tarry here.'

We have brought you the truth, but most of you are averse from the truth. Have they arranged the affair? then will we arrange it too²!

[80] Or do they reckon that we did not hear their secrets and their whispering? Nay, but our messengers are with them writing down³.

Say, 'If the Merciful One has a son then am I the first to worship him. Celebrated be the praise of the Lord of the heavens and the earth! the Lord of the throne, above all they attribute to Him!

But leave them to ponder and to play until they meet that day of theirs which they are promised.

He it is who is in the heaven a God and in the earth a God! and He is the wise, the knowing. [85] And blessed be he whose is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and what is between both, and His is the knowledge of the Hour, and unto Him shall ye be brought back!

And those they call on beside Him shall not possess intercession except those only who bear witness for the truth and who do know.

And if thou shouldst ask them who created them they will surely say, 'God!' How then can they lie?

And what he⁴ says, 'O Lord, verily, these are

¹ Mâlik is the keeper of hell, and presides over the tortures of the damned.

² The word used signifies twisting up the strands of a rope.

³ I. e. the recording angel.

⁴ Mohammed.

a people who do not believe; shun them then and say, "Peace!" for they at length shall know!

THE CHAPTER OF SMOKE.

(XLIV. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

'H. M. By the perspicuous Book! verily, we have sent it down on a blessed night;—verily, we had given warning—wherein is decided every wise affair, as an order from us. Verily, we were sending (apostles)—[5] a mercy from thy Lord; verily, He both hears and knows: from the Lord of the heavens and the earth and what is between the two, if ye were but sure. There is no god but He, He quickens and He kills—your Lord and the Lord of your fathers of yore! Nay, they in doubt do play!

But expect thou the day when the heaven shall bring obvious smoke [10] to cover men—this is grievous torment!

Our Lord! remove from us the torment; verily, we are believers.

How can they have the reminder (now), when they have had a plain apostle, and when they turned their backs away from him and said, 'Taught! mad!' Verily, we will remove the torment a little, (but) ye will surely return!

[15] On the day when we will assault with the great assault, verily, we will take vengeance.

And we already tried the people of Pharaoh when there came to them a noble apostle: 'Send back to

me God's servants; verily, I am to you a faithful apostle;' and, 'Exalt not yourselves above God; verily, I come to you with obvious authority. And, verily, I seek refuge in my Lord and your Lord, that ye stone me not. [20] And if ye believe not in me then let me alone!'

Then he called upon his Lord, 'Verily, these are a sinful people.' So journey with my servants by night—verily, ye will be pursued. But leave the sea in quiet—verily, they are a host to be drowned! How many gardens and springs have they left, [25] and corn lands and a noble place, and comfort wherein they did enjoy themselves!

Thus—and we gave them for an inheritance to another people. And the heaven wept not for them, nor the earth, nor were they respited.

But we saved the children of Israel from shameful woe!—[30]—from Pharaoh; verily, he was haughty, one of the extravagant! And we did choose them, wittingly, above the worlds; and we gave them signs wherein was an obvious trial!

Verily, these¹ say, 'It is but our first death², so bring our fathers, if ye do speak the truth!'

[35] Are they better than the people of Tubbâ'h³, and those before them? We destroyed them—verily, they were sinners!

Nor did we create the heavens and the earth, and what is between the two in sport: we did but create them in truth, though most of them know it not!

¹ The Meccans.

² I. e. we shall only die once.

³ The Himyarite Arabs, whose kings were called Tubbâ'h, i. e. 'successors.'

[40] Verily, the day of separation is their appointed term; the day when master shall not avail client at all, nor shall they be helped; save whomsoever God shall have mercy on; verily, He is the mighty, the merciful!

Verily, the Zaqqûm tree (shall be) the food of the sinful: [45] as it were melting¹, shall it boil in their bellies like the boiling of hot water!—‘Take him and hale him into the midst of hell! then pour over his head the torment of hot water!—Taste! verily, thou art the mighty, the honourable! [50] Verily, this is that whereon ye did dispute!’

Verily, the pious shall be in a safe place! in gardens and springs, they shall be clad in satin and stout silk face to face. Thus!—and we will wed them to bright and large-eyed maids! [55] They shall call therein for every fruit in safety. They shall not taste therein of death save their first death, and we will keep them from the torment of hell! Grace from thy Lord, that is the grand bliss!

And we have only made it easy for thy tongue, that haply they may be mindful. Then watch thou; verily, they are watching too!

THE CHAPTER OF THE KNEELING.

(XLV. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

‘H.M. A revelation of the Book from God, the mighty, the wise. Verily, in the heavens and the

¹ Or ‘like the dregs of oil.’

earth are signs to those who believe ; and in your creation and the beasts that are spread abroad are signs to a people who are sure ; and in the alternation of night and day, and the provision that God has sent down from heaven and quickened thereby the earth after its death, and in the veering of the winds are signs unto a people who have sense.

[5] These are the signs of God which we recite to thee in truth ; and in what new story after God and His signs will they believe ?

Woe to every sinful liar who hears God's signs sent to him, then persists in being big with pride as though he heard them not—so give him the glad tidings of grievous woe—and when he knows something of our signs takes them for a jest! These,—for them is shameful woe, behind them is hell, and what they have earned shall not avail them aught, nor what they have taken besides God for patrons ; and for them is mighty woe.

[10] This is a guidance, and those who misbelieve in the signs of their Lord, for them is torment of a grievous plague.

God it is who subjects to you the sea that the ships may sail thereon at his bidding, and that ye may crave of His grace, and that haply ye may give thanks ; and He has subjected to you what is in the heavens and what is in the earth,—all from Him ; verily, in that are signs unto a people who reflect.

Say to those who believe that they pardon those who hope not for God's days¹, that He may reward a people for that which they have earned.

¹ That is, the successful battles against the infidels, 'battles' being always spoken of by the ancient Arabs as 'days.'

Whosoever acts aright it is for his own soul, and whosoever does evil it is against it; then unto your Lord shall ye be returned.

[15] And we did bring the children of Israel the Book and judgment and prophecy, and we provided them with good things, and preferred them above the worlds. And we brought them manifest proofs of the affair, and they disputed not until after knowledge had come to them, through mutual envy. Verily, thy Lord will decide between them on the resurrection day concerning that whereon they did dispute.

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Then we did set thee¹ over a law concerning the affair: follow it then, and follow not the lusts of those who do not know. Verily, they shall not avail thee against God at all; and, verily, the wrongdoers are patrons of each other, but God is the patron of those who fear.

This is an insight for men and a guidance and a mercy to a people who are sure.

[20] Do those who commit evil deeds count that we will make them like those who believe and work righteous deeds, equal in their life and their death? —ill it is they judge.

And God created the heavens and the earth in truth; and every soul shall be recompensed for that which it has earned, and they shall not be wronged.

Hast thou considered him who takes his lusts for his god, and God leads him astray wittingly, and has set a seal upon his hearing and his heart, and has placed upon his eyesight dimness? who then shall guide him after God? Will they not then mind?

¹ Mohammed.

They say, 'It is only our life in this world, we die and we live, and naught destroys us but time!' But they have no knowledge of this; they do but suspect.

And when our signs are rehearsed to them with evidences their only argument is to say, 'Bring our fathers, if ye speak the truth.'

[25] Say, 'God quickens you, then He kills you, then He will gather you unto the resurrection day, there is no doubt therein; but most men do not know.'

God's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and on the day when the Hour shall arise on that day shall those who call it¹ vain be losers! And thou shalt see each nation kneeling, each nation summoned to its book, 'To-day are ye rewarded for that which ye have done.'

This is our Book that speaketh to you with truth; verily, we have written down what ye have done.

But as to those who believe and do righteous deeds their Lord will make them enter into His mercy: that is the obvious bliss.

[30] And as for those who misbelieve,—were not my signs recited to you and ye were too big with pride and ye were a sinful people? And when it was said, 'Verily, the promise of God is true, and the Hour there is no doubt therein;' ye said, 'We know not what the Hour is, we only suspect, and we are not sure.'

But there shall appear to them the evils of what they have done, and that shall encompass them at which they have been mocking. And it shall be said, 'To-day will we forget you as ye forgot the

¹ The Qur'ân.

meeting of this day of yours, and your resort shall be the fire, and ye shall have no helpers. That is because ye took the signs of God for a jest and the life of this world deceived you; wherefore to-day ye shall not be brought forth therefrom, neither shall ye be taken back into favour.'

[35] God's then is the praise, the Lord of the heavens and the Lord of the earth, the Lord of the worlds! His is the grandeur in the heavens and the earth, and He is the mighty and the wise!

THE CHAPTER OF EL A'HQÂF¹.

(XLVI. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

'H. M. The revelation of the Book from God the mighty, the wise.

We have only created the heavens and the earth and what is between the two in truth and for an appointed time; but those who misbelieve from being warned do turn aside.

Say, 'Have ye considered what ye call on beside God?' Show me what they have created of the earth? or have they share in the heavens? Bring me a book before this or a vestige of knowledge, if ye do tell the truth!

But who is more in error than he who calls beside God on what will never answer him until the resurrection day and who are heedless of their calling,

¹ Name of a tract of land in Si'hr in Yemen.

[5] and when men are gathered together are enemies of theirs and do deny their service ?

And when our evident signs are recited to them, those who misbelieve say of the truth when it comes to them, 'This is obvious magic.'

Or do they say, 'He has forged it?' Say, 'If I have forged ye cannot obtain for me aught from God; He knows best what ye utter concerning it; He is witness enough between me and you, and He is the forgiving, the merciful.'

Say, 'I am not an innovator among the apostles; nor do I know what will be done with me or with you if I follow aught but what I am inspired with; nor am I aught but a plain warner.'

Say, 'Have ye considered, if it is from God and ye have disbelieved therein, and a witness from the children of Israel testifies to the conformity of it, and he believes while ye are too big with pride? Verily, God guides not the unjust people.'

[10] And those who misbelieve say of those who believe, 'If it had been good, they would not have been beforehand with us therein;' and when they are not guided thereby, then will they say, 'This is an old-fashioned lie.'

But before it was the Book of Moses, a model and a mercy; and this is a book confirming it in Arabic language, to warn those who do wrong and as glad tidings to those who do well.

Verily, those who say, 'Our Lord is God,' and then keep straight, there is no fear for them, and they shall not be grieved. These are the fellows of Paradise to dwell therein for aye, a recompence for that which they have done.

We have prescribed for man kindness towards his

parents. His mother bore him with trouble and brought him forth with trouble; and the bearing of him and the weaning of him is thirty months; until, when he reaches puberty, and reaches forty years, he says, 'Lord! stir me up that I may be thankful for thy favours wherewith thou hast favoured me and my parents; and that I may do right to please Thee; and make it right for me in my offspring; verily, I turn repentant unto Thee, and, verily, I am of those resigned.'

[15] There are those from whom we accept the best of what they have done, and we pass over their offences—amongst the fellows of Paradise; the promise of truth which they have been promised.

But he who says to his parents, 'Fie upon you! Do ye promise me that I shall be brought forth¹ when generations have passed away before me?'—then shall they both cry to God for help. Woe to thee! Believe! Verily, the promise of God is true. Then says he, 'This is but old folks' tales.'

There are those against whom the sentence was due amongst the nations who have passed away before them of *ginns* and men; verily, they have been the losers; and for all are degrees of what they have done, so that He may repay them their works, and they shall not be wronged.

And the day when those who misbelieve shall be exposed to the fire: 'Ye made away with your good things in your worldly life, and ye enjoyed them; wherefore to-day shall ye be rewarded with the torment of disgrace, for that ye were big with

¹ I. e. from the grave.

pride in the earth without the right, and for that ye did abomination.'

[20] Remember too the brother of 'Âd¹ when he warned his people at El A'hqâf,—though warners have passed away before him and after him,—'Serve not other than God; verily, I fear for you the torment of a mighty day!'

They said, 'Hast thou come to us to turn us from our gods? then bring us what thou dost threaten us with, if thou art of those who speak the truth!' Said he, 'Knowledge is only with God: but I will preach to you that which I am sent with, though I see you are a people who are ignorant.' And when they saw a traversing cloud approaching their valleys they said, 'This is a cloud to give us rain.' 'Nay, but it is what ye sought to hasten on—a wind in which is grievous torment; it will destroy everything at the order of its Lord!' And in the morning naught was seen save their dwellings. Thus do we reward the sinful people!

[25] We had established them in what we have established you², and we made for them hearing and eyesight and hearts; but neither their hearing nor their eyesight nor their hearts availed them aught, since they did gainsay the signs of God, and that encompassed them whereat they had mocked.

And we destroyed the cities that are around you:—and we turned about the signs that haply they might return.

Why did not those help them, whom beside God they took for gods that could draw nigh to Him? Nay! they strayed away from them; for that was their lie and what they had forged.

¹ The prophet Hûd.

² I. e. the Meccans.

And when we turned towards thee some of the *ginn* listening to the Qur'ân¹, and when they were present at (the reading of) it, they said, 'Be silent!' and when it was over they turned back to their people, warning them.

Said they, 'O our people! verily, we have heard a book sent down after Moses, verifying what came before it, guiding to the truth, and unto the right way. [30] O our people! respond to God's crier and believe in Him, and He will pardon you your sins and will deliver you from grievous woe.'

And whoso responds not to God's crier shall not frustrate Him in the earth, and shall not have any patrons beside Him :—these are in obvious error!

Did they not see that God who created the heavens and the earth, and was not wearied with creating them, is able to quicken the dead?—nay, verily, He is mighty over all!

And the day when those who misbelieve shall be exposed to the fire,—'Is not this the truth?' they shall say, 'Yea, by our Lord!' He shall say, 'Then taste the torment for that ye did misbelieve!'

Then do thou² be patient, as the apostles endowed with a purpose were patient, and hasten not on (their punishment). It shall be to them, on the day they see what they are threatened with, as though they [35] had tarried but an hour of the day. A preaching this! Shall any perish but the people who work abomination?

¹ See Introduction, p. xxx.

² Addressed to Mohammed.

THE CHAPTER OF MOHAMMED, ALSO CALLED FIGHT.

(XLVII. Medīnah.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Those who misbelieve and turn folk from God's way, He will make their works go wrong. But those who believe and do right and believe in what is revealed to Mohammed,—and it is the truth from their Lord,—He will cover for them their offences and set right their mind.

That is because those who misbelieve follow falsehood, and those who believe follow the truth from their Lord. Thus does God set forth for men their parables.

And when ye meet those who misbelieve—then striking off heads until ye have massacred them, and bind fast the bonds!

[5] Then either a free grant (of liberty) or a ransom until the war shall have laid down its burdens. That!—but if God please He would conquer them—but (it is) that He may try some of you by the others. And those who are slain in God's cause, their works shall not go wrong; He will guide them and set right their mind; and will make them enter into Paradise which He has told them of.

O ye who believe! if ye help God, He will help you, and will make firm your footsteps.

But as for those who misbelieve—confound them! and He will make their works go wrong.

[10] That is because they were averse from what God has revealed; but their works shall be void!

Have they not journeyed through the land and

seen how was the end of those before them? God destroyed them; and for the misbelievers is the like thereof.

That is because God is the patron of those who believe, and because the misbelievers have no patron.

Verily, God causes those who believe and do right to enter into gardens beneath which rivers flow; but those who misbelieve enjoy themselves and eat as the cattle eat; but the fire is the resort for them!

How many a city, stronger than thy city which has driven thee out, have we destroyed, and there was none to help them!

[15] Is he who rests upon a manifest sign from his Lord like him, the evil of whose works is made seemly to him, and who follow their lusts?

The similitude of Paradise which is promised to the pious,—in it are rivers of water without corruption, and rivers of milk, the taste whereof changes not, and rivers of wine delicious to those who drink; and rivers of honey clarified; and there shall they have all kinds of fruit and forgiveness from their Lord! (Is that) like him who dwells in the fire for aye? and who are given to drink boiling water that shall rend their bowels asunder?

Some of them there are who listen to thee, until when they go forth from thee they say to those who have been given the knowledge¹, 'What is this which he says now?' These are those on whose hearts God has set a stamp and who follow their lusts.

¹ To the more learned amongst the prophet's companions, such as Ibn 'Abbâs.

But those who are guided, He guides them the more, and gives them the due of their piety.

[20] Do they wait for aught but the Hour, that it should come to them suddenly? The conditions thereof have come already; how, when it has come on them, can they have their reminder?

Know thou that there is no god but God; and ask pardon for thy sin and for the believers, men and women; for God knows your return and your resort!

Those who misbelieve say, 'Why has not a sūrah been revealed?' but when a decisive sūrah is revealed and fighting is mentioned therein, thou mayest see those in whose heart is sickness¹ looking towards thee with the look of one fainting in death. Preferable for them were obedience and a reasonable speech! But when the matter is determined on, then if they believed God it were better for them.

Would ye perhaps, if ye had turned back, have done evil in the land and severed the bonds of kinship?

[25] It is these whom God has cursed, and has made them deaf, and has blinded their eyesight! Do they not peruse the Qur'ān? or are there locks upon their hearts?

Verily, those who turn their backs after the guidance that has been manifested to them—Satan induces them, but (God) lets them go on for a time!

That is for that they say to those who are averse from what God has revealed, 'We will obey you in

¹ See Introduction, p. lxiīi.

part of the affair!' but God knows their secrets! How will it be when the angels¹ take their souls, smiting their faces and their backs?

[30] This is because they follow what angers God and are averse from His goodwill; and their works are void.

Do those in whose hearts is sickness reckon that God will not bring their malice forth?

But did we please we would show thee them, and thou shouldst know them by their cognisances. But thou shalt know them by their distorting their speech, and God knows their works!

But we will try you until we know those among you who fight strenuously and the patient; and we will try the reports concerning you.

Verily, those who misbelieve and turn folks off God's path, and break with the Apostle after the guidance that has been manifested to them, cannot harm God at all, and their works shall be void!

[35] O ye who believe! obey God, and obey the Apostle; and make not your works vain.

Verily, those who misbelieve and turn folks off God's path, and then die misbelievers, God will not pardon them.

Then faint not, nor cry for peace while ye have the upper hand; for God is with you and will not cheat you of your works!

The life of this world is but a play and a sport; but if ye believe and fear God, He will give you your hire.

He does not ask you for (all) your property; if

¹ Munkir and Nakîr; see Introduction, p. lxix.

He were to ask you for it and to press you, ye would be niggardly, and he would bring your malice out.

[40] Here are ye called upon to expend in God's cause, and among you are some who are niggardly; and he who is niggardly is but niggardly against his own soul: but God is rich and ye are poor, and if ye turn your backs He will substitute another people in your stead, then they will not be like you.

THE CHAPTER OF VICTORY.

(XLVIII. Medīnah.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Verily, we have given thee an obvious victory! that God may pardon thee thy former and later sin¹, and may fulfil His favour upon thee, and guide thee in a right way, and that God may help thee with a mighty help.

It is He who sent down his shechina² into the hearts of the believers that they might have faith added to their faith;—and God's are the hosts of the heavens and the earth, and God is knowing, wise—[5] to make the believers, men and women, enter into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye; and to cover for them their offences; for that with God is a grand bliss: and

¹ Some of the commentators take this to mean sins committed by Mohammed before his call and after; others refer the word to the liaison with the Coptic handmaiden Mary, and to his marriage with Zâinab the wife of his adopted son Zâid. See Introduction, pp. xxix and xl.

² Or tranquillity; see Part I, p. 38, note 2.

to torment the hypocrites, men and women, and the idolaters, men and women, who think evil thoughts of God;—over them is a turn of evil fortune, and God will be wrath with them and curse them, and has prepared for them hell, and an evil journey shall it be!

God's are the hosts of the heavens and the earth, and God is mighty, wise!

Verily, we have sent thee as a witness, and a herald of glad tidings, and a warner;—that ye may believe in God and His Apostle, and may aid Him and revere Him and celebrate His praises morning and evening!

[10] Verily, those who swear allegiance to thee do but swear allegiance to God;—God's hand is above their hands! and whoso perjures himself does but perjure himself against himself; but he who fulfils what he has covenanted with God, God shall bring him mighty hire.

The desert Arabs who were left behind¹ shall say, 'Our wealth and our people occupied us; ask pardon then for us!'—they speak with their tongues what is not in their hearts!

Say, 'Who can control for you aught from God, if He wish you harm or wish you advantage?' Nay, God of what ye do is well aware!

Nay, ye thought that the Apostle and the believers would not ever return again to their families; that was made seemly in your hearts! and ye thought evil thoughts, and ye were a corrupt people.

¹ Alluding to certain tribes who held aloof from the expedition of 'Hudâibîyeh.

Whoso believes not in God and His Apostle—we have prepared for the unbelievers a blaze!

God's is the kingdom of the heavens and of the earth. He pardons whom He pleases, and torments whom He pleases; and God is forgiving, merciful.

[15] Those who were left behind¹ shall say when ye have gone forth to spoils that ye may take, 'Let us follow you;' they wish to change God's words. Say, 'Ye shall by no means follow us; thus did God say before!'

They will say, 'Nay! but ye envy us!' Nay! they did not understand save a little.

Say to those desert Arabs who were left behind, 'Ye shall be called out against a people endowed with vehement valour², and shall fight them or they shall become Muslims. And if ye obey, God will give you a good hire; but if ye turn your backs, as ye turned your backs before, He will torment you with grievous woe!'

There is no compulsion on the blind, and no compulsion on the lame, and no compulsion on the sick, but whoso obeys God and His Apostle, He will make him enter gardens beneath which rivers flow; but whoso turns his back He will torment with grievous woe.

God was well pleased with the believers when

¹ In an expedition against the Jews of Khâibar, which Mohammed undertook shortly after his return from 'Hudâibiyyeh, and obtained considerable booty, which he shared only with those who had accompanied him on the previous occasion.

² The followers of Musâ'ilimah, Mohammed's rival, and the tribes that had apostatized from Islâm. Some think it refers to the Greeks and Persians.

they did swear allegiance to thee beneath the tree¹; and He knew what was in their hearts, and He sent down His shechina² upon them and rewarded them with a victory nigh at hand³, and many spoils for them to take; for God is mighty, wise!

[20] God promised you many spoils and hastened this on for you, and restrained men's hands from you; and it may be a sign for the believers and guide you in a right way;—and other (spoils) which ye could not gain; but God has encompassed them; for God is mighty over all.

And had those who misbelieved fought you, they would have turned their backs; then they would have found neither patron nor helper!—God's course which has been followed before, and thou shalt find no change in the course of God!

He it was who restrained their hands from you, and your hands from them in the mid-valley of Mecca⁴ after He had given you the victory over them; for God on what ye do doth look!

[25] Those who misbelieved and turned (you) away from the Sacred Mosque, and (turned away) the offering, kept from arriving at its destined place⁵; and had it not been for believing men and believing women whom ye knew not, whom ye might have trampled on, and so a crime might have

¹ At 'Hudâibîyeh.

² See Part I, p. 38, note 2.

³ Either the success at Khâibar or the taking of Mecca.

⁴ Alluding to the truce concluded at 'Hudâibîyeh.

⁵ Mohammed having only set out with the intention of peaceably performing the pilgrimage, carried cattle with him to sacrifice in the valley of Minâ, but was obliged by the Qurâis to turn back. See Introduction, pp. xxxix, xl.

occurred to you on their account without your knowledge—that God may make whomsoever He pleases enter into His mercy. Had they been distinct from one another, we would have tormented those of them who misbelieved with grievous woe.

When those who misbelieved put in their hearts pique—the pique of ignorance¹—and God sent down His shechina upon His Apostle and upon the believers, and obliged them to keep to the word of piety², and they were most worthy of it and most suited for it; for God all things doth know.

God truly verified for His Apostle the vision³ that ye shall verily enter the Sacred Mosque, if God please, in safety with shaven heads or cut hair, ye shall not fear; for He knows what ye know not, and He has set for you, beside that, a victory nigh at hand⁴.

He it is who sent His Apostle with guidance

¹ Suhail ibn 'Amr, who concluded the truce with Mohammed at 'Hudâibîyeh, objected to the formula 'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God,' with which the prophet ordered 'Alî to commence the document, and insisted on the heathen formula 'In Thy name, O God!' He also refused to admit the words 'Mohammed, the Apostle of God,' saying, that if they had granted so much they would not have opposed him; the words 'Mohammed the son of Abdallah' were therefore substituted. These objections were so annoying to the Muslims, that it was with difficulty that Mohammed could restrain them from an immediate breach of the peace.

² The Mohammedan profession of faith, 'There is no god but God, and Mohammed His servant is the Apostle.' Or it may be the initial formula which the unbelieving Meccans rejected.

³ Mohammed dreamed that he would accomplish the pilgrimage to Mecca with all its rites; the affair at 'Hudâibîyeh disappointed his followers, but in the following year it was fulfilled.

⁴ I. e. that of Khâibar.

and the religion of truth to set it above all religion ; for God is witness enough !

Mohammed is the Apostle of God, and those who are with Him are vehement against the misbelievers, —compassionate amongst themselves ; thou mayest see them bowing down, adoring, craving grace from God and His goodwill,—their marks are in their faces from the effects of adoration ;—that is their similitude in the law¹ and their similitude in the gospel ; as a seedling puts forth its sprouts and strengthens it, and grows stout, and straightens itself upon its stem, delighting the sower !—that the misbelievers may be angry at them ;—God has promised those of them who believe and do right—forgiveness and a mighty hire.

THE CHAPTER OF THE INNER CHAMBERS.

(XLIX. Medīnah.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

O ye who believe ! do not anticipate God and His Apostle, but fear God ; verily, God both hears and knows.

O ye who believe ! raise not your voices above the voice of the prophet, and do not speak loud to him as ye speak loud to one another², lest your works become vain, while ye do not perceive.

¹ Or the Pentateuch.

² Said to refer to a dispute between Abu Bekr and 'Omar, in the course of which they came to high words in the presence of the prophet.

Verily, those who lower their voice before the Apostle of God, they are those whose hearts God has proved for piety, for them is forgiveness and a mighty hire.

Verily, those who cry out to thee from behind the inner chambers¹, most of them have no sense; [5] but did they wait until thou come out to them, it were better for them;—but God is forgiving, merciful.

O ye who believe! if there come to you a sinner with an information, then discriminate, lest ye fall upon a people in ignorance and on the morrow repent of what ye have done².

And know that among you is the Apostle of God; if he should obey you in many a matter ye would commit a sin³; God has made faith beloved by you, and has made it seemly in your hearts, and has made misbelief and iniquity and rebellion hateful to you.—These are the rightly directed—grace from God and favour! and God is knowing, wise.

And if the two parties of the believers quarrel⁴,

¹ Two of the Arabs wishing to speak with Mohammed when he was sleeping at noon in his harām, cried out rudely to him, 'Mohammed, come out to us!' See p. 82.

² Al Walīd ibn 'Hugbā was sent by Mohammed to collect the zakāt (see Introduction, p. lxxiii) from the tribe of Mustaleq, with whom he had had a feud in the time preceding Islām. Seeing them coming out to meet him in large numbers, he grew apprehensive, and returned hastily with the information that the tribe had refused the tribute. Mohammed thereupon sent 'Halīd ibn Walīd to reduce them by force, when it was found that the former messenger's fears had been quite groundless.

³ I. e. ye would mislead him.

⁴ Alluding to one of the frequent disputes between the tribes of Aus and 'Hazrag at Medīnah. See Introduction, p. xxxiv.

then make peace between them ; and if one of the twain outrages the other, then fight the party that has committed the outrage until it return to God's bidding ; and if it do return then make peace between them with equity, and be just ; verily, God loves the just.

[10] The believers are but brothers, so make peace between your two brethren and fear God, haply ye may obtain mercy !

O ye who believe ! let not one class ridicule another who are perchance better than they ; nor let women ridicule other women who are perchance better than they ; and do not defame each other, nor call each other bad names—an ill name is iniquity after faith¹ !

O ye who believe ! carefully avoid suspicion ; verily, some suspicion is a sin. And do not play the spy, nor backbite each other ; would one of you like to eat his dead brother's flesh ?—why ! ye would abhor it ! then fear God ; verily, God is relentant, compassionate.

O ye folk ! verily, we have created you of male and female, and made you races and tribes that ye may know each other.

Verily, the most honourable of you in the sight of God is the most pious of you ; verily, God is knowing, aware !

¹ I. e. it is defamation to charge a person who has embraced the faith with iniquity. The passage is said to have been revealed on account of Zaffiyah bint 'Huyâi, one of the prophet's wives, who complained to him that she had been taunted by the other women with her Jewish origin. Mohammed answered her, 'Canst thou not say, "Aaron is my father, Moses my uncle, and Mohammed my husband?"'

The desert Arabs say, 'We believe.' Say, 'Ye do not believe; but say, "We have become Muslims;" for the faith has not entered into your hearts: but if ye obey God and His Apostle He will not defraud you of your works at all: verily, God is forgiving, compassionate!'

[15] The believers are only those who believe in God and His Apostle, and then doubt not, but fight strenuously with their wealth and persons in God's cause—these are the truth-tellers!

Say, 'Will ye teach God your religion?' when God knows what is in the heavens and what is in the earth, and God all things doth know!

They deem that they oblige thee by becoming Muslims. Say, 'Nay! deem not that ye oblige me by your becoming Muslims! God obliges you, by directing you to the faith, if ye do speak the truth!'

Verily, God knows the unseen things of the heavens and the earth, and God on what ye do doth look.

THE CHAPTER OF Q.

(L. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Q. By the glorious Qur'ân! nay, they wonder that there has come to them a warner from amongst themselves; and the misbelievers say, 'This is a wondrous thing! What, when we are dead and have become dust?—that is a remote return!'

We well know what the earth consumes of them, for with us is a book that keeps (account).

[5] Nay, they call the truth a lie when it comes to them, and they are in a confused affair ¹.

Do not they behold the heaven above them, how we have built it and adorned it, and how it has no flaws?

And the earth, we have stretched it out and thrown thereon firm mountains, and caused to grow thereon every beautiful kind.

An insight and a reminder to every servant who repents!

And we sent down from the heaven water as a blessing, and caused to grow therewith gardens and the harvest grain!

[10] And the tall palm trees having piled up spathes, for a provision to (our) servants; and we quickened thereby a dead land; thus shall the resurrection be!

Before them the people of Noah and the fellows of ar Rass ² and Thamûd and 'Âd and Pharaoh called the apostles liars; and the brethren of Lot and the fellows of the Grove ³ and the people of Tubbâ'h ⁴ all called the prophets liars, and the threat was duly executed.

Were we then fatigued with the first creation? nay! but they are in obscurity concerning the new creation.

[15] But we created man, and we know what his

¹ Alluding to the various opinions expressed by the unbelievers with reference to the Qur'ân; some calling it sorcery or divination, others poetry, and some asserting it to be 'old folks' tales' or mere invention.

² See Part II, p. 86, note 3.

³ See Part I, p. 249, note 3.

⁴ See Chapter XLIV, verse 35, p. 219, note 3.

soul whispers; for we are nigher to him than his jugular vein!

When the two meeters meet¹, sitting the one on the right and the other on the left, not a word does he utter, but a watcher is by him ready!

And the agony of death shall come in truth!—
'that is what thou didst shun!'

And the trumpet shall be blown!—that is the threatened day!

[20] And every soul shall come—with it a driver and a witness!

'Thou wert heedless of this, and we withdrew thy veil from thee, and to-day is thine eyesight keen²!'

And his mate shall say, 'This is what is ready for me (to attest).

'Throw into hell every stubborn misbeliever³!—who forbids good, a transgressor, a doubter! [25] who sets other gods with God—and throw him, ye twain, into fierce torment!'

His mate shall say, 'Our Lord! I seduced him not, but he was in a remote error.'

He shall say, 'Wrangle not before me; for I sent the threat to you before. The sentence is not changed with me, nor am I unjust to my servants.'

On the day we will say to hell, 'Art thou full?' and it will say, 'Are there any more?'

[30] And Paradise shall be brought near to the pious,—not far off.

¹ The two recording angels, who accompany every man and note down his every word and action.

² These words are supposed to be addressed by the 'driver' to the unbelieving soul.

³ These words are spoken by God.



This is what ye are promised, to every one who turns frequently (to God) and keeps His commandments : who fears the Merciful in secret and brings a repentant heart.

‘ Enter into it in peace : this is the day of eternity !’

They shall have what they wish therein, and increase from us !

[35] How many a generation have we destroyed before them, mightier than they in prowess !

Pass through the land, is there any refuge¹ ? Verily, in that is a reminder to whomsoever has a heart, or gives ear, and is a witness thereto.

We did create the heavens and the earth and what is between the two in six days, and no weariness touched us².

Be thou patient then of what they say, and celebrate the praises of thy Lord before the rising of the sun and before the setting. And through (some) of the night celebrate His praise and the additional adorations³.

[40] And listen for the day when the crier shall cry from a near place⁴;—the day when they shall hear the shout⁵ in truth—that is the day of coming forth !

Verily, we quicken and we kill, and unto us the journey is !

On the day when the earth shall be cleft asunder

¹ I. e. from the vengeance of God.

² A protest against the assertion that God rested on the seventh day.

³ Two *sigdahs* used at the evening prayers, but not incumbent on the worshipper.

⁴ I. e. a place from which all men may hear ; generally supposed by Muslims to be the temple at Jerusalem.

⁵ The sound of the last trumpet.

from them swiftly;—that is a gathering together which is easy to us!

We know what they say; nor art thou over them one to compel.

[45] Wherefore remind, by the Qur'ân, him who fears the threat.

THE CHAPTER OF THE SCATTERERS.

(LI. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

By the scatterers¹ who scatter! and by those pregnant² with their burden! and by those running on³ easily! and by the distributors⁴ of affairs!—[5] verily, what ye are threatened with is surely true!

And, verily, the judgment will surely take place!

By the heaven possessed of paths! verily, ye are at variance in what ye say!

He is turned from it who is turned.

[10] Slain be the liars, who are heedless in a flood (of ignorance).

They will ask, 'When is the day of judgment?' The day when at the fire they shall be tried.—'Taste your trial! this is what ye wished to hasten on!'

[15] Verily, the pious are in gardens and springs, taking what their Lord brings them. Verily, they before that did well. But little of the night they slept; and at the dawn they asked forgiveness.

¹ The winds.

² The clouds.

³ The ships.

⁴ Angels or winds.

And in their wealth was what was due to him who asked, and him who was kept back from asking.

[20] And in the earth are signs to those who are sure, and in yourselves,—what! do ye not then see?

And in the heaven is your provision and that which ye are promised¹.

But by the Lord of the heaven and the earth! verily, it is the truth,—like that which ye do utter²!

Has the tale of Abraham's honoured guests reached thee³? [25] When they entered in unto him and said, 'Peace!' he said, 'Peace!—a people unrecognised.'

And he went aside unto his people and fetched a fat calf, and brought it nigh unto them; said he, 'Will ye then not eat?'

And he felt a secret fear of them: said they, 'Fear not.' And they gave him glad tidings of a knowing boy.

And his wife approached with a noise, and smote her face, and said, 'An old woman, barren!'

[30] Said they, 'Thus says thy Lord, He is knowing, wise.' Said he, 'And about what is your errand, O ye messengers?'

They said, 'Verily, we are sent unto a sinful people, to send upon them stones of clay, marked from thy Lord for the extravagant⁴.'

[35] And we sent out therefrom such as were in it of the believers; but we only found therein one house of Muslims.

¹ I. e. rain, which produces material sustenance, and there too is the promise of the future life.

² I. e. unreserved and plain as ye yourselves affirm truths to each other.

³ See Part I, pp. 212-214.

⁴ See Part I, p. 214, note 1.

And we left therein a sign to those who fear the grievous woe.

And in Moses; when we sent him to Pharaoh with obvious authority.

But he turned his back towards his column¹, and said, 'A sorcerer or mad!'

[40] And we seized him and his hosts and hurled them into the sea; for he was to be blamed.

And in 'Âd, when we sent against them a desolating wind, that left naught on which it came without making it ashes!

And in Thamûd, when it was said to them, 'Enjoy yourselves for a season.' But they revolted against the bidding of their Lord; and the noise caught them as they looked on. [45] And they could not stand upright, and they were not helped!

And the people of Noah of yore; verily, they were an abominable people.

And the heaven—we have built it with might, and, verily, we do surely give it ample space!

And the earth—we have spread it out; and how well we lay it out!

And of everything have we created pairs, haply ye may be mindful.

[50] Flee then to God; verily, I am a plain warner from Him to you!

And do not set with God another god; verily, I am a plain warner from Him to you!

Thus there came no apostle to those before them, but they said, 'A sorcerer, mad!'

¹ Either Pharaoh's forces, or one of his nobles, or something else on which he relied. See Part I, p. 214, first line, and note 1.

Do they bequeath it¹ to each other ?

Yea, they are an outrageous people !

So turn thy back upon them, so thou wilt not be to blame.

[55] And remind ; for, verily, the reminder shall profit the believers.

And I have not created the ginn and mankind save that they may worship me.

I do not desire any provision from them, and I do not wish them to feed me.

Verily, God, He is the provider, endowed with steady might.

Verily, for those who injure (the Apostle) shall be a portion like the portion of their fellows², but let them not hurry Me !

[60] Then woe to those who misbelieve from their day which they are threatened.

THE CHAPTER OF THE MOUNT.

(LII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

By the mount ! by the Book inscribed upon an outstretched vellum ! by the frequented house³ ! [5] by the elevated roof⁴ ! by the swelling sea ! verily, the torment of thy Lord will come to pass ;—there is none to avert it !

The day when the heavens shall reel about,

¹ I. e. this taunt.

² I. e. like the fate of those who wronged the apostles of old.

³ I. e. either the Kaabah itself or the model of it, said to exist in the heavens and to be frequented by the angels.

⁴ I. e. of heaven.

[10] and the mountains shall move about,—then woe upon that day to those who call (the apostles) liars, who plunge into discussion for a sport !

On the day when they shall be thrust away into the fire of hell,—‘ This is the fire, the which ye used to call a lie !—[15] Is it magic, this ? or can ye not see ?—broil ye therein, and be patient thereof or be not patient, it is the same to you : ye are but rewarded for that which ye did do !’

Verily, the pious (shall be) in gardens and pleasure, enjoying what their Lord has given them ; for their Lord will save them from the torment of hell.

‘ Eat and drink with good digestion, for that which ye have done !’

[20] Reclining on couches in rows ; and we will wed them to large-eyed maids.

And those who believe and whose seed follows them in the faith, we will unite their seed with them ; and we will not cheat them of their work at all ;—every man is pledged for what he earns ¹.

And we will extend to them fruit and flesh such as they like. They shall pass to and fro therein a cup in which is neither folly nor sin.

And round them shall go boys of theirs, as though they were hidden pearls.

[25] And they shall accost each other and ask questions, and shall say, ‘ Verily, we were before amidst our families shrinking with terror ², but God has been gracious to us and saved us from the torment of the hot blast.

¹ Every man is pledged to God for his conduct, and, if he does well, redeems himself.

² At the thought of the next life.

'Verily, we used to call on Him before ; verily, He is the righteous, the compassionate !'

Wherefore do thou ¹ remind them : for thou art, by the favour of thy Lord, neither a soothsayer nor mad !

Will they say, 'A poet ; we wait for him the sad accidents of fate ?'

[30] Say, 'Wait ye then ; for I too am of those who wait !'

Do their dreams bid them this ? or are they an outrageous people ?

Or will they say, 'He has invented it ?'—nay, but they do not believe !

But let them bring a discourse like it, if they tell the truth !

[35] Or were they created of nothing, or were they the creators ? Or did they create the heavens and the earth ?—nay, but they are not sure !

Or have they the treasures of thy Lord ? or are they the governors supreme ?

Or have they a ladder whereon they can listen ² ?—then let their listener bring obvious authority.

Has He daughters, while ye have sons ?

[40] Or dost thou ask them a hire, while they are borne down by debt ?

Or have they the unseen, so that they write it down ?

Or do they desire a plot ?—but those who misbelieve it is who are plotted against !

¹ Addressed to Mohammed.

² I. e. a ladder reaching to the gates of heaven, upon which they may stand and listen to the angels discoursing, as the devils do. See Part I, pp. 50, 51, note 2.

Or have they a god beside God? celebrated be God's praises above what they join with Him!

But if they should see a fragment of the sky falling down, they would say, 'Clouds in masses!'

[45] But leave them till they meet that day of theirs whereon they shall swoon¹; the day when their plotting shall avail them naught, and they shall not be helped!

And, verily, there is a torment beside that² for those who do wrong; but most of them do not know!

But wait thou patiently for the judgment of thy Lord, for thou art in our eyes. And celebrate the praises of thy Lord what time thou risest, and in the night, and at the fading of the stars!

THE CHAPTER OF THE STAR.

(LIII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

By the star when it falls, your comrade errs not, nor is he deluded! nor speaks he out of lust! It is but an inspiration inspired! [5] One mighty in power³ taught him, endowed with sound understanding, and appeared, he being in the loftiest tract.

¹ At the sound of the last trumpet.

² I.e. beside the torment of the judgment day they shall be punished with defeat and loss here.

³ The angel Gabriel, who appeared twice to Mohammed in his natural form, namely, on the occasion of the 'Night Journey,' to which this passage refers, and on the first revelation of the Qur'ân. (See Introduction, pp. xx and xxxii.)

Then drew he near and hovered o'er! until he was two bows' length off or nigher still! [10] Then he inspired his servant what he inspired him; the heart belies not what he saw! What, will ye dispute with him on what he saw?

And he saw him another time, by the lote tree none may pass; [15] near which is the garden of the Abode! When there covered the lote tree what did cover it! The sight swerved not nor wandered. He saw then the greatest of the signs of his Lord.

Have ye considered Allât and Al 'Huzzâ, [20] and Manât the other third¹? Shall there be male offspring for Him and female for you? That were an unfair division! They are but names which ye have named, ye and your fathers! God has sent down no authority for them! They do but follow suspicion and what their souls lust after!—And yet there has come to them guidance from their Lord.

Shall man have what he desires? [25] But God's is the hereafter and the present!

How many an angel in the heaven!—their intercession avails not at all, save after God has given permission to whomsoever He will and is pleased with!

Verily, those who believe not in the hereafter do surely name the angels with female names²!—but they have no knowledge thereof; they do but follow suspicion, and, verily, suspicion shall not avail against the truth at all!

[30] But turn aside from him who turns his back upon our remembrance and desires naught but this

¹ See Introduction, p. xxvii, and Part II, p. 62, note 1.

² See Introduction, pp. xii and xiii.

world's life! This is their sum of knowledge; verily, thy Lord knows best who has erred from His way, and He knows best who is guided!

God's is what is in the heavens and what is in the earth, that He may reward those who do evil for what they have done; and may reward those who do good with good! those who shun great sins and iniquities,—all but venial faults,—verily, thy Lord is of ample forgiveness; He knows best about you, when He produced you from the earth, and when ye were embryos in the wombs of your mothers.

Make not yourselves out, then, to be pure; He knows best who it is that fears.

Hast thou considered him who turns his back? who gives but little [35] and then stops¹? Has he then the knowledge of the unseen, so that he can see?

Has he not been informed of what is in the pages of Moses and Abraham who fulfilled his word?—that no burdened soul shall bear the burden of another? [40] and that man shall have only that for which he strives; and that his striving shall at length be seen? Then shall he be rewarded for it with the most full reward; and that unto thy Lord is the limit; [45] and that it is He who makes men laugh and weep; and that it is He who kills and makes alive; and that He created pairs, male

¹ This passage refers to one El Walîd ibn Mughâirah, who being abused for following Mohammed and forsaking the religion of the Qurâis, answered that he had done so to escape divine vengeance. Thereupon an idolater offered to take on himself El Walîd's sin for a certain sum of money. The offer was accepted, and Walîd apostatized from El Islâm, paying down a portion of the amount agreed upon at the time. Later on he refused to pay the balance on the ground that he had already paid enough.

and female, from a clot when it is emitted; and that for Him is the next production¹; and that he enriches and gives possession; [50] and that He is the Lord of the Dog-star², and that He it was who destroyed 'Âd of yore, and Thamûd, and left none of them; and the people of Noah before them,—verily, they were most unjust and outrageous!

And the overthrown (cities)³ He threw down; [55] and there covered them what did cover them!

Which then of your Lord's benefits do ye dispute?

This is a warner, one of the warners of yore!

The approaching day approaches; there is none to discover it but God.

At this new discourse then do ye wonder? [60] and do ye laugh and not weep? and ye divert yourselves the while!

But adore God and serve (Him)⁴.

THE CHAPTER OF THE MOON.

(LIV. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

The Hour draws nigh, and the moon is split

¹ I. e. the resurrection.

² Sirius, or the Dog-star, was an object of worship amongst the ancient Arabs.

³ Sodom, Gomorrah, &c.

⁴ At this verse the Qurâis, who were present at the first reading of this chapter when their gods were spoken well of, fell down adoring with Mohammed. See Introduction, p. xxxii.

asunder¹. But if they see a sign they turn aside and say, 'Magic, continuous²!'

And they call it a lie and follow their lusts; but every matter is settled!

There has come to them some information³ with restraint in it—[5] wisdom far-reaching—but warners avail not!

But turn thy back on them!

The day when the caller⁴ shall call to an awkward thing⁵.

Humbly casting down their looks shall they come forth from their graves, as though they were locusts scattered abroad!

Hurrying forwards to the caller! the misbelievers shall say, 'This is a difficult day!'

Noah's people before them called (the apostles) liars; they called our servant a liar; and they said, 'Mad!' and he was rejected.

[10] And he called upon his Lord, 'Verily, I am overcome, come then to my help!'

And we opened the gates of heaven with water pouring down!

¹ According to a tradition this refers to a miracle: the unbelievers having asked for a sign, the moon appeared to be cloven in twain. The tradition is, however, supported by very doubtful authority, and is directly opposed to the teaching of the Qur'ân elsewhere, for the power to comply with the demand for a sign is always distinctly disclaimed. The more usual explanation is the natural one, that the expression merely refers to one of the signs of the day of judgment.

² This word is interpreted by some to mean 'transient,' by others 'powerful.'

³ The Qur'ân.

⁴ The angel Isráfîl.

⁵ The last judgment.

And we made the earth burst forth in springs, and the waters met at a bidding already decreed.

But we bore him on the thing of planks and nails; sailing on beneath our eyes, a reward for him who had been disbelieved!

[15] And we left it a sign;—but is there any one who will mind?

‘Âd called the apostles liars, and how was my punishment and my warning?

Verily, we sent on them a cold storm wind on a day of continuous ill-luck!

[20] It reft men away as though they had been palm stumps torn up!

We have made the Qur’ân easy as a reminder—but is there any one who will mind?

Thamûd called the warnings lies, and said, ‘A mortal, one of us, alone, shall we follow him? then indeed were we in error and excitement!’

[25] ‘Is the warning cast on him alone among us? nay, he is an insolent liar!’

‘They shall know to-morrow about the insolent liar!’

‘Verily, we are about to send the she-camel as a trial for them, then watch them and have patience! and inform them that the water is shared between them (and her); each draught shall be sought by turns.’

Then they called their companion, and he plied (a knife) and hamstrung her.

[30] Then how was my punishment and my warning? Verily, we sent against them one noise, and they were like the dry sticks of him who builds a fold.

¹ Or madness.

We have made the Qur'ân easy as a reminder—but is there any one who will mind?

Lot's people called the apostles liars; verily, we sent against them a heavy sand storm; all, save Lot's family, we saved them at the dawn. [35] As a favour from us; so do we reward him who gives thanks!

He indeed had warned them of our assault, but they doubted of the warning.

And they desired his guest, and we put out their eyes.—

'So taste ye my torment and warning!'

And there overtook them on the morning a settled punishment!—

'So taste ye my torment and warning!'

[40] We have made the Qur'ân easy as a reminder—but is there any one who will mind?

The warning came to Pharaoh's people; they called our signs all lies, and we seized on them with the seizing of a mighty powerful one.

Are your misbelievers better than they? or have ye an exemption in the Scriptures? Or do they say we are a victorious company?

[45] The whole shall be routed and shall turn their backs in flight¹.

Nay, the Hour is their promised time! and the Hour is most severe and bitter!

Verily, the sinners are in error and excitement. On the day when they shall be dragged to the fire upon their faces!—'Taste ye the touch of hell.'

Verily, everything have we created by decree, [50] and our bidding is but one (word), like the twinkling of an eye!

¹ This is appealed to by Muslims as a prophecy fulfilled at the battle of Bedr.

We have destroyed the like of you—but is there any who will mind?

And everything they do is in the books¹, and everything small and great is written down.

Verily, the pious shall be amid gardens and rivers,
[55] in the seat of truth, with the powerful king.

THE CHAPTER OF THE MERCIFUL.

(LV. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

The Merciful taught the Qur'ân;

He created man, taught him plain speech.

The sun and the moon have their appointed time;

[5] The herbs and the trees adore;

And the heavens, He raised them and set the balance,

that ye should not be outrageous in the balance;

But weigh ye aright, and stint not the balance.

And the earth He has set it for living creatures;

[10] therein are fruits and palms, with sheaths;

and grain with chaff and frequent shoots;

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?

He created men of crackling clay like the potters.

And He created the ginn from smokeless fire.

[15] Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?

The Lord of the two easts² and the Lord of the two wests!

¹ The books kept by the recording angels.

² See p. 214, note 1.

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?

He has let loose the two seas that meet together ;
[20] between them is a barrier they cannot pass !

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?

He brings forth from each pearls both large and small !

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?

His are the ships which rear aloft in the sea like mountains.

[25] Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?

Every one upon it¹ is transient, but the face of thy Lord endowed with majesty and honour shall endure.

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?

Of Him whosoever is in the heaven and the earth does beg ; every day He is in (some fresh) business !

[30] Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?

We shall be at leisure for you, O ye two weighty ones² !

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?

O assembly of ginns and mankind ! if ye are able to pass through the confines of heaven and earth

¹ The earth.

² I. e. mankind and the ginn ; the meaning is, that God will have leisure to judge them both.

then pass through them!—ye cannot pass through
save by authority!

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain
deny?

[35] There shall be sent against you a flash of fire,
and molten copper, and ye shall not be helped!

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain
deny?

And when the heaven is rent asunder and become
rosy red¹—(melting) like grease!

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain
deny?

On that day neither man nor ginn shall be asked
about his crime!

[40] Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye
twain deny?

The sinners shall be known by their marks, and
shall be seized by the forelock and the feet!

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain
deny?

'This is hell, which the sinners did call a lie! they
shall circulate between it and water boiling quite!'

[45] Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye
twain deny?

But for him who fears the station of his Lord are
gardens twain!

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain
deny?

Both furnished with branching trees.

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain
deny?

[50] In each are flowing springs.

¹ The word is also said to mean red leather.

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?

In each are, of every fruit, two kinds.

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?

Reclining on beds the linings of which are of brocade, and the fruit of the two gardens within reach to cull.

[55] Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?

Therein are maids of modest glances whom no man nor ginn has deflowered before.

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?

As though they were rubies and pearls.

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?

[60] Is the reward of goodness aught but goodness?

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?

And besides these, are gardens twain¹,

Then which of your Lord's bounties will be twain deny?

With dark green foliage.

[65] Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?

In each two gushing springs.

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?

In each fruit and palms and pomegranates.

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?

¹ For the inferior inhabitants of Paradise.

[70] In them maidens best and fairest !
Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain
deny ?
Bright and large-eyed maids kept in their tents.
Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain
deny ?
Whom no man nor ginn has deflowered before
them.
[75] Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye
twain deny ?
Reclining on green cushions and beautiful carpets.
Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain
deny ?
Blessed be the name of thy Lord possessed of
majesty and honour !

THE CHAPTER OF THE INEVITABLE.

(LVI. Mecca.)

In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.
When the inevitable¹ happens ; none shall call its
happening a lie !—abasing—exalting !
When the earth shall quake, quaking ! [5] and the
mountains shall crumble, crumbling, and become
like motes dispersed !
And ye shall be three sorts ;
And the fellows of the right hand—what right lucky
fellows !
And the fellows of the left hand—what unlucky
fellows !

¹ I. e. the day of judgment.

[10] And the foremost foremost¹!

These are they who are brought nigh,

In gardens of pleasure!

A crowd of those of yore,

And a few of those of the latter day!

[15] And gold-weft couches, reclining on them face
to face.

Around them shall go eternal youths, with goblets
and ewers and a cup of flowing wine; no head-
ache shall they feel therefrom, nor shall their wits
be dimmed!

[20] And fruits such as they deem the best;

And flesh of fowl as they desire;

And bright and large-eyed maids like hidden pearls;

A reward for that which they have done!

They shall hear no folly there and no sin;

[25] Only the speech, 'Peace, Peace!'

And the fellows of the right—what right lucky
fellows!

Amid thornless lote trees.

And tal'h² trees with piles of fruit;

And outspread shade,

[30] And water out-poured;

And fruit in abundance, neither failing nor for-
bidden;

And beds upraised!

Verily, we have produced them³ a production.

[35] And made them virgins, darlings of equal age
(with their spouses) for the fellows of the right!

¹ I. e. the foremost in professing the faith on earth shall be the foremost then.

² The *mimosa gummifera* is generally so called in Arabia; but the banana is said to be meant in this passage.

³ The celestial damsels.

A crowd of those of yore, and a crowd of those of the latter day!

[40] And the fellows of the left—what unlucky fellows!

In hot blasts and boiling water;

And a shade of pitchy smoke,

Neither cool nor generous!

Verily, they were affluent ere this, [45] and did persist in mighty crime; and used to say, 'What, when we die and have become dust and bones, shall we then indeed be raised? or our fathers of yore?'

Say, 'Verily, those of yore and those of the latter day [50] shall surely be gathered together unto the tryst of the well-known day.'

Then ye, O ye who err! who say it is a lie! shall eat of the Zaqqûm tree! and fill your bellies with it! and drink thereon of boiling water! [55] and drink as drinks the thirsty camel.

This is their entertainment on the judgment day!

We created you, then why do ye not credit?

Have ye considered what ye emit?

Do we create it, or are we the creators?

[60] We have decreed amongst you death; but we are not forestalled from making the likes of you in exchange, or producing you as ye know not of.

Ye do know the first production—why then do ye not mind?

Have ye considered what ye till?

Do ye make it bear seed, or do we make it bear seed?

[65] If we pleased we could make it mere grit, so that ye would pause to marvel:

'Verily, we have got into debt¹ and we are excluded².'

¹ I. e. for seed and labour.

² From reaping the fruits of it.

Have ye considered the water which ye drink?
Do ye make it come down from the clouds, or do
we make it come down?

If we pleased we could make it pungent—why then
do ye not give thanks?

[70] Have ye considered the fire which ye strike?
Do ye produce the tree that gives it¹, or do we
produce it?

We have made it a memorial and a chattel for the
traveller of the waste?

Then celebrate the grand name of thy Lord!

So I will not swear by the positions of the stars;
[75] and, verily, it is a grand oath if ye did but
know—that, verily, this is the honourable Qur'ân
—in the laid-up Book!

Let none touch it but the purified!

A revelation from the Lord of the worlds.

[80] What! this new discourse will ye despise?
And make for your provision, that you call it a
lie?

Why then—when it² comes up to the throat, and ye
at that time look on, though we are nearer to him
than you are, but ye cannot see,—[85] why, if ye
are not to be judged, do ye not send it back, if
ye do tell the truth?

But either, if he be of those brought nigh to
God,—then rest and fragrance and the garden
of pleasure!

Or, if he be of the fellows of the right! [90] then
'Peace to thee!' from the fellows of the right!

¹ The ancient Arabs produced fire by the friction of a stick in a hollow piece of wood. Cf. p. 167, line 25.

² The soul of a dying man.

Or, if he be of those who say it 'is a lie,—who err!
 then an entertainment of boiling water! and
 broiling in hell!

[95] Verily, this is surely certain truth!
 So celebrate the grand name of thy Lord!

THE CHAPTER OF IRON.

(LVII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate
 God.

Whatever is in the heavens and the earth celebrates the praises of God, for He is the mighty, the wise!

His is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth: He quickens and He kills, and He is mighty over all!

He is the first and the last; and the outer and the inner; and He all things doth know!

He it is who created the heavens and the earth in six days, then He made for the throne; and He knows what goes into the earth and what goes forth therefrom, and what comes down from the sky and what goes up therein, and He is with you wheresoe'er ye be: for God on what ye do doth look!

[5] His is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and unto God affairs return. He makes the night succeed the day, and makes the day succeed the night; and He knows the nature of men's breasts.

Believe in God and His Apostle, and give alms of what He has made you successors of. For those amongst you who believe and give alms—for them is mighty hire.

What ails you that ye do not believe in God and His Apostle? He calls on you to believe in your Lord; and He has taken a compact from you, if ye be believers.

He it is who sends down upon His servants manifest signs, to bring you forth from the darkness into the light; for, verily, God to you is kind, compassionate!

[10] What ails you that ye give not alms in God's cause? for God's is the inheritance of the heavens and the earth. Not alike amongst you is he who gives alms before the victory and fights,—they are grander in rank than those who give alms afterwards and fight. But to all does God promise good; and God of what ye do is well aware!

Who is there who will lend a good loan to God? for He will double it for him, and for him is a generous reward.

On the day when thou shall see believers, men and women, with their light running on before them and on their right hand¹,—‘Glad tidings for you to-day.—Gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye; that is the grand bliss!’

On the day when the hypocrites, men and women, shall say to those who believe, ‘Wait for us that we may kindle at your light.’ It will be said, ‘Get ye back, and beg a light.’ And there shall be struck out between them a wall with a door; within it shall be mercy, and outside before it torment. They shall cry out to them, ‘We were not with you!’ they shall say, ‘Yea, but ye did tempt yourselves, and did wait, and did doubt; and your vain hopes beguiled you; and the beguiler beguiled you about God.’

¹ I. e. guiding them to Paradise.

'Wherefore to-day there shall not be taken from you a ransom, nor from those who misbelieved. Your resort is the fire; it is your sovereign, and an ill journey will it be!'

[15] Is the time come to those who believe, for their hearts to be humbled at the remembrance of God, and of what He has sent down in truth? and for them not to be like those who were given the Scriptures before, and over whom time was prolonged, but their hearts grew hard, and many of them were workers of abomination?

Know that God quickens the earth after its death!—we have manifested to you the signs; haply ye may have some sense!

Verily, those who give in charity, men and women, who have lent to God a goodly loan,—it shall be doubled for them, and for them is a generous hire.

And those who believe in God and His Apostle, they are the confessors and the martyrs with their Lord; for them is their hire and their light! But those who misbelieve and call our signs lies, they are the fellows of hell!

Know that the life of this world is but a sport, and a play, and an adornment, and something to boast of amongst yourselves; and the multiplying of children is like a rain-growth, its vegetation pleases the misbelievers; then they wither away, and thou mayest see them become yellow; then they become but grit.

But in the hereafter is a severe woe, [20] and forgiveness from God and His goodwill; but the life of this world is but a chattel of guile.

Race towards forgiveness from your Lord and

Paradise, whose breadth is as the breadth of the heavens and the earth, prepared for those who believe in God and His apostles! and God's grace, He gives it to whom He pleases, for God is Lord of mighty grace!

No accident befalls in the earth, or in yourselves, but it was in the Book, before we created them; verily, that is easy unto God.

That ye may not vex yourselves for what ye miss, nor be overjoyed at what He gives you; for God loves no arrogant boaster, who are niggardly and bid men be niggardly: but whoso turns his back¹, verily, God is rich, praiseworthy.

[25] We did send our apostles with manifest signs; and we did send down among you the Book and the balance, that men might stand by justice; and we sent down iron in which is both keen violence and advantages to men; and that God might know who helps Him and His apostles in secret; verily, God is strong and mighty!

And we sent Noah and Abraham; and placed in their seed prophecy and the Book; and some of them are guided, though many of them are workers of abomination!

Then we followed up their footsteps with our apostles; and we followed them up with Jesus the son of Mary; and we gave him the gospel; and we placed in the hearts of those who followed him kindness and compassion.—But monkery, they invented it; we only prescribed to them the craving after the goodwill of God, and they observed it not with due observance. But we gave to those who

¹ I. e. from almsgiving.

believe amongst them their hire; though many amongst them were workers of abomination!

O ye who believe! fear God, and believe in His Apostle: He will give you two portions of His mercy, and will make for you a light for you to walk in, and will forgive you; for God is forgiving, compassionate.

That the people of the Book may know that they cannot control aught of God's grace; and that grace is in God's hands, He gives it to whom He will; for God is Lord of mighty grace!

THE CHAPTER OF THE WRANGLER.
(LVIII. Medīnah.)

GOD has heard the speech of her who wrangled with you about her husband¹, and complained to God; and God hears your gossip; verily, God both hears and sees.

Those among you who back out of their wives² they are not their mothers: their mothers are only those who gave them birth; and, verily, they speak a wrong speech and a false.

Verily, God both pardons and forgives. But those who back out of their wives and then would recall their speech,—then the manumission of a captive before they touch each other; that is what ye are admonished, and God of what ye do is well aware!

¹ Khâulah bint Tha'labah being divorced from her husband by the formula mentioned below, and which was always considered to be a final separation, appealed to Mohammed, who said he could not alter the custom. Afterwards, on the woman praying to God, this passage was revealed, abolishing the objectionable form of divorce.

² I. e. divorce them by the formula 'Thou art to me as my mother's back!' See Part I, p. 43, note 4.

[5] But he who finds not (the means) :— then a fast for two months consecutively, before they touch each other ; and he who cannot endure that :—then the feeding of sixty poor folk. That is that ye may believe in God and His Apostle ; and these are the bounds of God ; and for the mis-believers is grievous woe !

Verily, those who oppose God and His Apostle shall be upset, as those before them were upset.

We have sent down manifest signs : for the mis-believers is shameful woe on the day when God shall raise them all together, and shall inform them of what they have done. God has taken account of it, but they forget it ; for God is witness over all !

Dost thou not see that God knows what is in the heavens and what is in the earth ? and that there cannot be a privy discourse of three but He makes the fourth ? nor of five but He makes the sixth ? nor less than that nor more, but that He is with them wheresoe'er they be ? then He will inform them of what they have done upon the resurrection day ; verily, God all things doth know !

Dost thou not look at those who were prohibited from privy talk, and then returned to that they were forbidden ? and they too discourse together with sin and enmity and rebellion against the Apostle ; and when they come to thee they greet thee with what God greets thee not¹ ; and they say in themselves, Why does not God torment us for what we say ? Hell is enough for them ! they shall broil therein, and an ill journey shall it be !

¹ Instead of saying, *Es salâm 'halaika*, 'peace be upon thee !' they used to say, *Es sâm 'halaika*, 'mischief be upon thee !'

[10] O ye who believe! when ye discourse together, then discourse not in sin and enmity and rebellion against the Apostle; but discourse together in righteousness and piety; and fear God, for unto Him ye shall be gathered!

Privy talk is only from the devil, that those who do believe may grieve: it cannot hurt them at all, except by the permission of God: and upon God let the believers rely.

O ye who believe! when it is said to you, 'Make room in your assemblies,' then make room; God will make room for you; and when it is said to you, 'Rise up,' then rise up; God will raise all you who believe, as well as those who are given knowledge, in rank; for God of what ye do is well aware!

O ye who believe! when ye address the Apostle, then give in charity before addressing him; that is better for you, and more pure. But if ye find not the means,—then God is forgiving, compassionate. What! do ye shrink from giving in charity before addressing him? then if ye do it not, and God relents towards you, then be steadfast in prayer, and give alms, and fear God and His Apostle; for God is well aware of what ye do!

[15] Dost thou not look at those who take for patrons a people¹ God is wrath with? they are neither of you nor of them, and they swear to you a lie the while they know; for them God has prepared severe torment; verily, evil is it they have done!

They take their faith for a cloak; and they turn men aside from the path of God; and for them is shameful woe!

¹ The Jews.

Their wealth shall not avail them, nor their children at all, against God ; they are the fellows of the Fire, and they shall dwell therein for aye !

On the day when God raises them all together, then will they swear to Him as they swore to you ; and they will think that they rest on somewhat.—Ay, verily, they are liars !

[20] Satan hath overridden them, and made them forget the remembrance of God : they are the crew of Satan ; ay, the crew of Satan, they are the losers !

Verily, those who oppose God and His Apostle are amongst the most vile.

God has written, ' I will surely prevail, I and my apostles ;' verily, God is strong and mighty !

Thou shalt not find a people who believe in God and the last day loving him who opposes God and His Apostle, even though it be their fathers, or their sons, or their brethren, or their clansmen.

He has written faith in their hearts, and He aids them with a spirit from Him ; and will make them enter into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye ! God is well pleased with them, and they well pleased with Him : they are God's crew ; ay, God's crew, they shall prosper !

THE CHAPTER OF THE EMIGRATION.

(LIX. Medīnah.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

What is in the heavens and in the earth celebrates God's praises ; He is the mighty, the wise !

He it was who drove those of the people of the Book who misbelieved forth from their houses, at the first emigration¹; ye did not think that they would go forth, and they thought that their fortresses would defend them against God; but God came upon them from whence they did not reckon, and cast dread into their hearts! They ruined their houses with their own hands and the hands of the believers; wherefore take example, O ye who are endowed with sight!

Had it not been that God had prescribed for them banishment, He would have tormented them in this world²; but for them in the next shall be the torment of the Fire! that is because they opposed God and His Apostle: and whoso opposes God, verily, God is keen to punish!

[5] What palm trees ye did cut down or what ye left standing upon their roots was by God's permission, and to disgrace the workers of abomination; and as for the spoils that God gave to His Apostle from these (people) ye did not press forward after them with horse or riding camel; but God gives His Apostle authority over whom He pleases, for God is mighty over all³!

¹ The Jews of en Nadhîr, near Medînah, who at first promised to stand neuter between him and the idolaters. After his success at Bedr they came over to his side, but turned again after the defeat of Ohod. For this offence they were forced to leave the country.

² Like those of Qurâidhah, who were slaughtered. See Introduction, p. xxxix.

³ The Muslims did not use cavalry on the occasion, Mohammed himself being the only mounted member of the expedition. For this reason the spoils were assigned to the prophet alone, and not divided in the usual manner as prescribed in Chapter VIII, verse 42, Part I, pp. 167, 168.

What God gave as spoils to His Apostle of the people of the cities is God's, and the Apostle's, and for kinsfolk, orphans, and the poor, and the way-farer, so that it should not be circulated amongst the rich men of you.

And what the Apostle gives you, take; and what he forbids you, desist from; and fear God, verily, God is keen to punish!

And (it is) for the poor who fled¹, who were driven forth from their houses and their wealth, who crave grace from God and His goodwill, and help God and the Apostle; they are the truthful.

And those who were settled in the abode² and the faith before them, love those who fled to them³; and they do not find in their breasts a need of what has been given to them; preferring them to themselves, even though there be poverty amongst them; and whoso is preserved from his own coveteousness, these are the prosperous!

[10] And those who came after them say, 'Our Lord, forgive us and our brethren who were beforehand with us in the faith, and place not in our hearts ill-will towards those who believe—our Lord! verily, thou art kind, compassionate!'

Dost thou not look on those who were hypocritical, saying to their brethren who misbelieved amongst the people of the Book⁴, 'If ye be driven forth we will go forth with you; and we will never obey any one concerning you; and if ye be fought

¹ The poorer Muhâgerîn were allowed to participate in the spoil, but not the Ansârs.

² The Ansârs at Medînah.

³ The Muhâgerîn.

⁴ The Jews.

against we will help you.' But God bears witness that they are surely liars!

If they be driven forth, these will not go forth with them; and if they be fought against, these will not help them; or if they do help them, they will turn their backs in flight;—then shall they not be helped!

Ye indeed are a keener source of fear in their hearts than God; that is because they are a people who do not understand! They will not fight against you in a body save in fortified cities, or from behind walls; their valour is great amongst themselves;—thou dost reckon them as one body, but their hearts are separated. That is because they are a people who have no sense!

[15] Like unto those before them, recently¹; they tasted the evil result of their affair, and for them is grievous woe.

Like unto the devil when he said to man, 'Disbelieve.' But when he disbelieved, he said, 'Verily, I am clear of thee! Verily, I fear God the Lord of the worlds!' And the end of them both shall be that they shall both be in the Fire, to dwell therein for aye! for that is the reward of the unjust!

O ye who believe! fear God; and let each soul look to what it sends on for the morrow; and fear God; verily, God is well aware of what ye do!

And be ye not like those who forget God, and He makes them forget themselves; they are the workers of abomination!

[20] Not deemed alike shall be the fellows of the

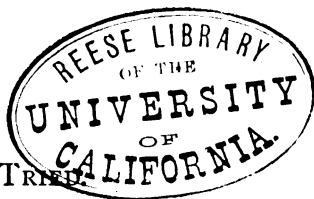
¹ Either the idolaters slain at Bedr, or the Jews of Qâinuqâh, or those of Nadhîr.

Fire and the fellows of Paradise: the fellows of Paradise they are the blissful!

Had we sent down this Qur'ân upon a mountain, thou wouldst have seen it humbling itself, splitting asunder from the fear of God! These parables do we strike out for men; haply they may reflect!

He is God than whom there is no god; who knows the unseen and the visible; He is the merciful, the compassionate! He is God than whom there is no god; the King, the Holy, the Peace-Giver, the Faithful, the Protector, the Mighty, the Repairer, the Great!—celebrated be the praises of God above what they join with Him.

He is God, the Creator, the Maker, the Fashioner; His are the excellent names¹! His praises, whatever are in the heavens and the earth do celebrate; for God is the mighty, the wise!



THE CHAPTER OF THE TRIED

(LX. Medīnah.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

O ye who believe! take not my enemy and your enemy for patrons, encountering them with love; for they misbelieve in the truth that is to come to you; they drive out the Apostle and you for that ye believe in God your Lord²!

¹ See Introduction, p. lxvii.

² 'Hâ'ib ibn abi Balta'hah had given the Meccans warning of an

If ye go forth fighting strenuously in my cause and craving my good pleasure, and secretly show love for them, yet do I know best what ye conceal and what ye display! and he of you who does so has erred from the level path.

If they find you they will be enemies to you, and they will stretch forth against you their hands and their tongues for evil, and would fain that ye should disbelieve; neither your kindred nor your children shall profit you upon the resurrection day; it will separate you! but God on what ye do doth look!

Ye had a good example in Abraham and those with him, when they said to their people, 'Verily, we are clear of you and of what ye serve beside God. We disbelieve in you: and between us and you is enmity and hatred begun for ever, until ye believe in God alone!'

But not¹ the speech of Abraham to his father, 'Verily, I will ask forgiveness for thee, though I cannot control aught from God!' O our Lord! on thee do we rely! and unto thee we turn! and unto thee the journey is!

[5] Our Lord! make us not a trial for those who misbelieve; but forgive us! Our Lord! verily, thou art mighty, wise!

Ye had in them a good example for him who

intended surprise by Mohammed, and on his letter being intercepted, excused himself by saying that he had only done so in order to make terms for his family, who were at Mecca, and that he knew that the information would be of no avail. Mohammed pardoned him, but the verse in the text prohibits such conduct for the future.

¹ I. e. they are not to imitate Abraham's speech to his father, and ask forgiveness for their infidel friends. Cp. Part I, p. 189, verse 115.

would hope in God and the last day. But whoso turns his back, verily, God, He is rich and to be praised.

Mayhap that God will place love between you and between those of them ye are hostile towards¹: for God is powerful, and God is forgiving, compassionate.

God forbids you not respecting those who have not fought against you for religion's sake, and who have not driven you forth from your homes, that ye should act righteously and justly towards them; verily, God loves the just!

He only forbids you to make patrons of those who have fought against you for religion's sake, and driven you forth from your homes, or have aided in your expulsion; and whoever makes patrons of them, they are the unjust!

[10] O ye who believe! when there come believing women who have fled, then try them: God knows their faith. If ye know them to be believers do not send them back to the misbelievers;—they are not lawful for them, nor are the men lawful for these;—but give them² what they have expended³, and it shall be no crime against you that ye marry them, when ye have given them their hire. And do not ye retain a right over misbelieving women; but ask for what ye have spent, and let them ask for what they have spent. That is God's judgment: He judges between you, for God is knowing, wise!

And if any of your wives escape from you to the

¹ I. e. by their becoming converted to Islâm.

² I. e. to their infidel husbands.

³ The dowries.

misbelievers, and your turn comes, then give to those whose wives have gone away the like of what they have spent; and fear God, in whom it is that ye believe.

O thou prophet! when believing women come to thee and engage with thee that they will not associate aught with God, and will not steal, and will not fornicate, and will not kill their children, and will not bring a calumny which they have forged between their hands and feet¹, and that they will not rebel against thee in what is reasonable, then engage with them and ask forgiveness for them of God;—verily, God is forgiving, compassionate.

O ye who believe! take not for patrons a people whom God is wrath against; they despair of the hereafter, as the misbelievers despair of the fellows of the tombs²!

THE CHAPTER OF THE RANKS.

(LXI. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

What is in the heavens and what is in the earth celebrates the praises of God, for He is the mighty, the wise!

O ye who believe! say not what ye do not. It is most hateful to God that ye say what ye do not.

¹ This is said by some commentators to mean foisting spurious children on to their husbands.

² I. e. of the resurrection of the dead.

Verily, God loves those who fight in His cause in ranks as though they were a compact building¹.

[5] When Moses said to his people, 'O my people! why do ye hurt me, when ye know that I am the apostle of God to you?' and when they swerved, God made their hearts to swerve; for God guides not the people who work abomination!

And when Jesus the son of Mary said, 'O children of Israel! verily, I am the apostle of God to you, verifying the law that was before me and giving you glad tidings of an apostle who shall come after me, whose name shall be A'hmed²!'—but when he did come to them with manifest signs, they said, 'This is manifest sorcery!'

And who is more unjust than he who forges against God a lie when called unto Islâm? but God guides not the unjust people.

They desire to put out the light of God with their mouths; but God will perfect His light, averse although the misbeliever be!

He it is who sent His Apostle with guidance and the religion of truth to set it above all religion; averse although the idolaters may be.

[10] O ye who believe! shall I lead you to a merchandise which will save you from grievous woe?

To believe in God and His Apostle, and to fight strenuously in God's cause with your property and

¹ Who fight in close and unbroken lines.

² A'hmed is equivalent in meaning to Mohammed, and means 'Praised,' 'Laudable.' The allusion is to the promise of the Paraclete in John xvi. 7, the Muslims declaring that the word *παράκλητος* has been substituted in the Greek for *περικλυτός*, which would mean the same as A'hmed. See Introduction, p. xlix.

your persons ; that is better for you if ye did but know !

He will pardon you your sins, and bring you into gardens beneath which rivers flow, and goodly dwellings in gardens of Eden ; — that is the mighty bliss !

And other things which ye love, — help from God and victory nigh ! — so do thou give the glad tidings unto the believers !

O ye who believe ! be ye the helpers¹ of God ! as Jesus son of Mary said to the apostles, 'Who are my helpers for God ?' Said the apostles, 'We are God's helpers² !'

And a party of the children of Israel believed, and a party misbelieved. And we aided those who believed against their enemies, and they were on the morrow superior !

THE CHAPTER OF THE CONGREGATION.

(LXII. Medīnah.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

What is in the heavens and what is in the earth celebrates the praises of God the King, the holy, the mighty, the wise !

He it is who sent unto the Gentiles³ a prophet amongst themselves to recite to them His signs and to purify them, and to teach them the Book and

¹ Ansâr.

² See Part I, p. 53 (Chapter III, verse 45).

³ See Introduction, p. xlvii, and Part I, p. 156, note.

the wisdom, although they were before in obvious error.

And others of them have not yet overtaken them¹; but He is the mighty, the wise!

That is God's grace, He gives it to whomsoever He will; for God is Lord of mighty grace.

[5] The likeness of those who were charged with the law and then bore it not is as the likeness of an ass bearing books: sorry is the likeness of the people who say God's signs are lies! but God guides not an unjust people.

Say, 'O ye who are Jews! if ye pretend that ye are the clients of God, beyond other people; then wish for death if ye do speak the truth!'

But they never wish for it, through what their hands have sent before! but God knows the unjust.

Say, 'Verily, the death from which ye flee will surely meet you; then shall ye be sent back to Him who knows the unseen and the visible, and He will inform you of that which ye have done!'

O ye who believe! when the call to prayer is made upon the Congregation Day², then hasten to the remembrance of God, and leave off traffic; that is better for you, if ye did but know!

[10] And when prayer is performed, then disperse abroad in the land, and crave of God's grace; and remember God much; haply ye may prosper!

But when they see merchandise or sport they flock to it and leave thee standing³! Say, 'What is

¹ I. e. by embracing Islâm.

² Friday, called before this 'Harûbah. It was the day on which Mohammed entered Medînah for the first time.

³ It is said that one Friday a caravan entered the town while Mohammed was conducting the public prayers, and the congrega-

with God is better than sport and than merchandise, for God is the best of providers !'

THE CHAPTER OF THE HYPOCRITES¹.

(LXIII. Medīnah.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

When the hypocrites come to thee, they say, 'We bear witness that thou art surely the Apostle of God;' but God knows that thou art His Apostle: and God bears witness that the hypocrites are liars!

They take their faith² for a cloak, and then they turn folks from God's way:—evil is that which they have done! That is because they believed and then disbelieved, wherefore is a stamp set on their hearts so that they do not understand!

And when thou seest them, their persons please thee³; but if they speak, thou listenest to their speech: they are like timber propped up⁴: they reckon every noise against them! They are the foe, so beware of them!—God fight against them, how they lie!

tion hearing the drums beat rushed out to see the sight, with the exception of about twelve of them.

¹ The disaffected portion of the inhabitants of Medīnah. See Introduction, p. xxxiv.

² Or, by a various reading, 'their oaths.'

³ Abdallah ibn Ubai, the leader of the 'Hypocrites' (see Introduction, p. xxxv), was a man of fine presence and eloquent address.

⁴ I. e. though of tall and imposing presence, they are really like mere logs.

[5] And when it is said to them, 'Come, and the Apostle of God will ask forgiveness for you!' they turn away their heads, and thou mayest see them turning away since they are so big with pride!

It is the same to them whether thou dost ask forgiveness for them, or whether thou dost not ask forgiveness for them,—God will not forgive them; verily, God guides not a people who work abomination!

They it is who say, 'Expend not in alms upon those who are with the Apostle of God, in order that they may desert him!'—but God's are the treasures of the heavens and the earth; but the hypocrites have no sense!

They say, 'If we return to el Medīnah, the mightier will surely drive out the meaner therefrom;' but to God belongs the might, and to His Apostle and to the believers; but the hypocrites do not know!

O ye who believe! let not your property nor your children divert you from the remembrance of God,—for whosoever does that, they are those who lose!

[10] But expend in alms of what we have bestowed upon you before death come on any one of you, and he says, 'My Lord! wouldst thou but have respited me till an appointed time nigh at hand, then would I surely give in charity and be among the righteous!' But God will never respite a soul when its appointed time has come: and God of what ye do is well aware!

THE CHAPTER OF CHEATING.

(LXIV. Place of origin doubtful.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

What is in the heavens and what is in the earth celebrates God's praises; His is the kingdom, and His is the praise, and He is mighty over all!

He it is who created you, and of you is (one) a misbeliever and (one) a believer; and God on what ye do does look.

He created the heavens and the earth in truth; and has formed you and made excellent your forms; and unto Him the journey is!

He knows what is in the heavens and the earth, and knows what ye conceal and what ye display; for God knows the nature of men's breasts!

[5] Has there not come to you the story of those who misbelieved before, and tasted the evil result of their affair, and for them was grievous woe?

That is because their apostles came to them with manifest signs, and they said, 'Shall mortals guide us?' and they misbelieved and turned their backs. But God was independent of them; for God is rich and to be praised!

Those who misbelieve pretend that they shall surely not be raised: say, 'Yea! by my Lord! ye shall surely be raised: then ye shall be informed of that which ye have done;' for that is easy unto God.

So believe in God and His Apostle and the light which we have sent down; for God of what ye do is well aware!

On the day when he shall gather you to the day

of gathering, that is the day of cheating¹! but whoso believes in God and acts aright, He will cover for him his offences, and will bring him into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye! that is the mighty bliss!

[10] But those who misbelieve and say our signs are lies, they are the fellows of the Fire, to dwell therein for aye! and evil shall the journey be!

No calamity befalls but by the permission of God: and whoso believes in God, He will guide his heart; for God all things doth know!

So obey God and obey the Apostle²: but if ye turn your backs—our Apostle has only his plain message to preach!

God, there is no god but He; and upon Him let the believers rely!

O ye who believe! verily, among your wives and children are foes of yours: so beware of them! But if ye pardon, and overlook it, and forgive,—verily, God is forgiving, compassionate!

[15] Your property and your children are but a trial; and God, with Him is mighty hire!

Then fear God as much as ye can! and hear, and obey, and expend in alms: it is better for yourselves. But whosoever is saved from his own covetousness—these are the prosperous!

If ye lend to God a goodly loan, He will double it for you, and will forgive you; for God is grateful, clement!

¹ I.e. both the righteous and the wicked will disappoint each other by reversing their positions, the wicked being punished while the righteous are in bliss.

² This expression seems to indicate that this verse at least was revealed at Medīnah.

He knows the unseen and the visible ; the mighty,
the wise !

THE CHAPTER OF DIVORCE.

(LXV. Medīnah.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate
God.

O thou prophet ! when ye divorce women, then divorce them at their term¹, and calculate the term and fear God your Lord. Do not drive them out of their houses unless they have committed manifest adultery. These are God's bounds, and whoso transgresses God's bounds has wronged himself. Thou knowest not whether haply God may cause something fresh to happen after that².

And when they have reached their appointed time, then retain them with kindness, or separate from them with kindness ; and bring as witnesses men of equity from among you ; and give upright testimony to God. That is what He admonishes him who believes in God and the last day ; and whosoever fears God, He will make for him a (happy) issue, and will provide for him from whence he reckoned not.

And whosoever relies on God, He is sufficient for him : verily, God will attain His purpose :—God has set for everything a period.

And such of your women as despair of menstrua-

¹ When they have had three periods of menstruation ; or, if they prove with child, after their delivery. See Part I, p. 34.

² I. e. whether God may not reconcile them again.

tion,—if ye doubt, then their term is three months; and such as have not menstruated too.

And those who are heavy with child their appointed time is when they have laid down their burden; and whosoever fears God, He will make for him an easy affair.

[5] That is God's command, He has sent it down to you; and whosoever fears God He will cover for him his offences and will make grand for him his hire.

Let them¹ dwell where ye dwell, according to your means, and do not harm them, to reduce them to straits; and if they be heavy with child, then pay for them until they lay down their burdens; and if they suckle (the child) for you, then give them their hire, and consult among yourselves in reason; but if ye be in difficulties, and another woman shall suckle the child for him, let him who has plenty expend of his plenty; but he whose provision is doled out, let him expend of what God has given him; God will not compel any soul beyond what He has given it;—God will make after difficulty ease!

How many a city has turned away from the bidding of its Lord and His apostles; and we called them to a severe account, and we tormented them with an unheard-of torment!

And they tasted the evil results of their conduct; and the end of their conduct was loss!

[10] God prepared for them severe torment;—then fear God, ye who are endowed with minds!

Ye who believe! God has sent down to you a

¹ The divorced women.

reminder;—an apostle to recite to you God's manifest signs;—to bring forth those who believe and act aright from darkness into light! and whoso believes in God and acts right He will bring him into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for ever and for aye! God has made goodly for him his provision!

God it is who created seven heavens, and of the earth the like thereof. The bidding descends between them, that ye may know that God is mighty over all, and that God has encompassed all things with His knowledge!

THE CHAPTER OF PROHIBITION¹.

(LXVI. Medīnah.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

O thou prophet! wherefore dost thou prohibit what God has made lawful to thee, craving to please thy wives? but God is forgiving, compassionate!

God has allowed you to expiate your oaths; for

¹ This chapter was occasioned by Mohammed's liaison with the Coptic girl Mary (see Introduction, p. xl), with whom he lay on the day due to 'Āyeshah or 'Hafsah. The latter was greatly enraged, and Mohammed to pacify her swore never to touch the girl again, and enjoined 'Hafsah to keep the matter secret from the rest of his wives. She, however, revealed it in confidence to 'Āyeshah; when Mohammed, annoyed at finding his confidence betrayed, not only divorced her, but separated himself from his other wives for the space of a month, which time he passed in Mary's apartment. The chapter is intended to free him from his oath respecting Mary, and to reprove his wives for their conduct.

God is your sovereign, and He is the knowing, the wise!

And when the prophet told as a secret to one of his wives a recent event, and when she gave information thereof and exposed it, he acquainted her with some of it and avoided part of it. But when he informed her of it, she said, 'Who told thee this?' he said, 'The wise one, the well-aware informed me.'

'If ye both turn repentant unto God,—for your hearts have swerved!—but if ye back each other up against him,—verily, God, He is the sovereign; and Gabriel and the righteous of the believers, and the angels after that, will back him up.'

'[5] It may be that his Lord if he divorce you will give him in exchange wives better than you, Muslims, believers, devout, repentant, worshipping, giving to fasting—such as have known men and virgins too.'

O ye who believe! save yourselves and your families from the fire, whose fuel is men and stones;—over it are angels stout and stern; they disobey not God in what He bids them, but they do what they are bidden!

O ye who disbelieve! excuse not yourselves to-day;—ye shall only be rewarded for that which ye have done.

O ye who believe! turn repentant to God with sincere repentance; it may be that thy Lord will cover for you your offences and will bring you into gardens beneath which rivers flow!—the day God will not disgrace the Prophet nor those who believe with him; their light shall run on before them, and at their right hands! they shall say, 'Our Lord! perfect for us our light and forgive us; verily, Thou art mighty over all!'

O thou prophet! fight strenuously against the misbelievers and hypocrites and be stern towards them; for their resort is hell, and an evil journey shall it be!

[10] God strikes out a parable to those who misbelieve: the wife of Noah and the wife of Lot; they were under two of our righteous servants, but they betrayed them: and they availed them nothing against God; and it was said, 'Enter the fire with those who enter.'

And God strikes out a parable for those who believe: the wife of Pharaoh, when she said, 'My Lord, build for me a house with Thee in Paradise, and save me from Pharaoh and his works, and save me from the unjust people!'

And Mary, daughter of Imrân, who guarded her private parts, and we breathed therein of our spirit and she verified the words of her Lord and His books, and was of the devout.

THE CHAPTER OF THE KINGDOM.

(LXVII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Blessed be He in whose hand is the kingdom, for He is mighty over all!

Who created death and life, to try you, which of you does best; for He is the mighty, the forgiving!

Who created seven heavens in stories; thou canst not see any discordance in the creation of the Merciful!

Why, look again! canst thou see a flaw? Then

look again twice!—thy look shall return to thee driven back and dulled!

[5] And we have adorned the lower heaven with lamps; and set them to pelt the devils with¹; and we have prepared for them the torment of the blaze!

And for those who disbelieve in their Lord is the torment of hell, and an evil journey shall it be!

When they shall be cast therein they shall hear its braying² as it boils—it will well-nigh burst for rage!

Whenever a troop of them is thrown in, its treasurers shall ask them, 'Did not a warner come to you?'

They shall say, 'Yea! a warner came to us, and we called him liar, and said, "God has not sent down aught; ye are but in great error!"'

[10] And they shall say, 'Had we but listened or had sense we had not been amongst the fellows of the blaze!'

And they will confess their sins; but 'Avaunt to the fellows of the blaze!'

Verily, those who fear their Lord in secret, for them is forgiveness and a great hire!

Speak ye secretly or openly, verily, He knows the nature of men's breasts!

Ay! He knows who created! for He is the subtle, the well-aware!

[15] He it is who made the earth flat for you; so walk in the spacious sides thereof and eat of His provision; for unto Him the resurrection is!

¹ See Part I, pp. 50, 51, note 2.

² Cf. Chapters XXV, verse 12, and XXXI, verse 18.

Are ye sure that He who is in the heaven will not cleave the earth with you, and that it then shall quake?

Or are ye sure that He who is in the heaven will not send against you a heavy sand storm, and that ye then shall know how the warning was?

But those before them did call the apostles liars, and what a change it was!

Or have they not looked at the birds above them expanding their wings or closing them?—none holds them in except the Merciful One; for He on everything doth look.

[20] Or who is this who will be a host for you, to help you against the Merciful?—the misbelievers are only in delusion!

Or who is this who will provide you if He hold back His provision?—Nay, but they persist in perverseness and aversion!

Is he who walks prone upon his face more guided than he who walks upright upon a straight path?

Say, 'It is He who produced you and made for you hearing and sight and hearts'—little is it that ye give thanks.

Say, 'It is He who sowed you in the earth, and unto Him shall ye be gathered!'

[25] They say, 'When shall this threat be, if ye do speak the truth?'

Say, 'The knowledge is only with God; and I am but a plain warner!'

And when they see it nigh, sorry shall be the faces of those who misbelieve; and it shall be said, 'This is that for which ye used to call!'

Say, 'Have ye considered, whether God destroy me and those with me, or whether we obtain mercy,

yet who will protect the misbelievers from grievous torment ?'

Say, 'He is the Merciful; we believe in Him, and upon Him do we rely; and ye shall shortly know who it is that is in obvious error!'

[30] Say, 'Have ye considered if your waters on the morrow should have sunk, who is to bring you flowing water?'

THE CHAPTER OF THE PEN.

(LXVIII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

N.¹ By the pen, and what they write, thou art not, by God's grace, mad! and, verily, thine is a hire that is not grudged! [5] and, verily, thou art of a grand nature²!

But thou shalt see and they shall see which of you is the infatuated.

Verily, thy Lord He knows best who errs from His way; and He knows best those who are guided.

Then obey not those who call thee liar; they would fain that thou shouldst be smooth with them, then would they be smooth with thee!

[10] And obey not any mean swearer³, a back-

¹ The Arabic name of the letter nûn signifies both 'a fish' and 'an inkstand'; the symbol is by some supposed to refer to Jonah, mentioned in verse 48, and by others to writing on the eternal tablets (see Part I, p. 2, note 2), to which the first words of the chapter apply.

² For bearing so meekly the insults of the misbelievers.

³ The person meant is, probably, Walîd ibn Muḡhâirah, the inveterate enemy of the prophet.

biter, a walker about with slander; a forbiddor of good, a transgressor, a sinner; rude, and base-born too; though he have wealth and sons!

[15] When our signs are recited to him he says, 'Old folks' tales!'

We will brand him on the snout!

Verily, we have tried them as we tried the fellows of the garden when they swore, 'We will cut its fruit at morn!'

But they made not the exception¹; and there came round about it an encompassing calamity from thy Lord the while they slept; [20] and on the morrow it was as one the fruit of which is cut.

And they cried to each other in the morning, 'Go early to your tilth if ye would cut it!'

So they set off, saying privily to each other, 'There shall surely enter it to-day unto you no poor person!'

[25] And they went early deciding to be stingy².

And when they saw it they said, 'Verily, we have erred! Nay, we are forbidden (its fruit)!'

Said the most moderate of them, 'Said I not to you, "unless ye celebrate God's praises!"'

Said they, 'Celebrated be the praises of our Lord! verily, we were unjust!'

[30] And they approached each other with mutual blame.

Said they, 'O woe to us! verily, we have been outrageous! Haply our Lord may give us instead a better than it; verily, we unto our Lord do yearn.'

¹ I. e. they did not add, 'If God please!'

² Or, according to another interpretation, 'with a determined purpose.'

Thus is the torment, but, verily, the torment of the hereafter is greater, if ye did but know !

Verily, for the pious with their Lord are gardens of pleasure !

[35] Shall we then make the Muslims like the sinners ? What ails you ? how ye judge !

Or have ye a book in which ye can study, that ye are surely to have what ye may choose ?

Or have ye oaths binding on us until the judgment day that ye are surely to have what ye may judge ?

[40] Ask them, which of them will vouch for this ?

Or have they partners, then let them bring their partners if they do speak the truth ?

On the day when the leg shall be bared¹; and they shall be called to adore and shall not be able !

Lowering their looks, abasement shall attack them, for they were called to adore while yet they were safe !

But let me alone with him who calls this new discourse a lie. We will surely bring them down by degrees from whence they do not know.

[45] And I will let them have their way ! for my device is sure.

Or dost thou ask them a hire for it while they are burdened with debts ?

Or have they the knowledge of the unseen, so that they write ?

But wait patiently for the judgment of thy Lord, and be not like the fellow of the fish², when he cried out as he was choking with rage.

¹ An expression signifying any great calamity or battle, because the non-combatants gird up their loins to be ready for flight.

² Jonah.

Had it not been that grace from his Lord reached him, he would have been cast out on the naked (shore) and blamed the while!

[50] But his Lord elected him, and made him of the pious.

The misbelievers well-nigh upset thee with their looks when they hear the reminder, and they say, 'Surely he is mad!'

And yet it is but a reminder to the worlds!

THE CHAPTER OF THE INFALLIBLE.

(LXIX. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

The Infallible, what is the Infallible? and what should make thee know what the Infallible is?

Thamûd and 'Âd called the Striking¹ Day a lie; [5] but as for Thamûd they perished by the shock; and as for 'Âd they perished with the violent cold blast of wind, which He subjected against them for seven nights and eight days consecutively. Thou mightest see the people therein prostrate as though they were palm stumps thrown down, and canst thou see any of them left?

And Pharaoh and those before him of the overturned cities² committed sins, [10] and they rebelled against the apostle of their Lord, and He seized them with an excessive punishment.

Verily, we, when the water surged, bore you on

¹ Cf. Chapter XIII, verse 31, Part I, p. 236.

² Sodom and Gomorrah; cf. Part I, p. 183, note 1.

it in a sailing ship, to make it a memorial for you, and that the retentive ear might hold it.

And when the trumpet shall be blown with one blast, and the earth shall be borne away, and the mountains too, and both be crushed with one crushing; [15] on that day shall the inevitable happen; and the heaven on that day shall be cleft asunder, for on that day shall it wane! and the angels upon the sides thereof; and above them on that day shall eight bear the throne of thy Lord!

On the day when ye shall be set forth no hidden thing of yours shall be concealed.

And as for him who is given his book in his right hand, he shall say, 'Here! take and read my book. [20] Verily, I thought that I should meet my reckoning;' and he shall be in a pleasing life, in a lofty garden, whose fruits are nigh to cull—'Eat ye and drink with good digestion, for what ye did aforetime in the days that have gone by!'

[25] But as for him who is given his book in his left hand he shall say, 'O, would that I had not received my book! I did not know what my account would be. O, would that it¹ had been an end of me! my wealth availed me not! my authority has perished from me!' [30] 'Take him and fetter him, then in hell broil him! then into a chain whose length is seventy cubits force him! verily, he believed not in the mighty God, nor was he particular to feed the poor: [35] therefore he has not here to-day any warm friend, nor any food except foul ichor, which none save sinners shall eat!'

I need not swear by what ye see or what ye do

¹ I. e. death.

not see, [40] verily, it is the speech of a noble apostle; and it is not the speech of a poet:—little is it ye believe!

And it is not the speech of a soothsayer,—little is it that ye mind!—a revelation from the Lord of the worlds.

Why if he had invented against us any sayings, [45] we would have seized him by the right hand, then we would have cut his jugular vein; nor could any one of you have kept us off from him.

Verily, it is a memorial to the pious; and, verily, we know that there are amongst you those who say it is a lie; [50] and, verily, it is a source of sighing to the misbelievers; and, verily, it is certain truth!

Therefore celebrate the name of thy mighty Lord!

THE CHAPTER OF THE ASCENTS.

(LXX. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

An asker¹ asked for torment that must befall, for the unbelievers; there is no repelling it; from God the Lord of the ascents², whereby ascend the angels

¹ The person referred to is said to have been either Abu Gahl, who challenged Mohammed to cause a portion of the heaven to fall on them, see Chapter XXVI, verse 187, p. 97, or one Nadhr ibn el 'Hâreth, who said of Islâm, 'If this be the truth from Thee, then rain down on us stones from heaven!'

² Either steps by which the prayers of the righteous or the angels ascend to heaven; or the word may refer to the various degrees of the angels, or to the seven heavens themselves. See Introduction, p. lxx.

and the Spirit unto Him in a day whose length is fifty thousand years¹.

[5] Wherefore be patient with fair patience; verily, they see it as afar off, but we see it nigh !

The day when the heaven shall be as molten brass, and the mountains shall be like flocks of wool; [10] when no warm friend shall question friend; they shall gaze on each other, and the sinner would fain give as a ransom from the torment of that day his sons and his mate, and his brother and his kin who stand by him, and all who are in the earth, that yet it might rescue him !

[15] Nay, verily, it is a flame,—dragging by the scalp ! it shall call those who retreated and turned their backs and who amassed and hoarded !

Verily, man is by nature rash² ! [20] when evil touches him, very impatient; when good touches him, niggardly; all save those who pray, who remain at their prayers, and in whose wealth is a reasonable due (set aside) [25] for him who asks and him who is kept from asking, and those who believe in a day of judgment, and those who shrink in terror from the torment of their Lord;—verily, the torment of their Lord is not safe;—and those who guard their private parts, [30] except for their wives or the (slave girls) whom their right hands possess, for they are not to be blamed; but whoso craves beyond this, they are the transgressors; and those who observe their trusts and their compacts, and those who are upright in their testimonies, and those who keep their prayers, [35] these shall dwell in gardens honoured.

¹ Cf. Chapter XXXII, verse 4, p. 135.

² Cf. Chapter XVII, verse 12, p. 2.

What ails the misbelievers that they hurry on before thee, crowding together on the right and on the left¹? Does every man of them wish to enter the garden of pleasure?

Nay, we created them of what they know!

[40] And I need not swear by the Lord of the easts and the wests²; verily, we are able to change them for others better, nor are we prevented!

So leave them to plunge in discussion, and to play until they meet that day of theirs which they are threatened with, the day when they shall come forth in haste from the graves, as though they flock to a standard! with their looks abashed; meanness shall cover them! That is the day which they were promised!

THE CHAPTER OF NOAH.

(LXXI. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Verily, we sent Noah to his people, 'Warn thy people before there come to them a grievous torment!'

Said he, 'O my people! verily, I am to you an obvious warner, that ye serve God and fear Him and obey me. He will pardon you your sins, and will defer you unto an appointed time; verily, God's

¹ Cf. pp. 262, 263.

² I. e. of the east and the west; or of the various points of the horizon at which the sun rises and sets in the course of the year.

appointed time when it comes will not be deferred, did ye but know !'

[5] Said he, 'My Lord! verily, I have called my people by night and day, and my call did but increase them in flight; and, verily, every time I called them, that Thou mightest pardon them, they placed their fingers in their ears and tried to cover themselves with their garments and persisted, and were very big with pride. Then I called them openly; then I published to them and I spoke to them in secret, and I said, "Ask forgiveness of your Lord, verily, He is very forgiving. [10] He will send the rain upon you in torrents, and will extend to you wealth and children, and will make for you gardens, and will make for you rivers. What ails you that ye hope not for something serious from God, when He has created you by steps¹? Do ye not see how God has created the seven heavens in stories, [15] and has set the moon therein for a light, and set the sun for a lamp? and God has made you grow out of the earth, and then He will make you return thereto, and will make you come forth therefrom; and God has made for you the earth a carpet that ye may walk therein in broad paths.'"

[20] Said Noah, 'My Lord! verily, they have rebelled against me, and followed him whose wealth and children have but added to his loss, and they have plotted a great plot, and said, "Ye shall surely not leave your gods: ye shall surely neither leave Wadd, nor Suwâ'h, nor Yaghûth, nor Ya'ûq, nor Nasr², and they led astray many.'" And thou

¹ See Chapter XXII, verse 5, p. 56.

² For these five idols, see Introduction, p. xii.

(Mohammed) wilt only increase the unjust in their error—[25] because of their sins they were drowned and made to enter into the fire, and they found no helpers against God!

And Noah said, 'My Lord! leave not upon the earth one dweller of the misbelievers. Verily, Thou, if Thou shouldst leave them, they will lead astray Thy servants, and they will only bear for children sinners and misbelievers. My Lord! pardon me and my two parents, and whomsoever enters my house believing, and (pardon) the believers men and women—but Thou shalt only increase the unjust in loss.'

THE CHAPTER OF THE GINN.

(LXXII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Say, 'I have been inspired that there listened a company of the *ginn*¹, and they said, "We have heard a marvellous Qur'ân that guides to the right direction; and we believe therein, and we join no one with our Lord, for, verily, He—may the majesty of our Lord be exalted!—has taken to Himself neither consort nor son.

"And, verily, a fool among us spake against God wide of the mark!

"[5] And we thought that men and *ginn* would never speak a lie against God.

¹ See Introduction, pp. xiii-xiv. The occasion of Mohammed's preaching to the *ginn* was on his returning from his unsuccessful errand to *Tâ'if*; see Introduction, p. xxx.

“And there are persons amongst men who seek for refuge with persons amongst the *ginn*¹; but they increase them in their perverseness. And they thought, as ye thought, that God would not raise up any one from the dead.

“But we touched the heavens and found them filled with a mighty guard and shooting-stars; and we did sit in certain seats thereof to listen; but whoso of us listens now finds a shooting-star for him on guard.

“[10] And, verily, we know not whether evil be meant for those who are in the earth, or if their Lord means right by them.

“And of us are some who are pious, and of us are some who are otherwise: we are in separate bands.

“And we thought that we could not frustrate God in the earth, and could not frustrate Him by flight.

“But, verily, when we heard the guidance we believed therein, and he who believes in his Lord shall fear neither diminution nor loss.

“And, verily, of us are some who are Muslims, and of us some are trespassers; but those of us who are Muslims they strive after right direction; [15] and as for the trespassers they are fuel for hell.”

And if they² will go right upon the way, we will irrigate them with copious water to try them thereby; and whoso turns from the remembrance of his Lord He will drive him to severe torment.

And (say) that the mosques are God's, and that ye

¹ The pagan Arabs when they found themselves in a lonely place, such as they supposed the *ginn* to haunt, used to say, ‘I take refuge in the Lord of this valley from the foolish among his people!’

² The Meccans.

should not call on any one with God, and that when God's servant¹ stood up to pray they² called out to him and well-nigh crowded upon him. [20] Say, 'I only call upon my Lord, and I join no one with Him.'

Say, 'Verily, I cannot control for you either harm, or right direction.'

Say, 'Verily, as for me none can protect me against God, nor do I find any refuge beside Him,—except delivering the message from God and His errands: and whoso rebels against God and His Apostle, verily, for him is the fire of hell for them to dwell therein for ever and for aye!'

[25] Until when they see what they are threatened with, then shall they surely know who is most weak at helping and fewest in numbers!

Say, 'I know not if what ye are threatened with be nigh, or if my Lord will set for it a term. He knows the unseen, and He lets no one know His unseen, save such apostle as He is well pleased with: for, verily, He sends marching before him and behind him a guard!'

That He may know that they have delivered the errands of their Lord, for He compasses what they have, and reckons everything by number.

THE CHAPTER OF THE ENWRAPPED.

(LXXIII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

O thou who art enwrapped! rise by night except a little—the half, or deduct therefrom a little, or

¹ Mohammed.

² The ginn.

add thereto, and chant the Qur'ân chanting. [5]
Verily, we will cast on thee a heavy speech.

Verily, the early part of the night is stronger in impressions and more upright in speech!

Verily, thou hast by day a long employment; but mention the name of thy Lord and devote thyself thoroughly to Him, the Lord of the east and the west; there is no god but He; then take Him for a guardian!

[10] And endure patiently what they say, and flee from them with a decorous flight.

And leave me and those who say it is a lie, who are possessed of comfort; and let them bide for a while.

Verily, with us are heavy fetters and hell-fire, and food that chokes, and mighty woe!

On the day when the earth and the mountains shall tremble and the earth shall be as a crumbling sand-hill!

[15] Verily, we have sent unto you an apostle bearing witness against you, as we sent an apostle unto Pharaoh.

But Pharaoh rebelled against the apostle, and we seized him with an overpowering punishment.

Then how will ye shield yourselves if ye misbelieve from the day which shall make children grey-headed, whereon the heaven cleaves—its promise shall be fulfilled!

Verily, this is a memorial, and whoso will, let him take unto his Lord a way¹.

¹ From verse 20 the rest of the sûrah seems from its style to belong to the Medînah period; and there is a tradition ascribed to 'Âyeshah that it was revealed a year later than the earlier part of the chapter.

[20] Verily, thy Lord knows that thou dost stand up to pray nearly two-thirds of the night, or the half of it or the third of it, as do part of those who are with thee; for God measures the night and the day; He knows that ye cannot calculate it, and He turns relentant towards you.

So read what is easy of the Qur'ân. He knows that there will be of you some who are sick and others who beat about in the earth craving the grace of God, and others who are fighting in the cause of God. Then read what is easy of it and be steadfast in prayer, and give alms, and lend to God a goodly loan, for what ye send forward for yourselves of good ye will find it with God. It is better and a greater hire; and ask ye pardon of God: verily, God is forgiving, merciful!

THE CHAPTER OF THE 'COVERED'¹

(LXXIV. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

O thou who art covered! rise up and warn!

And thy Lord magnify!

[5] And thy garments purify!

And abomination shun!

And grant not favours to gain increase!

And for thy Lord await!

And when the trump is blown,—for that day is a

¹ The first five verses of this chapter form the second revelation by the angel Gabriel in person, and the first after the Fatrah, or period of 'Intermission.' See Introduction, p. xxii.

difficult day! [10] for the misbelievers aught but easy!

Leave me alone with him I have created, and for whom I have made extensive wealth¹, and sons that he may look upon, and for whom I have smoothed things down. [15] Then he desires that I should increase! nay, verily, he is hostile to our signs! I will drive him up a hill! Then he reflected and planned! May he be killed,—how he planned! [20] Again, may he be killed,—how he planned! Then he looked; then he frowned and scowled; then he retreated and was big with pride and said, ‘This is only magic exhibited! [25] this is only mortal speech!’—I will broil him in hell-fire! and what shall make thee know what hell-fire is? It will not leave and will not let alone. It scorches the flesh; [30] over it are nineteen (angels).

We have made only angels guardians of the fire, and we have only made their number a trial to those who misbelieve; that those who have been given the Book may be certain, and that those who believe may be increased in faith; and that those who have been given the Book and the believers may not doubt; and that those in whose hearts is sickness, and the misbelievers may say, ‘What does God mean by this as a parable?’

Thus God leads astray whom He pleases, and guides him He pleases: and none knows the hosts of thy Lord save Himself; and it is only a reminder to mortals!

[35] Nay, by the moon!

And the night when it retires!

¹ The person meant is generally supposed to be Walîd ibn Mughâirah, one of the chiefs of the Qurâis.

And the morning when it brightly dawns!

Verily, it is one of the greatest misfortunes; a warning to mortals; [40] for him amongst you who wishes to press forward or to tarry!

Every soul is pledged¹ for what it earns; except the fellows of the right: in gardens shall they ask each other about the sinners!—'What drove you into hell-fire?'

They shall say, 'We weren't² of those who prayed; [45] we didn't feed the poor; but we did plunge into discussion with those who plunged, and we called the judgment day a lie until the certainty³ did come to us!'

But there shall not profit them the intercession of the intercessors.

[50] What ailed them that they turned away from the memorial as though they were timid asses fleeing from a lion?

Nay, every man of them wished that he might have given him books spread open!

Nay, but they did not fear the hereafter!

Nay, it is a memorial! and let him who will remember it; [55] but none will remember it except God please. He is most worthy of fear; and he is most worthy to forgive!

THE CHAPTER OF THE RESURRECTION.

(LXXV. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

I need not swear by the resurrection day!

¹ See Chapter LII, verse 21, p. 249, note 1.

² See Part I, p. 78, note 1.

³ I. e. death.

Nor need I swear by the self-accusing soul!

Does man think that we shall not collect his bones? Able are we to arrange his finger tips!

[5] Nay, but man wishes to be wicked henceforward! he asks, When is the resurrection day?

But when the sight shall be dazed, and the moon be eclipsed, and the sun and the moon be together, [10] and man shall say upon that day, 'Where is a place to flee to?'—nay, no refuge! and to thy Lord that day is the sure settlement: He will inform man on that day of what He has sent forward or delayed!

Nay, man is an evidence against himself, [15] and even if he thrusts forward his excuses—.

Do not move thy tongue thereby to hasten it¹. It is for us to collect it and to read it; and when we read it then follow its reading. And again it is for us to explain it.

[20] Nay, indeed, but ye love the transient life, and ye neglect the hereafter!

Faces on that day shall be bright, gazing on their Lord!

And faces on that day shall be dismal!

[25] Thou wilt think that a back-breaking calamity has happened to them!

Nay, but when the [soul] comes up into the throat, and it is said, 'Who will charm it back?' and he will think that it is his parting [hour]. And leg shall be pressed on leg²; [30] unto thy Lord on that day shall the driving be.

For he did not believe³ and did not pray; but

¹ I. e. the revelation; see p. 16, note 2, and p. 43, note 2. The words are addressed to Mohammed by the angel Gabriel.

² I. e. in the death struggle.

³ Or did not give in charity.

he said it was a lie, and turned his back! Then he went to his people haughtily—woe to thee, and woe to thee! again woe to thee, and woe to thee!

Does man think that he shall be left to himself?

Wasn't¹ he a clot of emitted seed? Then he was congealed blood, and (God) created him, and fashioned him, and made of him pairs, male and female.

[35] Is not He able to quicken the dead?

THE CHAPTER OF MAN.

(LXXVI. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Does there not come on man a portion of time when he is nothing worth mentioning²?

Verily, we created man from a mingled clot, to try him; and we gave him hearing and sight. Verily, we guided him in the way, whether he be grateful or ungrateful.

Verily, we have prepared for those who misbelieve chains and fetters and a blaze!

[5] Verily, the righteous shall drink of a cup tempered with Kâfûr³, a spring from which God's servants shall drink and make it gush out as they please!

They who fulfil their vows, and fear a day, the evil which shall fly abroad, and who give food for His

¹ See Part I, p. 78, note 1.

² While in the womb.

³ Name of a river in Paradise, so called because it is white, cool, and sweet-smelling, as camphor is.

love to the poor and the orphan and the captive. 'We only feed you for God's sake; we desire not from you either reward or thanks; [10] we fear from our Lord a frowning, calamitous day!'

And God will guard them from the evil of that day and will cast on them brightness and joy; and their reward for their patience shall be Paradise and silk! reclining therein upon couches they shall neither see therein sun nor piercing cold¹; and close down upon them shall be its shadows; and lowered over them its fruits to cull; [15] and they shall be served round with vessels of silver and goblets that are as flagons—flagons of silver which they shall mete out! and they shall drink therein a cup tempered with Zingabil², a spring therein named Silsabil! and there shall go round about them eternal boys; when thou seest them thou wilt think them scattered pearls; [20] and when thou seest them thou shalt see pleasure and a great estate! On them shall be garments of green embroidered satin and brocade; and they shall be adorned with bracelets of silver; and their Lord shall give them to drink pure drink! Verily, this is a reward for you, and your efforts are thanked.

Verily, we have sent down upon thee the Qur'ân. Wherefore wait patiently for the judgment of thy Lord, and obey not any sinner or misbeliever amongst them. [25] But remember the name of thy Lord morning, and evening, and through the

¹ Zamharîr, the word here rendered 'piercing cold,' is by some authorities interpreted to mean 'the moon.'

² Zingabil signifies 'ginger.'

night, and adore Him, and celebrate His praises the whole night long.

Verily, these love the transitory life, and leave behind them a heavy day!

We created them and strengthened their joints; and if we please we can exchange for the likes of them in their stead. Verily, this is a memorial, and whoso will, let him take unto his Lord a way.

[30] But ye will not please except God please! Verily, God is knowing, wise.

He makes whomsoever He pleases to enter into His mercy; but the unjust He has prepared for them a grievous woe!

THE CHAPTER OF THOSE SENT.

(LXXVII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

By those sent in a series¹!

And by those who speed swiftly!

And by the dispensers abroad!

And by the separators apart!

[5] And by those who instil the reminder, as an excuse or warning!

Verily, what ye are threatened with shall surely happen!

And when the stars shall be erased!

And when the heaven shall be cleft!

[10] And when the mountains shall be winnowed!

And when the apostles shall have a time appointed for them!

¹ Either angels or winds, or as some interpret the passage, the verses of the Qur'ân.

For what day is the appointment made ?

For the day of decision ! and what shall make thee know what the decision is ?

[15] Woe on that day for those who say it is a lie !

Have we not destroyed those of yore, and then followed them up with those of the latter day ?
Thus do we with the sinners.

Woe on that day for those who say it is a lie !

[20] Did we not create you from contemptible water, and place it in a sure depository unto a certain decreed term ? for we are able and well able too !

Woe on that day for those who say it is a lie !

[25] Have we not made for them the earth to hold the living and the dead ? and set thereon firm mountains reared aloft ? and given you to drink water in streams ?

Woe on that day for those who say it is a lie !

Go off to that which ye did call a lie ! [30] Go off to the shadow of three columns, that shall not shade nor avail against the flame ! Verily, it throws off sparks like towers,—as though they were yellow camels !

Woe on that day for those who say it is a lie !

[35] This is the day when they may not speak,—when they are not permitted to excuse themselves !

Woe on that day for those who say it is a lie !

This is the day of decision ! We have assembled you with those of yore ; if ye have any stratagem employ it now !

[40] Woe on that day for those who say it is a lie !

Verily, the pious are amid shades and springs and

fruit such as they love.—‘Eat and drink with good digestion, for that which ye have done!’
 Verily, thus do we reward those who do well.
 [45] Woe on that day for those who say it is a lie!
 ‘Eat and enjoy yourselves for a little; verily, ye are sinners!’
 Woe on that day for those who say it is a lie!
 And when it is said to them bow down, they bow not down.
 Woe on that day for those who say it is a lie!
 [50] And in what new discourse after it will they believe?

THE CHAPTER OF THE INFORMATION.

(LXXVIII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Of what do they ask each other?—Of the mighty information whereon they do dispute¹? nay, they shall know too well! [5] Again, nay, they shall know too well!

Have we not set the earth as a couch, and the mountains as stakes, and created you in pairs, and made your sleep for rest, [10] and made the night a garment, and made the day for livelihood, and built above you seven solid (heavens) and set a burning lamp, and sent down from the rain expressing clouds water pouring forth, [15] to bring out

¹ I. e. the news of the resurrection.

thereby the grain and herb and gardens thickly planted?

Verily, the day of decision is an appointed time; and the day when the trumpet shall be blown, and ye shall come in troops, and the heavens shall be opened, and shall be all doors, [20] and the mountains shall be moved, and shall be like a mirage!

Verily, hell is an ambuscade; a reward for the outrageous, to tarry therein for ages. They shall not taste therein cool nor drink, [25] but only boiling water and pus;—a fit reward!

Verily, they did not hope for the account; but they ever said our signs were lies.

Everything have we remembered in a book.

[30] 'Then taste, for we will only increase your torment!'

Verily, for the pious is a blissful place,—gardens and vineyards, and girls with swelling breasts of the same age as themselves, and a brimming cup; [35] they shall hear therein no folly and no lie;—a reward from thy Lord, a sufficient gift! The Lord of the heavens and the earth, and what is between them both,—the Merciful,—they cannot obtain audience of Him!

The day when the Spirit and the angels shall stand in ranks, they shall not speak save to whom the Merciful permits, and who speaks aright.

That is the true day; and whoso pleases let him take to a resort unto his Lord!

[40] Verily, we have warned you of a torment that is nigh: on a day when man shall see what his two hands have sent forward; and the misbeliever shall say, 'Would that I were dust!'

THE CHAPTER OF THOSE WHO TEAR OUT.

(LXXIX. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

By those who tear out violently!
 And by those who gaily release¹
 And by those who float through the air!
 And the preceders who precede²!

[5] And those who manage the affair!

On the day when the quaking³ quakes which the following one shall succeed! Hearts on that day shall tremble; eyes thereon be humbled!

[10] They say, 'Shall we be sent back to our old course?—What! when we are rotten bones?' they say, 'That then were a losing return!'

But it will only be one scare, and lo! they will be on the surface!

[15] Has the story of Moses⁴ come to you? when his Lord addressed him in the holy valley of Tuvâ, 'Go unto Pharaoh, verily, he is outrageous; and say, "Hast thou a wish to purify thyself, and that I may guide thee to thy Lord, and thou mayest fear?"'

[20] So he showed him the greatest sign; but

¹ Referring to the angel of death and his assistants, who tear away the souls of the wicked violently, and gently release the souls of the good.

² The angels who precede the souls of the righteous to Paradise.

³ The trumpet blast at the last day, which shall make the universe quake.

⁴ See Chapter XX, verse 12, p. 35.

he called him a liar and rebelled. Then he retreated hastily, and gathered, and proclaimed, and said, 'I am your Lord most High!' [25] but God seized him with the punishment of the future life and of the former.

Verily, in that is a lesson to him who fears!

Are ye harder to create or the heaven that He has built? He raised its height and fashioned it; and made its night to cover it, and brought forth its noonday light; [30] and the earth after that He did stretch out. He brings forth from it its water and its pasture.

And the mountains He did firmly set, a provision for you and for your cattle.

And when the great predominant calamity shall come, [35] on the day when man shall remember what he strove after, and hell shall be brought out for him who sees!

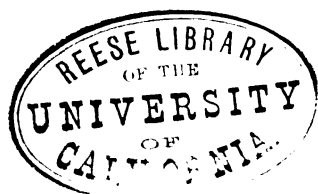
And as for him who was outrageous and preferred the life of this world, verily, hell is the resort!

[40] But as for him who feared the station of his Lord, and prohibited his soul from lust, verily, Paradise is the resort!

They shall ask thee about the Hour, for when it is set. Whereby canst thou mention it? Unto thy Lord its period belongs.

[45] Thou art only a warner to him who fears it.

On the day they see it, it will be as though they had only tarried an evening or the noon thereof.



THE CHAPTER 'He FROWNED.'

(LXXX. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

He frowned and turned his back, for that there came to him a blind man¹!

But what should make thee know whether haply he may be purified? or may be mindful and the reminder profit him?

[5] But as for him who is wealthy, thou dost attend to him; and thou dost not care that he is not purified; but as for him who comes to thee earnestly fearing the while, [10] from him thou art diverted!

Nay! verily, it is a memorial; and whoso pleases will remember it.

In honoured pages exalted, purified, [15] in the hands of noble, righteous scribes!

May man be killed! how ungrateful he is!

Of what did He create him? Of a clot. He created him and fated him; [20] then the path He did make easy for him; then He killed him, and laid him in the tomb; then when He pleases will He raise him up again.

¹ One Abdallah ibn Umm Maktûm, a poor blind man, once interrupted Mohammed while the latter was in conversation with Walîd ibn Mughâirah and some others of the Qurâis chiefs. The prophet taking no notice of him, the blind man raised his voice and earnestly begged for religious instruction, but Mohammed, annoyed at the interruption, frowned and turned away. This passage is a reprimand to the prophet for his conduct on the occasion. Afterwards, whenever he saw the blind Abdallah, Mohammed used to say, 'Welcome to him on whose account my Lord reproved me!' and subsequently made him governor of Medînah.

Nay, he has not fulfilled his bidding!

But let man look unto his foods. [25] Verily, we have poured the water out in torrents : then we have cleft the earth asunder, and made to grow therefrom the grain, and the grape, and the hay, and the olive, and the palm, [30] and gardens closely planted, and fruits, and grass,—a provision for you and for your cattle!

But when the stunning noise shall come, on the day when man shall flee from his brother [35] and his mother and his father and his spouse and his sons! Every man among them on that day shall have a business to employ him.

Faces on that day shall be bright,—laughing, joyous! [40] and faces shall have dust upon them,—darkness shall cover them! those are the wicked misbelievers!

THE CHAPTER OF THE FOLDING UP.

(LXXXI. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.
 When the sun is folded up,
 And when the stars do fall,
 And when the mountains are moved,
 And when the she-camels ten months' gone with
 young shall be neglected¹,
 [5] And when the beasts shall be crowded together²,

¹ Such camels being among the most valuable of an Arab's possessions, neglect of them must imply some terribly engrossing calamity.

² The terrors of the judgment day will drive all the wild beasts together for mutual shelter.

And when the seas shall surge up,
 And when souls shall be paired with bodies,
 And when the child who was buried alive shall be
 asked for what sin she was slain¹,

[10] And when the pages shall be spread out,
 And when the heaven shall be flayed,

And when hell shall be set ablaze,
 And when Paradise shall be brought nigh,
 The soul shall know what it has produced !

[15] I need not swear by the stars that slink back,
 moving swiftly, slinking into their dens !

Nor by the night when darkness draws on !

Nor by the morn when it first breathes up !

Verily, it is the speech of a noble apostle, [20]
 mighty, standing sure with the Lord of the throne,
 obeyed and trusty too !

Your comrade is not mad; he saw him² on the plain
 horizon³, nor does he grudge to communicate the
 unseen⁴.

[25] Nor is it the speech of a pelted devil⁵.

Then whither do ye go ?

It is but a reminder to the worlds, to whomsoever
 of you pleases to go straight :—but ye will not
 please, except God, the Lord of the world, should
 please.

¹ See Part I, p. 132, note 3, and p. 256, note 2. See also Introduction, p. x.

² Gabriel.

³ See Chapter LIII, verses 1-19, pp. 251, 252.

⁴ Some copies have a various reading, 'suspicious of.'

⁵ See Part I, note 2, pp. 50, 51.

THE CHAPTER OF THE CLEAVING ASUNDER.

(LXXXII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.
When the heaven is cleft asunder,
And when the stars are scattered,
And when the seas gush together,
And when the tombs are turned upside down,

✓ [5] The soul shall know what it has sent on or
kept back!

O man! what has seduced thee concerning thy
generous Lord, who created thee, and fashioned thee,
and gave thee symmetry, and in what form He
pleased composed thee?

Nay, but ye call the judgment a lie! [10] but
over you are guardians set¹,—noble, writing down!
they know what ye do!

Verily, the righteous are in pleasure, and, verily,
the wicked are in hell; [15] they shall broil therein
upon the judgment day; nor shall they be absent
therefrom!

And what shall make thee know what is the judg-
ment day? Again, what shall make thee know what
is the judgment day? a day when no soul shall control
aught for another; and the bidding on that day be-
longs to God!

THE CHAPTER OF THOSE WHO GIVE SHORT WEIGHT.

(LXXXIII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate
God.

Woe to those who give short weight! who when

¹ See p. 243, note 1.

they measure against others take full measure; but when they measure to them or weigh to them, diminish!

Do not these think that they shall be raised again [5] at the mighty day? the day when men shall stand before the Lord of the worlds!

Nay, verily, the book of the wicked is in *Siggîn*¹; and what shall make thee know what *Siggîn* is?—a book inscribed!

[10] Woe on that day for those who say it is a lie!

Who call the judgment day a lie! but none shall call it a lie except every sinful transgressor, who, when our signs are read to him, says, 'Old folks' tales!'

Nay, but that which they have gained has settled upon their hearts.

Nay, verily, [15] from their Lord on that day are they veiled; and then, verily, they shall broil in hell; then it shall be said, 'This is what ye once did call a lie!'

Nay, verily, the book of the righteous is in '*Illiyûn*²'; and what shall make thee know what '*Illiyûn* is?—[20] a book inscribed! those nigh to God shall witness it.

Verily, the righteous shall be in pleasure; upon couches shall they gaze; thou mayest recognise in their faces the brightness of pleasure; [25] they shall be given to drink wine that is sealed, whose seal is musk; for that then let the aspirants aspire!

¹ *Siggîn*, the 'prison' of hell, whence the register of the wicked is named.

² '*Illiyûn* means 'high places.'

—and it shall be tempered with Tasnīm¹,—a spring from which those nigh to God shall drink.

Verily, those who sin do laugh at those who believe; [30] and when they pass by they wink at one another, and when they return to their family they return ridiculing them; and when they see them they say, 'Verily, these do go astray!'—but they are not sent as guardians over them!

But to-day those who believe shall at the misbelievers laugh! [35] Upon couches shall they gaze; are the misbelievers rewarded for what they have done?

THE CHAPTER OF THE RENDING ASUNDER.

(LXXXIV. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

When the heaven is rent asunder and gives ear unto its Lord, and is dutiful!

And when the earth is stretched out and casts forth what is in it, and is empty, [5] and gives ear unto its Lord, and is dutiful!

O man! verily, thou art toiling after thy Lord, toiling; wherefore shalt thou meet Him!

And as for him who is given his book in his right hand, he shall be reckoned with by an easy reckoning; and he shall go back to his family joyfully.

[10] But as for him who is given his book behind his back², he shall call out for destruction, but he

¹ Name of a fountain in Paradise, so called because it is conveyed to the highest apartments there.

² I. e. in the left hand, which will be chained behind the back, the right hand being fettered to the neck.

shall broil in a blaze ! Verily, he was amongst his family joyful. Verily, he thought that he should never return to God.

[15] Yea, verily, his Lord on him did look !

I need not swear by the evening glow,

Or by the night, and what it drives together,

Or by the moon when it is at its full,

[Ye shall be surely transferred from state to state!¹]

[20] What ails them that they do not believe ?

and, when the Qur'ân is read to them, do not adore ?

Nay, those who misbelieve do say it is a lie, but God knows best the (malice) that they hide.

So give them the glad tidings of grievous woe !

[25] save those who believe and act aright, for them is hire that is not grudged !

THE CHAPTER OF THE ZODIACAL SIGNS.

(LXXXV. Mecca.)

In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

By the heaven with its zodiacal signs² !

And the promised day !

And the witness and the witnessed³ !

The fellows of the pit were slain ;

[5] And the fire with its kindling,

When they sat over it

And witnessed the while what they were doing with those who believed⁴.

¹ From life to death, and from death to the future life.

² Literally, 'towers.'

³ Various interpretations are given of these words, the most probable perhaps being that 'the witness' is Mohammed, and 'the witnessed' the faith.

⁴ Alluding to the persecution of the Christians at Negrân by

And they took not vengeance on them save for
 their belief in God,
 The mighty, the praiseworthy,
 Whose is the kingdoms of the heavens and the
 earth ;
 For God is witness over all !

[10] Verily, those who make trial of the believers,
 men and women, and then do not repent, for them
 is the torment of hell, and for them is the torment
 of the burning !

Verily, those who believe and act aright, for them
 are gardens beneath which rivers flow,—that is the
 great bliss !

[Verily, the violence of thy Lord is keen !]

Verily, He produces and returns, and He is the
 forgiving, the loving, [15] the Lord of the glorious
 throne ; the doer of what He will !

Has there come to thee the story of the hosts of
 Pharaoh and Thamûd ?

Nay, those who misbelieve do say it is a lie ;
 [20] but God is behind them—encompassing !

Nay, it is a glorious Qur'ân in a preserved tablet¹.

THE CHAPTER OF THE NIGHT STAR.

(LXXXVI. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate
 God.

By the heaven and by the night star ! And what

DHU 'n Navvâs, king of Yemen, who had embraced the Jewish
 religion, and who commanded all his subjects who would not do
 the same to be flung into a pit filled with fire, and burnt to death.

¹ See Part I, p. 2, note 2.

shall make thee know what the night star is?—The star of piercing brightness.

Verily, every soul has a guardian over it.

[5] Then let man look from what he is created : he is created from water poured forth, that comes out from between the loins and the breast bones¹.

Verily, He is able to send him back again, on the day when the secrets shall be tried, [10] and he shall have no strength nor helper.

By the heaven that sends back the rain !

And the earth with its sprouting !

Verily, it is indeed a distinguishing speech, and it is no frivolity !

[15] Verily, they do plot a plot !

But I plot my plot too ! let the misbelievers bide ; do thou then let them bide awhile !

THE CHAPTER OF THE MOST HIGH.

(LXXXVII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Celebrated the name of thy Lord most High, who created and fashioned, and who decreed and guided, and who brings forth the pasture, [5] and then makes it dusky stubble !

We will make thee recite, and thou shalt not forget², save what God pleases. Verily, He knows the open and what is concealed ; and we will send

¹ From the loins of the man and the breast bones of the woman.—Al Bâidhâvî.

² See Chapter II, verse 100, Part I, p. 14.

thee easily to ease; wherefore remind, for, verily, the reminder is useful.

[10] But he who fears will be mindful; but the wretch will avoid it; he who will broil on the great fire, and then therein shall neither die nor live!

Prosperous is he who purifies himself, [15] and remembers the name of his Lord and prays!

Nay! but ye prefer the life of this world, while the hereafter is better and more lasting.

Verily, this was in the books of yore,—the books of Abraham and Moses.

THE CHAPTER OF THE OVERWHELMING¹.

(LXXXVIII. Mecca.)

In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Has there come to thee the story of the overwhelming?

Faces on that day shall be humble, labouring, toiling,—shall broil upon a burning fire; [5] shall be given to drink from a boiling spring! no food shall they have save from the foul thorn, which shall not fatten nor avail against hunger!

Faces on that day shall be comfortable, content with their past endeavours,—[10] in a lofty garden wherein they shall hear no foolish word; wherein is a flowing fountain; wherein are couches raised on high, and goblets set down, [15] and cushions arranged, and carpets spread!

¹ Another name of the last day.

Do they not look then at the camel how she is created¹?

And at the heaven how it is reared?

And at the mountains how they are set up?

[20] And at the earth how it is spread out?

But remind: thou art only one to remind; thou art not in authority over them; except such as turns his back and misbelieves, for him will God torment with the greatest torment.

[25] Verily, unto us is their return, and, verily, for us is their account!

THE CHAPTER OF THE DAWN.

(LXXXIX. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

By the dawn and ten nights²!

And the single and the double!

And the night when it travels on!

Is there in that an oath for a man of sense?

[5] Hast thou not seen how thy Lord did with 'Âd?—with Iram of the columns³? the like of which has not been created in the land?

¹ So useful an animal as a camel being to an Arab a singular instance of divine wisdom.

² The first ten nights of the sacred months of Dhu 'l Heggeh.

³ Sheddâd, the son of 'Âd, is related to have ordered the construction of a terrestrial paradise in the desert of Aden, ostensibly in rivalry of the celestial one, and to have called it Irem, after the name of his great-grandfather Irem (Aram). On going to take possession of it, he and all his people were struck dead by a noise from heaven, and the paradise disappeared. Certain Arab travellers are declared to have come across this mysterious garden.

And Thamûd when they hewed the stones in the valley?

And Pharaoh of the stakes¹?

[10] Who were outrageous in the land, and did multiply wickedness therein, and thy Lord poured out upon them the scourge of torment.

Verily, thy Lord is on a watch tower! and as for man, whenever his Lord tries him and honours him and grants him favour, then [15] he says, 'My Lord has honoured me;' but whenever he tries him and doles out to him his subsistence, then he says, 'My Lord despises me!'

Nay, but ye do not honour the orphan, nor do ye urge each other to feed the poor, [20] and ye devour the inheritance (of the weak) with a general devouring², and ye love wealth with a complete love!

Nay, when the earth is crushed to pieces, and thy Lord comes with the angels, rank on rank, and hell is brought on that day,—on that day shall man be reminded! but how shall he have a reminder?

[25] He will say, 'Would that I had sent something forward for my life!'

But on that day no one shall be tormented with a torment like his, and none shall be bound with bonds like his!

O thou comforted soul! return unto thy Lord, well pleased and well pleased with!

And enter amongst my servants, [30] and enter my Paradise!

¹ Cf. p. 176, note 1.

² Cf. Part I, p. 72, note 1.

THE CHAPTER OF THE LAND.

(XC. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

I need not swear by the Lord of this land¹, and thou a dweller in this land²!

Nor by the begetter and what he begets!

We have surely created man in trouble.

[5] Does he think that none can do aught against him?

He says, 'I have wasted wealth in plenty;' does he think that no one sees him?

Have we not made for him two eyes and a tongue, and two lips? [10] and guided him in the two highways? but he will not attempt the steep!

And what shall make thee know what the steep is? It is freeing captives, or feeding on the day of famine, [15] an orphan who is akin, or a poor man who lies in the dust; and again (it is) to be of these who believe and encourage each other to patience, and encourage each other to mercy,—these are the fellows of the right³!

But those who disbelieve in our signs, they are the fellows of the left, [20] for them is fire that closes in!

¹ I. e. the sacred territory of Mecca.

² Or, 'art at liberty to act as thou pleasest.'

³ See pp. 263, 264.

THE CHAPTER OF THE SUN.

(XCI. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.
 By the sun and its noonday brightness!
 And the moon when it follows him!
 And the day when it displays him!
 And the night when it covers him!
 [5] And the heaven and what built it!
 And the earth and what spread it!
 And the soul and what fashioned it, and taught it
 its sin and its piety!
 Prosperous is he who purifies it!

[10] And disappointed is he who corrupts it!

Thamûd called the apostle a liar¹ in their outrage,
 when their wretch rose up and the apostle of God
 said to them, 'God's she-camel! so give her to
 drink.'

But they called him a liar, and they ham-strung
 her; but their Lord destroyed them in their sins,
 and served them all alike; [15] and He fears not
 the result thereof!

THE CHAPTER OF THE NIGHT.

(XCII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.
 By the night when it veils!
 And the day when it is displayed!
 And by what created male and female!
 Verily, your efforts are diverse!

¹ See Part I, p. 147, note 1.

[5] But as for him who gives alms and fears God,
And believes in the best,
We will send him easily to ease !
But as for him who is niggardly,
And longs for wealth,
And calls the good a lie,
[10] We will send him easily to difficulty !
And his wealth shall not avail him
When he falls down (into hell) !
Verily, it is for us to guide ;
And, verily, ours are the hereafter and the former
life !
And I have warned you of a fire that flames !
[15] None shall broil thereon, but the most
wretched, who says it is a lie and turns his back.
But the pious shall be kept away from it, he who
gives his wealth in alms, and who gives no favour
to any one for the sake of reward, [20] but only
craving the face of his Lord most High ; in the
end he shall be well pleased !

THE CHAPTER OF THE FORENOON.

(XCIII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate
God.

By the forenoon !

And the night when it darkens !

Thy Lord has not forsaken thee, nor hated thee !
and surely the hereafter is better for thee than the
former ; [5] and in the end thy Lord will give thee,
and thou shalt be well pleased !

Did He not find thee an orphan, and give thee

shelter ? and find thee erring, and guide thee ? and find thee poor with a family, and nourish thee ?

But as for the orphan oppress him not ; [10] and as for the beggar drive him not away ; and as for the favour of thy Lord discourse thereof.

THE CHAPTER OF 'HAVE WE NOT EXPANDED ?'

(XCIV. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Have we not expanded for thee thy breast¹ ? and set down from thee thy load which galled thy back ? and exalted for thee thy renown ?

[5] Verily, with difficulty is ease ! verily, with difficulty is ease !

And when thou art at leisure then toil, and for thy Lord do thou yearn !

THE CHAPTER OF THE FIG.

(XCV. Place of origin doubtful.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

By the fig !

And by the olive !

¹ I. e. expanded it for the reception of the truth. Taking the words literally some Muslims have supposed it to refer to the legend, that the angel Gabriel appeared to Mohammed while he was a child, and having cut open his breast took out his heart, and cleansed it from the black drop of original sin. This explanation is, however, rejected by the more sensible of the orthodox Muslim divines.

And by Mount Sinai!

And by this safe land¹!

We have indeed created man in the best of symmetry. [5] Then we will send him back the lowest of the low; save those who believe and act aright; for theirs is a hire that is not grudged.

But what shall make thee call the judgment after this a lie?

Is not God a most just of judges?

THE CHAPTER OF CONGEALED BLOOD².

(XCVI. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

READ, in the name of thy Lord!

Who created man from congealed blood!

Read, for thy Lord is most generous!

[5] Who taught the pen!

Taught man what he did not know!

Nay, verily, man is indeed outrageous at seeing himself get rich!

Verily, unto thy Lord is the return!

Hast thou considered him who forbids [10] a servant³ when he prays⁴?

¹ Alluding to the inviolable character of the sacred territory of Mecca.

² The five opening verses of the chapter are generally allowed to have been the first that were revealed. See Introduction, p. xx, and note 1, *idem*.

³ I. e. Mohammed.

⁴ The allusion is to Abu Gahl, who threatened to set his foot on Mohammed's neck if he caught him in the act of adoration.

Hast thou considered if he were in guidance or bade piety?

Hast thou considered if he said it was a lie, and turned his back?

Did he not know that God can see?

[15] Nay, surely, if he do not desist we will drag him by the forelock!—the lying sinful forelock!

So let him call his counsel: we will call the guards of hell!

Nay, obey him not, but adore and draw nigh!

THE CHAPTER OF POWER¹.

(XCVII. Place of origin doubtful.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Verily, we sent it down on the Night of Power!

And what shall make thee know what the Night of Power is?—the Night of Power is better than a thousand months!

The angels and the Spirit descend therein, by the permission of their Lord with every bidding.

[5] Peace it is until rising of the dawn!

THE CHAPTER OF THE MANIFEST SIGN.

(XCVIII. Place of origin doubtful.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Those of the people of the Book and the idolaters

¹ The word *el Qadr* signifies 'power,' 'worth,' 'measure,' and 'the divine decree.'

who misbelieve did not fall off until there came to them the manifest sign,—

An apostle from God reading pure pages wherein are right scriptures :

Nor did those who were given the Book divide into sects until after there came to them the manifest sign.

But they were not bidden aught but to worship God, being sincere in religion unto Him as 'Hanîfs, and to be steadfast in prayer, and to give alms : for that is the standard religion.

[5] Verily, those who disbelieve amongst the people of the Book and the idolaters shall be in the fire of hell, to dwell therein for aye ; they are wretched creatures !

Verily, those who believe and act aright, they are the best of creatures ; their reward with their Lord is gardens of Eden, beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye ; God shall be well pleased with them, and they with Him ! that is for him who fears his Lord !

THE CHAPTER OF THE EARTHQUAKE.

(XCIX. Place of origin doubtful.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

When the earth shall quake with its quaking !

And the earth shall bring forth her burdens, and man shall say, 'What ails her !'

On that day she shall tell her tidings, [5] because thy Lord inspires her.

On the day when men shall come up in separate

bands to show their works: and he who does the weight of an atom of good shall see it! and he who does the weight of an atom of evil shall see it!

THE CHAPTER OF THE CHARGERS.

(C. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

By the snorting chargers!

And those who strike fire with their hoofs!

And those who make incursions in the morning,

And raise up dust therein,

[5] And cleave through a host therein!

Verily, man is to his Lord ungrateful; and, verily, he is a witness of that.

Verily, he is keen in his love of good.

Does he not know when the tombs are exposed,
[10] and what is in the breasts is brought to light?

Verily, thy Lord upon that day indeed is well aware.

THE CHAPTER OF THE SMITING.

(CI. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

The smiting!

What is the smiting?

And what shall make thee know what the smiting is?

The day when men shall be like scattered moths;
and the mountains shall be like flocks of carded wool!

[5] And as for him whose balance is heavy, he shall be in a well-pleasing life.

But as for him whose balance is light, his dwelling shall be the pit of hell¹.

And who shall make thee know what it is?—a burning fire!

THE CHAPTER OF THE CONTENTION ABOUT NUMBERS.

(CII. Place of origin doubtful.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

The contention about numbers deludes you till ye visit the tombs²!

Not so! In the end ye shall know! And again not so! In the end ye shall know!

[5] Not so! Did ye but know with certain knowledge!

Ye shall surely see hell! And again ye shall surely see it with an eye of certainty.

Then ye shall surely be asked about pleasure³!

THE CHAPTER OF THE AFTERNOON⁴.

(CIII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

By the afternoon! verily, man is in loss! save

¹ El Hâwiyeh, see Introduction, p. lxx.

² The commentators say that in one of the frequent contentions about the respective nobility of the Arab tribes, that the Abu Menaf clan disputed with that of Sahm, which was the most numerous, and the latter, having lost many men in battle, declared that their dead should be taken into account as well as the living.

³ That is, the pleasures of this life.

⁴ Or, 'the age.'

those who believe and do right, and bid each other be true, and bid each other be patient.

THE CHAPTER OF THE BACKBITER.

(CIV. Mecca.)

In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Woe to every slanderous backbiter, who collects wealth and counts it.

He thinks that his wealth can immortalize him.

Not so! he shall be hurled into El 'Hu/amah!

[5] And what shall make thee understand what El 'Hu/amah¹ is?—the fire of God kindled; which rises above the hearts. Verily, it is an archway over them on long-drawn columns.

THE CHAPTER OF THE ELEPHANT.

(CV. Mecca.)

In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Hast thou not seen what thy Lord did with the fellows of the elephant²?

Did He not make their stratagem lead them astray, and send down on them birds in flocks, to throw down on them stones of baked clay, [5] and make them like blades of herbage eaten down?

¹ See Introduction, p. lxx.

² Abrahah el Asram, an Abyssinian Christian, and viceroy of the king of Sanaa in Yemen in the year in which Mohammed was born, marched with a large army and some elephants upon Mecca, with the intention of destroying the Kaabah. He was defeated and his army destroyed in so sudden a manner as to have given rise to the

THE CHAPTER OF THE QURÂIS.

(CVI. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

For the uniting of the Qurâis; uniting them for the caravan of winter and summer.

So let them serve the Lord of this house who feeds them against hunger and makes them safe against fear¹.

THE CHAPTER OF 'NECESSARIES.'

(CVII. Place of origin doubtful.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Hast thou considered him who calls the judgment a lie? He it is who pushes the orphan away; and urges not (others) to feed the poor.

But woe to those who pray [5] and who are careless in their prayers,

Who pretend and withhold necessities².

THE CHAPTER OF EL KÂUTHAR.

(CVIII. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Verily, we have given thee El Kâuthar³;

legend embodied in the text. It is conjectured that small-pox broke out amongst his men.

¹ See Introduction, p. xvi. Some connect the first sentence with the last chapter.

² Or, 'alms.' The word might be rendered 'resources.'

³ The word signifies 'abundance.' It is also the name of a river in Paradise.

So pray to thy Lord and slaughter (victims).
Verily, he who hates thee shall be childless¹.

THE CHAPTER OF MISBELIEVERS.

(CIX. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Say, 'O ye misbelievers! I do not serve what ye serve; nor will ye serve what I serve; nor will I serve what ye serve; [5] nor will ye serve what I serve;—ye have your religion, and I have my religion!'

THE CHAPTER OF HELP.

(CX. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

When there comes God's help and victory,
And thou shalt see men enter into God's religion
by troops,

Then celebrate the praises of thy Lord, and ask
forgiveness of Him, verily, He is relentant!

THE CHAPTER OF ABU LAHEB².

(CXI. Mecca.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Abu Laheb's two hands shall perish, and he shall
perish!

¹ This is directed against Âs ibn Wail, who, when Mohammed's son El Qâsim died, called him a btar, which means 'docktailed,' i.e. childless.

² See Introduction, p. xxviii. Abu Laheb, 'the father of the flame,'

His wealth shall not avail him, nor what he has earned !

He shall broil in a fire that flames¹, and his wife carrying faggots !—[5] on her neck a cord of palm fibres.

THE CHAPTER OF UNITY².

(CXII. Place of origin doubtful.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Say, 'He is God alone !

God the Eternal !

He begets not and is not begotten !

Nor is there like unto Him any one !'

THE CHAPTER OF THE DAYBREAK.

(CXIII. Place of origin doubtful.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Say, 'I seek refuge in the Lord of the daybreak, from the evil of what He has created ; and from the evil of the night when it cometh on³; and from the evil of the blowers upon knots⁴; [5] and from the evil of the envious when he envies.'

was the nickname of 'Abd el 'Huzzâ, uncle of Mohammed, and a bitter opponent of Islâm.

¹ A pun upon his name.

² The chapter is generally known in Arabic by the name of El I'hlâs, 'clearing oneself,' i. e. of belief in any but one God.

³ Or, according to a traditional explanation given by the prophet to 'Âyeshah, 'the moon when it is eclipsed.'

⁴ Witches who make knots in string and blow upon them, uttering at the same time some magical formula and the name of the persons they wish to injure.

THE CHAPTER OF MEN.

(CXIV. Place of origin doubtful.)

IN the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Say, 'I seek refuge in the Lord of men, the King of men, the God of men, from the evil of the whisperer¹, who slinks off, [5] who whispers into the hearts of men!—from *ginns* and men!'

¹ The devil.

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TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	..	..	क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k
2 " aspirata	kh	..	..	ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh
3 Media	g	..	..	ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	...
4 " aspirata	gh	..	..	घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	...
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	..	..	...	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	...
6 Nasalis	ñ (ng)	..	..	ङ	{ 3 (ng) 𐬚 (ñ) 𐬛 (ṅhr)	...	...	...	...	...
7 Spiritus asper	h	..	..	ह	...	...	...	...	...	h, hs
8 " lenis . . . . .	,	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " asper faucalis	'h	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " asper fricatus . . . . .	...	'h	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 " lenis fricatus . . . . .	...	'h	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis . . . . .	...	k	..	...	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	k
14 " aspirata . . . . .	...	kh	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	kh
15 Media . . . . .	...	g	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 " aspirata . . . . .	...	gh	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " Nasalis . . . . .	...	ñ	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.									
	II Class.	III Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .	. . .	य	𐬨 𐬩 𐬪 init.	𐬨	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper . . . . .	. . .	(y)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 " lenis . . . . .	. . .	(y)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 " asper assibilatus . . . . .	. . .	s	. . .	श	𐬱	𐬱	ش	ش	. . .	. . .
22 " lenis assibilatus . . . . .	. . .	z	. . .	. . .	𐬲	𐬲	ز	ز	. . .	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	. . .	. . .	त	𐬢	𐬢	ت	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th	. . .	. . .	थ	𐬣	𐬣	ث	ث	ת	th
25 " assibilata . . . . .	. . .	. . .	TH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
26 Media	d	. . .	. . .	द	𐬤	𐬤	د	د	ד	. . .
27 " aspirata	dh	. . .	. . .	ध	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
28 " assibilata . . . . .	. . .	. . .	DH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. . .	. . .	न	𐬥	𐬥	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .	. . .	ल	𐬦	𐬦	ل	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1 . . . . .	. . .	l	. . .	. . .	. . .	𐬧	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
32 " mollis 2 . . . . .	. . .	. . .	L	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .	. . .	स	𐬨	𐬨	س	س	ש	s
34 " asper 2 . . . . .	. . .	s (ʃ)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
35 " lenis	z	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
36 " asperimus 1 . . . . .	. . .	z (ʒ)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	z
37 " asperimus 2 . . . . .	. . .	z (ʒ)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	zh

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.				Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.		II Class.									III Class.
1 Neutralis	o				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ö				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ø				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a				अ	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 " longa	ā		(a)		आ	...	...	...	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i				इ	...	...	...	...	...	...
7 " longa	ī		(i)		ई	...	...	...	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	ē				ए	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	ē				ए	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri				रि	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	ri				रि	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u				उ	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū		(u)		ऊ	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	é (ai)		(e)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	âi		(ai)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " "	ei (êi)				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " "	oi (ôu)				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ô (au)		(o)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	âu		(au)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " "	eu (êu)				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " "	ou (ôu)				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	ī				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta	ü				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö				...	...	...	...	...	...	...

