To the Zamasp Namak II

By H. W. Bailey

The apocalypse proceeds to describe three episodes of rulers who are to appear respectively in Xvarəsän, Nəmrəč, and Patašxvārgar and to be followed by the coming of Pišyōdn, son of Vištāsp. The language touches that of the Bahman Yašt at many points. Religious views are closely interwoven. The "χvarr of Patašxvārgar" is of interest, as are also the revelation of many mysteries by Mihr Yazd, and Mihr’s conflict with Ėsm. The druž Vat-yavakān seems not to be known elsewhere.

58. pas ṣṣēzēt andar χvərəsän zamīk χvərtak ut apaitāk mart-e i vəs əzəmənd šavət i vəs martəm ut asp *əpək ut nəzak i tēz, ut šəbər pat čerəkəh ut pat patašxəhīh av ḥvəs kart bavət.

59. χvat mizän i patašxəhīh abınn ut apaitāk bavət.

60. patašxəhīh hamāk hāc Ėrənakān šavət av Anērən rasēt.

61. ut vəs kəš ut dāt ut *rəbisbn bavənəd.

62. ut əzətan i evək avə dit pat karək dərənd, martəm əzətan χvār bə bavət.

63. api-t ēn-ič gōᵇəm ku andar ān e bavət, avə i aparvəz χvətəy andar zamīk i Hrōm vəs šəbər ut vəs šəbrəstən qirət ut vəs χvəstək pat e-bär həc zamīk i Hrōm əḇərət.

Then will arise in the land of Khorasan an insignificant and obscure man who will go forth in great power, and with him many men and horses, and sharp lances, and the land will be made his own by violence and dominion.

He himself in the midst of his dominion will fail and pass out of sight.

The whole sovereignty will pass from the men of Ėrən and will go to foreigners.

And doctrines and laws and ways of life will abound.

The slaying of one by the other they will consider a merit and the slaying of men will be a slight thing.

And this too I will tell you that it will be at that time: that victorious king will seize in the land of Hrōm much territory and many cities and will carry off much treasure at one time from the land of Hrōm.
Then that victorious king will die, and thenceforth his sons will sit in sovereignty and will guard the land with violence.

And they will deal very fiercely and lawlessly with the men of Erān šahr.

And much wealth of all kinds will pass into their hands.

Afterwards they too will perish and have no success.

In that evil time affection and reverence will not exist.

Among them the great will not be distinct from the small nor the small from the great, and they will not assist one another.

This too I will tell you that it is better for him who is not born from his mother, or if he is born, dies and does not see so much evil and oppression,

At the end of the millennium of Zartušt they will not see the great conflict which must take place.

So much bloodshed must occur at that time, of mankind one part in three parts will not survive.

Those Arabs will be confounded with Romans and Turks and they will desolate the world.

Then Spand Ārmad will cry aloud to Ohormazd saying: I cannot melt away this evil and badness.

I am turned upside down and I turn mankind here upside down.
76. vāt ut ātāxā martōm bē āzārēnd hač vas must ut *adātīh i-sān pati-š kusēnd.

77. ut pas Mīhr ut Ešm āknēn bē patkōpēnd andar ān patkōpišn.

78. druž-e i Vat-yavakān χβάnlēt pat χβατāyīh i Yam bast ēstāt, pat χβατāyīh i Bēvarasp hač band bē rist.

79. Bēvarasp pat ān druž ham-pursakāh dāst.

80. ut ān druž kār ān ku bar i yortākān bē kākēnēt.

81. ut hakar nē ān druž rād būt hēh har kē-š grīv-e bē kišt hēh 400 grīv bar apar grīft hēh.

82. sāl 496 Mīhr ān druž bē zanēt ut pas har kē grīv-e kārēt 400 grīv hanbār kuneṭ.

83. ut andar ān zamān Spand-Ārmat dahān apač kuneṭ, vas gōhr ut ayōsust av paitākīh ābārēt.

84. pas āχēzēt hač kust i Nēmrōč mart-e kē χβατāyīh χβāhēt ut spāḥ ut gund ārāst dārēt ut sathīhā pat čērīh gīrēt ut vas χōn-recīšnih kuneṭ tāk-ās kār pat kāmak i χvēs bē havēt.

85. ut pas apadom hač dast i dušmanān virēzēt av Zāvulasṭān ut ān kust šavēt.

86. ut hač oš spāh ārāst apač vartēt ut hač ān frāč martōm i

Wind and fire injure men, by reason of the great grief and wrong they do to them.

Then Mīhr and Ešm will fight together in that conflict.

An evil spirit who is called Vat-yavakān ("causer of bad crops") was bound during the reign of Yam, but escaped from his bonds in the reign of Bēvarasp.

Bēvarasp had conferences with that evil spirit.

Now the work of that evil spirit is this: he diminishes the crop of corn.

Had it not been for that evil spirit, whosoever had sown one bushel would have received 400 bushels of corn.

Four hundred and ninety-six years Mīhr attacks that evil spirit, and thereafter whosoever sows one bushel, puts four hundred bushels in his granary.

At that time Spand Ārmad will open her mouth, and will bring abundant jewels and metals to the light.

Afterwards a man will arise from the Southern quarter who will seek dominion and will have an army and troops equipped and will seize lands by violence and cause much bloodshed until his affairs satisfy his desires.

Then at last he will flee from the hand of his enemies to Zābul and go to that district.

Thence, an army being equipped, he will return and
thenceforward the men of Erān šahr will fall into grievous despair.
Great and small will fall to seeking remedies and will look to a refuge for their own soul.

Afterwards in Patašxvärgar near the shore of the sea a man will see Mihr Yazd.
And Mihr Yazd will reveal many hidden secrets to that man.

He will send him with a message to the King of Patašxvärgar, saying: Why do you support that King, deaf and blind? Now do you too act as King even as the fathers and forefathers of you and yours have done.

That man will say: How should I be able to exercise dominion, since I have not the troops and army and treasure and generals such as my father and forefathers had?

The messenger will say: Come, that I may deliver up to you the treasure and wealth of your fathers and forefathers.
And he will show him the vast treasure of Frāsyāp.

When he brings the treasure into his hand, he prepares the army and troops of Zābul, and advances against his enemies.

When the news reaches his enemies, Turk and Arab and Roman will come together, saying: I will seize the King of Patašxvärgar and I will take that treasure and wealth from that man.
96. ut pas avē mart ka ān ākāsīh aśnavēt apāk vas spāh ut gund i Zāvul av miyān i Ėrān sahr āyēt ut apāk avēsān martōmān pat ān dašt, i tō Vištāsp apāk spēt *xyōnān pat spēt-razur kart, apāk Patašḵvārgar sāh kōḵšīn i kārēcār frāc kunēnd.

97. ut pat nērōk i Yazdān ut Ėrān ut Kayān ḫwarr ut dēn i Māzdēnān ut ḫwarr i Patašḵvārgar ut Mihr ut Srōš ut Rašn ut Āpān ut Āturān ut Ātāḵšān apēr škūft kārēcār kunēnd.

Then that man when he hears the news, with a large army and troops of Zābul will come to the centre of Ėrān sahr and with those men on that plain, where you, O Vištāsp, fought with the White Hyons in the White Forest, they will struggle in battle with the King of Patašḵvārgar.

By the might of Yazdān and the Splendour of the Aryans and the Kayān and the Faith of the Mazda-worshippers and the splendid of Patašḵvārgar, and Mihr and Srōš and Rašn and the waters and the sacred and domestic Fires they will wage furious battle.

And he will prove better than them; he will slay so many of the enemies, that their number cannot be counted.

Then Srōš and Nēryōsang will stir up your son Pišyōḏn by command of Ohormazd the Creator from the Kang fortress of the Kayān.

Your son Pišyōḏn will come with 150 disciples, whose raiment is white and black,

And my hand will hold the banner as far as Pārs to the place where the fires and waters are established.

There he will perform the Yašt.

When the Yašt is finished, they will pour the libation into the water and will give the libation to the fire.
104. ut druvandān ut dēv ut
χγόναν ἔτον βε apasihēnd ἐγόν
pat zimastān i sart *valg i draγlān
βε hōstend.

105. ut gurγ bē ṣavēt, ut
mēs bālān andar āyēt.

106. ut Uṣētar i Zartuχştān
pat
dēn-nimūtārih av paitākāh āyēt
ut anākāh tāk sar āyēt, rāmiśn ut
ṣātēh ut huramīh bē bavēt.

The wicked and the dēvs and
the Hyōns will perish as in a
cold winter the leaves of trees
wither.

The time of the wolves will
pass away, and the time of the
sheep will enter in.

Uχşyat-art son of Zartuşt will
appear to reveal the Faith, and
evil will be at an end, joy and
gladness and happiness will have
come.

58. (1) χvarāsān zamāk is the "land of the sunrise". The meaning
of ās- was given by Bal. āsag "to rise", rōšāsān "sunrise", and is
confirmed by MPT. āsēδ giyānān o im nāv rōšn, M 4 b 5, "Go up, O
souls, into this shining boat." This etymology was known to Al-Jurjānī,
Vis u Rāmīn, p. 119, 1–4:—

χvāśā jāyā bad-ān sahr ȋ  χorāsān
dar-ō bās u jāhān-rā mē-χvar āsān
ba-lafz ȋ Pahlavi har kas sarāyad
χorāsān ān buvad kaz vai χor āmad
χorāsān Pahlavi bāsad χor āmad
Irāq u Pārs rā zō χor bar āmad
χorāsān ast ma'nī ȋ χor āyān
kuşā zō χor bar āyād sūy ȋ Ėrān.

χvarāsān is the regular Pahl. word for "east", cf. Pahl. Texts, ii,
I 118, § 38, χvarāsān ut χarbaɾāɾn ut nēmrōc ut apāxtar "east and west
and south and north". MPT., χv's'n p'yvus, hvr's'n yvmnd.

(2) χvrtak "insignificant": on § 21 I had overlooked Mx. 2122,
ed. Andreas, 124–5, ut ān i χvatāy ut daγyupat rat apāk ān i χvrtaktom
martom pat dātastān rāst dārēt "The judge in judgment holds equal
that of the Ruler and Governor and that of the humblest man".

(3) vas ोzhōmand sāvēt, Predic. adj. "being most powerful", so
in 65, vas stahmob ut apēdāt . . . kunēnd "being very tyrannical
and lawless . . . they act".

(4) *apāk. MSS. have r'ysh = sar "head, end". I have read
ruth = apāk, here adverb: i . . . apāk = "with whom". For asp
. . . nēzak, cf. Zatsp. 52 aspaβārak ut nēzak-dast.
(5) čērakih "violence" = čērīh 84, coupled with stahmbakih: pat čērīh ut stahmbakih, Paz. pa čērī u stahmī, in Bahman Yt. 3, 51. Cf. Nyberg, Glossar.: čērīh (1) bravery, (2) oppression. Av. čirya-. NPers. čeīr "valiant; a conqueror; mastery". MX., 1621 Paz, (ōi va rō gōhar mard ...) ašā ham-ayārā naśārd barešd u čērī namāēd. Sanskr. baliṣṭatam ca dasayati: "(The evil-natured man ...) quarrels with companions and displays violence."

59. ašīn "not-finding", see Nyberg, Gloss., avīn.

61. DP  for raśiūn "manner of life, conduct ", NP., raviš. Cf. varišn (Nyb., Gloss., χεμ u hōk u varišn "Charakter, Gesinnung und Lebenswandel ") and barišn, Paz. barešn (with Sanskr. prācāra-). barišn translates Av. -bifra in ašā.bifra- = hašt barišn "of eight characters ". Av. bifra- is probably a reduplicated form from bar- *bi-bra- > bifra- with the same development as in jafra- beside jaivi-, cf. also Pahl. āfrītan "create" from *ā-brītan 1 and NPers. afroāz-, Av. aiwi.rajāya-. Then Av. abifrā (only Y., 3312) is perhaps *ā-bifra- "perpetual" in agreement with the Pahl. Comm. pat pattākīh "in perpetuity". We should then recognize in Av. -wr- beside -fr- as two separate developments of -br-, the voiceless -fr- being parallel to the voiceless group -st- beside -zd- cf. bustī-, and buzdī- (in apaiti.ustī and duḍuvi.buzdī-).

62. (1) pat karpak dārēnd. Cf. nasāy nikānītan ut nasāy susūtan ut nasāy soxštan av āp ātāxš burtan ut nasāy xwartan pat dāt kunēnd ut nē paḥrēnēnd pat kār ut karpak in vazurg hangārēnd, Bahman, Yt., 294-295, "Burying the corpse, washing the corpse, burning the corpse, bringing it to water and fire, eating the corpse, they do by law and refrain not, they account it a great work and merit."

(2) oṣatan written 'vṭn, FP., 223 'vtn, elsewhere also 'pzttn, Paz. aḥazadan, OP. ava-jan- "kill ".

(3) χvār. Cf. Bahman Yt., 256, ka mart-e i nēvak oṣānēnd <ut> makas-e pat čašm <i> avēšān har 2 ēvak bavēt "when they kill a good man and a fly both are one in their eyes ".

63. ē "time", see Bartholomae, SR., iii, 27, here written u.

67. apasisān written 'psh'nn "perished" Part. pass. in -ānā to *apa- saido-, cf. nihān nyh'n "hidden" Part. pass. to *ni-dā.

69. mas haē kas "the greater from the smaller ". Cf. MX., 24,

1 Note the pres. in MPT. 'fer'm (Bartholomae, ZII. iv, 173 ff.) and cf. Sogd. (Chr.) ebrīny "creator ".

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ān i hač tō kas pat hamtāk ut hamtāk pat mas ut hača-š mas pat sardār ut sardār pat χvatāy dār “He who is your inferior treat as an equal, and an equal as a superior, and his superior as a lord and a lord as a ruler”. Bartholomae has further examples MM., i, 28 f. Infra 87. mas ut kas.

70. (1) ūn-īc gōśem. Cf. the more precise Bahman Yt., 243, ūn ān i pēš gōšom “this is what I shall foretell”.

(2) drōšak. This word may be connected with društ “harsh”, NPers. durušt (cf. Hübs. Pers. St. 61). In Bal. drušag, društa “to grind” is possibly the same verb. It will be necessary to keep this verb apart from drōšitān discussed below, Iranian notes No. 1.

71. (1) The end of the millennium of Zartušt is elaborated in Bahman Yt., 15, 24 ff.

(2) ō bavēt = Av. avarā... bavaitā, Y., 3010, “takes place”. Cf. Nyb., Gloss., 164, ō(h).

72. pat *3 bahr ē*bahr. Uncertain. The text has 3 3 3 DE. and 3 3 3 3 3. I have supposed the corruption of a numeral after so that 3 possibly stands for 3 = “3”. Cf. Bartholomae, S.R., i, 47, note 5: 3 3 3 3 3 “one part in ten parts, i.e. one-tenth”, 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 “one part in three parts, i.e. one-third”.

For the expression “one-third” cf. Bahman Yt., 328, pas hač ān bē škanēt patiγarak 3 ēvak-ē “then he destroys one-third of the assailants”. Bahman Yt., 357, apārij dām <i> Ohormazd pat 3 ēvak-ē apāč ōpārēt “he swallows again the other creatures of Ohormazd to the extent of one-third”.

74. (1) vat “evil” subst., as in 70.

(2) anākīh nē vitāčom “I cannot melt away the evil”. Cf. GrBd., 1737-8: anākīh <i> av Spand-Ārmat zamāk rasēt, hamāk bē gukānēt “the evil which comes to Spand-Ārmad the earth, she destroys it all.”

77. The conflict of Mihr and Šēm is described in Bahman Yt., 345. (This explains the use of ān “that” in the present passage referring to a well-known conflict.) The Bahman Yt. passage appears to be in part a translation from Avestan by the test of syntax. It reads:—
34. pas Miθr i frāxv-gōyūt vāng kunēt ku ēn 9,000 sāl pāstē i-š kart tāk nūn Dahāk dusēn ut Frāsūyāp i Tūr ut Alaksandar i Hrōmāyāk ut avēšān duṣāl kustīkān dēvān i vičārt-vars 1,000 sālān ʾōbām vēš hač patmān ʾiɣatāyīh kart. 35. start baβēt ān durvand Anrāk Mēnūk ka ētōn ašnūt. Miθr i frāxv-gōyūt bē zanēt Ėšm i *χruvidrūš, pat staβīh duβārēt. ān durvand Anrāk Mēnūk apāk visūtakān vat-tōyamakān apāc av tār ut tom i došaχv duβārēt. “Then Miθr of wide pastures cries aloud, saying: These 9,000 years of the Compact which was made, even until now Dahāk of evil faith and Frāsūyāp the Tūr and Alexander the Roman and those with leather belts and the dēvs with disordered hair have held dominion a period of 1,000 years beyond the covenant. 35. That wicked Anrāk Mēnūk was amazed when he heard that. Miθr of wide pastures attacks Ėšm of the bloodstained weapon. Without power he flees. That wicked Anrāk Mēnūk flees with the misbegotten ones of evil seed back to the darkness and gloom of the evil existence.”

78. (1) “A druž called Vat-yavakān”. Cf. yavak translating Av. yavō- in compounds. NP. ʾjav “barley” Pahl. yav. Named after his activity defined in 80, where yortākān, cf. yortāk Pahl. transl. of Av. yava-.

(2) Bēvarasp epithet of Dahāk, see Justi, Iran. Namenbuch, p. 60, Grbd 1986 Dahāk kē Bēvarasp-ič ʾxvānēnd. Old Oss. Βαυρασπός. Av. baēvar- “10,000”, Pahl. bēvar, Arm. loanword biur, Georg. bevri, has survived as bevra bērā būrā (“many”) in Ossetic. Arm. biur shows the same treatment of -ar as in zaur “forces”, MPT. zāvar “power” and in kaisr “Kaisar”. The apparent loss of -a- in ēšmarit “true”, Pahl. čašmāt “visible to the eye” is due to a form *čišm- as in Pahl. čysmāk beside čsimk “fountain”.

81. grīv “a measure”. This word has long been known in the Arm. loanword griu “a measure for corn”. Here written HAG., 131, had no Mid. Iran. form but quoted NPers. giriš, Syr. gryb’, Arab. jariš.

83. (1) It is apparently intended as a blessing when Spand Ārmad opens her mouth to reveal the jewels and metals hidden in the earth. But in Bahman Yt., 248, it is in times of confusion: pat avēšān dušxvātāyīh har čis av nēstīh ut ačārakīh ut sapūkīh ut nyastakīh rasēt. Spand-Ārmat zamīk dāhān apāc višāyēt har gōhr <ut> ayoḵšust av xvātāyīh rasēt čegōn zarr asēm ut rōd ut arčīc ut srup. ut xvātāyīh ut ṭūtaχkāhīh av Anērān bandakān rasēt. “During their accursed rule everything will pass into nothingness, helplessness, contempt, and
decay. Spand Ārmad will open her mouth, all jewels and metals will be disclosed, such as gold, silver, and copper and tin and lead. The dominion and sovereignty will pass to foreign slaves.” [sapukiḥ, cf. sapuk mēnu “thought contemptible”, DkM., 81329. nyastakih to nyastak “cast down”, cf. Nyb., Gloss., 163, niyastan, and MO., xxiii, 349, *nēstār. Add GrBd., 21434, apāk Arzāsp kārevār <i> škūft kart, Ėrān <ut> Anērān vasiḥā *apājaḥ hēnd. “With Arzāsp he fought a hard battle, Aryans and non-Aryans perished in multitudes.”]

(2) ayōšust, often spelt ayōkšust with the usual 工业园 to express Avestan o or ú. Av. ayōkšustā- “molten metal” as in Yt., 1729, tāpayēiti mām aśa vahiṣṭa mānayaṁ aha yata ayōkšustāṁ: (Ahrēman speaks) “he heats me with the Aša Vahiṣṭa as it were molten metal” became in Pahl. equivalent simply to “metal” and appears also in the Gabri dial. ayōkšust (AIW., 162). It seems to be Oss. (Digor.) āvčestā, (Iron.) āvēzūt “silver”, whence came the Hungarian ezüst “silver”, see Sköld, ZII., iii, 185.

84. (1) Kust i Nēmrōč. According to Ananias Širak (ed. Marquart Ėrānšahr) the Kust i Nēmrōč comprised nineteen provinces. Pārs counted as the chief province. In particular Sagistān (Sistān) was often intended by Nēmrōč (Marquart, loc. cit., p. 25). Here it is impossible to decide if a special province was thought of. When the ruler takes to flight, however, he goes to Zāvulastan, which also formed part of Nēmrōč.

(2) spāh ut gund, 94, 96; gund ut spāh, 91. Arm. loanward gourd. Written வீர, to be kept sharply distinct from வீர gurt “warrior”.


88. Pataśχvāgar, see Marquart Ėrānšahr, p. 129 f., is Tapurastāf, Arm. Tapristan, the land of the Tānvpov, Arab.-Pers. Tabaristān.
It was first conquered by the Arabs in A.D. 758. In A.D. 783 Vindāş-Hormizd founded a new dynasty as Spāḥpet of Khorāsān.

90. (1) tempts with variant tempts “message”, cf. Arm. loanward tempts “message”, MPT. (S.W.) pyg’m (N.W.) p’dg’m, N.Pers. payâm, pāyām, Syr. ptgm “sententia”. In GrBd., 1778, *patgāk “messenger” : Yazd Nēryōsang *patgāk yazdān ku pat hamāk paitām aveh frastēt “The Yazd Nēryōsang is messenger of the Yazds, that is, he is sent on all messages” [In -ēt of frastēt “is sent”, I am inclined to recognize the old Pass. 3 Sg. -yatai > -ēt. Hence for the frequent read gōbēt “it is said” as pass. Cf. Nyb., Gloss., apasihēt “is destroyed” pass. to apa-sih-]. In 92 patgāmañār with variant tempts “messenger” Arm. loanword patgamaunor N.Pers. payāmbar, pāyāmbar.

(2) karr ut kōr “deaf and blind”. This is the traditional Pahl. translation of Avestan kāryaṃ karagnama, AIW., 455, “of Kavis and Karapans” : pat ēši i Yazdān karr ut kōr “in affairs of the Yazds deaf and blind”; in the Sanskr. version adaršakā aśrotāraśca. It is proved to be more than a learned comment by the letter ascribed by Elišē to Mihrnerseh, see Meillet, REA., vi, 1–3: or . . . oč ouni zaurēns deni mazdezn, na χουλ ε eu koir eu <-i> diuag Hāramanoi χabēal “He who holds not the law of the Mazdean faith, is deaf and blind (kōr loanword from Iran. kōr) and deceived by the dēs of Hāraman (= Ahriman)”. Cf. the Manichean hymn to Jesus: υ χοδ bōd chsmvr ’v kvar’ Mnvo ’v qr’n, uδ χvad būd časmvar o kōrān, asnavāy o karrān “And he himself is seer for the blind, hearer for the deaf” (Lentz, Die Stellung Jesu, p. 121).


96. (1) pat ān dašt . . . pat spēt-razur. On spēt-razur, Av. spātētōm razurēm we have now Herzfeld’s investigations, Archæol. Mitteil., ii, 72–4. In this forest Haosravah overthrew Aurvasāra. pat ān dašt suggests Aśīyātkār i Zarērān 19: pat ān dašt i hāmōn, that is, Sīstān. For dašt cf. Herzfeld, loc. cit., p. 60–1. The dašt is a place of fear as appears in GrBd., 172a (explaining the epithets of Mihr)
apiṣ fräxvõyõtī<śh> ēt ku [ka] pat dāst apēbimīh<ā> bē sāyēt āmatan šutan pat rād i Mihr “His having wide pastures is this that in the desert it is possible to go to and fro without fear in the care of Mihr”.

It is interesting that var interchanges with dāst in the geographical name dāst i Tācīkān (Šahrīhā i Erān, 50), var i Tācīkān (Šahrīhā i Erān, 25, 52). According to Markwart, Das Reich Zābul, p. 266, vari-(Av. vairi-) survived in Kābul as ʃr (= βar). In Yt., 537, varoiš piśinaxhō (Gen. Sg.) “the vari- of Pišinah” is the Pahl. dāst i Pišan-seh (cf. infra, Iranian notes No. 7 on MX., 6220, where in the later development of the saga this dāst is placed near Mt. Damāvand).


98. hāc duśmanān ćand bē őzanēt kē . . . “he slays so many of the enemies that . . .” For ćand = and, cf. GrBd., 2068, pat ćand mōd-kunišnīh “with so great lamentation”. Cf. NPers. va ćandānī dar mašāf kuṣṭa sudand kī “and so many were killed in the battle that . . .” where, however, the demonstrative is suffixed to ćand. kē (if kept, but confusion of ćand with ćand is common), will mean “that their”.


busyaohnahe ašaonō fravašim yazamaide,
pisīsyinhaone ašaonō fravašim yazamaide,
tacmahe spentōdātaha ašaonō fravašim yazamaide,

contains the names of three sons of Vištāspa, of whom two are known to the GrBd., 2328, hāc vištāsp Spandadāt ut Piśyōn zāt hēnd. The Greeks wrote the name Πισθοθνης.

(2) framān i dāṭar Ohormazd. For the vocalization -mazd cf. Ωρομαζδης and the nom. prop. Apamaosdēς (Avroman Doc.) which is probably the North-Western form, Arm. Aramazd. framān “commandment” is found already in Old Pers. (NRa., 56–7) Ahuramazdāhā framānā, and is used to translate Avestan maṭra. So in Buddh. Sogd. prm’y- is used of the Buddha.

100. (1) 150 *hāviṣt (hvest for hvest). Similarly Bahman Yt., 357, apāk 150 mart i ahraś kē hāviṣt i Piśyōn hēnd, but here with different
raiment: **pat siyā samōr yāmak** “with garments of the black sable”. It is possible that **patmōčan i *samōr i siyā** should be read here.

(2) **patmōčan**. The suffix -ana expresses the three ideas of (1) verbal action, (2) instrument, as in **patmōčan**, (3) place. There are interesting examples of the “nouns of place”. OP. āvahana “dwelling-place” specialized as “stronghold”, Pahl. ābahân “stronghold” (see Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Mitteil.*, ii, 54), Arm. loanword āvān “village”, Syr. ’vn’, Saka vāna- (Sacu Doc. 45). Arm. loanword vank’ “abitazione, casa”, cf. vank’ hōtić “stalla di pecore”. NPers. aivān is probably *aṭivāhana* (cf. Sanskr. adhi- ves- “to dwell in”) with specialized meaning. It is used of the hall in which Vis and Virō are wedded. *Vis u Rāmin*, p. 25, l. 17, ba- aivān i Kayānī.


Other examples are OP. áyadanā pl. “places of worship”, Av. šaṣyana- “dwelling-place”, Sogd. šyn. Arm. loanword šēn. NPers. āstān “palace; threshold”.


101. (1) **dast i man.** *man* indicates that the part has formed part of another context.

(2) **pat draf’s** “holding the banner”. In *GrBd.*, 170°7, Varahrān Yazd draf’s-dār i mīnokān yazdān “Varahrān (written vr’hur’n) Yazd is the standard-bearer of the Spiritual Yazds”.

104. (1) Zimastān i sart. A like simile in *Bahman Yt.*, 323, čōgōn drastē bun ka [pat ēt] šap i zimastān i sart apar rasēl, pat ēt šap valg apakanēt, “as the trunk of a tree when the night of a cold winter comes upon it, in that night the leaves are destroyed” [apakanēt written ʃešu], which supports Nyberg, *Gloss.*, p. 13, and proves Arm. apakanem “I destroy”, *HAG.*, 413, to be from Iranian. But Oss. āwgāmun “pour in, heap up” beside nīgānum “bury” both have kan- (not kand-, cf. bādītmun “to bind”). These are the two meanings indicated by Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, iii, 54. Old Pers. ava kān m has also kan- “place”. For kand- we have Pahl. ākand “filled”, NPers.
āgandan "to stuff, cram", and Arm. loan word *vkandem "put to flight"].

(2) *valg MSS. 但由于 NPers. barg. For -l- cf. Bahman Yt., valg  tł and Nyb., Gloss., 232, Av. varṣka-. With this, Saka-vargya in ysaåravargya "having a thousand leaves", see Leumann, Zeits. für vgl. Sprachforschung, 1930, p. 199, who suggested *patra = Sanskr. patra- "leaf".

105. gurg ोभाम . . . ोयें. An identical phrase in Bahman Yt., 340, describing the purified earth: ोज ut niyāzak ोज ut ēšm ut varan araśk ut druwandh hač gēhān be rafṣēt gurg ोभाम be ṣavēt ut mēš ोभाम andar ोयेंt ut ātur Farnbaγ ātur Gušnaspt ut ātur i Burzēn Mihr apač av gāś i ेवेष niśīnēd "Lust and want, lust and violence and desire, envy and wickedness will pass from the world. The time of the wolves will pass away and the time of the sheep will enter in. And the fires Farnbaγ and Gušnaspt and Burzēn Mihr will be established again in their own seats". Under gurg all violent beings can be included (cf. Av. vehr kém yim bikangrom daēvayasnom "the wolf which is two-legged, worshipper of dēva"). The mēš ोभाम is evidently a period of tranquillity. [rafṣēt is inchoative, -s- form, to raph- "go", cf. gufsišnīk vāčik and gufsišn from gōβ- "speak", see Nyberg, MO., xxiii, 350. For Av., Reichelt, Av. Elementarbuch, p. 111. Arm. loanword yausom "to violate" to yaβ- cf. Sogd. (Buddh.) "y'np- part. "y'β- (Ganthiot, Gram. Sogd., 116 = SCE., 130, 434). Sanskr. yabhati. Fr. Müller had seen the connection before an Iranian cognate was known. It is not in HAG.]

IRANIAN NOTES

1. Avestan draoša.

The Armenian loanword drošm "a mark cut or burnt in", χάραγμα, (Ciakciak) "marka, impronta, stampa, cauterio," with derivatives drošmel "engrave, cut in, burn in", drošoumn "inscription", drošmakăn "marcato, segnato", cf. HAG., 147, have not hitherto been brought into connection with the corresponding Pahlavi word drōšom گوشن. The consonant group šm appears in Pahl. as either šm (appréšm GrBd., 14615) or šm (appréšom GrBd., 1445, cf. bərsom). The word drōšom is found in DkM., 7644-5, pat snay'tak gōn ut drōšom "in kind, colour, and markings" and in DkM., 76517-18, ēvak gōn i mātar zāt, ēvak drōšom gōβēt "one states the colour which the
mother bore, the other states the markings”. With this we gain a satisfactory explanation of the Avestan word draoša-. Bartholomae discussed the word at length, WZKM., 27, 352 f., giving further references in his Zur Etymologie und Wortbildung der indogerm. Sprachen (1919), p. 42, note 5. His conclusion that the word indicated a punishment for theft was correct, but he could not give a satisfactory meaning to the word. The Avestan passage is: spayeti . . . daēna māzdāyasnīš . . . bandom, spayeti draošom. “The Dēn Māzdayasnīš gets rid of fetters, gets rid of branding,” Vid., 3, 41. In Pahlavi the word drōš and the phrase band ut drōš are frequent (references are given by Bartholomae). A passage not noticed by Bartholomae occurs in the Mēnkāχrat, 4031, ed. Andreas, p. 444, ut puhl ut drōš ut pātrfrāh i druwandān pat dōšayē tāk ham-e ut ham-ē raβišnīh “And expiation and branding and punishment of the wicked in the evil existence for ever”, Pāz. u drūš u pātrfrāh u daruanda pa dōšaχ, andā hamē u hamē rāvešnī, with the Sanskrit rendering chedo nigrāhasca durgatimatān narake yāvat sadāca sadāca pravṛttim. To the Pāzandist the word drōš meant “cutting off”. Used of marking cattle we have drōštān, DkM., 7633, apar drōštān i *gōspandān <i> *apētak, vinās i hač *nē drōštān. This punishment of branding suits the passage Mhd., p. 731, ka 4 bār drōš kart ut pas-ič an vinās i pat ān ađivēnak kunēnd *hakurē hač zindān bē nē hilišn “When branding has been four times inflicted and afterwards they commit another crime of that kind, they are never to be let out of prison”.

That the word drōš was verbal could be further seen from drōśišnīh, beside which drōśiḥ is also found. Sanjana, Dk., vol. viii, Glossary, under drōśišnīh, was quite right to translate “brand” and to compare the NPers. darōš “mark of cauterity” (Steingass).

The poem of Farrukhī quoted by Browne in JRAŠ., 1899, pp. 767–9, from the Čahār Maqāla gives a poetic view of Persian cattle-branding.

On the other hand, for beating, of which Bartholomae had thought as the meaning of drōš, we have the phrase pat ēop zanēnd (Gujastak Abā-Laiš, Cap. iv) coupled with another punishment dast burrend “they cut off the hand”.

2. Avestan frāšma-.

In a passage of the Zartuχšt-nāmak (DkM., 6109 f.) describing the marvels at the birth of Zartušt it is stated: ēvak ēt i paitākihast av vasān ka mānd ēštāt avi-š zāyīn 3 rōc pat ađīvēnak i χəršēt pat
ul vaxšišnīh 1 nazd <ïk> ih ka-š frâšm vistarîhēt, pas tan paitākîhēt “One (marvel) is this which was revealed to many. When there remained three days till his birth, in appearance like the sun at the nearness of its blazing forth, when its first beams are spread abroad, then his body was revealed”.

The word frâšm is here clearly the first light of the sun before the ball of the sun itself is visible, and as this passage claims to be Dēn, that is, based on the Sacred Scriptures, and in the immediately succeeding paragraphs proves these statements by a quotation of which the syntax attests its origin in Avestan, we may fairly safely conclude that frâšm represents a frâšma- of the original text. This word is well known in the Avestan compound frâšmō, dāiti- which in the phrase hū 2 frâšmō, dāiti- means “sunset”. It is transcribed in Pahlavi (Vid., 7, 58) 3 Šapārē. We thus have a word fraš- in the sense of “shining”. To this haomō frâšniš can be related as “the bright Haoma”, cf. RV., 2, 41, 2, ayām sukrō ayāmite (Soma speaks).

This frâšma- accordingly suggests the problem of Av. fraša-, OP. fraša-, MPT. frš-, Arm. loanword hraš-, on which so much has been written (the latest in Herzfeld, Archaeologische Mitteil. aus Iran., iii, 1). Hertel’s etymology fra-χšā- (Beiträge zur Erklärung des Avestas und des Vedas, p. 181), which is adopted by Herzfeld, would, however, be excluded by connecting frâšma- with fraša-. There would remain, in any case, the difficulty of xš and š which is not removed by Hertel’s solution (loc. cit., p. 61, note 3), since the clear distinction in Iranian (parallel to a distinction in Greek) between the palatal k’s and the velar q’s is supported by the Sogdian for Middle Iranian and by Ossetic for New Iranian, both of which have kept k’s distinct from q’s, cf. Sogd. ’χšp- “night”, Av. χšap-; Sogd. šyn “dwelling-place”, Av. šayana-; Oss. axšir “milk”, Pahl. šyr-, Sanskr. kṣīra-; Oss. sud “hunger”, Av. šud- “hunger”, Sanskr. kṣudh-. We may safely recognize the same in Avestan, without ignoring serious deficiencies in the scribes of Avestan MSS.

It is perhaps possible to distinguish a second fraš-, the Av. paršu-, paršat-, Sanskr. pršant-. We have in Av. parśvainika as

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1 vaxš- “to flame, blaze”; cf. DkM., 60211, ’oša štayš burst *vaxšēnēt hač rōdnīh ḫaḥ ithun ḫe ṭeṣṭ, and Nyberg, Glossar, 232.
2 Of the many attempts to explain this form the best is to take hū as *hvan < Gen. sg. *svāns Gath. Av. χvāŋ.
epithet of the boar (varāza) and the proper name Parśat-gav- which naturally recalls Sanskr. prṣad-aśva- “having horses of prṣanti-colour”.

In Pahl. GrBd., 962, we have the  yaz *parš or *fraš (Paz. fraš, Ind. Bd. pars). In classical Sanskr. prṣata- is “the spotted antelope”, in the Śat. Brah., v, 3, 16: prṣadgaur daksinā bhūmā vā etad rūpānam yat prṣato gor “the sacrificial fee is a spotted bullock for in such a spotted bullock there is abundance of colours” (Eggingel’s transl.). The relation of fraš- to parš- can be compared to OP., Av. frašta- “asked”, beside Av. parsā “I will ask”, OP. aprsām “I asked”, and to Av. razišta- superlative to ərəzu- “straight”, but especially Pahl. frah “wide”, with Av. fradah- “width”. Av. parša- can naturally represent the reduced vowel *prṣu- or the full grade *paršu-.

Now the spotted tail of the peacock is its most noticeable characteristic. The Georgian loanword pharšamangî “peacock” may easily have preserved an Iranian *parš- in contrast to MPT. frṣymurv *frašemurv “peacock”. Pahl.  (Husraw, § 25, ed. Unvala) allows of either parš- or fraš-.

3. Avestan duždafašra-.

Vid., 943, zaurva duždafašrō kərmənaiti (there is a variant duždəm.ərō) is translated by Bartholomae, AIW., 757, “Das Alter macht die Väter unverständ (?)”, reading duždə fašrō as two separate words. Darmesteter had rendered (ZA., ii, 275) by “la Vieillesse, qui maltraite les pères”. The word occurs only here and neither of these renderings is convincing, even if they could be considered possible.

Help is afforded by the Pahlavi. The dēv Zarmān is mentioned in lists of demons (DKM., 8104, GrBd., 6714) and in GrBd., 1858, we have zarmān ān dēv kē əṣ əŋ kūnēt kē pīrīh xīnēnd “Old age is the dēv which makes . . . which they call agedness”. The epithet is constant and is clearly to be read dušdaft “whose breath is bad, i.e. short-breathed” (ə and ə are frequently confused). The verb dam- “breathe, blow” is common in Iranian: Saha, padama “winds”, N., 6910, nasḍamīde, N., 588, “mochten wegblasen”, Sogd. əmyn’k “venteux”, SCE., 153; Oss. dūm “blasen, rauchen”, NPers. damīdan, cf. Sanskr. dharmatī. The Pahl. daftan, Paz. daftan, illustrates the frequent alternation of m and f (from m + t), cf. nam, namb
"moist", naft "moistened", gam- "go", Sogd. γβτπτ "they went". In the translation of a lost passage of the Avesta (DkM., 814^a), from verses on Frētōn, we have api-š vēnik ān fravēt (i.e. transcription of Avestan fravaya-) kū-š bē daft ut hač daśn vēnik i avē snēχr patū hēnd "And his nose blew forth, that is, he breathed out, and from his right nostril snows fell down".

In duždastrya- it is accordingly possible to recognize *dampastra <*dam-stra "breathing" with the normal spellings, cf. fošroī = *pṛrē "to the father", vaχdstra- = *vaktra-. Bartholomae recognized dam- in the Av. dādmainya- "puffing up" (used of frogs). The words in Vid., 943, are then to be translated "Old age makes short of breath".

4. In the Susa Palace Inscription, 41–2 (Charte de fondation, éd. Scheil, Les inscriptions achéménides à Suse, 1929) is read, a r j n m tyanā didā [p]ištā ava hača Yaunā [ab]ariy, with Benveniste's reading [p]ištā "the decoration with which the Palace is decorated, that was brought from the Greeks". In the Babylonian version simammu "decoration" (asamtu "to decorate") corresponds to a r j n m which at once suggests a connection with NPers. ārang "colour, form", ārang-ārang "variegated", rang "colour", ranj "colour", abranjan, avranjan, afragjan, baranjān "bracelet, anklet", aurang "beauty, glory, throne", Pahl. afragrang "splendour" (Pahl. Texts, ii, 133, § 3, raγ ut γarrr ut visp afragrang) huarfragrang "having glorious splendour", MPT. 'brng (zāvar ud afragrang) Sogd. (Buddh.) rnk "colour", rnk'n adj. "coloured", Arm. loan-word aparajān "φέλλους, armband", HAG., 104. In accordance with these words the Old Pers. a r j n m may be read ārajānam. The proposal to read, as Scheil did, arjanam was based on a translation "precious things", which is vague for the passage "the decoration with which the palace was ornamented (pištā- = 'painted ?'").

5. The meaning of the Pahl. adj. pištā can be determined from the passage in the Grbd., 637 f.

ān viš hač zamāk bē burtan rād, Tištīr pat asp-karpūhp spēt i drāz-dumb andar zvēh ūrōt šut. api-š Apaγoš dēv pat hamānākīh av asp siyā i kūk -dumb patirak bē tačīt.

"To carry away this poison from the earth Tištīr descended into the sea in the form of a horse white and long-tailed. And Apaγoš the Dēv sped to oppose him in likeness of a horse black and short-tailed."

1 [A new suggestion, with doubtful philology, is given by Herzfeld, Arch. Mitt., iii, 52. Corr. note.]
The same meaning will fit the other passages where the word is found—

GrBd., 143\textsuperscript{12}, Karbūk i dumbak siyā ut kūk “the lizard whose tail is black and short”.

GrBd., 146\textsuperscript{1}, ka av nišēm i kapōt rīyēt pēlak i mār i kūk hačā *hanbavēt “when it defecates into the nest of a dove the cocoon of a small snake is produced from it”.

GrBd., 147\textsuperscript{7}, gōbēt pat dēn ku Anrāk Mēnūk ān yavaz gurg dāt kūk ut tam-arzānūk, tom-zahak, tom-tōčmak, tom-karp, siyā “It is stated in the Sacred Books that Anrāk Mēnūk created that panther small and suiting the darkness, emanating from darkness, of the seed of darkness, with a body of darkness, black”.

GrBd., 147\textsuperscript{11-12}, api-š pat 15 sarāh frāc karrēnūt nazād gurg i siyā ut kūk ut sturg sarāh “And he created fifteen species of the Wolf and first the species of the black wolf small and ravenous”.

To these passages can be added the Pahl. Comm. to Vid., 14\textsuperscript{7}, which translates Av. ātarvāzanom hikaranom by ātāxš vaχšēnūtar girt kūk-e “a fire-blower round and small”, hence correct AIW., Pū, s.v. hikaranā-. The word kūk is accordingly to be connected with Pahl. 1\textsuperscript{20} kūč “small”.

Zatspram, ix, 15 (ed. West, Avestan . . . studies), čēgōn mart kē yortāy ham-ē *kārēt, ut fratom stāfr sang frāc parkeēt ut pas ān i mīyānāk, pas ān i kūc “As a man who sows corn, and first he gathers out large stones, then those of medium size, then those which are small”.

Pahl. kūčak is NPers. kūčak “small”. Av. kutaka- “small”, Pahl. kōtak, Arm. loanword kotak, NPers. kōtāh (cf. Nyberg, Glossar, p. 208) belong to the same group.

6. Pahlavi mūγ.

In the Frahang i Pahlavīk \textsuperscript{43} we have: دارس dql’ mūγ to which the traditional readings are (FP., ed. Junker, p. 79) moγ, μωγ, NPers. mūγ “date-palm”. Variant readings give دارس, مود, درس, مورس, درس, فرس, “palm-tree”. The Pāzandists have tended to misunderstand this word and to confuse the passages where it is found.

MX., 692\textsuperscript{20} f. (ed. Andreas, p. 691\textsuperscript{2} f.), ut tan i Sām pat dašt i Pišan-sēh nazdīk av kōf i Damāvand ut pat ān dašt bē yortāy ut χαριšnīk ċiš <i> kārēnd ut drūēnd <ut> pati-š zivēnd tāk han mūγ ut draxt ut urvār nest “And the body of Sām lies in the Plain of Pišan-sēh near the
Mountain of Damāvand and in that plain save corn and edible things which they sow and reap and live thereon do not exist, of all the rest, date-palm and tree and plant”. But the Pāzand and Sanskrit versions have mūrd (Sansk. mārdā-) “myrtle”, for which, however, the Frah. Pahl., 44, gives the word 𐭦𐭪𐭪𐭧. The same confusion appears in Ind. Bd., 592 (ed. Justi), hać urvarān mūrt 𐭦𐭪𐭪𐭧 “branch of the palm-tree”, which for the GrBd., 1227, has correctly hać urvarān 𐭦𐭪𐭪𐭧 “branch of the palm-tree”.

GrBd., 10313, pēš i mūy 𐭭𐭪𐭪𐭪 “branch of the palm-tree”, appears in Ind. Bd., 3515 (in Avestan letters), as pēši 𐭦𐭪𐭧 murt. It is one of the fuels with which Mardē and Mardânē light their first fire.

7. dāšn.

In MPT. d’ṣyn, d’šn (dāšen, dāšn) are common in the sense of “gift”. M., 74, v. 14, dāšen bayānīg tuxšāy bāvāy “May you be eager for the divine gift”. M., 47c, dāšn pādīrift “he received the gift”.

In the Bahman Yašt, 233, andar ān i vattam ošān murt-ē āzarm vēš dārēt ku hēr i dēn-burtār martom apī-šān *dāšn 𐭩𐭪𐭪𐭪 pat kūr kam “In that most evil time a bird will have more respect than the wealth of men who maintain the faith, and gifts will be less in their acts”. It would seem that 𐭩𐭪𐭪 “gift” should be dāšn, but “creation”, as in bun-dahišn, should be dahišn and this is supported by the form with preverb: MPT. p’d’ṣyn pādāšen, Paz. pādāšn pādāšni “recompense”. So Pahl. 𐭩𐭪𐭪 1 should be pādāšn. NPers. pādāš, pādāšn, pādāšt. Arm. dašn “treaty, alliance” may belong here. DkM., 7889 (referred to by Salemann), has dāšnān 𐭩𐭪𐭪 i vēh apāyšnīk oshmurīšn “the rewards of the good and excellent recitation”, cf. West, SBE., 37, 174, § 17.

To B.S.O.S., VI, part I.

p. 62, l. 18, read: Saka balysga “high” < *barz-ka-

p. 64, note, read: uysiñe-ja.

p. 78, § 37, read: Syriac ֶָָָ, Aram. ֶָָָ.

1 𐭩𐭪𐭪 *paldāyīn, Pahl. Texts, ii, 136, l. 8.