ESSAYS /5

SACRED LANGUAGE, WRITINGS, AND RELIGION OF THE PARSEES.

BY

MARTIN HAUG, Dr. PHIL.,

Late of the Universities of Tübingen, Göttingen and Bonn ; Superintendent of Sanscrit Studies, and Professor of Sanscrit, in the Poona College ; Honorary Member of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society ; etc.
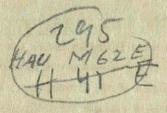
PREFACE.

THE four Essays which I here lay before the public, contain the ripest results of my laborious researches into the Sacred Writings and Religion of the Zoroastrians. Their principal aim is to present in a readable form, all the materials for judging impartially of the character of the Scripture and Religion of the Parsees. The Scripture being written in a language very little explored hitherto, I have thought it necessary to supply an outline of its grammar; a principal use of which I trust may be to enable the Parsees to learn their Sacred language, and make researches of their own into their Zend Avesta. The Roman Alphabet has been employed throughout; and my system of transliteration may be learnt from the alphabet of Zend characters with their Roman equivalents, which is added at the end.

My best thanks are due to my subscribers, who have enabled me to bring out the work.

MARTIN HAUG.

Poona, 2nd February 1862.

TO

EDWARD I. HOWARD, ESQUIRE, M. A.,

DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION BOMBAY
PRESIDENCY,

This Work is inscribed as a token of gratitude and respect,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

CONTENTS.

I.

HISTORY

RESEARCHES INTO THE SACRED WRITINGS AND RELIGION OF THE PARSEES

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES DOWN TO THE PRESENT.

1.—THE REPORTS OF THE GREEKS, ROMANS, ARMENIANS, AND MOHAMMEDANS.

In this chapter I intend to give a brief outline of the gradual acquaintance of the western nations with the Zoroastrian religion, (now professed only by the small Parsee community in India, and by a very insignificant portion which remained in the ancient fatherland in Persia,) and principally to trace the history of the scientific researches attempted in Europe into the original records of this ancient creed, where the true doctrine of the great Zoroaster and his successors, buried for thousands of years, is to be found.

To the whole ancient world Zoroaster's lore was better known by the name of the doctrine of the Magi, which denomination was commonly applied to the priests of India, Persia, and Babylonia.

The earliest mention of them is made in the Prophet Jeremiah (39, 3), who enumerated among the retinue of king Nebuchadnezzar at his entry into Jerusalem, the "Chief of the Magi" (*rab mag* in Hebrew), from which statement we may distinctly gather, that the Magi exercised a great influence at the court of Babylonia 600 years B. C. They were, however, foreigners, and are not to be confounded with the indigenous priests. In the Old

Testament no account of this religion is given; only once (Ezekiel VIII., 16,17,) it is hinted at.* The Persians, whose only priests the Magi appear to have been, however, are never spoken of as adherents to idolatry. The Persian kings, chiefly Cyrus, (called *Koresh* in Hebrew, *Kurush* in the cuneiform inscriptions) favored the Jews. In Isaiah this great king is called " the anointed of the Lord (*mashiakh* in Hebrew 45, 1,), the shepherd who carries out the Lord's decrees (44, 28) ; he is the eagle† called from the orient, the man appointed by the Lord's counsel (46, 11) ; he is strengthened by the Lord to subdue the heathens (45, 1.)‡ From these high terms, in which king Cyrus, who professed the religion of the Magi, is spoken of, we are entitled to infer that this religion was not so diametrically opposed to the Mosaic as the other ancient religions were ; that Cyrus, at all events, was no idolworshipper,—a supposition, we shall find confirmed by Herodotus, and by the sacred books of the Parsees themselves. The Zoroastrian religion exhibits even a very close affinity to, or rather identity with several important doctrines of the Mosaic religion and Christianity, such as the personality and attributes of the devil, and the resurrection of the dead, which are both ascribed to the religion of the Magi, and are really to be found in the present scripture of the Parsees. It is not to be ascertained whether these doctrines were borrowed by the Parsees from the Jews, or by the Jews from the Parsees ; very likely neither is the case, and in both these religions they seem to have sprung up independently.

---

* The religious custom alluded to in Ezekiel, undoubtedly refers to the religion of the Magi. The prophet complains that some of the Jews worship the sun, holding towards their face certain twigs. Exactly the same custom as being observed by the Magi of holding a bundle of twigs in the hands, when engaged in praying, is reported by Strabo (XV., p. 733, edition of Casaubon). It is the so called Barsom (Bereçma in Zend) used up to this time by the Parsee priests when engaged in worship.

† In *Aeschylus's* celebrated play "the Persians," the eagle is the symbol of the Persian empire (verses 205-10). The eagle was, as Xenophon reports, (Cyropœdia VII., 1. 2.) the ensign of the ancient Persians.

‡ The Hebrew word *goyim*, (literally 'people') used in the plural as it is here, denotes the heathenish nations, the idol worshippers, in their strictest opposition to the Israelites.

In the Zend-Avesta we meet only with two words,* which may be traced to the Semitic languages, neither of them referring to religious subjects. In the later books of the Old Testament we find several Persian words, and many names, but they have nothing to do with religion. The most famous of these Persian words in the Old Testament now spread over the whole civilised world, is the word "paradise," which means originally a park, a beautiful garden fenced in.†

The name Magi occurs even in the New Testament. In the Gospel according to St. Matthew (2, 1) the Magi (Greek magoi, translated in the English Bible by "wise men") came from the East to Jerusalem, to worship the new born child, Jesus, at Bethlehem. That these Magi were the priests of the Zoroastrian religion, we know from Grecian writers.

The earliest account of the religion of the Magi among the Greeks, is to be found in HERODOTUS, the father of history, (450 B. C.) In his first book (ch. 131-32), we read the following report on the Persian religion :—

"I know that the Persians observe these customs. It is not customary among them to have idols made, temples built, and altars erected; they even upbraid with folly those who do so. I can account for that, only from their not believing that the gods are like men, as the Hellenes do. They are accustomed to bring sacrifices to Zeus on the summits of mountains; they call the whole celestial circle Zeus. They bring sacrifices to the sun, moon, earth, fire, water and winds, these elements originally being the only objects of worship; but they accepted from the As-

---

* These are *tanúra*, an oven ; and *hara*, mountain to be found only in the name *Harô berezaiti, i. e.* high mountain, considered to be the head of all mountains ; preserved now-a-days in the name *Elborz*. *Tanúra* is evidently the same with the Hebrew *tannúr* (Gen. XV., 17. Isaiah XXXI., 9) an oven ; *hara* is identical with *har* in Hebrew, *i. e.* mountain.

† The original form of the word is *pairi-daêza* (in the Zend-Avesta), i. e. circumvallation; in Hebrew we find it in the form *pardes*; in Greek as *paradeisos*. *Pairi* is *peri* in Greek ; *daêza* corresponds *dêha* in Sanskrit, i. e. enclosure, generally applied to the body. Of the same root is the English *thick* (very likely indentical with S. *digdha* past participle of the root *dih* to besmear, pollute, in a more comprehensive sense "surround.")

syrians and Arabs the worship of Aphrodite, the Queen of Heaven, whom the Assyrians call Mylitta, the Arabs Alitta, the Persians Mitra.*

"The Persians bring sacrifices to the aforesaid gods in the following manner. They neither erect altars nor kindle fires when they are about to bring a sacrifice; they neither use libations, nor flutes nor wreaths, nor barley; but when any one is willing to bring a sacrifice, he then carries the sacrificial beast to a pure spot, and after having twined round his turban a great many wreaths of myrtle in preference to any other leaf, he invokes the deity. The sacrificer ought not to pray only for his own prosperity ; he must also pray for the welfare of all the Persians, and for the king, because he is included among them. When he has cut the animal into pieces, he then boils its flesh, spreads the softest grass he can get, especially preferring clover, and places the pieces of flesh on it. After having made this arrangement, one of the Magi who is present, sings a theogony,† as they call the incantation (which is used) ; without one of the Magi no sacrifice can be brought. After waiting a short time, the sacrificer takes off the pieces of flesh, and uses them as he likes.‡"
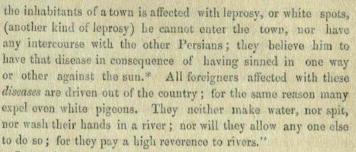
In the 138th Chapter of the same book, the father of history says : " Lying is regarded as the most discreditable thing by them ; next to it is the incurring of debt, chiefly for this reason, that the debtor is often compelled to tell lies. If any one of

---

* Here Herodotus has committed a mistake; not as to the matter, but as to the name. The Persians, in later times, worshipped a great female deity, who might be compared with the Mylitta of the Babylonians (the Astarte of the Old Testament), but she was called ANAHITA (in the Zend-Avesta, and in the cuneiform inscriptions,) known to the Arabs and Grecian writers by the name of ANAITIS. She represented the beneficial influence of water. Mitra is the well known sun-god of the Persians and a male deity.

† Herodotus, who shews throughout the whole report, an intimate knowledge of the Persian sacrifices, means by theogony here, those sections of the sacred books which are called *Yashts* or invocations, containing the praises of all the feats achieved by the deity in whose honour the sacrifice is to be brought. See the third chapter.

‡ This custom is still maintained by the Parsees. The flesh (or any other offering) to be offered is first consecrated by the priest, then for a short time left near the fire, and finally taken off by the sacrificer, to be used by him ; but it is never thrown into the fire.

the inhabitants of a town is affected with leprosy, or white spots,
(another kind of leprosy) he cannot enter the town, nor have
any intercourse with the other Persians; they believe him to
have that disease in consequence of having sinned in one way
or other against the sun.* All foreigners affected with these
diseases are driven out of the country; for the same reason many
expel even white pigeons. They neither make water, nor spit,
nor wash their hands in a river; nor will they allow any one else
to do so; for they pay a high reverence to rivers."

In another passage (III. 16) Herodotus reports that the Per-
sians believe Fire to be a god; wherefore Cambyses committed
a great sin, as he says, in burning the corpse of the King Amasis.

The chief Greek writers on the manners and religion of the
Persians were KTESIAS (B. C. 400,) the well known physician to
King Artaxerxes II., DEINON (B. C. 350), who is looked upon as a
great authority in Persian matters by Cornelius Nepos (in the life
of Konon), THEOPOMPOS, of Chios, (B. C. 300), and HERMIPPOS,
the philosopher of Smyrna, (B. C. 250). The books of all these
writers being lost, save some fragments preserved by later
authors, such as PLUTARCH, DIOGENES of LAERTE, and PLINY,
we cannot judge how far they were acquainted with the religion
of the Magi. The two chief sources whence to derive in-
formation on the religion of the Magi, were for the Greeks and
Romans. THEOPOMPOS' eighth book of the history of King
Philip of Macedonia, which was entitled " on miraculous
things," where chiefly the doctrine of the Magi was treated ; and
HERMIPPOS, who wrote a separate book " on the Magi." We
are left without information, whether or not Theopompos
borrowed his statements on the lore of the Magi from his inter-
course with the Persian priests themselves ; but Hermippos, who
composed, besides his work on the Zoroastrian doctrine, biogra-
phies of lawgivers, the seven sages of Greece &c., is reported by
Pliny (Historia Naturalis XXX., 1) to have made very laborious
investigations into all the Zoroastrian books, which were said to

---

* The name given to sinners against the sun is *mithrô-drukhs*, i. e. one who has
belied mithra (sun). Such diseases were believed to be the consequence of lying.

comprise two millions of verses, and to have stated the contents of each book separately. He therefore really seems to have had some knowledge of the sacred language and texts of the Magi, for which reason the loss of his work is greatly to be regretted.

It is not my intention to produce all the reports on the Zoroastrian religion and customs to be met with in the ancient writers, but I shall only point out some of the most important.

According to Diogenes of Laerte (Pro-œmium, chap. 6), EUDOXOS and ARISTOTLE stated, that in the doctrine of the Magi there were two powers opposed to each other, one representing the good god, called ZEUS and ORMASDES (Ahuramazda, Ormuzd), and the other representing the devil, whose name was HADES and AREIMANIOS (Angrô Mainyus, Ahriman.) Of this chief doctrine of the Magi THEOPOMPOS had given a further illustration. According to Plutarch (De Iside et Osiride) and Diogenes of Laerte (Pro-œmium, chap. 9) he reported that Oromasdes ruled for three thousand years alone, and Areimanios for three thousand more. After this period of six thousand years had elapsed, they began to wage war against each other, one attempting to destroy the other; but finally, (he says) Areimanios is to perish, mankind is to enjoy a blessed state of life ; men will neither be any more in need of food, nor will they cast shadows ; the dead are to rise again, men will be immortal, and everything is to exist in consequence of their prayers.

A brief, but full account of Zoroaster's doctrine is to be found in Plutarch's book " on Isis and Osiris" (chap. 46-47,) which being in detail, seems to have been borrowed from a writer who was actually acquainted with the original texts. The philosopher Hermippos, above mentioned, being the only scholar of antiquity who can be supposed with sufficient reason to have had a real knowledge of the sacred language of the Zend-Avesta, we may regard him as the author of Plutarch's statements. These are as follows :—

" Oromasdes sprang out of the purest light; among all things perceived by the senses that element most resembles him ; Areimanios sprang out of darkness, and is therefore of the same

nature with it. Oromasdes, who resides as far beyond the sun, as the sun is far from the earth, created six gods (the six *Ameshaçpentas*, now Amshashpand, the archangels) ; the god of benevolence *(vohumanó,* i. e. " good-mind," now called *Bahman)* the god of truth, *Ashavahista ; Ardibehesht) ;* the god of order *(Khshathra vairya ; Shahravar) ;* the god of wisdom *(Armaiti ; Isfendermat) ;* and the god of wealth and delight in beauty *(Haurvatát* and *Ameretát, Khordád* and *Ameredád).* But to counterbalance him, Areimanios created an equal number of gods counteracting those of Oromasdes. Then Oromasdes decorated heaven with stars, and placed the star Sirius *(Tistrya, Tashtar)* at their head as a guardian. Afterwards he created twenty-four other gods,* and set them in an egg ; but Areimanios forthwith created an equal number of gods who opened the egg ; in consequence of this, evil is always mingled with good. Thus the good god and the demon are engaged in a constant war. Of plants and animals some belong to the good, some to the evil spirit ; to the good one belong dogs, birds, and crabs ; to the evil one, water-rats. At the end, the time is to come when Areimanios will perish, and disappear in consequence of disease and famine, caused by himself. Then the earth will become even, and equal, and there will be only one state, and one language, and one and the same manner of living to the happy men who then speak only one language.

STRABO the geographer (B. C. 60) has given in the 15th book of his celebrated geography an account of the religion and customs of the Magi, of which I shall translate some passages. "To whatever deity the Persians may bring a sacrifice," says he, " they first invoke fire, which is fed at their sacred places with dried barkless pieces of wood, and is never to be extinguished ;

---

* This statement seems at the first glance to be very strange. But one may easily explain it from the Zend texts. The writer had evidently in view the 30 genii presiding over the particular days of the month ; he was informed, or he gathered it from his own reading of the texts, that there are two distinct classes of divine beings to be worshipped, six forming the higher order, twenty-four the lower ; the Supreme being, the creator Ahuramazda, was not comprised in these. In the Parsee Calendar (Sirozah, 30 days) Ormazd is included in the number.

they put fat over it, and pour oil into it; if any body happens to throw or blow into it any thing dirty, or dead, he is to die; the fire is to be kindled by blowing.

In another passage (XI. p. 512) he enumerates as Persian deities *Anaitis Omanes*, and *Anadates* or *Anandates*.*

PAUSANIUS, the celebrated Grecian traveller (180 A. D.) has the following report on the fireworship of the Magi (V. 27, 3). In the temples of the Persians there is a room, where ashes of another colour than those being burnt on the altar, are to be found.† To this room he first repairs, puts dry wood upon the altar, puts on the tiara, and then sings the invocation of the god, reading it from a book, in a language utterly unintelligible to the Greeks. The wood is to be ignited on the ashes, without fire, and to flame up into a bright blaze.

I shall pass over DIO CHRYSOSTOMOS (130 A. D.) who has left to us, in his sermons, some remarks on the theological ideas of the Magi, chiefly on their comparing the universe with a chariot in continual motion, which is drawn by four horses; but I shall give a translation of an important passage of the historian AGATHIAS (500 A. D.) respecting Zoroaster. He says (II. 24): "The present Persians almost entirely neglect their former customs, and have even changed them, and observe some strange and spurious usages, professing the doctrines of Zoroaster, the son of Ormasdes.‡ The time when this Zoroaster or Zarades (he is called by these two names) flourished and gave his laws, is not to be ascertained. The Persians now-a-days simply say, that he lived at the time of Hystaspes; but it is very doubtful, and doubt cannot be resolved whether this Hys-

---

* *Anaites Anáhitá*, a goddess, representing the celestial waters. Omanes is Vohumanô-Bahman; Anandates is Ameretat, genius of the trees.

† The two kinds of ashes mentioned here are those of the Dâd-gâh (Dâityô-gâtus) or common hearth of the temple (or any house) and of the Atesh-gâh or place for the sacred fire, which is fed with the greatest care. By tiara (a turban) the Penom (paitidâna) is meant, a cloth, used to cover the lips to prevent the sacred fire from being polluted. Pausanius well describes here the divine service as performed before the sacred fire. The observance is still maintained.

‡ Plato (Alcibiades I., p. 121) says the same, calling Zoroaster a son of Ormazdes i. e. Ahuramazda, Ormazd.

taspes was the father of Darius or another Hystaspes. At whatever time he may have lived, he was at all events their prophet, and the master of the Magic rites. He after having changed the ancient form of worship, introduced manifold and strange doctrines. For they (the Persians) formerly worshipped Zeus and Kronos, and all other gods celebrated by the Greeks, only under other names, as for example they call Zeus, *Bel,* Heracles, *Sandes,* Aphrodite, *Anaïtis,** and the others otherwise as is reported by BEROSOS the Babylonian, and ATHENOKLES and SIMAKOS, who wrote on the most ancient history of the Assyrians and Medians."

Before I conclude my notice of these Grecian records, and proceed to those of the Armenians and Mohammedans, I shall notice some passages of later Grecian writers, who lived after Christ at the time of the Sassanids, on the supposed primitive principle of Zoroastrian theology, of which I shall treat fully in the last chapter of this book.

The first Grecian writer who alludes to it, is DAMASCIUS. In his book " on primitive principles" (125th pag. 384 ed. Kopp) he says, " The Magi and the whole Arian nation† consider, as Eudemos writes, some Space, and others Time as the universal cause, out of which the good god as well as the evil spirit were separated, or as others assert, light and darkness, before these *two spirits arose.*"

On the same matter THEODOROS of MOPSUESTIA writes as follows, according to the fragment preserved by the polyhistor Photios (Biblioth 81). In the first book of his work (on the doctrines of the Magi), says Photios,‡ he propounds the nefarious doctrine of the Persians which Zarastrades introduced, viz. that on

---

* In this report true and false statements are mixed together. It is true that the religion of the Parsees anterior to Zoroaster was *much nearer to that of the Greeks* than after his time; but it is not true that the Persians at that time worshipped BEL, who was the chief god of the Babylonians, and entirely unknown to the Zend Avesta.

† By this name the Medians are to be understood. According to Herodotus their original name was " Arioi."

‡ He was a Christian.

2.

ZAROUAM* whom he makes the ruler of the whole universe, and calls him Destiny; and who when bringing sacrifices in order to generate Hormisdas, produced both Hormisdas and Satan.

This opinion on the primitive principle of the Zoroastrian theology, seems to have been current among the Christians at the time of the Sassanids, as we may learn more fully from Armenian writers of the 5th century, from EZNIK, who wrote a book against heretical opinions, and from ELISÆUS, who compiled a history of VARTAN, and the wars waged by the Armenians against the Persians. I shall give a translation of Eznik's report. He says in his refutation of heresies (in the second book) containing a " refutation of the false doctrine of the Persians :—"

" Before any thing, heaven or earth, or creatures of any kind whatever, therein were existing, Zeruan existed, whose name means fortune or glory.† He brought sacrifices for a thousand years, in the hope of obtaining a son, ORMIZT by name, who was to create heaven, earth, and every thing therein. After having spent a thousand years in sacrificing, he began to deliberate. Are these sacrifices of mine to produce any effect, and will a son, Ormizt by name, be born to me ? While he was thus deliberating, Ormizt and Arhmen were conceived in the womb of their mother, Ormizt as the fruit of his sacrifices, Arhmen as that of his doubts. When Zeruan was aware of this event, he said, two sons are in the womb ; he who will come first to me, is to be made king. Ormizt, having perceived his father's thoughts, revealed them to Arhmen, saying, Zeruan, our father intends to make him king who shall be born first. Having heard these words, Arhmen perforated the womb, and appeared before his father. But Zeruan, when he saw him, did not know who he was, and asked him, who art thou ? He told him :—' I am thy son.' Zeruan answered him, my son is well scented and shining, but thou art dark, and ill-scented. While they were thus talking, Ormizt, shining and well scented, appeared before Zeruan, who, seeing him, perceived him at once

---

* He means Zarvan akarana, i. e. boundless time.

† This interpretation is wrong. The word zarvan means simply "time" in Zendavesta, preserved in the modern Persian zamán.

to be his son Ormizt on account of whom he was sacrificing. He took the rod,* which he had used in sacrificing, and gave it to Ormizt, saying: Hitherto this has been used by myself in bringing sacrifices for thy sake; henceforth thou mayst sacrifice for my sake. When Zeruan handed over his rod to Ormizt, and blessed him, Arhmen approached him saying: Hast thou not vowed to make that one of thy two sons King who should first come to thee? Zeruan, in order to avoid breaking his vow, replied to Arhmen: Oh thou liar and evil doer! the empire is to be ceded to thee for nine thousand years; but I place Ormizt over thee as chief, and after nine thousand years, he will reign and do what he like. Then Ormizt and Arhmen began the work of creation; every thing produced by Ormizt was good and right, and every thing wrought by Arhmen was bad and perverse."

From both these Armenian writers, EZNIK and ELISAEUS, we further learn, that the Zoroastrians at their times (5th century A. D.) were split into two parties, inimically opposed to each other; the one is called MOG (Magi, Maghava,) the other ZENDIK.†

I shall now pass over to MOHAMMEDAN writers, who lived after the conquest of Persia by the Mohammedans (640 A. D.); but I can notice of course only some interesting passages.

MASUDI, the celebrated Arabian historian and traveller (950 A. D.), has preserved to us the following notice of the sacred books of the Parsees.‡ The first book, made by ZERADUSHT, was Avesta. The Persians, not being able to understand it, Zeradusht made a commentary, which they called ZEND; further he made a commentary to this commentary, and called it PAZEND. After Zeradusht's death the Persians made a commentary of the

---

* This is the so called Barsom (Bereçma, a bundle of twigs) used by the Parsee priests always, when engaged in worship.

† The Magi were chiefly spread in the West, in Media and Persia; the Zendiks in the East, in Bactria. The former seem to have acknowledged only the AVESTA or original texts of the sacred writings; the latter followed the traditional explanation, called ZEND.

‡ S. Chwolsohn in the Zeitschrift der Deutsch Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Vol. VI., p. 408-9.

commentary, and an explanation of all the books just mentioned, and called it YAZDAH.*

In another passage, he has the following remark on the origin of the word ZENDIK, i. e. heretic in Persian :—the ZEND being only a commentary on what was formerly revealed from heaven (viz. the AVESTA), the Persians called any one, who put forward religious opinions opposed to the Avesta, a ZENDIK, because he held his own interpretations (Zend) against that of the " Avesta."

On Zoroaster's age he remarks that according to the Magi, he lived 280 years before Alexander the Great (about 516 years B. C.)†

Shahrastani, a celebrated Mohammedan writer, (who died at Bagdad 1153 A. D.) has given in his highly valuable work " on religious sects & creeds" *(kitâb el-milel we na'hal)* an account of the religion of the Magi, of which he had a better opinion than many other Mohammedan writers. Whilst DIMISHQI (died 1327 A. D.), EBN FOZLAN and others‡ identify the Magi with idolators and pagans, Shahrastani brings them under the same head with JEWS, CHRISTIANS, and MUSALMANS, or those, the creed of whom is founded on revealed books; and makes them diametrically opposed to those who follow their own imagination and inventions as many philosophers did, the Brahmans and Sabeans (starworshippers). From his reports we further learn that the Magi were split into several sects, which very likely arose at the time of the Sassanids, such as the MAZDAKYAHS, who believed in the transmigration of souls like the Brahmans and Buddhists (a doctrine which is altogether strange to the Zend-Avesta); the KAYOMAR-THIYAH, who believed in a revelation made by God to the first man, called GAYOMART by the Parsees, corresponding to ADAM of the Bible; the ZERVANITS who believed in ZARVAN AKARANA, i. e. the boundless time as the supreme deity, which doctrines

---

* He understands by it those pieces, which are called *Yashts*, and are undoubtedly the latest productions in *Zend-Avesta*.

† S. Chwolsohn, Die Sabier II, p. 690.

‡ S. Chwolsohn I, p. 281.

being altogether strange to the ancient books, were derived from other creeds.

Before taking final leave of these Mohammedan writers, I must notice a peculiar circumstance which deserves attention. In several Mohammedan writings, chiefly in vernacular Persian dictionaries, we find ZOROASTER, or as he is called there ZARA-DUSHT, identified with ABRAHAM, the patriarch. The Magi are said to have called their religion *Kesh-i-Ibrahim*, i. e. creed of Abraham, whom they considered as their prophet and the re-former of their religion. They traced their religious books to Abraham, who was believed to have brought them from heaven. Of all this, however, no single word is true. The Magi or Parsee priests invented it for the purpose of escaping the persecutions of the Mohammedans, and that they might be tolerated to a certain extent ; for only those creeds were tolerated by the Mohammedans, the followers of which were able to convince them of their posses-sion of sacred books, connected in any way with the Jewish religion, the prophets of which had been acknowledged by Mo-hammed.

2.—THE EUROPEAN RESEARCHES.

The nations of modern Europe come into contact with the adherents of the Zoroastrian religion in the western part of India, where they had settled when they left their fatherland Persia, to escape the persecutions of the Mohammedans. Already in the 17th century, manuscripts of the sacred books of the Parsees were brought to England as a mere article of curiosity, but were a sealed book to every one. The first, who attempted to give a complete description of the doctrines of the Magi, was the celebrated Oxford Scholar, HYDE. In his very learned work, " Historia religionis veterum Persarum corumque Magorum," the first edition of which was published in the year 1700, he displays a vast deal of information, derived from all the sources which

were accessible to him, on the Parsee religion from Grecian and Roman, as well as from Arabian and Persian writers, and tries his utmost to throw light on the religion of the Magi, so famous in antiquity; but being utterly unable to read the original texts of the Zend-Avesta, though he himself was in possession of several manuscripts of them, he could not succeed in furnishing his readers with a real insight into that ancient creed. His work acted, however, as a stimulus to others to take more interest in the matter.

The first scholar, who made the European nations acquainted with the contents of the sacred books of the Parsees, was the celebrated Frenchman ANQUETIL DU PERRON. His ardour and zeal are almost unparalleled in the history of scholarship. He happened once to see a fac simile of some pages written in Zend characters, which were circulated as a mere curiosity. Actuated by the liveliest desire of earning the glory of first opening the Zend-Avesta to Europeans, he suddenly resolved upon setting out for Western India in order to purchase manuscripts of all the sacred books of the Zoroastrian religion, and to obtain a thorough knowledge of their contents, and of the religious customs of the Parsees from the priests. Being himself unable to afford the means required for carrying out his plan, he entered himself as a sailor in a ship of the French Indian Company, bound for Bombay in the year 1754, where he safely arrived after a very protracted and dangerous voyage. All the hardships he had to suffer during his passage would have been endured in vain, and he would have ultimately failed in obtaining what he was aiming at, if the French Government had not granted him support. The Parsee priests being full of distrust towards him, were not willing to sell him valuable manuscripts, and far less to teach him the language of their sacred books.* Finally the only means of obtain-

---

* Since the Parsees and their priests have come more into contact with the Europeans, this distrust has subsided to a certain extent. I myself have conversed often with Dustoors on their sacred books and their religion; they showed themselves very kind towards me, and always ready to give me any explanation of rites and ceremonies for which I might ask.

ing the object wished for was money. He bribed one of the most learned Dustoors, Dustoor Dârâb, at Surat, to procure him manuscripts, and to instruct him in the Zend and Pehlevi languages. But to ascertain whether he was not deceived by the Dustoor, he opened an intercourse with some other priests (Kaus and Manjerj,) and was very much satisfied at finding that the manuscripts he purchased first, were genuine. When he thought himself proficient enough in Zend and Pehlevi, he set about making a French translation of the whole ZEND-AVESTA. He commenced that work in March 1759, and was engaged in it up to the time of his departure. He left for Europe in 1761, after six years' stay in different places of Western India. He had purchased about 180 manuscripts in different oriental languages, among the number of which were copies of the sacred books of the Parsees. When, after a long and painful passage he arrived in Europe, he did not proceed at once to his fatherland, France, but went first to England to ascertain, whether or not the Zend manuscripts to be found there agreed with those in his own possession. Finding that they did not differ, he returned quite satisfied to France. All his manuscripts, together with the dictations of the Dustoors, were deposited at the Imperial library at Paris, where they may be still inspected, and used by the student. Ten years after his departure from India he published, (in 1771), as the fruit of his indefatigable zeal and industry, the following highly important work in French, *Zend-Avesta, the work of Zoroaster, containing the theological, physical, and moral ideas of this lawgiver, the ceremonies of the divine service which he established, and several important traits respecting the ancient history of the Persians, translated into French from the Zend Original, with notes and several treatises for illustrating the matters contained in it. By Anquetil du Perron.* 2 vols. 4to.

This groundwork for the Zend studies in Europe created an immense sensation when it was published. A new world of ideas seemed to have been disclosed to the European scholars ; the veil which covered the mysteries of the famous founder of the doctrines of the Magi seemed to be lifted. But the philosophers

found themselves soon greatly disappointed. KANT, the great German philosopher, said, after a careful perusal of the whole work, that throughout the whole Zend-Avesta not the slightest trace of philosophical ideas could be discovered.

The chief question, however, was the authenticity of these books. Some contested, others advocated it. In England, the opinion prevailed, that the books were forged, and Anquetil imposed upon by the priests. The celebrated oriental scholar SIR WILLIAM JONES, published in 1771 a letter in French, addressed to Anquetil du Perron, (W. Jones' works vol. x., pp. 403—99) where he tried to prove that the works translated by that scholar could not be considered as the composition of the celebrated Zoroaster. The chief reason alleged by him was, that their contents grossly contradicted common sense and all sound reasoning; the authority of these books as the chief source of information on the doctrines of Zoroaster was thus denied, and they were represented as the fictions of priestcraft brought forward as the works of Zoroaster. RICHARDSON, the celebrated Persian lexicographer, tried to prove the spuriousness of the Parsee books translated by Anquetil mainly from philological reasons. He held the opinion (in the preface to his Persian Dictionary) that the two languages *Zend* and *Pehlevi*, from which the learned Frenchman had translated them, were merely invented, never having been living in the provinces of the Persian Empire. His opinion was founded upon four reasons; (1) there is too great a number of Arabic words in both of them, which is a strong proof against their genuineness; (2) the harsh combinations of consonants are contrary to the genius of the Persian language; (3) there is no connection between them and modern Persian; (4) the contents of the books besides are so childish that they cannot be ascribed to the ancient Persians. All these reasons are easily to be refuted from the present state of the researches into the Zend Avesta; but it would be a mere wasting of space and time to enter into a real discussion about the authenticity of Zend and Pehlevi. In Zend and Pehlevi there are no Arabic words whatever; Zend is quite a pure Arian

dialect, the elder sister of Sanskrit, as will be seen easily from the outline of a grammar of that language which I intend to give in the second chapter; in Pehlevi there are many Chaldee, but no Arabic words, as we shall see afterwards, as well as its close connection with modern Persian.

In France the authenticity was not doubted, and the great merits of Anquetil at once acknowledged. In Germany the opinions of the scholars were at an issue. Some, as MEINERS and TYCHSEN, acceded to the proofs alleged against the genuineness of these books; but another renowned German scholar, KLEUKER, not only espoused the authenticity of Anquetil's work, but translated the whole of it into German, and added several appendices, containing the passages of the ancient writers on the religion of the Magi. In advocating the authenticity of Anquetil's Zend-Avesta, he relied chiefly on the accordance of the reports of the classical writers with those contained in these books. That this is actually the case, we shall see at the end of this work.

For a long time the correctness of Anquetil's translation was not doubted by any one, for he had learned the languages from the most clever Parsee priests themselves, who were supposed to possess necessarily a thorough and profound knowledge of their sacred books. In Germany the work was thenceforth the standard authority for all researches into the ancient Persian religion, and the divines used it even for the interpretation of the Old Testament. In England it was laid aside as spurious, and not deserving any attention. The most comprehensive and best description of the Persian religion, chiefly according to the work of Anquetil, was compiled by RHODE, "The holy tradition of the Zend people." (1820).

Inquiries into the real nature of the Zend and Pehlevi languages were not made, until more than fifty years after Anquetil's work had appeared. The first, who attempted to broach this difficult subject, was the great Danish scholar RASK, who himself had been in this Presidency (Bombay) and had purchased many valuable Zend and Pehlevi manuscripts for the library at Copenhagen. He wrote in 1826 a

8

pamphlet " On the age and genuineness of the Zend lan-
guage." In this little book he proved the close affinity of
the language of the Zend-Avesta to the Sanskrit. This proof
was sufficient to remove any doubts whatever entertained on the
genuineness of the Zend language. If this language was a true
and genuine sister to the Sanskrit, then of course it could not be
a mere invention of priests, who besides would have been utterly
unable to invent such a well organised language as the Zend
really is. Although Anquetil had deposited all the rough copies of
his work together with the dictations of his Parsee teachers (they
go by the name " les brouillons d' Anquetil") at the Imperial
library at Paris for the purpose of subjecting his translation to
public examination, for a long time no examiner was to be found.
As he possessed neither a grammar nor a dictionary of the Zend
languages (because they did not exist), there were in fact no
means of subjecting his work to a rigid examination. First, the
grammatical structure of this ancient language and the etymology
of the words were to be discovered. But how could that be ar-
rived at? The only means serving this purpose were the Sanskrit,
with which highly finished language the Europeans have become
acquainted since the end of the last century. Anquetil himself
was thinking of acquiring a knowledge of this language from the
Brahmans and translating the Vedas, but he did not succeed.
The study of Sanskrit spread rapidly from England to France and
Germany ; everywhere the high importance of this classical
language was at once acknowledged. The scholars discovered
soon its close affinity to Greek and Latin, and as soon as attention
was directed towards the Zend-Avesta, the closest possible rela-
tion of its language to the Sanskrit could not but strike the
enquirer, even at a glance. As I have already mentioned, Rask
first proved the close affinity, but he gave only some hints which
were apt to lead men of high talents to discoveries ; on that
account Rask himself cannot be considered as one of the founders
of Zend philology. This honour was reserved to a Frenchman also.

The first, who laid the foundation of a real Zend philology, was
EUGÈNE BURNOUF, professor of Sanskrit at the College de France

at Paris, one of the most gifted and talented scholars of the whole world, a man of whom, as their countryman, Frenchmen have just reason to be proud. Being himself exceedingly well versed in the so-called classical Sanskrit (not in that of the Vedas)—of his mastery over which language he left to us more than sufficient specimens in his translation of the *Bhâgavata Purâna* and his classical works on Buddhism,—he applied his sound and critical knowledge of it to the discovery of the rudiments of Zend grammar and etymology ; and his laborious researches were crowned with success. He first discovered then the great incorrectness of Anquetil's translation, being the necessary result of his total want of acquaintance with any thing like the grammar of the Zend language. In making his researches he availed himself of NERIOSENGH's Sanskrit translation of the greater part of the prayer-book *Yasna*, but criticised it by applying comparative philology, chiefly Sanskrit. Most of his researches he laid down in his excellent work entitled "Commentary on the Yasna" (1833-35), in which, starting from Neriosingh's Sanskrit translation, he gave the translation, with too copious an explanation, of only the *first* chapter out of the seventy-two, which make up the present Yasna or prayerbook. In several numbers of the "Journal Asiatique (1844-46)" he published a revised text, translation and explanation of the 9th chapter of Yasna, containing the praise of *Homa* (corresponding to the Soma of the Brahmans). He published besides, lithographed, the fairest copy of a *Vendidsáde* comprising the *Vendidâd*, *Yasna*, and *Visparad*, without the Pehlévi translation) which he found among the manuscripts brought by Anquetil. This was the first edition of Zend texts which appeared in Europe (1829-43). After that publication he left the Zend studies, and engaged himself chiefly in re-searches into Buddhism. In 1852 a premature death put an end to his important discoveries in several branches of the Oriental antiquities.

Before I proceed to trace the further course of the Zend studies chiefly in Germany, I intend to review briefly the merits of the two Frenchmen who have just claims to be regarded as the founders of our investigations into the Zend-Avesta.

ANQUETIL DU PERRON furnished Europe with all the materials for these researches, and by his translation introduced the literary world to the chief contents of the sacred books of the Zoroastrians. His work, although utterly incorrect and inaccurate, nevertheless gives a notion of the whole of the Zoroastrian ideas. One could learn from his books the different names of the divine beings, of the evil spirits, ceremonies, observances, doctrines and the contents in general. The reader could see for instance that in the first chapter of the *Vendidâd*, the names of sixteen countries were enumerated, which being originally good, were spoiled by the bad creations of the devil; that in its second chapter, the story of Yima (Jemshid) was treated, that the *Yasna* contains prayers of different kinds, addressed to different objects of worship &c. But it is in the easier parts only that he could gain even an approximate knowledge of the contents; in the more difficult ones, as the Gâthas, he could not attain thus much, because there nearly all was translated by Anquetil du Perron according to his own fancy and imagination. Anquetil being utterly unable to distinguish cases, tenses, moods, personal terminations &c., was liable to the gravest errors and mistakes, which gave rise to wrong conception not only of subordinate points, but of such as were of the highest importance to those interested in the Zoroastrian religion.

To enable the reader to judge of Anquetil's way of translating, I shall give his translation of one of the most celebrated passages of the Vendidad (19, 9 edition of Westergaard) which was supposed to prove *Zarvan akarana*, i. e. the boundless time, to be the primitive being, the creator of the good and the bad spirits.

"Ahriman,* master of the bad law! the being absorbed in glory has given (created) thee, the boundless Time has given thee, it has given also, with magnificence, the Amshashpands, &c." According to this translation Ormuzd and Ahriman are not the two

---

* The verse concludes an old song, describing the devil's attacks made upon Zarathrusta, and the conversation carried on between them. In the third chapter of this work the reader will find a translation of the whole.

primitive spirits, but they themselves were created by a Supreme being called *Zaruan akarana*, i. e. the boundless time. This doctrine being altogether strange to the Zend-Avesta, as we shall see afterwards, was merely interpreted into this passage by Anquetil according to the teaching of his masters, the Dustoors, in consequence of his grammatical ignorance. He translates the words "*Zruni akaranë*" as nominative case, whilst a very superficial knowledge of Zend and Sanskrit grammars suffices to recognise both the forms as so called locatives ; they are therefore to be translated only " in the boundless time," the subject of the sentence being * çpentô mainyus*, i. e. the white spirit (a name of Ormuzd) ; were it the nominative case, and the subject of the sentence, then we should have to expect " Zarva akaranem." The right translation which I anticipate from the third chapter, in order to compare it with that of Anquetil, is as follows :

" Oh evil-knowing Angrômainyus (Ahriman) ! The white spirit made (these weapons required to defeat the influences of the bad spirit) in the boundless time,* the immortal holy Saints assisted him in making *them*."

Although we may distinctly gather from this specimen, that Anquetil is nowhere to be relied upon, lacking always accuracy, yet we must thankfully acknowledge, how much we owe to him, as the founder of all researches subsequently made into the Zend-Avesta. Whilst the translation itself is utterly inaccurate and erroneous, his descriptions of ceremonies and rites are quite correct, as I myself can assure the reader from my intercourse with Parsee priests. He was a trustworthy man in every respect, and wrote only what he was taught by the Parsee Dustoors.†

* That means only, at a time unknown, at a time immemorial, or in the beginning.

† The European reader will not be a little astonished to learn, that Anquetil's work was regarded afterwards as a kind of authority by the Dustoors themselves. So for instance the late Highpriest of the Parsees at Bombay, Eduljee Darabjee Rustomjee, who passed for the most learned Priest of his time in India, quotes in his Guzaratee work " Mujizât-i-Zartosht" (the miracles of Zoroaster) p. 10 Anquetil as an authority in order to countenance his strange and quite erroneous explanation of the word " çtehrpaëçanhem" (decorated with stars) to mean " *Sadarah*" the shirt worn by the Parsees, an interpretation which contradicts the tradition as well as the contexts of the passages, and was consequently not acknowledged by other Dustoors.

These High-priests of the Parsee community, who are the only preservers of the religious traditions, and their interpreters, derive all information on their religion not from the original Zend texts themselves, but from the Pehlevi translation made of them at the time of the Sassanids. Considering that even this translation is not quite correct, and besides, that it is not understood by the Dustoors in a critical and philological way, how can Anquetil be expected to have furnished us with an accurate translation ? In many instances Anquetil misunderstood the Dustoors, also ; so that his translation was tinged with errors of three kinds, viz. those of the Pehlevi translations, those of the Dustoors, and those of his own misunderstandings. His work, therefore, cannot stand the test, and from a critical point of view it cannot be styled even a translation ; it is only a summary report, in an extended form, of the contents of the Zend-Avesta. But he cannot be blamed for that ; at his time it was quite impossible for the most learned and sagacious scholars to do more than he really did. From the Dustoors he learned the approximate meanings of the words, and starting from this very rudimentary knowledge, he then simply guessed the sense of each sentence.

BURNOUF, who first investigated, in a scientific way, into the language of the Zend-Avesta, would never have succeeded in laying a foundation of Zend philology without Anquetil's labours. Anquetil had left ample materials for researches to be instituted in future, and had furnished the scholars with a summary of the contents of the Zend-Avesta. Burnouf, in making his researches, availed himself chiefly of a Sanskrit translation of the Yasna, or prayer-book of the Parsees, and found on a closer inquiry, that this work was more reliable than Anquetil's translation. The Pehlevi translation, upon which that into Sanskrit is founded, would have better answered his purposes ; but as he did not take the trouble required to study this quite peculiar language, it was of no use to him. Neriosengh's Sanskrit translation was then, as to grammatical forms and etymologies rectified by Burnouf, through comparative philology, chiefly Sanskrit. But these aids did not prevent him from committing many errors. On the one side he

relied too much on Neriosengh's imperfect work, on the other, he applied too often to Sanskrit etymologies. It is true, he had made extensive preparations, before he commenced his researches, for he compiled for his private use a dictionary of the Zend words with quotations from the Zend-Avesta, where each particular word occurs. In making his laborious inquiries into the meaning of any particular word, he quoted parallels, the broad ground on which the whole of modern philology, so highly developed, rests. But there being at his disposal no printed editions of the Zend-Avesta, based on different manuscripts, and pointing out the various readings, he could not peruse the whole of it so carefully, as would have been required to guard him against many mistakes, which he was otherwise unable to avoid ; he, therefore, was often obliged to forego and overlook the important passages which would have guided him, in many instances, in fixing the exact meaning.

In his etymological proofs he was not always fortunate.* He lacked, to a certain extent, the skill required for making sound etymologies (which is really a very difficult task), and, besides, his acquaintance with the most ancient forms and words of the Sanskrit, as they are to be met with in the Vedas only, was too superficial. The Iranian languages, such as Persian, (the application of which requires even much greater skill and knowledge than that of the Sanskrit), were but little attended to by him. Whilst Burnouf often failed in his etymologies, he was

* I cannot enter here into details ; I shall only point out some etymological mistakes. Ákhtûirya, (Ys. 9,14 Vend 10, 11) he says, is derived from the Vedic root *anj,* to which he ascribes the meaning " to sing," attributing to that word the sense of " made for being sung." That is utterly wrong. The root *anj,* to which he traces the word in question, never means in the Vedas " to sing" as he asserts, but " to smear, anoint;" (it is identical with the Latin *unguo,* to smear). The context of the passage, where the word in question occurs, besides, requires another meaning. Had he cast a slight glance only at Vend 10, 3, 7, he would have recognised the word to be a numeral, meaning " four times" (literally " till the fourth time) and being composed of the preposition *â* (up, to, till, as far as) and *khtûirya* (*quatuor* in Latin, *keturi* in Litthuanian, four). To the word *karafan* (he writes the crude form wrongly *karafna,* guessing it from the very frequent genitive of the plural, *karafnâm*) he ascribes the meaning *deaf,* while it means according to the Vedic language the " performers of sacrifices," as we shall see afterwards.

almost always successful in determining the grammatical termina-
tions, their affinity to those of the Sanskrit being too close not to
be recognised at once by a good Sanskrit scholar. But notwith-
standing some undeniable defects in his researches, he was the first,
who gave not a mere paraphrase or an approximate statement of
the contents, but a real translation of two chapters of the Yasna
(1st and 9th). That was a great step taken towards a sound
philological interpretation of the whole Zend-Avesta. But the
great scholar seems to have become in the course of his stu-
dies weary of spending many years in the explanation of a
few chapters only, and did not pursue further his inquiries.
After having simply pointed out the way, and paved it partially,
he left it to others to follow his tracks. His results refer chiefly
to grammatical points and the meanings of words, but very little
to the contents of all the sacred books of the Zoroastrian religion,
its origin, and development. About these matters his knowledge
went only a little beyond that of Anquetil. He had no idea of the
importance of the Gâthas; he neither knew that their language
differs from the usual Zend language of the other books, nor that
they are metrical compositions, their metres agreeing with those of
the Vedic songs : so that he was unable to trace even the slightest
features of a history of the Zoroastrian religion and its sacred
writings. The task was, however, at his time too difficult to be
carried out. He, however, discharged his duties as the founder
of the first outlines of Zend philology with an accuracy, faithful-
ness, conscientiousness and sagacity, which endear him to every
sincere reader, and make his premature death to be deeply
regretted. He was really a master in scholarship and scientific
investigations, and every page he wrote, even where he erred, bears
witness to the truth of this statement.

Whilst the honour of having first opened the venerable docu-
ments of the Zoroastrian doctrines to the civilized world, belongs
to France, Germany and Denmark have to claim the merit of
having further advanced this entirely new branch of philological
and antiquarian studies.

The first German scholar who made up his mind to take up the

study of the Zend-Avesta, was JUSTUS OLSHAUSEN, Professor of oriental languages at Kiel (now one of the Directors in the Office of the Minister of Public Instruction in Prussia). He intended to publish an edition of the Zend-Avesta, according to the manuscripts extant in Europe, chiefly at Paris and Copenhagen, and to furnish the learned public with a grammar and dictionary. He commenced his edition by publishing the first four chapters of the Vendidad, or the code of the Parsees, in the year 1829 ; but after this first number had appeared, he stopped his edition, and left this extremely difficult, and in many respects thankless branch of studies.

This fragment, published by Olshausen, and the edition of a copy of a Vendidad-sâdah, belonging to the Imperial library at Paris, by Burnouf, were the only means available for German scholars who had a desire to decipher the language and teaching of the great Zoroaster. The utter insufficiency of these, in order to make any progress in these studies, was felt by all oriental scholars in Germany. They were, therefore, driven to content themselves with the results arrived at by Burnouf.

The first who made an extensive and useful application of them, now and then adding some remarks of his own, was FRANCIS BOPP, the celebrated compiler of the first comparative grammar of some of the chief languages of the Arian stock. He tried to give an outline of Zend grammar, chiefly according to the results arrived at by Burnouf, but no where made real discoveries of much importance in the Zend language as that famous Frenchman did. His sketch of Zend grammar, scattered throughout his comparative grammar, although imperfect and imcomplete as a first outline, was, and is up to this time, a valuable assistance to that larger number of oriental scholars who are desirous of acquiring some knowledge of Zend without taking the immense trouble of investigating into the original texts themselves.

The first step to be taken by German scholars towards an advancement in the unravelling of the mysteries of the Zend-Avesta, was to put themselves in possession of larger and better materials for their researches. There being no Zend manuscripts

4

of importance in any German Library, the students were obliged to go to Paris, Copenhagen, London and Oxford, the only places where Zend manuscripts of value are to be found in Europe. Among the German States the honour of having provided scholars with the necessary means to stay at these places in order to collect more ample materials, belongs to BAVARIA.

The Bavarian government granted considerable sums for these purposes to two scholars of its country, to JOSEPH MÜLLER, now Professor of Oriental languages at Munich, and FREDERIC SPIEGEL, now Professor of Oriental languages at the Bavarian University Erlangen. Joseph Müller went to Paris to copy out the most important Zend and Pehlevi manuscripts. He seems to have been very busy during his stay at Paris; he himself, however, made but little use of the materials collected by him. He published two small treatises only, one "on the Pehlevi language" (in the French Asiatic Journal 1838), treating of the alphabet solely, and one "on the commencement of the Bundehesh" (in the Transactions of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences). Both are valuable, but chiefly based on Anquetil's papers, which the author thankfully acknowledged. Müller, very likely deterred by the enormous difficulties like many others, then left this branch of studies, and handed most of his materials over to his younger and more energetic countryman, FREDERIC SPIEGEL.

This scholar intended to give to the learned world the first critical edition of all writings in the Zend language, and commonly called the Zend-Avesta, to be based on a careful comparison of all manuscripts then extant in Europe. The materials left to him by Joseph Müller and Olshausen, not being sufficient to achieve this task, he went, munificently supported by the Bavarian government, to Copenhagen, Paris, London and Oxford, and copied out all those manuscripts, which he required for his purpose. His intention was not only to publish all the original texts together with the ancient Pehlevi translation, but to prepare a German translation of them with notes, and to issue both at the same time. But before he was so far advanced as to be able to publish a part of his large work, an edition of the *Vendidad Sádah*

(comprising the proper *Vendidád, Yasna* and *Visparat*,) in Roman characters, with an index and glossary, appeared in 1850 at Leipsic.

The author of this really very useful work, which made the original texts of the Zend-Avesta known to the learned public at large, was HERMANN BROCKHANS, Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Leipsic. He, not being in possession of such extensive materials as Spiegel, contented himself with a transcription of Burnouf's edition in Zend characters into those of the Roman alphabet, and pointed out in foot-notes the various readings of Framjee Aspendiarjee's edition published at Bombay in the years 1842-43 in Guzarathi characters. To facilitate to the students these researches, he added an index, indicating in alphabetical order, the passage where each particular word occurs. In a glossary (distinct from the index), he collected the explanations of the Zend words as far as they had been given by Burnouf, Bopp, Speigel, &c. It was a rudimentary Zend dictionary, but of course very incomplete, the author confining himself only to those words which were already explained by other scholars. Now and then he corrected errors.

This useful book contributed largely towards encouraging the Zend studies in Germany. Burnouf's edition and commentary on the first chapter of the Yasna were too costly and comprehensive to become generally used among the students of German universities. The work of Brockhaus, then, formed the manual for those Sanskrit students who had a desire of making themselves acquainted with the sacred language of the Zend-Avesta. The German Sanskrit Professors began to teach now and then Zend, but their knowledge of this language being very limited, they could not succeed in training young men for this branch of studies in the same way as they did successfully in Sanskrit. The subject is actually so extremely difficult, that every one who is desirous of acquiring a real knowledge of it, is compelled to lay aside for many years nearly all other studies, and devote his time solely to Zend. The language could not be learnt like Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Aethiopic

Turkish, Chinese, etc. (all which languages are taught in German Universities, but of course not always at the same place) from grammars and dictionaries ; in fact, the Zend language before it could be learnt, had first to be discovered. But even to begin this task, a very comprehensive and accurate knowledge of several oriental languages, as the starting point for further inquiries, was indispensable.

In the mean time, the importance of the Zend language for antiquarian and philological researches became more generally known, chiefly in consequence of the attempts made to read the cuneiform inscriptions to be found in Persia. The first language of these inscriptions (which exhibit in Persepolis and the rock of Bisutûn three languages) is an Arian one, and decidedly the mother of the modern Persian. Its very close affinity to the Zend language, struck every one at the first glance ; thence the great importance of this language for deciphering these inscriptions was at once acknowledged. That circumstance removed chiefly in England many doubts which were entertained, nearly up to the present time, on the genuineness of the Zend language. The first work, written in English, which shews an acquaintance with the original Zend texts, is Revd. Dr. Wilson's book on the Parsee religion, published at Bombay in 1843.

Whilst Spiegel was preparing his critical edition of the Zend-Avesta, WESTERGAARD, Professor at Copenhagen, announced another one also, prepared from the same materials which were at the former's disposal. This great Danish scholar had the first claims to the publication of an edition of the Zend texts, on account of the great trouble he had taken to collect additional materials for such a work. Not satisfied with the materials extant in Europe, he left for India and Persia in order to search after new ones. During his stay in India and Persia (1841-43) he unfortunately did not succeed in obtaining new manuscripts of high value. There are, however, as I am told by Dustoors, some very old copies of the Zend books extant in Guzerat, but it is very difficult to purchase them. In Persia, no books, hitherto unknown, could be discovered by Westergaard, and even of those

known to the Parsees of India, he found only very few copies. We must therefore consider Western India, chiefly Guzerat, as the only place where some books, hitherto unknown, may be discovered. In the advertisement of his edition of the Zend-Avesta, Westergaard announced the addition of a complete Dictionary, with a grammar of both the Zend dialects, an English translation of the whole, and an account of Iranian antiquities according to the Zend-Avesta.

The first fruit of Westergaard's Iranian studies was, however, not the edition of the Zend-Avesta, but that of the *Bundehesh, i. e.* on the origins of the creatures, now extant only in Pehlevi, the Zend original being lost. It is a compendious description of the whole Parsee religion, but not acknowledged by the Dustoors as a canonical book, like those styled Zend-Avesta. Its contents agreeing so exceedingly well with the reports of Theopompos and Hermippos, quoted above, we are driven to assign to the original or its sources a date not later than the 4th century before the Christian era. Westergaard's edition (Copenhagen, 1851) exhibits, however, only a lithographed version of one very old codex of the Bundehesh, extant in the library of Copenhagen. He added neither translation nor notes ; the only addition he made, was the transcript of two inscriptions of the Sassanids, found at Hajiâbâd, which were copied out by him during his stay in Persia. I undertook to review this edition, and the substance of my review was a short sketch of the Pehlevi grammar (1854.)

Before Spiegel issued the first number of his edition of the Zend texts, he published " a grammar of the Pârsi language" (Leipsic, 1851). He means by Parsi language that one which is now called by the Dustoor Pâzend. It differs very little from the modern Persian, except in the want of Arabic words, and is identical with the Persian, as written by the great Persian poet Firdûsi (1000 A. D.) We, therefore, are fully entitled to call it a somewhat obsolete form of the modern Persian. Spiegel added some specimens of religious literature, extant in Pârsî, with a German translation. I reviewed the book (1853), and was able to point out at once that want of really scientific research

and sound philological training, which I afterwards discovered to be the characteristic of all his publications on the Zend-Avesta. His philology and method of inquiry are out of date; philological subjects were thus treated fifty years ago. The truth of this remark will be seen from the remaining portion of this first chapter.

A short time after this grammar, the first number of his edition of the Zend-Avesta, comprising the Zend text of about 10 chapters of the Vendidâd, appeared. It was beautifully printed with new type at the Imperial printing office at Vienna (1851,) and is really a master-piece of typography. This number, containing the mere text, without various readings or the Pehlevi translation, did not suffice to enable the reader to form a judgment of the way in which the text was made up. The publication of the larger remaining portion of the Vendidâd, together with the Pehlevi translation of the whole was, although printed, delayed till 1853. In the same year the first number of Westergaard's edition, printed at Copenhagen, appeared. It comprised the text of the Yasna only, chiefly based on a very old codex (copied about 500 years ago, the oldest of all Zend manu-scripts now extant in Europe) with foot notes indicating some of the more important various readings of other codices. The edition, although not so beautifully printed as that of Spiegel, was very cleverly made, and made a much better impression upon the student than that of his rival. In this first number one could see that he had recognized the five Gâthas as metrical pieces (I had seen that before the publication). These first numbers of Spiegel's and Westergaard's editions, together with Spiegel's translation of the whole Vendidâd, were reviewed (1852-53) by one of the most distinguished and sagacious San-skrit scholars of Europe, THEODOR BENFEY, Professor of San-skrit at the University of Göttingen, in Hanover. He showed that the method adopted by Spiegel of giving a critical revision of the Zend texts, and a translation and explanation of them, was utterly wrong, pointing out that the student, pursuing Spiegel's way, never could arrive at a real insight into the sense of the Zend-Avesta. Spiegel, neither sufficiently trained in Sanskrit, nor

knowing how to apply well the results of comparative philology to the interpretation of the Zend-Avesta, relied, in his translation, mainly on the Pehlevi translation, which was inaccessible to all other German scholars except himself. He supposed, that this ancient translation, made about 1300 or 1400 years ago by the most learned Parsee priests in Persia, was the only true basis on which a sound Zend philology could be founded. The correctness of this translation is to be tested by the comparison of the Iranian dialects, such as Pehlevi, Parsee, and modern Persian ; and then, in the last instance, Sanskrit and some other languages may be applied too. References to parallel passages are, according to his opinion, useful, but by all means subordinate to the traditional explanations of the priests. To judge impartially of his work, first a knowledge of the Pehlevi language was to be obtained. Benfey could not enter into a discussion on the correctness or incorrectness of the Pehlevi translation, because it was inaccessible to him ; but he showed Spiegel, that by the application of Sanskrit, the forms of which language are so very near to Zend, and by comparative philology, one might arrive at a much better understanding of the Zend-Avesta than by his method. From his translation, which teems with passages unintelligible to the reader, almost all oriental scholars in Germany, as well as other educated men, who took an interest in the studies, were driven to the conclusion that the Pehlevi translation is either totally incorrect or misunderstood by Spiegel. The book, therefore, met with but little success in Germany ; it was too far below what had been already achieved by Burnouf in the translation of the Zend-Avesta, and appeared nothing but a somewhat improved Anquetil. Spiegel, however, pretended boldly to be the first translator of the Vendidâd, asserting that Anquetil had not understood thoroughly the Pehlevi translation, and that he could not regard this Frenchman even as his predecessor. But on a closer inquiry we find, that Spiegel started from the rough copies of the dictations which Anquetil had received from the Dustoors, and deposited at the Imperial library at Paris ; without those rough copies (where the Pehlevi

is written in Roman characters and explained in Persian) Spiegel
would have been utterly unable to translate a single line with
reference to the Pehlevi translation. Anquetil, therefore, is his
predecessor, and to him he owes nearly all ; Spiegel therefore is
by no means the first translator of the " Avesta." If one under-
stands by a translation an approximate statement of contents, or
an unintelligible rendering of passages misconceived, then
Anquetil's as well as Spiegel's works may be styled translations ;
but if one feels, that this name should be given only to an accurate
rendering of words in such a manner as to prove quite intelligible
to the reader, then the title " translation" is to be awarded to
the works of neither. Burnouf's rendering of the two chapters
of the Yasna can alone stand the test, and the most severe critic
is compelled to allow it to be a real translation. But none of
Burnouf's qualities will be discovered in Spiegel's works.

Burnouf took the great trouble of collecting the parallel
passages, where the particular forms and words occur, sought
their correspondents in the Sanskrit, and rectified in this way
Neriosengh's Sanskrit translation, which guided him as to the
general sense. Spiegel, believing the Pehlevi translation to be
in most cases infallible, only now and then requiring the
elucidation of an ambiguity, or a trifling amendment to be
arrived at, from a comparison of the other Iranian langu-
ages, could of course entirely dispense with such time-wast-
ing and painstaking preparations in collecting parallels as Bur-
nouf, Westergaard, and I myself had found it necessary to make.
As the " first translator" of the Avesta, according to his
principles, did not require such tedious preparations, we may
expect him to have spent a great deal of his time, before he pub-
lished his translation of the Vendidâd, in making a glossary of
the Pehlevi translation, and in a careful study of this dark
language, hitherto strange to almost all the European scholars.
But when I commenced the study of Pehlevi, with no other means
than such as were in the hands of all other scholars (Wester-
gaard's Bundehesh and Spiegel's edition of the Pehlevi translation
of the Vendidâd), I was not a little astonished at finding that

nowhere throughout the whole was a real study of the Pehlevi translation and the Pehlevi language to be perceived.* It was evident that almost all he had picked up of Pehlevi was due to Anquetil's rough copies, and that this Frenchman had a much better knowledge of Pehlevi than "the first translator of the Avesta." Notwithstanding, Spiegel is not ashamed of pretending to be the first translator of the Avesta according to the Pehlevi translation, and endeavours to deprive Anquetil of this honour,

* I shall give here as a sample, of his way of translating, his interpretation of the very commencement of the Vendidâd ; and to enable the reader to judge for himself on Spiegel's way of using the Pehlevi translation, I shall add an English translation of this version also. First I shall write the original Zend text, with an interlinear version of my own.

| Mraot | Ahurô | Mazdâo | çpitamâi | Zarathustrâi : | azem | dadhâm |
| spoke | the living | wise | to Spitama | Zarathustra | I | made |

| çpitama | Zarathustra | açô | râmô-dâitim, | nôit | kudat | shâitim ; |
| Spitama | Zarathustra | place | of an agreeable situation | not | anywhere | habitable hitherto |

| yêdhi | zi | azem | nôit | daidhyâm | çpitama | Zarathustra | açô |
| if | then | I | not | would have made | Spitama | Zarathustra | place |

| râmô-dâitim | nôit | kudat | shâitim, | viçpô | anhus | açtvâo |
| of an agreeable condition | not | anywhere | habitable | all | life | existing |

| Airyanem | vaêjô | frâshnvât |
| after Iran | the pure | would have been poured forth. |

This passage is rendered in the Pehlevi translation, together with explanatory notes interspersed (which I shall include in brackets) as follows :

Hormuzd said to Sapetman Zerdosht : I made, Sapetman Zerdosht, a beautiful situated place that which had not been made *hitherto* comfortable [the men of this place who were born and brought up there thought that *place* to be excellent, which had been made by myself better and more comfortable.] Because if I had not made a place beautifully situated, Sapetman Zerdosht, which had not been made comfortable (previously), the whole iving creation would have gone to Iran vej. [Had this happened (had people been drawn after Iran vej, the paradise) then the world would have been unable to go on ; for it could not have continued in its proper course from zone to zone ; some are of opinion, it would have fallen a prey to the devils]. Spiegel, who professedly adheres strictly to the Pehlevi translation, if not compelled by very palpable reasons to deviate from it, (and in this passage no such reasons are to be found) translates as follows :—

"Ahura Mazda said to the holy Zarathustra : I created, holy Zarathustra, a place, a creation of pleasantness where nowhere was created a possibility (for drawing near). For if, holy Zarathustra, I had not created a place, a creation of pleasantness, where nowhere was created a possibility, the whole world endowed with bodies, would have gone to Airyana vaêjô." The notes of the Pehlevi translation, as given by myself, are completely omitted by Spiegel, which is almost always the case, if the notes were not intelligible to him at the first glance. Spiegel now deviates here in two essential points from the Pehlevi translation : first he translates, "çpitama," the usual surname of Zoroaster in the Zend-Avesta, by "holy," whilst all the Dustoors

5

for obtaining which he had risked so much. Spiegel's translation of the Vendidâd is, to say it in short, the produce of a study of Anquetil's papers and misunderstandings of the Pehlevi translation, and the original Zend text, now and then trimmed up with some of the results of comparative philology, but nowhere deserving the name " translation." The first translation of the Vendidâd, according to the Pehlevi translation, as well as to the principles of comparative philology, is still to be made. Spiegel's translation is, on an average, not a bit more reliable than Anquetil's, giving neither the traditional explanation, nor the results of real philological researches.

Before Spiegel published the second volume of his edition of

consider it to be a proper name of one of Zoroaster's ancestors ; Spiegel followed simply Burnouf's explanation of the word, which I did also, but afterwards I discovered the mistake. Spiegel as the strict follower of the tradition, ought here not to have deviated from it, before having ascertained, from strict investigation that it actually meant " holy," (which it never does.) The second deviation is Spiegel's translation of the words *nôit kudat shâitîm*. In the Pehlevi text there is written :—*rd dk jahabunt jakavvimunit âpânish*, which means literally, " not which made happened comfort." Spiegel introduces " nowhere" and then the word " possibility," strange to the Zend as well as to the Pehlevi text and its glosses. He misunderstood two words entirely : *kudat* and *shâitîm* ; *kudat* is an adverb, meaning " anywhere," and joined to the negative *nôit* " nowhere." But Spiegel makes it two words as the Pehlevi translation does : *ku dat* ; the first he takes as an adverb, meaning, combined with the negative *nôit*, " nowhere," and *dat* is, according to him, a past participle of the root *dâ*, to make, create. The Pehlevi translation takes *ku* simply as a relative particle, but not in the meaning " anywhere," and to *dat* it gives the same meaning that he does. Only to the whole word *kudat*, can the meaning " anywhere" be reasonably given, but by no means to the first part, as Spiegel may learn from the Persian grammar. To take *dat*, being here a pronominal enclitic (like *chit* in Sanskrit, *kvachit* " anywhere,") as a past participle, is a gross and unpardonable grammatical blunder, showing an utter ignorance of the very first principles of grammar. The past participle of the root *dâ*, to make, is in Zend always *dâta* (corresponding to the Latin *datus*, given) but never *dat* ; *âpânish*, by which *shâitîm* is translated, never means in Persian " possibility," but ease, comfort. He had very likely in view the Sanskrit *çakti*, power, strength, which meaning is altogether strange to *shâiti*, a derivation of the root *kshâ*, *kshi*, " to live, reside." Whatever derivation he might have thought of, at all events the rendering of the Pehlevi translation " comfort" is far preferable to that ventured upon by its professedly strict follower. The correct philological rendering of the whole passage is as follows :

" I made Spitama Zarathustra ! into a delicious spot what was (hitherto) nowhere habitable. For had not I, Spitama Zarathustra, converted into a delicious spot, what was (hitherto) nowhere habitable ; all earthly life would have been poured forth after Airyana Vaêjô" (the paradise ; the whole earth then would be now a desert).

the Zend-Avesta, (1858, containing the Yasna and Visparad, with the Pehlevi translation), Westergaard succeeded in editing all the Zend texts which are known as yet; and to him we owe therefore the first complete edition of the Zend-Avesta. The work is entitled *Zend-Avesta, or the religious books of the Zoroastrians, edited and translated, with a Dictionary, Grammar &c.* By N. L. *Westergaard.* Vol. I: The Zend texts Copenhagen 1852-54: of the two remaining volumes nothing has appeared yet. Westergaard knows too well the enormous difficulties with which the study of the Zend-Avesta is beset, to come forward with a hasty translation, grammar, and dictionary; he knows that none but he who spends many years in mere preparatory studies, is able to give any thing like a translation of even a few of the fragments of the Zend-Avesta. As a first edition of all the Zend texts, Westergaard's work deserves much praise; he follows, in most cases, the best manuscripts; but if he finds their readings entirely incorrect, he amends them according to sound philological principles. Compound words, as far as he could discover them, are always marked. From a careful perusal of his work, one may gather that Westergaard understood already a good deal of the texts (except perhaps the most ancient and difficult pieces, the Gâthas) and had extensive collections of words, forms, various readings &c., at his disposal. In every respect, except typography, Westergaard's edition is by far preferable to that of Spiegel.

I may pass over some small treatises by Spiegel, published occasionally in the journal of the German Oriental Society and the Transactions of the Bavarian Academy, as having contributed but very little towards the elucidation of the Zend-Avesta,[*] and

---

[*] The best essay written by Spiegel is his explanation of the 19th Fargard of the Vendidâd. Here he was less hasty than in his other publications. His "Grammar of the Huzvâresh (Pehlevi) language" (Vienna 1856) contains valuable materials for a well trained philologist, who will undertake to compile a Pehlevi grammar, from which the student might learn thus much as to be able to understand to a certain extent the Pehlevi translations of Zend-Avesta, and the linguist gain a fair insight into the nature of that dark language; but on account of the author's want of critical judgment (as I pointed that out in a review, published in 1857 in the notices on literary subjects of the University, Göttingen) every reader, expecting to attain by means of Spiegel's work, to either of these scopes, will find himself soon wholly disappointed.

shall now speak of my own researches made into the sacred writings of the Parsees.

I commenced the studying of the Zend language in the autumn of 1852, shortly after the publication of the first number of Westergaard's edition of the Zend-Avesta, containing the Yasna. I was already acquainted with the results arrived at by Burnouf, which knowledge I chiefly owed to Brockhaus' valuable compilation above noticed. But I was quite convinced, at the very outset of my studies, that from all that had been hitherto written on the Zend language and the Zend-Avesta, one could obtain nothing but a smattering of this subject. Actuated by mere love of these ancient records, and cherishing the hope of making some discoveries in this terra incognita, I set about the task of instituting inquiries of my own into these sacred texts. I was not possessed of any other aids but those which were accessible to all other scholars, while Spiegel and Westergaard had all the manuscripts or copies thereof, and the Pehlevi and Sanskrit translations, at their disposal. Westergaard's edition of the Yasna enabled me to commence this study, but I soon was aware of the unusually great difficulties which every step in this branch of philological studies was to encounter. I first directed my attention towards the metrical portions of the Yasna, called the five Gâthas or songs, the explanation of which never had been attempted before by any oriental scholar. It is true, Spiegel observed first, that their language is different, from the usual Zend language to be found in the Vendidâd, the Yashts, Visparat and the later portions of the Yasna ; but he rested satisfied with pointing out some of the most striking differences, such as the constant length of the vowels at the end of a word &c., and never undertook to translate these songs. I first tried to make out the meaning of a few lines by means of Anquetil's translation, but I soon convinced myself of his utter insufficiency even as a guide for ascertaining the general sense only. In the Vendidâd and the other books, Anquetil may guide one in this respect ; but not in the Gâthas. The chief reason is the peculiarity of this portion as to language and ideas ; they contain no descriptions of ceremonies and ob-
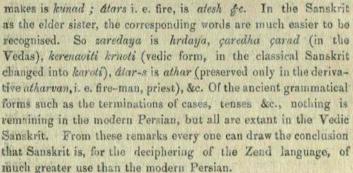
servances, as the Vendidâd, nor any enumeration of the glorious feats of angels, as the Yashts, but philosophical and abstract thoughts, and they differ widely from all other pieces contained in the Zend-Avesta. As they have been unintelligible to the Parsee priests for several thousand years, we cannot expect Anquetil to have given even a faint approximate statement of their general contents. Having no other aids save Anquetil's work, which proved in this case to be no aid at all (his rough copies were not accessible to me), I was left to my own resources. First I took the great trouble of collecting all the parallels throughout the Zend-Avesta, and arranging them alphabetically ; the index of Brockhaus to Vendidad, Yasna, and Visparat, aided me considerably ; but to the Yashts, which forming about one-half of all the Zend texts extant, were for the first time published in Westergaard's edition, I was obliged to make an index of my own. Being convinced, like Burnouf, that the language of the Vedas stands among all Arian dialects nearest to the Zend language, I betook myself to the study of the sacred writings of the Brahmans, chiefly to that section, which is called *Rigveda Samhitâ*, being a collection of a little more than 1,000 very ancient hymns. Only the eighth part of this large work being published at the time, when I made up my mind to investigate into the Zoroastrian writings, I found it necessary to copy out from a manuscript, kindly lent me by my friend, Professor Benfey, at Göttingen, the remaining seven parts. After that was done, an alphabetical index, at least to some portions of this extensive collection of sacred songs, was to be made also. In this tedious work I was supported by a friend, GOTTLOB WILHELM HERMANN (a young clergyman in my native country Würtemberg), who possesses a remarkable knowledge of Sanskrit. Not contenting myself with these aids, I commenced the study of the Armenian (which is affiliated to the Iranian languages), and also that of the Pehlevi language (with modern Persian I was already acquainted). The study of Pehlevi, which language is a mixture of Persian and Chaldee, was much facilitated to me in consequence of my being acquainted to a certain extent with all

Semitic tongues, which knowledge I chiefly owe to my great teacher, Professor EWALD, at Göttingen. After having been prepared in this way, I commenced my philological operations in the following manner: First I turned up all the other passages, where the word or form to be investigated into, occurred, in order to ascertain its approximate meaning. But the parallels, referred to, being often as obscure as the passage, upon which they were to throw some light, I was often obliged first to make out their meaning also by a reference to other parallels. Having thus arrived, in most cases after many troubles only, at the approximate meaning of the word in question, I ventured upon confirming or modifying the results obtained in this way by means of a sound etymology. First I applied to those words and forms of the Zend language itself, which I had reason to suppose to be cognate to the word in question; then I consulted the Vedas, chiefly the hymns of the Rigveda. There being neither index nor glossary, I had to take here the same trouble as I did in the Zend-Avesta, in order to ascertain from the parallels the meaning of the Vedic word I referred to. I could not asquiesce always in the results I had gained in this way, but I searched after the Zend words to be explained in modern Persian and Armenian, and now and then in Latin and Greek also. Modern Persian, chiefly in its older shape, commonly styled Parsee, was of the highest value for such etymological researches. But the appeal to this genuine niece of the sacred language of the Zend-Avesta is on an average rendered more difficult, and subjected to more errors than that to the Vedic Sanskrit, which is the elder sister to the Zend. In the modern Persian a good many of the Zend words are preserved; but they have undergone such great changes as to make them indiscernible to a somewhat inexperienced etymologist. Such corruptions of the ancient words being, however, reducible to certain rules, these, only partially known as yet, were first to be discovered. I shall illustrate these remarks on the corruption of ancient words in the modern Persian by some examples: e. g. the Zend *zaredaya*, i. e. heart, has become *dil* in modern Persian; *çareda*, i. e. year, is *sâl*; *kerenaoiti*, i. e. he

makes is *kunad ; âtars* i. e. fire, is *atesh &c.* In the Sanskrit as the elder sister, the corresponding words are much easier to be recognised. So *zaredaya* is *hrdaya, çaredha çarad* (in the Vedas), *kerenaoiti krnoti* (vedic form, in the classical Sanskrit changed into *karoti*), *âtar-s* is *athar* (preserved only in the derivative *atharvan,* i. e. fire-man, priest), &c. Of the ancient grammatical forms such as the terminations of cases, tenses &c., nothing is remaining in the modern Persian, but all are extant in the Vedic Sanskrit. From these remarks every one can draw the conclusion that Sanskrit is, for the deciphering of the Zend language, of much greater use than the modern Persian.

The first fruit of my laborious researches was an attempt to explain the 44th chapter of the Yasna (forming a part of the second Gâtha) which appeared in the journal of the German Oriental Society (1853-54). It was on account of the immense difficulties of the subject and the then insufficiency of my preparations, that it was impossible for me, even in the majority of my interpretations, to be sure of being right. But being convinced from this faint attempt, that the Gâthas contained the undoubted teaching of Zarathustra himself, as he imparted it to his disciples, I thought it worth the trouble to pursue these studies for six years more. The last and ripest results of these laborious studies, I published in a work entitled, *The five Gâthas, i. e. collections of songs and sayings of Zarathustra, his disciples and successors. Edited, translated* and *explained* (2 Vols., Leipsic, 1858-60). It contains a revised text according to philological principles, transcribed into Roman characters, a literal Latin, and a more free German translation, and a complete critical and philological commentary with introductions to the several chapters (17) and a general introduction to the whole at the end. The basis of the whole work is the commentary, which gives in full length the results of my comparing the parallels of the Zend Avesta and the Veda, and the etymological researches in Zend and the cognate languages together with a partial review of the traditional explanations, as far as they were accessible to me in a bad transcript of Neriosenghs Sanscrit translation of the Gâthas. Some portions

of the work, but much revised, will be submitted to the reader in the third chapter of this book.

About half a year after the publication of the first part of my work, " the first translator of the Avesta" published a translation of the whole Yasna, together with Visparat, including the Gâthas also. He complained very much of my encroachment on his monopoly, and pretended boldly, (although he had devoted but little time, as he confessed himself in the preface, whereas I had spent six years on this difficult portion) to offer here to the public the first translation of the Gâthas. But he found himself soon disappointed in his expectation ; for nobody acknowledged his pretensions. It would be mere wasting of time and paper to expatiate here on his work ; written exactly in the same style as his Vendidâd, it is made without any philological preparations, simply according to Neriosengh's Sanskrit translation ; no study of the subject is perceptible. The work, therefore, is completely useless as far as the Gâthas are concerned, in the explanation of which, still, after the publication of my work, much remains to be done. In the introduction he repeats chiefly Anquetil's reports on the forms of worship among the Parsees.

Before I conclude this introductory chapter, I have to mention some other publications relative to the Zend-Avesta. LASSEN, the well known Sanskrit scholar, published an edition of the Zend text of the five first chapters of Vendidâd (Bonn 1851), but adding neither translation nor explanatory notes.

WINDISHMANN, a Roman Catholic clergyman of a high position at Munich, published two valuable essays, one " on (the deity) Anaitis," worshipped by the ancient Persians, and mentioned in the Yashts ; the other is a translation of the Mihir Yasht, with notes (Leipsic, 1857.)

MAX DUNCKER, the author of a History of Antiquity which is highly valued in Germany, treated, in the second volume of his work, of the ancient Persian religion, its sacred books and prophets.

---

* In several translations of Grecian reports, as given above, I was compelled to follow him, the original texts of the authors not always being accessible to me in this place.

Although he himself is a mere historian by profession (no oriental scholar), he succeeded in drawing up a fine and correct general picture of the ancient Iranian life according to the reports of the Greeks and the modern researches into the Zend-Avesta.

This much I had to notice on the general course of the researches into the sacred writings of the Parsees, undertaken in Europe solely out of interest in the remote and glorious past of Persians and Bactrians. Slowly a whole world, buried for thousands of years in documents written in a now unintelligible tongue, begins to be unfolded ; but many years and many labourers will be required to make this new field for antiquarian and philological researches yield much ripe fruit. The Dustoors, who are first concerned, and other younger talented and well-to-do members of the rich Parsee community, ought to consider it their duty to equip themselves with all the implements (knowledge of Sanskrit, Persian, Chaldee, Hebrew, &c.), now required for a successful investigation into the Zend and Pehlevi languages, in order to learn the foundations on which their religion rests. For the benefit of the Parsee youth chiefly this work is intended. May it be a useful guide to them in their studies !

II.

OUTLINE

GRAMMAR OF THE ZEND LANGUAGE.

I—THE IRANIAN LANGUAGES.

The languages of Persia, commonly called Iranian, form a separate family of the great Arian stock of languages, which comprises, besides the Iranian idioms, the Sanskrit (with its daughters), Greek, Latin, Teutonic (with English), Slavonian, Letto-Litthuanian and Celtic dialects. The Iranian idioms themselves are to be brought under two heads :

1. Iranian languages in the strictest sense.
2. Affiliated tongues.

The first division comprises the ancient, middle age, and modern languages of Iran, *i. e.* of Persia, Media, and Bactria, or chiefly of those countries which are styled in the Zend-Avesta, the "Arian countries" (*airyáo dañháv̇ó*). We may class them as follows :—

(*a.*) The East-Iranian or Bactrian branch, extant only in the two dialects, in which the scanty fragments of the Parsee scripture are written ; the more ancient of them may be called the "Gâtha dialect," because the largest and most important pieces preserved in this peculiar idiom, are the so called Gâthas or songs; the younger, in which most of the books, which now make up the Zend-Avesta, are written, may be called "ancient Bactrian" or

the "classical Zend language," which was for many centuries the spoken and written language of Bactria. The chief differences of the two dialects will be pointed out in the grammatical sketch to be given in this chapter, and the question as to their relationship to each other, will be briefly discussed at the end. The Bactrian languages seem to have been dying out in the third century B. C., no daughters of them having been left.

(b.) The West-Iranian languages or those of Media and Persia. They are known to us during the three periods, antiquity, middle ages, and modern times, but only in one dialect, viz., that which at every period served as the written language throughout the Iranian provinces of the Persian Empire. There are several dialects mentioned by lexicographers, but we know but very little of them.* Of the ANCIENT PERSIAN a few documents are now extant in the cuneiform inscriptions of the Kings of the Achæmenian dynasty, to be found in the ruins of Persepolis, on the rock of Behistun, near Hamadan, and some other places of Persia. This language stands nearest to the two Bactrian dialects of the Zend-Avesta, but shows, however, some peculiarities; for instance, instead of *z* we find *d* used, e. g. *adam I*, in Zend *azem*; *dasta* hand, Zend *zaçta*. It is undoubtedly the mother of the modern Persian. The differences between both are nevertheless great, and to read and interpret the cuneiform inscriptions written in the ancient Persian, Sanskrit and Zend, although they be only sisters, have proved to

---

* In Sayid Hossein Shâh Hakikat's Persian grammar, entitled *Tochfat ul ajam*, there are seven Iranian languages enumerated, which are classed under two heads, viz., (a) obsolete or dead, and (b) such *tongues as are used*. Of the ancient he knows 4 : *Soghdhi* (the language of the ancient Sogdiana, *çughdha* in the Zend-Avesta) ; *Zâbuli* (instead of Zâbuli, the dialect of Zabulistan); *Siksi* (spoken in Sejestan, called *Sakastene* by the Greeks) ; and *Hirwi (Harôyu* in the Zend-Avesta, the modern Herat). As languages in use, he mentions *Parsee*, which, he says, was spoken in Istakhar (Persepolis), the ancient capital of Persia ; then *Deri* or Court language, according to this author, spoken at Belkh, Bokhara, Merw and in Badakshan ; and *Pehlevi* or *Pehlevâni*, the language of the so called *Pehlev*, comprising the districts of Rai (*Ragha* in the Zend-Avesta), Ispahan and Dinur. *Deri* he calls the language of Firdausi, but the trifling deviations he alleges to prove the difference of *Deri* from *Parsee* (for instance they say in Deri *ashkam* belly for *shakam*, and *abd* instead of *bâ* with), refer only to slight changes in spelling, and are utterly insufficient to induce a philologist to make Deri an idiom different from Parsee.

be more useful than its daughter, the modern Persian. The chief reason is the loss of nearly all the grammatical inflexions in nouns, verbs, genders, &c., in the modern Persian, while in the Persian, as written and spoken at the time of the Achæmenids (500—300 B. C.), we find still a great many inflexions agreeing with those of the Sanskrit, Zend, and of the other ancient Arian tongues. At what time the Persian lost almost all its termina-tions, and came into the condition of its present grammatical poverty, which makes it appear rather like the Chinese than the Arian sister tongues (whose grammar is so highly developed), we cannot ascertain. But there is every reason to suppose, that this dissolution and absorption of the terminations on account of their having become for the greater part utterly unintelligible, began before the Christian era, because in the later inscriptions of the Achæmenids (400 B. C.), we find already the grammatical forms confounded, which confusion we discover in many portions of the Zend-Avesta also. No inscription of the successors of the Achœmenids, the Arsacids, in the vernacular Persian being extant, we cannot trace the successive dissolution of the ancient Iranian. Among the Persian inscriptions still extant, those which stand, as to their time, next to those of the Achæmenids, belong to the Sassanids, who ascended the throne of Iran in A. D. 235. From them, although very rare, except on coins, we may learn that the general grammatical structure of Persian, at the Sassanian times, as regards the want of grammatical terminations, was almost in the same state as we find it now. But besides the loss of the terminations, another considerable change is to be observed, viz. the intermixture of a foreign (Semitic) language. The coins of the Sassanids (from A. D. 235—640) show many Semitic words, but with Arian terminations. To make that clear, I shall give the reader a short specimen of this style.

In the inscription of King Shapur I. (who reigned from A. D. 238 to 269), found at HAJIÂBÂD, copied by Westergaard, and added to his edition of the Bundehesh (without any explanation), we find the following titles :—

Mazdayasn bagi Shahpuhri malkán malká Irán v Anirán minó

chatri min yazdán barj mazdayasn bagi Artashatr malkán malká
Irán minô chatri min yazdán nafi bagi Babagán malká, i. e., the
Ormuzd worshipper, the ruler Shapur, the emperor of Irân
and Not-Irân (Turan), of divine origin through God, the
son of the Ormuzd-worshipper, the ruler Ardeshir, emperor of Irân,
of divine origin through God, grandson of the ruler Babagan,
the king.

Mazdayasn is in the old language *Masdayaçna*, the termin-
ating *a* being lost ; *bagi* is the ancient *baga* (literally, god) applied
to kings, like the Grecian *theos*, god,* and the Sanscrit *deva ;* the
final *i* is the so called *Idháfat*, or the relative particle which joins
one noun to the other or an adjective to the substantive, which use
is extremely frequent in the modern Persian. *Shahpuhr-i*, the
proper name of the king ; in ancient Persian it would sound
Khshathra puthra. The final *i* is of the same nature as that in *bagi* ;
it connects the name of the King with his titles. *Malkán Malká*
corresponds to the ancient Persian *khshayathiya khshayothi-*
yánam, King of Kings, and the modern Persian *Shahanshâh ;*
it is of Semitic (Chaldee) origin (compare *malká*, the king,
in Chaldee, and *malkó* in Syriac), but with the Iranian
plural termination *án*, which was originally used for the genitive
plural only, but afterwards applied to all cases of the plural
indiscriminately. *Irán* and *Anirán* are in the ancient language
Airyana and *Anairyana ; v (u)* is a corruption of *uta*, and
minô chitra would be *mainyu-chitra*, having a heavenly origin ;
min is a Semitic particle meaning " from" instead of ancient
Persian *hacha* and modern Persian *az ; yazdán*, mod. Pers.
yazdán, god, which corresponds to the ancient *yazatanãm*, the
genitive plural of *yazata*, i. e. a being deserving worship.† *Barj*
is the Chaldee *bar*, son (*ben* in Hebrew and Arabic) ; the *j*
at the end is another pronunciation of the relative *i* above
mentioned. *Naf-i*, is the Zend *napá*, S. *naptá*, Lat. *nepos*

* One might take this terminating *i* as an adjectival termination, but on the coins
we often find the simple *bag.*

† The plural is here used as a term of respect ; compare the Hebrew *elohîm*, a
plural, and the Aethiopic *amlâk*, a plural too, but both applied to god.

grandson (preserved, but with a somewhat changed meaning in *nephew*).

Besides coins and a few inscriptions, books also are extant from the Sassanian times. It is hard, and in many instances impossible, to ascertain the accurate date when they were written; thus much is only certain, that they exhibit that form of the Persian tongue which was current in Persia during the Sassanian rule (235—640 A. D.), and for the period immediately subsequent to its overthrow. This Pehlevi literature, as far as it is preserved, is of a merely religious character, being closely connected with the restoration of the Zoroastrian religion by the Sassanids. The most important remnant of it is a translation of the chief parts of the Zend-Avesta (Yasna, Visparad and Vendidâd), and some minor pieces. Other religious books, without a Zend original, are extant, such as the *Bundehesh, Shikandgumâni, Dinkart, Atash Bahrâm*, etc., and by searching in the libraries of ancient priestly families, one might discover several Pehlevi books, utterly unknown hitherto.

As to the nature of the Pehlevi language to be found in all these books, and the relationship in which it stands to that on the coins and inscriptions, I shall quote here some of my remarks made about this subject in my German pamphlet " On the Pehlevi language and the Bundehesh" (Göttingen 1854).

The Pehlevi of the books differs from that to be met with on coins and inscriptions, but these differences are not so great as to justify the supposition, maintained by Westergaard, that both are utterly distinct languages, the former a pure Iranian, the latter a Semitic idiom. The main character of both is the same, viz. a mixture of Semitic and Iranian elements, the Semitic part being always identical with Chaldee forms and words, and the Iranian with Persian. The difference consists only in the larger or smaller intermixture of either. The inscriptions at Hajiâbâd, mentioned above, exhibit one and the same text in two very nearly related, yet not identical idioms. The first, marked (A) at the end of Westergaard's Bundehesh, the commencement of which inscription we have explained above, shows the same idiom
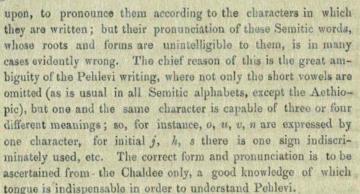
which we find on the coins ; it is full of Semitic words, but the
structure is Iranian, not Semitic ; thus we have for instance the
Persian plural termination in *án*, the Persian way of expressing the
genitive case by means of the suffix *i* (to be traced to the relative
pronoun *yat*). In the other idiom marked (B), the Semitic ele-
ment prevails even in the structure ; it thus stands nearer to the
Semitic than to the Iranian character, though it is nowhere to be
recognised as a really Semitic language. We find in it, for instance,
the Chaldee plural in *ín*, e. g. *malkín*, kings, and instead of the Ira-
nian *bag*, divine, the Semitic *aláhá*, divine. In comparing these two
idioms with the Pehlevi of the books, we find some differences,
but they are not of any great importance. On the contrary, we
meet many of those strange looking forms and words, which made
Pehlevi appear in the eyes of several scholars as a fabricated lan-
guage, on the inscriptions (where certainly no fabricated language
could be made use of by the kings) as well as in the books, e. g.
the particles, *aik* which, what, *amat* when, *val*, (*var* in the books,
l there being often not distinguished from *r*), *apan*, *avan* to, to-
wards, *panij* before, etc., all being of Semitic origin. The non-
iránian element is called *Huzváresh* by the Parsee priests. If they
read Pehlevi, they generally read the corresponding Persian
instead of these foreign words,* being, however, ready, if called

---

* They read, for instance, *kah* which, instead of *aik ; khástan* to wish, want,
instead of *bunshunastan ; nishistán* to get, instead of *jatibuntan*, etc. This circumstance
has very likely given rise to Westergaard's strange opinion, that the foreign words of
the Pehlevi books are mere ideographic signs, invented to conceal the meaning of the
sacred books from laymen. But the priests, if asked, whether or not the foreign word,
styled by Westergaard an ideograph, has a peculiar pronunciation, answer in the
affirmative, and pronounce then the signs, character by character, saying at the same
time "that is Huzváresh." This name, therefore, is to be confined to the Semitic
element in the Pehlevi only, and not applied to the Pehlevi language in general. To
facilitate the reading of these Semitic words, styled *Huzooresh* (this is in all probability
the right pronunciation and not *Huzváresh*), we find often an Iranian termination added
to a Semitic word, e. g. *abi-dar* father, *ami-dar*, mother, where *dar* at the end indicates
that *abi* and *ami* is to be pronounced as *pádar*, *mádar*, the Persian substitutes for the
Semitic *ab* father, *am* mother: *yahavevnand* (read by the priests *janoonand*) they
are, where *yahavvun* is the 3rd person plural of the second tense (its meaning being
that of the present and future) of the Chaldaic verb *havd* to be, and the termination of
the 3rd plural, present tense, of the Persian *hastand*, they are,

upon, to pronounce them according to the characters in which they are written; but their pronunciation of these Semitic words, whose roots and forms are unintelligible to them, is in many cases evidently wrong. The chief reason of this is the great ambiguity of the Pehlevi writing, where not only the short vowels are omitted (as is usual in all Semitic alphabets, except the Aethiopic), but one and the same character is capable of three or four different meanings; so, for instance, *o, u, v, n* are expressed by one character, for initial *j, h, s* there is one sign indiscriminately used, etc. The correct form and pronunciation is to be ascertained from the Chaldee only, a good knowledge of which tongue is indispensable in order to understand Pehlevi.
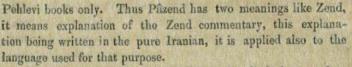
Now the question arises, do these three idioms of the Pehlevi language, which we can discover, represent dialects of three different districts in Iran, or do they belong to different periods, or are they mere products of peculiarities existing in different styles? The two idioms, found in the Hajiabad inscriptions, which are written in two distinct kinds of characters, one of which (B) resembles very much the Hebrew writing, exhibit certainly two dialects of one and the same language, as spoken in two neighbouring provinces. The book Pehlevi (called *Zend-Pehlevi, i. e.* Pehlevi of the commentary) differs from the Pehlevi on the coins only as far as the style is concerned; it was very likely that kind of language, which was used in the schools by scholars only, and not by the people. At the time when Pehlevi ceased to be a living language, and the restoration of the pure Iranian words was begun, the scholars, not daring to change the writings, descended from the Sassanian times, accustomed themselves to substitute in reading the Persian equivalents for the foreign Huzooresh words. This circumstance gave at length rise to a new form of writing commentaries on religious subjects, consisting in the use of the more distinct and clear Zend characters, where each sign has but one phonetical value, and in exterminating all the foreign Huzooresh words, to be replaced by pure Persian ones. This new form was called *Pázend*, serving, as is the case up to the present day, to facilitate the reading and understanding of the ancient

Pehlevi books only. Thus Pâzend has two meanings like Zend, it means explanation of the Zend commentary, this explanation being written in the pure Iranian, it is applied also to the language used for that purpose.

The Iranian part of the Pehlevi differing but little from modern Persian, we dare say, that the Persian language, as written 1600 years ago, was, in grammatical respects, almost in the same state as we find it at present. It needed only the Chaldee words to be exterminated and pure Iranian ones re-established throughout in their room, in order to arrive at that state of the modern Persian which is presented to us in the Shâhnâmeh by FIRDAUSI. Soon after the conversion of the Persians to the Mohammedan faith, a great many Arabic words were incorporated with the Persian tongue, forming now an inseparable part of the language, such as the Norman words in modern English. That mixture of Persian with Chaldee was called *Pehl*   (the Semitic part went by the name *Huzooresh*, the purified Persian by that of *Parsee* or Pâzend). As to the time, the period of *Pehlevi*, extends from A. D. 200 (if not earlier) to 700; that of *Parsee* from 700 to 1100; and that of *modern Persian*, the language of *Jâmi*, *Nizâmi*, and *Hâfiz*, from 1100 up to the present. The only changes in the Persian for 1600 years have been in the words; many words used in the Parsee books and Firdausi are now obsolete, and unintelligible to an unlearned Persian. Although there are translations of many parts of the grand Shâhnamah, yet up to the present day Firdausi's language is not yet properly investigated into, the explanation of many things in the poem requiring more than an ordinarily good oriental scholarship.

The second chief division of the Iranian tongues comprises the *affiliated languages*, that is to say such as share in the chief peculiarities of this family, but differ from it in many essential points. To this division we must refer the *Ossetic*, spoken by some small tribes in the Caucasus, but completely differing from the other so called Caucasian languages; also the *Armenian* and the *Afghanic (Pushtoo)*.

7

2—THE ZEND LANGUAGE.

The general character of the Zend language in both its dialects is that of a highly developed idiom. It is rich in inflexions, in the verbs and in the nouns. In the former, where three numbers and eight cases can be distinguished, it agrees almost completely with the Vedic Sanscrit, and in the latter, it exhibits a greater variety of forms, than the classical Sanscrit. Besides, we find a multitude of compound words of various kinds, and the sentences are joined together in an easy way which is apt to contribute largely towards a quick understanding of the general sense of passages. It is a genuine sister of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Gothic; but we find her no longer in the prime of life; she is presented to us rather in her declining age. The forms are not always kept strictly distinct from each other, as is the case in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin ; but are now and then confounded, much less, however, in the verbs than in the nouns, where the dissolution first began ; the crude form, *i. e.* the original uninflected state of the word, is often used instead of the originally inflected forms. So, for instance, we find *daéva* (the Indian gods) which is the very crude form, employed as the instrumental singular, which ought to be *daévêna*, or at least *duévâ*, and as nominative plural, which ought to be *daévâonhô*, or at least *daévâ*. The long vowels of the feminine in the nominative, *á* and *í*, are out of course, so that from the termination alone the gender is not so easily to be recognised as in Sanskrit ; so we have *daéna*, creed, belief, instead of *daénâ*; moreover the forms of the dative and instrumental, chiefly in the plural, are often confounded. These deviations from the original forms, and the confusion of terminations are by far more frequent in the classical Zend, than in the Gâtha dialect, where the grammar in most cases is quite correct.

The chief reason of the grammatical defects of the present texts of the Zend-Avesta lies, I think, in the want of grammatical studies among the ancient Persians and Bactrians. Had the study of grammar, as a separate science, flourished among the ancient Mobeds and Dustoors, as was the case with Sanskrit among the ancient Brahmans, and had Iran produced men like

Pânini, Kâtyâyana, and Patanjali, who became the lawgivers of the classical Sanskrit language, we should have less ground to complain of the bad condition of the texts, and found less difficulties in explaining them, than we have now to encounter. There is every reason to believe, that the grammar of the Bactrian language was never fixed in any way by rules ; thus the corruptions and abbreviations of forms, which gradually crept from the popular and colloquial into the written language, became unavoidable. In Sanskrit the grammarians built, by means of the numerous rules, under which every regular or irregular form of that language was brought, a strong bulwark against the importation of forms from the popular and vulgar language, which was marked by them as *Prâkrit*. Grammar became a separate branch of study ; manuscripts were then either copied out or written in the strictest accordance with rules of grammar, but always with respect to phonetical peculiarities, especially in Vedic books, if they had any real foundation. To these grammatical studies of the Brahmans, which belong to an age gone by long ago, we chiefly owe the wonderfully correct and accurate grammatical state of the texts of the Vedas and other revered books of antiquity. In Iran almost all knowledge of the exact meaning of the terminations died out at the same time that the ancient Iranian languages underwent the change from inflected to uninflected ones. Books were extant and learnt by heart for religious purposes, as is still done by the Parsee priests. But when the language of the Zoroastrian books had become dead, there were no means for the priests, who cared more for a merely mechanical recital of the sacred texts, than for a real insight into their meaning, to prevent the corruptions of the texts. Ignorant of any thing like grammar, they copied them out merely mechanically like the monks in Europe in the middle ages, or wrote them down from memory, of course full of blunders and mistakes. For this reason, we find the copies, now in use by Mobeds and Dustoors, in the most deplorable condition as regards grammar; the terminations are often written as separate words, and vowels inserted according to the wrong pronunciation of the writer, where they ought to be omitted.

The best text, comparatively speaking, is to be found in the oldest copies only, while in Vedic manuscripts (if written for religious purposes) there is not the slightest difference, whether they are many centuries old, or executed at the present day. Westergaard has taken great trouble to give a correct text, chiefly according to the oldest manuscripts, which were accessible to him. His edition is in most cases far preferable to the manuscripts of the priests of modern times. The Dustoors, therefore, should consider it their bounden duty to agree on an accurate text according to the oldest manuscripts, which they could procure very easily. In this task they will be aided much by Westergaard's valuable edition, and the grammatical researches of other European scholars. Why will they remain behind the Brahmans and the Jews, who have preserved their sacred writings so well, and facilitated modern researches to so great an extent ? The era for a sound philological explanation of the time-hallowed fragments of the ancient Zoroastrian writings has now come, and the Dustoors as the spiritual guides of the Parsee community, should take a chief part in it. The darkness in which a good deal of this creed is enshrouded, must be dispelled. But the only way of attaining such a desirable result is a sound and critical knowledge of the language.

3—SOUNDS, VOWELS, AND CONSONANTS.

(A) Vowels.

a, á, ã; i, í; u, ú; e, ĕ, é (aē); o, ó;—ai, ái; au, ao; áu, áo; ĕu, ĕi (aĕi); ou, oi, ói; ui, úi.

For so many vowels (12 simple, and many diphthongs) separate characters, or combinations thereof, are used in the Zend manu-

---

* The long vowels are marked by the circumflex. The vowels to be pronounced in the continental manner ; ã is a long *á* with a slight tinge of a nasal sound to be pronounced like *á* in the French *âme* soul ; *ĕi* is equal to *ĕ*.

scripts; which fact shows clearly, that in ancient times each of them had its own pronunciation, but at present the priests pronounce several of them, such as *a* and *e*, and *o* and *u*, without any distinction. Therefore the original pronunciation of them can be only guessed by us rather than really ascertained.

Of the vowels given in the above list, I shall point out only such ones as are peculiar to Zend. Whilst the short and long *a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, &c., are easily understood by any one, *ā*, always occurring before *m* or *n*, is a long *á*, with a slight tinge of a nasal sound; it is chiefly used in the genitive plural termination *anām*, *ăm*=S. *ánám*.—Of the *e* sounds, *e* and *ē* are to be noticed. Whilst the Sanskrit has only one *e*, which is always long, having originated from a fusion of *a* and *i*, the Zend has a short *e* besides, which has either no correspondent in Sanskrit, or which corresponds to the short *a*. This *e* is often in Zend a mere vehicle for facilitating the pronunciation. Quite peculiar is *ē*, which is a long vowel, and prevalent chiefly in the Gâtha dialect, where it often replaces the final *ó* of the usual Zend; for instance, *kē*, who?=*kó*; *yē*, who,=*yó*; *vachē*, word,=*vachó* &c. The writers confound it often with *i*, which circumstance seems to hint at its close affinity to that sound.

The frequent use of *a* before *ē* and *ó* is very likely not a peculiarity of pronunciation, but of writing. The Zend texts are handed down to us not in their original characters, but in a later form* of writing, which arose very likely, shortly after the commencement of the Christian era, when Syriac literature began to spread in Persia. For the Zend characters are written from right to left, like all the Semitic alphabets (except the Himyaritic in South Arabia and the Aethiopic); while the Sanskrit, and the ancient Bactrian alphabets, such as are to be found on coins, and in the cuneiform inscriptions exhibiting the ancient Persian tongue, are written from left to right. The form of the Zend characters besides, bears a great resemblance to some Syriac alphabets. Now to revert to *aē* and *ao*

---

* As the Old Testament has been preserved in the Chaldee characters though originally written in the Samaritan.

at the beginning of words, it is a peculiarity of the Semitic languages to introduce every initial vowel by prefixing an *Elif* (a soft aspirate sound, generally rendered by *a*, but not exactly corresponding to it). This peculiarity has crept into the writings of the Zend texts, so that a word hardly ever commences with *ĕ* but with *aĕ*. In the middle of words, *aĕ* may be a peculiar diphthong; for instance, in *viçpaĕshām* (genitive plural of *viçpa* all), etc.

In the Gâtha dialect, we observe this peculiarity that if words terminate in vowels, they terminate always in long, never in short ones. This lengthening of the vowels at the end extends even to the shortest of all, the short *e*, which, according to its origin, is not even to be considered as a full vowel (it is similar to the *shvá* in the Hebrew). So we find *rázarĕ* instead of *rázare*, rule, way, (Yas. 32, 12). The reason of this peculiar circumstance lies certainly not in the nature of the Gâtha dialect, but in the liturgical application of the pieces written therein. They are, as we shall see afterwards, the most important and holiest prayers used in the Zoroastrian divine service, and were originally sung (see p. 4. 8). The way of singing them was very likely analogous to that in which the Brahmans, the nearest relations of the Parsees, used to sing the verses of the *Sâmaveda* at the time of solemn sacrifices only, and which is preserved up to this day on such occasions. From hearing a Sâmaveda priest sing some verses of this Veda, one can ascertain, that he lengthens the terminating vowels of a word, even if they are short. In Sanskrit, where the grammar was fixed by rules, the texts were not changed according to the mode of singing them, while in Zend, where nothing regarding the grammar and pronunciation was settled, these peculiarities produced by singing the Gâthas and some other pieces, crept into the manuscripts, which were often written from memory only, as is now often the case.

On the changes of one vowel into another, I shall make but few remarks. There are in Zend two vowels, *i* and *u*, and one semivowel *y*, which change an original *a* preceding or following, into *ai*, *ĕ* or *ó*, a circumstance, which we observe in the Teutonic

languages also.* So instead of *barati*, he bears, we find *baraiti* (*ai* instead of *a*, influenced by the terminating *i*), *yêzi* or *yêidhi*, "if," instead of *yadi*, as it is in Sanskrit, *verezyêiti*, instead of *verezyati*, he works. Now and then the *y* which has produced the change of *a* into *ê*, disappears, e. g. *naçê* (Vend. 8, 21) imper. flee! perish! instead of *naçya* which is the regular form. In the Gâtha language we perceive, besides this change of *a* into *ai* or *ê*, that of *a* into *ô*, for instance, *verezyôtú*, instead of *verezyatú*, he may work; *vatôyôtú* for *vatayatu*, he may tell, announce (Yas. 35, 6).

(B) Consonants.

GUTTURALS.—*k, kh, q, g, gh, h.*
PALATALS.—*ch, j.*
DENTALS.—*t, th, d, dh.*
LABIALS.—*p, f, b.*
SEMIVOWELS.—*y, r, v, w.*
SIBILANTS.—*ç, sh, s, z, zh.*
NASALS.—*m, n, ṅ, ṇ, ñ.*

I shall now make some remarks on the sounds which are peculiar to the Zend language. Of all gutturals *q* (corresponding to the Latin *qu*) is one of this sort; in modern Persian, *kho* corresponds with it, e. g. *khvâb*, sleep, in Zend *qafna* (S. *svapna*, Latin *somnus*, Greek *hypnos*). In the Gâtha dialect this sound is more frequent than in the usual Zend, e. g. *qyêm*, I may be, instead of *hyâm*, Lat. *sim*; *çpeñtaqyâ* (gen. sing. of *çpeñta*, holy) instead of *çpeñtahê*.

The palatal sounds, *ch* and *j*, as well as the soft sibilants, *z* and *zh*, which are in many respects near to the palatals, are always changed into a harsh guttural sound *kh*, before *t, th* (confounded now and then with *dh*, e. g. *ukhdhem*, "what is spoken, a word, instead of *ukhthem*), and *s*: e. g. *berekhdha* "high, elevated,"

* Compare staff, pl. staves, *a* being pronounced in the plural like *ê* of the continental languages.

instead of *berezta* ; *aokhta*, he spoke, instead of *avachta*, from *vach* to speak, *vákh-s* nom. sg. speech, acc. sg. *váchem* ; *drukh-s* nom. sing., *drujem*, acc. sg., the palatal reappearing always immediately before vowels.

Among the dental class, *th* is of a peculiar nature, and not to be identified with *th* of the Sanskrit, which is simply an aspirate *t*; it is rather near to the English *th*. In most cases it is only a change of the simple *t* on account of its being followed by *r*, *w*, and sometimes *y* ; e. g. *thri* S. *tri*, three, *thwá* S. *tvá*, thee ; *ithyéjó* ruin (from the S. root *tyaj* to leave). A very instructive example occurs in *átar-s*, fire ; the gen. sg. is *áthró*, the acc. *átarem*, *t* being changed into *th* before *r*, and retained before the vowel. Now and then it corresponds with S. *th*; e. g. *atha*, then, after, S. *atha*. If a word terminates in *t*, we find generally a separate sign used for it ; but it appears to be rather a calligraphic peculiarity than to imply a separate dental sound ; for that reason I left distinguishing this final *t* (in certain words as *tbaésh* S. *dvish* to hate, *tkaésha* religion S. *díkshá*, it is used at the beginning also instead of the common *t*). *Dh*, the soft aspirate of the dental class, is not more strictly distinguished from the simple *d*, which fact causes now and then a confusion, rendering it, for instance, difficult to distinguish *dá*, to give, from *dhá*, to make, create.

Of the labial class *f* is not to be identified with S. *bh*; it is an aspiration of *p*, as *th* is of *t*, on account of its being followed by *r*, or *s* and *sh* ; e. g. *fra* S. *pra*, Greek and Latin *pro*, for ; *áfs*, water, (nom. sg. of *ap* water) ; *kerefs*, body, Lat. *corpus* (nom. sing. of *kerefs*); *fshu*, rich, monied. Among the semi-vowels we miss *l*, which in the ancient language seems not to have existed at all ; in the Pehlevi and modern Persian we find it, but it is always traceable to an original *r*. In Sanskrit *l* is later than *r*, but it is already known to the Vedic dialect.

In sibilants, the Zend is peculiarly rich, even richer than Sanskrit. The ç (to be pronounced as *ss* like the French *ç*) is uniformly put for *t*, if another *t* follows ; in Sanskrit one says *vitta* having possessed (from the root *vid* to possess, get), but in

Zend it is always changed into *víçta*,* (compare in Greek *oistha* =Zend *vóiçta*, thou knowest, from *oida*=S. *veda* I know). In the Gâtha dialect we find it often at the end of words instead of *t*, e. g. *çtavaç* instead of *çtavat*, praising. *Z* and *zh* are two soft sibilants, lacking the Sanskrit. Into these soft sounds the dental *d* is changed, if it meets another *d*, e. g. *dazdi*, give, instead of *dad-dhi*. In the Gâtha language, we sometimes find the peculiarity of changing *çt* into *zd* or *zhd*, when a soft sound, *b* or *g*, is in the following syllable, e. g. *azdĕbis*, the instr. plur. of *açti*, existence, body (afterwards from ignorance used as a nominative), *vazhdrĕng* acc. pl. of *vaçtra*, field.

Of the nasal sounds *n̥* is used before *h*, e. g. *anhus* life, and inserted between *a* and *u* in certain forms, e. g. *merechan̥uha*, kill; *ṅ* is used before *h* and appears to be stronger, like *ng*. They have, however, nothing to do with the etymology, and are a mere produce of pronunciation; *ñ*, generally used before the dentals, seems to be a half nasal sound, like the Sanskrit Anusvâra.

4—ROOTS.

The last elements of an aggregate of sounds, which remain, after all the suffixes and terminations have been taken off, are denoted by the name of "root." For instance, to find out the root of *verezyêiti* "he works," first the termination of the 3rd pers. sg. present tense *ti*, and then *yêi* (*ya*), being the characteristic of the present tense and those words, that are derived from it, are to be taken off; the remaining part *verez* then is the root, to which the idea of "working" is attached. Most nouns being traceable to verbs, we shall confine ourselves to the enumeration of some verbal roots. Original roots are of course monosyllabic, consisting now and then of a single vowel only, or being a com-

---

* It is the first part of the name *Viçtáçpa* the orignal form of the Grecian *Hystaspes* meaning " possessing horses."
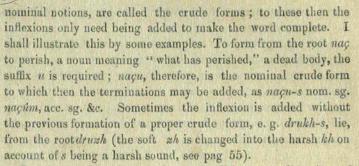
8

bination of a vowel with a simple or double consonant, or of two consonants with a vowel between them, e. g. *i* to go (in *aêiti* he goes S. *eti*, Latin *it*, he goes); *dâ* S. *dâ* to give; *vâ* to blow (*vâoñti*, they blow, *vâta* wind; *gâ* to go (in *gata*, gone); *çru* to hear; *mere* to die; *kere* to make; *mar* to speak, recite, (*framaráitê*, he announces); *char* to walk; *tach* to flow; *vakhsh* to grow; *vach* to speak; *mrû* to say (in *mraot*, he told); *bar* to bring; *as* to be (in *ahmi* I am, *âoṇhat* he was); *bû* to exist &c. From the simple roots others were derived by means of some additional sounds, which, of course, can change the meaning; so *dath* to place, is a derivation of *dhâ*, *dâ* to make, *mereñch* to kill, one of *mere* to die. Now and then we find a verbal root joined to a noun, in order to modify the meaning, e. g. *yaozhdâ*, *yaozh-dath* to purify, make clean. As to their practical use, the reader will soon become aware, that the roots are mere fictions of philology, abstract grammatical notions, but in order to obtain a thorough knowledge of a language, they are nevertheless very useful. They show the common origin of words, which, in the course of time have become different both in forms and sense. So *naçus* a corpse, (*nekys* in the Greek) and *naçaitê*, *nashaitê* he perishes, goes away, are of the same root : *naç*, S. *naç* to perish ; *drukhs*, destruction, lie, *aiwidruzhaiti*, he belies, *aiwi-drukhtô*, a liar, are traceable to *druzh* S. *druh* to destroy ; *frathwereçem*, I created and *thwôresta* creator, are derivations of *thwereç thwareç*, *thwôres* (only different pronunciation of the same root)=S. *tvaksh* to fabricate, make, create (literally " to cut"); *açti* existence, *ahmi* I am and *açtvâo* existing, come likewise from the root *as* to be.

5—CRUDE FORMS.

From the root, in which the notions of verbs and nouns are likewise contained, both are then distinguished by means of suffixes, or if they are left, at least by the terminations or inflexions. These new forms, produced in order to distinguish verbal and

nominal notions, are called the crude forms ; to these then the inflexions only need being added to make the word complete. I shall illustrate this by some examples. To form from the root *naç* to perish, a noun meaning " what has perished," a dead body, the suffix *u* is required ; *naçu*, therefore, is the nominal crude form to which then the terminations may be added, as *naçu-s* nom. sg. *naçûm*, acc. sg. &c. Sometimes the inflexion is added without the previous formation of a proper crude form, e. g. *drukh-s*, lie, from the root *druzh* (the soft *zh* is changed into the harsh *kh* on account of *s* being a harsh sound, see pag 55).

To make up the verbal crude forms, different modifications of the root, which produce a slight change of meaning, must take place. In order to impart, for instance, to the crude form of *çru*, to hear, the causal idea " to make hear, recite," it must be changed into *çrávay*, or to the root *mereñch*, to kill, the desiderative idea " to wish to kill," it must be altered into *mimerekhsh*. Even the tenses often require a crude form, to which the terminations may be added. In order to form the present tense " he hears," or " he does" from the respective roots *çru* to hear and *kere (kar)* to make, the syllable *nu* (used also in Sanskrit and Greek, in certain verbs which conveys the meaning "now,") is to be added. Thus the crude forms of the present tense, *çurunu* (euphonically instead of *çrunu*) and *kerenu* are obtained, to which the termination of the third pers. sg. *ti* is to be joined. In this way, the word *çurunaoiti* (modern Persian *shunad*) " he hears" and *kerenaoiti*,[*] (modern Persian *kunad*) " he makes," are then formed; the literal meaning of both is hear-now-he, and do-now-he.

6—MODIFICATIONS OF THE VERBAL ROOTS.

There are three chief modifications of the verbal roots, irres-

[*] The original *u* of *nu* is changed into *o* before *ti*, in strict accordance with the rules of Sanskrit grammar, where in certain classes of verbs in the singular of the present tenses, active voice, the change of *u* into *ó*, and of *i* into *é*, always takes place. This change is called *Guna* in Sanskrit grammar.

pective of tense or mood, to be observed viz. Causal, Desiderative, and Intensive forms.

1. CAUSAL FORMS, expressing the idea " to make, to get made," are very frequent in the Zend-Avesta. They are formed exactly in the same manner as in Sanskrit, by lengthening the vowel of the root and adding the syllable *aya*. Examples : *kârayêiti* S. *kâragati*, he gets made (from the root *kere, kar,* to make); *tâpayêiti*, he makes hot (from the root *tap*, to be hot, to burn, Latin *tepere*); *jâmayêiti* (Yt. 17, 21). he makes go out, expels (from the root *jam* to go); *vi-shâvayat* (Vend. 2, 11). he made go asunder, (from *shu* to run, to go); *çrâvayêiti* he makes hear, recites (from *çru* to hear); *ava-çtayat*, he fixed, established, Vend. 2, 34. (from *çtâ* to stand); *khraoçyêiti* (an abbreviation of *khraoçayêiti*), he makes cry, i. e. scares, frightens Vend. 15, 5. (from *khruç* to cry, Persian *khurushîdan*); *dârayêhi*,* thou keepest (from *dar, dere,* to hold, modern Persian *dâshtan*).

Closely connected with the proper causal verbs, are the so called DENOMINATIVES, that is to say, verbs which are formed from nouns. Examples : *raêthwayêiti*, he pollutes, literally : touches with *raêthwem*, a fluid (now and then it means the fluid of light); *vyâkhmanyêiti*, Yt. 8, 15. he takes into consideration, derived from *vyâkhman* consideration ; *pereçanyêiti*, " he puts the question," from *pereçana*, questioning. There is another way of forming DENOMINATIVES besides the causal suffix *aya* ; that is the verbal root *dâ* to make, added to a noun. Examples : *paxdayêiti* Vend. 15, 5. he treads (the dog) with the foot, literally : he makes, applies his foot (*pad*, Latin *pes* foot); *yavô-dayât*, it might grow corn (lit. make corn); *çudhus-dayât*, it might be thrashed (lit. make thrashing); *pistrô-dayât*, it might be ground (lit. make grinding) ; *guñdô-dayât*, flour might be made (lit. it might make flour) Vend. 3, 32.

2. DESIDERATIVE forms, expressing the wish of obtaining any

---

* Yas. 11, 3: *yô mâm aiwis-hutem dârayêhi* who keepest me, (Homa) without having squeezed my juice. *aiwis-hutem* consists of *hutem*, the past participle of *hu*, to squeeze, to prepare the Homa juice, and the negative *a* joined to *vis*, liquid, juice ; *v* is changed into *w* on account of *a* having become *ai* in consequence of the *i* in *vi*

thing, are made up exactly in the same manner as in Sanskrit, viz. by reduplication of the first syllable and addition of *s* to the crude form before the terminations. Examples : *mimarekshâitê*, Vend. 15, 14. he endeavours to kill (from the root *merench* to kill); *çuruçrushemnô,* * Yt. 14, 21. desirous of hearing (from *çru*, to hear) ; *zishnâonhemnâo,* † Yt. 13, 49. wishing to know (from *zan* to know, in Sanskrit it sounds *jijnâsamânâh*, wishing to know). In the Gâtha dialect, these forms are on an average more frequent, than in the usual Zend, where they are gradually dying out. Examples from the Gâthas : *didereghzhô,* Yas. 44, 15. thou wishest to recite (from *derenj* to recite prayers), *chikhshnushô,* thou wast desirous of worshipping Yas. 45, 9. (from *khshnu,* to satisfy one, to worship); *mimaghzhô*‡ Yas. 45, 10. thou wast desirous of magnifying (from the root *maz, magh,* to be great).

3. INTENSIVE FORMS serve the purpose of enhancing the strength of the verbal notion to make it more emphatic. The original way of forming them is to repeat the whole root, and then to join the terminations to it, thus put twice. Afterwards, as it is usual in Sanskrit, they lengthened only the vowel of the first part, and left out the consonants, which followed it ; for instance, the Sanskrit *dêdîpyamâna,* very brightly shining, is an abbreviation of the original, *dîp-dipyamâna.* In Zend the original intensive forms prevail, while the abbreviations are rare. Examples : *nizhdare-dairyât,* Vend. 18, 38. he would tear out with great force - (from *dar* to tear ; Pers. *daridân*); *fra-vâza-vazaiti,* Vend. 3,31. he furthers, promotes very much (from *vaz* to carry); *hareke-hare-chayât,* Vend. 5, 69. he would pour abundantly (from *harech* to emit, pour); *naênizhaiti,* Yt. 8, 43. he uproots (from *nizh,* to sweep away, clean, S. *nij*). In the Gâthas we find chiefly the abbreviated form of the Intensives. Examples : *râreshyanti,*

---

* *Vayûm vâchim çuruçrushemnô,* desirous of hearing the voice of birds.

† It ought to be *zizndonhemnâo,* the present participle, middle voice, nóm. pl. ; but the soft *z* is incompatible with *n*, therefore it is changed into the harsher *zh ;* *h* in *hemnô* corresponds with *s* which is after *d* and before *e* generally made *h*.

‡ All these forms in *shô, zhô* are second persons sg. imperfect tense of the desiderative form.

Yas. 47, 4. they hurt repeatedly or very much (from *rash, resh* to hurt); *vôividáitê*, Yas. 30, 8. it is possessed, held completely (from *vid* to possess, get); *fravôividê*, Yas. 44, 11. I am well known (from *vid* to know).

7.—VOICES IN THE VERB.

There are three voices to be distinguished in Zend, as well as in Sanskrit and Greek: viz., the active, the middle or reflexive, and the passive. The first and third being well known and generally applied in the modern languages, only the second voice requires some remarks. I have called it the middle or reflexive voice ; it corresponds with the so called Âtmanêpadam in Sanskrit, the middle in Greek, and the deponent in Latin. According to its nature, it occupies the place between the active and passive voices, participating in the nature of both. Originally the middle voice served to express passive as well as reflexive notions, and it was only in the course of time that they established a proper passive form by the addition of *ya* to the root, but without changing the terminations. The original passive meaning of the reflexive voice is, however, now and then, chiefly in the participial forms, preserved. Examples: *hachaitê*, Yt. 8, 60 ; 10, 117 ; 14, 44. means "he is followed, accompanied, provided (*baêshaza* with medicaments), while the corresponding active form *hachaiti*, Yt. 10, 66. means "he follows," requiring an accusative *(yim hachaiti* whom he follows); in the same manner the pres. participle *hachimnô*, conveys merely the passive meaning "followed, provided"; *vazemnô*, Yt. 14. driven, drawn (by horses in a carriage); *baremnô*, borne (in a Palkee) Vend. 8, 73. In all these examples the passive meaning of the middle is evident, the formal passive voice would require the forms : *vaz-yamnô, bairyamnô*.

Closely connected with the passive is the reflexive notion, which prevails now in the forms of the middle voice. Thus in the very common middle voice form *yazamaidê*, we worship,

the idea "for ourselves, our benefit," is implied. Other examples are : *viçanuha* Yt. 10, 32. (in an address made to the angel *Mithra*) come yourself to my offerings *i. e.* in person ;* (*his*) *hām-baranuha*, take these things together, receive them for thy own use ! *ni* (*his*) *daçva*, deposit them for thy use (in thy heavenly abode) ! These three forms, just quoted, are imperatives 2nd pers. sg. of the middle voice, and convey evidently a reflexive sense. The active imperative *bara* Yt. 5, 63. means simply "bring," but the corresponding middle form, *baranuha*, means, " bring for yourself" *i. e.* take. *Pereçem, apereçem*, impf. 1st pers. sg. act. means, I asked, put a question ; but the corresponding form of the middle voice *apereçé* Vend. 2, 2. is, I conversed; the pres. partic. of the middle voice, *pereçmana* Yas. 30, 6. conversing, deliberating.

Often the meaning of this peculiar voice coincides with that of the active. So *mainyéiñté*, they believe. To express intransitive or neutral notions this voice is of course more fit than the active ; we find it, therefore, often applied for such purposes. Examples : *raodhahé* thou growest (from *rudh* to grow) ; *çaété* Vend. 18, 5. he lies down (from *çi* to lie down) ; *áçté* he sits (from *ás* to sit).

8.—MOODS.

In the Zend language there are four chief moods, which can be used in all the three voices above mentioned, and are distinguished from each other by different characteristics. These four moods are as follows : INDICATIVE, SUBJUNCTIVE, POTENTIAL, and IMPERATIVE.

The INDICATIVE does not require any further remarks. Example : *barámi* I bring; *mraomi* I say ; *barat* he brought, &c.

* The Izad or angel was expected to come himself down from his celestial abode to his devotee, when worshipping him in the proper way.

9.—THE SUBJUNCTIVE.

There are two kinds of this mood to be found in the Zend-Avesta, one with long, and the other with short terminations, which both being lost to the classical Sanskrit, are extant in the ancient language of the Vedas also. The characteristic feature of these subjunctive moods is the constant insertion of *á* between the root and the termination, e. g. *van-á-iti, van-á-t* from *van* to destroy.

The FIRST SUBJUNCTIVE takes after its characteristic *á* before the terminations of the present tense indicative *mi, hi, ti* (see below) &c. e.g. *vaênáiti* Yt. 13, 84. he may look (from *vaén*, to see, Pers. *bín-am*, I see). As to its meaning, we find it applied in various ways, it is commonly to be translated by "might, would or should." It can depend on particles such as *yat, yatha* that, in order that, or it can stand without them. Examples: *yaçe-thwá* (*Anáhitãm*) *nôit aiwi-druzhdoñti* Yt. 5, 90. that they may not disturb thee (from *druzh* to destroy); *ava hô mairyáité*, Vend. 7, 37. (and if) he should then die (from the root *mar* to die); *thwãm kaininô jaidhyáoñti*, Yt. 5, 87. the girls shall invoke thee (Anâhita); *niçrinaváhi*, Yt. 5, 87. thou shalt, mayest grant; *baváhi* thou shalt be; *ava-jaçái*, instead of *ava-jaçáhi*, Vend. 19, 18. thou shalt go; we find it in general sentences too, e. g. *táo khshapanô yáo jváhi*, Vend. 18, 27. for how many nights thou mightst still be living (from *jiv* to live).

Very frequently this first subjunctive mood serves to express the FUTURE TENSE, the original forms of which are dying out in Zend. The idea of the future, and that of the subjunctive are related to each other, both implying a state of uncertainty; in Latin the forms of both are very near also. Examples: *katha kháo tacháoñti* Yt. 8, 5. how will the wells flow (from the root *tach* to flow)? *viçpa drukhs náshdité* Yt. 2, 11. every evil doer will perish, or is to perish (from the root. *násh* to perish, go off); *jaçáiti tê avanhaêcha*, Yt. 1, 9. he will come to thy support (from *jaç* to come); *hô áonháiti*, Yt. 13, 18. he will be (from *as* to be.)

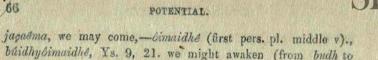The SECOND SUBJUNCTIVE has after its characteristic *á* only

the shortened terminations of the imperfect, 3rd pers. sg. *ât,* 3rd
pl. *ân,* &c. This form is chiefly used in the sense of an Impera-
tive, but in the third pers. sg. only, as *çtavât,* may he praise, let,
him praise (from *çtu* to praise); *vanât* Yt. 19, 95. may he destroy
let him destroy ; *janât,* Yt. 3, 14. may he slay, let him slay. It
can change places with the first Subjunctive and be used in condi-
tional sentences conveying the sense of " should, would;" examples :
yat kerentât, Vend. 7, 37. if he should cut (from the root *kerent,*
in the medical sense "to operate") ; *viçpem á ahmât yat bavát* (a
common phrase), all for the purpose that it should be, might be.
Now and then it is applied to the future tense also, e. g. *kadha
nô avi uzyarât,* Yt. 8, 5. when will he come to us? (from
the root *ar* to go)

10.—POTENTIAL.

Of this mood we find two kinds, which, as to their formation,
correspond exactly to the Potential (called *Liṅg*), and Precative
(called *Liṅg* À *çishi*) of the Sanskrit grammar. The chief charac-
teristic of both is the addition of an *i* to the crude form of the
present tense. In the first form, the proper Potential, this *i* only
is required ; but in the second, the Precative, *á* is to be added to
it ; thus we obtain, as the characteristic of this second form, the
syllable *yí* which is to be inserted between the root, or the crude
form of the present tense, and the terminations.

The FIRST POTENTIAL is of very frequent use, chiefly in the
second and third persons sg. and pl.; it is easily recognised by
the terminations *óis* (2nd pers. sg. active voice),—*isa, aésa* (2nd
pers. sg. middle voice),—*óit* (3rd pers. sg. act. voice),—*aéta,—
ita* (3rd pers. sg. middle voice),—*aéta* (2nd pers. pl. act. voice),
—*yadhwem* (2nd pers. pl. middle voice),—*ayen, yen* (3rd pers.
pl. act. voice),—*yañta* (3rd pers. pl. middle voice). The first
persons are but of rare occurrence ; instead of them they use the first
pers. imperative. We find, however, the following terminations :
aém (first pers. sg. act. v.),—*aéma,* (first pers. pl. act. v). e. g.

9

jaçaêma, we may come,—*óimaidhê* (first pers. pl. middle v)., *báidhyóimaidhê*, Ys. 9, 21. we might awaken (from *budh* to awaken). Now and then we meet a dual form, ending in *aêtem*, *ayatem* (3rd pers. dual act. v).

The application of this first Potential is manifold. In the 2nd pers. it is very frequently used as a polite form of the imperative, when any thing is to be commanded or asked for. Ex. *frabaróis* thou shalt bring (from *bar* to bring); *hiñchóis* thou shalt sprinkle (from *hiñch* to sprinkle) ; *dreñjayóis* thou shalt recite (from *dreñj* to recite) ; *nipáyóis* thou shalt protect (from *pá* to protect); *zbayaêsa* thou shalt invoke (from *zbê* to invoke); *fradaidhisa* Yt. 3, 1. thou shalt keep (from *dhá* to put); *áhisa* Yt. 10, 32. thou shalt sit (from *áh, ás* to sit); *çchiñdayadhwem* Yt. 1, 28. thou shalt cleave for yourselves (from the root *çchiñd* to cleave, Latin *scindo*) ; *várayadhwem* you shall cover (from *var* to cover*)*; *darezayadhwem* you shall chain (from *darez* to chain, fetter, bind*)*; *upazóit* one shall strike, beat (from *zan* to strike, slay); *ava-baróit* he may bring hither; *barayen* they shall bring. *chikayen* Vend. 15, 12. they shall atone (from *chi, ki* to atone, be punished ; it is instead of *chikayen)*; *vádhayaêta* Vend. 4, 44. he may give him in marriage (from *vádh* to marry, carry home); *framaraêta* he may teach ; *içaêta* he may have, obtain for himself, (from *iç* to have, possess); *nishidhaêta* he may sit down (from *shadh* to sit*)*; *ámayañta* Vend. 7, 37. they may learn ; *hañdarezayañta* they shall chain (from the root *darez* to fasten, make tight).

To express the idea of habitude, the Potential is used as the proper mood e. g. Vend. 4, 47. *yatha maghavô fravâkhshóit,* as the Magian priest is in the habit of reciting (from *vach* to speak) ; Vend. 3, 42. *yatha vátó framarezóit* as the wind is in the habit of sweeping away (from *marez* to sweep); Yas. 12, 6. *Zarathustró daêvâis vyâmrvitá,* Zoroaster was in the habit of speaking against the Daêvas (from *mrú* to speak); *apereçayatem* Yas. 12, 6. these two used to converse.

The SECOND POTENTIAL, which we may style the Potential proper, is used as a PRECATIVE or with the negative *má* as a PROHI-

BITIVE and as a CONDITIONAL. The 2nd and 3rd persons prevail in this mood; in conditional sentences the first person is to be found also. The terminations are : 1st sg. *yām*, 1st pl. *yama*; 2nd pers. sg. act. voice *yáo*, pl. *yata* ; 3rd pers. sg. act. v. *yát*, pl. *yán*. Of the first and second persons in the middle voice I could discover no distinct traces ; but the 3rd pers. pl. of this voice —*yáres*, is occasionally to be met with.

As to its meaning, it coincides often with the first Potential, but on account of its being a combination of the characteristics of both the Potential and the Subjunctive, it is more emphatical, and solemn than the simple Potential. Its proper place, therefore, is in praying, in imparting blessings, giving an exhortation or a command, or pronouncing curses ; joined to the negative particle *má*, it is the strictest form of prohibiting a thing. Ex.: *çurunu-yáo nô Mithra yaçnahê* Yt. 10, 32. mayst thou hear our prayers, Mithra !; *vaêibya nô ahubya mpayáo* Yt. 10, 93. mayst thou (Mithra) protect us in the two lives (the bodily and spiritual)! *bareçma fraçtarenuyáo* Yt. 12, 3. thou shalt spread the Barsom (from the root *çtar, çtere* to spread); *dayáo* Yt. 10,94. thou mayst give (from *dá* to give); *buyáo* Ys. 62, 2. thou shalt be (from *bú* to be); *buyata*, Yt. 13, 147. you may or shall be ; *má buyata* Vend. 18, 17. you must not be, do not be; *dáyata* Nyây. 3, 11. you may give (from *dá*). Examples of the third person : *jamyát* Yt. 1, 33; 10, 5. he shall come (the angel who is invoked) ; *buyān* Yt 16, 3. they shall be ; *fratereçān*, they shall fly ; *fra-dvarān* they shall run away, Yt. 11, 6. (from *tereç* to fear, and *dvar* to run). The vowel *á* is now and then shortened, e. g. *chikayat* Vend. 7, 38. instead of *chikayát*, he may atone. While the 3rd person sg. active voice of this form is rarely applied to express a command, or a wish (for which the 2nd Subjunctive is more usual), the 3rd pers. pl. middle voice, ending in *yáres*, seems to be more common in that sense. Ex.: *daithyáres* Vend. 8, 22. they shall put for themselves (from *daith* to put) ; *buyáres* Nyây. 3, 11. they shall be (from *bú* to be) ; *aiwi-çachyáres* Yt. 8, 56. (if they) should or might perform ; *hyáre* Vend 17, 9. (these nails) shall be thy lances (from *as* to be).

It is frequently employed in conditional sentences, chiefly in the antecedent clause, introduced by the particle *yézi* if. Ex. *yéidhi azem nôit daidhyãm* (potential of the perfect tense) Vend 1, 1. if I would not have created (perfect tense of *dhá*) ; *yézi nôit uzvarezyát* Vend. 4, 25. if he should not atone for (from *varez* to do, to make ; *uz-varez* to do away with a thing, especially a sin by punishment) ; *akmát hacha irishyát* Vend. 13, 38. and (if) he should be hurt (from *irish* to be hurt, wounded). In the consequent clause of conditional sentences, we find this mood also, see for instance Yt. 8, 11. where the star Tistrya, who brings the rains to mankind from a fabulous sea, says as follows : if men had invoked me with prayers, I had then gone forth (*shushnyãm* from *shu* to go; it is a perfect form), I would have come (*jaghmyãm* from *gam* to come, perf. tense).

Now and then this precative and conditional mood is used in a strictly potential sense, expressing the faculty or ability to do a thing. Thus we read Vend. 6, 29. as much (*chvat*) as they can grasp (*hañgéurvayãn* : from *gerew* to take) with their hands.

11.—IMPERATIVE.

This mood, very frequently used, has various forms, which, although they agree with those of Sanskrit, have preserved some peculiarities. The most peculiar feature in these Imperative formations of the Zend and Sanskrit, is the first pers. used in sg. and pl. active and middle voices, a formation unknown to the other Arian tongues, where its want is supplied by conjunctive forms. We have just become aware of the unfrequent use of the first persons of the subjunctive and potential moods in the Zend. The reason is their having been absorbed, for the greater part, by these peculiar Imperative forms, which are very emphatical, expressing through the length of their forms very palpably the idea of intention and volition or duty : I will, I intend, I am resolved, &c. They are made up as follows :

1st pers. sg. act. voice *á, áni, a* ; middle voice, *ái, áné* ; 1st
pers. pl. act. voice *áma*, middle v., *ámaidé*. Ex. *avanayémi* Yt.
19,44. I will carry away (from *ni* to carry) ; *ava-barâni*, I will
bring ; *janâni*, I will slay (from *jan* to slay) ; *varedhayéni* Vend
2. I will make grow (or, protect); *barâma*, let us bring ; *kva nida-
thâma* Vend 6,44. where must we lay down (a dead body)? We
find it often used after relative particles, as *yat, yatha,* e. g. *daxli
nô yat bavâma* Yt. 5,58. give us that we may be ; *yatha nijanáma*
that we shall certainly slay. The middle form in *áné* is quite
peculiar to Zend, and wanting in Sanskrit. Ex. *viçáni* Vend 2. I
will go myself (from the root *viç* to go, enter, now and then to be
taken in the general sense " to be") ; *fravaráné*, I will profess
myself (the Zoroastrian religion ; from *var* to choose).

The plural of the middle voice *ámaidé* is rare ; we find
it in the Gâtha dialect only ; see Yas. 58,3 : *nemanhé viçâmaidé*
let us go for ourselves to prayer ; *nemanhé ávaédayámaidé*, let us
devote ourselves to prayer (from *vid*, to know, the causal is
vaéday ; with the preposition *á* it means " consecrate").

In the Gâthas the forms in *áni* are comparatively rare ; those
in *á* and *ái* prevail. The form in *á*, being the ancient termi-
nation of the first pers. sing. imperative, is solely confined to
these ancient prayers. Ex. : *pereçá* Yas. 44, 1. 2, 3. I will ask ;
yáçá Yas. 28, 2. I will pray ; *zhayá.* Yas. 33, 5. I will worship ;
fravakhshyá Yas. 45, 1. I will promulgate (from *vach,* to speak,
vakhshya being here the crude form of the future tense). Before
the enclitic *cha* " and" this *á* is shortened to *a* e. g. *vavchacha*
Yas. 45, 3. and I will tell.

Besides this Gâtha form in *á* we find one terminating in *ái* in
both dialects, conveying the same sense, e. g. *khshnaoshái* Ys.
46,1. I must worship (from *khshnu* to worship, *khshnaosh* is an
Aorist form) ; *ménghái* Ys. 43,4. I will have thought i. e. my
wish was to think (from *man* to think, but in the crude form of
the Aorist *méng, ménh* S. *mans*), *mévái* instead of *manyái* Ys.
45,3. I will think ; *zbayái* I will invoke ; *jaçái* I will come, &c.
in the usual Zend.

The 2nd pers. imperative active voice sg., terminates either in

a, that is to say, in the crude form of the present tense; or, if there be another termination, as *nu,* added, or, if the crude form be identical with the root, in *di, dhi.* Ex. : *bara* bring ! (here it ends in *bara,* which is the crude form of the present tense : *barâmi* I bring); *ava-jaça* come, hither (*jaçâmi* I come) ; *uçe-hista,* rise ! (*uce-histâmi* I rise) ; *kerenûidhi,* make ! (*kerenaomi* I make, from *kere* to make) ; *çtûidhi,* praise ! (*çtaomi,* I praise, from the root *çtu* to praise) ; *mrûidhi* speak ! (*mraomi,* I speak, from *mru*; now and then we find *mru* alone, e. g. *fra-mru* recite); *jaidhi* slay ! Ys. 9, 30. (from *jan* to slay) ; *para-âidhi,* go to ! Vend. 22,7. (from *i* to go) ; *dazdi** give ! (from *dâ*) which is in the Gâthas always *daidî* give ! ; *gaidi,* go ! (the Gâtha form, from *gâ* to go). The plural, active voice, terminates always in *ta,* e. g. *çtuta* praise ye ! *pâta* protect ye ! (from the root *pâ,* to protect) ; *uçehistata* rise ye ! (from *çtâ* to stand, with *uç* to rise) ; *dâta* give ye !

The second pers. sg. middle voice terminates in *çva* and *anuha* which both correspond to the Sanskrit termination *sva* ; e. g. *ni-daçva* put, place ! Yt. 10, 32. (from *dath* to put); *çnayanuha* take a bath ! Vend. 18, 19.; *jijishanuha,* send for, seek ! Vend. 15, 13. ; *nizbayanuha* invoke ! Vend. 19, 13, 14.

To the Gâtha dialect the form in *anuha* is not known ; there the original *shva, hva* is found, e. g. *kereshva* make ! Ys. 40. ; *gûshahvâ* hear, listen ! Ys. 49, 6. (from *gush* to hear). The plural is *dúm,* e. g. *gûshôdûm* listen ye ! Ys. 45,1. *thrâzdûm* save ye ! Ys. 34, 7. (from *thrât* to protect, save).

The 3rd perss. imperative are of very frequent use, expressing the idea : let him do this or that ! he may do ! Now and then they are used in the meaning of a future tense, e. g. *janhentu* they are to come, they will come Vend. 2, 2. (from *jam* to come, *janh* is the crude form of an Aorist). The terminations are as follows :—

Sg. act.—*tu,* pl. *ñtu ;* sg. middle voice *tãm*; pl. *ñtãm.* Ex. : *vanhatu* he may put on clothes Vend 3, 19. (from *vanh* S. *vas* to put on clothes); *qaratu* he may eat ! let him eat ! (from *qar* to eat) ; *çraotu* he may hear ; *mraotu* he may tell (from *çru,* to hear

* *Dazdi* in the Gâthas is the 3rd pers. sg. active voice, see Ys. 46, 8 ; 51,6.

and *mru* to tell) ; *açtu* he may be ; let him be ! *ayañtu* they may go, let them go (from *i* to go) ; *áfrineñtu* they may praise (from *frí* to love, be kind) ; *heñtu* they may be ! (from *as* to be). The forms of the middle occur in the Gâtha dialect only,* as *nídyátãm* Ys. 48,7. let him (*Aéshemô*, one of the bad spirits) be put down! (from *dá* to put, with *ni* to put down);† *khsheñtãm*, instead of *khshayañtãm*, Ys. 48,5. they may have or possess (from *khshi* to have, possess). Besides we once find in the Gâthas Ys. 48,5. the 3rd pers. dual, middle voice, *verezyátãm*, in the phrase *gavôi*‡ *verezyátãm tãm*, two cows (a team) may till her (*Armaiti*, the soil).

In an old formula preserved in Vend 8, 38. we find an imperative form terminating in *tát*, which agrees entirely with the ancient Vedic forms in *tát*.§ This formula is *nizhbereta nôit ainizhbereta nizhberetát*,‖ let them bring out every thing to be brought out, which was not yet brought out !

12.—TENSES.

In the Zend language we find as many tenses as in the Sanskrit, although less than in the Greek, which is, as to tenses, the richest language of the Arian stock. We can distinguish one formation for the present, four for the past, and two for the future, which differ, as regards their crude forms, and partially in respect to their terminations.

---

* *Jaçñtãm* Yt. 1, 25. is very likely such a form too, and to be translated, "they may, or shall come."

† Here the form is, properly speaking, passive, but that does not matter anything as to terminations ; the passive and middle voice terminations in the present tense, imperative active, are one and the same.

‡ See Aitareya Brâhmana II, 6. (pag. 30 of my edition) *vapám utkhidatắt*, they may tear out the peritoneum !

§ *Gavôi* is a dual like *zaçté*, the two hands, *ôi* being only another orthography of *é*.

‖ *Nizhbereta* is the past participle of the root *bere*, *bar* to bring, but in the meaning of a verbal adjective (as is frequently the case in the Greek) expressed in English by the termination "able;" *ainizhbereta* is the 3rd pers. sing. impert. middle voice with the augment *a* (a sign of the past). The relative pronoun is omitted.

TENSES.

The terminations are chiefly of two kinds, longer and shorter ones. The chief difference of the latter class from the former is the absence of the terminating vowel or consonant, or, under circumstances, of a whole syllable, which form part of the former kind, e. g. *mi* (1st sg. act. v.) becomes *m* ; *añti* is made *án, en,* &c.

The longer forms are used in the present tense, the first subjunctive and the first future tenses, the shorter in the two potentials, the second subjunctive, the imperfect, aorist, and pluperfect, and to a certain extent, with some modifications, in the perfect tense. The imperative has its peculiar terminations, as we have seen. I shall give here the terminations of both the present tense and the imperfect.

	PRESENT TENSE.		IMPERFECT.	
	Active voice	Middle	Act.	Middle
Sg. 1	*mi*	*é*	Sg. 1 *m*	*é*[1]
„ 2	*hi*	*hé*	„ 2 *s, ó*	*e, he*[2]
„ 3	*ti*	*té*	„ 3 *t*	*ta*
Dual 1	*vahi*		Dual 1 *áva*[3]	none
„ 2	not more extant		„ 2 none	none
„ 3	*tó, thó*[6]	*óithê*[4]	„ 3 *tem*	*óithê*[4]
Plural 1	*mahi,*	*maidé*	Plural 1 *ma*	*madi*
„ 2	*tha,*	*dúm* G.,*dhwem*		(*maidi*[5])
„ 3	*ñti*	*ñté*	„ 2 *ta*	*dhwem*
			„ 3 *en, án*	*añia*

[1] *Aguzé* Yt. 17,58. I concealed myself (from the root *guz* S. *guh* to hide).

[2] *Apereçe* or *aperecé* Vend 2,1. thou hadst a conversation ; it is very likely a contraction of *apereççe (he)*.

[3] *Baváoa* Vend 5,25. "as far as we two were above the earth" (*ácha pairicha* literally : up to and towards the earth).

[4] *içóithé* Vend 8,10. you two keep ; *aç-zayóithé* Ys. 9,10. they two were born (impersf).

[5] *Vairimaidi* Ys. 35,3. we chose, believed, *mainimaidi* we thought.

[6] *Yúidhyathó* Yt. 8,22. they two fight.

13.—CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CRUDE FORMS OF THE PRESENT TENSE.

The crude form, out of which the proper present tense is formed, extends not only to the Indicative, Subjunctive, and Potential moods, of which in most cases no other tense is extant, but to the Imperative and the Imperfect (the first past tense) also. According to the nature of this crude form, the verbs are brought in Sanskrit under ten heads, all of which are to be found in the Zend too. I shall enumerate here the different crude forms of the present tense according to the order introduced by the Sanskrit grammarians.

Class I inserts *a* between the root and termination, and changes *i* or *u* of the root into their respectives gunas *é* and *ó* (see page 59 note.) Ex. *vaz-á-mi*[*] I carry; *bar-ai-ti* he brings; *baodh-ai-té* Yt. 17,6. he awakens; *bañd-á-mi* I bind, tie; *gerez-ai-ti*. he cries, weeps; *fratereç-ai-ti* he flees away.

Class II adds the termination immediately to the root; the vowel of the root, if *i* or *u*, is respectively made *é* and *ó* before the terminations of the sg. active voice (the 2nd person is now and then excepted), and in some persons of the Imperative, 3rd sing. act. and 2nd pl. act. Ex : *çtaomi*, I praise, *çtaoiti*, he praises; *çtavãn*, they praised (from *çtu* to praise) ; *nipá-hi* thou protectest, *nipáiti*, he protects (from *pá* to protect) ; *mrao-mi* I speak, *mraos* thou spokest, *mrvañti* they speak (from *mrú* to speak) ; *aéiti* he goes (from *i* to go) ; *jaiñti*, he slays (from *jan*), *ghneñté* Yt. 10, 133. they are slain (from *jan*); *jvaiñti* Vend. 2, 41. they live (from *jiv* to live).

Class III reduplicates the root; the terminations are then added immediately. Ex. *dadhãmi* I put, *dadhahi* thou putst, *dadhaiti* he puts ; *dadhemahi* we put, *daçta*[†] you put, *dadaiñti* they put (from the root *dá, dhá* to put, confounded with *dá* to give, both being entirely identical in their conjugation) ; *zazáiti* he pro-

---

[*] The inserted *a* is made *á* before the terminations of the first persons of all three numbers ; in the other persons it is short.

[†] A contraction of *dadatha* ; *dazda* in the most sacred prayer *yathá ahú vairyó* is a Gâtha form of the 2nd pers. plur. act, of the root *dá*.

duces, generates (from *zan* to produce), *zizananti* Yt. 13, 15. they produce (the intensive of the same root); *zaozaomi* Ys. 43,10. (Sanskrit *juhomi*) I invoke, from the root *zu.*

Class IV adds the syllable *ya* to the root. Ex. *verezyéiti* instead of *verez-ya-ti*, he works, tills the soil (from *verez*), *mainyéinté* they believe (from *man* to think, to believe).

Class V marks the present by the addition of *nu* to the root ; the same change of the vowel of the root takes place as in the 2nd class. Ex. *kerenaoiti* he makes (from *kere*) ; *gurunaoiti* he hears, *haonaoiti* Yt. 2,11.* he hears, (only dialectically differing from the first); *hunaoiti*, he prepares the Homa (from *hu); frapinaoiti* he pours out, propagates (from *pi*) ; *ashnaoiti* he hits, reaches (from *ash).*

Class VI is identical with the first, save the change of the vowel of the root, *i* or *u*, into *é* or *ó.* Ex. *tuçen*, they coughed *(tuç), qiçen* they whined *(qiç).*

Class VII incorporates the syllable *na*, which marks the present tense, to the root itself, as in the Sanskrit ; see, for instance, *runadhmi* I hinder, from *rudh, na* being inserted between *r* and *dh.* Of this class I know only one example in the Zend, viz. *chinahmi*, Ys. 12, 1. *chinaçti* Ys. 19., being to be traced to the root *chith, chiç* to perceive, get aware ; the first form means : I ascribe, I acknowledge; the second : he ascribes, attributes (as a consequence of his having perceived).

Class VIII is almost identical with the 5th ; it adds only *u* to the root, instead of *nu*, but the roots end mostly in *n.* Ex. : *fraçtanvanti* Yt. 10,20. they are stretching themselves (from the root *tan* to stretch).

Class IX adds *ná* to the root. Ex. *gerewnáiti* he seizes, *gerewnán* they seized (from the root *gerew*, to seize, take).

Class X adds *aya* to the root, and is the proper causal and denominative form (see page 60). Ex. *nipayémi* I protect (from *pá* to protect).

---

* This small piece, being an old spell, shows several pecularities, which belong very likely to the popular, and not to the written language.

14.—PARADIGMS OF THE PRESENT TENSES OF SOME VERY COMMON VERBS.

(bá, to exist, mrú to speak; aç to be; verez to work; kere, kar, to make, &c.)

Active voice.	Middle voice.
1st Sing. *bará-mi,* I bring.	**1st Sing.** *buyé.*
,, *mrao-mi,* I speak.	,, *mruyé,* I speak myself.
,, *ah-mi,* I am.	,, *içé,** I have, or possess. (Ys. 50, 1).
,, *verezyá-mi,* I work (Yt. 15, 44).	,, *ázby-a,* I invoke. (Ys. 15, 1).
,, *kerenao-mi,* I make.	,, *tanav-a,* I cast (him) down. (Ys. 19,7).
2nd Sing. *hista-hi,* thou standest.	**2nd Sing.** *raodha-hé,* thou growest.
,, *bará-hi* (subjunct.)	
,, *ahi,* thou art.	
,, *verezyé-hi,* thou workest.	
,, *kerenú-ishi,* thou makest.	
,, *huna-hi,* thou art getting with child. Vend. 18, 30.	
Gâtha forms. { ,, *dôi-shi,* thou seest.	
,, *vashi* (instead of *vag-shi*), thou wilt.	
,, *haf-shi,* thou holdest. Ys. 43, 4.	
3rd Sing. *bava-iti,* he exists	*barait'*, he brings
,, *aç-ti,* he is.	*mrúté,* he speaks.
,, *verezyé-iti,* he works.	*mainyété,* he thinks.
,, *kerenao-iti,* he makes.	*verenvaité,* he teaches.
,, *mrao-iti,* he says.	-Ys. 31, 17.

* It is very likely the middle voice form of *aç* "to be," *a* having been changed in to *i*, on account of the heavier terminations of the middle voice.

Gâtha forms.	1st Pl. *barâ-mahi* we bring. „ *mahi*, we are. Ys. 35, 2. „ *vrezyâ-mahi*, we work. Ys. 35, 7. „ *nemagyâ-mahi*, we bring praise. „ *uç-mahi*, we wish.	1st Pl. *barâ-maidhê*. „ (3) *içâ-maidê*, we possess, have. Ys. 35, 7. „ (2) *mrû-maidê*. „ *dade-maidê* G. form. „ *vare-maidê*, we choose.
Gâtha forms.	2nd Pl. *çta*, you are. „ *isha-tha*, you come. „ *çasha-tha*, you perform. *taurvaya-ta*, you defeat. Ys. 13, 38.	2nd Pl. *thwarôzh-dûm*, you cut, prepare. Ys. 29, 1. „ *fravôiz-dûm*, you teach, instruct. Ys. 33, 8.
	3rd Pl. *bavai-ñ/i*, they exist. „ *heñti*, they are. „ *verezi-ñti*, (instead of *verezyeiñti*), they work, do. Vend. 15, 5. „ *kerenavañti*, they make. „ *jvai-ñti*, they live.	3rd Pl. *mainyêiñtê*, they believe. „ *verenv-aiñtê*, they cover. Vend 18, 32. „ *fradhentê*, they thrive. „ *viçeñtê*, they come, appear. „ *pereçeñtê*, they converse.
	1st Dual *uç-vahî*, we two wish. Ys. 46, 16. 3rd „ *jaça-tô*, they two come. „ *çtô*, they two are.	3rd Pl. *iç-ôithê*, they two keep.

15.—PAST TENSES.

IMPERFECT, PERFECT, FIRST AND SECOND AORISTS.

The past tenses of the Zend are as various as those of its ancient sister tongues. We can distinguish three ways of forming them,

viz.: (*a*) augmentation, (*b*) reduplication, (*c*) composition with the past tense of the auxiliary verb, *aç*, to be.

(A.) Augmentation consists in prefixing a short *a*, either to the verbal root, or to the crude form of the present tense; in both cases, the terminations which are to be added, are shortened. This augment early became unintelligible, and was often left out; hence it does not regularly appear in the Zend. Both forms are in fact imperfects, and to be found in the Sanskrit and Greek also, where the grammarians made a distinction. The Greeks called the first formation SECOND AORIST (indefinite tense), the second IMPERFECT. As to the meaning of both formations almost no difference is to be discovered; the shorter form, which is to be regarded as the older, was, on account of its being too in distinct, in most cases superseded by the longer, the proper imperfect.

We find more frequent use made of the shortest (second Aorist) form in the more ancient Gâtha dialect, than in the usual Zend, where it is very rare; the augment there is always left out. Ex. 1st sg. *dãm** Ys. 48, 7. I gave, entrusted; 2nd sg. *dáo* Ys. 43, 1. thou gavest; 3rd sg. *dât* Ys. 31, 18. he gave (the same form is to be found in the Yashts 9,26.); *ni-dáma* Ys. 45, 8. we put down; *dáta* Ys. 29, 10. you gave; *dã, dãn* Ys. 45, 5. 47, 1. they gave; *dáité*, Ys. 31, 11. middle v., he gives himself; *pât* Ys. 32,13. he protected (from *pá* to protect); *gât* Ys. 46,6. he went (from *gá* to go).

Of augmented imperfect forms I shall quote here only a few instances; the other imperfect forms will be found afterwards: *açrúdúm* 2nd pers. pl. middle v. Ys. 32, 3. you were heard of (from *çrú* to hear); *açperezata* Ys. 31, 16. 3rd pers. sg. middle v., he aspired after (from the root *çperez*); *aokhta*, 3rd pers. sg. middle v., he spoke; *apereçat=pereçat*, he asked; *advareñta* Vend. 19, 45. they ran; *adáunta*, they spoke (from *dvar*, to run, and *dav*, to speak, both terms ap-

---

* To both *á* is prefixed. It appears doubtful to me, whether this *á* is the preposition or the lengthening of the augment *a*.

plied to the doings of evil spirits only) ; *apereçê*, I conversed, Vend. 2,2. In the Gâthas the augment is now and then used without any reference to the past time. So Yas. 30,2. *avaênatá* which conveys evidently the sense of an imperative : look ye! and Ys. 44,14. *anâsê*, I may or shall drive away (from *nás*).

(B.) Reduplication is the repetition of the whole root, if very short, or, if longer, of one consonant with a vowel at least. The vowel of the reduplicated syllable ought to be short, but we find it often long ; the consonant differs sometimes from that of the root also. If the consonants of the root be a guttural : *k*, *g*, then, in the reduplication, we find always the corresponding palatal : *ch*, *j* ; if it be a sibilant, generally *h* is used. The meaning attached to this reduplication is that of completing an action or state, expressing what is done and over, *i. e.* the past time. It forms, therefore, in the ancient Arian languages, such as Sanskrit, Zend, Latin, Greek, Gothic, &c., the real past tense, generally called, PERFECT ; e. g. *dádareça*, I have seen, S. *dadarça*, Greek *dedorka* (from *dareç* to see), wholly distinct from the imperfect *dareçem*, I saw. The terminations of the Perfect differ from those of the present tense as well as from the Imperfect, yet they stand nearer to the latter. The terminations, as far as we can ascertain them from the scanty texts, are as follows :

Active v. sg. 1st and 3rd—*a.*

   „   „   „   2nd *tha.*

   „   „   „   pl. 1st *ma* ; 2nd *tha* ; 3rd *us.**

Dual. 3rd *átare.*†

Middle sg. 1st and 3rd *é*, 2nd *sa.*

   „   „   dual 3rd *áitê.*‡

   „   pl. 3rd *are*, *ere.*

To this reduplicated form, however, the terminations of the Imperfect, with or without the augment, can be added ; then we

---

* Ys. 50,10 *aêurus* they have gone (from the root *ere*, *ir* to go).

† Ys. 13,4. *vaochâtarê* they two have spoken, *vâvarezâtarê*, they two have wrought.

‡ Ys. 13,4, *mamanditê* they two have thought. These three dual forms belong to the Gâthâ dialect only.

obtain the pure PLUPERFECT, e. g. *ava-jaghnat*, Yt. 13,105. he had slain (from the root *jan*, a modification of *ghan*, to slay).

(C.) Composition of the verbal root with the past tense of *aç*, to be, makes a new tense altogether; it is according to its nature the most general past tense. The Greek grammarians call it the FIRST AORIST; in the Sanskrit grammar it is one of the many *Lung* forms; in Latin it is mixed up with the reduplicated past tenses, being no more a separate past tense; for instance, the reduplicated *tutudi* I have thrust, is the perfect of *tundo*, and *scrip-si*, I have written, that of *scribo*, I write. These forms are, however, in the usual Zend very scarce; in the Gâtha dialect which, being more ancient, shows a greater richness in forms, we find them now and then employed. The original *s* is sometimes changed into *h* or *g*. Ex. *çtáonhat*, 3rd pers. sg. act., he placed (from *çtá* to stand); *mâçta* 3rd pers. sing middle Vend. 2, 31. he thought; *menhâ (cha)* Ys. 13,5. 2nd pers sg. middle v., thou thoughtst; *menhi* 1st pers. sg. middle v. Yas. 43, 5. I thought; which three forms are traceable to the same root, *man*, to think, used in the Zend, as well as in the Sanscrit, exclusively in the middle voice. The literal meaning of these forms is : thinking was he, wast thou, was I, (*mâçta=man* and *açta* or *çta* middle of v. *aç* to be); other forms of this kind, which are found in the Gâtha dialect, are : *dáonhó* Ys. 34,1. 44,18. 2nd pers. sg. subjunct, middle v., that thou mightst give; the meaning of the past is not adhered to; in the corresponding *dáonhê*, 2nd pers. sg. middle v. Ys. 36,1. "thou putst," we find it kept; the root in both cases is *dá*; *çênghús* 3rd pers. pl. Ys. 34, 7. they indicated, pointed out (from *çanh*, *çah* to say, promulgate; *h* of the root is changed into *g* on account of the *h* of the termination, two *h* never being allowed to meet). Now and then we find these forms used without any reference to the past; so Ys. 11, 18. *ráhi* 1st pers. sg. middle (from *rá*, to give), means, "I give, present" you, and not "I gave."

16.—THE IMPERFECT.

Of all past tenses, the imperfect, which is most frequently used, is chiefly employed in describing past events, or state of things. I shall give here a list of these forms selected from the texts.

1st pers. sing. act. *dadhãm*, I created (from *dhá*); *vidháraém*, Ys. 13,2. I held, kept (from *dhar* to hold, keep).

1st pers. sg. middle *aguzé*, I concealed myself (from *guz*) ; *apereçé*, I conversed (from *pereç*).

2nd pers. sg. act. *pereçó*, thou askedst ; *apajaçó*, thou wentst away ; *irithyó* Yt. 22, 16. thou diedst ; 2nd sg. middle v. *mairyanuha* Yt. 22, 34. thou diedst (from *mar*, *mere* to die) ; *uçzayanha* Ys. 9, 13. thou wast born (root *zan*) ; 3rd pers. sg. act. *apereçat*, he asked, *ashnaot*, he reached, (from *ash* to reach, obtain), *frashúçat*, he stepped forward (root, *shúç*), *áç*, *aç*, he was (root *aç* to be) ; 3rd pers. sg. middle v. *fra-manyata*, he meditated, *ni-shaçta*, he sat down (root *sad* to sit), *uzdaçta*, he offered (r. *dá*), *yazata*, he worshipped (r. *yaz*), *çtayata*, he placed (causal of *çtá* to stand) ; 3rd pers. dual act. *apereçayatem* Ys. 12, 5. they two conversed, *fra-chaéshaétem* Yt. 8, 38. they two searched after him (r. *chish*, to search, inquire); *pairi-avátem* Yt. 13, 77. they two were helping ; 1st pers. pl. act. *fra-vaocháma,* we pronounced (r. *vach*, to speak) ; 2nd pl. act. *taurvayata*, you defeated ; 3rd act. *vaénen*, they saw, *anhen*, *hen*, they were (r. *aç* to be) ; 3rd middle v. *fraoreñta*, they professed (r. *var* to choose, profess a religion), *advarenta*, they ran (r. *dvar* to run).

17.—THE PERFECT AND PLUPERFECT.

The perfect, denoting the completion of an action, does not frequently occur, neither in the usual Zend, nor in the Gâtha dialect. Example : 1st pers. sg. act. : *dádareça*, I have

seen ; *fra-dadátha*, thou hast furthered ; *vóiçta*,* thou knowest; 3rd pers. sing. *dadha*, he has created ; *tatasha*, he has prepared (r. *tash* to cut, prepare) ; *vavacha*, he has spoken; *doṇha*, he has been (r. *aç* to be); *tátava*, he was able (r. *tu* to be able); *vivaêdha* Yt. 13, 99. he has broken (r. *vidh* to break, S. *vyadh* to slay) ; *chakana* Yt. 22,11. he has loved (r. *kan* to love, like); *jighaurva*, has given a smell (root *ghaurv* S. *ghrá* to smack). 1st pers. pl. act. *çuçruma* Yt. 13, 48. we have heard; *chákhrare*, they have done (r. *kar*, *kere*); *iririthare*, they are dead (r. *irith* to die) ; *dádhare* Yt. 19, 6. they have given. 1st pers. sg. middle v. *çuçruyê* Yt. 17,17. I have heard ; 2nd sg. *urúrudhusa*, thou hast grown (root *rudh* to grow) ; 3rd. *tuthruyê*, has fashioned (root *thru* to form, fashion); *daidhê* Yt. 5, 130. has placed.

A peculiar perfect form is *yaêshê* Yt. 13, 99. where the reduplication is lost (the regular form would be *yêyêshê*) and, in order to compensate that loss, the vowel of the root lengthened. The root is here *yaç*, *yah* S. *yas*, to make efforts, handle, and to hurt, violate. In the passage alleged it means : he has damaged, hurt. Formations of this kind are frequent in Sanskrit, Latin, (*fregi* I have broken instead of *fafragi* from *frango*, I break) and the Teutonic (compare, for instance, the modern English *I held* with the gothic form *haihald* from *haldan* hold) languages.

The pluperfect is very rare; unmistakable instances are : *jaghmat* Yt. 19,12. he had come, *ava-jâghnât*, he had slain ; *shushuyâm* Yt. 8,11. I had moved, *jaghmyâm*, I had come (both forms being in the potential mood).

18.—FUTURE TENSE.

The way of expressing future time being not so settled as that of expressing the ideas of the present and past, we find various contrivances employed for answering this purpose, the number of which is greater than in any other of the cognate languages. We meet

---

* Root : *vid* to know, *vaêda* I know. According to its terminations it is a mere perfect, but the meaning is that of the present ; it corresponds exactly to the Greek *oída*, I know, 2nd pers. S. *oistha*.

with the forms applied in the Sanskrit, Greek and Litthuanian, as well as those used in Latin, and the ancient Teutonic languages.

The two future formations of the Sanskrit, the simple, consisting in the addition *sya* to the verbal root, and the periphrastic, compounded of a noun expressing the doer with an auxiliary verb (as for instance S. *kartá smi* lit. I am a doer, means, I shall do), are to be met with in a few instances only. Ex. *vakhshyá* Ys. 30,1. I shall tell (root *vach* to tell). It is more frequent in participle formations, e. g. *búshyantya*, what is about to be, will be, *zátyamána*, what is about to be born (root *zan* to produce), *uzdáhyamana* what is about to be offered (root *dá*), *haoshyañta* Vis p. 9, 3. what is about to be squeezed (r. *hu* to squeeze the Homa juice). Of the other Sanskrit future formation I know only one instance in the Zend texts ; *parsta* Vend 11,11. it will destroy, lit. is destroyer (root *pereth* to destroy).

Now and then we find one of the Aorists (that with *s*, *h*,) with the terminations of the present tense used for a future, e. g. *jenghaiti*, Ys. 31,14. it will come (r. *jam* to come).

In the frequent phrase Ys. 33,10. " who are, and who were, and who will be," we find the future expressed simply by *bavaiñti*, the pres. of *bú* to be. Even the imperfect of *bú* is used in that sense, e. g. *bvat*, in a shortened form, Vend 2, 5. he will be, *bun*, Vend 11, 2. they will be ; in composition with a participle : *pereçemnó bva*, Vend. 18, 29. I shall be asking, I shall ask.

The most common way of expressing futurity is, however, the application of the two kinds of subjunctives above mentioned (see pagg. 64.65.)

19.—PASSIVE FORMS.

The passive forms generally agree with those of the middle voice, except that the syllable *ya* is added to the roots. In the 3rd pers. sg. imperf. a peculiar form is to be observed, which, however, entirely agrees with the Sanskrit. Ex. *janyáonté*, they are slain *(r. jan)*, *zayáonté*, they are born (r. *zan*), *vidhayéinté*, they are deposited (r. *dhá*).

3rd pers. sg. imperf. *çrávi*, it was heard (*çru* to hear) ; *aváchi*, it was spoken, said ; (r. *vach*), *jaini*, he was slain (r. *jan*), *erenávi*, was obtained, (r. *ere*, to go), *mraoi*, Ys. 32,14. was told (root *mrá*, to tell).

20.—PARTICIPLES.

In participles the Zend is as rich as any of the sister languages. Grammatically all participles being subject to declension are considered as nouns.

(a). Present participle, active voice.—It is made up by the addition of the syllable *at* (or in its fuller form *ant*) to the crude form of the present tense, as is the case in the sister languages, Sanskrit, Latin, etc. This crude form of the participle, in consequence of its always taking nominal terminations, except if forming part of a compound word, generally may be recognised not from its nominative, but from its oblique cases, or from its being part of a compound. Ex. *barat-zaothrem*, bringing an offering (consisting of sacred water), *tachat*, Vend. 8, 100. running, in running, when running (r. *tach*, to run), *bareñtem*, accus. sg. of *barat*, *barent*, bringing ; the nominative termination in *áç* e. g. *khshayáç* Ys. 49,12. ruling (r. *khshi* to rule), *yáçáç*, worshipping (instead of *yáç-ant-s*, *khshy-ant-s*, *s* being the sign of the nominative, compare Latin *amans*, loving, instead of *am-ant-s*). In the Gâthas we find now and then simply *aç*, e. g. *çtavaç* Ys. 45,6. praising (r. *çtu*). In the usual Zend the nominative sounds often *ó* only, e. g. *çrávayó*, praying, *açrávayó*, not praying (instead of *çrávayáç* acc. *çrávayantem*), *açáchayó* Vend. 18, 5. not teaching, *açikhshó*, not learning ; before *cha*, *chit* this *ó* is changed into its original form, *aç*, e. g. *jvaçchit*, if living, (r. *jiv*) to live. Instead of the termination *ant* we meet now and then, chiefly in the Gâthas, with that in *an* only, e. g. *avanhan*, dat. *avanháné*, helping, *máthran* speaking, *çpaçánó* Vend 13,28. nom. pl. seeing (r. *çpaç* to see), *evindánó* nom. pl. not finding (r. *vind*, to find).

(b.) Past participle, active voice.—It is formed in the same way as in Sanskrit and Greek, by the addition of the syllable

vat, sounding in its nominative case, masculine gender, generally *váo*, feminine gender *ushi*, in the oblique cases *vant* (as in the acc.), or *vat* (as in the instrumental) or *ush* to the root e. g. *vid-váo* knowing (lit. one who has acquired knowledge), fem. *vid-ushi*, *vidushé* dat. sing. to one knowing. Ex. *jaghnváo* Yt. 10, 71. having slain, defeated (r. *jan*, *ghan*, to defeat); *mamanus* Yt. 8,39. having thought, resolved upon (root *man*), *chichithushîm* Vend. 18,69. acc. fem., having known (r. *chith* to know) ; *vaokushé* Yt. 13, 88. to him who has spoken (r. *vach*); *váverezushé*, to him who has wrought (root *verez* to work) ; *biwiváo* Yt. 11, 5. 13, 41. having become afraid, frightened (r. *bi* to fear).

(c.) PARTICIPLES OF THE FUTURE TENSE.—See above under the " future tense."

(d.) PRESENT PARTICIPLES OF THE MIDDLE AND PASSIVE VOICES.—Of these there are two formations, of very frequent use, the one adding *ana*, and the other *mana*, or *mena*, or *mna*, to the crude form of the present tense. Ex. *pereçmana*, carrying on a conversation (root *pereç*),*frabáidhyamana*,passive Vend. 18, 49. awakened, when being awakened (r. *budh* to awaken), *verezimna*, wrought, done, *aojanó*, saying (r. *aoj=vach* to say), *çrayanó*, begging (r. *çri* to go for), *áçtavana* Vend. 3, 40. invoking, praising (r. *çtu*).

(e.) PAST PARTICIPLE PASSIVE VOICE.—It is formed by the addition of *ta* to the root. Its meaning is in the majority of cases a passive one; but we find it now and then used in a merely active sense, as is the case in modern Persian, also, e. g. *áçtútó*, Vend. 3, 40. reciting, *varetó* Ys. 45, 1. choosing, professing (r. *var* to choose). Examples of the passive meaning are numerous : *chiçtó*, known (r. *chit* to know), *beretó*, carried, *baçta* bound (r. *band* to bind), *gerepta*, seized, taken (r. *gerew*, to take) &c.

21.—INFINITIVE.

The infinitive mood is expressed in various ways. In the Gâtha dialect we find the same means employed in expressing this mood, as in the Vedic language, viz. the forms ending