

# ASIATIC PAPERS

## PAPERS READ BEFORE THE BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE

## ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

BY

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## An Untranslated Chapter of the Bundehesh.

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[Read 1st August 1901. Mr. James MacDonald in the Chair.]  
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With reference to a man's actions in this world and his rewards and punishments in the other, there is in Parsee Books, what the Rev. Dr. Cheyne calls in his Bampton Lectures of 1889, "a very noble allegory." He says:—"There can be but one opinion, among those who have thus perused the Gathas, that, in the midst of a world, almost wholly given up to a gross material eschatology, this ancient Irânian prophet declared the true rewards and punishments to be spiritual. His teaching is based on a distinction, which to the Jews came much later, between the material or bodily life and the mental or spiritual, the latter of which connects us with 'those veritably real (eternal) worlds where dwells Ahura.' (Yasna XLIII. 3.) This distinction did not pass away with Zarathustra; it pervades the Avesta . . . . In short, heaven and hell are not primarily the localities appointed for souls after death; the one is 'life,' 'the best mental state,' the other is 'life's absence,' 'the worst life'—a high doctrine which is embodied in a very noble allegory in the Vendîdâd . . . . Conscience, in fact, according to the fine allegory, appears to the soul of the deceased man, and conducts it to its place."<sup>1</sup>

What is this noble allegory? According to the Parsee Books, at the dawn of the third night after death, the soul of a deceased person sees before him, a picture of his own deeds and actions in this world. If he is a religious man, he sees a picture of his deeds in the form of a handsome, well-formed, strong damsel. If he is a sinful man, he sees before him, a picture of his deeds in the form of an ugly, ill-formed, weak woman. The former, *i.e.*, the handsome damsel, speaks

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<sup>1</sup> The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter, by Rev. Dr. Cheyne, 1891, pp. 398, 399. (The Bampton Lectures, 1889.)

words of praise, welcomes the soul and presents itself as his own picture. The latter, *i.e.*, the ugly woman, taunts the soul for not having done his duty while in the world.

For a poetic description of this beautiful allegory, I would refer my readers to a short paper, entitled "Outre-Tombe—A Zoroastrian Idyll," by Rev. Dr. Casartelli of St. Bede's College, Manchester, in the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume.<sup>1</sup>

Some think, that this allegory had "suggested to Mohammed the idea of the celestial Huris (Haug)." "But at any rate," says Dr. Cheyne, "this Zoroastrian allegory suggested the Talmudic story of the three bands of ministering angels who meet the soul of the pious man, and the three bands of wounding angels who meet the bad man when he dies."<sup>2</sup> Several Parsee writings refer to this allegory. They are the Vendidad (XIX., 27-32), the Vishtâsp Yasht (VIII, 53-64), the Hâdêkht Nask (chaps. II. and III.), the Virâf-nâmeh (chaps. IV. and XVII.), the Minokherad (chaps. II., 123-124), and the Dâdistân-i-Dini (chaps. XX. and XXI.). I beg to draw attention to-day, to another writing, wherein the subject of the allegory is described, and that, in a rather different and amplified way. The book I propose referring to is the Bundesh.

Of all the Pahlavi books, there is no book so often referred to, and so often translated, as the Bundesh. It was first translated by Anquetil du Perron in French in 1771. Dr. Windischmann translated it into German in 1803. In 1808 Dr. Ferdinand Justi translated it for a second time into German. Dr. West, the best Pahlavi scholar now known, translated it in 1880 into English in the fifth volume of Max Müller's Sacred Books of the East. In 1818 it was translated into Gujarati by Dastur Edaljee Dârâbjee Jâmâsp-âsânâ; but as Dr. West says, that translation was more a paraphrase than a translation. I beg to take this opportunity to present to the library of our Society, a copy of my Gujarâti transliteration and translation with notes, just published. It is the first complete translation of the Bundesh in Gujarati.

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<sup>1</sup> The K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, Essays in Irânian literature written by various scholars and edited by Jivanj Jamshedji Modi, B.A., 1900, pp. 74-78.

<sup>2</sup> The origin of the Psalter, p. 437.

The texts, which all these translators have followed, and which Dr. West has described at some length, do not contain the chapter which refers to the above allegory about the future of the soul. So, through the medium of the Journal of our Society, I beg to place, for the first time, before Iránian scholars, the text and translation of this chapter. Dr. West, though he has not translated the chapter, has drawn the attention of students to a copy of "the more extensive text"<sup>1</sup> of the Bundesh which contains this and several other chapters. He has named this text TD, as it belongs to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria of Bombay. At the time when Dr. West wrote, that was the only "more extensive text" known. But in 1899, Dastur Kaikobâd Âdarbâd of Poona, in the preface to his "Text of the Pahlavi Zand-i-Vohuman Yasht" drew attention to another "extensive text" of the Bundesh in the library of his uncle Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Hoshang Jâmâsp of Poona. This text, which I have named DH, from the name of its owner Dastur Hoshang, is not as complete as TD, some of its folios, in the middle of the book, being missing, but it is older than TD. The Trustees of the Parsee Punchâyet, on the recommendation of the Victoria Jubilee Pahlavi Text Committee, at one time thought of printing this older text DH, by the photo-zinco process, at Poona, but gave up the idea, as some of its folios are wanting. They have now begun printing the later but more complete text TD. I would refer my readers to my introduction (p. LXXIII.) to the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, for a genealogy of the writers of these two old manuscripts.

For the text of my translation of the hitherto untranslated chapter referred to above, I follow the text of DH. I have given collations, here and there, from a copy of the TD, kindly lent to me by its owner. I take this opportunity of offering my best thanks to Dastur Hoshangji and to Mr. Tehmuras for kindly allowing me the use of their valuable manuscripts.

On the subject of "the much more extensive text" of TD—and what applies to TD applies to DH also — Dr. West says, "Whether TD may be considered as a copy of the text as it stood originally, or merely of an after-recension of the work, can hardly be determined with certainty until the whole contents of the manuscript have been carefully examined."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> S. B. E., Vol. V., Introduction p. XXXII.

<sup>2</sup> S. B. E., V., Introduction XXXVIII.

From the contents of this new chapter, which I have translated, I am inclined to believe, that the much more extensive texts of 'TD and DH, are not copies of the text as it originally stood, but are copies of "an after-recension of the work."

I have two reasons to believe so. Firstly, take the case of the allegory above referred to, as presented in this new chapter. While in all the other Avesta and Pahlavi books, a man's conscience, or his actions, are represented, as appearing before his soul, after death, in the form of a damsel, in this new chapter, in addition to their being so represented, they are represented—(1) in the form of a cow (tôrâ-karp), and (2) in the form of a garden (bostân-karp). This is foreign to the old idea of the allegory, as presented by the older Avesta books and other Pahlavi books. So, this is an interpolation by the writers of a later recension of the original Bundeshesh. These three different allegories, of the maiden, the cow, and the garden, remind us of "the three bands of the ministering angles" in the Talmudic story above referred to, but they are foreign to the original source of the ancient Avesta book of the Vendidâd.<sup>1</sup>

The second fact which induces me to believe, that these "much more extensive texts" are copies of a later recension of the work, and not of the text of the Bundeshesh as it originally stood, is the comparison of the number of the chapters of the Bundeshesh with the number of the chapters of the Avesta Dâmdâd Nask, of which it seems to be a Pahlavi rendering.

Dastur Eduljee Jâmâsp-âsânâ says, that the Bundeshesh was a Pahlavi rendering of an Avesta Nask.<sup>2</sup> Dr. West adduces two proofs to show, that the Dâmdâd Nask is probably the origin of the Bundeshesh. Firstly, the similarity between the contents of the Dâmdâd Nask, as given in (a) the Dinkard, (b) Din Vajarkard, and (c) the Revâyets,<sup>3</sup> and those of the Bundeshesh.

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<sup>1</sup> The later writer, finding, that in the Talmudic story, the soul of the pious man was met, one after another, by three bands of ministering angels, perhaps, thought it advisable to improve upon the one old allegory of the damsel and added, one after another, two more,—one, that of a handsome cow, and the other, that of a beautiful garden.

<sup>2</sup> Preface to his Bundeshesh, pp. 4-5.

<sup>3</sup> For the originals of the Pahlavi and Persian passages, *vide* my Gujarati transliteration, translation and notes of the Bundeshesh (1901), Introduction, pp. 11-15.

Secondly, the reference to the Dâmdâd Nask in the Zâdsparam, the contents of which, and in some parts, even the language of which, are similar to those of the Bundeshesh.<sup>1</sup>

It seems to me, that the very names of the two books adduce a third proof. The word Bundeshesh signifies "origin of the creation." The word Dâmdâd signifies something similar. It means "the giving (dâd) of the creation (dâm)." In the passage<sup>2</sup> of the Dinkard, which gives the contents of the Dâmdâd Nask, we find in the very beginning "Yehabûntan-i-Dâm," as another word for "Dâmdâd." In this other word, we find for the Pahlavi word *dâd*, its Semitic equivalent *Yehabuntan*. In the description of the division of the 21 nasks into three classes, given in the 8th book of the Dinkard, occur the words *Deheshnê-i-gêtî dâd* (*Dahisnô-i-stehdadô*, *i.e.*, production of the wordly creation) which, Dr. West thinks, refer to the Dâmdâd Nask, and are "evidently another name for the Dâmdâd."<sup>3</sup> All these similarities of names point to the fact, that the Dâmdâd Nask was the origin of the Bundeshesh.

Now we know from the Revâyets and from Din Vajarkard, that the Dâmdâd Nask had 32 chapters.<sup>4</sup> So the Bundeshesh, which had Dâmdâd Nask for its origin, must also have 32 chapters. But "the much more extensive text" presents about 42 subjects or

<sup>1</sup> Dr. West says on this point:—"Zâd-sparam uses, in many places, precisely the same words as those employed in the Bundahis, interspersed with much matter written in a more declamatory style; it is, therefore, evident that he had the Bundahis before him to quote from." (S. B. E. V. Introd., p. XLVII.) I beg to differ from Dr. West. Had the Bundeshesh been before Zâd-sparam, he would have named that book as his authority, instead of naming the Dâmdâd Nask. But, as he has named the latter book, I think, that the writers of the Bundeshesh and Zâdsparam both had a common book, perhaps a summary of the Dâmdâd Nask, before them.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* the Introduction to my Bundeshesh, p. 11, for the passage.

<sup>3</sup> S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII., p. 8, Dinkard, Bk. VIII, ch. I. 16, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> این کتاب سی و دو کرده است Manuscript Revâyet, of the Bombay University Library, Vol. I., Folio 109 A., l. 16. *Vide* also *Fragmens relatifs a la Religion de Zoroaster* par Mohl et Olshausen, 1829. La second morceau, p. 12., l. 10.

دین و واجارکارد (from an extract kindly supplied by Dastur Kaikobâd Âderbâd). For the originals of the Persian and Pahlavi passages, *vide* the Introduction to my Bundeshesh, pp. 12-13.

chapters. This shows, then, that these more extensive texts are copies of a later recension, and not of the original texts of the Bundeshesh, which, following its source, the Dâmdâd Nask, must contain about 32 chapters. As a matter of fact, we know that the shorter texts, hitherto translated by various translators, only contain about 32 or 33 subjects or chapters. So, I am of opinion, that the texts hitherto known and translated before the discovery of TD, and the later discovery of DH, are copies—with the exception of a few interpolated references to the Arabs and to subsequent historic events—of the Bundeshesh originally known, and that the much more extensive texts TD, DH and others, are copies of a later recension, in which many chapters were subsequently added.

I would like to say here a few words on the subject of the name of the original writer and the date of the Bundeshesh. In reference to these subjects, I lay stress on the following passage<sup>1</sup> of the Bundeshesh (West, ch. XXXIII.).

טמנו דומה למעשה נ כותבו וו מוסמט ופ  
 א סתמו אלוויל א מר<sup>2</sup> אפא נ אמוטטל מר  
 ומוטטל למעשה נ וו מר<sup>2</sup> אפא א מר מר  
 ומוטטל ו ל<sup>3</sup> ומוטטל אמוטטל נ אמוטטל נ  
 אמוטטל נ אמוטטל נ אמוטטל ממוטטל  
 אמוטטל

*Translation.*

All other priests, who are spoken of in the Khodâi-nâmeh, as belonging to the same family, are of this family of Mânôsh-chêher. Also these Mobads, who are of the present times, call themselves

<sup>1</sup> Taken from DH. folio 229 a., line 16.

<sup>2</sup> DH has א which is evidently miswritten for א and which TD has written correctly.

<sup>3</sup> DH has א which is miswritten for א and which TD has written correctly.

of the same family, and I also (am of the same family), I (your) servant, whom the people call Dâtakiya (the son) of Asha-Vahishta, (the son) of Goshan Jam, (the son) of Vâhrâm Shâd, (the son) of Zarthusht, which Zarthusht is (the son) of Adarbâd Marespand.

I conclude from this passage, that the Dâtakiya, referred to here, was the author of the original Bundesh, and he was the 5th in descent from Ādarbâd Marespand, who was the chief Dastur of the Court of Shapur II., who reigned from 309 to 379 A.D. Supposing that Ādarbâd Marespand flourished in the latter half of the period of Shapur's reign,—say, at about 350 A.D.—and calculating 25 years for each generation, we can say, that this Dâtakiya lived at the end of the 5th century ( $350 + 125 = 475$ ).

Dr. West translates the words 'Dâtakiya-i-Ashavahishta' in the above passage, as "the administrator of perfect rectitude." He then begins a new sentence with the next word "Yudân-Yim." But, on referring to the older manuscripts D.H. and T.D., we find that the words Asha-Vahishta and Yudân-Yim (Goshana Jam) have an "i"

(ج) between them. This shows that Asha-Vahishta also is a proper name and the (ج) i between that word and the next word shows the line of descent. In the same way, the ج i between Asha-Vahishta and Dâtakiya shows the line of descent.

So, I think that the Bundesh was written, at first, at the end of the fifth century. Later on, additions have been made to it from time to time. So, we find allusions to the Arab conquest and even to some subsequent events. Dr. West has referred to these allusions at some length. Dr. Darmesteter, in a paper read before the Jarthôshti-Din-ni-khol-karnâri Mandli<sup>1</sup> in Bombay in 1887, referred to the words *Zing-i-Siâk pôsht* (i.e., the black-skinned negroes) in chapter 23, and said, that the words alluded to the Zangis or the people of Zanzibar. He thought, that it was a reference to an event which occurred in 868 A.D. The people of Zanzibar had settled in the Eastern countries of Irân at the end of the seventh century. In 868 A.D. a chief, named Ali ebn Abdul Rehman said, that he had descended from Ali, and that the Khalifate was due to him. He raised an army of Zanzibar slaves and conquered the

<sup>1</sup> Vide the Society's Gujarâti Report published in 1891, pp. 248-51.



Persian territories in the east of Irân. It was in 892 A.D. that the Persians finally drove away the Zangbaris from Persia. So, Dr. Darmesteter thought, that the above was an allusion to the Zanzibar people of that time, and placed the latest date of the additions to the Bundeshesh, as late as, from 868 to 892 A.D.

At the end of chapter 34, we find the following words in all manuscripts: "Âkhar val Tâzikân vazlûnt," *i.e.*, "at last (the sovereignty) went to the Arabs." The older manuscripts D. H. and T. D. give the following words instead of the above:—

"Vad zinâkih aiyâft anshakui Tâzikân vad shantichehâr sad chahal-ô-haft-i-Pârsikân. Kun panj bist-o-haft shant-i-Parsik."

I translate this passage as follows:—

"Up to the time the wretched Arabs got the place (of Irân), 447 years of the Parsis. Now 5 times 27 years of the Parsis."

I understand the passage to mean as follows:—In the paragraph preceding the one, where this sentence occurs, it is said of Ardashir Bâbakân and the Sassanians, that they reigned for 460 years. Now the writer means to say, that all these 460 years were not of the rule of the Sassanians. 447 years were of the Sassanian rule and the remaining (460-447) 13 were of the period when Yazdagird was flying here and there after his first defeat.

But the most important part about the latest date of the Bundeshesh is the last part, wherein the writer says:— "Now 5 times 27 years of the Parsis," *i.e.*, 135 of the Parsis. We know that even after the death of Yazdagird, the Parsis ruled for some time here and there, in the mountainous tracts of Khorâssân and adjoining districts. So the writer means to say that the Parsis ruled here and there for 135 years after Yazdagird. And as he uses the word *kun*, *i.e.*, now, it appears that the date when this part was added to the Bundeshesh was 786 A.D. (651 the date of the death of Yazdazard + 135).

With these prefatory remarks, I give the text and translation of the chapter.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter is the 37th in order in T. D. as pointed out by Dr. West" under the heading of "On the Chinvad bridge and the souls of the departed." (S.B.E., V. Introduction, p. XXXVII.)

**Madam Chinvahar va  
robân-i-vadardagân  
(D H f. 217 a. l. 3).**

1. Yemalelûneḍ pavan dîn,  
aîgh Chekâtî i yak saḍ gabrâ  
bâlâi, miyân-i-gehân, mun  
Chekât-i-Dâiti karîtnud, gôk<sup>1</sup>-i-  
tarâzûk Rashna yezato. Tahî<sup>2</sup>  
pavan bûn-i-kôf-i-Albûrz pavan  
kôst-i-apâkhtar, va tahi pavan  
rôeshman kôf-i-Albûrz pavan  
kôst-i-nîmrôj, miyân madam  
zak Chekât-i-Dâiti yekavîmûnêt.

**On Chinvahar (bridge)  
and the souls of the  
departed.**

1. It says in religion, that  
(the mountain) Chekâtî, which is  
as high as one hundred persons,  
(and) is in the middle of the  
world, (and) which is called  
Chekât-i-Dâiti, (is) the place of  
the balance of the angel Rashna.  
One end (of the bridge) is at the  
foot of the mountain of Albûrz  
on the northern side, and one end  
on the top of the mountain of  
Albûrz on the southern side, and  
its middle part on that Chekât-  
i-Dâiti.

Pavan zak miyânê zînak<sup>3</sup>  
tahi<sup>4</sup>-i-tîz-i-shûpshîr<sup>5</sup> hûmânâk

In that middle part, (there is)  
a place with a sharp edge, which

<sup>1</sup> گود p. قوق plain, ground. T. D. gives گود. If you read it gôd,  
it is p. گود low-lying ground. Perhaps it is گوی a dome, cupola. If  
گود i read *jard* it is miswritten for گلد yellow, cf. Virâf V., 5 گلد  
گلد و گلد و گلد

<sup>2</sup> Same as گود tih p. گود single, bottom or گود single, a unit ; end, point.  
cf. Pahlavi Vendidâd XIX., 30. Spiegel, p. 217, l. 21.

و دادن (دادن) او دادن دادن دادن دادن دادن

i.e., It has two ends, one is in the Chekât-i-Dâiti and one on the Alburz. cf.  
دادن Dâdistân-i-Dînîk, question XIX., S. B. E. West Pahl. texts,  
II., chap. XX., 4. The word دادن can also be read tâb. p. دادن  
to sharpen, to give an edge. In the Dadistân the word is written tâg P. تیغ  
point of a spear.

<sup>3</sup> T. D. Zinâkî. <sup>4</sup> T. D. omits.  
<sup>5</sup> گود T. D. has گود arb. سيف (pl. سيف) a sword, scimitar.  
The writer of D. H. seems to be doubtful about this word Shûpshîr, because he  
writes in Persian, below the word, با (bâ mim), i. e., he asks the reader to  
read the word with "m" instead of "p" shûmshîr instead of shûpshîr.

yekavîmûnêt,<sup>1</sup> mûnash nuhnîzê darnâê va pehnâê. Va tamman yekavîmûnêt<sup>2</sup> minôyân yazad-dân<sup>3</sup> mûn mînôyîikhâ rôbân-i-âhalôbân yôshdâsarend va kalbâ<sup>4</sup>-i-minôyî pavan rcêshman-i-zak pûhar va dûshakhû azîr i zak pûhar.

2. Amat mardûm barâ vadîr-end seh lêlyâ rôbân pavan nazdîk-i-tan tamman âighash rôeshman yehevûnt yetîbûnêt; va zak lêlyâ mûn Vîzarîsh shêdâ va hamkârân kabad ân shap<sup>6</sup> avshân khadî-tûnêt, va hamâê pûsht lakhvâr val âtash vâdûnêt i tamman afrûkht yekavîmûnêt. Hanâ râê

is like a sword, whose length and breadth (are) nine spears; and there are spiritual Yazatas there, who purify pious souls; and spiritual dogs (are) at the head of the bridge; and hell is below that bridge.

2. When men die, for three nights, the soul rests near the body, at that place, where there was the head; and on these nights, (he) who (is) the demon Vîzarîsh, with (his) co-workers, looks much at them during the night, and always turns his back towards the fire<sup>5</sup> which is

<sup>1</sup> In D. H. and T. D. we have "yekavîmûnât yekavîmûnêt," but the word seems to be written twice. T. D. has simply "yekavîmûnêt."

<sup>2</sup> Dadistân ques. XX., S. B. E., XVIII., West, ch. XXI., 5.

سرسر ۱۹۵۱ و ۱۹۵۲ و ۱۹۵۳ و ۱۹۵۴ و ۱۹۵۵

<sup>3</sup> cf. Pahlavi Vendidâd XIX., 30. Sp. p. 216 ۱۳۵۵ ۱۳۵۱۲۶ ۱۳۵۱۳۱ ۱۳۵۱۳۶  
i.e., Which (bridge has) spiritual angels of its own.

<sup>4</sup> Compare this idea of the dogs watching at the gates of Heaven with a similar Vedic thought. "Fear not to pass the guards. The four-eyed brindled dogs—that watch for the departed." (*Vide my Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees*, pp. 9-10).

<sup>5</sup> It is a Parsee custom to keep the fire burning for three nights, in the room, where a dead body is placed before its removal to the Tower.—*Vide my paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees," p. 10. Vendidâd VIII., 79-80.*

<sup>6</sup> آن شب P. ۳۰۰. This is a repetition, "zak lêlyâ" having been already mentioned a little above. The word can be read "andâz" P. انداز purpose, intention or measure. Then the phrase "kabad andâz" may mean "with great intention" or "several times, repeatedly."

zak seh lêlyâ vad yôm tamman  
aighash rôêshman yehevûnt âtash  
pavan afrujashna yakhsûnd. Va  
amat zak âtash lôit pûsht lakhvâr  
val âtash-i-vâharâm ayûpâtashân-  
i-ham-afrank<sup>1</sup> lômand vâdûnêt.  
Den zak seh lêlyâ amat karî-  
nashna va vashûpashna val tan  
yâmtûnêt adînash aêtûn dûshkh-  
vâr meyamûnêt chigûn gabrâi  
amatash mân<sup>2</sup> khefrûnd.

3. Zak seh yôm rôbân pavan  
bâlin i tan pavan zak âhmîd<sup>3</sup>  
yetîbûnêt aigh yehevûnêt amat  
khûn tâpêt va vât val tan  
vazlûnêt<sup>4</sup> va li lakhvâr vazlûntan  
tôbân yehevûnêt. Va âkhar lêlyâ  
i seh yôm den bâmî ât zak rôbân  
âhloban denman yemallûnêt  
aigh: "neyôk valman mûn min  
zak i valman neyôkih katarchâê,  
aigh li neyôk azam har kas  
neyôk, avam Aûharmazd pavan  
kâmê sharîtâih<sup>5</sup> yehabûnt."<sup>6</sup>  
Va ât zak rôban darvand yemal-  
lunet denman "Zak tan jân va  
karp mûmash levatman pavan

kindled there. For that reason,  
during the three nights, up to (the  
dawn of) the day, the fire is kept  
burning there, where his head  
(is lying). And when the fire is  
not there, he turns his back to  
the Âtash-Vâhrâm, *i.e.*, to the all  
glorious fires. During the three  
nights, when pain and misery  
come to the body, then as much  
uneasiness appears to him, as to  
a man when his house is being  
dug up.

3. For those three days, the  
soul sits before the head of the  
body, in the hope, that it may so  
happen, that the blood (of the  
dead body) may be heated and  
the wind may enter the body<sup>5</sup>  
and "I may be able to go again  
(into the body)." And afterwards,  
on the third night at the dawn, if  
the soul be pious, it says thus:  
"He is good from whom goodness  
(proceeds) to any body else, *i.e.*,  
(if) I am good every body else  
will be good through me,  
Aûharmazd has created me with  
a free will." And if the soul be

<sup>1</sup> P. افونگ dignity, grandeur.

<sup>2</sup> DH has mâni. Mân of TD is better; P. مان Av. مان. It can also  
be taken in the sense of "family."

<sup>3</sup> For 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 p. 𐬀𐬎𐬎. *i.e.*, the body may be resuscitated.

<sup>5</sup> *Lit.* royal will. *Cf.* Hâdôkht Nask II., 5.

𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬎

<sup>6</sup> DH yehabûnêt.

dûbârishna, dûbârêt. Homan-am<sup>1</sup> âkhar min latamman val aigh dûbâram."<sup>2</sup>


4. Va ât âhloban tîz pavan zak gôbashna vâtî padîrê yâtûnêt i shapîr neyôktar v hubôitar pîrôjgatar min hamâk vâtân i pavan gêtîha mûn rôbân barâ hûravâkhmînet. Va ât darvand vâtî padîrê yâtûnêt gandêtar va pûtêtar a-pîrôjgatar min hamâk vâtân pavan gêtîha mûn rôbân dûshmarîha<sup>3</sup> pîm<sup>4</sup> yâmtunêt.

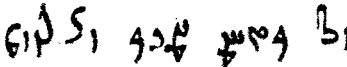
5. Va âkhar yedrûnd ât zak rôbân val hamâk mûn âhloban mûnach darvand. At âhloban den râs adinash tôrâ-karp val padîrê yâmtunêt farpîh pûr pim mûn robân azash patîkhûih<sup>5</sup> va

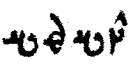
sinful, it says thus: "That person, whose life and body were together in a state of loitering, loiters. Then, to which place shall I run from here?"



4. And if (the soul be) pious, immediately with those words, there comes before him a wind, which is better, more excellent, more fragrant, more auspicious than all the winds that are in the world, and which pleases the soul. And if (the soul be) sinful, there comes before him a wind, more stinking and more putrid (and) more inauspicious than all the winds of the world, which brings to the soul a fear of evil recollections.

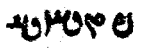
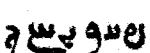




5. Then they carry that soul whether (it belongs) to all who (are) pious or who (are) even sinful. If pious, there comes before him in the way, the figure of a fat and milky cow, from

<sup>1</sup> In the sense of 

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Virâf XVII., 7. 

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps miswritten for  unpleasantness. It will then be the opposite of the above hûravâkhminîh.

<sup>4</sup> P.  cf. Virâf I. 20. 

<sup>5</sup>  This word occurs in Minôkhêrad II., 2., where its Pazend equivalent is  Neryôsang gives its Sanscrit  samriddhi (prosperity, opulence). It is there used in the sense of prosperity. Avesta  or  to nourish,  nourishment.

charpîh yâmtûnêt. Dûd<sup>1</sup> kanîk-  
karp padîrê yâmtûnêt hû-karp i  
sapîd vastarg i pânzdah sâlê mûn  
min hamâk kôstî neyôk mûn  
rôbân patush shâd shayêt.<sup>2</sup>  
Dûd bôstân karp yâmtûnêt pur-  
bar pûr-maya pûr-mîvê pûr-  
patîkhû mûn rôbân hu-ravâkh-  
mînih va patîkhu-mînashnih  
yâmtûnêt. Aît bûm<sup>3</sup> vahîstik  
demman pîsh min hamâr dakhshê  
pavan gêhân khadîtûnêt.

6. Aît mûn zak rôbân ayôk  
ayôk pûrsêt amatash padîrê yehe-  
vûnêt. Pûrsêt aîgh "lak mûn  
hûmanî mûn li aîtûn mayam-  
mûnêt? aîghat harvesp khvârih  
va âsânih." Patash zêtûn va-  
lmanshân ayôk ayôk pasakbun  
yemallûnd. "Li bûmanam âhlô-  
ban Dîn i lak kûnashna<sup>4</sup> ziyat  
varzît. Amat lak neyôkih kard  
li lak râê latamaman yehevûnt  
humanam.

whom come to the soul, happi-  
ness and sweetness. Again, there  
comes before him the figure of a  
damsel, who is well-formed, of  
white clothes, of fifteen years of  
age, who is good from all sides,  
(and) with whom the soul is  
pleased. Again, there comes the  
figure of a garden, full of leaves,  
full of water, full of fruits, full  
of fertility, from whom blissful-  
ness and fertile thoughts come to  
the soul. It is a paradise-like  
place, incalculably more (para-  
dise-like) than that of which one  
sees signs in the world.

6. There are some souls, who,  
when they meet, ask one another.  
One asks: "Who art thou, who  
appeareth thus to me? that is  
thou art all happiness and ease?"  
They, one by one, reply to him  
thus: "Oh righteous man! I am  
the Dîn (*i.e.*, religious picture) of  
thy work, which you performed.  
When you performed good  
deeds, I was formed here for  
thee."

<sup>1</sup> *Lit.* another. Here used in the sense of 'secondly, thirdly.'

<sup>2</sup> DH 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 but TD has 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 which is better. P  
'شاد شود' so perhaps sháyêt is from Pazend 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭥 or it is miswritten for  
𐭠𐭣𐭥 yehavûnêt.

<sup>3</sup> DH 𐭠𐭣 but TD 𐭠𐭣

<sup>4</sup> DH has 𐭠𐭣 which is a mistake for 𐭠𐭣𐭥, which we find in TD, *Cf.*

Virâf IV., 23, 24. 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 If we take simply  
'kun,' the meaning would be "which you now performed;" but this evidently  
seems to be a mistake.

7. Ât zak rcbân darvand adinash tôrâ-karp val paçîrê yâmtûnêt khushk va zâr va sahamkîn mûn rôbân khûshk khushkih va zâr charpîh azash yâmtûnêt. Dûd kanîk-karp rasêt sahamkûn dûsh-karp mûnash tar-mînashnîh nehûft yêkavimûnêt min hamâk kôstê sahamkûn mûn robân azash bim va tarsashna yâmtûnêt. Dûd bôstân-karp yâmtûnêt avî-maya i avî darakht<sup>1</sup> avî-khvârih mûn rôbân dûsh-mînashnîh yâmtûnêt. Aît i bâm i dûshakhûk denman pîsh hamâr dakhshê gûyed.<sup>2</sup>

8. Aît mûn valmanshân ayôk ayôk pûrsêt aîgh "lak mûn hûmanî? min lak hanâktar pavan gêtîh lâ khadîtûnt." Pasakhun val valman yemalelund aîgh "âi darvand li din i lak munat nafshman kûnashna humanam. Amat lakzak i sarîtar varzît latamman lak râê yehevûnt humanam. Âi<sup>3</sup> paêtâk aîgh kolâ aîsh kunashnîh i nafshman padîrê yehevûnêt.

7. If the soul is sinful, then there comes before him the figure of a cow, without milk, and weak, and frightful, (and) from whom there comes to the soul, dry dryness and weak fatness. Again, there comes the figure of a damsel fearful, ill-formed, who has evil thoughts concealed in her, who is frightful from all directions, and from whom come to the soul, terror and fear. Again, there comes the figure of a garden, waterless, treeless, dreary, from whom there comes to the soul evil thoughts. This is a hellish place, whose (hellish) character is said to be immeasurable.

8. There are those (souls) who ask one another: "Who art thou? A more harmful (person) than thee is not seen in the world." They say in reply to that: "O sinful! I am thy religion, who (i.e., I) am thy own work. When you performed what was evil, I was formed here for thee;" that is to say, it is clear that one's own actions come before him.

<sup>1</sup> *reya* miswritten for *reš*

<sup>2</sup> *reya* Zend Pah. Glossary, p. 33, l. 2. If read javîd, the meaning would be "Its characteristic is quite of a different kind beyond measure."

<sup>3</sup> DH gives " but TD correctly "

9. Âkhar zak rôlân râinênd  
bûn i kôf i Albûrz aîgh tîgach i  
gôk<sup>1</sup> madam zak sâtûnêt vad  
bâlist i Chekât aîgh zak tîgi tiz  
yekavîmûnêt. Âtarô i Farbag  
i pîrôjgar târikîh barâ zanêt va  
pavan âtash karp zak rôbân pa-  
van zak tîg vaçârêd. Avash  
zakmînôyân yazadân yôshdâsrênd  
mînêihyâ pavau gok<sup>2</sup> i dadîgar  
vadârêt vad val lâlist i Albûrz.  
Avash vâeshapîr yadman madam  
vakhdûnêt val jînâk i nafshman  
yedrûnêt chegûn zek amat rôbân  
makadlûnêt va tamman avas-  
pârêt. Tanach amat pavan gêtih  
yôshdâsrênd pavan zak angôsh-  
îdê mînôyîk.

10. Ât zak rôbân darvand  
amat pavau gôk madam val i  
Chekât yâtûnêt zak tîg i tîz pavau  
ham tîgi barâ yekavîmûnêt va  
vaçarg lâ yehabûnêt va avash  
a-kâmagîhâ madam ham-tig  
sâtûntan âvâyêt pavau seh gâm  
i farâz khanakhtûnêt i aêt dûsh-  
mata dûshhûkhta dushhvarshta  
zîash varzît yekavîmûnêt. Farut  
bardanêt min rcêshman i puhar

9. Then they carry that soul  
to the foot of the mountain  
Albûrz, where it walks over it up  
to the very edge of the hill, up  
to the top of the Chekât where  
the edge is very sharp. The  
auspicious fire Farbag smites the  
darkness and that soul passes  
over the edge in the form of fire.  
Those spiritual *yazads* purify it,  
and it goes spiritually to another  
summit, up to the very summit  
of Albûrz. The Good Wind  
catches hold of his hand, carries  
it to its own place, as the soul  
would like, and there it entrusts  
it (to the heavenly beings). In  
the same way, as that, in which  
they purified the body in the  
world (they purify it) spiritually.

10. If that soul is sinful, when  
it comes from the hill up to the  
Chekât that sharp edge contin-  
ues to be of the same sharpness  
and does not give a passage; and  
it is forced against its will to  
walk over the same edge, with  
three steps, which it places  
forward and which are evil  
thoughts, evil words (and) evil  
actions which it had performed,

<sup>1</sup> گۆ P. کوی a dome. In the sense of a hill. If we read "tig-  
chîgûk" it may mean the "edge of a knife"; P. چاقو or چیدقو. The Revâyets  
speak of "knives" in these matters. TD<sub>2</sub> has ۱۹۶۹. Perhaps it is miswritten  
for ۳۱۶۹ Chinvad.

<sup>2</sup> TD<sub>2</sub> has ۳۹۶۱. Then it would mean, "It passes on with goodness."



It sar-negûn val dûshakhû aûftêt  
va khadîtûnêt kolâ hanâkîh.

11. Denmanach yemalelunêt  
âigh mûn pavan râđih âhlôban  
yehavûnt yekavîmûnêt, amatash  
zak vât val padîrê rasêt, den  
zak vât kanîk karp khadîtûnêt,  
zak pûrsashna vâdûnêt. Avash  
zak kanîk pavan râs-numâih val  
saratî<sup>1</sup> yedrûnêt mûnash seh  
pâyak patash va pavan zak sarat  
val garûtmân vazlûnêt pavan  
seh gâm i aît<sup>2</sup> hûmata, hûkhata  
hûvarshata. Nazdest gâm vad val  
setar.pâyak, dadîgar vad val  
mâhi-pâyak, sehđîgar vad val  
khûrshîd-payâk âigh garûtmân  
i rôshan.

12. Ât pavan pûjîh darv<sup>3</sup>-  
and yehavûnt yekavîmûnêt am-  
atash zak vât padîrê yehavûnt  
den zak vât kanîk karp rasêt va

retires below from the top of  
the bridge, (and) falls headlong  
into the hell, and sees all kinds  
of harm.

11. It is likewise said, that  
he, who has become righteous by  
his generosity, when that wind  
comes before him, sees in that  
wind, the form of a damsel (and)  
puts him that question. That  
damsel takes him under her  
guidance, to a pleasant locality  
which has three grades over it  
and by that pleasant locality  
takes him to the paradise, by  
three steps, which are good  
thoughts, good words and good  
actions. The first step is up to  
the Setar-pâyak (*i. e.*, star-grade  
paradise), the second up to the  
Mâhpâyak (*i. e.*, the moon-grade),  
the third up to the Khûrshîd-  
pâyak (*i. e.*, the sun-grade), *i. e.*,  
the brilliant Garûtmân.

12. If, by his baseness, he has  
become sinful, when that wind  
appears before him, the form of  
a damsel comes in that wind and

<sup>1</sup> Arabic *سورة* *surrat*, the choicest part of a valley. Perhaps it is P. *سرط* *sarat* "travelling smoothly along the road" or *سراط* *sirât* the straight road. In Korân, a bridge is spoken of as *Al sirât*, which corresponds to the Chinvat bridge.

<sup>2</sup> DH has *دوراد* but TD has correctly *دور*. In the corresponding sentence in para. 10 also, we have *دور*.

<sup>3</sup> P. *پوج* *vile, base, trifling*. From the context it appears to be opposed to *رادى* *radîh, generosity*.

zak pûrsashna vâdûnêt. Aît kûnashna tîg i tîz hûmânâk vardêl mûn hamâk tîg i tîz. Val zak robân yemulelûnêt aîgh "darvand amatat kâmê va amatat alkâmê. Madam denman pavan gâm sâtûntan avâyet." Adin rôbân yemalelûnêt aîgh âtam pavan kardô i kabad tîgi borîn shapîr mayammûnêt aîgh pavan gâm madam denman sâtûnam Daḡigar hamâinînê yemalelûnêt. Rôbân pasakhun yemalelûnêt aîgh âtam pavan tîr barâ makhîitûnî shapîr mayammûnî aîgh madam denman pavan gâm sâtûnam. Sedigar hamâinînê yemalelûnêt. Valman pasakhun. yemalelûnêt aîgh âtam khayâ min tan barâ makhîitûnî shapîr-mayammûnî aîgh madam denman pavan gâm sâtûnam.

13. Adîn<sup>1</sup> ât<sup>2</sup> zak kûnashna dad i sahangûn i lâ dastmôk hûmânâk yehavûnet lavîn i rôbân barâ yekavîmûnêt. Zak rôbân avîu tarsêt aîgh madam zak pavan gâm sâtunêt va pavan seh gâm farût bardanêt val dûshakhû aûftêt. Munash vanâs va kerfê

makes that inquiry. She is (a picture of his) actions, like a sharp sword which moves about like all sharp swords. She says to that soul : " O sinful ! what is your desire ? What is not your desire ? You shall have to walk on this with your steps." Then the soul says : " If you will cut me, with a very sharp knife, it will appear better than that I should walk on this (sharp edge) with steps. For the second time (the damsel) speaks in the same way. The soul says in reply : " If you will kill me with an arrow, it will appear better than that I should walk with steps on this. For the third time (the damsel) speaks in the same way. It says in reply : " If you cut off (my) soul from (my) body, it will appear better than that I should walk with steps on this."

13. Then that (picture of one's) deeds becomes like a frightful untamed wild beast (and) stands before the soul. The soul is so much frightened with it, that it walks over this (narrow path) with steps and retires down below with three steps and falls

<sup>1</sup> 𐭪𐭫𐭮 This word is not found in TD, but found in TD<sub>2</sub> and DH. Miswritten for 𐭪𐭫𐭮 akin 'then.' Perhaps miswritten for 𐭪𐭫𐭮 'at once,' which is sometimes interpreted by 𐭪𐭫𐭮 'now' (Pahl. Paz. Glossary, p. 51).

<sup>2</sup> This word has been subsequently added in DH. It not wanted. The meaning can be complete without it.

kolâ dô râst adînash val hamîstê-  
gân yehabûnd. Hamîstêgân râê  
yemalelunêt aîgh jînâki chegûn  
gêti hûmânâk. Kolâ aîsh pavan  
zak pâyak zîshân kerphê va  
jînâk yehabûnd yetîbûnand<sup>1</sup>.

into the hell. Those, whose sins  
and righteous acts are both equal,  
are then given into the Hamîs-  
têgân. It is said of the Hamîs-  
têgân, that it is a place like the  
world. All persons sit in that  
grade, which is assigned accord-  
ing to his righteousness and  
position.

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<sup>1</sup> TD has the whole sentence thus ۱۹۰۱۹ ۳۰۰۴۵ • ۴۵ ۱۱۰ ۲۰۰۰ ۲۱۹

۵۱۱۴۰ ۴۰۰۰ i. e. All persons are given a place according to their righteous-  
ness.

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