

## XXIV.

THE PAHLAVI TEXTS OF YASNA XIV, XV,  
XVI, XX, XXI,FOR THE FIRST TIME CRITICALLY TRANSLATED.<sup>1</sup>

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## YASNA XIV (Sp.).

*Appeals and Invocations.*

FOR the sake of<sup>2</sup> (or as 'belonging to') Aūharmazd I proclaim (or 'I address')<sup>3</sup> that Chief, the House-chief of the House, and also that Chief, the Vis-chief of the Vis (the village), the Zand-chief of the Zand (the sub-province or 'county'), and the Dāhyu-chief<sup>4</sup> of the Province.

(2) And I proclaim (or 'I address') the Chief of women,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The texts upon which these translations have been made appeared in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, in the first Heft of 1903 and second of 1904 as edited with all the MSS. collated. Translations into Sanskrit, Parsi-Persian, and Gujrati from texts not collated, and otherwise of an uncritical character, have alone preceded this. The glosses are enclosed within brackets [ ], my own explanations within parenthetical curves ( ).

<sup>2</sup> Rāi is rather a clumsy rendering for the *ā* of *āmrūve*. C., the Parsi-Pers., MS. om. *rāi*. Nēr. has the dative.

<sup>3</sup> Hardly in the full sense of 'invoke.' Nēr. has, however, *bravimi* with the accusative = 'I address.' See Nēr.'s *svāmine mahājñānīne*.

<sup>4</sup> The Parsi-Pers. translator has 'rad' here. He has *ṣāhib* for -pat. Nēr.'s 'collection of fifteen men and women' as an explanation of the Vis (the Pers. here merely renders Vis), of 'thirty men and women' as that of the Zantu, and of 'fifty men and women' as that of the Dāhyu, are entirely artificial and incorrect. *Grāma* is also an inadequate word for Dāhyu. The Parsi-Pers. has only Vis here for Vis, *shahr* for Zantu, and *pādšāh* = 'king' for *dāhyūpat* (so B.).

<sup>5</sup> Why the 'Dēn' in general should be especially called 'the Chief of women,' so the orig. also, is not clear; perhaps that part of the Dēn which refers to the following names in the feminine is meant, or the mere feminine form of the word D(a)ēna.

the Dēn of the Mazdayasnians<sup>1</sup> and Aharišvang (Aši Vaŋghuhi), the Good Riches (so here meaning; see the original also and Nēr.) and (?) (or 'even') Pārendi.<sup>2</sup> [That is,<sup>3</sup> I proclaim (or 'I address') them as Chiefs of women (especially watching over their lives and happiness), (3) and her who is the holy one<sup>4</sup> of bipeds (i.e. 'of human beings'); that is to say, her do I proclaim (or 'address') who is a (typical) good woman,<sup>5</sup> the Chief of human females]; and I proclaim (or 'I address') this Earth also, which is our supporter,<sup>6</sup> [her also do I proclaim (or 'address') as the Chief of female objects of creation in general].

(4) And I proclaim or ('I address') the Fire of Aūharmazd, the Chief of (i.e. 'representing') the friendly supporting person (stoiš). This was the fire of Aūharmazd, [which is endeared<sup>7</sup> to (or 'which is the friend of') Aūharmazd; also in His body<sup>8</sup> it is the guest; also I proclaim (or 'I address') the Chief of the Fire as His].

(5) And I proclaim the one most abundantly coming to the struggle<sup>9</sup> (of our toil), the most efficient worker in our agriculture, the Chief of the saintly husbandmen.<sup>10</sup>

(6) And I proclaim (or 'I address') him who has the

<sup>1</sup> The Parsi-Pers. has '-yasnān'; was this accidental? so the orig. and E. (K<sup>5</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> Pārendi (so the Pers.) seems to refer the A.V. in the original, which is important as showing the advanced concept in the concrete. Nēr. has arcičavaŋgha lakšmim . . . pāriṇda-nāmnī nik'ātarakšakā = 'guardian of treasures.'

<sup>3</sup> The Pers. has aē for aēγ.

<sup>4</sup> Nēr. fails to see the general force of the position of dōpatištan; see the original, the Parsi-Pers. has no 'one.'

<sup>5</sup> Nēr. adds qudd'āttadayām, 'merciful,' as the Chief of human females.

<sup>6</sup> C., the Parsi-Pers., has 'dār,' reading yansegun for dahešn'.

<sup>7</sup> Nēr. has also -mitra (-tro) again for the dōst' of the original; the 'fire Vāzišt' of the original is omitted by the translators.

<sup>8</sup> 'His body' should refer to the person of the faithful disciple, though by syntax rather to Ahura.

<sup>9</sup> Nēr. has bahuklečaharšatamañ kārýakarttamañča nareb'yaḥ (sic) pun-yātmab'yaḥ sasyaṇ sphitayātām kuṭumbinām gurum bravimi, 'the one who cheers the most much trouble.' C., the Pers., has: 'ū bisyār ranz\* rasidantar (so),' taking 'ranj' too literally, and the most efficient one for the doers of duty (so more flatly, but meaning 'agriculture'). Or did he consider 'more efficient than other doers of duty'? 'The Chief of the fatteners,' 'ripeners, or growers' of agricultural produce, the agriculturists.

<sup>10</sup> The Pers. has kār varzidārtar az mardān '(so) (ī) ašoān vāstryošān rad gūyam.

most shot<sup>1</sup> [arrow (sic), i.e. the best archer), the Chief of Warriors (literally of 'charioteers')].

(7) And I proclaim (or 'address') him<sup>2</sup> who has (or 'that which is') the knowledge of the greatest<sup>3</sup> ones which is in accordance with the Dēn of the Mazdayasnians, the Chief of the Fire-priests, which is the most a teacher<sup>4</sup> of those (i.e. 'of them all')<sup>5</sup>; (8) and I proclaim (or 'I address') the (ritual) Chief of<sup>6</sup> the Amešaspendis, and I would cause<sup>7</sup> him (the Chief) to be present and remain (literally 'to stand') here, that Chief<sup>8</sup> the most intelligent (probably meaning 'endowed with supernatural intelligence'), the most truth-speaking, the one most coming on (to help us), the one who most exercises great wisdom.

(9) And I declare (or 'I address') that which has been said<sup>9</sup> to be the greatest power<sup>10</sup> in accordance with the Law of the Mazdayasnians (or 'him who possesses the greatest power,' 'mahist'-amāvandih' as a possessive compositum),

<sup>1</sup> Read *šustōtartūm* (better '*šust'tartūm*'), 'the most having the shot (arrow)'; reading a *hvastemā* (so) for *hastemā*. As to a possible *vinditartūm* (so) = 'most found,' as 'seated' on the bow-string, it will hardly do, had = sad seeming to have been seen in *hastemā*, which is possible; so C., the Parsi-Pers., may have *valā min nišast vadartūm* = 'the one most turning from the occupied ('seated on' string)' again to 'had' (or was -*šust*) meant for this *nišast*? If he has '*nišust*,' he would then translate *nišust guzāštar* (? sic). Nēr. has *lag'u-hastatamam* . . . . *častreṇa*, 'the one most light-handed with his weapon' ('arrow' not indicated). C., the Parsi-Pers., has merely '*tir*' for *tir*.

<sup>2</sup> So, failing to see the instruction of the original, or regarding it as a 'sociative,' which may be an improvement on my former version; see S.B.E. xxxi, p. 251.

<sup>3</sup> Read my text '*mahistān*' here; (a hasty false emendation was made).

<sup>4</sup> The original looks more like 'the pupils of them'; but 'the teachers' is also possible here; so the Parsi-Pers. Pahl. text, *čāšidartūm* (sic). Nēr. has *parijñāpkatamamčā*.

<sup>5</sup> Notice Nēr.'s ablative after the superlative in the sense 'than them'; or is it 'of them'; see '*min*.'

<sup>6</sup> The '*min*' is not correct for the accusative of the original.

<sup>7</sup> Nēr. misses the causative form of the original and of the Parsi-Pers. He has *gurauca saṁtišt'āmi*. The Parsi-Pers. also has its peculiar '*estam*.'

<sup>8</sup> The original has the plural throughout; but Nēr. gives us the singular, beginning with *jñānitamam*, as qualifying *gurum* understood; yet see the original plurals, and in fact we have no signs of the plural in the Pahl. after *sūtēmandān* = 'beneficent,' 'bringing advantage,' so I hardly venture to render the plural.

<sup>9</sup> So curiously for *āmruve*, but Nēr. *bravīmi*.

<sup>10</sup> Nēr. saw a form of 'man'—to think in *amān* (sic); hence his *mahāmanasam*, which also contains a second rendering of the *maz-*, no uncommon occurrence; no trace of it in the Parsi-Pers.

the Mōbed of the Mōbeds<sup>1</sup>; that is to say, [the Chief] of the Fire-priests, the Warriors, and the husbandmen.<sup>2</sup>

*Dedications to the Amešaspendas.*

(10) Forth<sup>3</sup> to You, O ye Amešaspendas, who are the right-rulers, the well-disposers, do I give my body and that which is my very life<sup>4</sup> (literally 'my own': see the original 'life,' or possibly 'my life itself').<sup>5</sup>

(11) Yea, all the amenities of life [root and fruit] (so with great error).

(12) Thus, I think<sup>6</sup> in my mind; thus I say<sup>7</sup>; and thus I do.<sup>8</sup>

*Dedication to Ahura.*

(13) So therefore as thou, O Aūharmazd,<sup>9</sup> art occupied in reflection concerning the two (interests) [the heavenly and the earthly]; that is to say, Thine object of chief interest is to receive careful attention from Thee (to be closely thought out); and as Thou art occupied in speech, [that is to say, as Thy (supreme) interest is to be expressed in (revealed) words of doctrine and precepts], and as Thou art occupied as regards giving, [that is to say, the person

<sup>1</sup> So the Parsi-Pers. Nēr. has āčāryānāmča (= 'teacher') for magōpatān.

<sup>2</sup> Nēr. adds gloss referring to his mahāmanasaṃ above; sa mahāmanā . . . . yo dīnau višaye kasyā'pi sāhāyām nā'pe'kšate. 'He is the magnanimous one who, the Dēn being his sphere (of action and of duty), does not regard the friendship of anyone.' Did he really mean 'having no respect of persons'?

<sup>3</sup> Barā somewhat clumsily renders pairi; Nēr. has, as usual, prakṛṣtam.

<sup>4</sup> Nēr. nijamča. See Y. XXXIII, 14; S.B.E. xxxi, p. 252; Gāṇas, pp. 130, 497.

<sup>5</sup> The Parsi-Pers. has simply nekī, or nek (so); the rest was omitted by accident, as he has elsewhere zāyīšni.

<sup>6</sup> The Parsi-Pers. follows it, as does Nēr.

<sup>7</sup> Nēr. has samuččārāmi for yemalelūnam.

<sup>8</sup> This translation is one of the worst conceivable, entirely missing the rare dual form of the original, which is itself one of the finest expressions of its kind in the Avesta. Yet, with this failure, it affords us the root ideas present. Nēr. follows it without suspicion, as does C., the Parsi-Pers. For the original see S.B.E. xxxi, p. 252: 'thus the two spirits thought; thus they spoke; and thus they did.'

<sup>9</sup> Notice that the translator sees Aūharmazd as the 'One occupied in word, thought, and deed' here, whereas in 12 he missed the dual sense which includes Aūharmazd as the thinker, speaker, and doer; such fluctuations are common.

(on the other hand) is to be presented to Thee (fully given up to Thee, hardly 'by Thee'); and (as Thou art occupied in) action [that is to say, the matter (which supremely concerns) Thee is to be thoroughly executed] (the interest which is beneficial [and which is the business (possibly that of 'agriculture') is for ever again<sup>1</sup> (to be carried out under Thine administration)],

(14) so to Thee do I give myself; and so do I inculcate [upon others]; and so do I assiduously (yal) sacrifice to Thee in my advance,<sup>2</sup> [when I would go forward in the world, and when I would go (or 'come'<sup>3</sup>) (to Thee)], so I would assiduously sacrifice to Thee.

### *Reciprocations.*

(15) So also do Thou<sup>4</sup> make (?) me praise<sup>5</sup> [the benefits of the world] (or possibly on the contrary, 'so also do Thou praise<sup>4</sup> me with the benefits of the world; i.e. assign them to me with approbation'); so also do Thou<sup>4</sup> bring<sup>5</sup> me into debt (or, on the contrary, express a debtor's obligation<sup>5</sup> to me), [that is to say, upon me (or 'toward me') may there be a debt as (O Aūharmazd) regards Thee].

<sup>1</sup> Nēr. om. this gloss after šapir, which the Parsi-Pers. has, omitting however, kār.

<sup>2</sup> Aiš, so rendered as if from a form of i, aē—'to go'; so elsewhere frequently; Nēr. follows, and C. (the Parsi-Pers.).

<sup>3</sup> Vazlūnam looks as if it were here used as 'come' in antithesis to yātūnešn; cf. the use of sātūn = 'raftan' in the same sense in Y. XLII; and Nēr. adds dīnyā gatah san . . . 'having arrived with' (or 'through,' meaning 'at') the Dīn; Pers. om. it.

<sup>4</sup> Mistaking a 1st plural in -mahī for a 2nd singular in -ahī; so in each verb, as elsewhere; also the indicative for the imperative.

<sup>5</sup> The grammatical form is either a causative or a denominative, more probably the latter, offering a reason for an expected return benefit for the assiduous sacrifice on the present occasion; see yal yezbexūnam. In the original, however, the sense is that of 'praise,' gifts and confessions of debt offered to Ahura; so Nēr. also, with his mām praṇāminam kuru. C., the Parsi-Pers., is no more decisive, but looks more like the sense of the causative than the Pahl. translation, marā ēdūn niyāyis i nekī(?)gēti; marā edūn āvām; kū āvām pah tū bād Hōrmuzd. Does the Pers. translator purposely avoid expressing the blundering 2nd personal of the Pahl. and of Nēr.? Not altogether. Niyāyešnēnih is not here probably a nominal form. His Pahl. text seems meant for niyāyešin with no -ēn infixed; but this form in -in (-ēn) might be meant for a 2nd sing. imperative, and he has āvāminī (for -mēnih) in his text, rendered apparently, however, āvām, which certainly looks as if he avoided a 2nd singular.

*Results.*

(16) For the sake of the good relationship<sup>1</sup> and continuous progress in this relationship (or possibly meaning 'for the sake of the good possession and continued progress in the possession of its advantages'), [thus your own<sup>1</sup> I am (meaning 'in order that I may be thus your own')], and, for the above reason, in Thee (or 'in a stable relation to Thy (Cause)) do I take my stand; and for the good consideration (of the reward) will I come on to Thee, [that is to say, for the good consideration in regard to that interest which is Thine will I do good (or 'effect a benefit') . . . . ].

(17) And for the sake of (or 'in accordance with') the good Chieftainship<sup>2</sup> [of Haurvatāt<sup>3</sup> and Ameretatāt<sup>3</sup> (would I thus come on)], and in accordance with perfect-mindedness (in accordance with Ār(a)maiti), [that is to say, for the sake of an interest which is beneficial will I be of perfect mind] (or, with the text of A. (D.J.): 'for him who is the good Chief of Haurvatāt and A. for him who is the good one of perfect mind'<sup>4</sup> etc. . . . ).

(18) And I sacrifice to the Fravaši of the Herd<sup>5</sup> which is of bountiful gift,<sup>6</sup> and to that of Gaya-maretan (the Life-man, the Iranian Adam), the Holy; (19) and I sacrifice here to the Fravaši of Zaratuštra Spitāma, the holy personality,<sup>7</sup> and to Aša<sup>8</sup> also, [that is to say, to Aša which is his duty done and his good works . . . ].

<sup>1</sup> Nēr.'s svād'īnatayā may mean 'in relationship.' Aside from this, original 'possession' would be more natural; the Parsi-Pers. has xvēš, u xvēš raftanī.

<sup>2</sup> Fšeratavō, so rendered; so Nēr., no account of fšē-; so the Pers.

<sup>3</sup> Not in the Av. text of Sp.

<sup>4</sup> Notice that no suggestion of the meaning 'earth' is here made for Ār(a)maiti.

<sup>5</sup> The genitive in the original shows that 'The Fravaši of the Herd' was also meant.

<sup>6</sup> No sign of 'butter' here; but see note in S.B.E. xxxi, p. 252.

<sup>7</sup> So xayā, 'body,' to be read as after aharūv'.

<sup>8</sup> So for ašimča of the original; should this mean in the original 'his wealth'; 'I sacrifice to the wealth and to the Fravaši of Z.S. Nēr., who elsewhere renders Aši with lakšmi, 'wealth,' at least when accompanied with vaṅghuhī, has here puṇyam . . . .

## YASNA XV (Sp.).

*Acknowledgments.*

(1) I would accept<sup>1</sup> (going on, as it were, with reciprocating affection to meet the honour of your) praising (which ye permit to me), O ye Amešaspends, and the office of Zaotar and the invocation (of your presence) at our sacrifices, and the (official) intoning of the Yasts, and the recitals<sup>2</sup> of the Yasna which are from<sup>3</sup> you (that is to say, inspired and authorised by you (so Nēr., or simply 'which are yours')), O ye Amešaspends, and I would thoroughly fulfil a complete acceptance<sup>4</sup> of your sacrifice<sup>5</sup> and praise,<sup>5</sup> ye who are the August Immortals.

(2) And this is (so, as the dative is not expressed; see, however, Nēr.,—and this is) done as (or 'this subserves') our enlightenment of soul<sup>6</sup> and in, or 'for' our sanctity,<sup>7</sup> (ours) who [are] the Holy Benefactors (of the Saints).

*The Offering of All.*

(3) Forth<sup>8</sup> to you, O ye Amešaspends, the well-ruling and the well-giving, do I offer this my person and even mine own (meaning 'my very') body<sup>9</sup>;

(4) even forth to you (I offer) all the (blessings of) amenity [root and fruit (in return for what ye give me)<sup>10</sup>].

<sup>1</sup> Vīsāi, Nēr.'s pratikurve must also be so understood, the invitation of Ahura being reciprocated with affectionate acceptance.

<sup>2</sup> Fravāmešn', better here as genitive; so elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> So Nēr., but was not min lekūm here meant merely to express the genitive; so elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> A great blunder, seeing some verb = 'to take' in the root of jaretā = singer. Nēr. follows, as does C., the Parsi-Pers.

<sup>5</sup> No datives as in Nēr. and as in the original, but the genitive by position was seen.

<sup>6</sup> So hu + ahū in this sense rather better than 'good conscience,' which is somewhat advanced for the document. Nēr. uttamohāya = 'for our highest (meaning 'our good') reasoning,' so preserving the dative.

<sup>7</sup> Notice aharūv'ih for ašavastāiča.

<sup>8</sup> Frāz is hardly good for 'pairi,' which latter is a mere auxiliary term. Nēr. follows frāz.

<sup>9</sup> Xayā, and not aiš (?). Nēr. jīvam, so for uštanem, which looks as if it were meant for uštanem, ud-tanem = 'the stretched-out (skin).' See Y. XXXIII, 14.

<sup>10</sup> Nēr. prakr̥ṣṭam viçvāḥ sujīvanīḥ samagran̥ mūlam p'alam . . .

*Invocations to the Sacrifice.*

(5) With this Zaoθra (Zōhar)<sup>1</sup> and baresman I bid<sup>2</sup> every holy [and heavenly<sup>3</sup>] Yazat as a Chief (for the moment) to this sacrifice; (yea) every Chief of Aša (as the ritual, whomsoever, whether heavenly or earthly) do I bid to it.

(6) And I bid (so meaning) Hāvani<sup>4</sup> at the ritual time (of it) and Sāvaŋghi and Viśya at this, the proper ritual time, and the Chiefs, all who (are) great, at (this<sup>5</sup> their) ritual time . . . .

*Proclamations of Devotion.*

(7) I proclaim the Mazda-Yašt-worship of Zartušt<sup>6</sup> (or 'I proclaim as an adherent to the Mazda-worship of Z.<sup>6</sup>) [that is to say, I interdict<sup>7</sup> the wicked (or, with the 'ī' of Sp. 'I declare it among (?) the wicked')],<sup>8</sup> (I), as demon-free and demon-severed, (so proclaim it) . . . (yet Nēr. has the acc. in both cases; and, as Pahlavi aside from the Av. text, we should undoubtedly render: ' . . . I proclaim the Mazdayašt system,' which is (vendīdād, i.e.) severed from the Demons); [that is to say, in connection

<sup>1</sup> Notice Nēr.'s prāṇena for 'pavan zōharak', as if he saw(?) a form of zan = 'to produce' in z.; or did he merely see a zavar = zōr in the sense of 'vital strength'?

<sup>2</sup> 'I desire.'

<sup>3</sup> Notice the gloss mēnavad (so), added since Nēr. wrote his text, which does not show it. It was inserted to differentiate the concluding sentence.

<sup>4</sup> Nēr., naturally led away by the positions, puts their names in the genitive.

<sup>5</sup> Nēr. may have understood: 'from (i.e. 'on account of') the Chieftainship' more immediately than 'at the time,' but 'the time' was the moment of the especial sacrifice to each as the 'ritual Chief.'

<sup>6</sup> The nominative case was naturally missed by Nēr., but the adjective force of -ēriš was seen. This nominative of the original recalls the strikingly repeated 'I who' of Y. XXVIII and elsewhere. We must, of course, render all the forms of the Pahl. as nominative, in accordance with the original, where it may be at all possible, even if we hold that the last redactor of the Pahl. texts did not understand them thus, as did not also Nēr. For Nēr. 7-10 here see Y. 1, 65-68, incl.

<sup>7</sup> Nēr. has the very doubtful and spiritless: kila mad'ye pāpakarmiṇām bravīmi. I repeat the above translation from J.R.A.S., Oct., 1904, as being treated more fully and alternatively varied.

<sup>8</sup> Notice the reiteration of abjurations. Was this occasioned by the overshadowing presence of the Deva-worship in Bombay and elsewhere in India? I should say 'hardly'; it is an echo from the Gāthic places.



with him, the reciter (or 'with it, the M. system), the Demons do not exist,'—(I) ? , as an Aūharmazd-lore (man), proclaim it (or 'I proclaim it as the system with A.'s lore and legal opinion'); [that is to say, his 'the reciter's system' (or 'its (the system's itself') religious opinion) is totally Aūharmazd's].

(8) Also for the sacrifice, praise, and propitiation, and the continuous blessing-prayers of Hāvani<sup>1</sup> do I proclaim (it?), the holy, the Chief of Aša . . . . (9) and for the sacrifice, praise, and propitiation and continuous blessing-prayer of Sāvaŋghi<sup>2</sup> and Viśya,<sup>3</sup> the holy Chief(s) of Aša (as the ritual law),

(10) and also for those of (see the original) the ritual Chief<sup>3</sup> of this (particular) day, and hour (of the day-divisions, the Asnya) (and for those) of the (particular) month-Chiefs (which correspond); [and (for those of) the (particular) Gasāmbars], and (of this particular) year, which are (necessarily involved) for the sacrifice, praise, propitiation, and continuous blessing-prayer (āfrīn) (of each).

### *Intervening Antiphonals.*

The Zōt (Zaotar) speaks: "As is the will of the Lord, as is the will of Aūharmazd, O Zōt, speak<sup>4</sup> forth to me." Response. The Ratu: "As is the will of the (Ahu) Lord, as is the will of Aūharmazd, Thou who art the Zōt speak forth<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nēr. has hāuananāmnyāh prātaḥsānd'yāyāh puṇyātmakāyāh puṇyagurvyāh ārād'anāya namaskāraṇāya mānanāya prakācanāya; see Y. 1. 66, using the genitive intelligently for the datives of the original, so correctly recognising the form of the Pahl. as being genitive by position; cf. pavan yazešn' va niyāyešn' va snāyēnitārīh va frāz afriḡānth. Aside from the original and Nēr. we should, of course, render: 'I proclaim Hāvan, S. and V.'

<sup>2</sup> So upon 9 he continues in the genitive, amplifying sāvaŋghanāmnyāčča yā samam hāuanasaṇd'yayā samakāryiṇi yā ēa yūt'āni gavām pravard'ayati viśi-nāmnyāčča puṇyātmakāyāh puṇyagurvyāh yā manuṣyeṣu moibadeṣu mad'ye satkāryiṇi ā. na. mā. prā. . . . Sāvaŋgha—is Sāvaŋghi, 'who is co-operative with Hāvani, and who increases the herds of cattle . . . viśi . . . who is co-operative in the midst of priestly men' (or meaning 'men (and) priests, mōbeds').

<sup>3</sup> Nēr. is closer to the original with his gurūnām saṇd'yānamčā dinānamčā māsanāmčā gahambārānāmčā saṃvat sarānāmčā ā. na. mā. prā.

<sup>4</sup> Notice that mrūtē is rendered by the Pahl.'s imperative; did the translator regard mrūtē as an infinitive for imperative? Nēr. has brūhi.

to me." The Zōt: "So with ritual exactness and with priestly legal authority in every particular forth do I address the Saints with knowledge; that is to say, 'I declare this to be knowledge, that duty and good works are so ever to be done in accordance with the Destoor's authority, as Aūharmazd desires<sup>1</sup> that they should be done.'"

## YASNA XVI (Sp.).

### *Appeals to the Amešas.*

(1) With learning,<sup>2</sup> since I am instructed in (or 'since I have learnt') the proper<sup>3</sup> matter<sup>3</sup> (of our religious interest), and with the friendship [of the Amešaspends], and with my own (that is to say, 'with my personal and spontaneous') joy (partaking of the delight of the holy act and not with stolid thoughtlessness),

(2) I call upon the Amešaspends by<sup>4</sup> their beautiful [and good] name(s),

(3) and I sacrifice to them with (fervent) desire<sup>5</sup> for the desired (aim) of the good Aša [which is the desire for duty and good works (the longing willingness to perform them)], and with the desire of a good Mazdayasnian [with a thoroughly (regulated) desire in accordance with this Dēn (the Holy Faith)].

### *Citation from Y. LI, 22.*

(4) He<sup>6</sup> whose best (act) is for me in accordance with the accompanying aid of Aša, [that is to say, on account

<sup>1</sup> Notice avāyat in an active sense. This text appears in B. (D., Pt. 4).

<sup>2</sup> So also Nēr., čikšayāča; the original, however, indicates 'with teaching' sastiča.

<sup>3</sup> The Pers. has a čiš for čiz (so elsewhere), for a translation of the Pahl. mindavam. Nēr. renders šapir with uttama-, meaning merely 'good,' and nēvak' with sundara-, hardly meaning by it the usual Sanskrit definition 'handsome,' but merely another word for 'good.' I should not here prefer 'for a benefit.'

<sup>4</sup> I still render the original 'together with th beautiful ones in name,' (meaning merely 'also the beautiful by name').

<sup>5</sup> I prefer the idea of 'blessing' for the original; Nēr., however, ab'ipsayā. C., the Parsi-Pers., has xvaḥiš.

<sup>6</sup> Nēr. has curiously the plural 'ye.'

of the accompanying aid which is derived from Aša (as the embodied law)], from<sup>1</sup> the sacrifice [from<sup>2</sup> the sacrifice of my great one] on, (5) of that one Aūharmazd is cognisant. Who have been, and who also are, (6) to those do I sacrifice by their own names, and to them do I come on in friendship, [that is to say, I would act as in complete friendship to them; and I would present (gifts<sup>3</sup> of offering to attest it)].

*Citation from Y. LI, 1.*

(7) The good King is (one accordant) with (our) desire, (that is, 'to be desired (vairyam)'); (he is) the (good) portion (of our luck which is) the bringing-on (of prosperity).<sup>4</sup> (So, in view of the original), [that is to say, I offer wealth to him who desires a sovereign political power which is beneficial]. (8)<sup>5</sup> . . . .

## YASNA XX.

*The Pahl. translator's Commentary<sup>6</sup> upon the Ašem Vohū.*

[The Av. text of the Ašem Vohū is as follows:

Ašem vohū vahištem asti  
Uštā asti uštā ahmāi  
Hyat ašāi vahištāi ašem.]

<sup>1</sup> Nēr. has no rendering for the second li; and has 'in the most excellent ijsni (Yasna)'; so perhaps better than 'in my great Yasna.' See Gāōas, Y. LI, 22, for a slightly differing version.

<sup>2</sup> 'Min' hardly renders the loc. of the original; yet see Nēr.'s locative. Nēr.'s vettur svāmīnah is astray as to case. Nēr. differs considerably here from his rendering at Y. LI, 22.

<sup>3</sup> Nēr. did not have ʔal yehabūnam in his Pahl. text. It was probably a characteristic addition made since his time.

<sup>4</sup> As ordinary Pahlavi we should render: 'The advantageous means of one who is a king according to (our) choice is to be furthered'; but see the original. Nēr. has pārtīvatvam here in the gloss. Nēr. has uttamām svāmikāminīm vib'ūtīm upari varšāmi (sic; what Av. text?) [kilā'ham pārtīvatvam tasmai dadāmi yasmāt mamača ʔub'am]. See Gāōas for the rest, pp. 340, 341, 594, 595.

<sup>5</sup> For Y. XVI, 8, see Y. LV (LVI) in the Srōš Yašt, July number of this Journal, 1905. Texts Z.D.M.G., — 1905 (?). For XVII, J.A.O.S., July, 1905.

<sup>6</sup> The critical reader should understand, as a matter of course, that these Pahlavi texts of translations and commentaries have been worked over times without number from the primitive epoch. An absolute break in the chain of tradition may have taken place; but as the texts have survived, their comments also for the most part must have survived with them, although in a constantly varied and imperfect condition. They generally alternate with the texts.

*Translation of the Pahlavi Text.*

(1) The Declaration<sup>1</sup> of Aūharmazd was this (that is, the text was as follows). Aša (the ritual holiness,<sup>1</sup> the religious rectitude in its totality) is the best benefit, (vohū vahištem), (as we should say, 'the highest good')<sup>2</sup> . . .

*Comment.*

Forth on by Him (Aūharmazd the originator, and proclaimer of the Ašem Vohu) the best benefit (vohū vahištem) has been assigned (literally 'taught') to that one (Aša; see the original Ašāi in accordance with it (the meaning of the formula) [that is to say, by Him (Aūharmazd) a benefit has been effected (i.e. brought to pass) in relation to<sup>3</sup> him (Aša as recipient)] through whom [they (the people) would effect (each of them) his (or 'their') own individual spontaneous<sup>4</sup> progress<sup>5</sup>; (so with much error; this would be as much as to say 'a blessing from Aūharmazd follows upon each man's individual effort'); that is to say, what it is just and necessary to give he (the individual pious

<sup>1</sup> At first sight we should say that Nēr. meant by his puṇyam an 'interior righteousness' alone; but 'puṇyavān asmi' used to mean almost 'I am in luck,' 'having in store an accumulation of ceremonial merit.' It is generally better to go beyond the abstract idea in rendering Aša. The 'moral idea' was included, and ceremonial merit was not excluded. The Archangel was also often held in view, but not here.

<sup>2</sup> So according to the original and Nēr. Otherwise the more natural rendering of the words would be 'the benefit of Aša is the best.' The rest of the text occurs as the Comment progresses.

<sup>3</sup> C., the Parsi-Pers., renders 'az ū' curiously for pataš—original Av. ahmāi. Nēr., however, has tasmai, as we should expect. But Aša must here represent the human recipient.

<sup>4</sup> This interesting idea of spontaneity and individualism in religious action arises, as I hold, from a misconception of the original, as to which see S.B.E. xxxi at the place. I hardly think that the idea of 'self' is directly indicated in the Avesta text of the Ašem Vohu. Nēr. has, however, sviye svayam; the Parsi-Pers. xvēš.

<sup>5</sup> The idea of 'progress' (so also the Parsi-Pers. raftanī) arises, as elsewhere, from a misconception occasioned by the form of the term 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀, which may have been read by the earlier translators in its semi-Pahlavi Av. value as aitem, suggesting a form of i, ae, 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀 = 'to go,' so in other places. Nēr. follows it with -pravrttau (so).

Such was the summing-up<sup>1</sup> in regard to the Destoort's authoritative opinion concerning the words, [that is to say, 'such was its end,' or 'completed meaning' (possibly meaning: 'that is to say, this explanation is the completion of the explanation of the above sentence')].

<sup>1</sup> Nēr. takes *tkaēsem*, which means 'the doctrinal sentence under discussion,' as personal. Nēr. mistakes or deliberately refuses to follow this -ih of *angartigīh*: *evam nyāyena samkṣipto b'ūtaḥ, kila sampūrṇo b'ūtaḥ*. The Parsi-Pers. read *datōbarihā*, trl. *dātārīhā*. Dādar often occurs as a trl. for *dātōbar*. The Parsi-Pers. simply readers 'pur' for *angartigīh*.

<sup>3</sup> This blunder of 'progress rōvešnih' is like that above, caused by a false

د, ۛ i, ae = 'to go,' Avesta, was again seen as elsewhere. Nēr. again follows with pravyttim (so). The Parsi-Pers. has burad for ravešn. See Nēr.'s genitive; otherwise the erroneous plural which Nēr. follows is unmanageable.

<sup>5</sup> Nēr's cast is more personal, but in view of the original not so exact; his *nāst'itim* (so) must not be regarded as meaning 'manly' in our approved sense; he explains it at once with *satkāryatām yām yujyate kartum*; yet his thought, *āsvādayann āste* [*kila*, . . . *kurvann āste*], is a noble one. It is hardly fair, however, to suppose that he really means 'teaching by example': 'he is effecting the edification of the Saints' is the idea. It is never safe to recognise too keen a practical sense in any ancient writer; yet see his *satkāryatām*, which must mean something a good deal like 'honest character.'

effect]; that is to say, to bring on as an act of religious duty), [the active energy] of a man . . . .’ But such a neglect of the original is not permissible; (see *Gāthas*, Introduction); and this is fully indicated (*cinasti*) to all the Saints; [that is to say, according to it<sup>1</sup> (this sentence), this benefit is to be effected for this one (also here representing the recipient orthodox citizen)].

(3) (*Hyat aṣāi vahištāi*) and to him *Aṣa* V.: (see the dative); by it (this formula) (or ‘by him, Ahura’<sup>2</sup>) all [duty and good works] have been indicated; which is clearly contained in the *Manθra*; even to that one (*Aṣa* as representing the pious Saint) all the *Avesta* and *Zand* is taught (yea, to the *Aṣavan*, the lawful Saint) by whom the *Avesta* and *Zend* have been made familiar; [that is to say, they would make that which is the doctrine of the *Avesta* and *Zend*, duty and good works, manifest (‘let their light so shine before men’?) . . . . ].

(4) whereby (or ‘when’<sup>3</sup>) the sovereign authority (the political preponderance) is ascribed to *Aṣa* (*Aṣāi*); [that is, when they (his Saints) would carry on the government with propriety; (the point of) the doctrine is (simply) this, that he, (the ruling disciple of *Aṣa*, the Head of the State)] inculcates (or ‘professes’ sovereign authority in pious propriety); [that is to say, (it should be also understood) that he (actually so) maintains the sovereign authority in propriety],

(5) whereby<sup>4</sup> also (one) inculcates righteous regularity (*Aṣem*) upon the invoking worshipper (the *Aṣa*-one). [That is to say, (in accordance with the formula) they would execute

<sup>1</sup> *Pataš* (*padaš*) is here translated by the Pers. *padaš*, elsewhere above as *az ū*.

<sup>2</sup> It is obvious that we must adhere to a sense as close as possible to the original, where *Aṣa* is the recipient; yet the glosses plainly show that the translators felt the difficulty. *Nēr.* breaks through it at once, and differs much; yet we must again be on our guard against seeing too thoroughly deep ideas in his *puṇyapraçārayitā utkr̥ṣṭataram puṇyam āsvādayann āste*. It simply means ‘that the righteous one teaches.’

<sup>3</sup> For *yaθa*.

<sup>4</sup> *Nēr.* *Yah* (so, not being aware that *man’ič* could equal ‘*yaθa*’) *ākārayitre muktātmane satyam āsvādayati; kila, nyāyam satyam kurute*.

The entire statement [was] a proclamation; and every word [was] Aūharmazd's.

*Quest.* On account of what, (as) his especial(ly) desired object, did he make his proclamation of the Aṣem V.? (So, with great error as elsewhere, Nēr. following : **𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀** (= vās) in **𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀** (= č v ā s) having become separated from **𐬵𐬭𐬀** (= č), was rendered as if to a form = Indian vāñčč = 'to desire'; see elsewhere; in Z.D.M.G.). *Ans.* That there might be a reign of an augments (so again with error, seeing a form of vaχš in vahištō, the Pers. follows with afzūnidār here; elsewhere it does not translate), the reign of one (or 'merely one') who should be a monarch

<sup>6</sup> So unnecessarily, Nēr. following the original with *kasmai*. Or does the *rāi* merely express the dative? *Rāi* would be rather 'strong' for it.

of desire<sup>1</sup> (so, taking up the false *kāmakih* from above, but meaning 'a Lord able to fulfil his purpose,' an *aēšaχšaθra*; cf. Y. XXIX).

*Quest.* How much is it fully necessary to say for the sake of the Saints? *Ans.* So, until when he becomes an increaser of prosperity, one even who may be a lord beyond desire (i.e. having nothing left to wish for).

## YASNA XXI.

*The Pahlavi Text<sup>2</sup> of the Yeñhyā Hātām translated.*

[An Introduction is here inserted by the present writer, the Av. text of the Yeñhyā Hātām being cited from Yasna IV.

Yeñhyā hātām āat yesnē paiti vañhyō  
Mazdāo Ahurō vaēθā ašāt hačā  
Yāonhāmčā tāscā tāosčā yazamaide.

*Translation of the Pahlavi Text from Y. IV.*

Aūharmazd (is) cognisant (*vaēθā* = *ākās*) of that benefit<sup>3</sup> for that one<sup>4</sup> (which appertains to the worshipper) whose (*yeñhyā*) devotion is (continued) on (*mē'im*)<sup>4</sup> among (or 'of') beings (*hātām*) in the sacrifice (*Nēr. ijisniyā*) (so), [that is to say, they would perform the sacrifice on account of that benefit<sup>3</sup>] of (so, mistaking the case; *Nēr.* follows) Aūharmazd, [the King<sup>5</sup> (He (A.) knows this to have been done effectively)]. From the assisting help of Aša (the Angel of the ritual Law) He is cognisant of this merit of whatsoever kind from (that is to say, 'on account of') His exact sanctity in the ceremonies (*ašāt hačā*) of whatsoever description.

<sup>1</sup> *Nēr. akāmarājānam*, or 'without wanton desire'; but this, while good (?) for the original, would be flat for the Pahl. The Parsi-Pers. follows.

<sup>2</sup> See for the Pahlavi text as edited with all the MSS. collated, Z.D.M.G., Heft ii for 1904.

<sup>3</sup> So for *vahyō*, which I render more in the moral sense.

<sup>4</sup> *Mē'im* seems to have been rendered aside from *yesnē*, which is rendered by *pavan yazešn'*. *Nēr.* has *uttame loc. absolute* with *vettari*.

<sup>5</sup> Whence the King of the Avesta Comm. text as compared with the *Yeñhyā*?



(A translation of Nēr.'s text of the Yeñhyā Hātām would run somewhat as follows; but it must as usual be interrupted with comment, as it was hardly intended to be a fluent reproduction: 'Those who of (or 'from') existing beings' (see ablative for genitive (Pahl. min) hardly 'those who for existing beings'), precisely through the Yasna (instr. for pavan yazešn with upari referred to what follows; yet see its place in the Av. original, which was however not immediately the original of Nēr.) of Hormijda, the Lord (how else shall we treat this gen. in view of the Pahl. and the gloss. ?).

<sup>1</sup> In the gloss. the moral idea becomes more prominent.

<sup>2</sup> Did he mistake yāonhām for a form of yui (sic !)?

<sup>3</sup> I think that the Amešas are not in place here; 'males and females' are intelligently taken from *tāšča*, *tāošča*, but erroneously referred to the Amešas.

## (YASNA XXI continued.)

*The Pahlavi Text of the Commentary upon the Yeñhyā Hātām translated.*

(1) There was a word of the Yasna of Zartušt the Saint (as follows in the Yeñhyā): 'Yeñhyā Hātām' (text; translation); 'to him of beings do I sacrifice whose (yeñhyā) (benefit) in the sacrifice is thus continuous' (so, mē'im; or, merely meaning 'in it' = paiti). Comment: Here Aūharmazd has described the Yasna (or, 'here Aūharmazd's<sup>1</sup> Yasna is indicated or described' (literally 'is taught' this for yasnem činasti) by Him (Aūharmazd, or by the Authoritative religious teacher)) [that is to say, they would make it his] whose is the instituted law of Aūharmazd (meaning, 'by whom that law is cherished'), [that is, his is the correct(ly) instituted law whose is the Yasna (meaning, 'that the sacrifice is the one all-important centre of established religious and civil regulations'; compare the Vedic idea of the sacrifice as the centre of everything)]. (So this much, as now stated) has been now indicated by him, the Commentator (or by Him, Aūharmazd). (Cf. the Yeñhyā Hātām. This was the first distinction.) That is to say, they would make it more his<sup>2</sup> (or 'they would offer it further on to Him'); (2) according to<sup>3</sup> which (man = yaθra) one expresses continuously (bastān as a mistake; so the Pers. hamīšah for haḍbiš, haḍa- seen as = Indian saha = 'always') a wish for the birth<sup>4</sup> (meaning 'for the life,' so, for jijišām) [of men; that is to say, one declares to them the matter (of the duty and the reward; see above), since (or 'in order that') it may be possible (aṣaoninām Ār(a)maiti]

<sup>1</sup> Nēr. has 'Yah (yo)'; ya itra, Mahājñānin (i.e. voc.?).

<sup>2</sup> C., the Parsi-Pers., has zyādah, with which he renders frāz above.

<sup>3</sup> Nēr. yah (?) kutumbinām jivitasya ākāṅkṣī. C., the Parsi-Pers., does not translate zāyešn. Notice the correct etymology of zāyešnī x̌vāhešn (together with its egregious error as a translation for jijišām).

<sup>4</sup> While bastān seems to render haḍbiš, yet it (haḍbiš) seems to be again rendered with anšūtān, quite a common circumstance with the translators; in fact, this was their idea of an alternative.

for them to live aright]<sup>1</sup> Yāōnhām (iḍa . . . paoiryanām) (Text, comment follows): Here he has fully indicated the sacrifice of the Saints<sup>2</sup> [male and female] who are the first through their perfect mind<sup>3</sup> (sic). (Or ought we not to see the sense of the original: 'who (which females) holy ones (the Amešaspends) are the first with Ār(a)maiti (i.e. having A. as their first in the course of an enumeration of these feminine names'<sup>4</sup>)? But there is the erroneous gloss; ašaoninām cannot include the male or non-feminine names.) This would be the second 'distinction,'

(3) through which<sup>5</sup> is the praise of the Amešaspends [that is to say, they would thus celebrate the Aūstōfrīt of the Amešaspends]. (This, as above explained) was the threefold point of doctrine (expressed in the formula Yeúhyā Hātām) [that is to say, his<sup>6</sup> threefold distinction was within it (comprehended) within all this Yasna-saying (the Yeúhyā)].

### *Catechetical.*

*Question 1:* 'To whom<sup>7</sup> [was] this Yasna (addressed) ?'

*Answer:* 'To the August Immortals in the course of this (full) Yasna . . . .'

<sup>1</sup> Nēr. has sād'u; see vahyō as neuter.

<sup>2</sup> The fem. of ašaoninām is carefully indicated by this gloss. Nēr. did not see the fem.; see muktātmanām; and he omits the gloss.

<sup>3</sup> As might be expected, Nēr. is here abstract with his 'saṃpūrṇamanasā prāktanānām.'

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps I was too objective in S.B.E. xxxi, at the place; but it was tempting to write 'with Ār(a)maiti at their head.' Why is Ār(a)maiti mentioned in the original of the Comment? Was it in view of the following verse, and possibly because she begins the group of the feminine names of the Amešaspends, the first three being neuter and the last three feminine. Here we should have a glance toward ašaoninām or vagdān.

<sup>5</sup> Nēr., as ever, 'yah,' missing only the formal point of the syntax. Aūstōfrīt' (or Aūstā'frīt (? N.B.)) seems to have been a sacred term expressing a prayer, supplicating a blessing; cf. uštā ahmāi + frīt'. It has technical meaning for Nēr. Was it another name for the Ašem Vohū?

<sup>6</sup> Nēr., as ever, personal triṇyāyī b'ūtaḥ; kila nyāyešu trišu mad'ye b'ūtaḥ. His yo (yah) must refer to Zaratuštra as representing the typical worshipper; see yo datte svāmine . . . . Vāk, which otherwise might be the subject, is feminine. The threefold distinction has reference to the subject of the Yeúhyā conceived as divided into three points for discussion; see the three lines; though we may ourselves divide it variously.

<sup>7</sup> Nēr. this time has an oblique case: kasyo 'pari ijsniḥ? Ans. amarāṇām gurutarāṇām upari ijsniḥ (upari = pavan = paiti here).

*The Uštā Ahmāi.*

Avesta text: uštā ahmāi yahmāi uštā kahmāičit . . .

Thereupon spake Aūharmazd thus: 'beatified<sup>1</sup> (is he, nēvak' for uštā) from whom is (derived) a benefit (nēvakih = uštā) for him (the ordinary worshipper) whosoever<sup>2</sup> (he may be) . . . .'

(As ordinary Pahlavi, and in fact in this case we must render): 'Also upon him (whosoever he may be), Aūharmazd bestows a sovereign authority according to his desire<sup>3</sup> [according to the desire of the former (literally, 'of *that* (person)']. But, with the original in view, the earliest commentators may well have meant: 'also upon him does the one possessing an absolute sovereign authority (an authority according to his desire) bestow it (the benefit expressed in uštā<sup>2</sup>),' (so, as a possessive compositum) . . . .

*Further Catechetical Zand.*

(*Question*) What was in that saying? What was the answer to the statements which was uttered? What was that subject-matter? What was said? He answered (that is, 'the meaning of his answer was'): 'A beneficial future'<sup>4</sup> (so with great error); (and that) a beneficial future progress<sup>5</sup> (for) every kind of saint, (for those) living (lit. 'for those who are'), and for those who have lived

<sup>1</sup> Nēr. seems anxious to notice the formally inflected uštā; so he uses the dative, *sundarāya*, 'for a beneficial (hardly 'for a handsome') result': Hormijda spoke 'to him to whom there is a benefit for everyone.' As to this fine sense reported by the translators, I fear it cannot be defended; see *Gāthas* at the place, texts, trls., and comm.

<sup>2</sup> C., the Parsi-Pers., has *kudām*.

<sup>3</sup> So Nēr., 'a kingdom with his own wish,' *Svečč'ayā rājyaṃ mahājñānī dadāti svāmī* [kila samihitena nijena (this last explaining Nēr.'s *svečč'ayā*)] . . . .

<sup>4</sup> As elsewhere the termination 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 of *uštātātem* must have been read as = Pahl. . . 𐬨𐬀 = *aī* . . , so misleading the translator, who saw a form of *i*, *aē* = 'to go' in it, hence his *rōvēšnīh* (sic). Nēr. follows with his *vṛtīmča*.

<sup>5</sup> Nēr. rather tamely inserts 'the reward.'

(lit. 'who were'), and for those who are to be (lit. 'who are becoming' (yehvünd in this sense).<sup>1</sup>

According to the Pahlavi the answer continues: 'the augmentor (of prosperity) is [that man]'; and he answered in the sense of 'prosperity increasing' (so for vahištem, seeing, as elsewhere, a form of vakš = 'to increase' in vahišt = 'best,' also erroneously a masculine instead of a neuter<sup>2</sup>); and he made answer in (the sense of) 'increasing prosperity' [that is, he uttered a reward of Aūharmazd's for the increasing of prosperity (as his answer)] . . . . (Or 'Aūharmazd (omit ī) uttered the reward,' so Nēr., and the original; but did the latest Pahl. translator understand it so? See zag gabrā = 'that man' which Nēr. omits) . . . . that increasing of prosperity which is sacred; but I (would) say (this is a note of the last editor of the future commentary, and perhaps intended as rejecting a reading in the plural which Nēr. may have followed): 'through these is an increase of (future) prosperity for the Saints.'

<sup>1</sup> So Nēr. satāmča atitānāmča b'avišyānāmča. The Parsi-Pers. gives us a valuable item, confirming the sense of yehvünd; he has xvāhad būd. Notice this expression of the future.

<sup>2</sup> The accuracy of the translation is destroyed, as elsewhere where vahišt occurs, by the curious misapprehension of 'vahišt.' The Parsi-Pers. translator does not translate vaχsēnītār here, as if he felt its incongruity; elsewhere he renders it by the same word which occurs in the other language.