

ASIATIC PAPERS

PART II

PAPERS READ BEFORE THE
BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

BY

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.,

Fellow of the University of Bombay (1887), Dipl. Litteris et Artibus
(Sweden, 1889), Shams-ul-Ulma (Government of India,
1893), Officier de l'Instruction Publique
(France, 1902), Ph. D. (Honoris
Causa, Heidelberg, 1912).

SAI Heidelberg



45087881,2

BOMBAY :
THE TIMES PRESS
1917

*A Few Materials for a Chapter in the Early History of
Bactria, collected from some Iranian
Sources.*

(Read, 23rd March 1914.)

I.

INTRODUCTION.

Prof. H. G. Rawlinson of the Deccan College had published in 1909, his interesting Prize-essay, entitled "Bactria, from the Earliest times to the Extinction of Bactrio-Greek Rule in the Punjab." I had the pleasure of reviewing it in the *Jâm-i-Jamshed* of Bombay, at the request of its Editor. In that review, while noticing the fact that the author began his subject with the early traces of history referred to by classical authors, I drew attention to the fact that Bactria was referred to in the Vendidad of the Parsees, which, following the reasoning of the late Dr. Haug, Professor of Sanskrit at the Poona College, may be taken to have been written at least about 1,200 years before Christ. This review led to some correspondence with the learned author, who then thought of re-publishing his essay as a second edition. In one of his letters, he said: "In republishing my little work, I badly want a reliable text-book on what is known of the Early History of Bactria and Iran, e.g., in the time of Zarathushtra and the Kaiyanian kings The new Encyclopædia Britannica dismisses the early history as 'legendary.' But I want to know about it—legendary or not."

As far as I knew, there was no reliable text-book treating of the early history, even the legendary history of Bactria. So, to supply some materials to Prof. Rawlinson, I had then taken up the study of that subject. This paper is the humble result of that short study, the materials of which I had the pleasure of sending to Prof. Rawlinson in 1910. I beg to place these materials with some additions before this Society for its Journal, with a view that they may be of some use, however little, to other students of the History of Bactria.

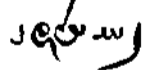
As said in my above review, the ancient history of Bactria is interesting, both to the Parsees and to the Hindus, because it is

the history of a country which lies between Irân, the ancient motherland of the Parsees, and Hindustan, the motherland of the Hindus. "Bactria served as a connecting link between the West and the East. It is still well-nigh an open question, whether India gave much to the West or the West gave much to India. In any case, Bactria was the land that served as an intermediate seat for transferring the traits of the civilization of one country to the other. We think, that both Greece and Iran had their influence upon Hindustan and that Hindustan had its influence in turn upon both." In the case of the influence from the West, "it was Iran that had greatly, strongly and permanently impressed India. The great Hindu king Asoka in an early period, and the great Mahomedan king Akbar in a later period, were kings whose reigns stand as great landmarks in the history of India, both from the material and the mental and moral points of view. Leaving aside the question, as to how Akbar's rule in India led to the influence of Persia upon India, . . . one can pretty safely say, that the great Asoka had some Iranian ideals before him. The Achæmenian rule over some regions in the very vicinity of India lasting for a pretty long time, and over the country itself for a number of years, had a great influence upon India. If nothing else, Asoka's edicts have left an indelible stamp on the history of India. Asoka took his conception of inscribing them upon columns from the practice of Achæmenian kings like Darius whose inscriptions over columns and rocks are well-known."

With these few introductory words I come to the subject proper of my paper. I will first speak (A) of the References to Bactria in the Avesta and Pahlavi books of the Parsees, and then (B) of the History—legendary or not—as given by old Mahomedan writers like Firdousi, Maçoudi and Tabari.

II.

(A) REFERENCES TO BACTRIA IN THE AVESTA AND PAHLAVI BOOKS OF THE PARSEES.

Bactria is the Bâkhdhi  of the Avesta,¹ Bâkhtri² of the cuneiform inscriptions, Bâkhar or Bâkhal of the Pahlavi writers, and Balkh of the early and later Mahomedan writers. As Prof. Darmesteter³ points out, the later name Balkh comes from the Avesta Bâkhdhi. Bâkhdhi would be Bâkhli in later Persian ("dh" would be "l"; cf. Avesta *madhakha* (locust): Persian *malakh*). The Pahlavi translator

¹ Vendidad I, 7. ² The Inscription of Behistun Col. I, 6. Tolman's Guide to Old Persian Inscriptions, p. 55. ³ Le Zend-Avesta II. p. 8.

of the Vendidad renders Bâkhdhi into Bâkhal or Bâkhar (𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌)¹. Then “kh” and “l” change places and Bâkhi or Bâkhal becomes Balkh.

The earliest reference to Bactria in the Parsee books is that in the Vendidad, where (Chap. I. 7) it is spoken of as the fourth city created by Ahura Mazda, the preceding three being Airyana-vaeja (Irân), Sugdh (Sogdiana), and Mâuuru (Merv). It is there spoken of as “*Bâkhdhîm srîrâm eredhvô drafshâm*,” i.e., “Bâkhdhi, the beautiful, with the up-lifted banner.” As pointed out by Dr. Haug, the list of the 16 cities named in this second chapter of the Vendidad does not contain the name of the old Iranian city of Ecbatana (Hagamatâna of the Behistun Inscriptions II, 13, Achmetha of the Scriptures, Ezra VI 2, modern Hamadan), founded, according to Herodotus² by Deioces of Media (B. C. 708). This fact shows that the Vendidad, or at least this chapter of the Vendidad, was written before 708 B. C. So, this is a reference to Bactria as old as the 8th century before Christ.

Again, the fact of the city being mentioned as one with up-lifted banners shows, that it was the capital city carrying the royal banners. Now, as Bactria fell into the hands of the Assyrians and thus ceased to be the capital city with royal banners at about B. C. 1200, it appears, that this reference to Bactria is as old as the 12th or 13th century B. C.

In the above-mentioned reference in the Vendidad, Bactria or Balkh is spoken of

- (1) as being beautiful and
- (2) as a city with up-lifted banners.

As to the first epithet of Bactria referred to in the Vendidad, viz., that it was beautiful (*srîrâm*), we find, that it continued to be spoken thus, for a long time afterwards, even up to the Mahomedan times.

(a) The Pahlavi commentator has spoken of the city as “*nyôk pavan dîdan* (𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌),³” i.e., good to look at. This is the way in which the commentator has rendered the Avesta word (*srîrâm*) for beautiful.

(b) The grand Bundesh⁴ also, while translating this chapter, speaks of the city as (*nyôk pavan dîdan*) “good to look at.”

¹ Vendidad by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp, p. 7, Chap. I. 7.

² Bk. I. 98.

³ Dastur Dr. Hoshang Jamasp's Vendidad, p. 7.

⁴ The Bûndahishn, edited by Ervad Tahmuras Dinshaji Anklesaria, with an Introduction by Mr. Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, published by the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet (1908), p. 206, 13, *et seq.* This chapter is the 38th chapter in the list of Dr. West. S. B. E., Vol. V, Introduction, p. XXXVII.

(c) In the Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i-Airân, we read the following on this city :—

Dayan Bâkhar-i-nâmîk shatrôstân Novâzako Spendadâd-i-Vishtâspân benman kard. Avash varzâvand Âtash-i-Vâharân tamman etibûnast. Avash nizeh-i nefshman tamman barâ makhîtûnt. Avash val Gubâhkân va Suj-i-Pikâhkân va Churâhkân vâ Rabâkân va Guhram va Tûrchâv va Arjâsp-i-Khyonân-shâh paêtâm shetunit âigh nizeh-i le barâ negîrîd. Kolâ-mûn pavan nîzashne-i denman nîzeh negîred meman dayân val airân shatro dôbâret¹.

Translation :—

“ Spendadâd, the son of Vishtâsp, founded the city of Novâzako in the renowned country of Bâkhar. He established there the glorious Âtash Vâhrân (Âtash Behrâm). He struck his lance there. He sent a message to Gubâhkân and Suj-e-Pikâhkân and Churhâkân and Rabâkân and Guhram and Turchâv and Arjâsp, the king of the Khyaonas, that ‘ Look to my lance. Those who may look to the interpretation of this lance may run to the country of Irân (to render submission)’.”²

The country of Bâkhar, referred to here, is the Bâkhdi of the Vendidad, whose Pahlavi translators also have called it Bâkhar. In this passage, the Shatroihâ-i-Airân calls it “ nâmîk ” *i.e.*, renowned. Among the later Mahomedan authors, Maçoudi³ has spoken of it as بلخ الحسناء Ballkh al hasanâ, *i.e.*, Balkh the beautiful. Here, the word “ *hasanâ*,” corresponds to the word “ *sirinâm* ” of the Avesta. Other Mahomedan authors have spoken of it as Balkh-i-bâmi, *i.e.*, the exalted or the great Balkh. Firdousi speaks of it as Balkh-i-guzin, *i.e.*, Balkh, the select or the elect.

Coming to the second statement of the Vendidad, *viz.*, that it was the city with an uplifted banner, it was so called, because, being the capital of some of the known Kaiyânian kings, especially of king Gushtâsp, in whose reign Zoroaster, the prophet, flourished, the royal banner flew over it. Prof. Spiegel takes this view, when he says, that the “ tall plumes (*i.e.*, the tall banners) indicate the imperial banner (mentioned also by Firdousi) and refer consequently to the time when Bactria was the seat of the empire.”⁴ M. Harlez also takes the same view. He says : “ Ces drapeaux élevés étaient peut-être la marque de la résidence du chef du pays.”⁵

¹ Pahlavi texts, edited by Dastur Jamaspji Minocherji Jamaspasana, p. 19.

² *Vide* my “ Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân, Shatrôihâ-i-Airân va Afdiya va Sahigiya-i-Sistân,” pp. 59-61.

³ Maçoudi traduit par Barbier de Meynard, Vol. II, p. 121.

⁴ Spiegel, translated by Bleek, Vol. I, p. 10, note 3.

⁵ Avesta, Livre sacré du Zoroastrisme, p. 8, note 7.

It appears, that during the Sassanian times, when the Pahlavi translators and commentators wrote, some doubts had arisen, as to why it was called in the Vendidâd the city of uplifted banners.

Reasons, why it was so called.

(a) The commentators, at first, gave their own explanation, which is the usual above explanation, *viz.*, that "the banner" (*i.e.*, the royal banner) was uplifted over it (*âigh darafsh dayan afrâsht yekhsund*).

(b) Then, the commentators added, that there were some who said that there were many banners flying over it (*aît mûn aîtûn yemellund âi kabdih dayan afrâsend*).¹ As to this second reason, *viz.*, that it was called the city of uplifted banners because many banners flew over it, we find a reference to it in the Grand Bundehesh,² where it is said, "martûmî tamnan darafsh pavan tûkhshâkîh yakhsunend," *i.e.*, men there hold the banners with energy.

Now, as to why, later on, there were many banners over the city, instead of one, some thing may be learnt from the Pahlavi commentary which adds the words "*âig dûshman madam dayan kushend*" which mean that "these men kill their enemies." Prof. Harlez³ says, that by this remark, the commentators meant to say, that there were frequent battles in Bactria. But Harlez himself thinks, that they were the banners over the tents of the people and the towers of the city.

A statement of Yakout seemed to point to another reason for its latterly being called a city of many banners. He said that

(c) The Great Fire-Temple of Balkh or Bactria. *نوبها* and that the worshippers at the temple—perhaps the distinguished visitors like princes and generals—raised banners on its *gunbad* (cupola) as their marks of respect. Barbier De Meynard thus refers to Yakout's statement:—

"Ce temple était en grande vénération chez les Persans, qui s'y rendaient de fort loin en pèlerinage, le revetaient d'étoffes précieuses et plantaient des drapeaux au sommet de la coupole" (Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique et Littéraire de la Perse, par Barbier de Meynard, p. 569).

The Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i-Airân also refers to a Fire-temple in the city. A part of the name of the place Novâzako or Naozako, where the

¹ *Vide* Vendidâd by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp, Vol. I, Texts, pp. 7-8.

² *Vide* the edition of Ervad Tahmuras, (above referred to, p. 206, l. 4.) *دراغش پوان توكشاكه ياكسونند*

نوبها

³ "La seconde glose pehlvie, il est vrai, voit dans ces termes une indication des guerres fréquentes qu'entreprenaient les Bactriens" (Le Zend Avesta, p. 8, n. 7).

fire-temple was founded, seems to be similar to a part of the name Naobahâr.

Firdousi¹ also thus refers to the fire-temple named Naobahâr
 بیلخ گزین شد بر آن نوبهار — که آتشپرستان بود آن روزگار
i.e. In the famous Balkh, Naobahâr was put up, because, there were fire-worshippers there at the time.

Dr. Hyde² translates the word Naobahar in Latin, as *Novum ver* (*i.e.*, new spring). The Navâzako of the Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i-Airân seems to be the same with the Naobahâr of Firdousi, Yakout and others; or it may be the same as Naoshar which was a fortress or palace in Balkh.³ Of the several gates of Balkh, one was known as the Dar-i-Naobahâr, *i.e.*, the gate of Naobahâr.⁴ Perhaps the Novazak referred to here may be the Nuwazi Fire-temple of the coins.⁵

The name of Aspandyâr, the son of Gushtâsp, is connected with Balkh
 Aspandyâr, the *nizehvar* of Bactria. in the above-quoted passage of the Shatroihâ-i-Airân. Therein, this prince is spoken of as using his *nizeh* or lance which seems to have been his special weapon in religious war. This explains the blessing, prayed for over the marrying couple, even now, by the Parsees, in their Âshirwâd prayer, wherein it is said "Nizehvar baid chun Aspandyâr" *i.e.*, May you be a good user of the lance like Aspandyâr.

Among the Pahlavi books, the Bundehesh, speaking of the rivers of
 The River of Bactria. Irân, speaks of the river of Balkh, as one of the twenty principal rivers of Iran,⁶ and as flowing from the Bâmiyân (Bâmikân) mountains⁷ into the river Veh, supposed to be the Indus. Bactria or Balkh was in the Sassanian times supposed to be⁸ a part of Hindustan.⁹

Some manuscripts of the Bundehesh,⁹ speak of Balkh as the birth
 Bactria, spoken of as the birth-place of Zoroaster. place of Zoroaster. old classical statements¹⁰ about one Zoroaster being the Magian king of Bactria in the time of Ninus and Semiramis.

¹ "Le Livre des Rois" par M. Mohl, IV, p. 358, l. 15.

² *Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum Religionis Historia*, pp. 102, 305.

³ *Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique et Littéraire de la Perse*, par Barbier de Meynard, p. 572.

⁴ Ousley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 223.

⁵ *Numismatic and other Antiquarian illustrations of the rule of the Sassanians* by E. Thomas, p. 17.

⁶ Chap. XX, 7. ⁷ *Ibid.*, 22. ⁸ *S. B. E.*, Vol. V, p. 59, n. 4. p. 77, n. 7.

⁹ Chap. XXIV, 15. *S. B. E.*, Vol. V, p. 89, n. 6.

¹⁰ "Zoroastre, rege Bactrianorum (Justin I, 1, 9, Diodorus II 6.) *Vide* "L'Expédition de Ninus et des Assyriens, contre un Roi de la Bactrie" par Dr. Eugène Wilhelm, p. 1, n. 1.

According to the Vendidad and the Grand Bundehesh, as opposed to Ahura Mazda's blessings over the city, there was a curse from the Ahriman on it. It is very difficult to settle the meaning of the words (*bravaremcha usadhascha nurtu*) which describe the curse. Spiegel translates the words as "buzzing insects and poisonous plants."¹ Darmesteter is doubtful about the meaning, but, following the Gujarati translation of Aspandiyârjee Rabâdi, takes the curse to be that of "the corn-carrying ants."²

Mr. Framjee Aspandiyârjee Rabâdi translates this thus: 'तेथी ते शहरमां मोहत लरेला गनाभीनोअमे मोठी घात पेदा कीधी के दाना जेअनार कीडी हुती (याने ते जगोअमे दाना जेअनार कीडी घणी वसेछे अने अनान सुराभमां जेअनी नय छे.)

The Grand Bundehesh⁴ thus speaks of the curse :

Avash patyâreh surak vesh match khâneh surak lâlâ vâdunet, bara anbâsteh.

Translation—Opposed to it is the fact, that many holes have come there. The houses are made over holes and collected together.

It seems that the curse was that of some poisonous insects, which, according to the commentators, seemed to abound there on account of the porous and therefore damp soil of the place.

III.

DIFFERENT STATEMENTS AS TO WHO FOUNDED BACTRIA.

Different writers attribute the foundation of Bactria to different kings of Persia. In this connection, we must bear in mind, that the city may have been founded by a particular person at first, but, when, after some times of adversity, it was restored to prosperity by another person, later writers often referred to this second person as its founder.

According to Kâzwini⁵, it was founded by Kayomars, the first of the Irânian kings. Some authors attribute its foundation to Tehmurasp.⁶ According to Tabari,⁷ Minocheher owned it, and Afrasiâb, the Turânian king, captured it from his hands and lived there. It reverted to the hands of the Irânian kings and Kaikobâd and Kâus lived there. King

¹ Spiegel, translated by Bleek I, p. 10.

² S. B. E., Vol. IV, 1880, p. 6, n. 6.

³ The text and the translation published by Aspandiyârji's grandson Ervad Jamshedji Framji Rabadi in 1900, Translation, p. 4.

⁴ The Bundahishn edited by the late Ervad Tahmuras Dinshajee Anklesaria, p. 206, ll. 4-5.

⁵ Ousley's Travels II, p. 372.

⁶ Kinnier's Persian Empire, p. 187.

⁷ Tabari, traduit par Zotenberg I, pp. 277, 407, 462.

Lohrâsp made it his capital and gave it the appellation of "Housna"¹ *i.e.*, the beautiful (cf. the word *srirâm*, *i.e.*, the beautiful, in the Avesta). This word "housna" of Tabari is the same as "al hasana" (the beautiful) of Maçoudi. According to other writers, king Kâus founded it.² Mirkhond, in his *Rauzat-us-Safa*, attributes its foundation to Kayomars³, but adds, that according to some historians it was founded by Lohrâsp⁴. According to the same author, Lohrâsp was called "Balakhi",⁵ because he had made it his capital. Ahmed Razi⁶ also attributes its foundation to king Kaiomars.

According to Firdousi, King Lohrasp and King Gushtasp had their courts at Balkh and it was here that Zoroaster explained his religion to the king.

According to Maçoudi,⁷ king Kai Kâus first made Balkh, the capital of the kings of Iran, and all the rulers up to queen Homai continued to hold their court there.

Ardeshir Babegân, the founder of the Sassanian Empire, is said to have called in this city his great assembly of the nobles and the learned for the Irânian Renaissance.⁸

Mirkhond gives the following story which gives a strange etymology of the name 'Balkh':—"Kaiomars had a brother in the regions of the west, who occasionally came to visit him: who at this time having undertaken the journey to converse with his revered brother, found on his arrival at Damâvend, that Kaiomars was absent. On inquiring into his affairs, and learning that he was then engaged in founding a city in the east, this affectionate brother immediately directed his course thither, and completed the long journey. At the moment of his arrival, Kaiomars, who was seated on an eminence, having beheld his brother, exclaimed, 'Ho! Who is this who directs his course towards us?' One of his sons answered, 'Perhaps a spy, sent by the enemy to find out our situation.' On which, Kaiomars armed himself, and, accompanied by the same son, went out to meet him: but when they drew near each other, Kaiomars recognised his brother and said to his son, Bal-Âkh! (Arabic بل assuredly, and خ brother) (*i.e.*, this is surely my brother) from which circumstance the city was called Balkh."

¹ Ibid, p. 491.

² Dictionnaire Géographique, &c., de la Perse, par B. de Meynard, p. 112, n. 1

³ Mirkhond, translated by Shea, p. 58.

⁴ Ibid, p. 59, (Mirkhond's text, lithographed in Bombay, p. 150).

⁵ Ibid, p. 272.

⁶ Dictionnaire Géographique de de la Perse, par B. de Meynard, p. 112, n. 1.

⁷ Maçoudi traduit par Barbier de Meynard, II, pp. 119-120.

⁸ Kinnier's Persian Empire, p. 187.

IV.

THE LEGENDARY HISTORY AS GIVEN BY MAHOMEDAN
AUTHORS.

We will close this paper with the legendary history of the city as given by Firdousi, Tabari, Mirkhond, &c.

Firstly, according to Firdousi, the first mention of Balkh in the *Shah-nameh* is that in the reign of king Kai Kâus, who sends his army into the provinces of Merv, Nishâpur, Balkh and Herat, and establishes order and justice there.¹ Some time after this, Afrâsiâb, the king of Turkestan, brought an invasion upon Iranian territories. He occupied Balkh. Kai Kâus declared war against him and sent his son Siâvakhsh to the war. Siâvakhsh passed through the provinces of Thalikân and Herat, and went towards Balkh.² He laid siege and took the city. He rested there long and sent a message of victory to his father. In the meantime Afrâsiâb sent his brother Karsevaz to him to sue for peace.³ Siâvakhsh accepted peace and communicated the fact from Balkh to his father, Kai Kâus, who directed him not to accept peace, but to invade Turkestân. As Siâvakhsh hesitated to march against Turkestân, having promised peace to Afrâsiâb, Kai Kâus sent his general Tus to command the army. Siâvakhsh returned to the country of Afrâsiâb who offered him shelter.

Balkh continued in the hands of the Iranians under Kaikhushru, and in the war, known as the war of the twelve champions *دوازده رخ* some of the battles were fought in the territories adjoining Balkh.⁴ In the peace, proposed by Piran, the Turânian Nestor and general, to Godrez, the Iranian Nestor and general, he proposed to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Iranian king over all the country, including Bost, Fariah, Thalakan, the country of Balkh up to Anderab, the five villages of Bamian, the country of Gorukan and in short all the country from Balkh to Badakhshan.⁵ Later on, on his return from Touran to Iran, king Kaikhushru passed through Balkh and stayed there for one month.⁶

Lohrasp, the successor of Kaikhushru, when he abdicated the throne of Iran and gave it to his son Gushtasp, returned to the Fire-temple of

¹ *Le Livre des Rois* II, p. 41.

² *Ibid.*, p. 253-57.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 429-31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, p. 507.

⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 189.

Naobahar situated in the province of Balkh.¹ Lohrasp's son Gushtasp also founded a fire-temple at Balkh.² This fire-temple was known as the Fire-temple of Azer Barzin. It is one of the four Fire-temples, the names of which are still recited by the Parsees in their Âtash Nyâish.

King Gushtasp, the son of Lohrasp, was ruling at Balkh when Zoroaster promulgated his religion and taught it to the king. The Turanian king Arjasp, who declared war against Zoroaster's new religion, sent his messenger to the Iranian king at Balkh.³ Firdousi here speaks of Balkh as Balkh-i-nâmi,⁴ *i.e.*, the famous or known Balkh. A little before, he speaks of it as Balkh-i-guzin, *i.e.*, Balkh the select or the chosen. King Gushtasp declared war from this city and left it for the frontiers with his minister Jamasp.⁵

When Arjasp commenced the second war against Gushtasp, before doing so, he sent a spy to look into the state of affairs at Balkh. The spy found that king Gushtasp was not in the capital, and so, it was a splendid opportunity to invade the country. Arjasp marched against Balkh and killed Lohrasp, who had retired in a fire-temple there. He also extinguished the sacred fire, and Zoroaster, who was there, was also killed. Gushtasp, on hearing this, came to Balkh but was defeated and was obliged to run away.

Coming to the Sassanian times, we see that a little of legend is mixed up with historical facts. We find a reference to Balkh in the time of Behram Gour to whom the noblemen of the city paid their homage. Noshirwan the Just (Chosroes I) had conquered Balkh from the Haitalians.⁶ Balkh continued in the hands of the Iranians in the reign of Hormazd.⁷ In the account of the reign of Khosru Purviz, we find, that the proverb "truthful words are always bitter"⁸ is attributed to a wise man of Balkh. On the death of Yazdagard, Mahrui, the traitor, entrusted the governorship of Balkh and Herat to his eldest brother.⁹

According to Tabari,¹⁰ in the time of the Peshdadiyan king Minocheher, whom he makes a contemporary of Moses, Balkh together with Merv was in the hands of the Turanian king Afrâsiâb. Then, it (Balkh) passed into the hands of the Iranians, because we find Kaikobad

¹ Ibid, p. 350-63.

² Ibid, also *vide* p. 387.

³ Ibid, VI, p. 355.

⁴ Ibid, p. 689.

⁵ Ibid, 279-281.

⁶ Ibid, p. 375.

⁷ Ibid, p. 387.

⁸ Mohl VII, p. 44.

نگر تا چه گوید سخن گوی بلخ
که باشد سخن گفتن راست تلخ

⁹ Ibid, VIII, p. 493.

¹⁰ Tabari par Zotenberg, I, p., 277.

having his residence there.¹ Kai Kâus, who was represented as being a contemporary of Solomon, had also his residence in Balkh.² Kaikhushro, the successor of Kai Kâus, when he prepared to wage war against the Turanian Afrâsiâb, to revenge his father's death, collected his large army at Balkh. Lohrasp, the successor of Kai Khusru had his residence at Balkh, which he called Hosana, ³ *i.e.*, the beautiful. This Lohrasp had Bakhtnasar (Nebuchednezzar) who expelled the Hebrews from Jerusalem, as his general. He remained at Balkh to watch the Turks and asked Nebuchednezzar to invade Syria, Irak, Yemen and other western countries. Lohrasp died in Balkh.

Gushtasp, the son and successor of Lohrasp, on coming to the throne, heard that Nebuchednezzar, the general of his father, had devastated Syria and Palestine, and was much afflicted. Nebuchednezzar then lived at Babylon. Gushtasp sent his general Kouresh (Cyrus) to Irak and recalled Nebuchednezzar to Balkh. He also directed that Jerusalem may be restored to the Jews. Kouresh (Cyrus) went to Babylon, sent back Nebuchednezzar to Balkh, restored Jerusalem to the Jews and appointed, one of themselves, Daniel, the prophet to rule over them.⁴

With the conquest of Iran by Alexander, Balkh had passed into the hands of the Greeks. We do not learn any thing from Tabari, as to how it passed into Greek hands and what became of it till we come to the reign of Yazdagard, the son of Behram, the great grandfather of Noshirwan the Just. At this time, it was in the hands of Khoushnawâz, the king of the Hayatalites (Euttalites). On the death of Yazdagard, his son Hormuz seized the throne of Persia. Firouz, the eldest son, who was then in Seistan, asked the assistance of Khoushnawâz and with his help, gained the throne of Iran. After some time, the people of Balkh and the adjoining countries appealed against the tyranny of Khoushnawâz to Firouz who invaded Balkh and the adjoining territories of Khoushnawâz. An old general of the Hayatalian king performed a ruse. He got his limbs mutilated, as if at the hands of his king, and appealing to the sense of justice of Firouz got into his confidence, and then, under the garb of being his guide, led him

¹ Ibid, p. 407.

² Ibid. p. 462.

³ Ibid, p. 491.

⁴ Ibid, page 496. According to the Pahlavi Dinkard (Bk. V, chap. I, 5-6, Dastur Peshotan's Vol. IX, p. 611, S. B. E. Vol. XLVII, pp. 120-121), and other later Mahomedan writers, Nebuchednezzar or Bakhtnasar, whose Persian name is said to be Reham, (Mirkhond translated by Shea, p. 214) and Kouresh or Cyrus were the Generals of Gushtasp. At times, a question is raised as to why Firdousi and other eastern writers have not referred to Cyrus and his Achæminian successors. These writers throw a side-light on the question and say that these Achæminian rulers were the contemporaries and vassals of the Iranian king Gushtasp and his successors who ruled at Balkh. They latterly became independent. The Pahlavi Minokherad also refers to the taking of Jerusalem by Lohrasp. (Chap. XXVI, 64-67).

(Firouz) and his army into the hands of the enemy. Firouz was killed by Khousnawaz.

Afterwards Noshirwan, the grandson of Firouz, conquered Balkh from the hands of the Hayatalites. It continued in the hands of the successors of Noshirwan till the time of the Arab conquest, when it passed into the hands of the Arab conquerors.

According to Maçoudi, Kai Kâus was the first King who transferred the royal residence from Irak to Balkh¹. His Maçoudi. (Kaiyanian) dynasty continued to live there and to hold it as their capital.² They called the river of Balkh, Kalef, and the foreigners inhabiting Khorasan knew it by that name. Balkh continued to be the capital up to the time of Queen Homai, the daughter of Bahman, who made Medain (Ctesiphon) her capital. According to some local traditions, Lohrasp built the city of Balkh, the beautiful (Balkh al-Hosana), whose well-watered territories and green forests had much attraction for him. Gushtasp, the son of Lohrasp, also had his capital at Balkh.³

It was when Gushtasp was on the throne of Balkh for 30 years that Zoroaster, the son of Esbiman (ذرادشت بن اسپیمان) appeared in his court. This Esbiman is the Spitaman of the Avesta.

There is one point in the legendary history, as given by the Mahomedan writers, that draws our special attention. An important point in the legendary history of Balkh. It is that of Nebuchednezzar being a General under Cyrus the Great. We know, that Western Classical authors speak of him as an ally of Cyrus. The Pahlavi Minokherad and the Dinkard support the statements of the Mahomedan historians.

This is a very large and important question—a question that seems to throw some side-light upon the two very puzzling, but at the same time very important questions of the history of Persia, *viz.* :—

1. The Age of Zoroaster.
2. The question, as to, in what relation of time, the Achæmenian dynasty stands to the Kayanian. Does it precede or succeed it ?

There arises with these two main questions, several minor questions, as to why the Kayanians are not mentioned by the Classical writers and why the Parsee books do not refer to the Achæmenians, and so on.

¹ Maçoudi, traduit par Barbier de Meynard II, p. 119.

² Ibid. p. 120.

³ Ibid. p. 123.

A clue to the solution of all these questions, which are dependent upon one another, may be found in the statement, that the Achæmenians and the Kayanians were contemporaries, the former ruling in the West, the latter in the East. Such a supposition would confirm the date of Zoroaster as given by Parsee books. But it is still an unsolved question and requires very great consideration.