

## 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-Ḥašis, the Babylonian Epic of Gilgameš, 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 *Vidēvdād*, a part of the *Avesta*, the sacred book of the Zoroastrians. The general subject of *Vidēvdād* 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.<sup>1</sup>

The *Vidēvdād* relates that Ohrmazd first asked Jam, the son of Wiwaghān<sup>2</sup>, 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.<sup>3</sup> 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 instrument<sup>4</sup>, 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

<sup>1</sup> Jam's legend has been studied by many scholars; see A. Christensen, *Les types du premier homme et du premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des iraniens*, 2e partie, Leiden, 1934; M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism* Vol. I., Leiden/Köln, 1975, pp. 92-7; J. Kellens, "Yima, magicien entre les dieux et les hommes," in *Acta Iranica*, 23, *Hommages et Opera Minora (Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin)*, 1984, pp. 267-81.

<sup>2</sup> Wiwaghān was the first mortal to press the *haoma* and he was rewarded by the birth of a son, Jam.; *Yasn* 9.4.

<sup>3</sup> *Yasn* 9.4-5; *Yašt* 19.33; 15. 14-17; 5. 24-27; 9. 7-11; 17. 28-31; *Dēnkard*, Book VIII, p. 777; M. Molé, *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevi*, Paris, 1967, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Av. *sufrā*- 'a tool wielded by Yima'; cf. J. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Cor de Yima et trompette d'Israfil: de la Cosmologie mazdēenne à l'eschatologie nūsulmane," in *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 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.<sup>5</sup>

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*<sup>6</sup> and the *Ratu*<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup>

In cosmological passages of Zoroastrian literature, winter is mentioned as one of the counter-creations of the Evil Spirit.<sup>10</sup> 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*).<sup>11</sup> Winter is also one companion of the demon Āz, Greed, the arch demon and closest companion of the Evil Spirit.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> It is based on the text edited by Dastoor Hoshang Jamasp<sup>14</sup> and I have referred to manuscript L4 (London).<sup>15</sup> 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-

<sup>5</sup> See also *Pahlavi Rivāyat*, ch. 48.17.

<sup>6</sup> Lord; cf. B. Schlerath, "Ahu," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. I, 1985, p. 681.

<sup>7</sup> The divine model or prototype ruling all phenomena in the material world.

<sup>8</sup> For a schema of the war, see Steblin-Kamensky I.M., "Avestan *kamčit paiti čaδrušanqm*," in *East and West*, vol. 45-Nos 1-4, 1995, pp. 309.

<sup>9</sup> *Bundahišn* TD1, fol. 93r; *Mēnōg ī xrad*, ch.27. 29-31.

<sup>10</sup> *Bundahišn* TD1, fol. 19r.

<sup>11</sup> *Vidēvdād*, 1. 20.

<sup>12</sup> *Zādspram*, ch. 34.32-33.

<sup>13</sup> Previous translations of this chapter were prepared by E.N.M. Kanga, 1899. *The Vendidad, translation into English from Pahlavi*, Bombay; B.T. Anklesaria, 1949. *Pahlavi Vendidad (Zand-i Jvit-Dēv-Dāt)*, transliteration and translation in English, Bombay.

<sup>14</sup> *Vendidad, Avesta Text with Pahlavi Translation and Commentary, and Glossarial Index*, 1907, ed. Dastoor Hoshang Jamasp, with the assistance of Mervanji Manekji Gandevia, Vol. 1- The Texts, Bombay.

<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> The manuscript K1 (Copenhagen) originally contains 340 folios, of which fols. 93r-303 are in Copenhagen and an unknown number are in India. The 248 folios still left are in a very varying state of preservation. The first 23 leaves have several holes due to the burrowing of insects, but otherwise most of fols. 93-183 and 307-340 are compatibly well preserved. This manuscript was completed in Cambridge on 17 May 1324.<sup>17</sup>

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

pursīd zartuxšt az Ohrmazd kū Ohrmazd mēnōg abzōnīg dādār ī gēhān ī astōmandān ī ahlaw (ē Ohrmazd dādār ud ahlaw pad xwānišn abārīg pad stāyišn) ō kē fradom az mardōmān ham-pursīd (hē) tō kē Ohrmazd hē (kū-t ham-pursagīh pad dēn fradom abāg kē kard) ān ē az man kē zartuxšt (hēm ā-t) ō kē frāz nimūd (ēn) dēn ī Ohrmazd ud zartuxšt.

### 2.2

u-š guft Ohrmazd kū ō jam ī nek (pad dīdan<sup>18</sup>) hu-ramag ahlaw zartuxšt (ē hu-ramagīh ēd būd kū-š ramag mardōmān ud ramag gōspandān drust dāšt<sup>19</sup>) ō ōy fradom az mardōmān ham-pursīd (hēm) man kē Ohrmazd (hēm) (kū-m ham-pursagīh pad dēn fradom abāg ōy<sup>20</sup> kard) ān ē az tō kē zartuxšt (hē)<sup>21</sup> (ām) ō ōy<sup>22</sup> frāz nimūd (ēn) dēn ī Ohrmazd ud zartuxšt.

### 2.3

ēg ō ōy guft zartuxšt man kē Ohrmazd (hēm) (kū) \*padīrīd az man jam ī nek wiwaghānān \*ōšmurišn ud barišn<sup>23</sup> ō dēn (kū hērbēdīh ud hāwištīh kunīd) ēg-iš ō man passox guft jam ī nek zartuxšt (kū) nē dādār hēm nē čāšīdār (hēm<sup>24</sup>) ōšmurišn ud barišn ō dēn (kū-m hērbēdīh ud hāwištīh nē tuwān kardan).

<sup>16</sup> 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.

<sup>17</sup> *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.

<sup>18</sup> L4 om.

<sup>19</sup> L4 om: (ē hu-ramagīh ēd būd kū-š ramag mardōmān ud ramag gōspandān drust dāšt).

<sup>20</sup> L4: kē.

<sup>21</sup> L4 adds: ē.

<sup>22</sup> L4 om.

<sup>23</sup> L4 om.

<sup>24</sup> L4 om.

## 2.4

ēg-im ō ōy guft zartuxšt man kē Ohrmazd (hēm) (kū) agar az man jam nē padirē<sup>25</sup> ošmurišn barišn ō dēn (kū hērbēdīh ud hāwištīh nē kunē) ēg ān ī man gēhān frāxēn (kū wēš be kun<sup>26</sup>) ēg ān ī man gēhān \*wālīn (kū frabihtar be kun<sup>27</sup>) ēg ān ī man padir gēhān rāy srāyišn (ud parwarišn) sālārīh (framān<sup>28</sup> dādan) pad nigāhdārišnih (pānāgīh kardan<sup>29</sup>).

## 2.5

ēg-iš ō man passox guft jam ī nek zartuxšt (kū) \*az \*ēd tō gēhān frāxēnēm (kū wēš be kunēm<sup>30</sup>) az \*ēd tō gēhān wālīnēm (kū frabihtar be kunēm) az \*ēd tō<sup>31</sup> padirēm gēhān rāy srāyišn (parwarišn) ud sālārīh (framān dādan) pad nigāhdārišnih<sup>32</sup> (ē ē kunēm ēd-iz kunēm kū) nē<sup>33</sup> ān ī man xwadāyīh bawēd ān sard wād nē ān garm (wād) ud nē xīndagīh (waštaḡīh) ud nē margīh [hambun-iz Jam \*ān ī-š nē būd hērbadīh ud hāwištīh tā weh-dēn būd ud ahlaw būd ud u-š daxšag mardōmān andar tan kard estād ud ēn kū wēh-dēn būd az ān gyāg paydāg *mrūdi. taṭ. maθβəm. yaṭ. aemčīṭ. yō. daēuuu. ēn kū ahlaw būd az ān gyāg paydāg yimahē. viuuuḡhanahē. ašaonō. frauuašīm. yaz.*<sup>34</sup> Jam ī wiwaghānān ahlaw frawahr \*yazēm ēn kū-š \*daxšag<sup>35</sup> mardōmān andar tan kard estād az ān gyāg paydāg *abarəšnauua. pasčəaeta. asāra. mašīiāka'ēibīiō. Jam ud Kay Us har dō ahōš dād estād hēnd wināhgārīh ī xwēš rāy ošōmand būd hēnd Jam rāy az ān gyāg paydāg mušū<sup>36</sup>. taṭ. paiti. akərənaōṭ. aošəḡhaṭ. huua. hizuuu. Kay Us rāy az ān gyāg paydāg amī. dim. paiti. fraḡhərəzaṭ. amī. hō. bauuaṭ. aošəḡhā<sup>37</sup>].*

## 2.6

ēg ō ōy zay frāz-burd man kē Ohrmazd (hēm) surāgōmand zarrēn ud aštar-iz zarrēn pēsīd (\*matrāg dastag).

## 2.7

(kē) Jam būd \*barišn ī xwadāyīh (kū-š ān<sup>38</sup> xwadāyīh ēdōn nek pad ān abzār tuwān būd<sup>39</sup> kardan).

## 2.8

ēg ka pad ān ī Jam xwadāyīh ān sedīgar sato-zam (ō) ham-mad<sup>40</sup> (kū-š sar be būd) ēg ēn zamīg būd purr az pahān stōrān mardōmān sagān wayān ātaxš-iz suxr ī sōzāg (awēšān) nē abar (ēn) \*hīm<sup>41</sup> (abar ēn zamīg) gāh windīd pah ud stōr ud mardōm.

<sup>25</sup> L4: MKBLWN-t.

<sup>26</sup> L4: kunēd.

<sup>27</sup> L4: kunēd.

<sup>28</sup> L4: framānīh.

<sup>29</sup> L4 om.

<sup>30</sup> L4 om. (kū wēš be kunēm) az \*ēd tō gēhān wālīnēm.

<sup>31</sup> L4: ēd az tō.

<sup>32</sup> L4 adds: pānāgīh kardan.

<sup>33</sup> L4 adds: pad.

<sup>34</sup> L4 instead of: \*ān ī-š nē būd...yaz it has ēn kū ahlaw būd az ān gyāg paydāg.

<sup>35</sup> L4: \*gāhān.

<sup>36</sup> *mošū*, soon, quickly.

<sup>37</sup> L4 om. *mušū.taṭ.paiti...aošəḡhā*.

<sup>38</sup> L4 om.

<sup>39</sup> L4 om.

<sup>40</sup> L4: kē mad.

<sup>41</sup> Av. *hīm*, encl. dem. pron.

**2.9<sup>42</sup>**

ēg-šān ō Ĵam ī (nēk) abar \*paywahīd<sup>43</sup> (kū awēšān kē xwēškārīh būd be \*paywahīdan) kū Ĵam ī nēk wiwaghān purr ēn zamīg ō ham-mad az pahān ud stōrān ud mardōmān <sagan> wayān ātaxš-iz suxr ī sōzāg nē abar (ēn) \*hīm (abar pad ēn zamīg) gāh windēd pah ud stōr ud mardōm.

**2.10**

ēg Ĵam frāz-raft pad rōšnīh (ān ī pad rōšnīh ī xwēš) abar rapihwintar rōn abar pad ān ī xwaršēd rāh [kū paydāgēnīd kū kē xwēškārīhā pad kār be kāmēd šudan ā-š se gām ō rapihwintar rōn šawišn u-š gāhān xub-tar bawēd ē paydāg] ō ēn zamīg abar suft pad surāgōmand zarēn u-š be ān ī suft pad aštar (kū-š abar pad frōd \*darīd) u-š ēdōn guft (kū) dōšāmīh (\*kun) spandarmad (kū dōšāramīhā dāmān rāy kunēd ēn čīš) frāz raw (kū) wēš (be dārāš) be *hunqm*<sup>44</sup> (kū yašt be bāš) barišn ī pahān stōrān ud mardōmān rāy (kun ēn čīš).

**2.11**

ēg kē Ĵam ēn zamīg be rawēnīd ēk srišwadag az ān meh čiyōn pēš az ān būd abar ō ānōh frāz raft hēnd pah ud stōr ud mardōm pad ān ō xwēš kāmāg dōšišn čiyōn kardār-iz-ē ān ōy dōšišn (har kas ī ast kē ān ī Ĵam gōwēd az ān ī petyārag ō dām madan nē tuwān).

**2.12**

ēg (ka<sup>45</sup>) pad ān ī Ĵam xwadāyīh ān šašom sato-zam (ō) ham-mad (kū-š sar be būd) ēg<sup>46</sup> ēn zamīg purr az pahān ud stōrān mardōmān sagān wayān ātaxš-iz suxr sōzāg (awēšān) nē abar (ēn) \*hīm (abar ēn zamīg) gāh windīd pah ud stōr ud mardōm (tā gyāg čiyōn azabar nibišt).

**2.13-15**

ēg Ĵam ēn zamīg be rawēnīd dō srišwadag az ān meh čiyōn pēš būd.

**2.16**

ēg (ka) pad ān ī Ĵam xwadāyīh ān nohom sato-zam (ō) ham-mad (kū-š sar be būd) ēg ēn zamīg būd purr az pahān stōrān mardōmān sagān wayān ātaxš-iz suxr ī sōzāg (awēšān) nē abar (ēn) \*hīm (abar ēn zamīg) gāh windīd pah ud stōr ud mardōm.

**2.17**

ēg(-šān) ō Ĵam abar \*paywahīd<sup>47</sup> (awēšān kē xwēškārīh būd be \*paywahīd) (kū) Ĵam ī nēk wiwaghān purr ēn zamīg ō ham-mad az pahān ud stōrān mardōmān sagān wayān ātaxš-iz suxr ī sōzāg nē abar (ēn) \*hīm (abar pad ēn zamīg) gāh windīd pah ud stōr ud mardōm.

**2.18**

ēg Ĵam frāz-raft pad rōšnīh (ān pad rōšnīh ī xwēš) abar ō rapihwintar rōn abar pad ān ī xwaršēd rāh [kū paydāgēnīd kū kē xwēškārīhā pad kār-ē be kāmēd šudan ā-š<sup>48</sup> se gām ō

<sup>42</sup> L4 om 2.9-10-11.

<sup>43</sup> Av. *paiti-vaēdāēn*, *vaēda* = *vaēda* <*vaēd/vid*: to know; *vaēd-*, present *vinad/ivind-*: to find.

<sup>44</sup> *hunao-/hunu-* <*hao/lu* mid.: to press.

<sup>45</sup> L4: kē.

<sup>46</sup> L4 om. ēg... nibišt).

<sup>47</sup> L4 adds: kū.

<sup>48</sup> L4 om.

rapihwintar rōn šawišn u-š<sup>49</sup> yatā ahū wairyō-ē be gowišn u-š gāhān xubtar bawēd az \*gāw paydāg *usāhištaf. gāuš. baraf. danhuš.* ēn kū-š abestāg gōwišn az \*pasušhōrw paydāg *srīra. uxōa. vačā. sasqgham*<sup>50</sup>, ēn kū<sup>51</sup> ān ī abestāg yatā ahū wairyō az *ahunō. vairiio* paydāg] ō ēn zamīg abar \*suft pad surāgōmand zarrēn u-š be ān suft pad aštar (kū-š abar frōd \*darīd u-š) ēdōn guft (kū) dōšārmihā<sup>52</sup> spandarmad (kun) [kū dōšārmihā<sup>53</sup> dāmān rāy kunīd ēn čiš] frāz raw (kū) wēš (be dārāš) be *hunqm* (kū yašt be bāš) barišn ī pahān ud stōrān ud mardōmān (rāy kunīd ēn čiš).

## 2.19

ēg kē Ĵam ēn zamīg be rawēnīd se srišwadag az ān<sup>54</sup> meh čiyōn pēš az ān būd.

## 2.20

abar ō ānōh frāz raft hēnd pah ud stōr ud mardōm pad ān ī xwēš kāmag dōšišn čiyōn kardār-iz-ē ān dōšišn [har kas ē ast kē ān ī Ĵam gōwēd ān petyārag ō dām madan nē tuwān<sup>55</sup> frāz satō-zam ī sedīgar andar<sup>56</sup> xwadāyīh ī Ĵam sar be \*būd Ĵam šas sad sāl wēš ēn dām a-marg a-zammān dāšt ēn čiyōn wēš dāšt ā-m nē rōšnāg u-šān hazārag sar be kirrenīd az ān gyāg paydāg *paoiriieheča. pasčaēta. hazaghro. zamahe. θbarsō. as. yimō. kərənaoq.* u-š ēn gehān pad se bār ān and Ĵam be kard *auuaiti. baqō.* ōh-iz ēdōn<sup>57</sup> ast ēn kū-š čiyōn kard ā-m nē rōšnāg ast<sup>58</sup> kē ēdōn gōwēd ē čagād-ē ō \*gōbar hambārīd ast kē ēdōn gōwēd ē \*fragān(ih) abāz xwānd ast kē ēdōn gōwēd ē ēdōn čiyōn gōspand ī nizār kē-š wastar dahēd ud be abzāyēd Ohrmazd ēn dām se hazār sāl mēnōg estišn dāšt se hazār sāl gētīg estišn a-petyārag ud se hazār sāl petyārag dām madan tā dēn madan se hazār sāl az dēn madan tā tan ī pasēn az ān gyāg paydāg *čuaqntəm. zrūuānəm. mainiuaau. stiš. ašaone. dāta. as.*].

## 2.21

hanjamanē frāz burd kē dādār Ohrmazd (kū zamān be kard) abāg mēnōgān yazdān abar ō<sup>59</sup> nāmīg Erān-wēz (kū) wēh dāitī hanjamanē frāz burd kē Ĵamšēd ī hu-ramag (wiwaghān<sup>60</sup> kū-š zamān be kard) abāg pahlomān mardōmān abar (ō ēn) ān ī nāmīg Erān-wēz (kū) wēh dāitī (ān ō) hanjaman be<sup>61</sup> mad<sup>62</sup> dādār Ohrmazd (kū pad zamān kard be mad) abag mēnōgān yazdān abar (ō ēn) nāmīg Erān-wēz (kū) wēh dāitī (ān ō) hanjaman be mad kē Ĵamšēd ī hu-ramag (kū pad zamān kard be mad) abāg<sup>63</sup> pahlomān mardōmān abar (ō ēn) ān nāmīg Erān-wēz (kū) wēh dāitī [ē<sup>64</sup> Ohrmazd ēn hanjaman war rāy kard u-

<sup>49</sup> L4 om. u-š...*danhuš.*

<sup>50</sup> L4: *sasqghan.*

<sup>51</sup> L4: kē.

<sup>52</sup> L4 adds: kunīd.

<sup>53</sup> L4: dōšāram.

<sup>54</sup> L4 om. az ān.

<sup>55</sup> L4 om. nē tuwān.

<sup>56</sup> L4 om. andar... gyāg paydāg.

<sup>57</sup> L4: nūn.

<sup>58</sup> L4 om. ast kē ēdōn...*dāta. as.*].

<sup>59</sup> L4: ō ān.

<sup>60</sup> L4 om.

<sup>61</sup> L4 om.

<sup>62</sup> L4 adds kē.

<sup>63</sup> L4 om.

<sup>64</sup> L4 om. [ē... hēnd].

š \*garān zamestān rāy kard az pēš paydāg Ĵam \*āgāhīh az Ohrmazd būd ud mardōmān \*āgāhīh az Ĵam būd Ĵam ān ī Ohrmazd guft ašnūd ka-š abāyist didān ā-š dīd mardōmān-iz ān ī Ĵam guft ašnūd ēn kū ān šān ī Ohrmazd guft ašnūd ē ka-šān ēd kār rāy būd ē ō ān gyāg-iz Ĵam šud hēnd].

## 2.22

u-š guft Ohrmazd ō Ĵam (kū) Ĵam ī nek ī wiwaghān abar ō axw ī astōmand ān watter zamestān rasēd (kē) az ān stahmagīh (ī-š \*sturg kū<sup>65</sup> har gyāg ī andar šawēd) \*murdag<sup>66</sup> zamestān (kū čiš tabāh kunēd<sup>67</sup>) abar ō axw ī astōmand ān watter zamestān rasēd (malkōsān gōwēnd) kē az ān (be was<sup>68</sup>) pad \*snēšn ud wafr \*snēšn pad bālist abar gar-ān pad \*bēš čand ard<sup>69</sup> (ān gyāg kū kem nišīnēd ēd widest dō angust be nišīnēd).

## 2.23

az se gyāgān ēdar Ĵam gōspand be rasēnd ēd-iz kē ast (kū) pad bīmgēntar az gyāgān (čīyōn spāhān) ēd-iz kē ast pad bālēn abar garān (čīyōn \*abarsēn) ēd-iz kē (ast) az<sup>70</sup> ān zofr rōstāg (čīyōn \*ērāstān) abar ō ān ī kard mān.

## 2.24

(kū) pēš az zamestān awēšān deh būd hēnd burd<sup>71</sup> wāstar (kū-šān \*pēšōbāy ī nek būd u-šān hambār abāz kard) pēš az āb be \*tazišnīh pas az be \*tazišnīh wafr (pēš ud pas) abd-iz ēdar Ĵam andar axw ī astōmand sahēd ka ēdar pah ī \*anuma pay wēnīhēd (ē<sup>72</sup> ēn ān-iz \*pay \*abar \*didan ī ān \*pahast was be māmēd<sup>73</sup>).

## 2.25

ēg ān ī war kunīd asprēs drahnāy pad kadār-iz-ē časrušwadag (dō hāsar az kōst-ē ast kē har čahār kōst gōwēd) (u-š) pad āgenēn tōhmag abar barīd az pahān ud stōrān mardōmān sagān wayān ud ātaxš-iz suxr sōzāg ēg ān ī war kunīd asprēs drahnāy pad kadār-iz-ē časrušwadag mardān abar-mānišnīh rāy asprēs drahnāy pad kadār-iz-ē<sup>74</sup> časrušwadag gāwān \*gōspandān<sup>75</sup> rāy.

## 2.26

(u-š) pad āgenēn āb frāz tazēn hāsar masāy rāy (u-š) pad āgenēn murw be estīn (pērāmōn ī āb) abar hamēšag zarrēngōn (kū tar) (abar) hamēšag<sup>76</sup> xwarišn anafsēnišnīh (kū<sup>77</sup> ka<sup>78</sup> xward mad) (u-š) pad āgenēn mān be estīn (pērāmōn ī murw-iz) \*kadag (\*dēwār) frāz aškob<sup>79</sup> parwār ud pērāmōn parwār (bawēd ka-š ēdōn \*kadag<sup>80</sup>).

<sup>65</sup> L4 om.

<sup>66</sup> Av. *mrūrō* \*destructive.

<sup>67</sup> L4: kunēnd.

<sup>68</sup> L4 om.

<sup>69</sup> Av. *snaēžāt, barēzištaēčibiiō, bašnubiiō.arəduiiā*.

<sup>70</sup> L4 om. ast az.

<sup>71</sup> L4 adds az.

<sup>72</sup> L4 om.

<sup>73</sup> L4: ēn ān-iz pahrast ān ī pahrast was māmēd.

<sup>74</sup> L4: 'pl'.

<sup>75</sup> L4: gōstān.

<sup>76</sup> L4: hamāg.

<sup>77</sup> L4: kē.

<sup>78</sup> L4 om.

<sup>79</sup> L4 adds: kū bē aškob.

<sup>80</sup> L4: kē ast kard.

## 2.27

(u-š) pad āgenēn az harwispīn narān ud nārīgān tōhmag abar barīd kē hēnd pad ēn zamīg mahist (pad tan) pahlom (pad arz) nēktom (pad dīdan) (u-š) pad āgenēn az harwispīn gōspand sardagān tōhm abar barīd kē hēnd pad ēn zamīg mahist<sup>81</sup> (pad tan) pahlom (pad arz) nēktom (pad dīdan).

## 2.28

(u-š) pad āgenēn az<sup>82</sup> harwispīn urwarān<sup>83</sup> tōhmag abar barīd kē hēnd pad ēn zamīg bāl-ist (čiyōn sarw ud činār) hubōytom (čiyōn gul ī yāsman) (u-š) pad āgenēn az harwispīn xwarišnān tōhmag abar barīd kē hēnd pad ēn zamīg xwālist (čiyōn xormā) ud hubōytom (čiyōn bēh ud wādrang) (u-š) pad<sup>84</sup> awēšān (war mānišnān rāy) kunīd dōgān an-afsēnišn [maθ 'ply']<sup>85</sup> ast kē gumēzag gōwēd ast kē \*hamēšag gōwēd<sup>86</sup> hamāg<sup>87</sup> az ān awēšān ka mardān<sup>88</sup> war-mānišnān hēnd (ē paydāg kū bawēd<sup>89</sup> kē nē war-mānišnān hēnd).

## 2.29

ma ō anōh ān ī frāz-kōfag (ō pēš) ma ān abāz-kōfag (ō pas ā-š ō ān gyāg ma \*barēnd) ma ān ī \*zpnyl ī (kē-š stūnag andar war frōd škast estēd) ma ān halag (kū<sup>90</sup> dastwar nē dārēd) ma ān \*driwīg (kē<sup>91</sup> \*murd āwarēd) ma ān frēftār ma ān \*kūtag-bīn<sup>92</sup> ma ān \*wizwādag- (rēšag-iz ast kē \*ō ān gōwēd) ma ān ī be winast dandān (kē afsōs kunēd ast kē ēdōn gōwēd dandān-iš pūdag estēd) ma pēs kū jud-kard (estēd) tan (wāzag ē \*dēnīg-kār ma<sup>93</sup> ast kē ēdōn gōwēd ē ma pēs \*kōft ēd-iz kē jud-kard estēd tan) ma kas az ān daxšagān kē hēnd gannāg mēnōg daxšag pad mardōmān be dād (estēd) (ā-š ō ān gyāg ma \*barē<sup>94</sup>).

## 2.30

pad ān frāztom deh (ī meh) nō widarag \*kunīd (nō \*kōyag) pad ān mayānag šaš pad ān nidom se pad ān ī frāztom widarag (deh ī meh) ā-š hazār az narān nārīgān tōhm abar barīd pad ān ī mayān šaš sad ān ī nidom se sad (ē ka deh marag paydāg hē mardōm marag-iz paydāg bawē) abar-iz awēšān war mānišnān rāy (kunīd) pad surāgomand zarrēn abar-iz pad ān war marz-dēwār<sup>95</sup> (kū-š \*ān be \*wisān) rōzan (kū-š dargāh be hilēd) xwa-rošn az andarōn nēmag (bawēd ka ēdōn kard būd).

## 2.31

ēg-š menīd Ĵam (kū) čiyōn awēšān \*az war kunēm kē-š ō man guft Ohrmazd u-š guft Ohrmazd ō Ĵam (kū) Ĵam ī nek wiwaghānān ēn zamīg pad pāšnag be ōspar ud pad dast

<sup>81</sup> L4 om. mahist... dīdan).

<sup>82</sup> L4 om.

<sup>83</sup> L4: urwar.

<sup>84</sup> L4 om. (u-š) pad.

<sup>85</sup> Av. *miθbairē*.

<sup>86</sup> L4 om. ast kē \*hamēšag gōwēd.

<sup>87</sup> L4: hamē.

<sup>88</sup> L4 om. ka mardān.

<sup>89</sup> L4 om. kū bawēd.

<sup>90</sup> L4: kē.

<sup>91</sup> L4 om.

<sup>92</sup> L4 om. ma ān \*kūtag-bīn.

<sup>93</sup> L4 om. ma ast kē ēdōn gōwēd.

<sup>94</sup> L4 om. ā-š ō... \*barēnd.

<sup>95</sup> L4 om. marz... xwa-rošn.



be \*pyst<sup>96</sup> hōmānāgīh ō (kard) čiyōn nūn mardōm (ka<sup>97</sup> ān<sup>98</sup>) šusar zamīg be rawē-nēnd.

2.32, all Mss. om.

### 2.33

ēg Jam (ān) war kard asprēs drahnāy pad kadār-iz-ē časrušwadag (dō hāsar az kōst-ē ast kē az har čahār kōst gōwēd) (u-š) pad āgenēn tōhmag abar burd az pahān ud stōrān mardōmān ud sagān ud wayān ātaxš-iz suxr sōzāg ēg<sup>99</sup> Jam (ān) war kard asprēs drahnāy pad kadār-iz-ē časrušwadag mardān abar-mānišnīh rāy asprēs<sup>100</sup> drahnāy pad kadār-iz-ē časrušwadag gāwān \*gōspandān<sup>101</sup> rāy.

### 2.34

(u-š) pad āgenēn āb frāz tazēnīd hāsar masāy rāy (u-š) pad āgenēn murw be estēnīd (pērāmōn ī āb) abar hamēšag zarrēngōn (kū tar) (abar) hamēšag xwarišn an-ābesihišn (kū<sup>102</sup> ka xward mad) (u-š) pad āgenēn mān be estēnīd (pērāmōn ī murw) \*kadag (dēwār) frāz aškōb (kū-š frāz aškōft<sup>103</sup>) parwār pērāmōn parwār<sup>104</sup> (būd ka-š ēdōn kard).

### 2.35

(u-š) pad āgenēn az harwispīn narān ud nārīgān tōhm abar burd kē hēnd pad ēn zamīg mahist (pad tan) pahlom (pad arz) ud nēk (pad dīdan) (u-š)<sup>105</sup> pad āgenēn az harwispīn gōspand sardagān tōhm abar burd kē hēnd pad ēn zamīg mahist<sup>106</sup> (pad tan) ud pahlom (pad arz) ud nēktom (pad dīdan).

### 2.36

(u-š)<sup>107</sup> pad āgenēn az harwispīn urwarān tōhm abar burd kē hēnd pad ēn zamīg bālist (čiyōn sarw ud činār) hubōytom (čiyōn gul ī yāsaman) (u-š)<sup>108</sup> pad āgenēn az harwispīn xwarišnān tōhm abar burd kē hēnd pad ēn zamīg xwālist (čiyōn xormā) ud hubōytom (čiyōn bēh ud wādrang) (u-š)<sup>109</sup> pad awēšān (war-mānišnān) rāy kard ān \*dō-gānag an-afsēnišn (*maθ*<sup>110</sup>ply'l ast kē gumēzag gōwēd ast kē hamēšag) hamāg<sup>111</sup> az ān ka awēšān mard war-mānišnān hēnd (ē<sup>112</sup> paydāg kū bawēd \*kē nē war mānišnān hēnd).

<sup>96</sup> Av. *vīxada*, *xad-* to knead.

<sup>97</sup> L4: kē.

<sup>98</sup> L4 om.

<sup>99</sup> L4 om. ēg... časrušwadag.

<sup>100</sup> L4 om. asprēs... časrušwadag.

<sup>101</sup> L4: gostān.

<sup>102</sup> L4 om. kū...mad).

<sup>103</sup> L4: be aškōb.

<sup>104</sup> L4 om.

<sup>105</sup> L4 om. (u-š)... harwispīn.

<sup>106</sup> L4 om. mahist... (pad dīdan)

<sup>107</sup> L4 om. (u-š)...urwarān.

<sup>108</sup> L4 om. (u-š)... harwispīn.

<sup>109</sup> L4 om. (u-š)...(war-mānišnān).

<sup>110</sup> L4 om. *maθ* .. hamēšag).

<sup>111</sup> L4: hamē.

<sup>112</sup> L4 om. (ē... hēnd).

## 2.37

(u-š) nē ō ānōh ān ī frāz-kōfag (ō pēš) nē ān pas-kōfag (ō<sup>113</sup> pas ā-š ō ān gyāg nē nīd) ud nē ān ī \*zpnyl ī (kē-š stūnag andar war frōd škast estēd) nē ān ī halag (kū<sup>114</sup> dastwar nē dārēd) nē ān \*driwīg (kē \*mwlyt āwarēd) nē ān frēftār nē<sup>115</sup> ān ī \*kūtag-bīn nē ān \*wiz-wādag-(rēšag-iz<sup>116</sup> ast kē ō ān gōwēd) nē ān ī be winast-dandān (kē afsōs kunēnd ast kē ēdōn gōwēd dandān-iš<sup>117</sup> pudag estēd) nē pēs kū jud-kard (estēd) tan (wāzag ēd \*dēnīg-kār nē šāyēd ast kē ēdōn gōwēd ē nē pēs \*kōft ēd-iz kē jud-kard estēd tan) nē ān<sup>118</sup> kas az ān ān-ē<sup>119</sup> daxšagān kē hēnd gannā mēnōg daxšag pad mardōmān be dād (estēd) (kas ō ān gyāg nē nīd).

## 2.38

(u-š) pad ān frāztom deh (ī meh) nō widarag kard (nō \*kōyag) pad ān mayānag šaš pad ān nidom se (u-š) pad ān ī frāztom widarag<sup>120</sup> (deh ī meh) ā-š hazār az narān ud nārīgān tōhm abar burd pad ān mayān šaš sad pad ān ī nidom se sad (ē<sup>121</sup> ka deh marag paydāg hē mardōm-iz marag paydāg hē) (u-š) abar-iz awēšān war mānišnān rāy (kard) pad surāgōmand zarrēn u-š abar-iz<sup>122</sup> ān ī war \*marz-dēwār (kū-š \*ān<sup>123</sup> be \*wisānd) rōzan (kū-š dargāh be hišt) xwa-rōšn az andarōn nimag (būd kū-š ēdōn kard) ē \*ōh paydāgēnīd kū<sup>124</sup> petyārag andar xwadayih ī Ĵam ā-š čārag xwāstan nē tuwān būd kayōs tuwān būd ast kē ēdōn gōwēd ōh-iz tuwān būd bē pad ēd dāšt kū ka abāz rasēd stahmagtar būd).

## 2.39

dādār ī gehān ī astomandān ahlaw az čē ēdōn awēšān \*rōzān<sup>125</sup> hēnd ahlaw Ohrmazd kē ēdōn (ān gyāg) rōšnēnd andar awēšān warmānišnān ī Ĵam kard.

## 2.40

u-š guft Ohrmazd kū az ān \*xwadād-rōšnīg ān-iz \*stīzād<sup>126</sup> [*vīspa. anayra. raočā. usča. us-raočaiietī. vīspa. stiđāta. raočā. aora. āraočaiietī. ahtarāt*] ēk ēwēnag<sup>127</sup> (awēšān) \*ēraxtagih sahēd (anāgih ī-šān az amā wēš ēn ēk ast kē ēdōn gōwēd ē xwad-šān ēn ēk) wenīšn star ud māh ud xwaršēd (ka-šān nēst).

## 2.41

awēšān-iz rōz (pas<sup>128</sup>) menēnd sāl-iz [pas *hapta. hēnti. hqmīnō. māgha. pañča. zaiiana. ānōh*<sup>129</sup> kār] pad čehel (sālān<sup>130</sup>) zamestān az dō mardān dō mard ul-zāyēd pad gumēzag

<sup>113</sup> L4 om. (ō pas... nīd).

<sup>114</sup> L4: kē.

<sup>115</sup> L4 om. nē ān ī \*kūtag-bīn.

<sup>116</sup> L4 om.

<sup>117</sup> L4 om. dadān-iš... estēd tan).

<sup>118</sup> L4 om.

<sup>119</sup> L4: ōy.

<sup>120</sup> L4 om. widarag (deh ī.

<sup>121</sup> L4 om. ē ka... abar-iz.

<sup>122</sup> L4 om. abar-iz ān ī war marz.

<sup>123</sup> L4: \*gōnag.

<sup>124</sup> L4 om. kū...būd).

<sup>125</sup> L4 om.\* rōzān... kard.

<sup>126</sup> Av. *stiđāta*:- made of existence/ world.

<sup>127</sup> L4 om.

<sup>128</sup> L4 om.

<sup>129</sup> L4: ānōh-iz

<sup>130</sup> L4 om.

ī mādag ud nar ēdōn-iz az awēšān ī gōspand sardagān (ēd<sup>131</sup> kē<sup>132</sup> ēdōn zāyēnd) awēšān-iz mard nēktar<sup>133</sup> pad \*gyān ziwēnd (kū sad panjāh sāl ōh ziwēnd ast<sup>134</sup> kē ēdōn gōwēd kū nēktar pad\*gyān ziwēnd kū hagriz be nē mirēnd) andar awēšān warmānišnān Jam kard.

## 2.42

dādār ī gehān ī astomandān ī ahlaw kē ō ānōh dēn mazedspnān be burd ō awēšān warmānišnān Jam kard u-š guft Ohrmazd (kū) way karšift spītāmān zartuxšt (čaxr-wāg ī pad axw ī mēnōgān abāz šawēd).

## 2.43

dādār ī gehān ī astomandān ī ahlaw kē awēšān ast axw ud radīh (kē-šān dēn ān gyāg burd ā-šān<sup>135</sup> dastwar kē) u-š guft Ohrmazd kū urwatatnar zartuxšt (pus ī tō) tō-iz<sup>136</sup> zartuxšt (hē) [ē ōh paydāgēnd kū dastwar ka ān \*murd kunēd šāyēd ka ān kunēd nē mad estēd ā-z šāyēd].

## 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! (<this> 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.”<sup>137</sup>

### 2.3

Then I spoke to him, O Zarathustra! I who am Ohrmazd: “Do you accept of me, O Jam, the beautiful, son of Wiwaghān, 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>

<sup>131</sup> L4: ēd-iz.

<sup>132</sup> L4 om.

<sup>133</sup> L4: nēk.

<sup>134</sup> L4 om. ast kē... kard.

<sup>135</sup> L4: ā-š.

<sup>136</sup> L4 adds kē.

<sup>137</sup> The consultation is referred to in *Dēnkard* Book VII, p. 595, 4 ff.

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].<sup>138</sup> <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<sup>139</sup> on their bodies. That <he> was of the good religion is evident from the passage “*mrūiḍi. taṭ. maṭṭṣam. yaṭ. aemčī. yō. daēuua*.”<sup>140</sup> That he was orderly is evident from the passage “*yimahē. viuuarḡhanahē. aṣaonō. frauuašīm. yaz*”.<sup>141</sup> I worship the *fravaši*<sup>142</sup> of Jam, son of Wiwānḡhān, the orderly. That men had put on his mark on their bodies is evident from the passage “*abarāšnauua. paścaēta. asāra. mašiiākaeibiiō*”.<sup>143</sup> Jam and Kay Us were both created immortal; by their own sinfulness they became mortal. As for Jam it is evident from the passage “*mušu. taṭ. paīti. akərənāōṭ. aoṣarḡhaṭ. huua. hizuuu*”.<sup>144</sup> As for Kay Us this is evident from the passage “*aṃi. dim. paīti. fraḡhərəzaṭ. aṃi. hō. bauuaṭ. aoṣarḡhā*”.<sup>145</sup>].

## 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).

<sup>138</sup> *Yasna* 9.5.

<sup>139</sup> 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 ī Dēnīg*, ch. 38; *Zādspram*, ch. 4.6, 13.2, 27.4; *Dēnkard* 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.J. Zarthoshti Madressa Centenary Volume*, Bombay, 1967, pp. 17–8.

<sup>140</sup> “Utter that thought, you there, O *daēuua*”; in connection see *Dēnkard* Book III, p. 251; J. de Menasce, *Le Troisième livre du Dēnkart*, Paris, 1973, ch. 227, p. 238.

<sup>141</sup> “We worship the *fravaši* of orderly Yima son of Viuuarḡhana” (Yt 13. 130).

<sup>142</sup> *Av. frauuaši* – a tutelary divinity protecting the believers.

<sup>143</sup> “Thereafter poeple, being without chief and leader”.

<sup>144</sup> “With his tongue he soon made mortal again”. Kay Us. *Av. Kauui Usan/Kauui Usaḡan* (*Kāvya Usanas* of Indian tradition); see *Pahlavi Rivāyat*, ch. 47.7.

<sup>145</sup> “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 Winwaghān! 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*<sup>146</sup> 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<sup>147</sup> 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 Winwaghān! 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)".

<sup>146</sup> 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 Haptanḥāiti*. The indigenous tradition attributes the *Gāthās* to Zarathustra who is mentioned in them.

<sup>147</sup> Av. *spantā ārmaiti*, Deity of the earth; cf. M. Boyce, "Ārmaiti," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. II, 1987, pp. 413-5.

## 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 *yatā ahū wairyo*<sup>148</sup>; for him the *Gāthās* will be better as it is evident from "*gāw*": "*usəhištaṭ. gāuš. baraṭ. daṇhuš*".<sup>149</sup> This that he shall recite the *Avesta* is evident from the "*pasuṣhōrw*"<sup>150</sup> "*srīra. uxḁa. vačā. sasəṇham*".<sup>151</sup> This that it is the *Avesta* of a *yatā ahū wairyo* is evident from "*Ahunō. vairiio*" ]. 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 sawed Jam at the end of the millennium, is evident from <the passage> "*paoririeheča. pasčəəta. hazəṇhrō. zəmahe. θbarsō. +as. yimō. kərənaoṭ*"<sup>152</sup>. He, Jam, made this earth as much <bigger as it was> by three times "*auuaiti. bəzō*"<sup>153</sup>. 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 \**gōbar*." 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." Ohrmazd 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 "*čuuəṇtəm. zrūədnəm. mainiiauua. stiš. ašaone. dāta. as*"<sup>154</sup>].

<sup>148</sup> *Ahuna Vairiia*- name of the most sacred of the Gāthic prayers (Y. 27.13 etc.); cf. C. J. Brunner, "Ahunwar," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. I., 1985. p. 7.

<sup>149</sup> "Up stood the cow bearing the land."

<sup>150</sup> "Shepherd's dog code" (*pasuṣhōrw*estān; *Dēnkard*, 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, "Dād Nask," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. VI, 1993, p. 547).

<sup>151</sup> "By means of the beautiful utterance of the mandatory words."

<sup>152</sup> "After the first millennium Yima was cut with a saw". According to the Avestan myth Spitiiura sawed Yima in half (Yašt. 19.46); *Bundahišn* TD1, fol. 90r.; *Indian Bundahišn* 31.3; *Zādspram* ch. 35.46; *Pahlavi Rivāyat* ch. 47.8, 48.66; *Pahlavi Yasn* 43. 11-12; *Dēnkard*, p. 851.2-9; M. Molé, *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevins*, p. 250).

<sup>153</sup> "Of a much thickness".

<sup>154</sup> "For how long was the spiritual existence made?"

## 2.21

Ohrmazd, the creator, called a meeting (he fixed the time) with the spiritual gods in the famous Erān-wēz<sup>155</sup> (where) the good Dāitī<sup>156</sup> is. The shining Jam of good herds, (son of Wiwānhān) called a meeting (he fixed the time) with the best men, in (this) famous Erān-wēz (where) the good Dāitī is. To that meeting came Ohrmazd, the creator, (he came at the time fixed), with the spiritual gods, in this famous Erān-wēz (where) the good Dāitī is. To that meeting came the shining Jam of good herds (he came at the time fixed) with the best men, in this famous Erān-wēz (where) the good Dāitī is. [Ohrmazd 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 Ohrmazd, and men received the information from Jam. Jam listened to what Ohrmazd said; he saw when he was supposed to see; men listened to what Jam said; they listened to what Ohrmazd said; since they were meant for this work, they too, went to the place with Jam.

## 2.22

Ohrmazd, spoke to Jam: "O beautiful Jam, son of Wiwānhān! 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 *malkōsān*<sup>157</sup>) 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 Spāhān); those who will be over the mountain tops (like Abarsēn<sup>158</sup>), and those who will be from the deep river-beds (like \*Erāstān<sup>159</sup>) 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 <or> 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 *hāsars*<sup>160</sup> from one side. There is one who says, from all four sides). Bring together the seeds of

<sup>155</sup> On Ērān-wēz see D. N. MacKenzie, "Erān-wēz," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. VIII., 1998, p. 536.

<sup>156</sup> The name of a river; see G. Gnoli, "(Va)hvī Dāityā," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. VI., 1993, p. 598-9.

<sup>157</sup> At the end of the millennium of Ušēdar, Malkūs (Av. *mahrkuša*-), of the race of Tūr ī Brātrōrēš, who killed Zarathustra, will reappear and will produce the terrible Malkūsān winter lasting three years, cf. *Dēnkard* Book VII, p. 668.17; Molé (1967: ch. 1-21-23, p. 7.); *Bundahišn* TDI, fol. 93v.; *Dādestān ī Dēnik*, ch. 36.80; *Pahalvi Rivāyat*, ch. 48.2-17.

<sup>158</sup> Av. *upāiri saēnā*, designating the Hindu Kush mountains of central and eastern Afghanistan; cf. C. J. Brunner, "Abarsēn," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. I, 1985, pp. 68-9.

<sup>159</sup> Ēras, Araxes (Aras) river.

<sup>160</sup> Av. *hābra*- 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 *hāsar* ; settle the birds together (around the water) over the eternal green (fresh), (over) the eternal indestructible food (when eatables 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].<sup>161</sup> 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" (who 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)".<sup>162</sup>

## 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 foremost 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

<sup>161</sup> The reference to pairs recalls the Biblical account.

<sup>162</sup> Av. *abra frakauuō* with hump in front; *apakauuō* with hump in back; *apāuuaiō* \*with bent spine (?); *harədiš* \*imbecile; *driβiš* dribbling (?), birth mark (?); *daiβiš* mad (?); *kasuiš*, with \*pustules (?); \**vizbāriš* with crooked (legs)?; *vimitō.dajtānō* with decayed teeth; *paēsō*, leper.



on to the *war* <fix> \*a dividing wall (separate it), a window<sup>163</sup> (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."<sup>164</sup>

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 "\*constantly"), 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 imbecile (who did not have authority), nor \**drīwīg* (who brought \*death), nor the deceiver, nor \*short-sighted, nor \* with crooked (legs); (there is one who

<sup>163</sup> Another reference to the Biblical account (Genesis 6.16).

<sup>164</sup> 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 <instrument> 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 [*vispa. ana-γra. raočā. usča. us-raočaiieti. vispa. stiđāta. raočā. aora. āraočaiieti. aṇtarā*]<sup>165</sup>. (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).<sup>166</sup>

### 2.41

And they consider a day as a year then, there [*hapta. hēnti. haminō. manha. paṇča. zai-iana*]<sup>167</sup>. 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).<sup>168</sup> 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 Mazdayasnian religion to those who dwell in the *war* which Jam made? Ohrmazd said: "The bird *karšipta*<sup>169</sup>, O Spitam Zarathustra!" (the \*čaxrwāk<sup>170</sup> who will return to the spiritual existence).

<sup>165</sup> "And all the endless lights shine from above, all the lights made for the existence shine from within."

<sup>166</sup> 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.

<sup>167</sup> "Seven are the months of summer, five of winter."

<sup>168</sup> See *Mēnōg ī xrad*, ch. 62.15-19.

<sup>169</sup> Av. *karšipta*-, name of a mythical bird.

<sup>170</sup> *Bundahišn*, fol. 49 r.; *Zādspram*, 23; 2.; see also E. Benveniste, "Les Noms de l' 'Oiseau' en Iranien," in *Paideuma, Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde*, vol. 7, heft 4/6, Wiesbaden, 1961, pp. 193-9. (p. 196,

## 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: "Urwatatnar<sup>171</sup>, 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

- T.D. Anklesaria, *Dānāk-u Mainyō-i Khard*, Bombay, 1913.  
 T.D. Anklesaria, *The Dātistān-i Dinik, Part. I, Pursišn I-XL*, Bombay, 1913.  
 B.T. Anklesaria, *Zand-Ākāsīh: Iranian or Greater Bundahišn. Transliteration and Translation in English*, Bombay, 1965.  
 B.T. Anklesaria, *Pahlavi Vendidad (Zand-i Jvīt-Dēv-Dāt)*, transliteration and translation in English, Bombay, 1949.  
 Ch. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strasbourg, 1904, (Berlin 1961<sup>2</sup>).  
 E. Benveniste, "Les Noms de l'"Oiseau" en Iranien," in *Paideuma, Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde*, vol. 7, heft 4/6, Wiesbaden, 1961, pp. 193-9.  
 M. Borhan, *Borhān-e Qāte'*, ed. M. Mo'in, 5 vols., Tehran, 1362/1983.  
 M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism* Vol. I., Leiden/Köln, 1975.  
 M. Boyce, "Ārmaiti," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. II., 1987, pp. 413-5.  
 C.J. Brunner, "Ābarsēn," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. I, 1985, pp. 68-9.  
 C.J. Brunner, "Ahunwar," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. I., 1985, p. 7.  
 C.G. Cereti, "Zoroastrian Manuscripts Belonging to the Bhandarkar Institute Collection, Pune," in *East and West*, vol. 46 nos 3-4, 1996, p. 441-51.  
 A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, København, 1931.  
 A. Christensen, *Codices Avestici et Pahlavici codex K35 pt. I. The Dātistān-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. Darmesteter, *Le Zend Avesta*, 3 vols., Paris, 1960.  
 J. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Cor de Yima et trompette d'Isrāfil: de la Cosmologie mazdéenne à l'eschatologie musulmane," in *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, Paris, 1979, pp. 539-49.  
 Ph. Gignoux & A. Tafazzoli, *Anthologie de Zādspram*, Paris, 1993.  
 G. Gnoli, "(Vānhvī) Dāityā," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. VI., 1993, p. 598-9.  
 A. Hintze, *Zamyād Yašt, Introduction, Avestan Text, Translation, Glossary*, Wiesbaden, 1994.  
*Indian Bundahišn*, ed. F. Justi as *Der Bundehesh*, Leipzig, 1868; repr. Hildesheim & New York, 1976.  
 J. Josephson, *The Pahlavi Translation Technique as illustrated by Hōm Yašt*, Uppsala, 1997.

čaxrvāk, canard, skr. cakravāka; J. Kellens, "Langues et religions indo-iraniennes," *Annuaire du Collège de France 1997-1998. Résumé des cours et travaux, 98e année*, Paris, 1998, pp. 737-65 (p.761, l'oiseau aux ailes noires); M. Borhan, *Borhān-e Qāte'*, ed. M. Mo'in, 5 vols., Tehran, 1362/1983; (ed. M. Mo'in, vol. 2, p. 632, čarkh, čargh, kestrel, sparrow-hawk).

<sup>171</sup> Av. *Urvatatnara-* (Yt. 13.98) is one of the three sons of Zarathustra; he is also mentioned as the chief and master of Jam's war in chapter 33.5 of the *Indian Bundahišn*.

- J. Kellens, "Yima, magicien entre les dieux et les hommes," in *Acta Iranica*, 23, *Hommages et Opera Minora* (Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin), 1984, pp. 267-81.
- J. Kellens, "Yima et la mort," in *Languages and cultures: studies in honor of Edgar C. Polome*, edited by Mohammed Ali Jazayery and Werner Winter, Berlin & New York, 1988, pp. 229-333.
- J. Kellens, "Langues et religions indo-iraniennes," *Annuaire du Collège de France 1997-1998. Résumé des cours et travaux*, 98<sup>e</sup> année, Paris, 1998, pp. 737-65.
- B. Lincoln, "The 'House of Clay'," in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, volume 24/1, 1982 pp. 1-12.
- D.M. Madan, *The Complete Text of the Pahlavi Dinkard*, 2 vols, Bombay, 1911.
- D.N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, London, 1986.
- D.N. MacKenzie, "Erān-wēz," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. VIII., 1998, p. 536.
- J. de Menasce, "Early Evidence for the Symbolic Meaning of the Kustik," in *J.J. Zarthoshti Madressa Centenary Volume*, Bombay, 1967, pp. 17-8.
- J. de Menasce, *Le Troisième livre du Dēnkard*, Paris, 1973.
- J.J. Modi, *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees*, Bombay, 1937.
- M. Molé, *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevi*, Paris, 1967.
- B. Schlerath, "Ahu," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. I, 1985, p. 681.
- M. Shaki, "Dād Nask," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. VI, 1993, p. 545-49.
- I.M. Steblin-Kamensky, "Avestan *kəmčīṭ paiti čaθrušanəm*," in *East and West*, vol. 45-Nos 1-4, 1995, pp. 307-12.
- 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.
- The Bundahesh. Being a Facsimile Edition of the Manuscript TD1*. Iranian Culture Foundation 88, Tehran, 1970.
- A.V. Williams, *The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, 2 vols., Copenhagen, 1990.