THE LEGEND OF THE FLOOD
IN ZOROASTRIAN TRADITION

Mahnaz Moazami

Similar to the biblical account of the flood (Genesis 6.1-9, 18.), the Akkadian Epic of Atra-Hasis, the Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh, and the Indian tale of Manu, the Legend of the Flood is told in Zoroastrian literature. In the Iranian legend, however, the affliction is a plague from the Evil Spirit, the killer winter.

The most complete account of the story of Jam is given in the second chapter of the Vidēvādā, a part of the Avesta, the sacred book of the Zoroastrians. The general subject of Vidēvādā is the rules of religious purity but it also contains some mythical and legendary narratives of old Iranian traditions such as the myth of Jam (Av. Yima), king of the Golden Age.¹

The Vidēvādā relates that Ohrmazd first asked Jam, the son of Wiwanghān², to receive the Religion from him and transmit it to humans. Jam declined the task but accepted making humans prosperous by keeping death and disease away from them.³ As a result, the world became full of humans, flocks, herds, dogs, and birds that it became necessary to expand the earth. Jam, by means of a specific magic instrument⁴, given to him by Ohrmazd, expanded the earth three times. After the third time, Ohrmazd warned Jam that a killer winter, destined to destroy every living creature was approaching, bringing severe frosts and snow on mountains and plains. When the snow would melt it would carry away stores of fodder, so that beneficent animals would starve and it would be a wonder thereafter to see the footprint of a sheep.

Ohrmazd called Jam to a meeting, instructing him to build a war (Av. vara-), a subterranean space. Jam was to take with him to this refuge pairs of the finest representatives

² Wiwanghān was the first mortal to press the haoma and he was rewarded by the birth of a son, Jam.; Yasn 9.4.
⁴ M. Molé, La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevi, Paris, 1979, pp. 539-49.
of every living creature and this would assure renewal on every level. No creatures might enter there who had either physical deformity or mental deficiency, so only the best and finest would survive.\(^5\)

The second chapter of *Vidēvdād* gives an explicit description of the myth of *war*; the figure of Zarathustra is clearly included in this myth; he is the *Ahu*\(^3\) and the *Ratu*\(^7\) of the people of the *war*. According to this chapter the *war* consisted of three concentric circles with nine passages in the external circle, six in the middle, and three in the internal.\(^8\) Water flows there and is always eternally green. The *war* has its own lights, which resemble the sun, moon, and stars. There a year passes as a day. Every forty years, two beings, one male and the other female, will be born to every couple. All creatures live a life of perfect happiness while waiting for the end of the evil day, when the world would be restored to its original state.

The opening of Jam’s *war* is one of the glorious events that will take place at the end of the eleventh millennium, that is, the millennium of Ušēdar, the first of Zarathustra’s three mythical sons. He will come from Ohrmazd in order to renew Zarathustra’s message and partly overcome evil. Under his authority, the world will be transformed toward its ultimate perfection. At the end of the millennium, as a result of a terrible winter which will last for three years, most humans and animals will perish but then they will be reorganized from Jam’s *war*, built for this purpose.\(^9\)

In cosmological passages of Zoroastrian literature, winter is mentioned as one of the counter-creations of the Evil Spirit.\(^10\) In the first chapter of *Vidēvdād* Ohrmazd’s creation is challenged by Evil Spirit’s counter-creation; to the creation of each of Ohrmazd’s countries, Evil Spirit replies by creating some evil beings, illnesses, plagues, or vice. The sixteenth counter-creation is the killer winter (*zamestān*).\(^11\) Winter is also one companion of the demon Āz, Greed, the arch demon and closest companion of the Evil Spirit.\(^12\) Here, the killer winter is employed as an ultimate means of achieving the goal of reducing the population.

The present work provides an Iranian parallel to the legend of the Flood.\(^13\) It is based on the text edited by Dastoor Hoshang Jamasp\(^14\) and I have referred to manuscript L4 (London).\(^15\) The *Vidēvdād* is preserved in one family Manuscript, represented by London L4 (1323), of which Pt 2 is a copy, and Copenhagen, K1 (1324) from which M13 (1594), B1, K3a, K3b, P2, and M3 derive. Neither of these manuscripts has been com-

---

5. See also *Pahlavi Rivāyat*, ch. 48.17.
7. The divine model or prototype ruling all phenomena in the material world.
9. *Bundahišn* TD1, fol. 93r; *Mēnōg i xrad*, ch.27. 29-31.
10. *Bundahišn* TD1, fol. 19r.
12. *Zātišrām*, ch. 34.32-33.
15. The British Library, Microfilm IOL4314.
pletely preserved. The beginning up to section 9 of L4 is missing; it has some damaged pages which are restored by a later hand on separate papers pasted on the old folios. The missing parts are preserved in manuscript Pt2, belonging to Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, which was copied in 1787 A.C.16 The manuscript Kl (Copenhagen) originally contains 340 folios, of which Fols. 93r-203 are in Copenhagen and an unknown number are in India. The 348 folios still left are in a very varying state of preservation. The first three leaves have several holes due to the burrowing of insects, but otherwise most of folios. 93-183 and 307-340 are compatibly well preserved. This manuscript was completed in Cambay on May 17 Mary 24.17

The Pahlavi system of transcription adopted follows that recommended by D.N. MacKenzie in A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary, London, 1986; square [ ] and round ( ) brackets are used according to the D.H. Jamasp’s edited text. That is, the Pahlavi gloss of words and sentences are in parentheses, and the commentary in brackets; pointed bracket < > indicates that there is a lacuna in the text and words are added where there are no counterparts in the original text in order to provide a clear meaning in English.

Text

2.1
pursid zartuxšt az Ohrazd kū Ohrazd mēnōg abzōnīg dādār i gēhān i astōmandan i ahlaw (ē Ohrazd dādār ud ahlaw pad xwānišn abārīg pad stāyišn) ō kē fradom az mar-dōmān ham-pursid (hē) ō kē Ohrazd hē (kū-t ham-pursağīh pad dēn fradom abāg kē kard) ōn ē az man kē zartuxšt (hēm ā-t) ō kē frāz nimūd (ēn) dēn ī Ohrazd ud zartuxšt.

2.2
u-š guft Ohrazd kū ō jam ī nēk (pad dēdan18) hu-ramag ahlaw zartuxšt (ē hu-ramagīh ūd būd kū-š ramag mardōmān ud ramag gōspandān drust dāst19) ō ōy fradom az mardōmān ham-pursid (hēm) man kē Ohrazd (hēm) (kū-m ham-pursağīh pad dēn fradom abāg ōy20 kard) ōn ē az tō kē zartuxšt (hē)21 (ām) ō ōy22 frāz nimūd (ēn) dēn ī Ohrazd ud zartuxšt.

2.3
ēg ō ōy guft zartuxšt man kē Ohrazd (hēm) (kū) *padīrīd az man jam ī nēk xwāghānān *ōsmurišn ud barišn23 dēn (kū hērbeđīh ud hāwīṣṭh kunīd) ēg-īs ū man passox guft jam ī nēk zartuxšt (kū) nē dādār hēm nē čāsīdār (hēm24) ōsmurišn ud barišn ū dēn (kū-m hērbeđīh ud hāwīṣṭh nē tuwān kardan).

16 Another copy of the manuscript L4 is at the Bhandarkar Institute of Pune, cf., C. G. Cereti, “Zoroastrian Manuscripts Belonging to the Bhandarkar Institute Collection, Pune,” in East and West, vol. 46 nos. 3-4, 1996, p. 444.
17 The Avesta Codices K3a, K3b and K1. Containing portions of the Vendidad with its Pahlavi translation and commentary published in facsimile by the University Library of Copenhagen, with an introduction by K. Barr. 1941, First Part, Einar Munksgaard, Copenhagen, pp. 8-12.
18 L4 om.
19 L4 om: (ē hu-ramagīh ūd būd kū-š ramag mardōmān ud ramag gōspandān drust dāst).
20 L4: kē.
21 L4 adds: ē.
22 L4 om.
23 L4 om.
24 L4 om.
2.4
eğ-im ő oy guft zartuxšt man kē Ohrmazd (hēm) (kū) agar az man jam nē padirē25 ošmurišn barişn ō dēn (kū hērbedih ud hāwišṭih nē kunē) ēg ān ī man gēhān frāxēn (kū wēš be kun26) ēg ān ī man gēhān *wālin (kū frabihtar be kun27) ēg ān ī man padīr gēhān rāy srāyišn (ud parwarišn) sālārīh (framān28 dádan) pad nigāhdārišnīh (pānāghīh kardān29).

2.5
ēg-iš ő man passox guft jam ī nēk zartuxšt (kū) *az *ēd tō gēhān frāxēnēm (kū wēš be kunēm30) az *ēd tō gēhān wālīnēm (kū frabihtar be kunēm) az *ēd tō31 padīrēm gēhān rāy srāyišn (parwarišn) ud sālārīh (framān dádan) pad nigāhdārišnīh32 (ē ē kunēm ēd-iz kunēm kū) nē33 ān ī man xwadāyīh bawēd ān sard wād nē ān garm (wād) ud nē xīndagīh (waštāgīh) ud nē margīh [hambun-iz Jam *ān ī-s nē būd hērbadīh ud hāwišṭīh tā wēh-dēn būd ud ahlaw būd ud u-s daxšag mardōmān andar tan kard estād ud ān kū wēh-dēn būd az ān gyāg paydag mūriōti. taṯ. matlısom. yat. aemčišt. yō. daēuwa. ēn kū ahlaw būd az ān gyāg paydag yimahē. viuwaŋhanahē. aṣaonō. frauwašīm. yaz.34 Jam ī wiwaghnān ān ahlaw frawahr *yzēm ān kū-s *daxšag35 mardōmān andar tan kard estād az ān gyāg paydag abarxānauwa. pasčaēta. asāra. maštūkaʾēbiūō. Jam ud Kay Us ḥar dō ahōš dād estād hēnd wināhgrārī ī xwēs rāy oṣōmand būd hēnd Jam rāy az ān gyāg paydag mušū36. taṯ. paiṭi. akwarmaqī. aoṣaŋhaṭ. huua. hizua. Kay Us rāy az ān gyāg paydag amī. diṃ. paiṭi. fraŋharzaṭ. amī. ho. baunaṭ. aoṣaŋhaṭ37].

2.6
ēg ő oy zay frāz-burd man kē Ohrmazd (hēm) surāgōmand zarrēn ud aštar-iz zarrēn pēšīd (*matrāq dastag).

2.7
(kē) Jam būd *barīšn ī xwadāyīh (kū-s ān38 xwadāyīh ēdōn nēk pad ān abzār tuwān būd39 kardān).

2.8
ēg ka pad ān ī Jam xwadāyīh ān sedīgar sato-zam (ō) ham-mad40 (kū-s sar be būd) ēg ān zamūg būd purr az pahān stōrān mardōmān sagān wayān ataxš-iz suxr ī sōzāg (awēšān) nē abar (ēn) *him41 (abar ēn zamūg) gāh windīd pah ud stōr ud mardōm.

[25 L4: MKBLWN-t.
26 L4: kunēd.
27 L4: kunēd.
28 L4: framānīh.
29 L4 om.
30 L4 om. (kū wēš be kunēm) az *ēd tō gēhān wālīnēm.
31 L4: ēd az tō.
32 L4 adds: panāghīh kardān.
33 L4 adds: pad.
34 L4 instead of: *ān ī-s nē būd...yuz it has ēn kū ahlaw būd az ān gyāg paydag.
35 L4: *gāhān.
36 mušū, soon, quickly.
37 L4 om. mušū taṭ. paiṭi...aoṣaŋhaṭ.
38 L4 om.
39 L4 om.
40 L4: kē mad.
41 Av. him, encl. dem. pron.]
THE LEGEND OF THE FLOOD IN ZORAOASTRIAN TRADITION

2.9⁴² ēg-šān ē Šām ē (nēk) abar *paywahīd⁴³ (kū awēšān kē xweškārīh būd be *paywahīdān) kū Šām ē nēk wiwaghān purr ēn zamīg ē ham-mad az pahan ēn stōrān ēn mardomān <sagan>-wayān ātāx-iz suxr ē sozāg nē abar (ēn) *hīm (abar pad ēn zamīg) gāh windēd pah ud stōr ud mardomān.

2.10 ēg Šām frāz-raft pad rōsnīh (ān ē pad rōsnīh ē xweš) abar rapihwintar rōn abar pad ēn ē xварšēd rāh [kū paydāgēnīd kū kē xweškārīhā pad kār be kāmēd šudan ā-ś se gām o rapihwintar rōn šawīn u-š gāhān xub-tar bawēd ē paydāg] ēn zamīg abar suft pad surāgōmand zarēn u-š be ēn ē suft pad astār (kū-š abar pad frōd *darīd) u-š ēdōn gūft (kū) dōšārnīh (*kun) spandarmad (kū dōšārānimhā dāmān rāy kunēd ēn čiš) frāz raw (kū) wēş (be dārās) be hunaq⁴⁴ (kū yašt be bāš) barišn ē pahan stōrān ēn mardomān rāy (kū ēn čiš).

2.11 ēg kē Šām ēn zamīg be rawēnēd ēk sēriwādac az ēn meh čiyōn pēš az ēn būd abar ēl anōh frāz raft hēnd ēn pah ud stōr ud mardomān pad ēn ē xweš kāmāg dōšīn čiyōn kandār-iz-ē ēn ēy dōšīn (har kas ē ast kē ēn ē Šām ēwōd az ēn ē petyārag ēl dām madan nē tuwān).

2.12 ēg (ka⁴⁵) pad ēn ē Šām xwadāyīh ēn šašom sato-zam (ō) ham-mad (kū-š sar be būd) ēg⁴⁶ ēn zamīg purr az pahan ēn stōrān mardomān sagān wayān ātāx-iz suxr sozāg (awēšān) nē abar (ēn) *hīm (abar ēn zamīg) gāh windēd pah ud stōr ud mardom (tū gyāg čiyōn azabar nibišt).

2.13-15 ēg Šām ēn zamīg be rawēnēd dō sēriwādac az ēn meh čiyōn pēš būd.

2.16 ēg (ka) pad ēn ē Šām xwadāyīh ēn nohom sato-zam (ō) ham-mad (kū-š sar be būd) ēg ēn zamīg būd purr az pahan stōrān mardomān sagān wayān ātāx-iz suxr ē sozāg (awēšān) nē abar (ēn) *hīm (abar ēn zamīg) gāh windēd pah ud stōr ud mardomān.

2.17 ēg-šān ē Šām abar *paywahīd⁴⁷ (awēšān kē xweškārīh būd be *paywahīd) (kū) Šām ē nēk wiwaghān purr ēn zamīg ē ham-mad az pahan ēn stōrān mardomān sagān wayān ātāx-iz suxr ē sozāg nē abar (ēn) *hīm (abar pad ēn zamīg) gāh windēd pah ud stōr ud mardomān.

2.18 ēg Šām frāz-raft pad rōsnīh (ān pad rōsnīh ē xweš) abar o rapihwintar rōn abar pad ēn ē xvaršēd rāh [kū paydāgēnīd kū kē xweškārīhā pad kār-e be kāmēd šudan ā-ś⁴⁸ se gām o

⁴² LA om. 2.9-10-11.
⁴³ Av. paš-pašēm, vaēda = vaēda <vaēd-vid: to know; vaēd-, present vinad-/vind:- to find.
⁴⁴ hunu-hunu- <huolhu mid.: to press.
⁴⁵ LA: kē.
⁴⁶ LA om. ēg... nibišt).
⁴⁷ LA adds: kū.
⁴⁸ LA om.
rapihwintar rón śawišn u-s⁴⁹ yatā ahū waryoy-ē be gowšn u-s gähān xubtar bawēd az *gāw payďag usšištaŋ, gāũš. barat. dayhuš. ēn kū-s abestāg gōwišn az *pasušhōr payďag sriʔa. uxmla. vača. sasaghan⁵⁰. ēn kū⁵¹ ān ī abestāg yatā ahū waryoy az ahuŋō. vaiɾiʔo payďag] ō ēn zamīg abar *suft pad surāḵomand zarrēn u-s be ēn suft pad āstar (kū-s abar frōd *darid u-s) ēdōn guft (kū) dōšāramhā⁵² spandarmad (kun) [kū dōšāramhā⁵³ dāmān rāy kunid ēn čiš] frāz raw (kū) wēš (be dārāš) be hunqīm (kū yašt be bāš) barišn ī pāhān ud stōrān ud mardomān (rāy kunid ēn čiš).

2.19
ēg kē Įam ēn zamīg be rawēnīd se sriḵwadag az ān⁵⁴ meh čiyoṇ pēš az ān būd.

2.20
abar ō ānōh frāz raft ġēnd pāh ud stōr ud mardom pad ān ī xwēš kāmag dōšišn čiyoṇ kard-irz-ē ān dōšišn [har kāš ē ast kē ān ī Įam gōwēd ān petyārag ā dām madan nē tuwān⁵⁵ frāz sātē-zam ī sedīgar andar⁵⁶ xwadāyih ī Įam sar be *būd Īam šās sad sāl wēš ēn dām a-marg a-zamān dāst ēn čiyoṇ wēš dāst ā-m nē rōšnāg u-sān hāzārag sar be kirrenīd az ān ġyāg payďag paoviriheca, pasčatā. hazanhrō, zamāze, ḫbarsī, as, ymō, karmanot, u-s ēn gehān pad se bār ān and Įam be kard auwaite. bazō. ol-īz ēdōn⁵⁷ ast ēn kū-s čiyoṇ kard ā-m nē rōšnāg ast⁵⁸ kē ēdōn gōwēd ē čagād-ē ē *gōbar hambārd ast kē ēdōn gōwēd ē *fragān(th) abāz xwānd ast kē ēdōn gōwēd ē ēdōn čiyoṇ gūspand ī nizār kē-s wāst dāhēd ud be abāzāyed Ohrmazd ēn dām se hāzār sāl mēnōg estišn dāst se hāzār sāl ġētič estišn a-petyārag ud se hāzār sāl petyārag dām madan tā dēn madan se hāzār sāl az dēn madan tā tan ī pasèn az ān ġyāg payďag čuawtīm. zruuām. mainiiawu. stiš. ašan. dāta. as.].

2.21
hanjamānē frāz burd kē dādār Ohrmazd (kū zamān be kard) abāg mēnōgān yazdān abar ō⁵⁹ nāmīg Erān-wēz (kū) wēh dātī hanjamānē frāz burd kē Įamsēd ī hu-ramag (wiwaghān⁶⁰ kū-s zamān be kard) abāg pahlomān mardomān abar (ō ēn) ān ī nāmīg Erān-wēz (kū) wēh dātī (ān ān) hanjamān be⁶¹ mad⁶² dādār Ohrmazd (kū pad zamān kard be mad) abag mēnōgān yazdān abar (ō ēn) nāmīg Erān-wēz (kū) wēh dātī (ān ān) hanjamān be mad kē Įamsēd ī hu-ramag (kū pad zamān kard be mad) abāg⁶³ pahlomān mardomān abar (ō ēn) ān nāmīg Erān-wēz (kū) wēh dātī [ē⁶⁴ Ohrmazd ēn hanjamān war rāy kard u-

⁴⁹ L4 om. u-s...dayhuš.
⁵⁰ L4: sasaghan.
⁵¹ L4: kē.
⁵² L4 adds: kunid.
⁵³ L4: dōšāram.
⁵⁴ L4 om. az ān.
⁵⁵ L4 om. nē tuwān.
⁵⁶ L4 om. andar... ġyāg payďag.
⁵⁷ L4: nīm.
⁵⁸ L4 om. ast kē ēdōn...dāta. as.].
⁵⁹ L4: ān ān.
⁶⁰ L4 om.
⁶¹ L4 om.
⁶² L4 adds kē.
⁶³ L4 om.
⁶⁴ L4 om. [ē... ġēnd].
§ *گارن زامستان راکر از پیش پائدها ی آم *اگاهی از اووهامد بود و ماردومان *اگاهی از یام بود یام این اووهامد گفت اضناد کا-ش مابایست دیدان ا-ش مید ماردومان- *این یام گفت اضناد که ان یام این اووهامد گفت اضناد که یا-شن ود کار رای بود و او یان گیاه-یز یام سود ونهد*.

2.22

ع-ش گفت اووهامد که یام (ک) یام (ک) نئک ویوگانه اباد و او ایستومند این واتار زامستان راسد (کی) و این یان یاهْمگی (ی-ش *ستُرگ کی65) و یان یاه (یاندر شوهد) *موردگ66 زامستان (کی چیش تابیه کونه67) اباد و او ایستومند این واتار زامستان راسد (ماکوسان گوئند) که این (به واس68) این سمند ود وفا و (پِیشند ان) پاد بایست اباد یان یار-ان پاد *بیش چاند ارد69 (این گیاه کی کهم نیشند که ود واندیز دو ایستاد بگیان وسنجید).  

2.23

از و یان گیاه یاد یام گوسپندار و فاسند راسد ید-یز که ایستاد (کی) پاد بیمنگنار و یان گیاهان (چیوین شپان) ید-یز که ایستاد بایان اباد یان یاهیان (چیوین *ابارسین) ید-یز که (است) از70 این یاگر رستگ (چیوین *رستگ) اباد و او یان یکر کاران.

2.24

(کی) پیش این زامستان ایستان ده بود ونهد برد71 ویستار (کی-شان *پِشوبایی این نئک بود و-شان همانبر اباد کار) پیش این ود با *تازیشینه پاس ود ایستاد ود (پیشید ود پاس) اباد- یز الاد یام اندار اخ وی ایستومند سابد که یدار پاه که انامور پای ونیهند (د72) این این-یز *پای اباد *دیدن این *پاهاست ود بگیان وست ود بگیان وست 73.

2.25

یگ یان وی وار کوئید پیشید درنای فاد ود کادار-یز-یز چارسوواگ (دو حسار از کوست-که که که چاهار کوست گوئید) (ع-ش) پاد اگنهن تیمکار اباد بارید ویز یاهن ود یارشان دومردیمان یاهان ویان داف وی یکار پیشید درنای فاد ود کادار-یز-یز چارسوواگ وداران *گیواندان75 رای.

2.26

(ع-ش) پاد اگنهن اب فرای طزین حسار مسای رای (ع-ش) پاد اگنهن مور وی لستین (پیراموینل یاب) اباد یاهساغ یارهون (کی) اباد یاهساغ76 خرام ان ایشیشیشینه (کی77 کا78 خوارد ماد) (ع-ش) پاد اگنهن مان وی لستین (پیراموین یمور-یز) *کاداغ (*دیوار) فرای اشکوب79 پاروار وی لستین پاروار (بیشند کا-ش ادین *کاداغ80).

65 L4 om.
66 Av. mərō *destructive.
67 L4: کوئید.
68 L4 om.
69 Av. snaēdāt. barzištačibii. bqlnuhiizi.araduiiz.
70 L4 om. ast az.
71 L4 adds az.
72 L4 om.
73 L4: ان یان-پاره یان ی پاره یز مانمی.
74 L4: ʾpš*.
75 L4: گوئید.
76 L4: یاهساغ.
77 L4: که.
78 L4 om.
79 L4 adds: کی بی اشکوب.
80 L4: که ایستاد .
2.27
(u-š) pad āgenēn az harwispīn narān ud närīgān tōhmag abar barīd kē hēnd pad ēn zamīg mahist (pad tan) pahlom (pad arz) nēkton (pad didan) (u-š) pad āgenēn az harwispīn göspand sardagān tōhm abar barīd kē hēnd pad ēn zamīg mahist81 (pad tan) pahlom (pad arz) nēkton (pad didan).

2.28
(u-š) pad āgenēn az82 harwispīn urwarān83 tōhmag abar barīd kē hēnd pad ēn zamīg bāl-

2.29
ma ā anōh ān ē frāz-kōfag (ō pēš) ma ān abāz-kōfag (ō pas ē-š o ān yāg ma *barēnd) ma ān ē *zpnīl (kē-š stūmag andar war frōd škast estēd) ma ān halag (kū90 dastwar nē dāred) ma ān *driwīg (kū91 *murd āwarēd) ma ān frēftār ma ān *kūtāg-bīn92 ma ān *wizwādāg-

2.30
pad ān frāztom deh (ē meh) nō widarag *kunīd (nō *kōyag) pad ān mayānag šaš pad ān nīdom se pad ān ē frāztom widarag (deh ē meh) ē-š hazār az narān närīgān tōhm abar barīd pad ān ē mayān šaš sad ān ē nīdom se sad (ē ka deh marag paydāg hē mardōm marag-īz paydāg bawē) abar-īz awēšān war mānišnān rāy (kunīd) pad surāgonand zarrēn abar-īz pad ān ē marz-dēwār95 (kū-š *ān be *wisān) rōzan (kū-š dargāh be hīlēd) xwa-rošān az andarōn nēmag (bawēd ka ēdōn kard būd).

2.31
ēg-š menīd Jam (kū) āiyōn awēšān *az war kunēm kē-š ō man guft Ohrmazd u-š guft
Ohrmazd ō Jam (kū) Jam ē nēk wiwaghānan ēn zamīg pad pāsnaq be Əspar ud pad dast
be *pylstə hōmānāgīh ō (kard) cīyōn nūn mardōm (kaənō) šusar zamīg be rawēnēnd.

2.32, all Mss. om.

2.33
eg Žam (ān) war kard aspres drahnāy pad kadār-iz-ē časruśwadag (dō ġasār az kōst-e ast kē az har cāhār kōst gōwēd) (u-ē) pad āgenēn tōhmag abar burd az pahān ud stōrān mardōmān ud sagān ud wayān ātāxā-iz suxr sōzāg ēg. Žam (ān) war kard asprēs drahnāy pad kadār-iz-ē časruśwadag mardān abar-mānīsūn rāy asprēs100 drahnāy pad kadār-iz-ē časruśwadag gāwān *gōspandān101 rāy.

2.34
(u-ē) pad āgenēn āb frāz tāznēnd ġasār masāy rāy (u-ē) pad āgenēn murw be estēnēd (pēr-āmōn ā āb) abar hamēşag zarrēngōn (kū tār) (abar) hamēşag xwarišn an-abesīhišn (kū102 kā xward mad) (u-ē) pad āgenēn mān be estēnēd (pēr-āmōn ā murw) *kadag (dēwār) frāz āskōb (kū-ē frāz) āskōf103 parwār pērāmōn parwār104 (būd ka-š ēdōn kard).

2.35
(u-ē) pad āgenēn az harwispin nārān ud nārīgān tōhm abar burd kē hēnd pad ēn zamīg mahist (pad tān) pahlom (pad arz) ud nēk (pad didān) (u-ē)105 pad āgenēn az harwispin gōspand sardāgān tōhm abar burd kē hēnd pad ēn zamīg mahist106 (pad tān) ud pahlom (pad arz) ud nēktom (pad didān).

2.36
(u-ē)107 pad āgenēn az harwispin urwarān tōhm abar burd kē hēnd pad ēn zamīg bālīst (cīyōn sarw ud ēnār) hubōyom (cīyōn gūl ī yāsaman) (u-ē)108 pad āgenēnī az harwispin xwarišnān tōhm abar burd kē hēnd pad ēn zamīg xwālīst (cīyōn xormā) ud hubōyom (cīyōn bēh ud wādrang) (u-ē)109 pad awēsān (war-mānīšnān) rāy kard ān *dō-gānag an-afšēnīšn (maθ110, ply-l ast kē gumēzag gōwēd ast kē hamēşag) haṃāg111 az ān ka awēsān mard war-mānīsūn hēnd (ē112 paydāg kū bawēd *kē nē war mānīšnān hēnd).

96 Av. vixādu, xad- to knead.
97 L4: kē.
98 L4 om.
99 L4 om. ēg... časruśwadag.
100 L4 om. asprēs... časruśwadag.
101 L4: gostān.
102 L4 om. kū...mad).
103 L4: be āskōb.
104 L4 om.
105 L4 om. (u-ē)... harwispin.
106 L4 om. mahist... (pad didān)
107 L4 om. (u-ē)...urwarān.
108 L4 om. (u-ē)... harwispin.
109 L4 om. (u-ē)...(war-mānīšnān).
110 L4 om. maθ... hamēşag).
111 L4: haṃāg.
112 L4 om. (ē... hēnd).
2.37
(u-ş) nê ò anôh ân î frâz-kôfag (ô pêş) nê ân pas-kôfag (ô113 pas â-ş ô ân gûyg nê nûd) ud nê ân î *zpnyl î (kê-ş stûnag andar war frôd skast estêd) nê ân î halag (kî114 dastwar nê dârêd) nê ân *driwîg (kê *mwlît ûwarêd) nê ân frêftar nê115 ân î *kûtag-bûn nê ân *wîz-wâdag-(rêşag-îz116 ast kê ô-ûn gûwêd) nê ân î be winast-dandân (kê afsûs kunênd ast kê êdôn gûwêd dandân-iş117 pudag estêd) nê pês kû jud-kard (estêd) tan (wûzag êd *dênîg-kûr nê sâyêd ast kê êdôn gûwêd ê nê pês *köft êd-iz kê jud-kard estêd tan) nê ân118 kas az ên an ê119 daxsagân kê hênd gânû menûg daxsag pad mardônûn be däd (estêd) (kas ô-ûn gûyg nê nûd).

2.38
(u-ş) pad ân frâztom deh (î meh) nô widarag kard (nô *kûyag) pad ân mayânag şaş pad ân nîdîm se (u-ş) pad ân î frâztom widarag120 (deh î meh) â-ş hazêr az narân ud nêrgân tôhm abar bûd pad ân mayân şaş sad pad ân î nîdîm se sad (ê121 ka deh marag paydâg hê mardôm-iz marag paydâg hê) (u-ş) abar-iz awêşân war mânişnân rây (kard) pad surâgômmand zarrên u-ş abar-îz122 ân î war *marz-dêwâr (kû-ş *ân123 be *wisân) rôzan (kû-ş dargêb be hişt) xwa-rôsân az andarôn nîmag (bûd kû-ş êdôn kard) ê *ûh paydâgênûd kû124 pêtûrag andar xwadayîîh î Jam a-ş çêrîg xwastân nê tuwân bûd kayûs tuwân bûd ast kê êdôn gûwêd ôh-iz tuwân bûd bê pad êd daşt kû ka abûz rased stalmagtar bûd).

2.39
dâdâr î gehân î astomandân ahlaw az êcê êdôn awêşân *rûzân125 hênd ahlaw Ohrmazd kê êdôn (àn gûyg) rûsnênd andar awêşân war mânişnân î Jam kard.

2.40

2.41
awêşân-iz rûz (pas128) menênd sâl-iz [pas hapta. honîti. hâmînî. mûn. oujî. zaiiana. anôh129 kûr] pad cehel (sâlan130) zamestân az dû mardân dû mard ul-zâyêd pad gûmezag

113 L4 om. (ô pas... nûd).
114 L4: kê.
115 L4 om. nê ân î *kûtag-bûn.
116 L4 om.
117 L4 om. dadân-iş... estêd tan).
118 L4 om.
119 L4: ôy.
120 L4 om. widarag (deh î).
121 L4 om. ê ka... abar-iz.
122 L4 om. abar-iz ân î war marz.
123 L4: *gûnag.
124 L4 om. kû... bûd).
125 L4 om. *rûzân... kard.
126 Av. stûdâta-: made of existence/ world.
127 L4 om.
128 L4 om.
129 L4: anôh-iz
130 L4 om.
2.42
dādār ā gehān ā astomandān ā ahlaw kē ū ānōh dēn māzdesnān be burd ū awēsān war-
mānišnān Ām kard u-š guft Ohrmazd (kū) way karšīt spitāmān zartuxšt (čaxr-wāg ā pad
awx ā mēnōgān abāz šawēd).

2.43
dādār ā gehān ā astomandān ā ahlaw kē awēsān ast awx ud radīh (kē-šān dēn ān gyāg burd
ā-šān\textsuperscript{135} dastwar kē) u-š guft Ohrmazd kū urwatatnā zartuxšt (pus ā tō) tō-iz\textsuperscript{136} zartuxšt
(hē) [ē ūn paydāgēnd kū dastwar ka ān *murd kunēd šayēd ka ān kunēd nē mad estēd ā-z šayēd].

Translation

2.1
Zarathustra asked Ohrmazd: “O Ohrmazd, Bountiful Spirit, Creator of the material
world, O orderly one! (Ohrmazd, dādār, ahlaw are for invocation, the other is for praise)
with whom did you consult, the first of men, you who are Ohrmazd (with whom did you
first have a consultation about the religion), other than I who am Zarathustra? To whom
did you reveal this religion of Ohrmazd and Zarathustra?”

2.2
Ohrmazd said: “To Jam, the beautiful (to see), of good herds, O orderly Zarathustra!
(<his> being of the good herds was this, that he properly maintained the herds of men and
herds of animals), with him, the first of men did I consult, I who am Ohrmazd (I had a
consultation about the religion, first with him), other than you who are Zarathustra, I
revealed unto him, this religion of Ohrmazd and Zarathustra.”\textsuperscript{137}

2.3
Then I spoke to him, O Zarathustra! I who am Ohrmazd: “Do you accept of me, O Jam,
the beautiful, son of Wiwanghān, to be the reciter and Upholder of the Religion (<do you>
perform <the work of> priestly office and disciple)?” Then, Jam, the beautiful replied to
me, O Zarathustra!: “I was not created nor thought to be the reciter and Upholder of the
Religion (I cannot perform <the work of> priestly office or disciple).

2.4
Then I spoke to him, O Zarathustra! I who am Ohrmazd: “O Jam! since you do not
accept becoming the reciter and Upholder of the Religion (do not perform <the work of>
priestly office and disciple), then enlarge my world (make it bigger) and increase my world (make it stouter) then accept the protection (nourishment), and the authority of my world (giving order), and its guardianship (offering protection).

2.5
Then he, the beautiful Jam, answered me, O Zarathustra! I will enlarge your world (I will make it bigger), I will increase your world (I will make it stouter), I will accept the protection (nourishment), the authority (giving order), and the guardianship of your world. (This I will do, the other too, will I do; so that) during my sovereignty <there> shall be neither cold wind nor hot (wind), neither illness (sickness) nor death [nothing at all].\(^{138}\) <The work of > priestly office and disciple Jam did not have, still he was of the good religion; he was orderly; men have put on his mark\(^{139}\) on their bodies. That <he> was of the good religion is evident from the passage “mruđē. tat. maḥĪsām. yat. aemētī. yō. daēua.”\(^{140}\) That he was orderly is evident from the passage “yimahē. viiūanhanahē. aśaonō. frauwašīm. yas.”\(^{141}\) I worship the frawašī\(^{142}\) of Jam, son of Wiwannān, the orderly. That men had put on his mark on their bodies is evident from the passage “abaraśhnauma. pasćētā. asēra. maśiśkaetiβiβa.”\(^{143}\) Jam and Kay Us were both created immortal; by their own sinfulness they became mortal. As for Jam it is evident from the passage “muśū. tat. paiīt. akoraṇoōt. aošanhaτ. hiuua. hizwa.”\(^{144}\) As for Kay Us this is evident from the passage “aŋ̑i. dim. paiīt. fraŋ̑harzat. aŋ̑i. hō. bawuaτ. aošanha".\(^{145}\).

2.6
Then I brought the instrument to him, I who am Ohrmazd, hollow, golden, and the goad adorned with gold (having a *polished handle).

2.7
Which was Jam’s upholding of sovereignty (<through which> he could exercise full sovereignty).

2.8
Then, when under Jam’s sovereignty, the three hundred winters came to an end (it was ended); then, this earth became full of small and large animals, men, dogs and birds and red and blazing fires; (they), small and large animals, and men did not find room throughout this place (throughout this earth).

\(^{138}\) Yasna 9.5.

\(^{139}\) That is kustīg, sacred girdle worn by Zoroastrians around the waist to protect life and it serves as a shield against evil and Sudre, sacred white undershirt or vest; on the purpose of tying a kustīg see Dādestān i Dēnīg, ch. 38; Zādspram, ch. 4.6, 13.2, 27.4; Dēnīk Book V, p. 462; J. J. Modi, The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees, Bombay, 1937; J. de Menasce, “Early Evidence for the Symbolic Meaning of the Kustik,” in J. Zarathshī Madressa Centenary Volume, Bombay, 1967, pp. 17-8.


\(^{141}\) “We worship the frawaši of orderly Yima son of Viuuanhana” (Yt 13. 130).

\(^{142}\) Av. frauwaši- a tutelary divinity protecting the believers.

\(^{143}\) “Thereafter people, being without chief and leader”.

\(^{144}\) “With his tongue he soon made mortal again”. Kay Us. Av. Kauuu Uṣar/Kauuu Uṣaqan (Kāvya Uṣunās of Indian tradition); see Pahlavi Rivāyat, ch. 47.7.

\(^{145}\) “In that moment he (Ahura Mazda) freed him again and in that moment he (Kay Us) became mortal.”
2.9. Then they asked Jam (the beautiful) (those whose duty was to ask): “O beautiful Jam, son of Winwanghān! this earth has become full of small and large animals, men, <dogs>, birds and red and blazing fires; small and large animals and men do not find room, across this place (across this earth).

2.10 Then Jam stepped forward, in light (in his own light), on to the southern direction, towards the sun’s path; [it is revealed that he who dutifully desires to go for work, he shall go three steps to the southern direction, and for him, the Gāthās\textsuperscript{146} will be better as it is evident]. He pierced this earth with a hollow golden <instrument>; he pierced it with the goad (he tore it down). Thus he spoke: “With love O Spandarmad\textsuperscript{147} do! (do this thing with love for the creatures); go forward (keep increasing), press! (may you be worshipped) for upholding the small and large animals and men (do this thing).

2.11 Then, Jam expanded <the size of> this earth to one third larger than what it had been; <on this earth> stepped forward small and large animals and men, at their own will and pleasure, each one as was his/her pleasure (each person. There is one who says that of Jam, the adversary cannot come to the creatures).

2.12 Then when under Jam’s sovereignty, six hundred winters came to an end (it was ended), then this earth became full of small and large animals, men, dogs, birds, and red and blazing fires; (they), small and large animals, and men did not find room throughout this place (throughout this earth) (as I wrote above).

2.13-15 Then Jam expanded this earth to two thirds larger than what it had been before.

2.16 Then, when under Jam’s sovereignty, nine hundred winters came to an end (it was ended); then this earth became full of small and large animals, men, dogs, birds and red and blazing fires; (they) the small and large animals and men did not find room throughout this place (throughout this earth).

2.17 Then they asked Jam (those whose duty was to ask): “O Jam, the beautiful, son of Winwanghān! this earth has become full of small and large animals, men, dogs, birds and red and blazing fires; small and large animals and men do not find room throughout this place (throughout this earth)”.

\textsuperscript{146} The Avesta contains two groups of texts, commonly referred to as the Old and the Younger (or Young) Avesta. The Old Avesta contains Gāthās “songs” and the Yasna Haptanahāti. The indigenous tradition attributes the Gāthās to Zarathustra who is mentioned in them.

2.18
Then Jam stepped forward, in light (in his own light), on to the southern direction, towards the sun’s path; [it is revealed that he who dutifully desires to go for work, he shall go three steps to the southern direction, he shall recite a yâta ahû wairyo\textsuperscript{148}; for him the Gâthâs will be better as it is evident from “gâw”: “usvhiśat. gâus. baraṭ. daṇhuś.”\textsuperscript{149} This that he shall recite the Avesta is evident from the “pasuśhōrw”\textsuperscript{150} “srīra. uxō. vacā. sasanham,”\textsuperscript{151} This that it is the Avesta of a yâta ahû wairyo is evident from “Ahunō. vairiō.”\textsuperscript{152} He pierced this earth with the hollow, golden instrument; he pierced it with the goad (he tore it down); he thus said: “Do by love, O Spandarmad!” [you will do this thing with love for the creatures]; go forward (may you keep increasing), press! (may you be worshipped) for upholding the small and large animals and men (may you do this thing).

2.19
Then Jam expanded this earth to three thirds larger than what it had been before.

2.20
There, <on this earth> stepped forward small and large animals and men according to their own will and pleasure, each one according to his/her pleasure [each person. There is one who says that of Jam, the adversary cannot come to the creatures. The three hundred winters under Jam’s sovereignty was ended. Jam kept these creatures without death and without decrepitude, six hundred years more. How he maintained them is not clear to me. That they saved Jam at the end of the millennium, is evident from <the passage> “paoiriheche. pasêta. hazañhō. zmahe. ðfarsō. +as. yimō. ūrōnaq.”\textsuperscript{153} He, Jam, made this earth as much <bigger as it was> by three times “auuattō. basō”\textsuperscript{154} Even so is this; how he did it, is not clear to me. There is one who thus says, “he filled up the mountain peak with *gôbar.” There is one who thus says, “he recited a *stanza.” There is one who thus says, “just like a lean sheep whom they give fodder and becomes fat.” Ohmazd maintained this creation for 3000 years in spiritual state; 3000 years in material state without the Adversary; 3000 years from the coming of the Adversary to the creatures, until the coming of the Religion; 3000 years from the coming of the Religion until the Final Body; this is evident from the passage “čuuañtəm. zruuñtəm. mainicaua. sīn. aṣaone. dāta. as.”\textsuperscript{155}


\textsuperscript{149} “Up stood the cow bearing the land.”

\textsuperscript{150} “Shepherd’s dog code” (pasuśhôrwestân; Dênkard, Book VIII, p. 725) concerns the duties of the dog and the shepherd, including care of sick and wounded sheep, and the dog’s right to kill and eat a sheep if left without food; cf. M. Shaki, “Die Nask,” in \textit{Encyclopaedia Iranica}, vol. VI, 1993, p. 547.

\textsuperscript{151} “By means of the beautiful utterance of the mandatory words.”

\textsuperscript{152} “After the first millennium Yima was cut with a saw”. According to the Avestan myth Spitiura sawed Yima in half (Yašt. 19.46); Bundahišn TD1, fol. 90r; Indian Bundahišn 31.3; Zâdpram ch. 35:46; Pahlavi Rûvâyat ch. 47.8, 48.66; Pahlavi Yasn 43. 11-12; Dênkard, p. 851.2-9; M. Molé, \textit{La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pelevès}, p. 230).

\textsuperscript{153} “Of a much thickness”.

\textsuperscript{154} “For how long was the spiritual existence made?”
2.21
Ohmazd, the creator, called a meeting (he fixed the time) with the spiritual gods in the famous Erân-wêz (where) the good Dâti" is. The shining Jam of good herds, (son of Wiwanghân) called a meeting (he fixed the time) with the best men, in (this) famous Erân-wêz (where) the good Dâti is. To that meeting came Ohmazd, the creator, (he came at the time fixed), with the spiritual gods, in this famous Erân-wêz (where) the good Dâti is. To that meeting came the shining Jam of good herds (he came at the time fixed) with the best men, in this famous Erân-wêz (where) the good Dâti is. [Ohmazd fixed this meeting for the war; he fixed it for that severe winter, as it is evident from the following. Jam received the information from Ohmazd, and men received the information from Jam. Jam listened to what Ohmazd said; he saw when he was supposed to see; men listened to what Jam said; they listened to what Ohmazd said; since they were meant for this work, they too, went to the place with Jam.

2.22
Ohmazd, spoke to Jam: "O beautiful Jam, son of Wiwanghân! upon the material world the very wicked winter will come, by which there will be oppression (so fierce that it will spread everywhere), deadly winter (it will destroy things); upon the material world the worst winter will arrive (which they call malkösân) by which intense ice-storm and snow will fall upon the highest mountain summits, of the thickness of an ardvi. (The place where it will settle the least, it will be one span and two fingers).

2.23
From three places hither the beneficent animals will arrive, O Jam! (those) who will be in the most fearful of places (like Spähân); those who will be over the mountain tops (like Abarsën), and those who will be from the deep river-beds (like Erāstān) over the well-built residences.

2.24
Before winter, their countries were bearing pastures (they had a good leader, they had prepared a store), before the flowing of water, after the melting of the snow (before and after); and a marvel will appear here in the material world, O Jam! if the footprint of an animal sheep were seen here (from this footprint up to the sheep-fold many survive).

2.25
Then make that war the length of a racecourse on each of the four sides (two hâsars from one side. There is one who says, from all four sides). Bring together the seeds of

157 At the end of the millennium of Ušëdar, Malkûs (Av. mahrin-), of the race of Tür-１Brâtrôšs, who killed Zarathustra, will reappear and will produce the terrible Malkûsân winter lasting three years, cf. Dênkaḏ Book VII, p. 668.17; Mole (1967: ch. 1-21-23, 3-7); Bundahâš TD1, fol. 93v.; Dâdestân i Dênk, ch 36.8o; Pahalvi Rivâyat, ch. 48.2-17.
159 Fras, Araxes (Aras) river.
160 Av. hâdhrâ- a measure of length (= frasang, or 1/4 frasang, 1 mile).
animals, small and large, men, dogs, birds, and red and blazing fires. Then make that war
of the length of a racecourse on each of the four sides, for the habitation of men; of the
length of a racecourse on each of the four sides, for housing oxen and cattle.

2.26
Make the water flow together of the length of a āsār; settle the birds together (around
the water) over the eternal green (fresh), (over) the eternal indestructible food (when eat-
tables have come); establish houses together (around the birds), <which have> house
(walls), balcony, citadel, and enclosure (it is such a house).

2.27
Bring together the seeds of all men and women, who are the greatest (in body), the best
(in value), the most beautiful (to look at) on this earth; bring together the seeds of all the
species of the beneficent animal, who are the greatest (in body), the best (in value), the
most beautiful (to look at) on this earth.

2.28
Bring together the seeds of all the plants, that are the tallest on this earth (like the cypress
and the plane-tree), and the most fragrant (like jasmine); bring together the seeds of all
the eatables, which are the sweetest on this earth (like the date) and the most fragrant
(like quince and citron); make for those (staying in the war), couples, imperishable [*into
pairs. 151] There is one who says “mixture”. There is one who says “*constantly”] ever
from that until when those men are residents of the war (it is evident that there remain
those who are not residents of the war).

2.29
There shall not be <one> with a hump in front (in the front) nor with a hump in the back
(at the back; do not take him to that place), nor *disabled (whose spine is broken down
into the breast), nor imbecile (who does not have authority), nor *driwīg (who brings
*death), nor deceiver, nor *short-sighted, nor * with crooked (legs); (there is one who
says that, nor <one whose> teeth are malformed” (he makes mockery. There is one who
says whose teeth are decayed), nor the leper whose body is set apart (the word <means>
*religious work <is not proper for him.>. There is one who thus says neither the leper
whose body is set apart), nor a person of other marks that are the Evil Spirit’s marks
given to men (then do not take him to that place)” 152.

2.30
Make nine passages for the foremost (the large) district (nine streets), six for <that of>
the middle, three for the smallest; bring a thousand seeds of men and women to the fore-
mest passage (of the large district), six hundred to the middle, and three hundred to the
smallest; (when the number of districts is revealed, the number of men also would be
revealed). For those dwellers in the war (make) with the hollow golden <instrument> and

151 The reference to pairs recalls the Biblical account.
152 Av. a[r]a fra[k]amū with hump in front; apānhunā with hump in back; aprānpunā *with bent
spine (?); hārārū with bent spine (?); hārārū *imbecile; dīriyīq dīriyīq (?), birth mark (?); da[i]īrīq mad (?); kasuā[īq], with *pustules (?);
*ādāhārīq with crooked (legs) (?); vīmīq.vīmīq with decayed teeth; paṭāhī, leper.
on to the war <fix> *a dividing wall (separate it), a window163 (leave a doorway), self-illuminated from inside (shall be, when thus was done).

2.31 Then thought Jam: “How shall I make for them the war of which Ohrmazd spoke to me?” Ohrmazd said to Jam: “O beautiful Jam son of Wiwanghān! stamp this earth with your heels and *knead it with your hands as men now extend the wet earth.”164

2.32 = all Mss om.

2.33 Then Jam made that war the length of a racecourse on each of the four sides (two hāsars from one side. There is one who says from all the four sides); he brought together <unto it> the seeds of animals, small and large, men, dogs, birds, and red and blazing fires. Then Jam made that war the length of a racecourse on each of the four sides, for the habitation of men, of the length of a racecourse on each of the four sides for housing oxen and cattle.

2.34 He made the water to flow together of the length of a hāsar; he settled the birds together (around the water) over the eternal green (fresh), (over) the eternal indestructible food (when eatables have come); he established houses together (around the birds) <which have> house (walls), balcony (the fore-roof), citadel and enclosure (thus he did).

2.35 He brought together the seeds of all men and women, who were the greatest (in body), the best (in value) and the most beautiful (to look at) on this earth; he brought together the seeds of all the species of the beneficent animal, who were the greatest (in body), the best (in value), the most beautiful (to look at) on this earth.

2.36 He brought together the seeds of all the plants, that were the tallest on this earth (like the cypress and the plane-tree) and the most fragrant (like jasmine); he brought together the seeds of all the eatables, which were the sweetest on this earth (like the date) and the most fragrant (like quince and citron); he made (for those staying in the war) couples, imperishable (“into pairs. There is one who says “mixture”. There is one who says “*constant”), ever from that until when those men were residents of the war (it would become evident that there were those who were not residents of the war).

2.37 And there was not <one> with a hump in front (in the front), nor with a hump in back (at the back) (he did not lead him to the place); nor *disabled (whose spine was broken down into the breast), nor îmbecile (who did not have authority), nor *drīwīg (who brought *death), nor the deceiver, nor *short-sighted, nor * with crooked (legs); (there is one who

163 Another reference to the Biblical account (Genesis 6:16).
164 lit. the earth when it is fluid (i.e. clay); cf. B. Lincoln, “The ‘House of Clay’”, in Indo-Iranian Journal, volume 24/1, 1982 pp. 1-12.
says that) nor <one whose> teeth were malformed (who made mockery. There is one who
thus says whose teeth were decayed), nor the leper whose body was set apart (the word
<means> *religious work is not proper <for him>. There is one who thus says neither the
leper whose body is set apart, nor a person of other marks that are the Evil Spirit ’s marks
given to men (he did not lead him to that place).

2.38
(He) made nine passages for the foremost (large) district (nine streets), six for that of
the middle part, three for the smallest; he brought a thousand seeds from men and women to
the front passage (of the large district), six hundred to the middle, and three hundred to
the smallest; (when the number of districts is revealed, the number of men also would be
revealed); and for those dwellers in the war (he made) with the hollow, golden <instru-
ment> and on to the war <he fixed> *a dividing wall (he separated it), a window (he left
a doorway), self-illuminated from inside (he did thus). It is revealed that the adversary,
during Jam’s sovereignty, could not seek remedy, it was possible <in the time of> Kay
Us. There is one who thus says then, too, it was possible but he thought that when <the
adversary> will arrive, he will be the more oppressive).

2.39
O creator of the material world, O orderly one! Of what thus are their lights made, O
orderly Ohrmazd! which thus illumine the war, (that place) which Jam made?

2.40
Ohrmazd said: “Of the self-produced lights and those made for the existence [vīspa. ana-
gra. raočā. usća. us-raočalieti. vīspa. stiddāta. raočā. aora. āraočalieti. aŋtarā]165].
(Their) *doom seems to be of one kind (their difficulty more than ours, <is> this one.
There is one who thus says there <is> one of their own <difficulties>; the sight of the
stars, the moon and the sun (is not for them).166

2.41
And they consider a day as a year then, there [hapta. ḥanti. haminō. manha. paṇča. zai-
iana]. There, every forty years from every couple two beings are born in a pair, of
female and male; and thus from those who are species of the beneficent animals, (these
too, thus give birth).168 *These men live the happiest life (they live one hundred and fifty
years. There is one who thus says they live the happiest life, that is, they never die), in the
war, the one that Jam made.

2.42
O orderly creator of the material world! who brought there the Mazdaeanian religion to
those who dwell in the war which Jam made? Ohrmazd said: “The bird karšipt, O Spi-
tama Zarathustra! ” (the *caurwāk170 who will return to the spiritual existence).

165 “And all the endless lights shine from above, all the lights made for the existence shine from
within.”
166 The people in the war cannot see the stars, the moon, and the sun, since the war is underground,
and that is why the war has its own lights.
167 “Seven are the months of summer, five of winter.”
168 See Mēnōg i xrad, ch. 62.15-19.
169 Av. karšipta-, name of a mythical bird.
170 Bundahish, fol. 49 r.; Zadspram, 23; 2.; see also E. Benveniste, “Les Noms de l’‘Oiseau’ en
2.43
O orderly creator of the material world! who is their lord and their <spiritual> master?
(Who brought them religion thither, who is their spiritual authority?) Ohrmazd said:
"Urvatánara" 171, O Zarathustra! (that is, your son) and you who are Zarathustra.
They explain that, it is proper if they appoint a priest when that <one> shall die; it is also
proper when <that one whom they appoint> has not come.

Bibliography

B.T. Anklesaria, Zand-Ākâsh: Iranian or Greater Budahšn.Transliteration and Translation in
B.T. Anklesaria, Pahlavi Vendidad (Zand-i Jvît-Dèv-Dâr), transliteration and translation in Eng-
lish, Bombay, 1949.
E. Benveniste, "Les Noms de l"Oiseau" en Iranien," in Paideuma, Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde,
C.G. Cereti, "Zoroastrian Manuscripts Belonging to the Bhandarkar Institute Collection, Pune," in
A. Christensen, Les Kayanides, København, 1931.
A. Christensen, Codices Avestici et Pahlavici codex K35 pt. I. The Dâhistân-i Dinik, Copenhagen,
1934.
A. Christensen, Les types du premier homme et du premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des
iraniens, 1e partie, Stockholm, 1917; 2e partie, Leiden, 1934.
J. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Cor de Yima et trompette d'Istâfîl: de la Cosmologie mazdéenne à
l'eschatologie musulmane," in Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Let-
tres, Paris, 1979, pp. 539-49.
Indian Budahšn, ed. F. Justi as Der Bundehesh, Leipzig, 1868; repr. Hildesheim & New York,
1976.

čaxvâk, canard, skr. cakravāka); J. Kellens, "Langues et religions indo-iraniennes," Annuaire du Col-
âles noires); M. Borhan, Borhân-e Qâte', ed. M. Mo'in, 5 vols., Tehran, 1362/1983; (ed. M. Mo'in, vol. 2,
p. 632, čârkh, čârgh, kestrel, sparrow-hawk).

171 Av. Urvatánara- (Yl. 13.98) is one of the three sons of Zarathustra; he is also mentioned as the
chief and master of Jan's war in chapter 33.5 of the Indian Budahšn.
The Avesta Codices K3a, K3b and K1. Containing portions of the Vendidad with its pahlavi translation and commentary published in facsimile by the University Library of Copenhagen, with an introduction by K. Barr. First Part, Einar Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1941.