

fifth century B.C. Professors Hopkins, Ludwig, Jacobi, and Weber, Drs. Winternitz and Lüders, and last, not least, M. Barth, will find themselves here the subject of very strongly worded criticism. But the reader, acquainted with the other works by the same author, will find little that has not been already stated, over and over again, in them. The best sentences in the present work are the ones on p. 50 and p. 150, where the author promises a detailed statement of what can be gathered from the epic as to law and custom, government, social organization, religion, and philosophy. Such a collection of data will be of the very greatest importance if all the evidence is impartially included; and equally important whether they lead up to the author's conclusion or to that of the many scholars of first rank who hold a view so different from his. The present work does not throw much light on that point. The methods of controversy, even in the ablest hands, are necessarily different from those of original research. And when the controversy is so much expanded by reiterated assertion of the author's solution of the very questions at issue, it is even less instructive than controversies usually are. We shall do well, therefore, to await the very interesting volumes which are promised. It is by them, really, that the gifted author will either stand or fall.

ZOROASTER, THE PROPHET OF ANCIENT IRAN. By A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON. 8vo; pp. 312. (New York: published for the Columbia University Press by the Macmillan Co., 1899.)

During the last twenty years considerable progress has been made in correcting and extending our knowledge of the Zoroastrian Scriptures, both Avesta and Pahlavi. In Geldner's edition of the Avesta we have probably an exhaustive revision of the complete texts; and this has been supplemented by Darmesteter's transcripts and partial translations of many surviving Avesta fragments. In the *Sacred Books of the East* we have eight volumes of English

translations of Avesta and Pahlavi texts; to which we must add Darmesteter's French translation of the Avesta, in three quarto volumes of *Le Musée Guimet*. The Pahlavi scriptures have not been so exhaustively translated, though several texts, previously unknown in Europe, have been examined, and others heard of; so that the probability of any important discovery of unrecorded religious texts in Pahlavi is now very small.

Next in importance to the doctrines of a religion are the life and actions of its founder, and the want of some really trustworthy history has been especially felt in the case of Zarathuštra (the Zoroaster of classical writers), because the original Avesta and Pahlavi narratives have both been lost. But Professor A. V. Williams Jackson has, at length, supplied what was wanted, partly from old summaries of the Pahlavi narrative, and partly from hints in the Avesta and statements, more or less vague, made by classical and Oriental writers. The result is a book which "deals with the life and legend of Zoroaster" in a singularly lucid, interesting, and exhaustive manner.

After a short introduction, emphasizing the fact that Zoroaster must have been a really historical personage and not a myth, the book narrates what is recorded about his family history and genealogy, his date and native place, his parents, birth, and childhood, his persecution by the old priesthood, his education and religious preparation, his conference with Ahura Mazda (probably in a vision), his two-years' preaching in vain to the Turanians and Karaps, his conferences with the six Amēšaspeñtas, his temptation by Anra-main-yu, and the first real convert he obtained, in his cousin, after ten years of conferences and preaching. Two years more are requisite for the conversion of Vištāsp and that king's family and court, owing to the violent opposition of the Kavīs and Karaps, the old sages and priests, whose influence is at length overcome by the personal interference of the archangels Vohuman and Ashavahišta, aided by the Propitious Fire.

After this conversion of King Vištāsp, when Zoroaster

had completed his forty-second year, the old traditions contain fewer details. The war of the religion, with King Arjāsp, occurred eighteen years before Zoroaster's death, according to tradition, although Jāmāsp had already succeeded him as chief councillor of the king. Whether the Turanians who are said to have killed Zoroaster at Balkh, eighteen years later, were led by Arjāsp is perhaps less certain. Tradition, however, attributes the writing of the Avesta to Jāmāsp, from the teaching of Zoroaster, eight years before the death of the latter.

To the narrative of Zoroaster's mission, here briefly sketched, is added an equal bulk of appendixes, comprising all the further information, ancient and modern, that has been discovered regarding the incidents mentioned. These appendixes contain explanations of Zoroaster's name; statements regarding his date, with discussion and results; a table of Zoroastrian chronology; a comprehensive discussion of all allusions to Zoroaster's native place and the scene of his ministry; classical passages mentioning his name; allusions to him in various other old literatures; and notes on sculptures supposed to represent him.

Classical writers report the birth of Zoroaster as having occurred earlier than B.C. 6,000, although the traditional date is B.C. 660. This serious difference is, however, easily explained when we find that tradition also states that his *spiritual* body was first formed B.C. 6,630; as it then becomes evident that the classical writers mistook this spiritual formation for actual birth in the material world. At the same time, this classical error affords an interesting proof of the existence of the traditional system of Zoroastrian chronology as early as the fourth century B.C., the date of the older manuscripts which the classical writers quote as their authorities on the subject.

The identification of Zoroaster's native place, and of the scenes of his activity, has engaged much of Professor Jackson's attention, and is treated most exhaustively. Although at first inclined to seek Zoroaster's early home in the east, he has been compelled to admit that most of

the best evidence is strongly in favour of finding it in the west. The conclusion being that Zoroaster was born somewhere in Ādarbaijān, between Lake Urumiah and the Caspian; his father's family residing either at Urumiah, Šiz, or on the Daryai river; and his mother's family at Rai. Regarding the scenes of his activity, he appears to have had little success in his own country, and his early preaching tours among the Turanians were practically useless, even when made in the south-east region of Sagastān. He must then have returned by degrees to his native land, as the localities of his later conferences, with the Amēšaspeñtas, may be traced south of the Caspian and in Ādarbaijān.

Where he had to seek Vistāsp is not stated in any Avesta or Pahlavi text, although Sagastān is sometimes mentioned as belonging to the Kayān dynasty. Muhammadan writers are almost unanimous in placing Vistāsp's kingdom in Bactria, and his capital at Balkh, which appears to have been founded by his father Lohrāsp (Aurvataspa), who is said to have abdicated and lived there in retirement. Thirty-five years after the conversion of Vistāsp, Zoroaster was killed by Turanians at the storming of Balkh, according to Firdausi and other Persian writers. But the Pahlavi tradition, though it gives the name of the assassin, does not mention the locality of the massacre.

Several eminent Iranian scholars dispute the claims of Bactria to being the scene of Vistāsp's conversion and Zoroaster's death, and advocate those of Media. Professor Jackson has stated the evidence on both sides of the question, but wisely refrains from drawing any positive conclusion which, by hastily accepting the evidence on one side, would reject all that which is offered on the other. It is safer to wait for further discoveries and, in the meantime, this valuable work will supply the reader with very nearly all the known materials for understanding the life and work of Zoroaster, the Zarathuštra of the Avesta.

It may be useful to add that two or three names, quoted in the book from Persian works, illustrate the marvellous

ingenuity of Persian scribes in misusing diacritical points, so as to corrupt foreign names. In such cases the reader has only to write the name in Persian characters without the points, and then try all possible combinations of other points, when he will soon discover the original reading of the name. Thus, the place called Darbīst, or Zarbīst, in p. 97, lin. 11 and p. 224, n. 2, is found to be a corruption of Diṣ-i-nipīst, or 'fortress of documents,' which is mentioned in the last chapter of the third book of the Dīnkard, in a Pahlavi passage translated in S.B.E., xxxvii, xxxi. Again, the strange Mobed Torru of Būsāwāri, quoted in p. 202, lin. 26, from the Dabistān, is evidently Barzū of Nawsāri, commonly called Dastūr Barzū Kāmdīn, who was still living in 1670.

Another Persian name, which has been sadly ill-treated by Arab and Persian scribes, is that of the supreme highpriest of Ardašīr Pāpākān, which has recently been partially corrected from Tōsar into Tansar. In the Arabic text of Mas'aūdi's *Meadows of Gold* (ed. B. de Meynard), vol. ii, p. 161, the best out of five readings of the name is Bīsar, and this becomes Tansar when *all* the diacritical points are altered. But the name is Pahlavi and occurs six times in the Dīnkard; thrice it can be read either Tansar or Tōsar, and thrice the letter *n* or *o* is doubled. In the Persian text of Tansar's letter to the king of Tabaristān the name occurs five times, and the *n* is certainly doubled once. The Persian translator also explains (see *Journal Asiatique*, 1894, pp. 205, 508) that the owner of the original Pahlavi MS. had noted that the name implied that the highpriest's body was hairy. As the first syllable *tan* means 'body' in Pahlavi, and the Pahlavi word for 'hair' is *vars*, we might expect the whole name to be Tanvars; but, to adapt this to the Pahlavi and Persian orthography of the word, we ought to go a step farther and assume that the last two letters have been transposed colloquially, so that the actual name had become Tanvasar; and this reading would correctly represent the Pahlavi spelling with a double *n*, because *v* and *n* are written alike in Pahlavi. We have the option of reading Tanōsar,

as *tan*, 'the body,' is usually written *tanö*, but how could this reading be reconciled with the meaning 'hairy body'?

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ALLGEMEINE GESCHICHTE DER PHILOSOPHIE. Vol. I, Part 2. Philosophie der Upanishads. Von Dr. PAUL DEUSSEN. 8vo; pp. xii and 368. (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1899. Price 9s.)

In this volume the Upanishads have the good fortune of being treated by an enthusiastic admirer, whose sympathy with their philosophic position has led him to devote a careful study to the texts in their original language, and who unites to a thorough knowledge of European philosophy a strict training in the rules of historical criticism. Had the work been written by a professor of philology instead of by a professor of philosophy it would, no doubt, have been very different. The passages on which the principal stress is here laid might then have loomed less largely than other passages here passed over as if of little moment. A selection in either case would be inevitable; and what we have here is a complete statement of the Upanishad theory of God and of the soul. To the first, the theology, ten chapters are devoted; to the second, four; and there are supplementary chapters on the views expressed in the Upanishads as to transmigration, salvation, and ethics; and a very interesting introductory discussion of the relative age of the various texts.

Throughout the book the question of the course of the development of the different doctrines discussed is kept constantly before the reader's attention. And in this respect the views put forward by the author are characterized by so much caution, and at the same time by so much insight, and supported by so many details, that they will probably be accepted, in the main, by all future writers on the subject. The conclusions reached are a distinct contribution to our knowledge of the question; and it will be advisable, shortly, to set out the final result.