

seen from the religious point of view.

Of these sixteen lands there are nine, as follows:--

AVESTAN NAME. OLD PERSIAN. GREEK. MODERN NAME.

Sughdha (2) Suguda

Sogdianh Soghd (Samarkand)

Mouru (3) Margu

Margianh Marv

Bakhdhi (4) Bakhtri

Baktra Balkh

Haroyu (6) Haraiva

Areia Harard (rud)

Vehrkana (9) Varkana

Urkania Gurgan, Jorgan

Harahvaiti (10) Harauvati

Aracwsia Av-rokhaj, Arghand- (b)

Haetumant (11)

Etumando V Helmend

Ragha (12) Rag

Ragai Ra

Hapta hindu (15) Hindava

Indoi Hind (Punjab)

which can be identified with certainty, as we are able to follow their

names from the records of the Achaemenian kings or the works of classical writers down to the map of modern Iran.

For the other lands we are confined for information to the Pahlavi Commentary, from which we get:

AVESTAN NAME. PAHLAVI NAME. MODERN NAME.

Vaekereta (7) Kapul Kabul

Urva (8) Meshan Mesene

Varena (14) Patashkhvargar or Dailam Tabaristan or Gailan

Rangha (16) Arvastani Ramesh Eastern Mesopotamia

The identification of Nisaya (5) and Chakhra (13) remains an open question, as there were several cities of that name. We know, however, that Nisaya lay between Balkh and Marv. The first province Airyanem Vaeja, or Eranvej, we identify with the medieval Arran (nowadays known as Karabagh).

There must have been some systematical idea in the order followed, though it is not apparent, except in the succession of Sughdha, Mouru, Bakhdhi, Nisaya, Haroyu, Vaekereta (numbers 2-7), which form one compact group of north-eastern provinces; the last two provinces, Hindu and Rangha (numbers 15-16), are the two limitroph provinces, east and west (Indus and Tigris);

and the Rangha brings us back to the first province, Eranvej, whose chief river, the Vanguhi Daitya, or Aras, springs from the same mountains as the Rangha-Tigris.

The several plagues created by Angra Mainyu to mar the native perfection of Ahura's creations give instructive information on the religious condition of several of the Iranian countries at the time when this Fargard was written. Harat seems to have been the seat of puritan sects that pushed rigorism to the extreme in the law of purification. Sorcery was prevalent in the basin of the Helمند river, and the Paris were powerful in Cabul, which is a Zoroastrian way of saying that the Hindu civilisation prevailed in those parts, which in fact in the two centuries before and after Christ were known as White India, and remained more Indian than Iranian till the Moslem conquest.

FARGARD 1. Sixteen perfect lands created by Ahura Mazda, and as many plagues created by Angra Mainyu.

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama¹ Zarathushtra, saying:

I have made every land dear (to its people), even though it had no charms whatever in it²: had I not made every land dear (to its people), even though it had no charms whatever in it, then the whole living world would have invaded the Airyana Vaeja³.

Notes:

1. Or Spitamide. Zarathushtra was descended from Spitama at the fifth generation.
2. 'Everyone fancies that the land where he was born and has been brought up is the best and fairest land that I have created' (Comm.)
3. Greater Bundahish: 'It is said in the Sacred Book: had I not created the Genius of the native place, all mankind would have gone to Eran-Vej, on account of its pleasantness.' — On Airyanem Vaeja or Eran-Vej, see following note.

2.4 The first of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the Airyana Vaeja⁵, by the Vanguhi Daitya⁶.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the serpent in the river⁷ and Winter, a work of the Daevas⁸.

4. Clause 2 in the Vendidad Sada is composed of Zend quotations in the Commentary that illustrate the alternative

process of creation: 'First, Ahura Mazda would create a land of such kind that its dwellers might like it, and there could be nothing more delightful. Then he who is all death would bring against it a counter-creation.'

5. Airyanem Vaeja, Iran-Vej, is the holy land of Zoroastrianism: Zarathushtra was born and founded his religion there

(Bund. 20.32;

32.3):

the first animal couple appeared there

(Bund. 14.4;

Zadspram, 9.8).

From its name, 'the Iranian seed,' it seems to have been considered as the original seat of the Iranian race. It has been generally supposed to belong to Eastern Iran, like the provinces which are enumerated after it, chiefly on account of the name of its river, the Vanguhi Daitya, which was in the Sassanian times (as Veh) the name of the Oxus. But the Bundahish distinctly states that Iran-Vej is 'bordering upon Adarbajan'

(29.12);

now, Adarbajan is bordered by the Caspian Sea on the east, by the Rangha provinces on the west, by Media proper on the south, and by Arran on the north. The Rangha provinces are out of question, since they are mentioned at the end of the Fargard (verse 20), and the climatic conditions of Iran-Vej with its long winter likewise exclude Media and suit Arran, where the summer lasts hardly two months (cf. § 4, note 6). The very name agrees, as the country known as Arran seems to have been known to the Greeks as `Ariana (Stephanus Byz.), which brings it close to our Airyanem. On the Vanguhi Daitya, see following note.

6. The Vanguhi Daitya, belonging to Arran, must be the modern Aras (the classic Araxes). The Aras was named Vanguhi, like the Oxus, but distinguished from it by the addition Daitya, which made it 'the Vanguhi of the Law' (the Vanguhi by which Zarathushtra received the Law).

7. 'There are many Khrafstras in the Daitik, as it is said, The Daitik full of Khrafstras' (Bund. 20.13). Snakes abound on the banks of the Araxes (Morier, *A Second Journey*, p. 250) nowadays as much as in the time of Pompeius, to whom they barred the way from Albania to Hyrcania (Plut.)

8. Arran (Karabagh) is celebrated for its cold winter as well as for its beauty. At the Naoroz (first day of spring) the fields still lie under the snow. The temperature does not become milder before the second fortnight of April; no flower is seen before May. Summer, which is marked by the migration of the nomads from

the plain to the mountains, begins about the 20th of June and ends in the middle of August.

3. There are ten winter months there, two summer months⁹; and those are cold for the waters¹⁰, cold for the earth, cold for the trees¹¹. Winter falls there, the worst of all plagues. [Hum 35: "Ten are there the winter months, two the summer months, and even then [in summer] the waters are freezing, the earth is freezing, the plants are freezing; there is the center of winter, there is the heart of winter, there winter rushes around, there (occur) most damages caused by storm."]

9. Vendidad Sada: 'It is known that [in the ordinary course of nature] there are seven months of summer and five of winter' (see Bund. 25).

10. Some say: 'Even those two months of summer are cold for the waters...' (Comm.; see Mainyo-i-khard 44.20).

11. Vend. Sada: 'There reigns the core and heart of winter.'

4. The second of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the plain¹² which the Sughdhas inhabit¹³.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the locust¹⁴, which brings death unto cattle and plants.

12. Doubtful.

13. Old P. Suguda; Sogdiana.

14. The plague that fell to that country was the bad locust: it devours the plants and death comes to the cattle' (Gr. Bund.)

5. The third of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the strong, holy Mouru¹⁵.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created plunder and sin¹⁶.

15. Margu; Margianh; Marv.

16. Doubtful. The Gr. Bd. has: 'The plague that fell to that country was the coming and going of troops: for there is always there an evil concourse of horsemen, thieves, robbers, and heretics, who speak untruth and oppress the righteous.' — Marv continued to be the resort of Turanian plunderers till the recent Russian annexation.

6. The fourth of the good lands and countries

which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the beautiful Bakhdhi¹⁷ with high-lifted banner.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the ants and the ant-hills¹⁸.

17. Bakhtri; Baktra; Balkh.

18. 'The corn-carrying ants' (Asp.; cf. Farg. 14.5).

7. The fifth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Nisaya¹⁹, that lies between the Mouru and Bakhdhi.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the sin of unbelief²⁰.

19. By contradistinction to other places of the same name. There was a Nisaya, in Media, where Darius put to death the Mage Gaumata (Behishtun I, 58). There was also a Nisaya; in Fars, another in Kirman, a third again on the way from Amol to Marv (Tabari, tr. Noeldeke, p.101, 2), which may be the same as Nisaia, the capital of Parthia (Parqaunisa ap. Isid. of Charax 12); cf. Pliny VI, 25 (29). One may therefore be tempted to translate, 'Nisaya between which and Bakhdhi Mouru lies;' but the text hardly admits of that construction, and we must suppose the existence of another Nisaya on the way from Balkh to Marv.

20. There are people there 'who doubt the existence of God (Comm.)

8. The sixth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the house-deserting Haroyu²¹.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created tears and wailing²².

21. Haroyu, Old P. Haraiva (transcribed in Greek and Latin 'Areia Aria instead of `Areia Haria, by a confusion with the name of the Aryans); P. Haroyu; (in Firdausi and in Haroyu; Haroyu; is an Arabicised form. — 'The house-deserting Haroyu; because there, when a man dies in a house, the people of the house leave it and go. We keep the ordinances for nine days or a month: they leave the house and absent themselves from it for nine days or a month' (Gr. Bd.) See Vd5.42.

22. 'The tears and wailing for the dead,' the voceros. The tears shed over a dead man grow to a river that prevents his crossing the Chinwad bridge (Saddar 96;

Arda Viraf 16.7, 10).

9. The seventh of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Vaekereta²³, of the evil shadows.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the Pairika Knathaiti²⁴, who claves unto Keresaspa.

23. Vaekereta, an older name of Kabul (Kâpûl: Comm. and Gr. Bd.); perhaps the Ptolemeian Bagarda in Paropanisus (Ptol. VI, 18).

24. The Pairika, in Zoroastrian mythology, symbolises idolatry (uzdes-parastih). The land of Kubul, till the Moslem invasion, belonged to the Indian civilisation and was mostly of Brahmanical and Buddhist religion. The Pairika Khnathaiti will be destroyed at the end of the world by Saoshyant, the unborn son of Zarathushtra (when all false religions vanish before the true one; Vd19.5). — Sama Keresaspa, the Garshasp of later tradition, is the type of impious heroism: he let himself be seduced to the Daeva-worship, and Zarathushtra saw him punished in hell for his contempt of Zoroastrian observances.

10. The eighth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Urva of the rich pastures²⁵.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the sin of pride²⁶.

25. Urva, according to Gr. Bd. Meshan, that is to say Mesene (Meshnh) the region of lower Euphrates, famous for its fertility (Herod. I, 193 [?]): it was for four centuries (from about 150 B.C. to 225 A.D.) the seat of a flourishing commercial state.

26. 'The people of Meshan are proud: there are no people worse than they' (Gr. Bd.)

11. The ninth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Khnenta which the Vehrkanas²⁷ inhabit.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created a sin for which there is no atonement, the unnatural sin²⁸.

27. 'Khnenta is a river in Vehrkanas (Hyrcania)' (Comm.); consequently the river Jorjan.

28. See Vd8.31-2.

[Hum2 228 (shyaothna yânaô-vaeipya): "pederasty"]

12. The tenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the beautiful Harahvaiti²⁹.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created a sin for which there is no atonement, the burying of the dead³⁰.

29. Harauvati; `Aracwsia; corrupted into Ar-rokhag (name of the country in the Arabic literature) and Arghand (in the modern name of the river Arghand-âb).

30. See Vd3.36 ff.

13. The eleventh of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the bright, glorious Haetumant³¹.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the evil work of witchcraft.

31. The basin of the EtumandroV or Erymanthus, now Hermend, Helmend, that is to say, the region of Saistân.

14. And this is the sign by which it is known, this is that by which it is seen at once: wheresoever they may go and raise a cry of sorcery, there³² the worst works of witchcraft go forth. From there they come to kill and strike at heart, and they bring locusts as many as they want³³.

32. In Haetumant. — 'The plague created against Saistan is abundance of witchcraft: and that character appears from this, that all people from that place practise astrology: those wizards produce ... snow, hail, spiders, and locusts ' (Gr Bd.) Saistan, like Kabul, was half Indian (Maçoudi, II, 79-82), and Brahmans and Buddhists have the credit of being proficient in the darker sciences.

33. This clause seems to be a quotation in the Pahlavi Commentary.

15. The twelfth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Ragha³⁴ of the three races³⁵.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the sin of utter unbelief³⁶.

34. Rāgha, transcribed Rāgha and identified by the Commentary with Adarbaijan and 'according to some' with Rai (the Greek 'Ragai in Media). There were apparently two Rāghas, one in Atropatene, another in Media.

35. 'That means that the three classes, priests, warriors, and husbandmen, were well organised there' (Comm. and Gr. Bd.)

36. 'They doubt themselves and cause other people to doubt' (Comm.)

16. The thirteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the strong, holy Chakhra³⁷.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created a sin for which there is no atonement, the cooking of corpses³⁸.

37. There were two towns of that name (Charkh), one in Khorasan, and the other in Ghaznin.

38. 'Cooking a corpse and eating it. They cook foxes and weasels and eat them' (Gr. Bd.) See Vd8.73-4.

17. The fourteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the four-cornered Varena³⁹, for which was born Thraetaona, who smote Azi Dahaka [Zohak].

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created abnormal issues in women⁴⁰, and barbarian oppression⁴¹.

39. Varn, identified by the Comm. either with Patashkhvargar or with Dailam (that is to say Tabaristan or Gilan). The Gr. Bd. identifies it with Mount Damavand (which belongs to Patashkhvargar): this is the mountain where Azi Dahaka [Zohak] was bound with iron bonds by Thraetaona [Faridoon]. — 'Four-cornered:' Tabaristan has rudely the shape of a quadrilateral.

40. Vd16.11 ff.

41. The aborigines of the Caspian littoral were Anarian savages, the so-called 'Demons of Mazana [Mazendaran].'

18. The fifteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the Seven Rivers⁴².

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created abnormal issues in women, and excessive heat.

42. Hapta hindava, the basin of the affluents of the Indus, the modern Panjab (= the Five Rivers), formerly called Hind, by contradistinction to Sindh, the basin of the lower river.

[Hum34: "the PhlT of VI.18 quotes the fragment haca ushastara hinduua auui daosha<s>tarem hindum 'from the eastern river to the western river'.]

19. The sixteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the land by the sources (?) of the Rangha⁴³, where people live who have no chiefs⁴⁴.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created Winter⁴⁵, a work of the Daevas⁴⁶.

43. 'Arvastin-i-Rum (Roman Mesopotamia)' (Comm.), that is to say, the basin of the upper Tigris (Rangha = Arvand = Tigris).

44. 'People who do not hold the chief for a chief' (Comm.), which is the translation for asraosha (Comm. ad XVI, 18), 'rebel against the law,' and would well apply to the non-Mazdean people of Arvastân-i-Rûm.

45. The severe winters in the upper valleys of the Tigris.

46. The Vendidad Sada has here: taozyâka danheush aiwishtâra, which the Gr. Bd. understands as: 'and the Tajik (the Arabs) are oppressive there.'

20. There are still other lands and countries⁴⁷, beautiful and deep, longing and asking for the good, and bright. [Hum2 54: lands and regions, beautiful,-deep, esteemed, brilliant and bright.]

47. 'Some say: Persis' (Comm.)

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